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gesture, image, and sound
journal of anthropology

v.6   revista de
antropologia

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GIS JOURNAL, V. 6, N. 1

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Cover Image
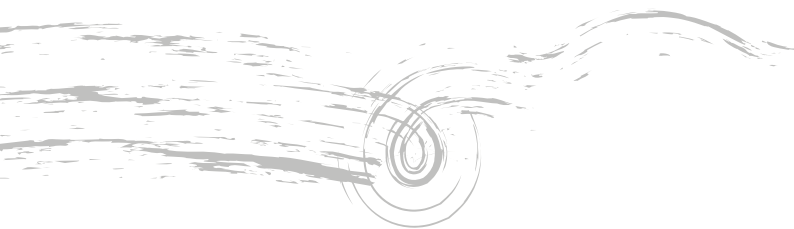
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ARTICLES

GIS

EDITORIAL
v. 6, n. 1, 2021

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No one has ever written, painted, sculpted, modeled, built, or invented except literally to get out of hell.
Antonin Artaud

We at GIS wish to express our deep gratitude to all authors, artists, and contributors who, with great energy, have sent articles, translations, reviews, and photo and performance essays amid the chaos in which we find ourselves in Brazil. Special thanks to our reviewers. Having the material for this edition before us was like *picking strawberries at the edge of the abyss*, as Rubem Alves might say. Even in the most troubling of times, beauty and enchantment can be found. In the words of one of Manoel de Barros' poems, we *carry water in the sieve, filling in the emptiness*. This has been a year marked by resistance-existence. In an interview on the TV program Roda Viva, Ailton Krenak, one of the well known leaders of the indigenous people of Brazil, said, with emphasis, "the present is ancestral!" This is why we believe that the present should be shared. We want to leave our marks in arts and sciences, even in the face of a current Brazilian government that has such little interest in science.

Academic work involves four importante phases: research, writing and/or artistic production, and comunication. An analogy may be made in regard to the total sequence of performance, discussed by Schechner (1985): a) training, b) workshops, c) rehearsal, d) warm-up, e) performance, f) cool-down, and g) aftermath, forming a continuum in which we are transported and transformed. This is our understanding of volume 6, and the multiple forms of seeing and feeling found herein.

Beginning in 2021, so as to enhance our editorial dynamism, we have adopted, at GIS, a policy involving not only the continuous flow of manuscript submissions, but, also, of publications. In keeping with our principle of open science, this novelty fosters scientific production in the journal's areas of interest, accelerating publication of articles, essays, translations, reviews and interviews. In this way, while maintaining standards of plurality and rigor, we have added the benefits of fluidity, making possible the publication of materials in less time.

GIS was created with the mission to publish multiple and varied materials capable of expressing and entering into dialogue with images, sounds, and performances, without losing sight of the essence of anthropology and focus on building relations. Since the beginning, we have been searching for ways of making the journal more widely known, enhancing proximity to authors, performers, readers, and listeners. With this in mind, we have turned our attention to Facebook, Instagram and Twitter.[1] Now, authors and other contributors may re-post their productions marking them on GIS and making them more visible. During the last year we received an abundance of materials for evaluation, 34 of which were selected. A long

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process involving authors, photographers, performers and reviewers took place. Now the time has come to show our *performance*, and await the results, as knowledge and experience are transported and transformed.

We open the sixth volume with the dossieur **Local musicking**, presenting readers with ten articles and two reviews. Local musicking "unifies the material and imaterial world, showing how musical practice occupies, transforms and subverts, physical spaces", and, conversely, "is constructed by physical spaces", both intimate and immense.

Beginning the **Articles** section, Soraya Fleisher and Julia Couto Mota present *Mundaréu*, an anthropology podcast, allowing us to gain familiarity with the podcast universe and its different facets relating to teaching, research, and extension activities, which constitute the pillars of public universities. The following piece, by Paula Pagliari de Braud, directs attention to necroscopic expert photographs, seeking to understand the uses and contexts of production of such images. Silvia Citro's research is directed to the study of dance in Argentina, as a form of imagined identity, and a means of valuing indigenous traits and contemporary forms. Tayná Correa de Sá presents a discussion on *slam* in mining settings, as a means of resistance and political struggle; the art of spoken poetry constructs a unique space of resistance. Inspired by Nuno Ramo's *Essay on the gift*, which bears the homonymous title of Marcel Mauss' well known essay, André Goldfeder produces an article on sign reading, exploring visual arts and poetry, anthropology and philosophy. Rogério Gonçalves de Carvalho analyzes the imaginary of cinema, largely produced by Hollywood, from the anthropological perspective of Gilbert Durand's mythhermeneutics and archetypical structures. At last, Ana Carolina Brindarolli brings attention to actor-network theory as a tool for social interpretation, highlighting the film *HER*, by the diretor Spike Jonze, as a pretext for discussing new forms of contemporary relations, involving humans and non humans.

The **Gestures, Images, and Sounds (GIS)** section is our space for experimentation, exploring "suspicious emendations", and tracing the living in verse and prose, and other expressive forms. If the GIS journal were a body, we would say that this section are the eyes, opening to other senses. The section begins with the poem-manifesto written by Ricardo Basso Ballestero, *Mar, lagos e lagunas: poesia na pesquisa artística de um músico* (*Sea, lakes and lagoons: poetry in the artistic research of a musician*), a poetic autoethnography in which the author is seen as musician, researcher, and teacher, in overlying roles charged with tensions. If experimentation is the goal, Marcelo Artioli Schellini rises to the challenge with mastery in his visual and textual essay *The Peacock Junction*, bringing forth images and texts relating his encounter with the contemporary landscape of

Tamil Nadu, South India, in which the photographer began his educational experience in one of India's academic institutions. Parallel to Schellini, Sylvia Caiuby Novaes presents a textual essay, *Por uma sensibilização do olhar – sobre a importância da fotografia na formação do antropólogo* (*Towards a sensitization of vision – on the importance of photography in the anthropologist's training*), challenging us to see, feel and do: an invitation to see images so as to produce them.

After reading Sylvia's essay, we are called to see with other eyes the *Instantes fotográficos* (*Photographic instants*) produced by Ricardo Putti: strolling through places familiar to *paulistanos* (São Paulo city residents), such as the Municipal Market and Paulista Avenue, we encounter nonfamiliar forms and angles as seen through the eyes of an Italian photographer. This estrangement effect is also produced in *Objet trouvé: etnografia de rua – Paris* (*Objet trouvé: street ethnography - Paris*), by Fernando de Tacca who, in this case, as a Brazilian photographer, sees/observes Parisian streets as if entering into each image, and making a collection of what he sees as objects in scene and on stage. Both of the previous essays are aligned with Roderick Peter Steel's *Riscando pontos* (*Marking points*), which also articulates artistic and anthropological frontiers between Afro-Brazilian cosmograms – *pontos riscados* ("marked points") – and airport markings. Thus, after traveling between tracings, and twirling in space time, we fall in the whirl of Jean Souza dos Anjos' *"A gira que eu faço é firme!" - o gesto da Rainha* (*"The whirl which I do is firm!" – the Queen's gesture*). Anjos and her bewitching *macumbeira* anthropology opens way to contemplation, permeated by gestures, colors, and a sense of the sensorial sacred. Crossing the sacred and profane, Vitor Grunvald's and Luana G.'s *"Ensaio Esquizo-analítico com textos e imagens sobre corpos, fantasias e retratos ou o que o espelho nos reflete?* (*Schizo-analytical essay with images and texts about bodies, fantasies and portraits, or what does our mirror reflect?*) brings forth a strong sensation, as expressed in the text-experiment: "Coherency is mutilation. I want disorder". The potency of this essay lies in the array of projections and collages on BDSM (Bondage, Domination, Discipline, Sadism, Submission, Masochism) and practices of transvestism. Bodies are there as transgression, in the pendulum of the profane, simultaneously sacralizing objects entering bodies, veins and senses. As soon as we take our breath, Regina Croquetta queer and John Dawsey – Ê boi! – are back on stage. A spectacle! Applause!

In *Memória é movimento* (*Memory is movement*), by Alice Nin, experience comes to light in photos belonging to personal archives of residents of Jacarezinho (Rio de Janeiro), the stage of a recent massacre involving the police. In the movement of memory, the pulsating life of Jacarezinho is revealed by the ethnography of memories of this place. Directing attention to images and texts, we again cross the ocean, and are captured by the

beauty of *Dengbêj - um grito de resistência curdo* (*Dengbêj – a cry of Kurdish resistance*), by Kelen Pessuto, telling a story of Kurdish resistance through music, and life stamped in images. A people without a homeland, bearing musical memories and feelings, with sweetness and affection. Possibly soothing our eyes along this journey, we come to the next piece, *Vestígios e marcas além das humanas* (*Traces and marks beyond human*), by Jaqueline Gomes. In her words, "these photos are indices of an expansion of vision – formerly directed towards human markings in places – now replete with signs and traces of animal, vegetable and cosmological beings populating waters and forests...". Isn't this what Caiuby Novaes was proposing: *The sensitization of vision?* In Gomes' terms, the expansion of vision.

The **Translations, Interviews, and Reviews (TIR)** section presents two translations and three reviews, two of which are part of the *Local musicking* dossieur. *As estórias que as coisas contam e por que elas contam* (*The stories which things tell and why they are told*), is a translation by Felipe Neis Araujo of an article written by Michael Taussig. According to Taussig, the stories told by Juan Downey, in his film *The Laughing Alligator* bring forth a cinematographic quality, activating the magic technique explored by Walter Benjamin in the art of the storyteller. In Taussig's view, stories and films, like animism, also come to life, becoming anything, although never constant or the same. In *Desenhar com uma câmera? Filme etnográfico e antropologia transformadora* (*Drawing with a câmera? Ethnographic film and transforming anthropology*), by Anna Grimshaw and Amanda Ravetz, and translated by Tatiana Lotierzo and Luís Felipe Kojima Hirano, the authors discuss the dialectic of elements of drawing found in filmmaking. For a long time, Ingold and Taussig have been talking about drawing as a way of producing knowledge. Along this line, Grimshaw and Ravetz seek to respond to various questions, among which are the following: what is the meaning of drawing with a câmera, and what kinds of new insights emerge when anthropologies using different media come together?

Alice Villela's critical review *Filmes e vídeos como formas de conhecimento: desenvolvimentos atuais e possibilidades futuras* (*Films and vídeos as forms of knowledge: current developments and future possibilities*) brings attention to 31 articles of *The Routledge International Handbook of Ethnographic Film and Video* collection, edited by Phillip Vannini. The collection presents diverse methodologies, theories and questions, opening paths for film and video research and production, and addressing questions regarding practices and techniques encountered when filming one's research field.

Two other book reviews are part of the *Local musicking* dossieur. *Song Walking - Women, Music, and Environmental Justice in an African Borderland*, authored by Angela Impey, and reviewed by Érica Giesbrecht,

presents official and intimate narratives in songs carrying memories of elder women in regions near Maputaland. *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Local Musicking*, edited by Suzel Reily and Katherine Brucher, contributes to ethnomusicological studies and crossover areas, such as the Anthropology of Music, highlighting connections between music and locality. The book was reviewed by Gibran Teixeira Braga.

The **Found on the web** section brings attention to materials found on selected web sites and edited in ways which are in keeping with the focus and scope of GIS. In this volume, we are highlighting the speeches of Malcolm X, the Black Muslim leader who came to the forefront of history in the United States during the 1960s. The power of his words, which resound in the present day, make unfortunately clear that we are still in the clutches of structural racism.

For the first time GIS is publishing **In Memoriam**, bringing to light the experience shared by this generation of GIS editors with Marc-Henri Piault, involving wonderful moments of learning, exchange of ideas, and production and analysis of images. In *Relembrando Marc-Henri Piault (1933-2020)* (*Remembering Marc-Henri Piault*), by Clarice Peixoto, the reader will discover how the work of this French anthropologist has left a mark on many other researchers, and, most certainly, will continue to inspire future generations.

As we bring to a close this sixth volume, our spirits are renewed by the works which we have presented, and which will now be enriched by other views and perspectives.

Good reading!

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ARTICLES

LOCAL MUSICKING – THEME AND VARIATIONS

AN INTRODUCTION FOR THE LOCAL MUSICKING DOSSIER

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> "*O semba no morro é fogueira /*
> *o semba que traz liberdade/*
> *o semba de nossa bandeira*"
> [Semba on the hills is a fire/ Semba
> which brings freedom/
> That semba from our flag]
> "*Poema do Semba*", *from Paulo Flores*
> *and Carlos Burity, 1996*

The song in epigraph is presented in an article in this dossier. In these three verses, the Angolan music takes us from the hills to the nation or, in the article's words, between local, national and global. Here we propose reflections around the concept of local musicking, stimulating the reader/listener to follow those paths where music activities produce localities and are affected by them.

The notion of local musicking is being experimented in a thematic project, in which the three organizers

for this dossier participate. Since 2016, we have been focusing our researches towards this expression which links the concept of *musicking* - from Christopher Small - with the notion of locality, thought from the considerations of authors like Arjun Appadurai and Ruth Finnegan. *Musicking*, in the terms of Small (1998), refers to any form of engagement with music, taken not only in its formal aspects (the musical piece), but also as performance, fruition, acquisition, musical transmission etc.

To integrate this dossier, there were contributions from authors working with the *local musicking* concept and its interfaces, considering specific ethnographic examples where this notion is brought to light, and adding conceptual discussions in this particular field. Among these contributions, there are researchers from the Brazilian project ("Local Musicking - new paths for ethnomusicology" - FAPESP, 2016/05318-7) and other ones, from diverse perspectives, which accepted the challenge to articulate ethnographic works with our proposition in focus.

In the opening article "Local musicking and the musical production of locality", Suzel Reily, the director for the thematic project, introduces the theory and the methodological approach that she and other researchers elaborated to think about the relation between musicking and locality, applying it to some ethnographic cases. Here we understand the concept of *local musicking* as it links tangible and intangible worlds, and perceive the musical practices as they occupy, transform and subvert physical spaces: the streets of Campanha-MG, the periphery of Recife-PE and the cities marked by apartheid in South Africa.

On the other hand, the *musicking* is also defined by physical spaces, from the intimate acoustics in the little bar where *bossa nova* was created, to the amplitude of streets that people want to illuminate, with that powerful sound of "alfaia" drums in *maracatu* groups. Musicking is like a technology to transform spaces, as Appadurai (1996) says, making the place a space *de facto*, or, with S. Reily interpretation of De Certeau concept (1998), a "practiced place".

Locality is the result of a double displacement, in this text and in the proposition we elaborated. First, as S. Reily reinterprets from Michel de Certeau - from that difference between space and place - it is not the physical environment *a priori*, but always the result emerging from an interaction. It is the effect of an heterogeneous body of social relations in constant interaction and, as a matter of fact, of change.

We start with the assumption that *musicking*, as a "collective technology of interaction" (Appadurai 1996), is a nodal point from which the "structure of feelings" incarnated with locality is configured. Additionally, considering

this process as multidirectional from the core, the dynamics established in a locality affect this *musicking*. When the musicking is qualified as local, as we said, it is affirmed that music activities build locality and are built by localities.

On the other hand, as corollary, there is a tendency towards thinking how the notion of locality evokes feelings of community and belonging. These meanings are reconfigured not only through musical practices and performances, but also from what is mobilized by these expressions in terms of political ties in the formation of groups. Their proposals not only show a state of affairs but, as S. Reily says in her article, they show a "collective construction of a place aimed for living".

With their inherent particularities, the articles of both Meno Del Picchia and Raquel Martins operate inside and from this field of research questions. In "Fluxos, quebrada and funk musicking - feeling within the music", a text on the funk "fluxos" in a neighborhood in the outskirts of São Paulo, Del Picchia starts with the notion of *musicking* meaning all activities engaging with music (and not only *tout court* music practices) to think about the interaction between heavy sound systems and the bodies, the people. These bodies are both those who "command" the sound systems and the people who dance to the music and create a particular sound transfer.

In the article "Funk physical and affective spaces: the local musicking of São Paulo lesbian parties", Raquel Martins describes events inside the lesbian scene in São Paulo, like "Sarrada do Brejo" and "Fancha". She proposes that the *musicking* emerging in this confluence of interactions participates in the (con)formation of a locality, and its meanings are intertwined with body politics giving value to the lesbian body, and also to the fat and the black bodies.

Both works here converge in a specific sound culture: *funk* culture in Brazil. Their *musicking*, distinct in some aspects, engage peripheral or marginalized bodies as places of acclamation for the other imagined community (Anderson, 1983). This other community, as a locality, is also an "inherently fragile social conquer", as pointed out by Appadurai. Facing this, there is the need that the locality is made and remade each time, affirming its daily practice of building belonging and worlds through a *musicking*.

In dialogue here with these texts, we have the review "Amaculo Manihamba: Women's Walking Songs in a Borderland Region in Southern Africa" by Érica Giesbrecht, for the book from Angela Impey, *Song Walking: Women, Music, and Environmental Justice in an African Borderland*. Impey notes that resilience and memory practices by a population

under removal and deprivation of sources, between Mozambique, South Africa and Essuatini region (former Swaziland), are active inside local women's *Isitweletwele* songs. These are performed with a little musical bow, during their walks through the areas which are still permitted. Elderly women here, from different ethnic backgrounds, reverberate their narratives of subalternity under political dynamics around this frontier. Therefore, as seen in the texts of P. M. Del Picchia and in R. Martins, displacements, corporeality and narratives of subalternity are intercrossed with a common point: uniting the politics and the poetics of *musicking* in the making of locality.

Another review in this dossier presents *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Local Musicking*, coedited by Suzel Reily and Katherine Brucher, which won the 2019 Ellen Koskoff Edited Volume Prize, from the Society for Ethnomusicology. The book, reviewed here by Gibran Teixeira Braga, is a result of the two research projects: "Local Musicking in Cross-Cultural Perspective" (2014-15 U.K.) and the thematic project we take part, in Brazil (with researchers from UNICAMP Arts Institute, from Anthropology and Music departments at USP and also from IEB-USP Brazilian Studies). The volume brings multiple articles by ethnomusicologists and anthropologists from diverse nationalities, and includes recent researches in Brazil. The themes include the notions of traditional and authenticity in local musicking; the relation between participation and presentation seen by Thomas Turino; researches with German choirs; with young Greenlander musicians; *jongo* dance in Campinas; participatory audience in a Chicago Community radio station; the relations between global and local in *musicking* on YouTube, and in migration movements; imbrications between musical community practices and citizenship, in the *coloured* community in South Africa and in Portuguese choirs; Music and community connections among Nigerian Pentecostals in Greece; or an approach to John Blacking's works among the Venda people.

Some of that book's themes are present here. In a different ethnographic context, the relations between local and global are approached by Andre Castro Soares in "Sembapatrimonioimaterial.com: local performances, imagined national narratives, dialogue from the field". He talks about *semba*, its routes for the recognition as immaterial patrimony by UNESCO and by Angolan government, and also about the role of a collaborative website publicizing related musicians. Soares shows how music practices transit and redefine spaces given traditionally as local, national and global.

This way, *sembapatrimonioimaterial.com* production is the methodological practice for the researcher to observe dissensus (Rancière and Corcoran 2010) inside patrimonial visions and versions, from the present to the past (Macdonald 2013). Semba is "seen as local, but felt as a

national expression" by its insiders. Even if it is developed as a rhythm from Luanda, it tends to correspond to a "feeling linked to the Angolan nation and even the production of Angolanity". The author emphasizes frictions and complementary points between "imagined community", from Benedict Anderson (1983) proposition, and "practice communities" in semba, with their performances in constant transformation.

If that imagined notion links semba to the past with the sense of an Angolan nation-state, the idea of practice community developed by Wenger and Trayner (2015) explains the union of people around activities in common, many times towards common objective and shared identities and references. We see possible approaches between the different notions of "community " and that of "locality", which is central to our reflections on local musicking.

Another author here, aware of these dynamics, is Juan Pablo Estupiñan Bejarano with the article "Singing to the virgin. Sound negotiations in the celebration of the *balsadas* in Guapi (Colombian Pacific coast)". He shows how the *balsadas* engage and transform the community as a whole, involving tourists and residents (musicians, merchants, religious devotees and other participants). His ethnographic tour de force brings dense description of the boat procession, where negotiations to receive the holy Virgin happen also in musical stances, with different phases and differentiated ethos emphasized. It is the *musicking* that drives behaviors and relations between participants themselves, and with the community, during *balsadas*

This text dialogues with the article "The musicking of atajo de negritos from Ballumbrosio family: an ethnography of performance", by Ellis Regina Sanchez on the *atajos de negritos*, a Peruvian patrimony recognized, with Afro-Peruvian and European elements. She examines the relations between *musicking* groups, dynamics of rehearsal, questions brought with Peruvian national patrimonialization, and standardized conducts around Ballumbrosio family. At the same time, the text shows the relations between *musicking* and locality, also in change, with tourism; the territory division of practice spaces; and the ritual transmutations in the narrative: from the conversion of *negrito*s (moors) into Christians up to the consumption of ritual artifacts in the fire.

Now extrapolating the limits of a single locality, the article by Cristina de Branco and Mariana Santos Teófilo, Musicking A*ymara* and Q*uechua* immigrants translocalities in São Paulo", approaches flute and dance groups from Bolivian highlands in São Paulo (Brazil), around Brás neighborhood. The authors show the activities in Kollasuyo Maya Cultural Center, where performing groups, with music and dance, bring narratives permeated

with an organologic cosmogony of flutes, and the agriculture cycles from their place of origin. Through their performances, those groups negotiate highland identities (local) and Bolivian identity (plurinational), with Brazilian government instances and with other migrant groups. Also, exploring the transnational network notion (Glick-Schiller, Basch, Blanc-Szanton, 1992), the authors point to relations between São Paulo groups and similar ones from other South-American capital cities, identifying transcontinental music dialogues.

The last three articles we introduce here have thoughts in common about ethnomusicological research and audiovisual work. In our thematic project we have been discussing "technologies of interactivity" enacted in the production of local musicking. When starting the project in 2016, we could not imagine that we would live the world crisis with COVID-19 pandemic, from 2020 on, and a unique situation of relations, mediated with technological apparatus. It is a new dimension for the reflection about production and circulation of images in the studied contexts, with social distance generalized.

Before the pandemics, we discussed the use of audiovisual in ethnography, either to approach the flow of participative musical performances (Vilella, in print), the atmospheres and experiences of musical fruition (Leaha, 2019 and 2020), the collaborations with subjects on the production of knowledge (Chalcraft and Hikiji, 2020), or the daily aspects of senses (smell, taste, tact) which integrate into the musicking. These are hard to be described in academic writing but approachable with images, sound and movement, or through poetic writing.

The article of Luiza Fernandes Coelho, "Portraying "musicking" and "participatory characteristics" of bumba-meu-boi in film", brings an approach similar to that of Alice Vilella and Hidalgo Romero (2018) to discuss how the bumba-meu-boi, an essentially participative form of musicking (Turino 2008), is translated into audiovisual language in three productions: *Guriatã* (Renata Amaral, 2018), *Taquaras, Tambores e Violas* (Hidalgo Romero, 2018) and *Night Shine* (Priscilla Ermel, 2004). The three are compared in their characteristics, with their ways to introduce the characters, research times and recording times, narrative arcs, image aesthetics, editing resources, their use of interviews and their approaches of participation.

In "Sensitive connections: following the ethnobiographic trail of a Chacoan musician", Maria Eugênia Domingues looks at her own experience as director of *Pascual Toro*, *flautero*, a film about a master of the Arete tradition, celebrated in rites from south-west Bolivia, northern Argentina and western Paraguay. The protagonist Pascual Toro is a Guarani man who lives in Paraguay, in Santa Teresita, Boquerón, and his narrative in the film

describes the long way to become a *flautero*, in the main ritual from the Guarani people in northern Paraguayan Chaco. For the author, the ethnobiography is a way to understand connections gathered by the protagonist and his people in some domains, which usually appear separated in Western music making. From the methodological point of view, the author reinforces, with an inspiration from Prelorán, the participative character of his camera, the shared production of knowledges between anthropologist and researched subjects, and an attention with the ethnobiography. These are ways to understand the life and the philosophy of real people, abandoning notions like 'communities' or 'societies'. He also highlights the importance of sound in his movies, the creation of sound landscapes, composed of voices, human activities, animals and other sounding elements. Here M. E. Domingues also discusses artistic individuality and collectivity, the role of rhythms and reiterations in Guarani phrases, and the articulation between multiple expressive forms present in the Arete (dance, music, drama) with an insider point of view. And showing her interlocutor *musicking* situated and crossing social dimensions touched by the whole community.

Finally, in "Listening to the headphones, hearing the city: towards an audiovisual representation of the local musicking", a text written with multiple hands, we approach ethnographic possibilities to understand a diverse urban musicking, *with the use of audiovisual resources, even in social distance contexts*. The complex relation between "want to hear" and "need to hear" is explored. Eight authors here show their audiovisual strategies to represent characteristics and possibilities of *musicking* for riders, Brazilian workers delivering for food Apps. They live in Dublin and have music as part of their daily working routine. This *musicking* is one of a plural listening: to sounds which are desired, necessary, inevitable, or sometimes unwanted. Parallel to the discussion of the differences between hearing and listening, authors are motivated to think how they can build a sensitive representation for this *musicking*, which permeates working relations, locality and affections. These participants of the film disclose, along spatial and sounding routes on the city, the relation between the pleasure of listening their own sound choices on the headphone while working (music genders, Brazilian or not, news and instruction podcasts) and the danger of having traffic sounds covered. They have to be aware so they do not have accidents.

From the streets of Angola, sung in semba lyrics, to Dublin confronted on the sounds of food delivery bike riders during pandemics, this dossier proposes *musicking* as a potency that transforms *places* - seen by De Certeau (1998) as static entities which join elements together - into *spaces*, or "practiced places", produced by actions, movements and practices. In these times of social distance, when public singing is a risk activity and the sole right to breathe is limited (Mbembe, 2020), the search for practices

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which produce "structures of feelings" (Appadurai, 1996) and establish fields of "habitation, production and moral safety for the population" will demand "continuous collective effort", as Suzel Reily pointed out in the beginning of this dossier. We invite everyone to read it.

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ARTICLES

LOCAL MUSICKING AND THE PRODUCTION OF LOCALITY

DOSSIER LOCAL MUSICKING

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ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE CONSTRUCTION OF LOCALIZED SONORITIES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What one observes in the musical universe of Campanha is hardly unusual; quite the contrary: perhaps it is only in a few contexts that are isolated from the complex societies of the modern world that one does not encounter such musical diversity. Indeed, the diverse music scene of Campanha has its parallel in Ruth Finnegan's meticulous study in *The Hidden Musician: Music-making in an English Town*, published in 1989. Finnegan documented the "musical worlds" that she found in 1980s Milton Keynes, each organized around a musical genre. Among the genres she identified in the town were: English folk music, particularly the repertoire associated with the British folk music revival, but also the brass bands of the region, the various choirs and local orchestras, rock and pop bands and
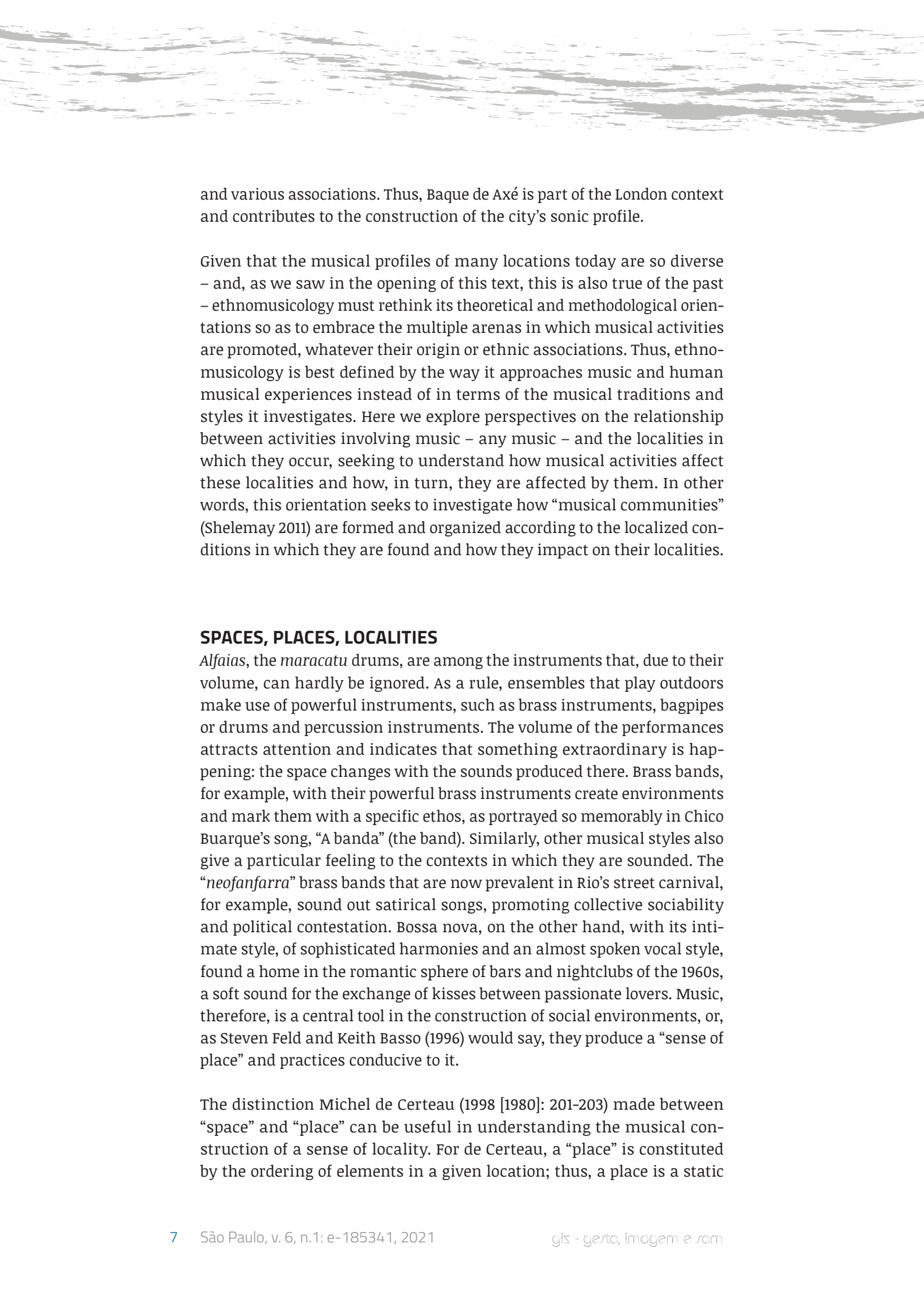
even the "country & western" movement, very popular in Milton Keynes at the time of her study. If she were doing this research today, perhaps she would have included the samba bands, the belly dance groups, the flamenco scene among other globalized practices that are now among the music scenes of many British towns.

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

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

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

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

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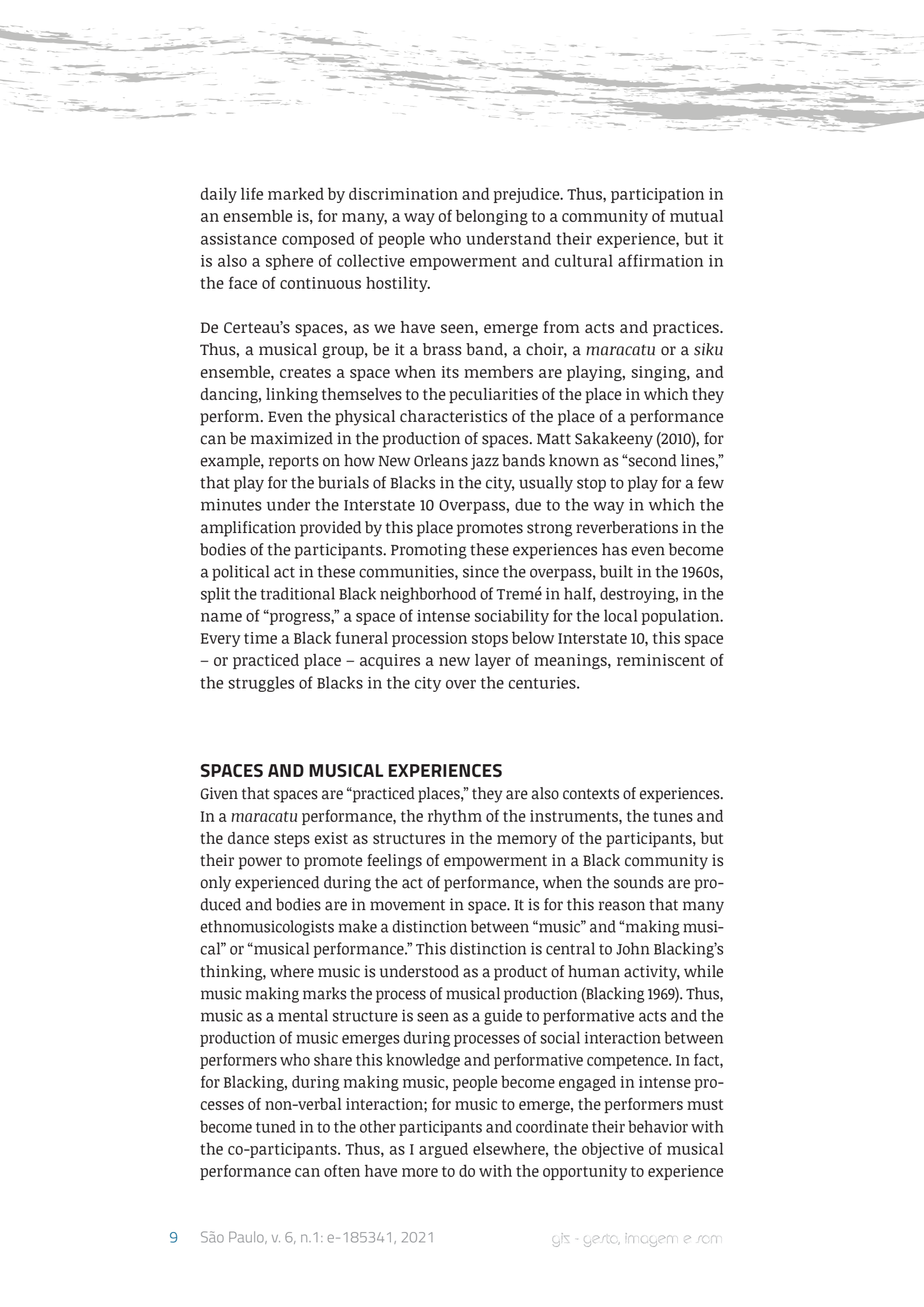
SPACES, PLACES, LOCALITIES

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

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

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

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

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

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

SPACES AND MUSICAL EXPERIENCES

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

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

In a landmark passage from his book *How musical is man?*, John Blacking (1973) discussed *tshikona*, the national dance of the Venda people in the Transvaal region of South Africa. The Venda told Blacking that when *tshikona* is organized, "people rush to the scene of the dance and leave their pots to boil over"; *tshikona* had the power to make "sick people feel better, and old men throw away their sticks and dance." He was also told that *tshikona* brings "peace to the countryside" (1973, 51). Clearly, *tshikona* had – and continues to have – the power to mobilize people in a very profound way. It is worth pointing out, however, that the summoning of a *tshikona* when Blacking did his field research (1956 to 1958) was the prerogative of chiefs, and this could occur, for example, at the death, coronation, or marriage of a chief as well as for other events of political importance. As Jaco Kruger (2007, 38) pointed out, the hierarchies of Venda society are evinced in the ordering of the participants in the dance formation: the members of the chiefs' clans took the front positions, followed by their subjects, from eldest to youngest. Recognizing the dance's associations with the political structure, Blacking claimed that *tshikona* symbolized the power of the chiefs, but, since the central role of the leaders was to care for the well-being of their subjects, when they effectively managed to do this, the performance of the dance was presented as "a sonic emblem of national pride". In his own words:
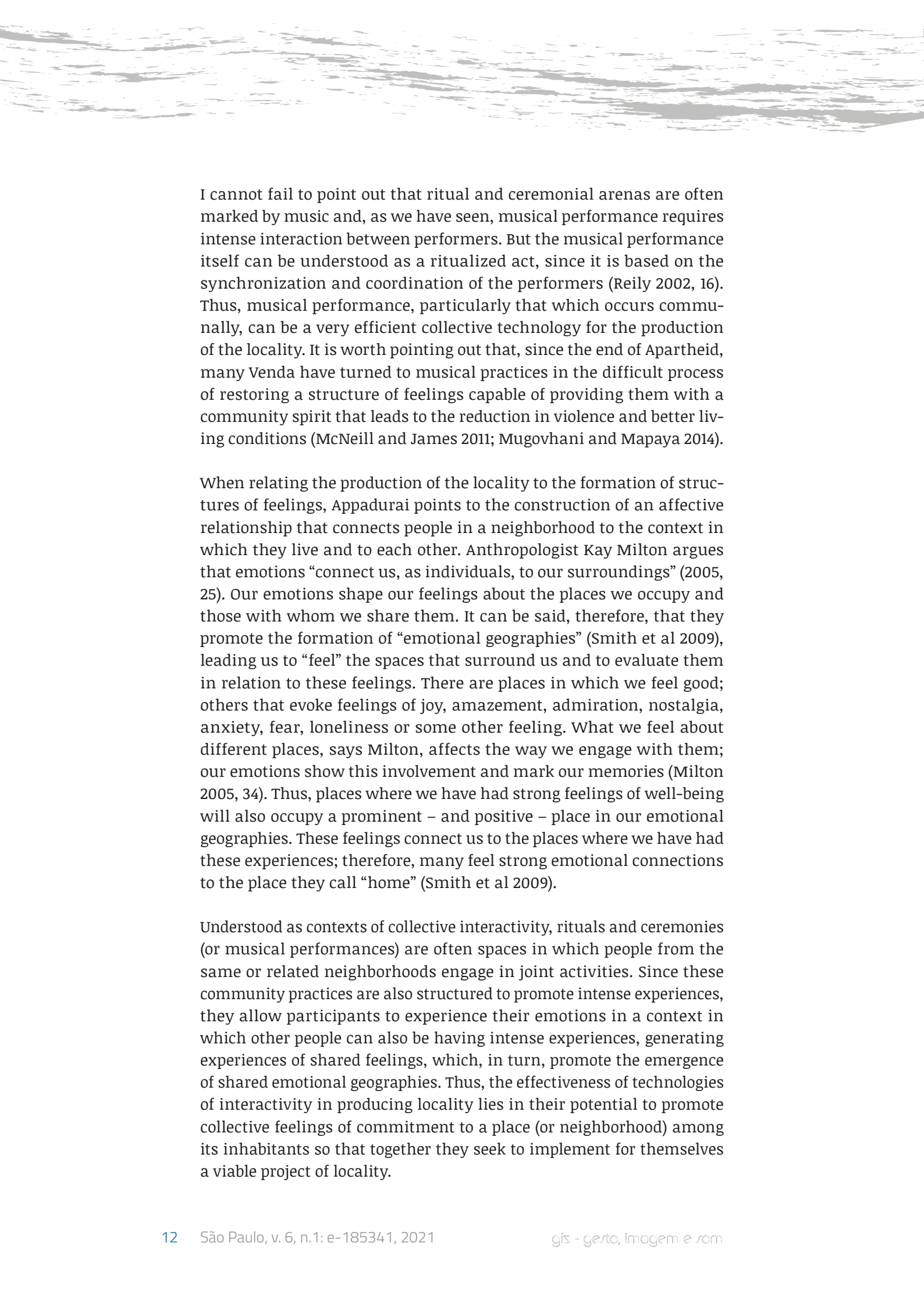
> Although [*tshikona*] was often an expression of the political power of its sponsors, the experience stimulated individuality as much as a strong sense of community, and people talked more the refreshment that it brought to their lives rather than the adherence to a political order that it was supposed to consolidate (Blacking 1985, 87).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE MUSICAL PRODUCTION OF LOCALITY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LOCAL MUSICKING

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

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

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

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

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

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ARTICLES

FLUXOS, QUEBRADA AND FUNK MUSICKING FEELING WITHIN THE MUSIC

DOSSIER LOCAL MUSICKING

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ABSTRACT

The article presents data from an ethnography carried out between 2017 and 2019, in a peripheral neighborhood on the south side of São Paulo, where street funk parties known as *fluxos* (Portuguese word that can be translated as flows or fluxs) take place. I propose an analysis of *fluxos* based on the concept-verb of *musicking* of the New Zealander Cristopher Small (1998). From this perspective it is essential to understand all the agents engaged in the production of the party, even those who apparently are not producing music, and even those considered non-human. What other elements are behind a musical manifestation in the streets of a *quebrada* (local slang meaning slum or ghetto), besides the sound elements themselves? In the case of *fluxos*, we will see the centrality of funk sound systems in this music and what kind of sensations and reactions they cause. The funk *fluxos* emerge as a specific *musicking* that demarcates a type of soundscape in the peripheral regions of the city. Funk and the party act in the sentimental and symbolic construction of these locatities and in the production of shared identities.

I arrived at the *quebrada*[1] around six-thirty in the afternoon. I went straight to find my local host, Bonito[2], to leave my things at his home. We then went to the Association where he works and we talked with residents on the street ahead. Today is Saturday, the streets are full, social life is teeming outside the houses, in front of the bars with their billiard tables and their sound systems playing funk and electronic *forró*[3], in front of the gates with *naves*[4] parked with their doors open and *pumping* a repertoire of funk *putaria* and funk *proibidão*[5]. From seven o'clock in the evening, the countless churches also begin to fill and populate the soundscape of the *quebrada* with their hymns of praise sung by the regulars, microphoned and equipped. There was me, Bonito, his boss at the Association known as Fogão, and a young student using the Association's cultural programs, Rafael. We talk about politics, Brazil, Trump. Fogão likes Trump. Rafael said that he didn't think it was right for a man to kiss another man, and we entered a debate about homophobia and told him that we should accept and respect the wishes of others. Rafael is evangelic, and continuing the conversation based on a question from me about funk in the neighborhood, he said that there are only mess, drugs and the police in *fluxos*. He is 21 years old and the majority of visitors to the *fluxos* are in his age group. His opinions express a *favela* interface connected with evangelical values and practices, and with a certain conservatism regarding acceptable behaviors. A few meters from where we were, an evangelical church was beginning to fill up for the seven-thirty evening service. The church occupies the ground floor of a townhouse. A small room with plastic chairs for the faithful, with their backs to the street. A small altar at the bottom, in a position where the pastor who leads the cult can observe who passes outside.

1 Throughout the text, I chose to italicize slang and expressions used by the research inter-locutors that are important for the analysis (*quebrada*, *hitting loudly*, *pumping*, *ships*, etc.). All words of Portuguese origin were written in italics. The concept verb of *musicking* is also written in italics. Other quotes always appear in parentheses.
2 All the names of people and places featured in this article are fictional. I chose not to reveal the name of the *quebrada*, but it is located in a neighborhood in the South Zone of the city of São Paulo. These choices were made together with my interlocutor and host, Bonito, to preserve privacy and ensure the safety of the people involved.
3 *Forró* is a traditional Brazilian music genre.
4 *Naves* is the way the younger residents of the neighborhood call the transformed cars (lowered and / or with a powerful sound system at the trunk) that inhabit street *fluxos*. *Nave* is the Portuguese word for spaceship. These transformed cars look like spaceships.
5 *Putaria* and *proibidão* are diferent styles of Brazilian funk music. *Putaria* could be trans-lated as whoring, *Proibidão* means something like highly prohibited.

We returned to Bonito's house after picking up his girlfriend Lia, and we rested from eleven at night until one in the morning when we left for the *fluxos*. The first *fluxo* we found was in front of the "High Tech bar". A sound wall (*paredão de som*) and several car sounds were already working, with groups of young people on the street drinking and dancing around the equipment. The predominant funk styles are *putaria* and *proibidão*. I heard little ostentatious funk and no conscious funk (other funk styles in Brazil). Another nearby *fluxo* that was already happening was that of Mariana Street, in front of "Naná bar", with two speakers playing. Between the two *fluxos* there are many sound sources, mostly cars and loudspeakers in bars. The police at one point wet[6] the "High Tech" sound wall. The sound system on Mariana Street continued to operate late into the night. A scene that caught my attention at the beginning of the night was a very small child dancing and singing a funky *putaria* that played nearby. She was already trying to sing the choruses, not knowing exactly what they were saying. I also noticed the white Corsa (car model) standing in front of the "Site dos Brothers bar", which is always with the same group listening to electronic *forró* very close to my room. On Mariana street, we stayed in front of "Naná bar" until four in the morning. The party was still full, the flow of pedestrians, motorbikes and cars quite intense. The girls in general dance more than the men, making the intense hip movements characteristic of the funk body choreography. But the main activity was drinking, snorting and smoking. For a while now, I started to observe a lot of hookahs, flashy objects made especially for the consumption of tobacco with essences, but that can also be used for marijuana. Some bars in the neighborhood have become tobacconists, where young people can smoke hookahs and buy tobacco and essences. Once in a while, young people sang the funks that played in the sound systems of bars and tobacconists.

Many motorcycles. Motorcycles of expensive models, with higher displacement, those racing models sung in funk lyrics like the Yamaha R1 or Kawasaki. Young people walk without a helmet and accelerating a lot, more because of noise than speed. In fact, sometimes they are stopped in the middle of the crowded *fluxo* and give that violent acceleration that almost pops our ears. I think that loud sound is a value. Always the sound. The exhaust pipes of the motorbikes sing along with the loudspeakers of the various types of sound system,

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6 "Wetting" is a local term for when the police interrupt the funk dance or the street flow.

forming a polyphonic sound landscape in the early morning hours of the *quebrada*. (Field Notes – January 13, 2018).

STREET *FLUXO* LIKE A FUNKY *MUSICKING*

Talking about funk *musicking* is not the same as talking about funk music. Funk music can be thought of as a recording done in the studio by a DJ and an MC. It is the sound product of this relationship. It can be performed electronically on a sound system on the street, on a computer at home, on a headset, in a car, on the loudspeakers inside a nightclub. It can also be performed live on stage, at a show, at a funk circle, at a meeting of MCs and DJs[7]. According to Carlos Palombini (2014), funk carioca is characterized by a beat of Afro-Brazilian matrix, by a singer who deals with this rhythmic basis.

The origin of funk carioca deserves a separate text, but many authors (Vianna 1988), (Essinger 2005) and (Novaes 2020) agree that the black dances in the suburbs of Rio de Janeiro in the 1970s were an important historical landmark. In 1989, the album "Funk Brasil" by DJ Malboro was released, with electronic beat tracks and verses sung in Portuguese. The "*melô*" (Portuguese versions of great foreign hits of the time) sung at the parties begin to enter Brazilian studios. Carlos Palombini considers the recording "Macumba Lelê" – by DJs Alessandro and Cabide, in the fourth volume of the series "Beats, Funks and Raps", by DJs Grandmaster Raphael and Amazing Clay, in 1994 – important to mark a kind of turning point in the musical aesthetic of the genre, because it would bring for the first time percussive touches of Afro-Brazilian music mixed with electronic music[8]. Since then, some "styles" or "strands" have been developed – such as *proibidão*, ostentation (*ostentação*), *putaria*, conscious (*consciente*) – where one of the elements of differentiation are the themes of the lyrics, maintaining the same standard rhythmic key as central core of the beats. "*Estilo*" (style) and "*vertente*" (strand) were the words used by my interlocutors to differentiate the types of funk based on the lyrics theme. Palombini and Novaes (2019) use the term "subgenre" to refer to these stylistic variations and add other possible types that are not restricted to the thematic variations of the lyrics – montage, melody, gospel, neurotic and comedy. In my field, I heard a lot the expression "*mandelão*" or "funk *mandela*" that dealt with sound and performance aspects of a certain type. *Mandelão* funk would be a "more *favela*" funk, characterized by shorter

7 In the artistic and phonographic universe of São Paulo funk that I observed, my interlocutors MCs (Masters of Ceremony) showed themselves as the singers and composers, while DJs (Disc Jockeys) put themselves as those who produce the musical bases for MCs. DJs most often assumed the role of music producers (Del Picchia 2013) for MCs. Some of them did not even perform at the dances anymore, restricting their performance to recording studios (both their own individual studios and those of larger producers).
8 http://www.proibidao.org

lyrics, by a most spoken chant. Producers DJs I met said, for example, that in funk *mandelão* they could not tune the voices[9] of MCs within the production software, as they would in other styles. An interesting point that Palombini and Novaes raise is that depending on the way the music is performed or produced, it can change its subgenre.

> Funk carioca music is a sung speech or a song spoken on a rhythmic basis. This speech is that of the poorest layers of the sub-urbanized areas of the state of Rio de Janeiro. Its melody derives both from the inflections of the speech itself and from the local sound space, cut and pasted. This procedure does not apply only to the melody, but it constitutes the very technology of an intelligence that finds expression in the musical genre (Caceres, Ferrari, Palombini 2014, 177-178)

I consider this a good description to think about the funk that today plays on the outskirts of São Paulo. A scene that I observed many times on the field – in spaces such as the Funk League of São Paulo, studios and meetings with MCs in their neighborhoods – was the singing with the clap of the hand in the characteristic rhythmic key. Many MCs claimed that they started to "rhyme in funk" in that way, just voice and palm, in games with friends and in rhyme battles (common practice in peripheral neighborhoods). It is a creative nucleus of learning and experimenting the practice of rhyming by hitting the palm of the hand. A practice that depends solely on body technology – voice and hand. It is an aspect of making funk music before the moment when MCs enter the studio to record their compositions.

In anthropology we learn to consider that music is not just a sound object, a thing; it is an activity, an action, a process of production and social organization (Blacking 2007) and (Seeger 2008). This perspective is explored in the reflections of the New Zealander Christopher Small – educator, musicologist and ethnomusicologist – who in 1998 proposed the verb / concept *musicking*.

> "To *musicking* is to participate, with any capacity, in a musical performance, performing, listening, rehearsing or practicing, providing material for the performance (what is called composing), or dancing." (Small 1998, 9).

Looking at a *fluxo* of funk as *musicking* implies looking at all kinds of activities and social relationships that produce this musical performance and all kinds of people engaged in these activities. In the title of this topic, I wrote "a funk *musicking*" because surely there are several types of *musickings* within the funk universe. A live show in a nightclub is completely different from a street *fluxo* in the favela, even though funk

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9 One of the contemporary digital music production tools allows you to tune human voices. There are two main types used, the auto-tune and the melodyne. Its use has become quite common in current funk productions.

music is playing in their repertoire. The music may be the same, but the *musicking* is not the same. Thinking socially about funk performances in São Paulo also sheds light on the potentials of thinking about the relationship between music and social life from the idea of *musicking*. It is this terrain that we will cover throughout the article.

In a street *fluxo*, the agglomeration begins spontaneously around sound systems operating at high volume levels. These sound systems can be on the trunk of cars that circulate or park on the streets of the neighborhood, they can be inside bars and tobacconists, or they can also compose what is usually called sound walls. This set of technical possibilities of sound amplification forms the initial triggers of the street *fluxo*. Without electrical activation of these sound systems, there is no party. It is worth mentioning that these are customized sound systems, that is, built to order so that they emit the sound mass with the maximum intensity possible without distortion and without loss of quality. In the neighborhood where I lived, I met two builders of sound walls that were highly requested. They produced on demand and also had their own sound walls that they rented, especially for bar owners on weekends. There is a local technical knowledge of sound system production. To get a sense of how they are valued in the São Paulo's *quebradas*, the walls have their own name, are adorned with sparkling paintings and lights, are famous on youtube, and some have even become game characters such as the "Megatron"[10] wall.
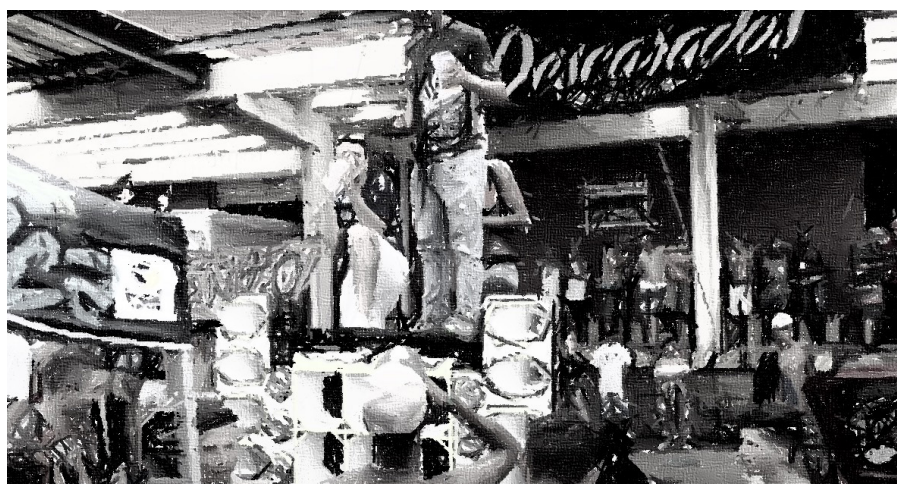
Photo 1: Young people around and above, relating to a sound wall at a *fluxo* in the South Zone, March 4, 2018. I opted to use a filter to preserve people's identity.

10 There are countless videos of Megatron on youtube, brought two examples, one from the real Megatron and the other from the Megatron game character on youtuber Johnny Gamer channel
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NMbK-87-430
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CCpc5SVRlA0

Alexandre Barbosa Pereira, in "A Maior Zoeira" (2010), presents an account of funk parties, organized by young people in the districts where he researched, which are very similar to what I observed.

> In addition, some streets in these two districts turn, mainly on weekends, into funky party spaces. In these, usually, a group of friends parks a car with a powerful sound system, opens the trunk and begins to playing funk music at a very high volume with the latest hits extolling criminal factions, the use of drugs and addressing sexual themes, these events are also referred to as *pancadões*, alluding to the rhythm of the strong electronic beats of this musical genre. Elisa Maria, in Brasilândia, in addition to the loud sounds and dances of the girls, there was also the juggling of motorcycles and the consumption of pure alcohol or mixed with soda and marijuana cigarettes. (Pereira 2010, 59).

We see in Pereira, one of the terms by which these street parties were called: "*pancadões*". However, from the decade of 2010 the word "*fluxo*" came to be widely used to name these meetings[11], especially in the São Paulo context. The word *fluxo* is linked to some important geographical and spatial characteristics, such as the possibility of people, motorbikes and cars circulating through the party. It is a party in flux, in movement. Usually, it happens in flat places, different from what happens, for example, in the hills of Rio de Janeiro, where many parties take place in a ball format (within a fixed and circumscribed area such as a court, a shed, a nightclub, etc.)[12]. In part, the configuration *fluxo* is in response to the repressive action of the military police in these locations – a party in flux is also a party that is easy to disperse, a party that can change places quickly. This does not prevent some *fluxos* from growing so much that they become fixed events of a place, such as the famous Baile da Dz7 in Paraisópolis[13], considered the largest in São Paulo, a *fluxo* that has been

11 The first time I heard the term *fluxo* to designate these funk parties was talking to a musician friend named Kiko Dinucci, born in Guarulhos, in 2013. The oldest text I found talking about these *fluxos* is from December 2014, a story from journalist Jacqueline Elise for the Vice Brasil website, available at: https://www.vice.com/pt_br/article/8q4v7g/no-fluxo-dos-bailes-funk-de-rua-em-sao-paulo

12 For a rich description of a funk carioca partie, it is worth reading the thesis of Dennis Novaes (2020). He presents a detailed ethnography of the cage ball, to name a example, on a night when DJ Rennan da Penha's birthday was celebrated. At dances, one of the differences is the presence of stages where DJs and MCs can perform. In the *fluxos*, the sound systems are scattered on the streets and there are no stages. This is an important detail of the party's sound organization.

13 Even though I did not play field in Paraisópolis, I cannot fail to register here the tragic action of the military police at the Dz7 party, in December 2019, which resulted in the death of nine innocent young people, aged between 14 and 23 years. The episode was widely publicized in the media and on social networks with violent images filmed by residents with their cell phones. In one of these images, a police officer attacks a young man on a crutch. An important author to better understand the meanings of the criminalization of funk is Adriana Facina (2010, 2013 and 2014) who in several texts analyzes processes of attack and repression of peripheral cultural expressions in Rio de Janeiro. The criminalization of funk emerges as one of the faces of the criminalization of poverty in Brazil.

happening for years on the same streets, bringing together thousands of young people every weekend.

In the field report that opens this article, other striking characteristics of a *fluxo* can be noted. The centrality of sound systems is constant. Without their presence, the street party does not happen. And those who use this equipment are the young visitors with their *spaceships* (cars with powerful customized sound systems that look like turbines) and the owners of local bars that use sound as an attraction for the clientele. On the side of the regulars, I often heard the report that the loud sound is to attract attention, or to make the party happen – to produce the party. On the merchants' side, I heard the narrative that sound drives sales. In some cases, they set up their own sound walls, in others, they rent the walls on weekends. The fact is that the sound power of sound systems is directly linked to the crowd of people on the street at leisure. The research took place in a neighborhood in the south of São Paulo famous for its *fluxos*. The report also records a little of the effervescence of the streets in the *quebrada* on a normal weekend. The bohemian life of the elderly listening to *forró* and playing billiards. Intense religious life within countless evangelical churches. And funk as the central cultural expression of the young peripheral. It is common to find biographies that circulate in more than one of these spaces of sociability (Simmel 2006), as is the case the case of young Rafael who attended *fluxos*, but stopped when he started attending church.

> I am 21 years old, I used to go to funk. At first, I thought it was a fun thing, that it was a leisure, that it was just going out with friends to have fun and everything … but that was not it. When you go to a club, the party has to be closed so as not to disturb the residents … funk *fluxo* is done on the street, people come with a car, with a sound wall, put it in front of the resident's house who will work all week and on the weekend either. And a funk party is now a place to use drugs, drink, get high, there is death … the police come the first time to talk, ask to go down, the second time it works, the third time it comes to hit the bomb, play shooting, until you beat the people who stay at the party. (Rafael, student, resident of the South Zone, commenting on the funk *fluxos* in his neighborhood).

Local perceptions about *fluxos* are in constant dispute and depend very much on which slum interfaces are at stake. The religious interface that Rafael somehow represents in this speech is against street parties. It is worth saying that the presence of evangelicals has grown a lot on the outskirts of the country's major cities[14]. Several factors are attributed to

14 "In the country, the Census shows that 26.2 million people declared themselves evangelical, in 2000, which represented 15.4% of the population. In 2010 that number jumped to 42.3 million people, a percentage corresponding to 22, 2% of Brazilians. " (Queiroz 2019, 14).

this growth – the less rigid hierarchy than among Catholics that makes the opening of a new church quick, the social projects they promote in needy areas, the prosperity theology that propagates the notion of entrepreneurship and values the economic rise of the faithful are some important elements (Almeida 2017), (Teixeira 2018) and (Machado 2020). One of my neighbors in the *quebrada* was a bar called Porto, where small *fluxos* occurred when the owner, young Clenilson, put a sound wall on the door. In the last stage of the camp, in 2019, the Hangar had closed and an evangelical church started to occupy the space.

The young evangelical shows that parties disturb the sleep of workers who want to rest. However, most young people find the possibility of having fun and leisure within reach in terms of income. Because it is open, it is affordable music. In addition, the parties still present themselves as a possibility of work for residents to become traders of drinks and food making the income circulate within the community. A complex dimension of the dispute for narratives around the *fluxo* is just that, just as it bothers a certain type of worker, he (the *fluxo*) produces "other workers". Funk produces many types of workers.

Photo 2: Sound wall with a total of 40 speakers (between treble, mid and bass) parked in front of a bar in the South Zone of São Paulo, March 23, 2017.

SOUND *QUEBRADA*

Dude, people in the community are used to working from Monday to Friday non-stop. And then it comes Friday, Saturday and even Sunday, sometimes people want to take leisure, right! Listening to a big sound, listening to loud music, the sound wall, it is good as hell too. You can see that the favela is always playing music, dude. Always !! Any alley you pass, any street, any corner will be playing loud music. The favela never sleeps, right! We love listening to loud music yes, to feel the walls of the house shaking, to feel inside the music, you know, to feel the adrenaline of the music, we really like listening to loud music. That's why it's so important for me to put may sound loud. (Marciano, 22 years old, resident of the South Zone, owner of automotive sound that frequents *fluxos*).

The funk *fluxo* is where the kids get together, have fun, put on a sound, spend some time with friends. Some go to get a girlfriend (laughs). Some just go to drink, to relax their heads after the week The *fluxo* is the place where the periphery has fun, although some moments are repressed. The funk *fluxo* is everything for some people, especially for those who live on funk, right! It's the *quebrada's* entertainment. They took everything we had, what was left was the street dance, where it can go from those who have no money to the richest in the favela. (MC Reboque, 25 years old, resident of the South Zone, frequenter of *fluxos*).

The *fluxo* is where you will have people listening to music so you can be distracted and have fun. It is where you will find the *quebrada's* leisure, the distraction, where other people come to the *quebrada* to participate. You will find people listening to music, drinking, smoking one, taking a break, playing a little. Listening to a loud sound. You see the girls who want to dance, the boys who want to drink, the girls who want to drink. My neighbor has a sound wall inside the house, has a mini-wall. The thing is to put a sound, listening and drinking, dancing. It is a natural thing in society to have a party, to have music, to dance, to drink, to have fun. When someone wants to have a sound is to be able to produce the party. I think that these people who want to have the huge sound system, the sound wall, the neo sound systems, want to be the producers of the party. They want to have the party, provide the party, and I think it is a natural thing of society. (MC Ciça, 21, resident of the South Zone, rapper who frequents *fluxos*).

These lines reveal how important and present music is in the *quebrada*. And it has to be loud music, which makes you "feel the walls of the house shaking" and "feel inside the music". I repeat this refrain by Marciano: feeling inside the music. To feel inside the music, the sound power is fundamental, what goes according to what Lloyd Bradley tells about the culture of the Sound Systems of reggae in Jamaica in his "Bass Culture" (2014).

> It was always a phenomenon of humble neighborhoods, among certain types of people. Since the equipment was so powerful and the vibration so strong, *more than listening to the music we felt it*. It was as if dancing you became part of the music. It was *ours* and many of us wanted to do something to contribute. (Bradley quoting Jamaican music entrepreneur Derrick Harriot, 2014: 33, italics in the original)

"In Jamaica they don't listen to music; they feel it!" also states Tomáz Gonzales Cobos, right in the preface to Bradley's book. This sentence has a strong connection with what Marciano says about the loud funk sound. The young car owner's perception is also connected to the musicality created within the studios by DJs and MCs in the appreciation of the sensations that the power of the bass causes. And both funk and reggae value low frequencies. We cannot talk about sound systems in funk without considering this connection with the sound system history in Jamaica. A party culture around powerful sound systems that started on the small Caribbean island more than sixty years ago. Of course, there are numerous differences between contexts, but it is important to launch this more general picture into the universe of sound systems and recognize this Jamaican origin[15]. It is worth noting another important common point between the two contexts, in addition to the presence of speaker walls; the origin in the ghettos. Reggae also appears in the poor ghettos of Kingston, and also comes from a unique musical mix, the result of another sonorous intersection of the black Atlantic diaspora[16].

The street, the sound system, the beer at the bar, the friends gathered to get high, all this characterize the moments of enjoying leisure, partying, relaxing, and also strengthening social bonds. They form a type of sociability where the street and music are central; a sound sociability in the

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15 In Brazil, it is worth remembering that there are sound system parties in the North (Costa 2009) that play mainly *tecnobrega* (another Brazilian musical genre), and there is a strong presence of electronic *forró* sound walls throughout the Northeast. The peripheral musical genres of these regions of the country have in recent years been mixing and giving rise to new and hybrid styles such as *bregafunk*.

16 For a potent discussion on how the African diaspora across the Atlantic unfolded musically, it is worth reading Paul Gilroy's "The Black Atlantic" (2001), especially the third chapter "Jewels brought from servitude - black music and politics of authenticity". Adriana Facina and Adriana Lopes (2010) remember that funk carioca is a Brazilian representative of this diaspora of black culture across the Atlantic. A representative who has been continuously harassed and criminalized.

public space. It is like a weekly ritual where all the tensions and pressures that the everyday produces are decompressed and released. In this weekly ritual, the intensity of the sound is important and the sound systems are extremely valued. The owner of the sound is the one who provides the party, which according to MC Ciça is a "natural thing of society". It is not my aim here to discuss the importance of the "party" in social life, but one of the first authors to address this was Durkheim ([1912] 2003) reminding us of the aspects of the party that make ordinary social life temporarily suspended – as well as in major religious cults and celebrations. Religious rites and festivals share delirium, effervescence, music, songs and dances that together strengthen social bonds and unite individuals[17]. Looking at it from this perspective, the perception seems to be coherent since on weekends people were either at street parties, or inside churches, musically celebrating their beliefs. The young Rafael seems to have exchanged a type of festive "effervescence" for the evangelical "effervescence"[18].

MC Reboque brings up a recurring question that the *fluxo* is also a reflection of the lack of options for fun and leisure in the peripheral neighborhoods. It is a response to the lack of public policies in the area of culture, especially policies aimed at peripheral youth. It is also a fun alternative for low-income youth who cannot afford admission to a music show, or to a nightclub. However, the loud sound presents itself as a very controversial point as many residents feel uncomfortable. The soundscape (Schaefer 2001) produced by the *fluxos* is deafening for those who live near from the streets where the party takes place. As Marciano himself said, even the walls of the houses shake near a powerful sound system. Music invades houses and bodies. Everyone feels inside the music, whether they like it or not.

Fluxo's musicking that we are exploring here demarcates the São Paulo peripheries sonically and creates this particular soundscape formed by a polyphony of sound systems playing at the same time. We are talking about a demarcation of space and temporalities. A space that is not only geographic and physical, but abstract, sentimental and emotional. Paulo Malvasi (2012 and 2013) describes *quebrada* as a central native category in the lives of young people living in the periphery, a category of a "dialect of crazy life" (in Portuguese, *dialeto da vida loka*) that has symbolic, existential and territorial dimensions. Pereira (2010) shows how this notion of "*quebrada*" has two sides for its interlocutors: a more problematic side

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17 In Brazilian anthropology, one of the most famous authors to theorize about the party was Roberto DaMatta (1997) for whom Carnival is a temporary suspension of ordinary social roles, a moment of rupture of the normal order where there would be a momentary equality of social positions.

18 The reverse way can also happen. I met an MC who lives in the same neighborhood as Rafael, who attended church when he was younger. In his late teens, he began to love rap and funk and began to value these genres as the true cultural expressions of peripheral youth. Today, he does not attend church and works with music and theater.

related to the needs that these regions experience in terms of service offerings and possibilities of exercising a dignified citizenship; a side positified by the residents as the location of the forts, the fighters, the brothers and sisters that resist the injustices of the *system*[19]. Facina and Lopes (2010) show how funk as a cultural expression builds other "symbolic maps" in the city of Rio de Janeiro, redefining the notion of *favela* in a more political and socially critical sense of the structural inequalities of the urban environment and racism.

Both *quebrada*, *favela* and periphery are categories loaded with multiple meanings. Thus, it makes sense to remember Arjun Appadurai's (1996) notion of "local" that encompasses both the most concrete and the most abstract dimensions. Locations are woven from social practices, memories, feelings and shared affections. A central point of the author's discussion is to understand how localities are produced socially. He recalls that they are never something given, innate, but are all the time socially (re)constructed. Rites, parties, ceremonies, images circulating on electronic media are some of the elements that must be analyzed within this perspective of social construction of the local identity and the feelings of belonging that people develop by the place of origin. Locations are what people do on a daily basis, they are formed by a "network of social relationships" (Massey 1993). In this sense, the *quebrada*, especially on weekends, is the location of funk. It is the space of the city where a complex and huge network of sound systems takes to the streets reverberating funk engaging the peripheral youth. The *fluxo* acts in the continuous social (re)construction of the *quebrada* for these groups of young people.

FEEL WITHIN MUSIC

"This young lady is a terrorist, she is an expert.
Look what she does at a funk party with her friends
It's very explosive don't touch it
It's very explosive don't play with it
When she hits her ass on the floor
When she moves her ass on the floor
When she plays with her ass on the floor
When she twerks her butt on the floor "
(MC Kevinho, "Look at the Explosion")

19 It is worth remembering here the work of Doreen Massey (1993) where it is clear how much the definition of a local identity is constructed in opposition to other locations. The periphery as a locality, and the identities that are built from it, in many cases occur in opposition to the wealthier neighborhoods of the city, more central. In the case of the younger strata, this relationship of opposition occurs in front of the State, which can appear as the *system*.

This funk by MC Kevinho played non-stop on several sound systems in a deafening volume. Two men without a shirt, in caps, dance in a synchronized step over a sound wall. It's 13:30 pm, I'm in São Bernardo do Campo at the "*baile dos bailes*" (the party among the parties), as Nitro Point is known. The sun is strong, the place has few shadows. Many people with an umbrella to protect themselves from the sun, completing the kit. The prefix Nitro is widely used in funk culture and refers to the chemical compound nitroglycerin, known for its explosive properties. One of the most famous funk clubs in São Paulo, for example, is Nitro Night. Indeed, the high potent speakers look like explosions. The feeling is that the bass explodes. I think I should have brought an ear protector and after a few minutes walking I notice that some attendees and some people on the event team are wearing ear protection. The sound of the equipment is very loud and that is the objective of the meeting: to gather sound systems.

The tip of the event was from Leetz, a young youtuber I met following your videos of *fluxos*. Nitro Point takes place one Sunday a month. It is a very representative meeting of the current São Paulo funk culture. There are thousands of cars with their powerful sound systems playing funk at high volume. It is a unique experience walking arround this *fluxo*. The event cost 20 *reais* a ticket and took place in a remote location that looked like a giant parking lot. It started at eight in the morning and ended at five in the afternoon. I stood in line for an hour to get in and from the outside I could see thousands of young people dancing around hundreds of cars with their sounds. It's an impressive scene, I've never seen anything like it.

It was noticed that there are sound teams due to the presence of uniformed T-shirts and banners near some sound walls and cars. The teams sometimes gather three or four cars, side by side, all playing the same music and with the crowd dancing around. The volume of the sounds is so loud that it is practically impossible to talk at the event. I circulated for about two and a half hours and was exhausted. The heat and the pulsating sound mass sapped my strength quickly. I left the place with the impression that Nitro Point is the maximum exacerbation of the soundscape formed by the polyphony of sound systems where several speakers operate at the same time. The various funks playing at the same time form a kind of peripheral electric nitro symphony. (Field Note, November 11, 2017. Film excerpt from the event available in:

Nitroglycerin is known for its explosive properties when used industrially in large quantities. It is also used in the manufacture of ammunition as a propellant and has allowed the manufacture of smokeless types of gunpowder. I believe that in this section of the field note the link between the name Nitro Point and the explosive properties of the massive gathering of speakers became clear. Nitro Point, also known as *baile dos bailes*, is a unique event in the greater São Paulo and one of the most important in the current funk scene. It works as a kind of great party or *fluxo* where an agglomeration of thousands of young people spend the day having fun around sound systems playing funk without interruption. Except that different from the *fluxos* of the the *quebradas*, Nitro Point happens during the day, in a closed place, an entrance is charged, armed men control the fence and the access places, and accredited bars sell alcoholic beverages. It is as if it were a regulated *fluxo*, and logically, within the law, without police repression and without the tensions present in the streets of the *favelas*.

Photo 3: Nitro Point in Mauá, March 4, 2018.

Nitro Point emerged in 2003, with the objective of bringing together the crowd that enjoyed sound, parties, lowered cars and sound walls in a single place, where everyone could enjoy the ride without problems with the authorities. The event is in progress and promises to stretch for much more. Because of the organization, open skies, flexible hours and ending early, the event is a great model of how you can make it happen without disturbing the neighbor. (Nitro Point, *Baile dos Bailes* – by Jeferson Delgado, 24 August 2018, for

the Kondzilla portal, available at: https://kondzilla.com/m/
nitro-point-o-baile-dos-bailes)

It is not because it is regulated and "does not disturb the neighbor" that young people stop having fun using different types of drugs – alcohol, marijuana, ether spray, etc. The euphoria is great, the heat of the sun is mixed with the heat of bodies soaked with sweat dancing frantically. The sound mass is so intense that even the air particles seem to pulsate around us, as if our skin felt a molecular vibration. In fact, in physical terms this gigantic sound power present at Nitro Point propagates more intensely the vibration of the surrounding molecules. It is from this vibration that sound is made – a periodic vibration of air pressure. It makes perfect sense that next to a Sound System we don't listen to the music, but we feel it with the whole body. We feel it in the body, especially the bass that have a longer wavelength and amplitude. The enhancement of sound systems in this music is linked to the fact that certain frequencies, especially the limits of the spectrum of both bass and treble, are not reproduced by ordinary sound systems without distortion. I will continue to discuss some effects and bodily sensations of the low frequencies present in the streams, but first I invite readers to watch an excerpt from the film field diary I created on YouTube. The "*Diario-fragmento*" playlist was a way that I found to record and share moments of the field research, through short excerpts filmed with the cell phone and most of the time edited with the cell phone the day after the events observed. The bet is that these film fragments contribute to a better understanding of the text. It is also an experimentation with the possibilities that the internet offers us as researchers. This next section records another edition of Nitro Point that took place on March 4, 2018 in Mauá. It is a little longer than the previous section and surpassed the mark of 40 thousand views. Nothing replaces the physical presence at the event, but the filmic record can bring sensations that the text does not. The excerpt is available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=--2s-8PG-FUk&list=PLFEtmli40X78cvwPIloiH1oZfkC4uWRNG&index=23

The variation in the wavelength is linked to the frequencies (low, medium and high). The variation in amplitude is linked to the intensity of the sound (stronger or weaker). In a funk sound system, where the low frequencies are highlighted, we feel the presence of waves of great length and great amplitude. Generally, sounds below 300 hertz are already considered bass, remembering that the audible limit of bass is 20 hertz. But the fact that we do not hear below 20 hz does not mean that our body is not able to feel lower frequencies.

> An experiment with 25 subjects reported a "subjective sensation of body sway" when exposed to tones of 2-10 Hz above 130 dB, with the most pronounced effect at 7 Hz. Vertical nystagmus (involuntary eye movement) was also reported. Another test,

which exposed individuals to 5-10 Hz tones at 150 dB, reported nostril vibration, one tester subjected ten participants with normal hearing and ten deaf people to a 6 Hz tone at 115 dB for 20 minutes and found changes in hearing patterns. EEG (described as' decreased wakefulness) in participants with hearing accompanied by changes in pulse and blood pressure, however, these effects were not found in deaf subjects. Other tests in the 5-10 Hz range found decreased breathing, decreased hearing blood flow in the brain and changes in pulse and blood pressure. Subjective complaints from tests in this frequency band included body vibrations, pressure in the ear and inability to concentrate. (By James Larson, December 2015, for the website: https://www.audioholics.com/room-acoustics/bass-the-physical-sensation-of-sound)

These data presented by James Larson on a website for audiophiles reveal bodily sensations under ultra-low frequencies – sensations that do not depend on our ears, even causing involuntary bodily movements and oscillations. Even without the use of drugs, a simple walk at Nitro Point transforms our body and throws us into an altered state of consciousness due to the continuous affect of this bass sound mass. And it was walking inside the meeting that I got a more intense body understanding about the importance of bass frequencies in all funk culture. In people's speeches, whenever i asked them to comment about the loud sound and the equipment, ideas appeared that it was to promote the party, to attract attention or to attract the audience of a bar or shop. Mariana, one of the interlocutors mentioned above, gave clues about her body aspect when she talked about how she liked the loud sound, and how she liked to "feel inside the music". This is a way that matches what you feel at Nitro Point – I felt inside the music. Immersed in music.

This resumption of Mariana's speech about feeling inside music is important, because it connects with what Bradley brings about Jamaican sound systems, and helps me to better express what happened to me in the *fluxos*, especially at Nitro Point. This sensory perspective that brings the body to anthropological analysis is linked to Tim Ingold's (2002) notion of person-organism – an entity that is affected and affects the surrounding environment and is transformed as it relates. Ingold (2002, 2007) seeks a complementarity between mind and body, between the cultural and the physical, and between our body borders and the external environment, based on James Gibson's ideas about an ecological approach to perception. Human beings are at the same time organisms experiencing ecological relationships with the environment, and people experiencing social relationships within cultural systems. "Couldn't an ecological approach to perception provide the link I was looking for between the biological life of the organism in its environment and the cultural life of the mind within

society?" (Ingold 2002, 3) Ingold's theoretical framework sheds light on the sensory and perceptual aspects of cultures. The body in its materiality assumes a prominent place, both methodological and conceptual. What do our bodies experience in sensory terms immersed in a *fluxo* of funk? Talking about funky *musicking*, that is, bringing the elements that constitute it, describing the possible engagements of human and non-human agents, also implies addressing the materiality of the party and the bodily sensations that the sound mass causes.

In a funk *fluxo* these ecological relationships emerge as sonic relationships, that is, relationships with the environment where sound is a central element. The surface of the bodies comes into contact with the materiality of the amplified sound and has its own materiality transformed. Ingold thinks of materiality as a process, as stories to be told, and not as something fixed.

> Thus, the properties of materials, considered as constituents of an environment, cannot be identified as fixed and essential attributes of things, but they are quite procedural and relational. They are not objectively determined or subjectively imagined, but experienced in practice. In this sense, every property is a condensed story. To describe the properties of materials is to tell stories of what happens to them as they flow, mix and transform. (Ingold 2007, 14).

Following this flow with Mariana and Ingold, we can sketch a social funky theory where sound systems are important non-human agents because they make us feel like we are inside music. We don't just listen to music; we feel. Similarly, this funky social theory that connects machinic and organic bodies could teach anthropologists that we don't just observe culture; we feel. I bring this sensory perspective at the end of this article, to state that one of the things that happens to us in a *fluxo* is a transformation of body order, even for outsiders like me.

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ARTICLES

FUNK'S PHYSICAL AND AFFECTIVE SPACES: THE LOCAL MUSICKING OF SÃO PAULO'S LESBIAN PARTIES

DOSSIER LOCAL MUSICKING

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ABSTRACT

The article presents an analysis of ethnography carried out in the scene of lesbian parties that take place in Downtown São Paulo, where an eroticized funk circulates, as well as interviews with participants of the scene during the Covid_19 pandemic. The field comprehends two parties: "Sarrada no Brejo" and "Fancha", (local funk brazilian parties). Based on the notion of local musicking, as well as locality, displacement and intersectionality I analyze the way**s** of how funk promotes an engagement among the participants, supporting the processes of transformation and identification that configure the lesbian, fat and black bodies. Observing funk music, the performance and the localities involved, I identify in this way of musicking a set of actions that resignify stereotypes and the body considered as an abject, transforming it into a political body through fun, occupation and creation of spaces.

INTRODUCION

In this article I analyze the scene of parties aimed at the lesbian audience that takes place in São Paulo center, based on the notion of local musicking. This concept brings a more in-depth observation of how parties and funk relate themselves to the localities involved, the displacements between physical and virtual spaces (internet) and how they affect the lives of young people involved in the scene. Based on the ethnography carried out in the parties, interviews collections and applied literature, I analyze the different ways an eroticized funk circulates and aimed at lesbian and bisexual women, as well as their role in the processes of transforming bodies considered abject, into political-bodies. The ethnographed local parties are "Sarrada no brejo" and "Fancha", which have relevant differences and similarities to be considered. Among the similarities, the predominance of eroticized funk stands out - the musical genre most appreciated and played by DJs throughout the night. The least played musical genres include black music, electronic music, and what the interlocutors call "brazilianess", including pop, axé, tecnobrega (local brazilian genres). The most outstanding difference between the two parties refers to social markers such as color and social class of the participants and organizers. Sarrada no Brejo's party was created for lesbian, bisexual, black, fat and peripheral women. Fancha's party includes a public composed mainly by thin, white, middle class, lesbian and bisexual women, (although there are exceptions), who live in neighborhoods around downtown.

The fieldwork was divided into two stages: the first was aimed at visiting these local parties, conducting interviews with participants and organizers, collecting images, photos, etc. I have also started a funk musical production with a funk singer, MC Mano Feu. The second stage took place during the covid_19 pandemic, in 2020, which demanded an adaptation in the ways of ethnographing the scene, because the parties were suspended and activities started to be carried out through the internet, due to social isolation. For this reason, in this phase, I conducted a series of online interviews with other participants and organizers, through Google meeting and Zoom - digital platforms used to hold online meetings. This virtual environment has become extremely relevant to the perpetuation of the parties, because it made it possible to maintain engagement, through realization of live streams, surveys, posts with information on women's health, sex tips, emotional relationships, series, films, among other issues related to the lesbian daily life.

However, before starting the ethnography, an approximation was needed with the participants or the interlocutors who participate in the parties to make my access and acting easier as a researcher in those spaces. After a previous survey carried out on social networks to identify who the organizers and participants were, I sent messages to some women involved

in the scene, with the intention of explaining my research, explaining my interest in interviewing them and requesting authorization to film the parties. The first contacts were cordial, and the only restriction was related to filming the parties, as the organizers of both parties requested that nude scenes must not be filmed, considering that some women could have their breasts on display, as well as scenes of drunkenness should also be avoided. My acceptance was natural, because I resemble the participants in terms of sexual orientation. Even at the Sarrada no Brejo's party, where the public is mostly black, I was really well welcomed by the organizers and participants, despite being white and a little older compared to the age of the participants. The clothes I wore at parties are similar to the style shared by the participants: jeans, All Star sneakers, blouse with buttons and collar, and short hair. My clothing and accessories also revealed my acting as a researcher because I always walked by the parties with a backpack on my back, carrying a camera, digital recorder and a clipboard with authorization of images terms.

Some of the interviews were conducted in the party queues that were formed on the sidewalks, before the opening of the houses, always in a relaxed atmosphere; except once when a young woman was uncomfortable, because she had already been approached for the same reason, by someone else, on another occasion. These street interviews provide interesting data regarding the social markers of difference, such as age, address and motivations that make these women attend these parties. The line plays an important role, as it is an extension of the party, a space of sociability, meetings, creation of bonds of friendship and affection, or as the participants themselves say, a "warm up" to the party. In one of the talks with a participant in the line, when asked by me if she liked funk, she replied me: "It's so good that today we will not hear the word "cock" in the songs", referring to the selection of funks that the DJs play, characterized by exclusion of phallic, misogynistic content or any reference to compulsory heteronormativity.

Initially my objective was to ethnograph the funk flows that occur in Paraisópolis favela - a local slum in São Paulo located at the south São Paulo city. However, due to the high rate of violence in that region and the death of police officer Juliane dos Santos Duarte, 27, black, lesbian and peripheral, in August 2018, in that community, I changed my mind and started to look for another field. At that moment, I became interested in funk songs produced by women.

In an informal conversation, a colleague told me about MC Mano Feu's work, as she had identified many common issues between my studies and the "lesbian funk songs" that MC composes and interprets. The following day I got in touch with MC Mano Feu, inviting her to chat, where I exposed

my research and proposed to her a collaboration, as I could have her as an interlocutor in the field studied. She immediately accepted my invitation and I met her at the food court of a local shopping mall - located at the Tatuapé subway exit, east side of São Paulo. The conversation started from a structured script of questions previously prepared by me and multiplied in different subjects throughout the conversation. This first contact was essential for me to realize the wide spectrum that the lesbian funk scene involves, which includes issues of gender, class and color; this intersectionality was revealed in the speech of my first interlocutor.

MC Mano Feu is black, lives in Cabreúva - local municipality of São Paulo, is chocolate seller on the subway (at the time of the interview) and she goes to downtown São Paulo to make small presentations at the parties mentioned, among other events on the largest scene of the LGBTQIA + circuit. Her challenge is extremely huge, because in most of the concerts she plays, she doesn't get paid, and when she does, it's a low amount of money, so she must use her own resources to pay the bus and metro tickets. The value of the artist fee is small or is not paid due to the low profit that the parties generate, just enough to cover the expenses related to the space's rent, security, bar, cleaning professionals. The price charged at the box office is also low, around 10 to 15 reais (local brazilian currency) so that it is an accessible price to all the frequenters. However, the place provides a stage, sound equipment and visibility for the MCs and DJs that perform on the scene.

Also, MC Mano Feu's life story and performance in the scene brought me a lot of data to be thought about it as other identities connected to each party also show me differences and similarities, within the scope of lesbian socialities. If initially, I was interested only in the modes of production and circulation of funk in the lesbian context, as soon as I started to get in touch with the field I came across other questions that demanded a more critical look at how funk articulates with the intersections of class, color, sexualities, ways of musicking (producing, play funks and dance) and displacement around the city.

It is important mentioning that on my previous researches I have already dealt with the issue of social markers of difference in scenes aimed at the LGBT audience (as the initials of the community lesbian, gay, bisexuals and trans was written two decades ago), such as the work of Regina Facchini (2008), who analyzes the intersections between gender, race, class and sexualities in the scene of "rock of the girls" (rock das minas) in the city of São Paulo. Isadora Lins França (2010) also contributed to the debate about male homosexual sociability in the city of São Paulo, with an emphasis on the consumption and subjectivities of this audience, where she identified and analyzed social markers of difference such

as class, color / race, sexuality and generation. These authors use two pioneering and classic studies as theoretical reference, in the context of male sexuality in the city of São Paulo, carried out by José Fábio Barbosa da Silva (1958)[2] e Néstor Perlongher (1987).

From the datas I selected, I was able to observe how funk can act as an aggregating and propitiating element of performative experiences, with the potential to impact the subjectivities of the participants, especially in the process of acceptance of the lesbian body and also the fat and black bodies. Despite the importance of funk in maintaining the scene, the protagonism belongs to the women that join themselves in a private space to try different experiences through their bodies through funk music which brings a sensual performance and affective encounters. This way of engaging collectively with music, in this case, funk, in a specific place for this practice, is an example of local musicking.

The verb *musicking*, or music, conceived by Christopher Small (1998) assumes that any individual who sings, plays or composes, without the use of musical notation or attachment to musical works, is based on melodies and rhythms brought in memory, acquired within his culture, tradition and his own capacity for invention. The notion of "local musicking" was first employed by Suzel Reily in 2016 in his research on local music practiced in the city of Campanha, Minas Gerais, including the musical ensembles considered "local" by the population, such as Campanhense Coral, the music band, Congados and the Folia de reis (local bands in Brazil) (Brucher; Reily 2018 p. 8). According to the authors, the relationship between music and locality occurs, because "*musicking*" (or 'music) is always a situated act and, therefore, is always local" (Brucher; Reily 2018 p. 10). This concept helps in the understanding of the local musicking of the studied scene, which is configured by practices, performances and musical productions classified as "amateur" and which are located in São Paulo downtown, as demonstrated by the research mentioned above.

KNOWING THE PARTIES

I went for the first time to Sarrada no Brejo's party that I was invited by MC Mano Feu who made a short presentation where she sang some funk songs, one of them she composed entitled "Sou sapatão" (I'm dyke) and some other successful funk songs, such as the funks of MC 2 K that refer to the female body and pleasure. Sarrada no Brejo started in 2016 and it

2 According to Gibran T. Braga, "the work of José Fábio Barbosa da Silva (2005), written in 1958, is considered the first gender study in the country" (Braga 2017, p. 15). Braga also refers to the work of Nestor Perlongher (2008 [1987]) whose master's research became "an unavoidable reference not only in studies on sexuality and the city" (Braga 2017 p. 15).

was established for some time at a space called Muss, located at 66, Bento Freitas, Street – in a local neighborhood called República, Downtown São Paulo. I took my camcorder and recorder to collect interviews and also to film the event and the presentation of Mano Feu. I made a previous contact with two organizers of the event through a Facebook's message, who promptly agreed to my entry and filming, as well as offered me an interview, which the excerpts will be shown below. The organizers, as well as most of the regulars, are black and live in peripheral neighborhoods, such as Jardim São Luiz, south zone, other neighborhoods in the east and Carapicuíba - municipality of São Paulo. The average age of the regulars is between 20 and 30 years, approximately. The coexistence in this space between black and white lesbians is essential for the configuration of the party; but it is also a generator of conflicts, as will be described below.

Then I was also invited to Fancha's party by MC Mano Feu, and at the time the party was held at Morpheus space, located at 110 Ana Cintra, Stree, Campos Elíseos neighborhood, also in downtown São Paulo. I made a previous contact with the organizer, Isabela Catão, to conduct a 30 minutes interview before the beginning of the party. Opposite to Sarrada do Brejo's party, the predominance of the audience was white at Fancha's party as well as the organizer and promoter. The audience might look a little bit younger – between the ages of 18 and 25. I noticed that the funk repertoire is practically the same played by the DJs of Sarrada no Brejo.

Fancha's party appeared for the first time in 2016 in the southern zone of Rio de Janeiro city and it moved to centre both for financial issues and to make easier the commuting of participants who came from both the southern zone and the most popular neighborhoods of the southern north. In 2017 the party came to São Paulo, also located in the centre.

Before the beginning of the Covid_19 pandemic, which paralyzed social activities in March 2020, Sarrada no Brejo's party happened monthly as well Fancha's party, with the exception that Fancha's party changes the address frequently, being held always in the centre and more affluent neighborhoods, both in the city of São Paulo and in Rio de Janeiro.

In this first contact to the field and after the initial contact with the parties' environments, I identified similarities related to the need to have a safe place for young women to protect themselves from violence caused by homophobia and to perform affective experiences, without the male harassment. Another similar aspect refers to the style, especially clothing. I noticed that women who do not perform femininity, have short hair, wear loose shorts or long pants, sneakers, loose t-shirt, shirt with buttons or polo, caps and accessories that go beyond generation: the fanny pack. Andrea Lacombe (2006) also points out the recurrent use of this accessory

in her field research that occurred in a pub in Rio de Janeiro downtown, frequented by women who had relationships with other women. In an article published on his master's thesis, Lacombe (2006) dedicates a section to the subject entitled" 'Pochete is a dyke's badge': women's masculinities"(Lacombe 2006, p. 215). For Lacombe (2006), this accessory "*embodied the commonly stereotyped male aspect*", which "*externalizes the genitalia, placing it in a body situation similar to that of men*" (Lacombe 2006, p. 218). Currently I realize in my field that the fanny pack has been resignified, becoming a symbol of a lesbian identity, or gay identity, or any orientation within the diversity represented in the acronym LGBTQIA+.

Both parties have a similar aesthetic, conceived by drawings and collages on the walls that refer to the vagina, uterus, among other feminine symbols. It is also common to happen during the parties, small sales fairs of lesbian-themed artifacts that are produced by participants, such as clothes, accessories, paintings, refrigerator magnets, chocolates in the shape of vulva, even tattoos that are made during the event, generating economy. Services such as security, firefighter, bar and cleaning are performed only by women.

According to an interview given by two organizers of Sarrada no Brejo's party, Michelli Moreira and Márcia Fabiana, on 10/10/2018, black and residents of neighborhoods far from centre, the party emerged as a consequence of the Collective action of Luana Barbosa. The Collective also emerged without a name, in the 14th Walk of Lesbian and Bisexual Women of São Paulo that occurred in 2016, from a gathering of a black women group.

At the time of the emergence of the Collective (still unnamed), occurred the crime motivated by homophobia that victimized the young Luana Barbosa dos Reis, killed by the Military Police in Ribeirão Preto, in São Paulo countryside, after approaching followed by beating. This brutal crime occasioned strong commotion among the participants, to the point where they decided to honor Luana Barbosa, giving her name to the Collective. Marcia argues that after Luana's death, "they all found themselves very vulnerable as lesbian and black women and understood how much their fragilties were. And it was from this meeting that the Collective Luana Barbosa emerged." Luana Barbosa Collective conducts conversation circles about harm reduction, affectivity and loneliness of black women, as well as activities with homeless people, such as campaigns to collect food for this population that is also invisible, as well as lesbian women, in the words of Márcia.

The Collective Luana Barbosa began to realize events such as parties, "crawfundings" and festivals to raise funds to the caravans that took different participants from São Paulo to Ribeirão Preto, to follow the hearings

related to the judicial process of the death of Luana Barbosa. The expenses of the trip added to the bus rental costs were very expensive.

Among the actions taken to obtain financial funds, arises the party Sarrada no Brejo, which reverts all the income from the box office to cover expenses of women who are in social vulnerability situations such as electricity bills, gas, rental assistance etc. Another relevant action that demonstrates affection, collaboration and sorority is the Brejinho Nursery: a space reserved for the children's care while the regulars can have fun without any worries. Brejinho Nursery works concomitantly with the party, at the participants' houses who live near the party will happen, under the care of women Luana Barbosa Collective or Sarrada do Brejo's party.

Fancha's party has its own characteristics in relation to the type of sociability or space for affection. According to the interview given by Isabela Catão on 1/12/2018, photographer and organizer of the party that occurs in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, its beginning took place in Rio de Janeiro in 2016 due to the scarcity of parties aimed at the lesbian public, which practically did not exist at that time. The organizer explains that the interest in an all-female party was also personal, because she did not like to go to clubs attended by men so she idealized a party only for lesbian women. Initially the party took place in Botafogo - middle/upper class neighborhood of the south zone of Rio de Janeiro, but the organizer wanted to make something more accessible. Then the party switched to downtown, which, according to Isabela, "is where everything happens, has "muvuca"[3] and movement and the access is easier". It is interesting to highlight that this displacement occurs from a privileged south neighborhood to centre, a different movement to what occurs with the Sarrada no Brejo's party, which goes from the periphery to the centre.

In São Paulo, Fancha's party was initially held downtown, then switching to the west, such as Pinheiros, middle/upper class. In an interview given on 1/12/2018 *the promoter* and DJ of Festa Fancha, Juliana de Borba reports that "São Paulo has a lot of dance clubs but it is not at all that lesbians feel at ease. The importance of Fancha, in this sense, is to provide this space of encounter between lesbian women, because they miss a lot these kind spaces" argues Juliana de Borba:

> At this moment of the current political situation in Brazil we really need to come together and have these places, so that they are really strengthened, because it is very important for us to identify, to live with people who have the same experience as us. Fancha's party is important because we can find people like us. Even for the girls who are taking

3 A big crowd, agglomeration or simply an amount of people together.

over yourself now and getting to know each other, having an exclusive space to live their experiences, having contact with other girls, is in the sense of strengthening the "rolê" (tour).[4]

It is worth mentioning the displacement made by the organizers of Fancha Festival, through excursions between Rio and São Paulo, allowing the young women from São Paulo to attend the parties in Rio and vice versa. The trips take place in rented buses with the money obtained through the sale of advance tickets to the participants. This displacement creates more spaces of affection, exchange of experiences and fun, which are the bus and the route. The scarcity of parties aimed at the lesbian public reproduces the male hegemony entrenched in society, considering that most of these events are aimed at gay male audiences. As Gibran T. Braga (2017) argues in his thesis on body policies constituted in spaces of sociability and male fun in the LGBTQIA+ electronic music scene of the city of São Paulo and Berlin "the spaces in question 'dialogue with versions of homosexuality', especially the male, since the vast majority of the public everywhere is men" (Braga 2017, p.18).
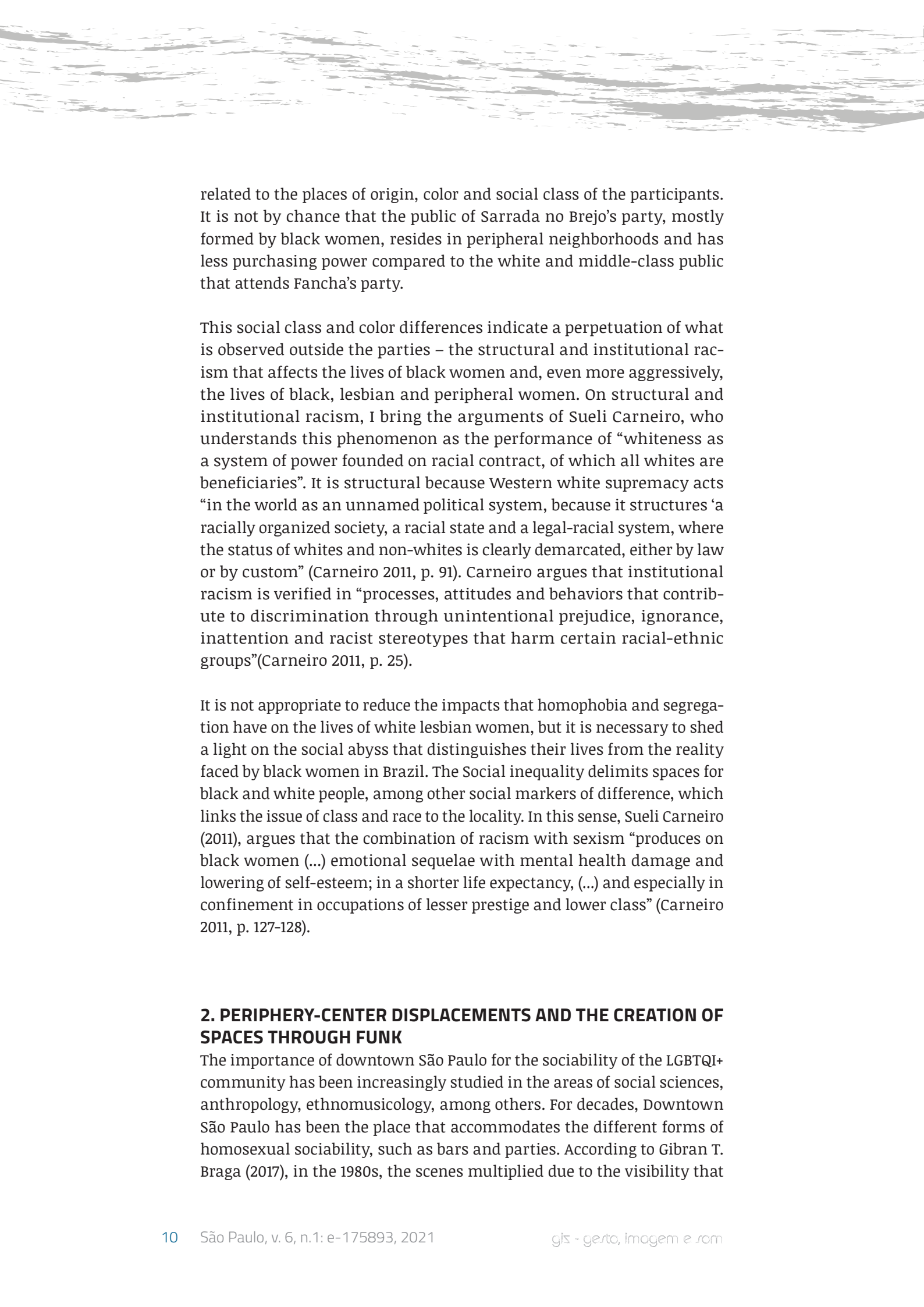
The parties take place in rented places as spaces for events or in bars, always close to subway stations and bus stops, to facilitate access, considering that much of the public comes from peripheral neighborhoods, mainly in Sarrada no Brejo's party. Funk with an eroticized content that is performed in both parties is the object of study that underlies the present discussion, considering its potential to resignify misogynistic narratives contained in the lyrics and provide a performance through dance.

1. INTERSECTIONS, COMMUTES AND OCCUPATION OF SPACES

Despite the similarities in the format of the two parties, there are differences in relation to the participants and the intrinsic motivational origin of each one. The participants of Fancha's party have slightly better financial conditions and reside in neighborhoods closer to the centre or middle class. As Avta Brah (2006) suggests any "analysis of the interconnections between racism, class, gender, sexuality or any other marker of 'difference' must take into account the position of the different racisms among themselves" (Brah 2006, p. 331). This notion helps in the analysis of intersectionalities because the parties originated from disparate demands.

The notion of locality is relevant to the studied scene, due to the center/periphery displacement made by most of the participants and which is

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4 Referring to the Bolsonaro government, elected in 2018, defending a conservative agenda that is made explicit through a homophobic and misogynist discourse.

related to the places of origin, color and social class of the participants. It is not by chance that the public of Sarrada no Brejo's party, mostly formed by black women, resides in peripheral neighborhoods and has less purchasing power compared to the white and middle-class public that attends Fancha's party.

This social class and color differences indicate a perpetuation of what is observed outside the parties – the structural and institutional racism that affects the lives of black women and, even more aggressively, the lives of black, lesbian and peripheral women. On structural and institutional racism, I bring the arguments of Sueli Carneiro, who understands this phenomenon as the performance of "whiteness as a system of power founded on racial contract, of which all whites are beneficiaries". It is structural because Western white supremacy acts "in the world as an unnamed political system, because it structures 'a racially organized society, a racial state and a legal-racial system, where the status of whites and non-whites is clearly demarcated, either by law or by custom" (Carneiro 2011, p. 91). Carneiro argues that institutional racism is verified in "processes, attitudes and behaviors that contribute to discrimination through unintentional prejudice, ignorance, inattention and racist stereotypes that harm certain racial-ethnic groups"(Carneiro 2011, p. 25).

It is not appropriate to reduce the impacts that homophobia and segregation have on the lives of white lesbian women, but it is necessary to shed a light on the social abyss that distinguishes their lives from the reality faced by black women in Brazil. The Social inequality delimits spaces for black and white people, among other social markers of difference, which links the issue of class and race to the locality. In this sense, Sueli Carneiro (2011), argues that the combination of racism with sexism "produces on black women (...) emotional sequelae with mental health damage and lowering of self-esteem; in a shorter life expectancy, (...) and especially in confinement in occupations of lesser prestige and lower class" (Carneiro 2011, p. 127-128).

2. PERIPHERY-CENTER DISPLACEMENTS AND THE CREATION OF SPACES THROUGH FUNK

The importance of downtown São Paulo for the sociability of the LGBTQI+ community has been increasingly studied in the areas of social sciences, anthropology, ethnomusicology, among others. For decades, Downtown São Paulo has been the place that accommodates the different forms of homosexual sociability, such as bars and parties. According to Gibran T. Braga (2017), in the 1980s, the scenes multiplied due to the visibility that

sexual diversity gained. The phenomenon of *disco* and, later, dance floors with DJ, allowed the emergence of "spaces of interaction in which various erotic-affective contacts are expressed" (Braga 2017, p. 16). As Braga points out, in the 1990s, several bars and clubs aimed at LGBT audiences (lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people) (*ibid*) appear.

The ideas of Heitor Frúgoli (2000) help to remake the path of the various sociability that occupied the center of São Paulo, starting from the transformation process of the center in the 70s, as well as its growing deindustrialization that generated other financial centers and consumption and entertainment (Frúgoli 2000, p. 21). Frúgoli also noted the "strong interclass character" of the centre, due to the daily crossing of people who belong to the middle and upper classes who work in companies, with low-income people living in the surroundings and those who use public transportation. For Frúgoli, the center is "an area of interclass use, with a conflicting sociocultural diversity" (Frúgoli 2000 p. 216).

Isadora Lins França (2010) researched the ways in which male homosexuality acted in the city center in the first decade of 2000, seeking to understand the articulation between consumption and subjectivities and "markers of difference - such as gender, sexuality, class, age and color/race – working in the production of subjects, categories and styles related to homosexuality" (França 2010 p. 3). Bruno Puccinelli (2017) also studied the processes of production of the city and centrality, peripheries, center and margin, from the observation of the "segmented leisure and real estate markets in the Republic and Consolation districts and interrelations that establish with (homo)sexualities, especially with the gay category" (Puccinelli 2017 p. 15), as well as its transformations in the last 15 years.

Inspired by these theoretical references, I highlight the interview held on 12/11/2020 with Fernanda Gomes, one of the organizers of Sarrada no Brejo's party, mother, black, social assistant, resident of Jardim São Luís and born in Campo Limpo – both peripheral districts of the southern part of the city of São Paulo. This interview took place in the second phase of the research, during the Covid_19 pandemic, through the Google Meeting *platform*, both her and I at home. According to his statement, the central region was chosen to hold the parties in order to facilitate the access of participants who reside in peripheral neighborhoods located in the north, south, east, west and also in the city center. As can be seen, the center is the easiest place to access for all. Both Fernanda and other interviewed participants mention the existence of homophobia and misogyny also in the "quebradas[5]", what exposes the bodies that do not perform femininity

5 Popular way of referring to neighborhoods, peripheries and slums.

or non-binary, more vulnerable to violence by intolerance. In this sense, the parties become spaces of protection, besides providing entertainment and affective encounters.

As Fernanda reports, these young women occupy spaces with their black, fat and non-feminized bodies, largely:

> I think that any articulation of lesbian or bisexual woman, any cultural action, of a movement to occupy space, is a feminist articulation, finally, to resume the spaces and say: I exist, I'm here. And it's possible to continue, we don't stay at "rolê" death in life, you know? Because I always thought that my life as a lesbian woman would be a life being death in life; like, I die every day because I can't access spaces, I don't know. Here in the periphery I'm afraid of my family to find out, or because there is also homophobia here in the "quebrada", and I cannot go to Paulista Avenue because there I'll take a lamp on the head or be chased.[6] And for me if Sarrada is the party that takes over Ferro's Bar[7], that resumes these movements of finding only lesbian women, then it is a space of feminist militancy that discusses race and gender through movement with the body[8].

To understand this displacement from the periphery to the center, I resort to the categories of "pieces, stains and paths", developed by José Guilherme Magnani (2008) that categorize different urban spaces. The notion of "piece" is used by the anthropologist to refer to peripheral neighborhoods, in the case of their argumentation, as well as the relationships and actions that are formed within the boundaries of a neighborhood and interaction between individuals who know themselves or have a family bond.

Analyzing the city center, Magnani identified places of encounter and leisure, where most of the regulars do not know each other, "but recognize themselves as carriers of the same symbols that refer to tastes, orientations, values, consumption habits, similar ways of life" (Magnani 2008, p. 39). In the city center, Magnani also identified the "spots", which comprehend a set of bars, restaurants, theaters etc. The circuit of parties and bars aimed at the lesbian public can be thought of as part of a "stain"

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6 It is a " homophobic attack on young people on Avenida Paulista – São Paulo in 2010: at the time, a group of people passing by the Avenue were hit with fluorescent lamps by five boys (Braga, Gibran T. 2017 p. 127).

7 Ferro's bar operated between the 1960s and 1990s, located in downtown São Paulo, and was frequented by women: journalists, intellectuals, activists, peripheral prostitutes, and lgbt audiences in general. From 1967, the bar began to be occupied by lesbians, becoming a meeting point and political discussions. According to the blog "Outros outubros virão". Available at: https://outrosoutubrosvirao.wordpress.com/2019/06/28/dia-do-orgulho-lgbt-voce-ja-ouviu-falar-do-ferros-bar/. Accessed at: 19/09/2020.

8 Interview given by Fernanda Gomes on 12/02/2020.

composed of a wide network of events aimed at LGBTQIA+ audiences that take place in São Paulo.

A relevant aspect of this stain or scene refers to its ephemerality, because events may change, such as change of address or interruption of parties due to internal issues of the group. Thus, the parties exist while they happen, materialize in the lived moment, which can last an entire night. To understand this ephemeral construction of party spaces, it is worth resorting to the ideas of Michel Agier (2011) who conducted ethnographic investigations in Africa and Latin America, in popular neighborhoods, invasions, temporary camps for refugees, displaced persons or migrants. For Agier, it is essential to think about the city from precarious spaces, which requires a certain stripping of goods, senses and relationships. Agier argues that "this precariousness is noticeable in time and space because these places appear, transform, or disappear quickly" (Agier 2011). Agier's ideas are based on the precariousness of the scene studied, manifested in the social environments and in the daily life of the interlocutors, in view of the numerous difficulties they face due to sexual orientation, class and color. Violence driven by homophobia, misogyny or racism makes these lives precarious in the face of conservatism in society. Just as the parties are also precarious because they depend on a reasonable amount of paying people, to ensure the holding of events. Because of this precariousness, the parties change addresses or can paralyze activities for numerous issues.[9]

Returning to the context of funk prom or "baile funk", since its emergence in Rio's favelas in the 1980s, funk is associated with violence, drug use and sex, lack of engagement or criticism, as the media has been constantly notifying. Hermano Vianna (2014) observed in his ethnography of the first baile funk in Rio's favelas, that "people were there to dance and not to listen to speeches" (Vianna 2014). For Vianna, "funk parties are not worthy", despite the fidelity of the public.

Opposite to what Vianna argues about the ephemerality and absence of critical positioning of the local funks in the city of Rio de Janeiro, Braga (2017) identifies in the LGBTQIA+ scene that he ethnographed in São Paulo downtown, engagement and perpetuation of feelings aroused in the parties that extend to the lives of the participants: "when the engagement in the scenes is intense, as is the case of most of my interlocutors, the festivals produce results that exceed the range of events themselves" (Braga 2017 p. 28). In both parties that I have been researching, the engagement is explicit and essential for the perpetuation of the scene, as it is also what motivates this displacement from the periphery to the center, carried out by a significant

9 The festivals remain paralyzed due to the pandemic of covid_19, from the beginning in 2020, until the publication of this article.

part of the public. This movement helps to make the center more dynamic, full of paths. Observing this movement, Agier (2011) conceived the city as a process: "city where you can live, city where you can feel, city in process... This is a question that concerns the city dwellers and their experience of cities" (Agier 2011). Agier observes the city from spaces or forms of groupings and performances, such as carnival, which become visible "and act on the meaning of life" (idem). For Agier, cultural inventions influence identity constructions, even when we speak of "communities of the instant, formed in the activity (be it political, aesthetic or ritual) and not of the supposed eternal, primordial and non-contextual community identities" (Agier 2011).

In her interview, Fernanda Gomes, organizer of Sarrada no Brejo's party, highlights that parties that took place in São Paulo downtown and influenced the emergence of Sarrada in Brejo's party, such as "*Don´t Touch My Hair*" – created by black, lesbian and bisexual women and also attended by gays, trans and all the acronyms of the LGBTQIA+ nomenclature. She also mentioned the Batekoo Party, aimed at gay and black men. Within this lgbtqia+ scene or stain that formed in downtown São Paulo, originated the lesbian scene formed by parties and other events, such as carnival blocks, where the Siga Bem Caminhoneira stands out, formed largely by lesbian women. The Sarrada no Brejo, in turn, influenced the emergence of the Fancha Festival and others that arose later.

Bruno Nzinga Ribeiro (2021) ethnographed what he called the "black LGBT scene" that is strong for its political aspect. In his ethnography, Ribeiro cites Sarrada no Brejo's party as a member of the LGBT black scene in São Paulo. The author also mentions the Don't touch my hair and Batekoo parties, which emerged in 2015, have inspired the organization of other collectives and parties, also to the reference made by Fernanda in the excerpt of the interview mentioned above. Ribeiro (2021) also ethnographed the Helipa LGBT *baile*, which takes place in the slum of Heliopolis and is attended by a wide range of sexual orientations and styles, different bodies, hair and clothes, many of which are symbols of black resistance, such as braids and voluminous or curled hair in turbans. From these examples of parties and occupied spaces, it is possible to observe the relationship between the locality, the forms of engagement and shared experiences that occur to the sound of funk.

The affective dimension identified in the parties can be understood as a "feeling structure" mentioned by Arjun Appadurai ([1996] 2010) and that is a way of creating engagement. For Appadurai this structure of feelings is produced from particular ways of organized activities that produce material effects, which cannot be separated from the real environment where social life is constituted. In the ethnographed scene, this dimension is formed through the construction of a network of support, affections,

entrepreneurship and political engagement with regard to lesbian representation, intersectionalities, construction of a political body to confront homophobia and racism. In this sense the Spanish trans philosopher Paul B. Preciado (2019) argues that "we can understand the bodies and identities of abnormals as political powers" (Preciado 2019, p. 422).

Another space widely used and fostered by the lesbian party scene is the virtual, or the internet. For Appadurai the virtual space unfolds new and complex connections including producers, local, global and diasporic audiences (Appadurai 2010, p. 194). In the lesbian funk scene, I notice that the virtual space is quite significant, because it is from social networks that the organizers of the parties disclose their events, promotions and agenda, in addition to posting clips, sharing photos, funks, promoting discussions through posts, debates in lives etc. In the period of the Covid_19 in 2020, the scene became totally virtual, as all activities were focused mainly on Facebook, Instagram and Youtube.

3. SOCIO-SPATIAL DIFFERENCES AND MARKERS

By observing the different audiences and the interests of each party, the social, class and color differences that configure them are evidenced by the types of engagement these parties foster. Sarrada no Brejo's party, for example, at the beginning of the pandemic produced and shared on Facebook some videos of parties' publicity, which were produced by the participants themselves in order to give prominence to the lesbian body, fat and black, as can be observed in the video "The fat women attack" (in portuguese it's called As gordas atacam).[10] In a live held by Sarrada no Brejo's party on Facebook on 09/07/2020, there was a debate between three participants who are frequenters of the party since its emergence. All of them mentioned the influence that the party exerted on the process of self-affirmation of the identity and lesbian body of each one. They also reported feelings experienced in the participation of the recording of the clip "The fat women attack", referring to the creation of self-esteem, because the images praised the beauty of their bodies.

The funk lyrics used in the clip follows:

"Exaggerated butt size GG
makes me hypnotized, I cannot move.
When she dances, swings, stirs and swings
how much abundance,
she makes the ground tremble" (MC 2K).

10 https://www.facebook.com/sarradanobrejoafesta/videos/?ref=page_internal

The video "The fat women attack" had the participation of a group of 8 women, most black, but all fat and who did sensual choreographies to the sound of a funk sung by MC 2K, which praises the female fat body. The clip was recorded in Campo Limpo, south zone of São Paulo and the background images are of houses, squares and streets. To the sound of funk, women do sensual choreographies, especially the famous "swing the tail"[11] wearing clothes such as bikinis, swimsuits, shorts and tops, in order to expose the bodies. In Facebook live a participant reported that for the first time she started to see beauty in her body after she saw herself in the video clip.

At Fancha Party's *Facebook page*, there is a more playful content than politicized, but also focused on issues related to the lesbian universe, ranging from tips on relationship, sex tips, jokes with stereotypes, to advertising of erotic accessories for female homo affective sexual practice. They also make social campaigns, such as offering free entry for a year when the parties come back, for women that are health professionals and who worked in the front line during the Covid_19 pandemic. Despite the more relaxed aspect of the party, the participants demonstrate the same concerns regarding safety and autonomy over the body, experienced from the performance of funk dance.

Despite the specific audiences of each party, a diversity of bodies passes through them: black, white, fat, masculinized, feminized and those appropriate to culturally constructed standards of beauty, which intersect, sometimes causing conflicting situations.

Once again, I remind Fernanda Gomes' interview, who described how conflicts and mediations occur at Sarrada do Brejo's party, transcribed below:

> We always emphasized clearly in the events and in the dissemination that the priority of the party were fat and black women, because as in the beginning we put 900 people inside and there are spaces that don't fit 1000 people inside. So they'd come in first and if it got too tight, the white women would stay out of it and not go in. And all right, for us it was all right, all quiet, always privilegioning black women. But for a while, a period, white women began to question this place too: where were we putting them? Why the comparison, this separatism? And then it was very difficult to hold this "marimba" (meaning for problem in English) and to say that it was not separatism that it gave priority to black women. And that happened for a while, especially among younger black women. There is a dispute, has a hurt, a historical resentment and we can't control everything. We warned them not to go through each other's bodies, that

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11 According to Ribeiro (2021), it is a peculiar dance of funk, in which the subjects bend the trunk forward, stirring the hip in various ways, "mixing with contractions of the legs (action that the interlocutors call twerk" (Ribeiro 2021).

they weren't harassers, racists. Because of this, some black women stopped attending or went to other parties. We tried to mediate this conflict in the sense: the priority is black women, but we do not need to attack each other; neither you attack us nor we attack you and we'll play our party. But it's very difficult, there's always racial conflicts in Sarrada, there's always some black girl looking for us saying that some white woman did it, or some white woman saying that some black woman did it.

What seems a dispute within the territory of the parties, or in the words of França and Ribeiro (2020), "territories of affections", is a political contestation manifested through the bodies, which, being together, bring out the historical memory of violence arising from moralizing judgments. In this sense, França and Ribeiro argue that there is a "growing claim of the body as the very space of political dispute, in which hair, clothes, performances and desires are in themselves contesting conventions and the production of other meanings about themselves and the social world" (França; Ribeiro 2020).

4. LOCAL MUSICKING IN FUNK: PRODUCTIONS, ENCOUNTERS, CONSTRUCTIONS, DECONSTRUCTIONS

In both parties I identify the practice of local musicking, because the participants engage in different ways through funk, performance and various actions that keep the parties active, as will be described below. The parties provide through funk, not only dance, but also space and structure for presentations of lesbian MCs who had difficulties early in their career to access heterosexual spaces, but who are very successful in the LGBTQIA+ scene. The rapper Luana Hansen made her first performances at Sarrada no Brejo's party, singing songs of her own, at the time when she had already been successful on the alternative circuit / LGBTQIA +. Likewise, MC Dricka, who is currently very successful in the funk's environment and at the stream Youtube, also went through the stages of Sarrada do Brejo in the beginning of her career. The musical productions are performed, most of the time, by "self-taught" producers, who at the beginning of their careers, use precarious equipment and low-cost technology. Many studios on the outskirts operate on the basis of the "gambiarra[12]", which does not decrease the quality of productions. On the contrary, despite the precariousness of resources, the creativity and knowledge acquired in practice allows these producers to create complex beats montages and interesting editions of voices, timbres and samplers not being limited to academic aesthetic standards. Male producers are

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12 This word is a manner of refers to thing that was repaired in an improvised way.

still the majority in the funk market, despite the emergence of women music producers, as Badsista, who works with Linn da Quebrada – trans singer who calls herself "a legion", as described on her Instagram profile.

Although funk currently circulates through the parties of the white elite and other environments such as LGBTQIA+, its origin is black, translocal and diasporic. As Adriana Lopes (2011) argues, it is not necessary to seek the origins of funk to identify its African matrix, because musical genres that have the same origin are not homogeneous, but carry the "aesthetic/political principle that functions as a source of inspiration for the construction of the most different black musical practices, adaptable to their own local realities" (Lopes 2011 p. 27).

Among the displacements, occupation and creation of physical, affective and virtual spaces and other aspects that configure the local musicking of the studied scene, there is the misogynist factor, explicit in the funk lyrics, especially the "putaria". Since the 2000s, when women's MCs replaced the space of female sexual submission demarcated in the lyrics, by the leading role of the body by appropriating this eroticized funk style, they generated great repercussion in the academic environment and in the sensationalist press[13].

Next, I highlight an excerpt from an interview given by Fernanda in which she talks about the misogyny of funk and resignification of stereotypes performed at parties:

> In funk, although it is a peripheral music, and we do not deny it, most of the lyrics will delimit what the place of the woman in society, which is the place of solitude, which is that of this abused body, that is mistreated and that will serve the man at any cost. And we always think we're going to use the gun against themselves. So if they use us as an object, we will stop relating to them, obviously because we love women, but also to overthrow patriarchy. And we will also use the music that men make, not only funk, rap, axé, samba, but mainly funk to show us free, to discuss this place that is much discussed superficially, which is the place of the free body. But we wanted to do it in practice: we will dance funk and in the part that men make fun of women we will make fun of them. We will use funk to break with the image of these standard women, the blondes of the body, to put the fat women who are black, to be able to roll to the ground and say that we can and do not need men for this. Funk is a peripheral culture and is also ours; we have there Tati Quebra Barraco, our great idol, MC Carol, Gaiola das Popozudas, those of the old ones that are our inspiration.

13 This phenomenon was evidenced in the reaction provoked by the master's thesis entitled "My pussy is the power: Female representation through funk: identity, feminism and cultural industry" writing by Mariana Gomes Caetano (2015).

At Sarrada do Brejo's party, at a specific moment of the night, lap dance takes place – in which only fat and black women take the stage to make sexy performances characteristic of funk. According to the participants' testimony, the lap dance performance provides engagement and respect between them, through the mutual admiration of their bodies. They reported in a live transmission at the beginning of the pandemic, 09/07/2020, how important and liberating it was to learn how to dance funk, to go up on stage and expose their bodies sensually. With their bodies considered abject, through performance, they create a space to deconstruct and resignify stereotypes. In this scene, the local musicking occurred through funk, creating many ways of engagement in physical, in affective and virtual territory.

5. IMPORTANCE OF FUNK FOR LGBTQIA+ SCENE

In one of the stages of ethnography that I performed together with MC Mano Feu, either producing funk or photographing their performances at parties, I heard several times her saying that that lesbian funk should talk about sex between women, female pleasure and use swear words referring to female genitalia, as heterosexual men do, because "if they can use obscene words, why can we women also not?" Perhaps the elements that create a greater adhering around funk are the performance that enables experimentation of sensuality, the resignification of swearing and protagonism given to lesbian sexuality. The autonomy of funk in the face of aesthetic or virtuosic criteria constructed hegemonically, allows individuals to use this musical genre as a way to express what they want. In this sense, funk provides freedom of expression both in the processes of composition, production, and performance.

One of the important transformations in funk was the protagonism that came to be given to women MCs, especially in the 2000s, as Raquel Moreira (2014) argues. However, according to Moreira, since the 1990s, "carioca female funk" was already present in the *funkeiro* movement, with MCs singing lyrics that addressed sex, relationship and competition between women, having as protagonist MC Dandara. In the 2000s, women's groups (or "bondes) such as "Gaiola das Popozudas" began to bring funk to the media, becoming responsible for the success of the musical genre. From this female protagonist, other gender developments emerged in funk, such as the incorporation of the LGBTQIA+ audience.

To understand the body as a political element and open to the numerous possibilities of gender performativity, it is worth bringing Judith Butler's ideas about gender construction. For the philosopher, genre "is both intentional and performative, where 'performative' suggests a dramatic and

contingent construction of meaning" (Butler 2018, p. 240). Butler argues that if there is subversion, it must occur from the terms of the law, through the unexpected metamorphoses that arise when this law turns against itself, creating new possibilities of existence. For Butler, "the culturally constructed body will then be liberated, not for its 'natural' past, nor for its original pleasures, but for an open future of cultural possibilities" (Butler 2018 p. 164). If the body is a space open to infinite cultural possibilities, funk can provide the embodiment of this freedom and autonomy through performance and discourse constructed from the diversity of bodies and sexualities.

The subversion to which Butler refers is motivated by repression that makes it essential to create survival strategies, as well as the "new possibilities of existence". Among the survival strategies, such as acceptance of identity and body, stands out the resignification of the misogynistic narratives of funk, performed by DJs and MCs that operate in the scene, because it destabilizes the notion of binary and compulsory heteronormativity. What is at stake is not a dispute between sexualities, but a rupture with consolidated binary categories and with the hegemony of heterosexual men who regulate sexual relations and socially accepted behaviors.

On this deconstruction it is worth mentioning the provocation made by Paul B. Preciado (2020), about the political construction of the gaze: "how to modify visual hierarchies that constituted us as subjects? How to shift the visual codes that have historically served to designate the normal or the abject?" (Preciado 2020 p. 104). Preciado analyzes what he calls "*contraficções*" – artistic expressions that "question the dominant ways of seeing norm and deviation" (idem, p. 105). For Preciado, questioning is a way to "invent other visual fictions that modify our collective imaginary" (Preciado 2020 p. 105). In another publication, Preciado (2019) demonstrates how Judith Butler used the notion of performativity to understand the acts of speech in which "sapas" (dyke), and transsexuals turned hegemonic language inside out, appropriating their performative force. Butler will call 'queer performivity'" this political force (Preciado 2019 p. 416).

Queer performativity enables infinite constructions of sexualities, acting in the resignification of stereotypes, as shown by Preciado: "sapatona goes from an insult pronounced by heterosexual subjects to mark lesbians as 'abject, to later transform into a contestation and productive self-denomination of a group of 'abject bodies'" (Preciado 2019 p. 416).

On the importance of the resignification of pejorative stereotypes, I highlight Raquel Moreira's (2014) study on the performance of MC Paloma, who proudly calls herself "the first trans woman of funk" (Moreira 2014, p. 44). Among marginalized groups, Moreira highlights the subversive potential that abject femininities present.

There are more and more spaces where musical making is re-signifiable by LGBTQAI+ people, such as music festivals. According to Cynthia Boucher (2018), the relevance of queer festivals also consists in giving visibility to the musical production of LGBTQIA+ individuals, as with the festival No Enough, Riot Grrrl and Ladyfest. Such festivals provide women with different ways of making music in environments that are affirmative, welcoming and encouraging. Because it is a musical genre created and produced by self-taught producers, funk can be appropriated and reconfigured freely by any individual and thus welcome all forms of identity ages and performances.

CONCLUSION

Briefly, by understanding the field that I researched as an open space for the invention of new fictions that untangle the collective imaginary about the stereotypes of femininity and beauty, it is possible to think of lesbian funk as a reinvention of funk in its original context, constructed from the intersectionality between gender, race, class and locality.

This new construction of funk modifies the intention and direction of erotic themes, as well as expands it beyond the limits of the peripheries and favelas (or slums). Funk perpetuates itself and moves through time and space, starting from the hills and communities of Rio de Janeiro lading on the LGBTQIA+ dance floors of numerous localities. From a resignified erotic narrative, lesbian funk creates a non-binary space that allows the deconstruction of genres, reconstruction of identities and development of survival strategies propitiated by the parties. The physical, affective and virtual locality in which funk transits, provides the potential to absorb discourses of excluded, marginalized and stigmatized bodies, transforming them into political bodies, body-processes. If funk is considered an artistic expression derived from deviation, it is within it that deviating bodies subvert the logic that delegitimizes individuals by their sexual orientation, race or social class, occupying, resignifying and recreating localities from shared musical and performance practices.

TRANSLATION:
The author and Amanda Januário Farias.

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ARTICLES

SEMBAPATRIMONIOIMATERIAL.COM: LOCAL PERFORMANCES, IMAGINED NATIONAL NARRATIVES, DIALOGUE FROM THE FIELD

DOSSIER LOCAL MUSICKING

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ABSTRACT

Developments in semba in Angola, from "live" to "online" performances, and its heritagization, have provoked much discussion among its *communities of practice* (Wenger-Trayner and Wenger-Trayner 2015) and other *imagined communities* (Anderson 1983). This article concerns on-going research, based on collaborative work with key interlocutors on the compilation of the website sembapatrimonial.com as a methodological approach. Based on a series of collaborative posts, the interlocutors discuss dissensus (Rancière and Corcoran 2010) in the various visions and versions of heritage in the present, a process of "past-presencing" (Macdonald 2013).

"O semba à tua maneira "mo" kota
Semba é nossa bandeira
Nossa forma de cantar"[1]
(from the song "Poema do Semba" by
Paulo Flores and Carlos Burity 1996)

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1 "Semba, your way, my old chap / Semba is our flag / Our way of singing", Semba Poem

The first time I heard the song "Poema de semba" was in Luanda, at a Paulo Flores concert at the Cine-Atlântico, a former colonial cinema and now one of the stages for Luanda's Jazz Festival. All through that year, 2012, "Poema do semba" had played non-stop on car radios, in backyards all over the city, and on television. I listened to it again recently as part of my research into semba as intangible cultural heritage. Luanda is a highly charged city, especially for a Portuguese researcher working amidst the frictions of its postcolonial landscape, here meaning not only a political, but also a historical period (Cidra 2011; Tsing 2005). Positioned, as I am, in Anthropology and with a particular focus on Critical Heritage Studies (Harrison 2013), I was interested in addressing the different ways in which semba is understood as a performative cultural practice that is at once local, national and global. At the same time, I intended to build a field of analysis via a website, together with my interlocutors who are members of the semba community of practice. I am part of the European academy and from Portugal, the former colonial power in Angola, a representation that carries specific ideas and activates particular positionalities, discourses and narratives. As Tim Ingold writes in his text "Anthropology: Why it matters?", "anthropology matters precisely because of its potential to educate, and through this education, to transform lives – our own and those of the people among whom we work." (Ingold 2018, 28).

The joining of these two voices belonging to Paulo Flores and Carlos Burity (in the original version of the song recorded in 1996) marked a meeting of different generations, around a musical genre of great importance to the people of Luanda. Contained in its lyrics and rhythms are multiple narratives about Angolans' feelings towards semba. Of these, two narratives within this song are of particular note: the musical genre as a "flag", transmitting a notion of nationhood, according to which all the people of Angola might share a feeling; and a connection to this "forma de cantar" [way of singing].

Ten years following the peace treaty in Angola (in 2002), semba was reborn in the voices of these two musicians, in a song written as a poem. Once again, semba was becoming a significant genre of music and, moreover, of performance. As part of my research, I was interested in defining and analysing this as an on-going process, based, in particular, on the cultural performances I observed during my fieldwork (between August 2019 and March 2020).

This article considers cultural performance as an on-going process, capable of producing gestures, aesthetics and politics through the practice of music and dance, in places and at moments where

semba is performed, following Diana Taylor, "as a logic of knowledge production and transmission" (Taylor 2008, 93)[2]. As the folklorist

Richard Bauman suggests from his fieldwork in Mexico and Cuba, "cultural performances are social occasions in which the deepest meanings and values of a culture are embodied, enacted, and placed on display before an audience. Thus materialized and placed on view, these enactments allow not only for the contemplation of received and authoritative truths, but for experimentation, critique, even subversion." (Bauman 2008, 7).

Semba had been sung long before the end of the civil war, but singer Carlos Burity revived the genre following years of obscurity, or rather in the aftermath of an amnesia brought about by the colonial and post-colonial conflicts and the subsequent long civil war (lasting from 1975 to 2002). Paulo Flores earned international success and was credited with "the renaissance of semba", though he had in fact started off singing kizomba back in the late 1980s. Flores took semba to numerous stages in Luanda and Angola, performing at *Worldwide/Music/Expo (Womex)*, among other musical festivals worldwide. At the dawn of a new century, semba made a return – in song, on the radio waves and across many stages, as well as in the memory and affections of the peoples of Luanda. It was as if semba also drawn on kuduro and kizomba's growing popularity, as these two genres of music and dance quickly spread worldwide to place Angola on the map, musically, and in terms of its fantasies and imaginaries, and its potential cultural circulation (Alisch 2017; Soares 2015; Moorman 2014; Marcon 2012; Moorman 2008; Stokes 2004).

Paulo Flores spent ten years on the road with Banda Maravilha, reviving semba as a form of cultural heritage in a quest that was both personal and collective: "I thought I needed to do something, because I felt it was being lost" (Flores 2018).

In the film "Canta Angola" by Ariel de Bigault, the French documentary filmmaker tries to capture this sense of semba as a local cultural phenomenon that expresses a feeling of nationhood, following several musicians connected to the urban centre of Luanda. Carlos Burity says that "when you sing semba, you sing with more feeling and more pleasure" (Bigault 2000, pt. 12:53). The film also shows the singer being officially recognised at the 1999 Radio Luanda awards, with a prize for the best semba. Minutes earlier, Paulo Flores has revealed how he came to sing semba, inspired

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2 Performance studies, initiated by Schechner and Turner with contributions from the fields of ritual, theatre and dance studies, contributed to destabilizing understandings of culture, and going on to reveal the importance and significance of "practice" to the detriment of theories of stabilized cultural objects, seen as the essence of a group or community (Turner 1986).

by Carlitos Vieira Dias – the son of Liceu Vieira Dias, who was one of the founding members of Ngola Ritmos, a group that was hugely influential on semba's rhythmic evolution. Now, this is how semba was said to have been born, with the band Ngola Ritmos. But other narratives suggest semba has its origins in *caduque*, a rural musical genre from the region surrounding Luanda; or that is comes from massemba, a Luandan genre of music and court dance, a way of mocking the Portuguese colonial occupation like *rebita;* or, indeed, as I often heard during my research, that its origins lie with carnival, and in particular with groups from the Ilha de Luanda peninsula (Weza 2007).

Semba evolved as a Luandan rhythm and musical style, but it was also projected as something that encapsulated a sentiment connected to the Angolan nation, or even that produced a sense of *angolanidade* (Angolanness)[3]. The group Ngola Ritmos, which came together in the 1940s, produced a series of images and sounds that could both synthesise and represent the construction of a newly independent nation. The band's origins lay in a play by the Gesto theatre company. Around that time, Liceu Vieira Dias began to try and manoeuvre the band into spaces in Luanda's city centre that were frequented by the white colonial population. The band's rehearsals and discussions took place in the Bairro Operário neighbourhood, built in the 1950s to house the black "assimilated[4]" population of Luanda who were part of the Portuguese colonial system. Gilberto Freyre's Luso-tropicalist ideas (Freyre 2003) were already proving effective for the Portuguese colonial regime. Semba emerged as a rhythm that could translate Luanda's local and immigrant cultural characteristics, at the same time as pleasing white colonial audiences who enjoyed listening to "folklorised music[5]", or *músicas da terra*. Although a few Ngola Ritmos songs were sung in Portuguese, most were in Quimbundo, with phrasings that could capture anything from the suffering of unrequited lovers, to the rural/urban relationship and its comic results, metaphors which functioned as

3 A concept relating to what constitutes the Angolan nation, implying a social consensus on the constitution and governance of the nation-state, encompassing all people, independently of their origins, position, social affiliation, politics or ethnicity – according to Historical Dictionary of Angola, W Martin James, The scarecrow Press Inc, Oxford, 2004.
4 The so-called "assimilated" constituted a cohort under the Statute of Portuguese Indigenous people from Guiné, Angola and Moçambique Provinces, approved by Decree-law of May 20, 1954, aimed at "making Portuguese" the black population and workers from the city of Luanda. Ngola Ritmos is made up of citizens within this regime, which pushed the Catholic religion and dominion of the Portuguese language and the values of the Estado Novo. Amadeu Amorim, one of the instrumentalists in Ngola Rhythms, referred to the group as "tropicalizing" fado and Portuguese folkloric music to please the colonial audiences in the city center.
5 The work of historian Marissa J. Moorman (2008) in her book Intonations: a social history of music and nation in Luanda, Angola, from 1945 to recent times, explains in detail the context in which Ngola Ritmos arose and how they help to build "Angolan cultural sovereignty" through music and dance. Ngola Ritmos music and cultural practices "are not only the basis for nationalism, they are intimately linked to the production of nationalism throughout the struggle for independence". (Moorman 2008, 53)

narratives for the local Qᴜɪᴍʙᴜɴᴅᴏ-speaking populations around the city of Luanda[6]. This was music as a form of resistance and struggle, but also the projection of a nation free from the yoke of colonialism (Moorman 2008). It is this very projection of a local culture onto the national and international stage that has come to provoke much debate and many competing narratives around semba as an artistic cultural expression and its heritagization process endorsed by the Angola Ministry of Culture (Fragoso 2018)[7].

A series of terms preceded the classification semba, as a local musical style within a complex colonial, national and socio-political context[8]. Initially, according to my interlocutor Ruy Mingas, a singer and composer close to Ngola Ritmos, semba was a word associated with a dance, described by the folklorist Óscar Ribas as "umbigada (Angolan dance). Two creatures bumping together accidentally but facing each other" (Ribas 1969). This dance is also described by the colonial "adventurer" Alfredo de Sarmento as being local to Luanda, and with movements dictated by the beat of a *batuque* drum percussion, and consisting of "a circle formed by dancers, with a Black boy and a Black girl taking the centre, who after dancing many steps then go and bump bellies, which they call semba, with the person who then goes into the centre of the circle to take their place" (Sarmento 1880, 127).

From this term, used to describe a dance, came a term associated with a rhythmic beat alongside many different narratives about when and how semba became an established form of music and dance that was taken up and practiced all over and beyond Angola. According to Ruy Mingas, the word "semba" was reinforced after Angolan independence; Carlitos Vieira Dias describes the term as having been taken from dance

6 The Quimbundo language spans across a vast region of different peoples. The language was discussed by colonial ethnographers like José Redinha: "the group of peoples today called Kimbundu, to which the Ambundu belong, created a confusing problem that we have already designated and we still designate the mbundu complex, responsible for the indistinction between various peoples or tribes of the Kimbundu group, namely the Ambundos, the Ngolas and the Jingas, and because of which, paradoxically to the radical predominance of mbundu, the Ambundos ended up disappearing, to the point of not appearing either in the registers or on ethnicity maps of the Province "(Redinha 1962).
7 At the end of 2018 the Minister of Culture of Angola publicly announced its intention make an application for semba to gain United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity status. This reveals the way this type of heritage is activated on a national scale and Angola's accession to the most recent Convention for the safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (hereinafter PCI). The Angolan Government ratified the Convention in 2011 and, since then, has sought to propose national immaterial cultural assets for inventory.
8 Musicologists attribute the transposition of rural and danced rhythms to urban forms and with electronic harmonic instruments to Liceu Vieira Dias, as Marissa J. Moorman says "musicologists attribute to Vieira the songs translated from rural origins into popular music that was danceable and, in doing so, triggered the development of urban popular music and, in particular, the form known as Semba. The technical innovation of semba is generally located in the transposition (or addition) of local instruments to European instruments "ibid 2008, 63).

and movement, to classify a percussive rhythm, which Liceu Vieira Dias adapted for the guitar, based on the notes played by the *dicanza*[9], as studied by the musician and composer Mário Rui Silva: "the guitar produces a rhythm that unites, almost in its entirety, the rhythmic impulses of the dikanza" (Silva 2015). Recently, at the first semba workshop held at the Rangel Casa da Cultural, Carlitos Vieira Dias recorded a video interview about the origins of the word semba, which he describes as a rhythm heard in the music of some carnival groups, in traditional music sessions and also in popular music bands – all arenas in which semba was generated and danced – and each representing specific musical periods in Luanda. According to Carlitos Vieira Dias, "my father (Liceu Vieira Dias) never said *semba*, he never spoke about *semba*. I mean, all the energetic and joyful rhythms that we play are kazukuta. So where does this word semba come from? For me there's one possible explanation, which is that kazukuta was a style of music that came from the periphery, from the working class and, because most of the words were too improper to sing in public, the so-called *assimilated* Angolans, called it semba instead – to distance themselves from kazukuta (Faria 2019).

LOCALIZING THE SEMBA COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE, FOLLOWING THE THREAD FROM PRESENT TO PAST: BUILDING THE WEBSITE SEMBAPATRIMONIOIMATERIAL.COM[10]

The website "sembapatrimoniomaterial.com" was set up to serve two purposes, which I will describe here. Firstly, it was a way of stimulating writing and developing a line of critical thought during my research; and, secondly, it was a methodological approach that would make it possible to understand semba as a form of music and dance. My fieldwork pushed me to try and understand the different narratives around the origins of the genre from "sembistas" themselves., i.e. the different ways in which this "community" understood semba as an intangible cultural asset in the present day.

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9 The dicanza instrument is of some interest in relation to this research. In José Ramos Tinhorão's book on "Rasga, a black Portuguese dance" (Tinhorão 2007) there are some answers to be found about the instrument, how it has had several different names since its circulation during the slave trade pioneered by the Portuguese from the 16th century. The dicanza is described as a Black traditional instrument, used in rasga, a musical genre of Lisbon: "the fundamental characteristic of rasga music was the particular sound obtained by the simple scraping of a stick or thin rod of cane on the surface of a toothed wooden cylinder, which the player kept leaning in front of him, supporting the upper end of the shoulder, at the height of the clavicle "(Tinhorão 2007, 31) This instrument was a constant presence as semba was explored by countless instrumentalists in Luanda. It is self-produced from naturally ocurring objects or materials available to people for producing musical instruments. These ecological objects fall into the category of idiophonic instruments, that is, instruments whose sound is produced by the very material from which they are built.
10 The website can be found here at this link: www.sembapatrimonioimaterial.com

The discourse offered by interlocutors[11] and the song sung by Paulo Flores and Carlos Burity, evoked a kind of national rhythm, a flag for the nation, or an imagining of the nation following the idea of *imagined communities* (Anderson 1983) – at the same time that, as I was on the ground, it was becoming clear that there existed a genre of music and dance that was local to Luanda, to specific neighbourhoods of the city and to specific musical assemblies. This was a fundamental requisite of plans to list semba under the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (hereafter Convention for the Safeguarding of ICH). So one the hand were the narratives produced by those who practice semba, and, on the other, the Official Discourse on Heritage as authorized the State, by intellectuals and the media, by official cultural institutions, and also by curious bystanders, those who orbit around musicians and bands and who follow the developments within this genre with a certain (sometimes political) commitment (Smith 2010).

This paradox posed various challenges to my methodological approach and also impacted my research design. This was partly because the concept of intangible cultural heritage under the Convention for the Safeguarding of ICH calls for the undertaking of cultural inventories, for example in article 1, under "Purposes of the Convention – The purposes of this Convention are: (a) to safeguard intangible cultural heritage; (b) to ensure respect for the intangible cultural heritage of the communities, groups and individuals concerned" (UNESCO 2003).

The idea of "communities, groups and individuals" led me to circumscribe my object of study to "involved communities, groups and individuals" and, more concretely, to understand how the *communities of practice* and the *imagined community*[12] of semba represented themselves and defined semba as rhythm and dance. In the context of the conversations I had overheard, I was seemingly faced with ideas that were linked to the construction of Angola as a modern nation-state, and that lent towards a

11 Here I use interlocator, replacing a term previously used to describe people who inform a researcher. New terms like this might even help us to do away with the hierarchies present in field work. The term informant seems to me to be charged with a subalternality that I have tried to avoid during this research as much as possible. As Steiner Kvale draws our attention to: "the qualitative research interview entails a hierarchical relationship with an asymmetrical power distribution of interviewer and interviewee. It is a one-way dialogue, an instrumental and indirect conversation, where the interviewer upholds a monopoly of interpretation" (Kvale 2006, 484). A horizontal practice was a constant focus and challenge throughout the research or as advocated by Viveiros de Castro and quoting Levis-Strauss the idea of dialogue between two anthropologies, that of the ethnographer and that of the ethnographed (as they, too, are developing anthropology).
12 I use Imagined community meaning all the interlocutors with narratives about semba, but who do not practice or sing regularly. Here am I referring specifically to cultural agents, bureaucrats within the Angolan State and the Ministry of Culture, as well as journalists, those who, following Benedict Anderson, contribute to "systems of classification" – producing categories and listings – enabling the exercising of state power and authority, a meta-discourse that imagines the nation able "to turn chance into destiny " (Anderson 1983, 33).

somewhat essentialist, ethnic harmonization – and this was a path I did not wish to go down. As Chiara Bartolotto notes, heritage making tends fall into the hands of State actors: "presenting the nation as an ethnic community united around its heritage, States attempt to appropriate a practice, associating it to the nation as a whole" (Bortolotto 2017, 50)[13].

The researcher Carlos Sandroni observed how plans in Brazil to "safeguard" Samba de Roda from the Bahia Recôncavo caused disagreement not only among "specialists" at Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional, the Brazilian National Institute for Historical and Artistic Heritage (IPHAN) but also how the samba community of practice, as a community, are drawn into conflicts relating to individual and group protagonism (Sandroni 2010) – an example of the dangers of "groupism" within a community of practice that heritage processes always ignite (Brubaker 2002).

Here, the notion of a "community", which increases the value of a cultural performance in the process of heritagization, might be seen as omewhat fictional, an ill-defined category – as noted by Dorothy Noyes in her article based on the parable, the Judgement of Solomon: "Community membership and the status of individuals within the network are defined by participation. Competition regulated by community norms stimulates engagement and innovation" (Noyes 2006, 32). What is being safeguarded, then? Songs, bands, instruments? And whom is it being safeguarded for? For Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblet, heritage that is still alive does not need safeguarding. Safeguarding for whom? Expressive Cultural heritage needs to be constantly performed live and online. This implies monitoring those who "bear" and "nurture" semba, so as to construct a body of critical analysis that can keep up with, and capture the spirit of intangible cultural heritage, as articulated in the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of ICH (Akagawa 2016; Fischer-Lichte 2005).

The definition of community has evolved over time within the theory of anthropology. George Marcus and James Clifford's questioning of the "field" in their book "Writing Culture" (Clifford and Marcus 2009) broadened the field for other dialogical forms of approach, keeping up with new digital technologies that can harness the potential of multimedia including photography, sound, moving image and audio-visuals, and calling for more creative and participative ways of writing monographs, the corollary of anthropological work.

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13 Throughout this article I have chosen to translate all citations originally written in other languages. Instrument names are placed in italics. The names of the musical genres will be spelled in lower case, as it is the conventional practice in academic writing. I will not italicize musical genres given the high number of repetitions, for example, of the word semba.

If we accept, following José da Silva Ribeiro, that we now find ourselves in the fourth phase of visual anthropology, the compilation of a website around semba as intangible heritage might allow not only for diverse voices from semba's communities of practice to be heard, but also for "expanding specific traditional aspects of ethnography, such as narrative structure, inter-subjectivity, multivocality, linearity and pedagogical application" (Ribeiro 2007, 33).

Hypermedia was a notion that helped me to narrow down the main voices from the *community of practice*, in my recordings of sounds, images, voices and words, at the same time and in contention with the narratives formulated under the umbrella of the State and based on my role as a researcher at the Instituto Nacional do Património Cultural, the Angola National Institute of Cultural Heritage (hereafter INPC).

Here it should be clearly stated that I positioned myself as an observer and *pro-bono* "consultant", offering suggestions on how a framework for an inventory of semba might be drawn up. My weekly presence at the institution helped expand my knowledge of the INPC and its role and legal jurisdiction in the conservation of Cultural Heritage in Angola. Although this remit is enshrined under the Angolan Patrimonial Law (Angolan Government 2005), the institute and its directorate appear to have little autonomy with which to create action plans around intangible heritage cases, their assessment, classification, or discussion with relevant groups, communities and individuals. From what I observed, a dependency on the political machinery of the Ministry of Culture, with all of its bureaucracies and hierarchies, makes it difficult for INPC staff to intervene. As such, semba's heritagization case has stalled[14].

In terms of defining semba as ICH, it is important to take into consideration the role of the communities, groups and individuals who are involved in the practice of semba as music and dance, and, in particular, the way this knowledge is passed down from generation to generation.

Herein lies the problem with the category "community" – which is, indeed, always difficult to define and demarcate, and much more so in the context of processes of globalization and urbanity, and the advances in communication, transportation and technology that they bring. The traditions of a community "need not take root in ancestral plots; they live

14 It is worth noting, in addition to these two arguments, the appreciation expressed for this type of "representational system" – a website – by the body funding my research, the Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT). By giving visibility to research financed with public funds it might be seen as a transparent and ethical way of demonstrating written, visual, sound and audiovisual results, analysis and treatment of information, and exposing disseminatng data to the public. In particular, in my case, this was done in collaboration with my key interlocutors.

by pollination, by (historical) transplanting" (Clifford 1988, 15). For Valdimar Hafstein "The relationship of intangible heritage to its practitioners is not mediated through land or territory. Instead, intangible heritage objectifies the practices and expressions of human communities. It is defined ethnographically rather than topographically" (Hafstein 2007, 93).

The concept of *communities of practice* and its application were relevant throughout my fieldwork. Based on Etienne and Beverly Wenger-Trayner's contribution, I decided to establish a criterion for finding semba's community of practice. "Communities of practice are groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly" (Wenger-Trayner and Wenger- Trayner 2015).

I was interested in learning from the people who play and dance semba, in spaces where it is rehearsed and produced. This idea, to map a community of practice, resulted in interesting anthropological contributions that might help gain an understanding of aspects of other cultural expressions in the heritagization process. ICH candidates for heritagization include inventories in their candidacies that help trace the communities, groups and individuals involved in "sustaining" these intangible cultural assets, and, sometimes, in plans to "safeguard" intangible heritage under the Urgent Safeguarding list in cases where cultural assets are endangered. As Laurajane Smith demonstrates, "Heritage is about negotiation – about using the past, and collective or individual memories, to negotiate new ways of being and expressing identity." (Smith 2010, 4).

One instance of such a mapping process[15] is the website developed by Filomena Sousa, O Observatório Digital do Património Cultural Imaterial[16] or Digital Observatory of Intangible Cultural Heritage, a side project of MEMORIAMEDIA[17]. The visibility of these heritage processes helps us understand the global nature of intangible cultural heritage, at the same time as functioning as a platform for discussing intangible cultural assets that might yet come to be included in the UNESCO listings (Harrison, Vidal and Dias 2016).

Through the development of the website Semba Património Imaterial, my research became visible, and the site created a space for a more horizontal relationship with my interlocutors, reaffirming that "relationships

15 Mapping is understood here as a form of documentating, manifesting and locating semba in the current context. Music and dance have been the subject of a proliferation of "heritage acts" on digital platforms, and through exhibitions in museums, magazines and book publishing as Sara Cohen reveals in the book "Sites of popular music heritage: memories, histories, places "2015 (Cohen 2015).
16 See: https://digitalich.memoriamedia.net/
17 The MEMORIAMEDIA project aims to study, inventorise and disseminate manifestations of intangible cultural heritage: oral expressions; performative practices; celebrations; knowledges of arts and crafts and practices and knowledge related to nature and the universe (https://www.memoriamedia.net/index.php/memoriamedia-inicio/o-projecto)

between researchers and researched have been changing with people worldwide able to read and criticise representations of themselves, and increasingly resisting being subjects of enquiry" (Sillitoe 2012, 184).

From the outset, employing the methodologies suggested by Sharon Macdonald, I decided that my work would be based on the present day, on current, regular *sembistas*, attempting through these interlocutors and their performances to understand how past versions of semba are converted into heritage narratives in the present[18].

The concept of *past-presencing* (Macdonald 2013) helped me to assemble my questions for three specific interlocutors: Marito Furtado, drummer and founding member of Banda Maravilha, who has worked with Paulo Flores and Carlos Burity; Jorge Mulumba, composer and instrumentalist from the ancestral music group Nguami Maka, and Poli Rocha, carnival performer from the União Recreativo do Kilamba group. My interaction with these interlocutors helped me to gain access to the semba *community of practice* and its negotiations, conflicts and narratives. My collaboration with these interlocutors has been fundamental in developing the website and its index, and also in producing texts, videos and audio that enable multisensory observations and reflections on the connections between knowledges-in-construction and "cultural carriers". It has led to discussion and debate around semba as a cultural and artistic expression, and constitutes an attempt to erode, as much as possible, the power-knowledge binary edified in the Western heritage I carry with me in the form of my body (Lassiter 2005). Following John Blacking, "music (and dance)-making is a special kind of social activity which can have significant consequences for other kinds of social activity" (Blacking 2007, 15). This idea is reinforced by José Reginaldo Gonçalves in his article on "Resonance, Materiality and Subjectivity: Cultures as Heritage", in which he attempts to dissect the *emic*[19] objectification of cultural heritage and its imagined projections of "experiences" and "actions" involving the body and its techniques, in music and dance performance, within semba. (Mauss and Lévy-Strauss 1983; Gonçalves 2005). We cannot reduce the "carriers" of this knowledge to mere passive "vessels", "lacking desire, intentionality or subjectivity" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004, 179). The vivaciousness of semba, and the regularity and continuity with which it is performed "live", have taken it online, owing, it seems, to the desires and drive of the semba community of practice.

18 As Sharon Macdonald writes in *Memorylands*, "the invention of tradition perspective does seem to be productive in some contexts, especially in those in which there is an active and even instrumental tradition-making going on (Macdonald 2013, 28).
19 Here we might turn to linguist Keneth Pike who made an enormous contribution in the sixties so that researchers in dance and music might understand his place in his investigations. Taking the words *etic* (which comes from *phonetic*) and *emic* (which comes from *phonemic*) the author tries to place the researcher and their observation in two distinct places, that intersect in different levels whilst immersied in the investigative terrain (Pike 1967).

My research into semba as intangible cultural heritage was encouraged by the then-Minister of Culture, Carolina Cerqueira – however, neither the Angolan Ministry of Culture nor the Institute for Cultural Heritage have produced anything online or held any public discussions around the issue (although the Ministry for Culture, Tourism and Environment has all the necessary financial and human resources to do so). Nor has any State institution posted any information online about the intangible cultural assets that are candidates for heritage status, such as inventories or lists of cultural assets still being considered, and least of all relating to proposals that have not made it further than the corridors of the Ministry of Culture [20]. This is despite the suggestion, under article 14 of the ICH Safeguarding Convention in relation to education, awareness-raising and capacity-building, that State Parties should promote "educational, awareness-raising and information programmes, aimed at the general public, in particular young people; (ii) specific educational and training programmes within the communities and groups concerned" (UNESCO 2003), the possibility of a website appears to have been shelved for now[21]. However, the development of Semba Património Imaterial online created some amusing situations, with some people who knew about my research interests sending me the link to the site, thinking that it belonged to the Angolan Ministry of Culture.

Irony aside, the debates among the semba *community of practice* do not appear to have been listened to by the Angolan State – even though, as Marito Furtado mentions in one of our conversations, "all they need is to put it online. We don't even need to go and perform. These days everything is posted online" (Furtado 2019). At the same time he pleads a "mea culpa" on behalf of the *community of practice* in relation to the lack of knowledge about semba, saying "we have always been very closed when it comes to showing the world what we do, I can't explain why. But we've always had this problem. It's sort of, we are like this, and we're going to keep it to ourselves!" (ibid 2019). This testimony from Marito Furtado lifts the veil a little on how semba has been "guarded" by the carriers of this practice, and how the State has managed the heritage candidacy of this musical genre. The *community of practice* seems to mistrust the way the *imagined*

20 The former Ministry of Culture has since been integrated into a larger Ministry with more responsibilities, renamed the Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Environment in accordance with Presidential Decree No. 162/20 of June 8, 2020 (Presidency of the Republic of Angola 2020).
21 Together with the director of the Instituto do Património Cultural, I proposed workshops on the concept of intangible heritage in university courses, in order to launch the debate with young people in higher education. Two workshops took place in Luanda at Agostinho Neto University: one at the Faculty of Arts(8 October 2019) and the other at the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences (18 October 2019). The participation of male and female students was quite revealing of the need for greater training and knowledge about the UNESCO PCI Safeguard Convention in Angola, its potential and application in the field of Social and Human Sciences studies. I would also add that it could be an excellent means of raising employability in this area, especially considering the still embyonic link between Universities and Angolan State Institutions.

gis - gesto, imagem e som

community, under the umbrella of the State, wants to portray "sembistas" and their heritage. As Richard Kurin states in an interview, the observance of UNESCO guidelines has "In some countries… given politicians and bureaucrats more power over community artists and practitioners. It has over-valued international prestige over substantive, local accomplishment. And in the worst cases, it has diverted attention from fulfilling important needs to engaging in frivolous processes." (Stefano L. 2017).

The spirit of the Convention for the Safeguarding of ICH implies lengthy, democratic processes from the bottom up. Meanwhile, Angola is still living through a foggy period of democratization, a result of how the country has been governed up to the present day by the MPLA "party-State", the only party to have ruled in Angola (Pearce 2017). As Justin Pearce observes in his book about the military conflict in Angola "the ending of the war created the conditions for a "single elite" to make its control hegemonic" (ibid 2017).

It was necessary to challenge the narratives that have formed around semba, including among those who reified the idea of a "tradition" from a distant past. The interviews, conversations and encounters I conducted on the ground revealed a softer political atmosphere following the election of João Lourenço as the President of the Republic of Angola (2017). Nevertheless, this new phase has not been seen as an opportunity to put into place the proposals of UNESCO's ICH Safeguarding Convention, either in terms of recognising local cultural practices, or in fostering discussions and knowledge of these important distinctions within this country of great cultural diversity[22]. Furthermore, the musical and political scenes in Luanda are still smarting from the arrest of the *rapper* Luaty Beirão, who went on hunger strike to protest his arbitrary imprisonment for encouraging people to read Gene Sharp, the inspirational pacifist revolutionary (Deutsche Welle 2016).

NARRATIVES AROUND SEMBA, A FIELD IN CONSTRUCTION: BANDS, GROUPS AND CARNIVAL TROUPES

Here we will explore the "dissensus" between semba's *imagined community* – under the auspices of the State – and the *semba communities of practice*, between local musical/dance and national political cultural performance (Rancière and Corcoran 2010). "Live" and pre-recorded performances for the internet have ruptured the habits and behaviours of "sembistas", who want to perform their work and heritage using an aesthetic that might be appreciated both at home and abroad, as cultural heritage that is

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22 After the election of João Lourenço, debates began around the Local Authorities Law, published on September 25, 2019. The law establishes the creation of municipalities, towards to a decentralization of Luanda-centric power.

recognised and disseminated on the community's own terms and with their agency (Ortner 2006).

It was not only Marito Furtado who recognised the importance of the internet for "promoting" "our semba", but also Jorge Mulumba, who asked on several occasions if I could film the group Nguami Maka's rehearsals at his house in the Marçal neighbourhood (Henriques (Mulumba) 2019). By opening up the carnival group's rehearsals to an anthropologist, Poli Rocha was establishing connections for future collaborations, including, later, a request to create a website for the União Recreativo do Kilamba group, which could document "our history, with photographs of our processions" (Rocha 2019).

Philip Auslander's analysis of performance documentation as "documentary" or "performative" to capture an audience, reinforces the potential impact of a website dedicated to semba: "artists who were interested in preserving their work quickly became fully aware of their need to stage it for the camera as much as for an immediately present audience, if not more so" (Auslander 2019, 431).

To the imagined community, semba is tied to the past and to the dynamics that narrate and reinforce the idea of the Angolan nation-state. At the same time, the semba community of practice sees semba as something that is alive, constantly performed, although still, as yet, lacking recognition – both in Luanda and throughout the international music world. These two opposing views of a single "inheritance" produce diverse points of view and distinct understandings about the intangible cultural asset that semba constitutes in various social spheres. Here we find there is a confrontation (and dissensus) between the idea of the "flag" (the nation-state) and the "way of singing" expressed so clearly by Paulo Flores and Carlos Burity in the song "Poema do Semba".

I have selected three posts that I assembled and edited for the website to illustrate my interlocutors' reflections on semba as cultural performance – whose value is cultural but also sentimental and social, and constantly evolving and being developed, be that in the hands of bands, groups or carnival troupes.

The first is a post on the website dedicated to Banda Maravilha, which I entitled "Semba Maravilha"[23] and with which I hoped to draw attention to the specific features of the semba produced by Marito Furtado's percussion *bateria*, alongside the band's other instrumentalists. In conversations we held over the course of numerous rehearsals, Furtado told me that he had

23 https://sembapatrimonioimaterial.com/2019/09/09/
semba-maravilha-semba-cadenciado/

"adapted the old framework" for his *bateria* based on the percussion instruments "from traditional music line ups"[24]. "Traditionally", these instruments include the *ngoma* solo bass, the *muquindo*[25] and the *dikanza* (we will return later to these instruments in relation to a piece presented by Jorge Mulumba on the Semba Património Imaterial website). Marito Furtado described how he transposed these so-called "traditional" percussive instruments to form his *bateria* line up. The sounds of the *dicanza* are reproduced with symbols; the *ngoma*, with the bass drum, the *muquindo* with the snare drum. Based on "Xicola" music (a corruption of the Portuguese word *escola*, meaning school), he demonstrates the rhythmic cells of the *bateria* percussion, which are articulated in tandem with the electric instruments including Moreira Filho's bass, Isaú Batista's guitar, and Miqueias Ramiro's keys. The Quimbundo lyrics of the Xicola song were transcribed as text (on a computer) in a pause between recordings for Banda Maravilha's most recent music video "Mena"[26]. Banda Maravilha has established a way of playing semba that has been influenced by interactions with the various musicians and composers who have passed through the band over the course of the last 27 years, (including Paulo Flores).

After my interview with Marito Furtado and his openness to my presence at Banda Maravilha's rehearsals and concerts, I felt able to start asking for suggestions in relation to my research. As a non-musician, I felt I needed to understand better this musical rhythm. As I have little experience playing instruments, I asked Marito to suggest someone who could help me to learn the *dicanza*[27], known in Portuguese as the *reco-reco*, and one of the instruments played in semba. Marito suggested Henriques Mulumba, who I did not know.

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24 Jorge Mulumba is the founder of Nguami Maka, an ancestral music group, in his words. The Nguami Maka are a recent version of traditional music groups from 60s and 70s Luanda. Many of the them came out of carnival troupes and these assemblies later gave rise to musical bands. It is in this axis – bands – groups – carnival troupes – that I accompany the interlocutors of the semba *community of practice*.

25 Mukindu is a Kimbundu word that appears throughout the text as such as with all other instruments.

26 After many attempts I managed some time along with Moreira Filho, the Banda Maravilha bassist. In the band he represents the living history of semba, but also of other rhythms played in the band. This moment was only possible thanks to the insistence of Marito Furtado, since Moreira Filho, in addition to his shyness, is rarely open to interviews. My persistence was fundamental and welcomed by Moreira Filho. The lyrics of the song Xicola were written here with his help. The transcription was thus made by him and in conversation with me, and from an analysis of parts of the song, and can be found in the post "Semba Maravilha".

27 The Semba Património Immaterial webpage made it possible to answer research questions and make this knowledge available. The creation of the "field diary" section (Malinowski 1995) made it possible to collect moments from the research process, at the same time as articulating practical knowledge of the instrument based on classes with Jorge Mulumba. The sound of dicanza is thus defined in the book by José Ramos Tinhorão as "a particular sound obtained by the simple scraping of a rod or thin rod of cane on the surface of a toothed wooden cylinder, which the player kept leaning in front of him, supporting him the upper end of the shoulder, at the height of the clavicle "(Tinhorão 2007, p. 31).

I contacted Jorge and we arranged to meet at the "More Semba Festival", part of the events programme running parallel to the Pan-African Forum for the Culture of Peace which took place in Luanda at the end of September 2019. We met and spoke, Jorge agreed to help me to learn the *dicanza* with him, and we set a date for the following week at his house. The lessons began on a daily basis and spanned the month of October. Learning the *levadas*[28] and sounds of semba contributed greatly to a deeper understanding of this musical style, and how its rhythmics are affected by the *dicanza*. Now that I had some knowledge of the instruments, I was able to fully appreciate a rehearsal by the ancestral music group Nguami Maka[29], coordinated by Jorge Mulumba, and to broaden my understanding of the instruments' role in the musical performance of semba. Two pieces published on the site are worth noting in this vein: the first relating to instrumentation – "The instruments used by Ngami Maka: the tin can; and a second, relating to my dicanza lessons – "Trio Kiami: learning dicanza with Jorge Mulumba[30].

Jorge Mulumba describes the *muquindo* as a cracked bamboo cane or stick, which is beaten with a stick and with thimbles worn on the fingers to "define the metric rhythm, as if it was a *bateria*". Then he moves on to the *dicanza*, also an idiophone instrument, most often made from elements that naturally produce sounds from being vibrated, agitated, or by the application of friction, thus enabling "levadas", rhythmic series that produce variations throughout their being played. Semba has its own particular kind of "levada" which can be listened to in a post I will discuss later. After these two instruments (the *muquindo* and the *dicanza*), Jorge describes the *hungu*, which goes by the name of *berimbau* in Brazil. The *hungu* belongs to the category of stringed instruments and is played by being struck with a thin stick. Then he moves on to another instrument that has a different name in Brazil, where it is known as a *cuíca*, and in Angola is called a *puíta*. This is a membranophone instrument, played by applying friction to a reed using a wet cotton cloth. After the *puíta*, Jorge talks about the *base* and the *ngoma solo,* also known as a *repique*. The last instrument to be presented is the *lata*, or tin can. The tin can really is just a tin can. Normally it's a recycled *Nido* powdered milk can that is used, which almost everyone remembers from their childhoods, owing to the lack of home refrigeration in Angolan homes that meant many were raised on powdered milk. The *lata* is also a feature of carnival

28 Levadas are ascending and descending movements in semba, in a determined rhythm that produces cadences capable of being sung and danced.
29 Nguami Maka means "no problem" in Portuguese. This group was formed in April 2002. It should be noted that Jorge Mulumba is the nephew of Kituxi, one of the founders of the traditional music group Grupo Kituxi And Their Followers. Jorge Mulumba's account confirms a patrimonial heritage and the passing of musical knowledge from generation to generation in accordance with the spirit of the ICH safeguarding Convention
30 See: https://sembapatrimonioimaterial.com/2020/03/30/
trio-kiami-aulas-de-dikanza-com-jorge-mulumba/

gis - gesto, imagem e som

semba; indeed, its sounds are what give carnival semba some of its most distinctive nuances.

The dialogue I had established with Jorge Mulumba, and that is evident in this video, is also indicative of my presence and my learning. Learning with him, my acoustic and sonic education in semba and its instruments were a feature of my dicanza lessons. In one lesson, before I had to leave my field work because of the Covid-19 pandemic, we were joined by the Luandan filmmaker Paulo Azevedo, whom Jorge Mulumba had invited to film the lesson. The students were myself and the American historian Marissa J.Moorman (cited previously in this article) with whom I had developed a friendship and an academic rapport. I was sharing contacts, expanding my anthropological field, and generating points of contact and non-hierarchical ways of interacting that made it possible to experience this world, these worlds of the field in action. Jorge in turn felt the need to document the lesson so that it could be seen, mostly by the *imagined community*, that he was giving lessons to foreigners who "value our culture much more than most Angolans".

To recap: the conversation with Marito Furtado from Banda Maravilha led to my meeting Jorge Mulumba from the ancestral group Nguami Maka, and to my taking *dicanza* lessons. That just left carnival semba, in order for me to complete the cycle around the *community of practice* and its various musical and dance affiliations. In light of the methodological approaches I had chosen, I was interested in meeting the carnival troupe that had won the 2019 carnival. Back in Lisbon that year, I had watched a programme on Rádio e Televisão de Portugal (the Portuguese TV network) about the Luanda Carnival, part of a programme that also covered the carnivals of Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, São Tomé e Príncipe and Mozambique (Sousa 2019). From the programme I knew that the winners were the group União Recreativo Kilamba (hereafter URK). Introducing the group, the presenter mentioned that URK danced semba. Semba is identified as one of the carnival rhythms, among others such as kazukuta and cabecinha.

Once in Luanda, I set up a meeting with Poli Rocha, a carnival performer and the director of the URK. The aim of the conversation was for me to find out a bit more about the group, and if possible, for me to follow their preparations for the 2020 carnival *enredo*, or theme.

Our initial conversation, in October 2019, exactly four months away from carnival, flowed easily. Yet at the same time, Poli seemed a little apprehensive about my presence, being an anthropologist, and moreover one from Portugal. He mentioned that they had previously had a Brazilian in the group, but that owing to the financial crisis they were

only able to work with people from the Rangel neighbourhood, where the URK is based. Throughout the conversation, Poli spoke about Jorge Mulamba as being responsible for the carnival troupe's *bateria*. At that point, I mentioned that I knew Jorge. Poli Rocha told me that he and Jorge are related – "he's my uncle" – and that he has been pushing to see carnival music played live again on the avenue during the parades[31]. Poli repeats this in our initial interview: "We're absolutely behind this innovation. We are preparing to perform live at carnival" (Rocha 2019). After this conversation I made a brief visit to the group's shed, which is situated behind the restaurant owned by Poli Rocha, and a temporary base for the URK. Stored there are their headdresses, trunks containing dresses and costumes, sewing machines and rolls of fabric, with the group's trophies against one wall. Although only established in 2015, URK had already been twice champion of the Luanda carnival.

Poli gave me access to their world and by February 2020 I was already following the daily dynamics of the troupe, meeting people, and watching rehearsals at the Rangel football field, behind the São Paulo prison. It was only possible to upload my posts based on this period of field work after the rehearsals had ended and carnival had taken place, on the 24th February. Under the title "URK carnival rehearsals, group preparation, enacting diversity"[32], the post reveals the behind-the-scenes preparations for the theme that URK took to the avenue: Ancestral Marçal[33]. I was able to gain an understanding of the troupe's different sections and their attributes. I posted four videos that illustrate the dynamics of the group rehearsals: 1) In the first video, commander Poli Rocha is seen in the foreground, directing the choreography. As commander he directs the choreography, signalling the transitions with his whistle; 2) The second video focuses on the rehearsal of the women's section; 3) the third video shows the group's dressmaker, Elias de Almeida, preparing costumes for the theme; 4) in the last video, we come back to the rehearsals and focus on the choreography of the men's' section.

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31 One of the complexities pointed out by the carnival troupe is the need to pre-record, in a studio, the songs for the carnival themes that will be broadcast down the avenue through loudspeakers on the day. The carnival organization managed by APROCAL – Luanda's Provincial Carnival Association – has not yet managed to develop the technical set up that would allow the groups to drum live on the waterfront avenue, where class A carnival groups, of which the URK is one, perform. This is little bit like what happens at the Rio de Janeiro Carnival, in Brazil.
32 See: https://sembapatrimonioimaterial.com/2020/03/10/ ensaios-do-grupo-carnavalesco-urk-preparacao-dos-corpos-diversidades-em-cena/
33 The song for URK's 2020 carnival theme "Marçal Ancestral" was composed and written by Dom Caetano, a musician and singer who is also an interlocutor in this research project. As the song and its title suggest, it was written to remember the musicians and figures of Bairro do Marçal (where Jorge Mulumba resides). It is a song that aims to honor/remember figures from the neighborhood such as Bonga Kwenda, Joana Arante and the traditional music group Fogo Negro. Further explanations re given in an interview by Dom Caetano and published on the site Semba Património Immaterial: https:// sembapatrimonioimaterial.com/2020/02/26/urk-desfila-marcal-ancestral/

My regular presence in the daily life of the URK helped me to understand its group dynamics, the various elements of its leadership, the meaning behind the choreography and the steps, but also the troupe's social life, it's spiritual nuances and, most of all, the way semba was interpreted for the avenue, as carnival semba. I also observed gender dynamics and the performance of memory, at the same time as coming to understand political positionings in relation to questions such as freedom of expression, precariousness, dissident identities, and where they belonged within the URK. "Playing at carnival", as Poli Rocha puts it, is a pretext for exploring political, aesthetic, kinetic and musical aspects that are less visible in day to day life.

Walking from the shed to the football field via the restaurant, filming the seamstresses as they adorned skirts, recording the playing fields during the choreography rehearsals, all placed me within the carnival context. Showing the material I had filmed created trust and closeness, but also, most importantly of all, dialogue: dialogue and relationships. These Relationships were reinforced by my induction as a member of the group by way of a gift, from Poli Rocha, of a shirt that I could wear on the day to follow the parade "from the inside" "in the midst" of the URK.

I consider that "live performances by the community of practice" and these kinds of collectives – Banda Maravilha, Nguami Maka and URK – were fundamental to the development and design of my research, and, at the same time, might offer a possible plan of action, based on ethnography, for a future "inventory" of semba involving both its community of practice and Angolan State institutions such as the National Institute for Cultural Heritage. After all, as Christopher Small states, "The fundamental nature and meaning of music lie not in objects, not in musical works, but in action, in what people do." (Small 1998, 8).

The website Semba Património Imaterial functions here as a tool for gathering narratives, discourses and practices of both the *community of practice* and the *imagined community*, understood here as a conjunction of people who classify and articulate ideas about this genre of music and dance, which is of great symbolic and emotional significance to Luandans. Broadening the idea of the modern Angolan nation-state through the matrix of heritage would seem to be "a method of emphasising a national, partial or even transnational imagined community, maintaining the potential political thrust of heritage making, even when administered by UNESCO, an organization of the United Nations so profoundly entrusted with a mission to contribute to world peace" (Nicolas Adell et al. 2015, 8)".

In an article in the magazine *Transposition Music et Sciences Sociales*, Elsa Broclain and other researchers turn the critical question of what ICH does for music, into what does music do for ICH? (Broclain, Haug and Patrix

2019). They mention several research projects that might provide critical perspectives on participative heritage processes, a discourse that I wanted to draw on, based on my fieldwork in Luanda. The authors even suggest that "intangible cultural heritage can be seen as a laboratory for action research, and researchers find themselves analysing fields that they themselves have taken part in creating, renewing the ethical, reflexive and critical questions at the core of the disciplines involved." (Broclain, Haug and Patrix 2019).

The words of Paulo Flores "semba a tua maneira, meu kota", serve here as a reminder of the many different kinds of semba that exist within the Luandan music and dance communities. The line comes from the semba poem that provided the theme for this research project and, more importantly, that provided a basis for dialogue and debate throughout the research project, with the semba *community of practice,* around a conjunction of elements that are constantly being renovated and negotiated through the creative production of semba.

By way of conclusion, the following diagram summarises this article, using a schematic form to trace the approaches used in the development of the Semba Património Immaterial website. The lists, diagrams and layout reveal the directions and pathways I followed during my research, but also the constructive nature of the field in which I was working. Being more explicit about the phases and discussions that come about along these processes might make the "co-production of anthropological theory and practice more explicit by acknowledging the diversity of those involved and their relationships." (Sillitoe 2012, 185).

SEMBA PATRIMÓNIO IMATERIAL . COM

COMUNIDADE DE PRÁTICAS DE **SEMBA**

BANDAS
MARITO FURTADO, MOREIRA FILHO, LITO GRAÇA, CHICO SANTOS, DOM CAETANO, PAULO FLORES

TURMAS
JORGE MULUMBA

GRUPOS CARNAVALESCOS
POLI ROCHA

NGUAMI MAKA

UNIÃO RECREATIVO KILAMBA

BANDA MARAVILHA

SEMBA MARAVILHA

PERFORMANCES CULTURAIS
MÚSICA | DANÇA

ENREDO PATRIMONIAL "MARÇAL ANCESTRAL"

INSTRUMENTOS DO SEMBA E SUA APRENDIZAGEM

SEMBA ENQUANTO PATRIMÓNIO IMATERIAL

LOCAL | NACIONAL | IMAGINÁRIO

DISCURSOS   NARRATIVAS   PRÁTICAS

PROCESSOS EM ACÇÃO

diagrama:
Mariana Camacho

TRANSLATION:
Ana Naomi de Sousa

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ARTICLES

SINGING TO THE VIRGIN. SOUND NEGOTIATIONS IN THE CELEBRATION OF THE *BALSADAS* IN GUAPI (COLOMBIAN PACIFIC COAST)

DOSSIER LOCAL MUSICKING

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ABSTRACT
This article presents an ethnography of the celebration of the Balsadas to the Immaculate Virgin in Guapi (Colombian Pacific) narrated from its sounds. The analysis of the celebration seeks to deepen the knowledge of the socio-cultural context of the Afro-Colombian communities of the South Pacific, in which music, spirituality, and popular culture are articulated in complex ways as an expression of community identity. The sounds experienced during the celebration allowed me to reflect on the social and identity background staged, the actors involved, their relationships and tensions, and from a broader perspective, the articulations with the dynamics of recognition and inclusion of Afro-Colombians in the multicultural nation.

KEYWORDS
Afro-Colombians;
Pacific; Balsadas;
Marimba; Identity.

INTRODUCTION

The recognition of the traditional music and songs of the Afro-Colombian communities in the South Pacific as part of the Colombian cultural heritage is one of the main milestones in the social recognition of this cultural

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manifestation. Its inclusion in 2010 in the national list of Intangible Cultural Heritage, and later as Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2015, has allowed building a political agenda around the protection and promotion of this cultural manifestation as Afro-Colombian communities contribution to national construction. Simultaneously, music and musicians of the South Pacific have been articulating to the commercial and entertainment circuits outside of traditional contexts. The state and the private sector have seen in the exaltation of the Afro-Colombian musical heritage a strategy to commercialize various goods and services linked to industries such as tourism or urban music, lines of the growing Colombian economy. Approaching these contemporary transformations of Afro-Pacific music was the initial interest of research, a rich ethnographic universe to analyze the processes of recognition of Afro-Colombians within the framework of Colombian multicultural society: social actors, tensions and articulations, the configuration of regimes of representation on Afro-Colombians based on the new Afro-Pacific sounds, and the new ways of narrating and consuming cultural difference in multicultural settings. However, when I started the research process, I understood that to analyze South Pacific music's transformations, it was necessary to know and experience the music in the sociocultural context where this tradition is an identity manifestation of the communities.

My relationship with South Pacific music began, in a way, through the contemporary and transformed forms that are disseminated and consumed in Colombian cities. Despite having been touring the region during the last decade mainly for work reasons, traditional music was always incidental. As the culmination of meetings with the communities, there was a traditional music group; other times, having a few beers in a local bar, they played some traditional music adding to the salsa and vallenato music, popular genres in the region. Studying the literature about music and sound practices among the Afro-Colombian communities of the South Pacific, I realize that I had not known the rich musical universe described by academics (Motta 2005, Hernández 2010, Berimbaum 2010, Moreno 2011, Ochoa 2014, Convers and Hernández 2015): music, spirituality, and popular culture are articulated in complex ways, configuring senses of community, recreating memories of cultural resistance to the historical processes of enslavement and hispanization, and updating narratives on contemporary violent events such as territorial dispossession and displacement due to the armed conflict in Colombia.

It was essential to get closer to this musical universe. In the search for contacts and possibilities, some friends invited me to visit the city of Guapi to get to know the Balsadas to the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, a religious celebration that takes place every December, and where music and traditional songs are leading actors during the two days of the celebration. The Balsadas are boats decorated with lights and floral arrangements

that become altars in honor of the Immaculate Virgin, carried by a river procession from the riverine villages to the city of Guapi, while the singers and musicians interpret traditional songs and religious music. Once the Immaculate Virgin arrives in Guapi, the celebrations continue in a procession to the church; then the religious celebration ends, but the party continues, and other musical traditions appear. The musical component is decisive in all moments and getting closer to these sounds became the new objective.

This article presents an ethnography of the Balsadas to the Virgin in Guapi, described from its sonorities. The ethnography was carried out during the celebration of 2016, supplemented with data obtained in subsequent visits in 2017 and 2018. The text is structured in three parts: i) in the first part, I get closer to the general context of traditional music from the South Pacific using the concept of *traditional sound practices* (Berimbaum 2010), understood as historically configured social arrangements, which are in a permanent process of updating; ii) From this perspective, in the second part I present the ethnography of the Balsadas to the Virgin and its sonorities; iii) in the last part, I analyze the sound negotiations identified in the framework of the celebration and propose the need to reflect on this traditional music from analytical categories that fluidly link traditional sound practices with the neoliberal multicultural context.

AFROPACIFIC SOUND PRACTICES

IMAGE 1. Map of Colombia - Pacific Region (highlight southern area)

Source: Adapted from https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Región_del_Pacífico_(Colombia). Accessed 04/01/2021

The Colombian Pacific is the strip of land located between the ocean and the Andes mountain range that occupies the entire west of Colombia between Ecuador and Panama. A region of tropical forest inhabited by approximately one million people, 90% are Afro-Colombian, 5% indigenous, and 5% mestizo. The Afro-Colombian communities that today inhabit the main cities such as Buenaventura, Quibdó, Tumaco, and Guapi and settlements along the region's rivers are descendants of enslaved Africans who were forced to exploit the region's minerals since the 16th century. Today, this activity continues to be one of the most prosperous and a source of dispute among illegal armed actors. With a weak presence of the colonial and republican state, the Pacific was historically configured as a peripheral region and less developed than the rest of the country (Escobar 2007), with socioeconomic indicators lower than the national average in aspects such as quality of life, unsatisfied basic needs, coverage of essential services (drinking water, education, health). It is also a region highly affected by the Colombian armed conflict, which has led to configure it as a violent region and poor. These imaginaries are articulated with the colonial and republican discourses on black people and the African heritage, updating discriminatory narratives about the Pacific region and its inhabitants.

The pioneering anthropological studies of Afro-Colombian communities conducted by Nina de Friedemann and Jaime Arocha in the 1970s and 1980s drew attention to the cultural practices developed by black communities in the Pacific and other regions of Colombia. They analyze the survival of African cultural and social expressions or "African footprints" (Arocha and Friedemann 1984) in aspects like spirituality, social organization, instruments and music structures, ethnobotanical and agricultural knowledge. Starting in the 1990s, the field of Afro-Colombian studies was broadened, analyzing problems such as development policies (Escobar 1997; 2007), ethnization processes (Restrepo 2013), ethnic mobilization (Agudelo 2004), Afro-Colombian music and cultural heritage (Wade 2000, Berimbaum 2010), among other topics. These works delve into the analysis of the Pacific region's socio-cultural characteristics, highlighting the Catholic religiosity/spirituality highly syncretic with popular culture as a fundamental part of the constitution of individual and community identities. The Balsadas are precisely linked to this dimension of Afro-Colombian spirituality, with traditional music being the protagonist in the celebration, transmitting and updating that popular religiosity.

According to Moreno (2011), priests' sporadic presence in colonial times allowed the sowing of essential Catholic doctrine elements among the communities. Simultaneously, they elaborated their own practices and interpretations, creating original manifestations of an Afro-Catholic religiosity characteristic of the region. In the mid-eighteenth century, the increase

of "libre" population -as the former slaves began to call themselves since then, settled in the many rivers of the Pacific region. They continued to meet periodically to commemorate their saints and dead ancestors, occasions in which, in the parish priest's absence, the cult's organization and orientation were assumed by prominent people in the community. This context allows developed specific musical forms found throughout the Colombian Pacific. Each genre expresses and condense in the sounds different moments of social life: death through *alabado*s and *chigualos*, the celebration of the saints through *arrullos*, or the community party in the *currulao*. Articulated with a spirituality based on a highly syncretic Catholicism and blurred limits between the sacred and the profane, these music traditions that were condemned from the colonial hegemonic discourses, today are exalted as heritage of the Colombian multicultural nation. The importance of the rivers and the aquatic space is another characteristic element in Afro-pacific popular culture. Oslender (2008) proposes that they have influenced and shaped the patterns of daily life in the region, defined the spatialized social relations, and constructed memories around the territory.

This article focuses on the southern Pacific region, covering the south half of the Colombian coastline up to the border with Ecuador (see image 1). In this region, the "marimba music" originated, known as such because the *marimba*[2] it is the main instrument of various traditional rhythms. Specifically, the ethnography takes place in Guapi, where the Balsadas are held in honor of the Immaculate Virgin and a city of legendary musicians. Since I decided to study this celebration, I was clear that it would be an ethnography based on the sound experiences, which implied a theoretical analysis of the celebration to understand it from its sonorities. Below I highlight some conceptual elements that allowed me to understand the Balsadas as scenarios of negotiation of social relationships and identities and can be analyzed from the sound practices deployed.

In the early 1990s, Middleton (cited in Wade 2000) argued that one of the characteristics of music social studies was the idea of the homological relationship between musical form and social structure, conceiving social identity as something pre-existing that music simply expressed. This approach leaves aside the analysis of conflicts over musical meanings in the social group whose identity is supposedly reflected. This gap is addressed in later research that analyzes aspects such as the historical contexts of reproduction and practice, the various social uses, and cultural values transmitted through music (Ochoa 2006, Birembaum 2010). I understand music and musical

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2 Technically, the marimba is a xylophone mounted on a frame (bed) that can be hung or suspended on a wooden support. It is made up of chonta wood slats that are struck with two studs lined with natural rubber. The tablets, each with a resonator, vary in number from 12 to 24; in them are distributed the bass sounds and the treble. Its traditional tuning does not conform to the western scale, although the need to interact with modern instruments is imposing the twelve-tone tuning (Ministerio de Cultura 2008).

practice as a dynamic social manifestation that, while condensing and expressing social identities, is reconfiguring its meanings, and updating community life narratives. The Music-identity relationship is understood as a social phenomenon in permanent construction, not from a homology relationship. From this perspective, I understand the traditional music of the South Pacific (marimba music) due to historical processes of multiple negotiations and cultural syncretism expressed -and can be analyzed- through their own sounds. These negotiations are not necessarily harmonic processes, and as Ochoa (2006) draws attention, cultural practices must be understood as spaces for interpellation and symbolic struggle, in which historically constructed hegemonies are relativized and eventually trans- formed. The sounds as products of negotiations are analyzed in a context of religious celebration, which, in turn, is configured as a sacred time-space of integration, renewal, and expression of social tensions; a place paid for prestige, status, or recognition within a community on an individual or collective scale, inside and outside the locality (Ferro 2001).

Framed in this understanding of traditional music, the second aspect to highlight is the notion of *traditional sound practices* as a relevant conceptual tool for the study of marimba music in the celebration of the Balsadas. Birem- baum (2010) argues that understand South Pacific music cannot be limited to the simple idea of sound production or from "western" notions of music. Its production is part of a sound worldview deeply felt and maintained in the social commons, which understands and mediates the local affectivities and epistemologies of the natural and supernatural world, and the human a non-human being that inhabited. In this way, he defines sound practices as the sound manifestations of the worldview and experiences of the com- munities related to knowledge, norms, social control, and the role that each individual plays. They involve music, context, place, ritual and reconfigure the notion of community through the practice of collective heritage.

IMAGE 2. Instruments of the traditional south Pacific music

Source: http://wwwdanzastipicasdelpacifico.blogspot.com/ Accessed 04/01/2021

During the visit to Guapi, I was able to talk with several people and collect stories about the meaning of the Balsadas and the importance of music during the celebration, which allowed me to give context and content to the notion of sound practices and even expand its meaning as political action. One aspect frequently mentioned by the locals interviewed was the understanding of local religiosity and traditional music as acts of vindication of a history of rebellion expressed and recreated in popular culture.

> The *Balsadas* in honor of the Immaculate Virgin is a deeply rooted cultural expression in Guapi, mainly in rural areas. It is a party where the entire population meets to celebrate life, thank, and ask the Virgin. Despite all the difficulties, we always have reasons to celebrate life and freedom. So, the Balsadas are a party but also an act of vindication. A political action to show the history of resistance of the black people and to recreate our ethnic and cultural identity".[3]

The musical rhythms that mark the development of the Balsadas are the *arullos*,[4] to adore the Virgin and the Saints, and the *currulao*[5] that accompanies community festivals – which often occur as a continuation of religious celebrations. During the fieldwork, I was also able to know the *alabado*[6]s, which are sung when a person dies to accompany the transition from life to death. To understand each musical manifestation and

3 Personal communication with Darío, resident of Guapi and cultural activist, 08/12/2016.
4 *Arrullos* are special tunes that are sung at Christmas or during the festivities to honor the Virgin and the saints. The verse system of the Arrullos -y Alabados- was inherited from traditional Spanish poetry, and academics agree that they are variants of Gregorian and Ambrosian chants with traces and cuts of African influence. In the arrullos the female voices are the most important; The interpretation is carried out from groups of three or four singers, of which one leads the voice, and they play the guasá (rattles made with wood and seeds) while interpreting the songs. Men are responsible for executing the percussion instruments (cununos and tamboras) and the marimba when it is incorporated (Ministerio de Cultura 2008, Ochoa et al 2016). An example of Arrullo is the song "Sagrada Santa María" performed by the Grupo Canalón. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t5-09Ib7_nc Access 01/12/2021.
5 Also known as "marimba dance", the *currulao* is a party in which people sing and dance, tell jokes and stories, drink liquor, and eat in abundance. It is common to take place after the arrullos, taking advantage of the congregation of people, the party continues in a profane context (Ministerio de Cultura 2008, Ochoa et al 2016). The men acquire importance in the currulao, manifested mainly in the interpretation of the marimba that constitutes an indispensable instrument for the party. During the interpretation of the music, the marimbero is who carries the main voice and leads the group, which is also made up of tamboras, cununos, and guasás (Ochoa et al 2016). An example of currulao is the song "Adios Guapi" performed by Grupo Naidy. Available in: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S3a9lNKFdtY Accessed 01/12/2021.
6 Alabados are sung when a person dies. They are chants intoned a cappella and with a responsorial structure; His lyrics are in praise of God, the Virgin, and the saints, combined with passages that refer to more human themes: experiences of pain, contradiction, or confusion in the face of death. The essence of Alabados is the deep sadness it expresses. It is sung only when there is a deceased person because it is believed that, if it is done for fun, people could die (Comunidad Educativa de Guapi 2016). In the following link, I present an example of Alabado performed by the singer Elena Hinestroza. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dL2XH4GWgyI Accessed 12/01/2021.

its context of performance, I analyzed the documentation of application to include the traditional songs and music of the Colombian South Pacific in UNESCO´s list of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity[7], as well as another specialized bibliography. The technical definitions from academic analyzes of these musical traditions contrast with the meaning given by some of the locals intertwined. They defined these musical traditions as "songs of freedom" and "as cries of vindication of life and territories, a concrete way of understanding the importance of traditional music for Afro-Colombian communities and the history of cultural syncretism by which it is traversed. The lyrics of the Arrullos and Alabados combine religious themes with everyday situations in the communities. "We sing to everything, to the saints and the Virgin, also to nature, to the sea, to the river, to the mine, to our neighbor, to all those daily situations that promote the community life and the defense of the territory"[8].

Understanding sound practices also implied becoming familiar with the social actors involved and their social and sound roles. At the center of traditional music are the women: the *cantadoras*. Interpretation of songs are led, almost always, by female voices, and are they who carry the melody, guide the structure of the song, and transmit the messages through their texts. Academics (Motta 2005, Ministerio de Cultura 2008) argue that matrifocal family organization configured in the Afro-Colombian societies of Pacific coast, is articulated in traditional music expressing the importance of women as the axis of sociocultural reproduction. Motta (2005) proposes to understand the Arrullos and Alabados singing by the women to recreate the Afro-Colombian culture of this region, establish and maintain social relations in the communities, social values, memory, and identity. In some cases, the men participate as vocal interpreters, but almost always, they interpret the *marimba* and the percussion instruments (*cununos* and *bombos*). Many of the men, over time, assume a role that is fundamental for the maintenance of the sociocultural space of music: music teachers (Ministerio de Cultura 2008). Another essential character of the musical practices is the instrument maker. The Pacific music is interpreted with acoustic instruments, made in a traditional way with materials typical of the region's jungle context: wood from palms to build marimbas, wood from other trees with deer and pig hides for *tamboras* and *cununos*, guadua wood and seeds for the *guasás*. This involves ancestral knowledge concerning the natural cycle and the characteristics of each component to make the instruments, knowledge that is kept secret within the builder's family (Ministerio de Cultura 2008, Ochoa et al. 2016).

7 For the candidacy before UNESCO, the Ministry of Culture of Colombia led the project entitled "the route of the marimba" in which important researchers and musicians analyze different aspects of songs and traditional music from the South Pacific (Ministerio de Cultura 2010).
8 Personal communication with Pedro, resident of Guapi, 08/12/2016.

A final aspect of the South Pacific's sound practices is the disproportionate impact of the Colombian internal armed conflict in the region, generating thousands of displaced families due to territorial disputes between illegal armed actors, with the consequent destruction of social and cultural structures. Besides, there is a practice by illegal armed actors to ridicule cultural manifestations and often oppose communities to develop rituals such as funerals and celebrations to the saints (Ministerio de Cultura 2008). Another consequence of the armed conflict is that the aerial spraying of illicit crops that fuel the war in the region also affects legal crops, which endangers traditions such as constructing instruments or traditional medicine (Ministerio de Cultura 2008). Although this topic is not developed in this article, the South Pacific's traditional music as a means of resistance to violence and peacebuilding constitutes a relevant axis of reflection related to these musical traditions' contemporary transformations.

BALSADAS TO THE IMMACULATE VIRGIN IN GUAPI

IMAGE 3. Balsadas in Guapi river

Source: https://blog.redbus.co/cultura/balsadas-rio-guapi-evento-mistico-cauca/ Access: 15/01/2021.

"The sea was very rough; all entries were covered. There was no place to go. The only calm access was the Guapi River. Then the Spanish navigators heading to Peru reached the town. Here they were given food and lodging. We treated them well. They brought the Virgin of the Immaculate, so they lowered the boat and took it to the church. They stayed here for about fifteen days, and at the time of sailing, the Immaculate did not want to leave. When they tried

to take out of the church the image gets heavy, and when entered gest light. It was a living image! So, they made an agreement: to change their weight into gold. They weighed the image, gave the gold to the Spanish navigators, and Immaculate stays here. The Balsadas of today (December 7) honored how the Immaculate Virgin arrived in Guapi. They come from communities such as Chamón, Penitentes, Sansón, in a procession down the river, *arrullando* (singing to) the Immaculate until they reach the town and take her to the church. Each community makes its Balsadas, and the most decorated one wins" (Carlos, resident of Guapi)[9].

The *Balsadas* are built from two boats with outboard motors, joined together using boards, and reinforced with nails and rope. The decking forms a platform that becomes a floating altar to honor the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, the "Purisima" as it is commonly called by the locals. The altar with the Immaculate Conception occupies the principal place. It is adorned with colored balloons and arrangements made with palm leaf forms arches, crosses, and other figures. A fundamental part of the decoration is the illumination, made with light bulbs installed in the altar and around the structure and lit with an electric plant's help. Below are the *cantadoras* and musicians, singing to the Virgin since they leave her community and throughout the river's journey until Guapi. Each Balsada is followed by smaller boats accompanying the route, a river procession as a prelude to what happens when they arrive in Guapi, awaited by the inhabitants in a festive atmosphere full of fireworks. Once in port, the Virgin is lowered from the floating altar. The procession continues, now in a massive procession where the *arrullos* songs are confused with the fireworks' noise -and the nearby bars' music- until reaching the church where the image is temporarily left. Then the party continues, now in a profane context where the *currulao* becomes the protagonist. The music's intensity increases, along with the fireworks that accompany the celebration until dawn. The following day, after a mass procession through the city streets, with *arrullos* and prayers, the celebration honored the Virgin is closed.

The ritual is repeated every year, commemorating how the Immaculate Conception arrived in Guapi, meaning the beginning of the December 7 celebration. This date is locally considered more important than Christmas. On that day, people who live in other cities of the country return to spend the Christmas holidays with his family. That same day, early, I arrived in Guapi. I was lucky to get the ticket, considering they are scarce and expensive due to the low frequency of flights and the high demand among the people from Guapi, mainly in Cali, the city where the flights leave. The other way to go to Guapi is by sea from Buenaventura, which

9 Personal communication with Carlos, resident of Guapi, 07/12/2016.

takes between 4 and 5 hours through the rough Pacific Ocean; by plane, the trip takes 45 minutes. As soon as I arrived, the first thing I did was go to the port (known as the wall), hoping to see the final adjustments of one Balsadas that would eventually be there, which did not happen. But it was there that I met Wilson, a friend from Guapi who accompanied us those days. I say 'us' because in Guapi I met a group of friends – some of them researchers on issues related to Afro-Colombian policies- which trip as tourists interested in the celebration. Thus, I suddenly saw myself as an ethnographer-tourist in a context where tourism is not frequent - beyond the people who pass through the city in the direction of the island of Gorgona[10]. That was my initial role to experience the Balsadas, a role that would be modified throughout the celebration.

THE IMMACULATE ARRIVED (DECEMBER 7)

> The Immaculate, to Guapi arrived
> got heavy, here stayed
> She was heavy, became light
> to stay in the prefecture
> (Traditional *Arrullo*)

December 7 is known in Colombia as the "candlelight day", a celebration where families gather and candles and lanterns are lit on the outskirts of houses and buildings; marks the beginning of the Christmas celebrations, and the following day (December 8) is a national holiday, one more reason to start the festivities. In fact, this day belongs to the Catholic religion's official calendar, commemorating the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, based on a bull proclaimed by Pope Pius XI in 1854[11]. I did not know what candlelight day was about until I started this research -always lived it as a start date for the Christmas holidays. When I arrived in Guapi already knew the official history of the celebration. Still, while I was getting to know a little better what the celebration was about, the first aspect that caught my attention was the Virgin's arrival's mythical origin. According to the story presented initially, the Immaculate Virgin came through a group of Spanish sailors who, to stock up and continue their journey to Peru, had no other option but to take the Guapi River because the other rivers were unnavigable. When they arrived, the first thing they did was take the Immaculate image to the local church;

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10 Gorgona island is a former penal colony, and currently a natural park visited by tourists. From Guapi, it takes two hours to get to the island.
11 On December 8, 1854, Pope Pius XI proclaimed the bull entitled "Ineffabilis Deus" in which he declared the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

but when they wanted to take her back and resume the trip, she did not want to leave. The image became so heavy that they could not remove it, so there was no choice but to trade, and the agreement was its weight in gold. Pedro, another inhabitant of Guapi, completed this story for me: when they were weighed, the image became lighter, so in the end, the Spaniards took less gold than they wanted. It was a living image![12] Both stories emphasized this aspect, something that kept spinning in my head.

Alabados. That morning that I arrived in Guapi, we learned of an unfortunate event. The father of a friends who invited us to the Balsadas had passed away. So, we went to give condolences to the family. Shortly after arriving, witness the *alabados* that the women sing to the deceased. Suddenly one of the women intoned a verse, and then the other women began to respond to her. The atmosphere changed immediately, and the voices started to trap all the attendees in a more reflective attitude. For the first time, I felt the depth of the voices and the sadness of those songs.

Mass was scheduled at noon, followed by burial. I arrived at the church and was surprised by how many people there were. "Important people die this day" told me about a man who was by my side. A good explanation for all these people, I thought. Once the mass was over, some parents came forward to talk about the deceased. At that moment, I realized that the number of people was also due to two simultaneous funerals. We left the church in procession towards the cemetery, six blocks down the main street of Guapi. Throughout the tour Alabados and Catholic prayers, all quite simple but, above all, very emotional to see so many people accompanying and saying goodbye to the deceased. Once in the cemetery, the procession divided in two, accompanying the respective coffins that they took in opposite directions in the small cemetery. I was left outside with a perspective of the two events. When everything was ending, someone told me that the other deceased was an important *culimocho*[13] man in his community. There I understood some things that I had noticed, especially the large number of white people who accompanied the mass and the procession. I was surprised by how each group of relatives prays and cries their dead, sharing the same ritual space and language, a theme linked to those negotiations and inter-ethnic relations configured in the South Pacific studied by Arocha and Rodríguez (2003). The Alabados were present all the following nights that we accompanied the family.

12 Personal communication with Pedro, resident of Guapi, 07/12/2016.
13 "Name given to a very particular community of Hispanic descent. They differ from other people of the same origin since after May 1851, when slavery was abolished in Colombia, they did not leave the south of the Colombian Pacific coast, remained on the beaches of Mulatos and Almarales. They claim descent from Basque sailors, whose ships, it is assumed, were wrecked a hundred years before Columbus arrived in America, and from those who learned the trade of shipowners who still practice today. They say they prohibit marriages with black people and despise their behavior. However, they are very competent in the culture of Afro-Colombian communities and not so much in that of whites"(Arocha and Rodríguez 2003, 79).

Arrullos. By 8pm, we were ready for the Balsadas. The plan was to eat something and try to find an excellent place to witness the arrival of the Balsadas. With a bottle of aguardiente in hand, we were to the food stalls near the port, a meeting place with other friends. All the way, I noticed that practically all the houses were decorated with candles, and many people were outside. Also, people now looked at us a little differently, with some familiarity. I imagined that by having accompanied the mass and the procession to the cemetery. When we got to the central park, the mass that started the celebration had already finished, and people were leaving the church with lighted candles singing Arrullos just as we were passing by. But it is the nearby bars' music (vallenato, salsa, reggaeton) what predominate in the soundscape at that moment.

The park is the principal meeting place for locals, and the central space where the celebration in honor of the Immaculate takes place. On the eastern side of the park is the city's port and, in the background the Guapi River; on the opposite side is the church, which is the main building of the space. On the north and south sides, there are several bars, discos, and grocery stores. We go through the park and walk a block until we reach the stalls with typical food: fried fish, crab in coconut milk, shrimp stew, and other delicacies at meager prices compared to Bogotá. As with traditional music, the food of Guapi – and other places in the Pacific – has been studied and appropriate by the leading chefs of the country, adding gastronomy to sociocultural practices of the Afro-Colombian communities of the Pacific recognized as part of the nation's cultural diversity. In many cases, in accelerated processes of patrimonialization –and cannibalization- which I will analyze later. As I ate, I heard fireworks in the distance: that meant the Balsadas were approaching. Then, finish eating and find a place to attend the celebration. I wanted to see the arrival of the Balsadas as closely as possible and accompany the procession to the church. I got to the central park, and there was already a crowd of people. The fireworks began to emerge from the end of the park. In the distance, we could already see three rafts and the boats that accompany them, from which fireworks were also coming out, but the music groups in the Balsadas were not yet heard. The party increases and the empty aguardiente bottles are already seen in good numbers on the floor. Before arriving, each Balsada makes a round trip, a kind of dance on the river where the boat pilot shows their expertise in handling these boats. Finally, the three Balsadas arrived, and everyone received them among applause, prayers, and toasts. Once they dock safely, the altar with the Immaculate descends, and afterward, the musicians and the cantadoras. Once they dock safely, the altar with the Immaculate descends, and afterward, the musicians and the cantadoras. The Arrullos now heard louder, although still confused with the fireworks' noise and the bars' music. A complex sound space, but at that moment, are the religious songs that dominate the senses of those accompanying the procession. The path between the port and the church is

short. It is only through the park, so this part of the celebration does not last long, and the Immaculate Conception is quickly inside the church.

Now it is possible to clearly hear the lyrics of the arrullo that accompanies the procession: "It has arrived, the Virgin Mary has arrived" the cantadoras sing as the procession goes from the entrance of the church to the altar area; first, the Immaculate enters, and then in order comes the marimba, which is carried by two young men while the marimbero plays; then the men with drums, before the cantadoras, and behind the procession. It strikes me that the musicians and cantadoras wear T-shirts with the local energy company's logo (Energuapi). In the altar area, the Immaculate brought by the communities is left next to the Virgen of the church. The cantadoras and marimbero stand backs to the altar and those in charge of the percussion face the altar. The Arrullos continues, now with more volume and people accompany the song. When a female singer begins to sing a new song, I am struck by the movement she makes with her hands, asking to stop playing the marimba. Indeed, that song was only with the voices of the cantadoras and the percussion of the drums. Shortly after, the arrullos stop, and this part of the celebration ends.

Currulao. Outside, the fireworks never stopped. When people began to leave the church, fireworks' intensity increased, and that is when the *vaca loca* (mad cow) appears. It is the moment of transition from the religious to the pagan component of the Balsadas. The vaca loca is a structure that resembles horns set on fire; in them, put a container full of viche[14] or aguardiente; people try to get some of the drink while the man who wields the horns is scaring away who dare to challenge the fire[15]. The space of the celebration around the central park is quickly reconfigured: some people are in front of the church, where the vaca loca continues, and inside the park are the other part of the crown hear two groups of traditional music that now interpret faster rhythm. The musicians and cantadoras are organized all around the marimbero as the center of attention. The Currulao is now so loud and fast that it dominates all my sound space for a long time.

For an hour, I accompanied this movement in the park, a place now desecrated and given to the party. When I step aside, the Currulao music is again confused with the fireworks and the bars' music. The soundscape becomes more complex when, precisely in the basketball court, at the other end of the park, begins a bachata concert sponsored by the Mayor's Office as part of the Balsadas celebrations. This concert's electrical amplification now competes with the other sounds, including the Currulao music that continues until dawn.

14 It is a Traditional distilled alcoholic drink of the area, made by hand from sugar cane. Not to confuse with industrialized *aguardiente*, also made with sugar cane.
15 Personal communication with Carlos, resident of Guapi, 07/12/2016.

IMAGE 4. Arrullos at church

IMAGE 5. Vaca loca (Mad cow)

IMAGE 6. Currulao

SINGING TO THE IMMACULATE (DECEMBER 8)

At noon we reached the central park. At that moment, the procession was just beginning. The Immaculate came out through the church's door, on an altar adorned with flowers carried on the shoulders of several men. Ahead go the young acolytes dressed in white and lifting the symbolic Catholics. Then the Bishop - who came from Popayán city for the celebration- leading the prayers, and then the other priests who accompanied the celebration. Behind the altar go the faithful, who slowly leave the church and join the procession that goes directly to the port, along the street that borders the central park. In the procession, a group of cantadoras with guasás stands out, and like the rest of the faithful, they also respond loudly to the Catholic prayers. The loudspeaker that allows amplifying the Bishop's voice and the faithful's responses dominate the sound space in this initial part of the procession, even preventing hearing the guasás that the women do not stop playing at any time.

Arrullos (II). The procession approaches the port, and we begin to hear the cooing from the Balsadas. Docked there since the night before, I can see that the Immaculate is once again on her floating altar. When the faithful arrives, the prayers begin to confuse with the fireworks noise exploding in the sky. The ritual of the previous night is repeated, but in an inverted logic: now it is the Bishop and priests who come to the Immaculate image brought by the communities. They wait for the trustees to lower from de Balsada and take it right in front of the Bishop. At that moment, the musicians and singers stop with the cooing, not the faithful with their prayers. While the Bishop blesses the Immaculate image, a priest takes the megaphone and prays to the Virgin Mary.

Then the procession continues. The Bishop and priests, followed by the Immaculate image that came down from the Balsada, join the rest of the faithful. The two Virgins (the one that came from church and one that comes from the Balsada) meet again. The musicians and cantadoras also join the procession, singing Arrullos again. At that moment I notice, that unlike the celebration of the previous day, the marimba is no longer there. I imagined that because it was a much longer procession, it was difficult to carry the instrument given its weight and size -after leaving the port, the procession would take the main street for 3 blocks, and then it would return to the church through a parallel road. Regardless of the heat of noon, people accompanied the procession that day. The aguardiente encouraged the singers and musicians who did not stop singing to the Immaculate throughout the journey, while the faithful prayers to the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ.

"Long live to God" people were singing when they arrived at the church. The place's acoustics allowed the *arrullo* to be heard clearly as the procession entered the church. The Immaculate images are brought to the side of the

altar where the Bishop is already waiting for the arrival of the faithful. For about 5 minutes, the *Arrullos* resound in the church and dominate the entire sound space. Suddenly the music stops, and the Bishop begins the mass: in the name of the father, the son, the holy spirit (…)". During the Bishop's sermon, two aspects were interesting to me. The first was the recognition he made of Guapi's Afro-Colombian popular religion, the musical component, and the importance of these manifestations as non-violent social arrangements in the context of a peace treatment in Colombia. This music and faith demonized by the church for centuries, now is praised by the Bishop of Popayan and seen as an Afro-Colombian contribution to peacebuilding. Something interesting happened at that moment. While the Bishop spoke about the importance of making this popular religiosity known in the country, he suddenly addressed us, the tourists at the church's end. He talks to us about the ethical responsibility for disseminating content about communities so that stereotypes about black people, poverty, and violence are not reproduced anymore. We realized that by Bishop's eyes, our presence in Guapi was as journalists or documentary filmmakers – in addition to our status as foreigners, the cameras we carried indeed gave that impression.

Shortly after, the religious ceremony ended. For the first time, the sound space was just the murmur of people leaving the church. Minutes later, the musical sounds returned. Two groups of musicians and *cantadoras* -the same from the night before- settled at the ends of the park, and the *Arrullos* began. I thought that the marimba would join in this part of the celebration, but this did not happen. For an hour, the musicians continued playing their drums and the *cantadoras* with their *guasas*, while they sang the last songs to the Immaculate. The closing of the celebration was already beginning.

Currulao (II). In the evening we arrive at the park again. The Mayor's Office had prepared the stage where the bachata concert was presented the day before, now with the marimba music groups as protagonists. Slowly the place filled with people, and with the beginning of the music, the first choreographies began as well. People come together as a group and perform the same steps from a series of movements that everyone seems to know; I had already seen this in other parts of the Pacific and in contexts such as the Petronio Álvarez Pacific Music Festival that takes place every year in Cali. Suddenly everything is silent and dark. The power went out -something common in Guapi. "It doesn't matter," someone shouts, and the marimba and *cununo* touches begin again; the musicians and *cantadoras* come down from the stage and join the audience. The party continues without the need for electrical amplification of sound; in fact, due to the lack of light, the bars in the park are silent, and it is the *curru-lao* that dominates the sound space during the closing of the celebration.

IMAGE 7. Bishop's blessing

IMAGEN 8. Musicians and cantadoras joint the procession

IMAGE 9. Singing to the Inmaculte

SOUND NEGOTIATIONS

When I decided to go to Guapi to see the Balsadas to the Immaculate Virgin, the objective was to get closer to the sociocultural context in which the traditional music of the Afro-Colombian communities of the South Pacific takes place. For this, I defined music -traditional and popular- as the result of historical processes of negotiations, appropriation, and reconfiguration of musical traditions, and I articulated the concept of traditional sound practices to analyze the context in which Afro-Colombian musical traditions related to community and identity experiences. With these notions, I approached the Balsadas in Guapi ethnographically, although, to tell the truth, during the development of the fieldwork, I rather let myself be carried away by the sounds that marked each moment of the celebration.

The sounds experienced during the celebration and described in the ethnographic narrative allowed me to reflect on the social and identity background that is negotiated during the celebration, the actors involved, the relationships and tensions, and from a broader perspective, the articulations with the debate on the recognition and inclusion of Afro-Colombians in the multicultural nation. One of the key works to approach these problems was the text by Carvalho (2004) on Afro-American musical traditions, especially when he questions the possibilities that traditional communities must maintain control of their sound production -or at least part of it- facing a contemporary consumer whom he defines as impatient for the exotic. Suggests that both apocalyptic and hybridization approaches to understanding the current musical transformations in traditional African American music, lead us to think that it is no longer possible the community control of ritual and symbolic productions, but about how the loss of this is control is negotiated. This argument allowed me to specify the idea of sound negotiations to analyze the Balsadas celebration, understood as dynamic processes of appropriation and resignification of sound traditions that dialogue at different symbolic levels, within unequal power relations between the social actors involved. Sound negotiations can be analyzed at the community level regarding the internal forms of control over the celebration, its sounds, and the narratives about the collective identity that are reinforced and updated; Also in the areas where these possibilities of community agency are diminishing or are null, it is possible to identify sound negotiations, the actors that participate, interests, power relations, the geographical spaces where musical traditions now circulate, and the narratives about Afro-Colombians expressed from new sounds.

To conclude, I return to some ideas presented throughout the article from the approach of sound negotiations, highlighting aspects of the celebration related to the scope of the producing communities and the processes of identity construction, and identify some articulations with

the recognition of Afro-Colombian people in the multicultural context, a topic develops in another work (Estupiñán 2020).

Balsadas and Afro-Pacific identity. The first aspect to highlight is that the musical repertoire displayed in the Balsadas is the product of multiple sound negotiations that affect the construction of the Afro-Pacific identity. The *arrullos*, as well as the alabados -which are not part of the celebration, but which I can experience during the visit to Guapi- are the result of processes of appropriation and resignification of Catholic and African traditions, which express and update narratives of cultural resistance to slavery and the significance of the inhabited territory that feeds individual and collective identity. The traditional Spanish poetry and the Catholic rites that the church brought to the region as a form of evangelization and social control, were appropriated by the communities and intoned by the Afro-Colombian *cantadoras*, creating a religious universe around an Afro-Colombian spirituality that leaves the parameters of the Catholic rite. Arboleda (2006) argues that this universe of virgins and patron saints contains a sense of common identity that is sustained through memory and the routinization of a ritual practice seen as a patronal feast.

The myth of the origin of the Balsadas constitutes itself a negotiation between the locals and the Spaniards who arrived with the image of the Virgin, mediated by their will to stay since the image became so heavy that they had no choice to leave her. The relationship of the myth with the idea of a living image, with its own will, leads us to think about another aspect of the negotiations that are at stake in the framework of the celebration: what makes the Immaculate alive is that it is part of the daily life of the faithful, acting in community affairs based on his special powers attributed -such as stopping the tides and in general allowing the boats arrive at port.

This Afro-Pacific identity that is updated through a celebration like the Balsadas, transcends the spiritual-religious component and speaks to us of aspects that structure the Afro-Colombian societies. Ochoa et al (2015) argue that the evangelization process carried out by the Catholic Church in the region allowed the incorporation of ritual forms of the Catholic religion into the communities, but not in the fundamental ethical and moral codes. Thus, religion is manifested mainly in the worship of Catholic saints, but not in aspects such as the handling of the body, sexual relations, myths, legends, and funeral customs that continued to be based on African forms and appropriated by indigenous peoples with whom they share the territory. One aspect that attracts the most attention is that the religious celebration is mediated by dance and alcohol, something difficult to think about in regions such as the interior of the country where colonization had its main headquarters, and the Catholic religion is less syncretic with popular traditions. But something that definitely marked me during the

visit to Guapi, is the prominence and strength of women in the interpretation of *arrullos* and *alabados*, a reminder of the importance of women as the axis of physical and cultural reproduction of the Afro-Colombian communities where matrifocality and extended family was a cultural resource for the survival of the community in adverse conditions during slavery, and even today this particular social organization continues to be negotiated within the framework of the state and multicultural society.

Balsadas and multiculturalism. The main motivation for going to the Balsadas to the Immaculate Virgin was to have a sound experience of traditional music in its sociocultural context, and to understand how music, spirituality, and popular culture are articulated in a complex way configuring senses of community and recreating memories of resistance. This was the main topic of interest, but the ethnographic data collected, and the bibliography consulted additionally allowed me to identify aspects of the celebration related to the general debate that guides my research related to the recognition of Afro-Colombians in Colombian multiculturalism. For this, I highlight three situations and actors of the celebration that allowed me to think about how that social recognition of the Afro-Colombian cultural difference is negotiated. The first moment is in the church during the closing of the celebration, when the Bishop makes recognition of the spiritual, cultural, and musical value of the popular religiosity in Guapi. The Catholic Church becomes an actor in the Balsadas but does not seem to challenge the control that the communities have over the rite and the rhythms of the celebration. In fact, popular religiosity is recognized taking place long-term negotiations that have led to a paradigm shift: practices that were formerly condemned as diabolical acts today are considered a contribution of enslaved Africans and their descendants to the construction of the Colombian multicultural nation. Therefore, the fact that it was the Bishop of Popayan is highly symbolic, considering that city was the center of colonial power in that area of the country and a place characterized by its Catholic religiosity.

The Balsadas were born as a manifestation of the popular religiosity of the Afro-Colombian communities on the Pacific coast, which spontaneously organized and competed for which had the most decorated altar to the Virgin and the best musicians and cantadoras. Currently, the celebration is sponsored by the local Mayor's Office, and the participation depends largely on available resources. Although there was no speech from the Mayor during the celebration, the presence of the local government could be felt in the banners that adorned the streets where the procession passed, and with great force in the musicians and cantadoras who came in the Balsadas, all with T-shirts promoting the local public energy company (EnerGuapi). This leads us to reflect on the power that the local government acquires in making the celebration possible and consequently in the

progressive loss of power of the communities. Recent governments at the national and local level have promoted the incorporation of Afro-Colombian cultural heritage into ethnic markets, and in this negotiation, the producing communities have shown themselves to be at a disadvantage; However, the episode of the lack of electricity during the closing concert is a good reminder that the negotiations are permanent, and the communities always have opportunities to control their sound production.

Finally, I emphasize that during the development of the celebration, traditional music was in permanent negotiation with other sounds from the bars (vallenato, salsa, reggaeton) and the bachata concert sponsored by the Mayor's Office, unequal negotiations since the electronic systems of amplification allows these genres to dominate the sound space. On a subsequent visit to Guapi, I learned that for following religious celebrations, music in bars had been banned, a negotiation aimed to maintain community control of the celebration promoted by the Mayor's Office and local leaders. But at the same time, the musicians and musicians of the South Pacific have been articulating with urban genres and emerging markets in the multicultural and transnational context, negotiating narratives about people and culture through the new Afro-Pacific sounds.

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ARTICLES

THE MUSICAR DO ATAJO DE NEGRITOS DA FAMÍLIA BALLUMBROSIO: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF PERFORMANCE

DOSSIER LOCAL MUSICKING

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ABSTRACT

The atajos de negritos are groups of Afro-descendant men, boys and girls who take to the streets of El Carmen-Peru at Christmas time, usually from December 23rd to January 7th, where they perform dances and songs. They are traditional troops performing as they are formed by amateurs, residents and people with connections to El Carmen. The objective of this research is to illustrate through the performance ethnography how the music, the performance and the repertoire of the atajo are configured, and to understand how they are linked to the locality in which they occur. This investigation contributed to his field of research by talking about the ways in which contemporary blacks in Peru are turning to traditional expressive forms as a means of conquering space and redefining their local position.

INTRODUCTION

It is an ethnography of the performance (Seeger 2015) and an analysis of the "musicking" (Small 1998) of the bold set, specifically that of the Ballumbrosio family, located in the district of El Carmen, on the south coast of Lima-Peru. The objective of this research was to illustrate through the ethnography of performance how music, performance and the repertoire of atajo are configured and to understand how social interactions and "music" develop within the community.

It was also considered important to understand the internal negotiations, the preparation process that takes place in the trials and practices before the pilgrimage until the end of the cycle. We continue with a dense description of the ritual process of the atajo, to then zoom in on three moments of this process in order to identify how each instance of the atajos journeys involves contextual changes.

Seeger (1992) proposes an orientation for the study of any type of music, systematized based on questions to be answered by observing a musical performance: what is performed? Who performs? Where does the performance take place? When does it occur? How does it happen? Why does it occur?

THE ATAJO DE NEGRITOS

The atajos de negritos are groups of men, boys and girls of African descent who take to the streets at Christmas time from December 23rd to January 7th where they perform dances and songs. They celebrate the birth of the Niño Jesus, as well as the day of the Virgen del Carmen (December 27), the city's patronage and the Kings Day (January 6). In addition to the Christmas season, the atajo can participate in the celebrations of the day of the Virgen del Carmen from July 6 to 14, the day of Carmelite identity on November 26 (which celebrates the birthday of Patriarch Amador Ballumbrosio, symbol of identity Afro-Peruvian and Carmelite), as well as other festivities that may take place in other locations, including Lima.

The atajos are understood as traditional community performative tropes (Shelemay 2011, Wenger 1998), in that they are formed by amateurs, residents, and people with connections to El Carmen. The atajos de negritos can also be considered Afro-Andean, because they unite popular fervor and long-standing traditions that involve the transmission from generation to generation through collective knowledge that emerged from ethnic encounters in the region.

The performance of the atajo dramatizes narratives connected with the Magi, the shepherds and the experiences of enslaved Africans (Tompkins 2011). This same representation is reflected in other elements of the atajo, such as the lyrics, rhythms, dances, and clothing. These representations arise from the encounters and frictions of three cultures: the Andean, present in the values of the pre-Hispanic world; the Hispanic, linked to Catholicism, and the African legacy present in the rhythms used in the dances, among other aspects.

Another relevant aspect is how the atajo relates and positions itself in relation to the atajos from neighboring towns that come to El Carmem and dance in the plaza to honor the Virgen, thus generating a kind of open and informal competition, without judges, something that also happens in other locations in Chincha and Lima. Although it is not a formal competition, each atajo prepares for this meeting and performs the most complex or representative dances that are part of each atajo's repertoire. It is also in this context that the groups mark their identities, something especially evident in the clothes and colors they wear, but also in the style of the singing and choreography of each atajo.

The atajos de negritos are particularly present on the Peruvian Coast, south-central Lima, in the department of Ica, Chincha province, in districts such as El Carmen, Grocio Prado, Sunanpe, Tambo de Mora, and Chincha Alta, among others. In colonial times in these locations, there was a greater presence of enslaved Africans and African descendants due to the concentration of slave labor from the production of cotton, sugar cane, as well as some of the elderly slaves or slaves with some disability were placed on the farms of El Carmen.

It is worth mentioning that the Negrito dance is performed in other Latin American countries, as well as in other places in Peru, both in the Andean part and on the coast, in which it contains the Christian religious element imposed by the Spanish in the colonial era. This dance, in each locality, has acquired its own characteristics that are evident in the performance practices of its groups. In the Andean region, Negritos are often represented by dancers wearing black masks or painting their faces black, but this has a specific symbolic connotation referring to Christianity. As mentioned by Vasquez apud Chocano (2013, 20), "the term negrito does not refer to the skin color of the prospective dancers, but to the unbaptized condition of the Moors, who controlled the Iberian Peninsula before the advent of the Catholic kingdoms"

El Carmen, the focus of this research, is a district of approximately 12,050 inhabitants, located in the department of Ica. There are records that atajos have involved Afro-descendant communities since the middle of the 19th century. As other studies have shown (Tompkins 2011), Vasquez 1982), one

of the hypotheses of the possible origin of atajo refers to musical practices that derive from the Spanish tradition of singing and dancing in front of nativity scenes,

> as well as the religious celebrations of African descendants at Corpus Christi in colonial times, which took place around churches" (Tompkins 2011 155). In the case of El Carmen, "the construction of the church was one of the factors that propitiated the emergence of Atajo de Negritos (Chocano 2013, 18).

Currently, the atajos of the town of El Carmen are cultural heritage of the Peruvian nation, according to vice-ministerial resolution No. 035-2012-VMPCIC-MC (Official Journal of the Republic of Peru, El Peruano 2012). The process of patrimonialization occurred thanks to the help of some academics, anthropologists, the masters, members of the El Carmen atajos, local residents, and the Ministry of Culture. Moreover, it was also included in the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage by UNESCO, which took place in Bogota, Colombia at the "XVI Intergu-bernamental Committee for the Safeguarding of the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage".[2]

ETHNOMUSICOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

Another relevant aspect in the configurations of atajo musicking is that these performative practices favor occasions for social encounters, promoting the development of community among the participants.

But what is musicking?

This term, proposed by New Zealand musicologist Christopher Small (1998), proposes to rethink the concept of music, not only analyzing it as a sound object, but also how it is produced, music as a process and not as an object.

The term "musicking," where music ceases to be a noun and becomes the verb, refers to any kind of relationship with music, either in musical production or practice (Small 1998).

In Carmen - Chincha, the most of participants live in the same neighborhood and the events that take place involve the community as a whole. Therefore, the residents and the Catholic religious' brotherhoods of El

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2 XVI Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of UNESCO. Available at: https://ich.unesco.org/es/RL/el-hatajo-de-negritos-y-las-palli-tas-danzas-del-sur-de-la-costa- central-del-peru-01309. Accessed January 25, 2019.

Carmen organize themselves every year to hold the feast of the Virgen del Carmen and the reception of the Niño Jesus.

This collective " musicking" of the community around the atajo in its neighborhood contributes to creating a sense of unity among those involved, from the people who decorate their houses and provide food and drinks to the atajo, to those who go from house to house to give the blessing, to the internal organization of the atajos to define the houses where the rehearsals will take place, the costumes that will be used this year, the godfathers who will economically support the atajo to make the costumes, among other aspects. Thus, atajos play an important role in establishing cohesion in their communities.

The importance of the commitment that exists between the members of the atajo and all those who participate directly and indirectly in the manifestation is emphasized. In this way they preserve the traditions and customs of the locality, giving a sense of community, fellowship, and brotherhood that is reflected in the text of the songs in the repertoire. The account of the caporal Camilo Ballumbrosio corroborates this:

> To join the atajo you need to have a spiritual commitment, not necessarily a promise. If you want to make a promise you can, but it's not mandatory, but you need to have devotion to the saints, the Virgen, the Baby Jesus, the Three Kings... to come dance and thank them all. For example, on Three Kings Day, which is the closure of the atajo's activities, a farewell to the saints is held with a song that, through the lyrics, represents the companionship and brotherhood that occurs among the members of the atajo, and that if one member cannot attend the next pilgrimage, the other members of the atajo will dance on his behalf and continue the tradition, at the same time paying homage to the ancestors. (Singing)... We'll give each other a hug, until next year... and if I can't come, my partner will come back, Until next year. (Ballumbrosio, Camilo 2017).

Another theoretical perspective used in this research corresponds to the classification of social fields of musical performance proposed by the American ethnomusicologist Thomas Turino (2008), which are: real-time music (subdivided into participatory performance and presentational performance) and recorded music (subdivided into studio art and hi-fi recordings). Within the classification of participatory performance, we find several aspects that arise within a collective context, highlighting certain particularities, such as: short, open and repetitive forms; little space for individual virtuosity; highly repetitive; rhythmic and temporal constancy; intensive variation; beginnings and endings, among other elements.

We analyze the performative practices of the atajo de negritos, considering them as part of the classification of participatory performance proposed by Thomas Turino (2008), unlike other Afro-Peruvian musical practices that emerged in another, non-religious/ritual context, such as the festejo, lando, zamacueca, among others. These would correspond to the presentational performance classification.

There are several musical traditions that could be classified as Afro-Peruvian. Historically, these traditions were fundamentally participatory in their orientation. That is, they occurred as community activities where everyone present would be involved in some way in the performance (Turino 2008).

In the participatory performative classification (Turino 2008) several elements are key to determining the role of music within the social-historical context and how it can become a presentational performance. Usually a participatory performance becomes presentational when it is taken out of its original context, spectacularizing it, restructuring it, adapting new musical forms in this new performance, and changing the role of music within this cultural manifestation.

The atajo de negritos brings as the center of the investigations its cultural richness, specifically in the artistic expressions of music and dance, the role it plays today and in the construction of the identity of the Afro-Peruvian community. As Glaura Lucas (2002) points out, music and dance in certain religions and rituals are central and can become mediators in social relations. "Music and dance become the main vehicle of religious experience in certain religious rituals, and are therefore fully integrated within the social organization of such religions" (Lucas 2002, 18). In the case of the atajo de negritos, the music and dance are strongly linked to the Catholic religion. This is reflected in the performance, in the lyrics of the repertoire, and above all in the devotion of the members and participants of the festivity on the day of the Virgen del Carmen and the Niño Jesus.

Commemorative rituals are a dramatization of "social memory" (Connerton 1989). It is a way of inscribing what the group wants to remember on its own body. As Reily (2002) mentions, through experiences in ritual, some practices can promote memorable experiences in social groups.

The effectiveness of any ritual, however coherent it may be, resides in its capacity to promote memorable experiences among the participants, capable of transporting them to the mythical universe of its collective dramatization. What will determine whether or not this occurs is how the structures are implemented in real contexts, where people meet and make use of their legacy to mediate their relationships with saints and with each other (Reily 2002).

The ritualistic religious element is very present in this manifestation, as the Catholic church plays a very important role in the constructions of new American identities. In Peru, the African religions complemented the Catholic religion, thus reaching a syncretism, reinterpreting, through the worship of saints, rituals of Catholicism. There was little distinction between the sacred and the profane.

According to Rosa Elena Vásquez (1982), the mestizaje that emerged during colonialism brought with it greater diversity, encounters, and interculturalities on the part not only of the Spaniards, but also among enslaved Africans from Central Africa (Guinea, Congo, and Angola) who were brought to the Americas. Since the arrival of the settlers, the Spanish brought and imposed their beliefs and ways of life, employing an excluding coercive domination, as well as their Christian religion, their traditions, among them music, musical instruments, dances, and new practices. Thus, the settlers' culture came to coexist and mix with the local culture.

ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

Three ethnographic surveys were conducted in Peru, in the locality of El Carmen, in the department of Chincha, the first in the period December 2017 (December 23 to 27) and January 2018 (January 6, Three Kings Day) in Grocio Prado. The second stage of the field research was conducted in July 2018 in Lima and El Carmen; finally, the third stage was conducted in the period from December 2018 to January 2019.This field research encompassed participant observation, filming, photographic records of the performances, and semi-structured interviews. The records made in the field were part of the journey of a specific atajo of the Ballumbrosio Family.

THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE PERFORMANCE OF THE ATAJO DE NEGRITOS: TESTING, PREPARATION AND DEPARTURE

The rehearsals, preparation, and departures of the atajo days take place in the Ballumbrosio house, which is arranged to fit as many people as possible. It is usually always packed with members, tourists, photographers, and researchers coming from all over Peru and the world.

Each year the house is decorated with Christmas ornaments and lights, a tree, and a nativity scene, which are inside the house. This activity is carried out together with various participants, such as: the owner of the house, members of the Ballumbrosio Family, the mayoral, who

is in charge of the internal organization of the atajo, the godfathers and godmothers of the atajo, who, besides contributing economically, also help with some of the preparations before and during the day, having an important role in the Burning of the Altar, which will be described later.[3]

All these participants set up an altar-andor around the nativity scene, which is decorated with colorful satin ribbons and Christmas ornaments. The altar-andor of the Ballumbrosio Family house was set up at the beginning of rehearsals and stayed in the same place until the day of the Burning of the Altar, since it would later be burned along with some of the Negritos' costumes, such as whips and sashes.

The process of learning the songs and dances of the atajos is collective, which are transmitted through oral tradition and are part of the cultural baggage that the members acquired as children. In this way the group learns to perform collectively as a whole. This is a tradition that involves intergenerational transmission; in many cases the children who join the atajo for the first time had a relative that danced in the group or had the opportunity to accompany the courses or rehearsals. This is because the town of El Carmen is a very small province and the majority of the population participates to some extent in the activities of the atajos.

Generally, in groups with participatory orientations there is a very fine distinction between rehearsal and performance, since it is not necessary that there is absolute synchronicity in the performance, but that the pleasure of collective music making predominates. According to reports from members of the atajo, the repertoire is composed of 24 dances, but currently only ten remain. Among the 24 dances, there are 5 or 6 that are the serranitas, the most Afro-Andean genre in the repertoire.[4]

As Chebo states, the Andean influence of the highlanders is related not only to the "Andean sounds", but also to the demographic aspect, due to the fact that the town of Chincha is geographically located near Andean regions such as Huancavelica and Ayacucho. In the case of the El Carmen locality there were migratory movements among the inhabitants of these towns.

> Afro-Andean happens by demography, there is an Andean slope, there is an Andean creek... Geographically it is Ayacucho, Huancavelica, Ica and Chincha, so obviously our ancestors were welcomed, healed by the people of the An-

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3 A foreman of a group of people, animals, or a religious community.
4 A musical genre within atajo, alluding to the convergences of cultural encounters with Andean influence, both in sound (harmony, melody) and in lyrics and choreography.

des, some wise old men welcomed the children of slaves and then returned them healed to the coast. I remember I had an Andean friend, who was my grandmother's god-daughter, who was raised here, and they used to do a kind of exchange, so that they could learn the customs from there and learn the customs from here and thus maintain themselves, because it's the only way, once again I argue, the only way to preserve culture is fusion (mixture) because otherwise we won't have this Atajo de Negritos without fusion. You need to have people of both customs, you need to have people who are not black... nothing is pure anymore (Ballumbrosio, Chebo 2018).

The music, dance, and lyrics of the repertoire are reminiscent of a past that goes back to the slavery of black people in colonial times, telling of the experiences of rural and agricultural work, as well as Christmas songs of European origin, the villancicos. Thus, this repertoire evokes the cultural encounters with Andean people, the maintenance of black memory, and the subjugation of the Catholic religion.[5]

Between December 23 and 27, 2017, I had the opportunity to observe the activities of the Ballumbrosio Family atajo. Although I was not able to accompany the group in its rehearsals before its ritual journey, it was reported to me that the activities of the atajo de negritos begin on the first Saturday in October. The call was open to the entire community of El Carmen and was made through publicity in the Ballumbrosio house itself, where a poster was placed in the doorway, and on social networks such as Facebook. After several rehearsals from the first Saturday in October until December, the beginner participants were designated as negritos (dancers) and the more experienced dancers as caporales (usually members of the Ballumbrosio Family). Some participants who live in other locations, such as Lima, attended the rehearsals, as was the case with some of the Ballumbrosio brothers, a total of 14 brothers. Many of them live in Lima or even in other countries like France and the United States, but they make a point of participating in the atajo.

Throughout the atajo's journey there are nine distinct moments, which carry different meanings. These meanings are defined by several factors such as: the day of the celebration, for whom and why they dance, as well as the location where the demonstration will take place. Some of the moments change completely, despite happening on the same day. This aspect is reflected in the performance and music of Atajo de Negritos, because there are variations among the choreographies, which are related to the theme of the song's text.

5 European poetic musical form, 15th century (Christmas carols).

PERFORMATIVE ELEMENTS OF ATAJOS

As mentioned earlier, within the repertoire of Atajo de Negritos, there are 24 dances each with a specific song. Among the atajos the term "dance" is used, which implies both song and choreography. Thus, we will use the term dance here in this sense, encompassing music and dance.

The repertoire of the atajos encompasses the following dances: "Acción de Gracias", "Anunciación", "Arrullamiento", "Chica Fé", "Contradanza", "Contrapunto de Zapateo", "Despedida de la Virgen del Camen", "Despedida de Navidad", "Despedida del 6 de enero", "El Divino", "En nombre de Dios comienzo", "Hoy cantemos, hoy bailemos", "El Borrachito", "Pajarillo", "Paloma Ingrata", "Panalivio", "Pasacalle", "Pastorilla", "Pastorcillo", "Pisa de Humay", "Cancion al niño Dios", "Serrana Vieja", "Yugo" e "Zancudito".

Dances have texts with various purposes. Some have the purpose of worshiping the Niño Jesus or the Virgen of Carmen; others contain texts alluding to Christmas, such as the villancicos, as well as accounts of the experiences of slavery in the colonial era, and also a tribute to the ancestors, especially to the patriarch Amador Ballumbrosio; there are also dances to thank the faithful for having received the atajo in their homes and for having offered food and drink to the members of the group.

There is a logic to choosing the dances to be performed each year, respecting the "mandatory" dances that are for each theme already mentioned. The distinction in the choice of repertoire was noted in the field, as well as in the statements of Mr. Adan, who emphasized that the repertoire of the Augusto de Negritos is divided mainly into two parts, the specific repertoire for the Niño Jesus and the repertoire for the Virgen del Carmen, material that we will describe later.

According to the reports of the caporales and the information obtained in the research of Tompkins (2011) and Vasquez (1982), the atajos do not perform all 24 dances in the same year. There are several reasons for this, one of the main ones being the lack of time to interpret them all in the nine moments. Another aspect is the lack of teaching and learning time for the Negritos who are joining the atajo for the first time.

In the case of the Ballumbrosio Family atajo, Mr. Chebo, violinist and leader of the atajo, also reported that besides the lack of time to interpret the 24 dances in the nine moments, the atajo chooses the repertoire according to the members' composition, because several caporales live abroad and don't have the opportunity to participate every year.

REPERTOIRE FOR THE NIÑO JESUS

This repertoire is made up of dances whose texts deal specifically with the worship of the Niño Jesus, welcoming the newborn and celebrating his arrival. The repertoire is chosen in advance by the caporales and violinists far in advance. It usually takes place in the month of October, when rehearsals and preparations take place before the performance. It usually takes place in the month of October, when rehearsals and preparations take place before the performance. "Arrullamiento, "El Divino"; "La Llegada Del Rey" and "Hoy cantemos hoy bailemos". Each song is interpreted according to the moment of the performance, for example, when they carry the Niño Jesus on pilgrimages or when the Niño Jesus is honored.

The theme of this repertoire is also reflected in the choreography, for many of the body movements performed are related to the worship of the Niño Jesus, as is the case in the dance "Arrullamiento", in which we observe that there is no tap dance; the progression of the dance changes according to the beating of the bells. The progression at the beginning of the dance is slower, and the members of the atajo group together in five or six negritos and intertwine their whips. In this way they form a small base where the Niño Jesus is placed. Each group in the atajo has approximately two minutes to carry the Niño Jesus in this way during the dance. One element of the choreography involves each group walking counterclockwise, carrying the Niño Jesus on their whips, until the text of the song starts referring to the worship of the Niño Jesus and the blessing of the Virgen María. At this point the members of the atajo prostrate themselves and kneel for a period of time.

Arrullamiento

A tus pies postrados todos nos rendimos,
A tus pies postrados todos nos rendimos,

Para que nos bendiga la Virgen María
Para que nos bendiga la Virgen María.

After this part of the choreography, the caporales speed up the progression, beating the bells more quickly, the text also changes, and the tap-dancing begins.

REPERTOIRE FOR THE VIRGEN DEL CARMEN

This repertoire is characterized by containing dances with texts alluding to the Virgen del Carmen, such as: "Homenaje a la Virgen del Carmen" e "Despedida de la Virgen del Carmen". It is worth mentioning that both

dances correspond to the same melodic sequence and choreographic steps, changing only the text. The difference corresponds to the specific moment it is performed: the dance "Homenaje a la Virgen del Carmen" is performed at the beginning of the pilgrimage, when the Virgen is taken out of the church on the litter, to perform the pilgrimages in the following days, and the dance of "Despedida de la Virgem del Carmen" is performed on December 28th at noon, when the saint is transported to the church, where she will remain until next year. This repertoire symbolizes the beginning and the end of the Virgen del Carmen's festivity cycle. Below we offer a transcription of the melody of this repertoire, with the first line of text being part of the first strophe of "Homenaje a la Virgen del Carmen" and the second line being the first strophe of the text from "Despedida de la Virgen del Carmen".

HOMENAJE A LA VIRGEN DEL CARMEN Y DESPEDIDA DE LA VIRGEN DEL CARMEN

FIGURE 1. Transcription of the first strophe of the dances "Homenaje a la Virgen del Carmen" and "Despedida de la Virgen del Carmen", which are part of the repertoire of Atajo de Negritos.
Source: Field research at El Carmen 07/23/2018 (Transcription by the author).

LAST GENERAL REHEARSAL IN THE HOME OF THE AMADOR BALLUMBROSIO

The last general rehearsal takes place on the last Saturday night before Christmas. I had the opportunity to observe for two consecutive years how the Ballumbrosio Family's atajo rehearsals developed, which had some changes in time and date. The first time I attended the rehearsal was on Saturday, December 23rd from 6pm to 9:30pm, which was longer than the second time, which was on Saturday, December 22nd, starting at 8pm and ending at 10pm.

The members of the atajo are convoked around 6 or 8 PM at the house of the patriarch Amador Ballumbrosio, and this is always the meeting point defined by the caporales and the mayoral or mayorala. All of this is contained in the internal regulations of the atajos de negritos, as reported by the caporales of the Ballumbrosio Family atajo as well as the caporales of other atajos. Furthermore, the Ballumbrosio house carries many meanings about ancestry, maintenance of tradition, and respect, since Mr. Amador, the founder of the Ballumbrosio atajo, has always lived in this house and it is where his widow, some children and grandchildren still live. It is also worth pointing out that many tourists go there to learn a little about the Ballumbrosio Family and the history of the atajos.

Inside the house there are many paintings of photographs, portraits of Amador Ballumbrosio, the atajo, and the Ballumbrosio Family, as well as decorations, diplomas of recognition of the atajo, for being considered cultural patrimony of the nation; in the center of the house there is a painting portraying Amador Ballumbrosio holding his violin, whose size is approximately 100 x 120 cm. This portrait is significant for representing Amador Ballumbrosio's presence in the atajo. This "presence" emerges even in the fact that before starting the pilgrimage, on the evening of December 24th, after the preparations for the first route, all the members of the atajo pose together in the portrait to take a picture and thus register all the members who participated in the atajo that year.

Before the rehearsal started, the members were slowly arriving at the Ballumbrosio house, waiting for the other members to arrive. Some were alone, training, or in small groups, chatting. The younger ones told jokes and shared experiences, and others practiced some steps and even challenged others to do more complex steps. These collective learning processes in the rehearsal, as well as in the other moments of the atajo, which will be described later, provide knowledge, a feeling of belonging, and at the same time help the participants to place themselves in their respective roles within the group.

In the course of the rehearsal in the two observed instances, it was noted that there was a pause, since the atajo dances require a lot of physical effort. During the break the owners of the house (in this case Amador Ballumbrosio's sons) offered drinks and snacks to all the members of the Ballumbrosio atajo, as well as to the people watching the rehearsal. Likewise, the presence of people from outside El Carmen was observed – visitors, photographers, tourists filming and taking pictures. Usually, in order to enter the Ballumbrosio family home and make an audiovisual record, it is necessary to talk to one of the Ballumbrosio brothers, such as Mr. Chebo or Miguel, beforehand.

During the rehearsal break the older members and leaders took the time to tell the younger members a few stories about how the atajos performed in the past. As I could observe in the rehearsal in 2017, where the caporal Miguel Ballumbrosio reported that formerly the members in the performances wore crowns and that from now on the members would wear them again, because the crowns represented the Magi who take the blessing to the homes of devotees.

> After handing out the food and drinks to the members of the atajo and all the people watching the rehearsal, the caporal Miguel, Amador Ballumbrosio's son, asked everyone to be quiet and still. At that point he went to a dwelling and brought the crowns for the Negritos. He reported that formerly every year the Negritos wore crowns, that this tradition has been lost over time and that on this day they would wear them on the route and festivities of worship of the Niño Jesus and the Virgen del Carmen (Field diaries, El Carmen 2017).

The first time I accompanied the atajo it was not possible to accurately count the total number of songs rehearsed, because I had difficulty recognizing the whole repertoire, since the records previously collected by Tompkins (2011) and Vasquez (1982) did not contain the whole repertoire, but only some transcriptions of the lyrics and few in musical notation.

At the rehearsal, some of the atajo members' family members stayed outside the house watching, taking pictures, filming with their cell phones. They were very happy that their children were participating in the act. In most cases the participation of the members in the atajo is intergenerational, which means that the tradition of participating is maintained, whether by devotion to the Niño Jesus or the Virgen del Carmen. At the end of the rehearsal, the family members wait for the baptism, an important initiation ritual that is part of the configuration of the atajos, which will be described below.

THE BAPTISM

The baptism takes place after the rehearsal is over. It takes place in the same house, in a specific place, next to the nativity scene. Through baptism the members of the atajo are purified, which allows them to distribute the blessings of the Niño Jesus to the members of the community during their pilgrimages. As I have been informed in several instances, the act of baptism has a transformative power to take the negrito out of the Moorish condition, making him a Christian. The only member that is not baptized is the paraleto or viejito, who wears an old man or devil mask

and maintains his Moorish condition throughout the manifestation in order to scare away the evil spirits that are around the atajo.

The two times I observed it, the start time was between 9:45 and 10:00 p.m. The baptism is part of the rite of passage for admission to the atajo. Each year all members are baptized regardless of their length of stay and their role in the atajo. Who is in charge of the baptism is the priest, who is usually a caporal who can be designated as a priest by the leaders of the atajo. The priest symbolizes a joker who ridicules the Catholic religion. In both years, I observed that the priest wore colorful clothing and accessories, neon sun lenses, a sheet on his back used as a cape or tunic, and a scarf used as a turban.

Also participating in this ritual are the choirboys, who are dancing children of the atajo who are chosen at random; in 2017 two boys of about nine or ten years old were chosen, who kept laughing the whole time due to the clowning of the priest, who made jokes about people being baptized. The following year, three choirboys were chosen, two boys and a girl of about 12 years old; they were also laughing, but not as much as the children the previous year, despite the graces of the priest. The choirboys stand at the priest's side, one on the right and one on the left, each holding the objects used in the ritual. One of them holds a small coffer, where the godmothers or godfathers give alms, which are used for part of the expenses of the organization of the atajo, as well as for the purchase of food and soft drinks for the members of the atajos. In the other hand they hold a small container of salt. The other choirboy holds a glass with holy water and a flower, the same flower that will be used to pour the water on each dancer when they are baptized.

The baptism process takes place on the side of the crib. The caporales or owners of the house lay a blanket on the floor so that the dancers – or negritos – can kneel in front of the priest to be baptized, while the others stand next to their godmothers or godfathers, near the priest, waiting their turn at the baptism – sometimes they line up or simply wait to be called, but everyone stands very close, witnessing the baptism.

The ritual begins when the priest calls for baptism and everyone stands in line. At this point he gives the instructions to the godmothers or godfathers, who are waiting beside the member to be baptized holding a perfume and a pocket handkerchief that will be used at the baptism. The priest's first instruction is to place the pocket handkerchief on the dancer's head. Then the priest tells the godmother or godfather that they have to choose the name of a flower, regardless of the gender of the dancer, in order to baptize him or her. He asks to be handed the perfume that is used to pour over the dancer, after speaking the name of the flower.

Then the priest gives a little salt to the member to be baptized. In 2017 each aspirant was given a spoonful of salt, but the following year the priest used only his fingers to give the salt. He then dipped the flower in holy water, the same water that one of the choirboys were holding. At the moment of the baptism the godmother or godfather puts money in an alms box, then the priest usually does a ritualistic dance, tap-dancing, and says a few phrases reminiscent of African languages as well as the Catholic religion, giving a blessing. Finally, you pour some perfume and holy water over the participant being baptized. In this way, the negrito is ready to integrate the atajos.

PREPARATION AND THE PILGRIMAGE

The next day, December 24, the participants of the atajo are summoned at 8:00 pm at Amador Ballumbrosio's house to prepare and begin the first day of the pilgrimage and the procession of the Virgen del Carmen. Most of the members of the atajo arrived accompanied by some of the family members, usually the children, while other teenage members arrived together with their younger siblings so that they could help with the preparation and finish getting ready in the house. The mothers of the Negritos, other family members and owners of the house worked together to get everything ready, helping with the placement of the banners and crowns for the central day's performance at the arrival of the Niño Jesus.

However, the preparation ended around 8:50 pm. So the procession left the Ballumbrosio house at 9pm to begin the pilgrimage that followed the main streets of the El Carmen district, through the central square and finally arrived at the church. At the same time, the procession of the Virgen del Carmen was taking place in the El Carmen district, which was also integrated by other performing associations, such as bands, pallase, and other El Carmen processions. None of these performing associations quit playing, even though there was a meeting and often the songs and repertoires did not coincide. In some cases it has been observed that when the procession of the Virgen del Carmen came close to the coats, the musicians stopped singing and followed the pulse of the band's music with the bells, until the music of the Virgen del Carmen followed its course.[6]

ARRIVAL AT THE CHURCH AND THE MEETING

After following the route through the streets, the atajos head for the church of El Carmen, which is in the center of the city. Upon arriving

6 The women's version of the atajo de negritos, made up exclusively of women and girls.

gis - gesto, imagem e som

at the church I observed that all the atajos, the pallas group and the band were dancing and playing simultaneously, waiting for the arrival and entrance of the Virgen del Carmen into the church. At 11:00 pm the procession of the Virgen del Carmen is taken inside the church to begin the mass, which ends at 11:45 pm, during which time the atajos remain outside the church at the main door, some taking advantage of this time to rest for a while on the bars of the church staircase until the bells ring at midnight. t this moment, the members of the atajos congratulate each other and continue dancing and singing, this time celebrating the arrival of the Niño Jesus. In this part of the pilgrimage, the atajo has a specific repertoire, which usually contains the same melody line as the other songs, but with different lyrics.

The atajo continues dancing and singing in the streets, following the pilgrimage route until it reaches the Ballumbrosio house. Once there, the caporales and the mayorala gather all the members to give some feedback and correct some aspects about the route already taken, such as asking them to sing more loudly and to have more concentration and devotion to dance to the Niño Jesus and the Virgen del Carmen, they also give the directions for the next route.

THE PILGRIMAGE IN THE HOMES OF THE DEVOTEES
On the following day, December 25, the atajos are called to come to the Ballumbrosio house at 10:00 a.m., to make the route of the visitations to the homes of the devotees both in El Carmen and also in neighboring towns, such as Guayabo, San Jose, and San Regis. The starting and ending point of the atajos is always the Ballumbrosio house. To make the transfers to neighboring towns, the Ballumbrosio Family has a van, and other cars belonging to godfathers and family friends are also available to give rides to members without their own transportation, as happened in the transfer between Guayabo and Hacienda San José, which I witnessed.

The structure of the visits to the houses of the devotees follows a very similar pattern, but the lyrics of the songs sung change according to the owner of the house and the time the atajo stays there. The structure of the pilgrimages is as follows: the atajo enters the houses of the devotees singing and dancing, staying close to the crib, after the performance, each house owner offers drinks and food, and finally they sing a thanksgiving song, the content of which changes according to the name of the house owner and also the food he offers to the atajo.

The first place to visit was the Guayabo church, located a ten-minute drive from El Carmen. I was curious to know why the atajo started the pilgrimage with this church, as I had been informed that no atajo can enter the church. According to the caporales, this church was very dear to Mr. Amador Ballumbrosio and he was allowed to go in there and sing to the Niño Jesus. They entered the Guayabo church at about 11:45 a.m. and stayed dancing and singing until 12:15 p.m. The repertoire performed in the house pilgrimages also differs between the houses they visit. In the case of the church, the tap-dancing repertoire did not predominate, but at the end of each visit, whatever it is, they always sing the same song, thanking the owner for having offered soda, drinks, bread, or even lunch:

Luzmila que bien ha quedado,
ay Luzmila Luzmila que bien ha quedado,
Gaseocita rica nos ha regalao,
Luzmila que bien ha quedado,
ay Luzmila Luzmila que bien ha quedado,
Gaseocita rica nos ha regalao,
Lalalalailalala ...

On this route we visited the Guayabo church, four houses and a restaurant, which is representative of the locality, many tourists were there. The last house to be visited was the house of one of the caporales, Amador Ballumbrosio's son, who is in charge of the Amador Ballumbrosio Cultural Center that was under construction.

PILGRIMAGE TO THE CEMETERY

In this course, which began on December 26, 2018, the atajo members were summoned at 11am. On this occasion the atajo was divided into two groups, one group formed by children and adolescents and commanded by an adult, the caporal Chebo Ballumbrosio, and another formed predominantly by caporales. Chebo explained a little bit about why this division exists and the distinction that exists in these two groups of atajos and respective pilgrimages. The children's pilgrimage is distinct from the other group, bringing a meaningful narrative of celebrating life. According to the account of the caporales,

> The route of the children's group goes to the town of Hoja Redonda, located 10 km from El Carmen. The children's Christmas is celebrated there, and other children's groups participate. A mass is held and other activities... This moment represents life, one commemorates life, the opposite case to the pilgrimage to the Cemetery, which

commemorates death and the ancestors...[7](Ballumbrosio 2018).[8]

The children's atajo involved 15 boys and girls, corresponding to an age range of 5 to 12 years. They went to the town of Hoja Redonda, 10 minutes from El Carmen. Unfortunately, I was not able to follow the route of this group because I had already planned to accompany the atajo group that was going to the cemetery. The caporales group had 15 caporales, between youth and adults, led by Amador's son caporales. They went to the pilgrimage to the Cemetery to visit and dance at the graves of their ancestors, especially the patriarch Amador Ballumbrosio, founder of this atajo. This pilgrimage takes us back in time; it celebrates death, the ancestors, and maintains tradition. The performance has a different structure than the visits to the houses: the element of challenge is more present, the dancers tap dance near the tomb of the ancestors who followed the tradition of the atajo and tell stories and anecdotes about Mr. Amador.

In the previous year, there was a considerable difference in the formation of the members of the group that made the pilgrimage to the Cemetery, including some children and teenagers in addition to the adults, including the five year old boy Menique, the youngest of the group who followed the pilgrimage from the beginning to the end. Menique got notoriety at the performance, as he danced on the tomb of Amador Ballumbrosio, and was congratulated by the other members of the atajo. This did not happen in 2018, due to the fact that Menique and the other children and teenagers participated in the children's atajo.

The differences between these two groups that perform two distinct pilgrimages simultaneously are present not only in the performance, but also in the organization and the configuration of the music-making.

THE CELEBRATION OF THE VIRGEN DEL CARMEN

This pilgrimage took place on December 27, the central day of the demonstration because it celebrates the day of the Virgen del Carmen, which along with Christmas is the most important feast of El Carmen. On this day, the activities begin in the morning and end around 2:00 a.m. the next day, and it is therefore the performance that demands the most

7 Interview granted by Mr. Chebo Ballumbrosio (2018). Translation made by the author.
8 The children's shortcut route goes to the town of Hoja Redonda, located 10 km from El Carmen. This is where the children's Christmas is celebrated and other children's shortcuts participate. A mass and other activities are held... This moment represents life, it commemorates life, the opposite case of the pilgrimage to the cemetery, which commemorates death and the ancestors... (Chebo Ballumbrosio 2018).

physical effort because it lasts about two and a half hours and takes place in the central square, an open place, without a roof, at a time when the temperature can reach 27°/28°C.

The atajo is called at noon so that the group can prepare and go to the Plaza de El Carmen to meet the atajos coming from neighboring towns, who simultaneously sing and dance in the square. When everyone is ready, the route starts at 1 pm, leaving from the Ballumbrosio house to the square. They stay dancing and singing until 3 pm. In this performance the atajo has to present the most rehearsed repertoire and the most vir-tuosic choreography, because it will compete with the other atajos that are also trying to show themselves as the best. These other atajos come with part of the members' families, and many of them root for the atajo they belong to. The atajo performance ends when the participants return to the Ballumbrosio house so that they can rest and participate in the feast in honor of the Virgen del Carmen.

At night there is a party organized by the community, the church, and the municipality, at the church's door, where several groups, besides the atajos, perform, showing other Afro-Peruvian dances and manifesta-tions, such as festejo, lando, and bands, and there are also presentations of contemporary Afro-Peruvian music groups, among others. All these groups contribute to celebrating the arrival of the Virgen del Carmen in the church.

THE DAY OF KINGS AND THE BLESSED MELCHORITA IN GROCIO PRADO

After the celebrations of the day of the Virgen del Carmen and the Niño Jesus, the atajo rests until the Day of Kings, January 6. This pilgrimage begins in a neighboring town, Grocio Prado-Chincha, where the birth of Blessed Melchorita, a Franciscan nun who was born in this locality, is commemorated on the same date. According to testimonies from the older residents, she did and does perform miracles, so many people go to her house to pray and ask for miracles. On this day from early morning many people line up to get to Melchorita's house. The street commerce is growing significantly, so much so that the streets are crowded with food stalls preventing pedestrians from entering, and other people take advantage of this to sell souvenirs with the picture of the Blessed. Next to Melchorita's house there is an enclosure where traditionally all the "atajos" from the Chincha department go to dance and sing, it is the biggest concentration of "atajos", because the groups come from all the localities in the Chincha department, such as Sunampe, Tambo de Mora, Alto Laran, Chincha baja, alta, among others.

The difference between the performances of the atajos from El Carmen and those from other locations was evident. Some atajos, such as that of Tambo de Mora, used a different instrumentation from the traditional atajos of El Carmen, by placing a percussion instrument that was alien to the atajo tradition. Many of the members of the other atajos, such as the Cordova Carazas Family atajo from El Carmen, even the same members of the Ballumbrosio Family atajo, rejected this proposal, because, according to them, the only percussion "instrument" or rhythmic element within the structure and instrumentation of the atajos should be the tap dance, so that what these other atajos were doing to make the tradition "more modern" was, to them, a sacrilege. The performances performed in this context had a more presentational character, demonstrating to the public the most virtuosic steps and complex choreographies, demarcating their territory, legitimacy, and identity in the performance.

On this pilgrimage the Ballumbrosio group was called to the Ballumbrosio house at 9:00 a.m. to arrive in Grocio Prado around 9:45 a.m. and go to the enclosure next to Blessed Melchorita's house, where other groups were waiting in line to enter. At the door there was a gentleman determining the order in which the atajos should enter. The enclosure is a very small space, with little or almost no ventilation and no signage of the capacity limit. In this way, the people who went in there had to keep pushing each other to get a place to watch the atajos. I had a hard time getting in, as well as finding a safe place to film, but luckily among so many people I found a well-known lady, a friend of the Ballumbrosio's and an Afro-descendant cultist, Nachi Bustamante, who helped me find a good place to document the event.

The atajos had approximately 15 minutes or less to be able to enter and perform inside the enclosure. Inside there was no extended waiting time that was silent, as the atajos came and went performing, it was one performance after another. The Ballumbrosio atajo performed around 10:30, and before them performed the atajo of the Cordova Carazas Family, also from El Carmen. At the end of the Ballumbrosio atajo performance, the group went to the square in Grocio Prado to perform, staying for about an hour. At the end, many people in the square waited to take pictures with the Ballumbrosio brothers. In the documentation done the previous year, I observed that in the square there were reporters and various media outlets doing interviews and filming the Ballumbrosio atajo.

After the performance, the members of the atajo went to have lunch at a restaurant in front of the square, which, according to Chebo Ballumbrosio, is the place they go to every year because his father Amador liked to go there. After lunch the atajo took a tour of Chincha Square and a couple of wineries near El Carmen. I was able to follow these routes, but later I

learned that the atajo had no rest and were wandering around the houses of the devotees in and around El Carmen until the night. Still missing was the last pilgrimage and one of the most important, representing the closing of the ritual cycle, which I will describe below.

CLOSING RITUAL OF THE CYCLE: THE BURNING OF THE ALTAR

After the pilgrimage in the house of the devotees in the town of El Carmen, the procession gathered in the Ballumbrosio house at midnight to remove the altar from the crib and make the last pilgrimage of the whole journey. On this pilgrimage there were many tourists and family members of the atajo members, due to the significance of this ritual that closes the cycle of the entire journey. The pilgrimage began when the caporales, the godmothers and godfathers of the atajo removed the altar that was next to the Ballumbrosio's crib, to take it to an open place in order to carry out the ritual of the burning of the altar, as well as the accessories and costumes of the atajo, such as the whips that were used to hold the bells and the sashes that were part of the costumes of the members of the atajo. It is loaded with meanings and symbolism: on the one hand the burning ritual creates a space for community integration; on the other hand, the burning of the altar and symbolic objects allows for the renewal of the ritual the following year, when these materials will be remade for the next journey.

THE MUSICKING OF THE ATAJO DE NEGRITOS: PROCESSES OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS AND RITUALS

The objective of this research was to document the atajos of the Negritos in Peru, which are concentrated in the province of Chincha. The research was carried out in the district of El Carmen, a locality that has developed an African tradition with its own characteristics, specific to the locality, and which the participants see as an Afro-Andean manifestation, also having a European influence, due to the fact that it occurs within Catholic festivities.

Ethnomusicology in Peru has focused on the cultural manifestations of the Andes, neglecting the African legacy. This paper aims to demonstrate that there is another side to Peruvian music, one that encompasses the legacy of enslaved Africans brought to the region during the colonial period.

Within the atajo, there is a hierarchical structure, which is marked by several factors: kinship, with Amador Ballumbrosio's sons being the main leaders of the atajo; age, with older members generally being among the

leaders; and performance ability, since particularly virtuous members can acquire prominent positions in the atajo even though they are young and not part of the Ballumbrosio clan. This for example is the case of the caporal-child Menique, who became such a figure because of his virtuosic tap-dancing, which evidences his "caporal soul."

It was evident how the entire community of El Carmen participates in the music-making of the event, not just the members of the atajo. It also includes members of the community, such as the brotherhood of El Carmen, which organizes the route of the Virgen del Carmen, as well as the families that receive the Virgen and the atajos in their homes. It also points to the music of the seamstresses, who are in charge of making the costumes for the atajo members, such as the sashes, which are individually made according to the request of the atajo member, usually with personalized details. It is worth noting that street trading increases considerably at the time of the El Carmen festivities. In this way the residents increase their income with the production and sale of food products, handicrafts, and the rental of housing for tourists.

The ritual process of the atajo was related, which is composed of nine moments, from the beginning of the cycle, in the rehearsals and preparations, to the end and closing of the cycle, on the day of the Burning of the Altar. Within the process of the nine moments, we observed how the music of atajo developed, which demarcates its own identity through the performance and through the spaces in which it develops. This aspect is evident in some specific actions within the process: 1) The demonstration begins and ends at the home of the Ballumbrosio patriarch; 2) It has a ritual character and 3) The atajo occupies public and private spaces.

Regarding the first aspect, we observe that the cycle begins in the Ballumbrosio house in October with the rehearsals and comes to an end in January with the Burning of the Altar, when the members of the atajo and other "external" participants return to the Ballumbrosio house to celebrate the end of the ritual process. In this way, we understand that the Ballumbrosio house carries significant value for the atajo. Thus, this feeling of belonging is also transmitted to the community and to the other "external" participants.

The second aspect highlights how the whole process of the atajo manifestation has a ritual character, evidenced in several moments, such as the Baptism, held in the Ballumbrosio house after the last General Rehearsal. In this ritual, all the members of the atajo have to be baptized by the priest, thus preparing and purifying themselves to be able to take the blessings to the homes of the devotees. Likewise, this is the ritual in which the Negritos quit being Moors to become Christians.

The only member that is not baptized is the paraleto or viejito, who wears an old man or devil mask and maintains his Moorish condition throughout the manifestation in order to scare away the evil spirits that are around the atajo.

Another ritual process is evident in the visits to the homes of the devotees, an event in which families organize themselves each year and prepare for the arrival of the Niño Jesus and the Virgen, who bring their blessings and prosperity to the community. In El Carmen it is believed that the atajos, through their songs of adoration to the Niño Jesus and the Virgen, bring the blessing of the Magi. Through their pilgrimages, the atajos link the families of devotees uniting them into a Christian community (Reily 2002). As Reily (2002) argues, scholars tend to focus their studies on the public aspects of religious manifestations involving house-to-house pilgrimages, however, for the communities in question attention is mainly focused on the visitations where the sacred blessings are distributed.

In the third aspect, we point out that there is a distinction between the spaces where the atajo performances are developed, highlighting the differences between performances that take place in public places and in private places, thus creating distinct meanings. For example, in the performances in public squares, one notices competitiveness among the costumes, so that each group works hard on performing elaborate steps and choreography, something that receives less attention in the visits to the homes of the devotees or in the Burning of the Altar, events in which the repertoire changes and the performance acquires a fundamentally participatory character. In this way we understand that each moment of the manifestation carries a meaning, articulated to the place where it occurs and the people involved in the music making.

At the moment of the pilgrimage to the cemetery several aspects are evident, such as, for example, the breaking of hierarchy in the performances, the celebration of life and death, and the respect and maintenance of ancestrality. This moment is strongly linked with the religious-Catholic aspect and is composed of three moments that take place on the same day: 1) the Pilgrimage and performance in the Plaza del El Carmen; 2) the celebration of the central feast of the Virgen del Carmen; and 3) the Pilgrimage of the Virgen. Besides the religious aspect, it is evident how social interactions develop among the participants of the other atajos, often generating rivalries, competitions, and the addition of new expressive languages within the choreographies and songs. This interaction allows the "unconscious exchange" of new performative elements. In this way, they develop a "new form" in the interpretation of the dances. This is because in this performance the atajos sing and dance simultaneously with other atajos in the Plaza del El Carmen.

Another relevant aspect that happens in the Central Feast of the Virgen is the fact that, on the same stage, musical groups of various genres are presented, ranging from traditional Afro-Peruvian music, such as: festejo, lando, among others, to jazz and classical music groups, bringing diverse sounds produced by ensembles formed by residents of El Carmen, residents of neighboring towns, and residents of Lima, something that does not happen often in El Carmen.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The atajo is intergenerational, related to Catholic religiosity, and, according to Turino's (2008) classification, is performed in a participatory way18. The performance is collective in its whole process. Today it remains in force thanks to the community. Its members are in charge of its organization and financing; most of them, the local community participates directly or indirectly in the rituals of the atajo, so that everyone is part of the music. But even among the atajos there are more presentational groups that perform on non-traditional dates and outside the ritualistic religious context, changing their purpose and consequently becoming presentational performances, but this is more frequent in the spectacularized presentations that take place in theaters in Lima and abroad than in El Carmem.

The ritualistic religious element is very present in this manifestation, as the Catholic church plays a very important role in the constructions of new American identities. In Peru, the African religions have complemented the Catholic religion, thus reaching a syncretism, reinterpreting, through the worship of saints, rituals of Catholicism; one can also notice how little distinction there is between the sacred and the profane.

With this preliminary work, we hope to have contributed to the study of traditional music from the coast of Peru, as well as to rethink other possible paths for a more detailed study of Afro-Peruvian musical practices in the current context and the possible relations and convergences that take place in the Afro-Latin context.

This research focused on a specific group, and from this group broader articulations can be thought of. Other approaches that understand the study of the musical practices of this atajo in relation to atajos from other places and how this tradition is articulated with Afro-Peruvian and Afro-Andean traditions, as well as how they are articulated with other Afro-Latin American traditions, remain to be worked on.

Likewise, a new study of this universe is justified, since such an investigation can elucidate the ways in which blacks in contemporary Peru and

elsewhere in Latin America are turning to traditional expressive forms as a means of gaining space and redefining their position in the nation.

The chants have a question and answer structure, this reflects the hierarchy and roles played by the more experienced members, which in this case would be the caporales or the violinists, as opposed to the younger members such as the negritos. The dance and music are cyclical, made up of short, repetitive phrases. It is also noticeable that the music has elements of the Andean aesthetic, which is reflected in the sonorities produced by the violin. The African element is appreciated in the rhythms used in tap dancing and in the oral tradition of the slaves that persists in folklore, and in the Andean element of the violin's sound and in the melodic lines of the voice, where the pentatonic scale predominates, as well as in the harmony of the Andean huayno.

TRANSLATION
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ARTICLES

MUSICKING *AYMARA* AND *QUECHUA* IMMIGRANTS TRANSLOCALITIES IN SÃO PAULO

DOSSIER LOCAL MUSICKING

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ABSTRACT
Walking through some streets and squares in the city of São Paulo, on Sundays throughout the year and on days of Bolivian community feast, we go through altiplanic locations (Appadurai 1996) built three thousand kilometers away from the Andean Highland. Thousands of Bolivian Andean transmigrants rework their cultural and emotional dynamics through the creation of transnational (Glick-Schiller, Basch & Szanton 1992), commercial and symbolic networks. Also through indigenous music (Small 1998), especially the musical practice of Aymara and Quechua repertoire and players, the affective structures that constitute and affirm performatically and synesthetically indigenous highland locations are strengthened. Through theoretical and ethnographic articulation with an anthropological and ethnomusicological basis, we seek to reflect on how the Centro Cultural Kollasuyo Maya, an autochthonous group of Aymara and Quechua formation, by activating and integrating networks between indigenous people and collectives, immigrants and paulistanos, is musicalizing and locating the Bolivian Andean Highland in São Paulo.

ALTIPLANO ROUTES OF SÃO PAULO

Figure 1. Facades of Coimbra Street (Cristina de Branco, analog photography, São Paulo, 2018)

Figure 2. Walking down Coimbra Street with the Vientos del Ande (Cristina de Branco, analogic photography, São Paulo, 2018)

gis - gesto, imagem e som

We got off at Brás station, subways and trains flowing through the São Paulo megalopolis, representing so well the vertigo of cement and crowds in the capital. Leaving the station, between street vendors as well as military and civil police, the minimally attentive eye will notice these dozens, hundreds of brown people, with features that we commonly recognize as indigenous, straight, black hair, carrying large bulks of merchandise, backpacks and bags, many of them with children in their hands and babies in the cart or in the *aguayo*[1]. Spanish is heard here and there; more cautious ears will sometimes hear *Aymara* and *Quechua*. Following Avenida Rangel Pestana and Celso Garcia, almost in front of the colossal and disproportionate Temple of Solomon, they appear among the clothing and shoe stores, hairdressers and restaurants with signs in Spanish. By entering the four blocks of the short Rua Coimbra, the street trade multiplies, the faces and sales change, *cholitas*[2] selling *mocochinchi*[3] soft drinks, flaxseed juices and quinoa. In the shops of Andean varieties, open to the street, plastic bags with *hojas de coca* and *palo santo are sold*[4], as various types of corn and potatoes, colored, dehydrated, among the bags of various seeds and Bolivian bread. In other stores are sold *polleras*, feminine and masculine clothes of folk groups, piles of *aguayos* of many colors and formats. From the restaurants and newsstands, *huaynos* and *chichas*[5] can be heard, announcements from Bolivian community radio stations, advertisements for Portuguese classes, sewing and entrepreneurship, in Spanish, *Aymara* and *Quechua*. During all days of the week, especially on Sundays and Bolivian festive days, these four blocks of Rua Coimbra and part of this and other neighborhoods in the city of São Paulo (Cymbalista and Rolnik 2007, Souchaud 2010), visually and sonically affirm the creation, maintenance and transformation of migrant locations, Andean locations reinvented and readjusted to the urban fabric of São Paulo.

1 *Aguayo* is a type of Andean fabric, associated with the *Aymara* and *Quechua* indigenous weaving of the Altiplano west of Bolivia and southeastern Peru. Strongly linked to the sacred and motherhood, the uses of *aguayo* range from ritual to everyday uses.
2 *Cholas* or *cholitas* are both terms that affectionately or pejoratively identify *Aymara* and *Quechua* or *mestizo* women indigenous to Bolivia and Peru. They dress with *polleras*, longer or shorter pleated skirts, of heavier or lighter fabrics (depending on the sub-region), with two long braids, *aguayo* or blanket and with a hat (also depending on the reference sub-region).
3 Made with water, dried peaches and caramel, the *mocochinchi* refreshment is related to indigenous highland food conservation practices, although normally consumed throughout Bolivia and much of Peru.
4 Coca leaves are grown in the Andean valleys and are one of the most important elements of *Aymara* and *Quechua* rituals. *Palo santo* is also used in offering rituals, in celebration by the *Aymara* and *Quechua* populations, among other Latin American indigenous people.
5 *Huayno* is a musical genre widely practiced in the Andean regions and *chicha* is a style that derives from *Huaynos*, *Cumbias* and other genres in the Amazon region.

Part of the dozens of Bolivian folk and autochthonous[6] groups active in São Paulo also perform on the Sunday closest to July 16 of each year, in celebration of Dia de La Paz (La Paz Day). With its various wind bands, metal or cane, trumpets or *zampoñas*, Bolivians and their daughters and sons, perhaps already born in Brazil, parade through the Brás' streets celebrating the first act of republican independence in the South American region. They celebrate a local and regional historical landmark, expanding it to another, distant, warmer, greener and cemented territory. We review La Paz, El Alto, altiplanic cities of indigenous majority, quite arid, cold and translucent due to such altitude, raised by the presence, body, speech and melodies of highland migrant people who make themselves seen and heard among the streets of São Paulo.

Figure 3. Banner of the autochthonous community Vientos del Ande. (Cristina de Branco, analogic photography, São Paulo, 2018)

6 We evoke "autochthonous" to characterize musical practices of indigenous highland reference (Wahren 2016; Cespedez 1984; Bigenho 2002) as it has been used by *Aymara* and *Quechua* migrants to characterize their musical practices with a territorial and spatial identification, which is commonly used as a synonym for indigenous or *originario*. It is also worth mentioning that in the Bolivian Political Constitution, the use of the terms indigenous and *originario* is related to human collectivities that share "cultural identity, language, historical tradition, institutions, territoriality and cosmovision, whose existence is prior to the Spanish colonial invasion" (Art 30, Political Constitution of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, 2009).

Figure 4. End of Vientos del Ande's performance on La Paz Day at Coimbra Street (Cristina de Branco, analogic photography, São Paulo, 2018)

Amid them, several members of the Comunidad Autoctona Vientos del Ande will meet during the early afternoon, there in a block near the streets crossed by the procession in Coimbra. Formed in 2016, between families and friends, mostly *Aymara*, almost all members of the Vientos del Ande come from the Bolivian Altiplano. Among them there are several players who simultaneously integrate other groups, such as the Morales Churqui family and César Chui Quenta[7], the nucleus of the Centro Cultural Kollasuyo Maya (which we will write more carefully below). With their flutes in hand and two more bass drums, the male members and Beatriz Morales (at that time, the only female player in Vientos del Ande and Kollasuyo Maya), started the rehearsal prior to the parade.

In these streets of houses, families and small sewing factories, between the conversations of women and girls who are braiding each other's hair

7 In an attempt to build and affirm dialogical and collaborative researches, the people mentioned have read, revised and authorized the publication of this text.

and fixing their pink *aguayos*, the flute winds are already being heard between pairs, strengthening the repertoire that will be presented later. Three young people, dressed to play in some *salay* group, leave one of the houses, and later some *caporales* cross the street, while a lady comments from the window, with a Brazilian accent, about the wonder of the Bolivian feast with a neighbor sitting at the corner bar, also apparently Brazilian. In their linguistic, performative and ethnic-cultural diversity, groups of people are distinguished between Brazilians and Bolivians, composing a dynamic location between the coexistence and tension between various types of collective organizations, between different rhythms, melodies, costumes, colors and physiognomies, all this in a single procession during a Sunday afternoon in July, in Brás.

TRANSLOCATING THE ALTIPLANO: MIGRATORY AND CONCEPTUAL CONTEXTS

Among the Andean immigrants living in the city of São Paulo, Andean Colombians, Ecuadorians, Peruvians, Bolivians, Chileans and Argentines, those who were born in the Plurinational State of Bolivia correspond a migratory majority, not only among immigrants from the Andes, but also in relation to the entire migrant population of the capital. Today, there are more than 100,000 people from Bolivia living in the city of São Paulo, already corresponding to the first largest immigrant population in the capital (OBMigra/Nepo-Unicamp 2020). Most of them come from the Andean areas of western Bolivia (Silva 2008, Xavier 2012), the country in the South American region with the highest proportion of indigenous population by census self-declaration: they total 41%, of which more than 70% declared themselves *Aymaras* and *Quechuas* (INE 2012). Although we don't yet count on the intersection between ethnic-racial data and statistics on immigrant populations in São Paulo and Brazil[8], it's possible to predict that a considerable part of this migrant sector would self-declare as indigenous, more specifically as *Aymaras* and *Quechuas*[9].

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8 Referring to the social construction of the indigenous migrant subject in Latin America, Sérgio Caggiano and Alicia Torres warned about the "trend towards the "nationalization" of the populations involved in migratory flows. That is, the preference to identify them by the country they come from, eliminating regional, ethnic differences (...) A homogenization that highlights, on the one hand, "methodological nationalism" – defined as the conception in social sciences that assumes that the nation/State/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002, 302). On the other hand, the invisibility of diversity in the ethnic composition of these migrant populations, explained either by assimilationist or directly racist reasons" (Caggiano e Torres 2011, 178).

9 We consider people and practices *Aymaras* and *Quechuas* in São Paulo in a concomitant way because we realized that several of the autochthonous Altiplano groups currently active in the city are made up of a majority of *Aymaras* and some *Quechua* families. Faced with the great sharing of ritual practices, cosmogonic perceptions, regions of reference and linguistic terms, we also realize that in the groups, speeches of synergy rather than ethnic-cultural difference prevail between *Aymara* and *Quechuas*. It's also worth mentioning that several authors, among them Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, debate terms such as *quechumara* (Palomino

This statistical invisibility inevitably leads to a systematic ignorance of the ethnic-racial particularity of this migrant population and its nominal non-existence in the spheres of public policy of São Paulo city and Brazil. This absence in the municipal, state and federal governmental prisms is also understood as a selective silence about the ethnic-racial diversities of the migrant populations in the country and, consequently, about the specificities of their demands as a sector in the Brazilian society. In this context of selective silences and invisibilizations, we can understand the symbolic force of the public and performative appearance of these *Aymara* and *Quechuas* people in the city, musicalizing and localizing their autochthonies from the Altiplano, and also their diversity as indigenous people from different Andean regions in the middle of São Paulo, in the same territory that institutionally does not recognize their multiplicity of identities. We will be then, through active listening and looking, traveling routes of encounter with these *Aymara* and *Quechuas* people throughout the city, searching to find them in their musical and public performative expressiveness.

Both in relation to the *Aymara* and *Quechua* sectors and to the Bolivian community as a whole, there is a search for recognition of their presence as citizens through the occupation of city public and convivial spaces, mainly through cultural performances that represent "Andean, *Quechua*, *Aymara*, Guarani, or simply as Bolivians" identities (Silva 2012, 30-31). As described by Sidney Silva: "festive practices become an important mediation in the process of identity reconstruction of immigrants, thus opening a possible channel of dialogue with the country of adoption" (2012, 26). In São Paulo's context, besides autochthonous performatic practices such as the *Aymaras* and *Quechuas*, there are also folkloric dance and music manifestations such as *caporales*, *morenadas*, *salays*, besides groups and artists that express themselves by other musical genres or artistic languages. In general, most of the folkloric collectivities and autochthonous groups perform publicly on Bolivian commemorative dates, in spaces of great circulation such as Parque Dom Pedro II, Latin American Memorial, Paulista Avenue and in other places, such as Praça da Kantuta and Largo do Rosário, in the neighborhood of Penha.

In order to understand the musical processes of constitution of these migrant Altiplano localities in São Paulo, we look for the *Aymara* and *Quechuas* people and performative expressivities with an ethnographic attention. Starting from the participant observation in São Paulo, semi-structured interviews and shared audiovisual realization, we also looked for a theoretical apparatus to potentiate our reflections. First of all, we used the

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apud Cusicanqui 2015, 223), *urbandino* (Camacho apud Cusicanqui 2015, 223), as well as bring to the theoretical reflection of the Social Sciences terms of *Aymara* and *Quechua* inspiration. However, given the brevity of this essay, no greater consideration will be made about the diversity and density of this debate.

term "musicking" by Christopher Small, to situate all and any activity "that may affect the naturalness of this human encounter that we call a musical performance" (Small 1999, 5), that is, any form of engagement with music. Also, in migration contexts, music is capable of promoting relationships between individuals, groups and spaces, narrowing and generating social and emotional bonds that are concretized in daily life and that do not necessarily detach themselves from those relationships that each one brings from their places of reference or background.

At the same time, we activate the "production of locality" notion from Arjun Appadurai (1996). For the author, locality is understood as a "structure of feelings", that is, a value that is built on social relations and their forms of interaction, such as community engagement in musical practices. We also understand it as "an ideal of living and coexisting, continuously recreated by a group of people who inhabit the same space" (Reily, Toni and Hikiji 2016, 11), a space that is not necessarily physical. As we will see further on, it is remarkable how *Aymara* and *Quechuas* migrants engage in various musical activities and at the same time strengthen and transform their social ties with other sectors of the Bolivian community and São Paulo society, producing and musicking their migrant places around the city. However, when we come across these migratory musicals from São Paulo and the affective and migratory dynamics of the members of the groups under study, we realize that the bonds that mobilize these musical practices transcend the daily place. Through the intimate and shared memory, the digital communication, the annual or biannual return trips to the Andean Altiplano, there is a constant and expressive re-elaboration of this music so marked by these comings and goings of the transmigrant mobility (Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton 1992). In this sense, it is worth recovering the transnational approach proposed by the authors Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Blanc-Szanton, which strengthens the perspective on the agenciality and dynamism of migrant lives, between different places and universes of reference. In this sense, in the face of ethnographic evidence on the physical, cybernetic, symbolic and affective transnational mobility of the members of these groups, we understand the *Aymara* and *Quechua* musicking from São Paulo in their transmigrant and translocal nature, that is, as musicking constituted by various social and emotional connections, referenced by the Andean Altiplano and interpreted in São Paulo.

The relationships cultivated in daily life, between those that are maintained, those that have been transformed and the new connections promoted by migration, can be observed as migratory social networks "that maintain recurring contacts among themselves, by means of occupational, family, cultural or affective ties (...) complex formations

that channel, filter and interpret information, articulating meanings, allocating resources and controlling behaviors" (Kelly apud Truzzi 2008, 203). Oswaldo Truzzi (2008) engages Abdelmalek Sayad (1998) to reflect on the existence of networks and bonds that the immigrant has carried since his origin[10] and that from his arrival in a new context he experiences constant changes, or creates new ones, extrapolating the ethnic and family bonds linked to his origin: "the migration experience itself is capable of proposing and redefining new identities and recognitions that can be translated into new networks" (2008, 211). Nina Glick Schiller and Ulrike Meinhof (2011) propose thinking from individual experiences of transmigrants to look at the "transnational social fields and networks" that interconnect with each other. This perspective contributes, according to the authors, to reflect on the production of multiple and simultaneous identities and on the relationship between migration and cultural production, considering the subjects as agents of a national and local construction (2011, 25). Identifying networks and partnerships built during transmigrant trajectories and understanding them as strategies activated by the *Aymara* and *Quechuas* migrants themselves, allows us to analyze how the migrant music from the Altiplano is built and perceived by themselves, by others involved, by Andean communities and by viewers of São Paulo.

Among the various groups of native musical and performance practices in São Paulo, we will prioritize the analysis of the Centro Cultural Kollasuyo Maya, attending its musical engagements, contacts and actions with other artistic collectives of immigrants in the city, participation in festivities and other local immigrant events. These engagements encourage us to understand which networks and relationships are activated and dynamized through the group's music and how these altiplanic translocalities are produced and musicalized by the city. In the course of this work, we will try to trace the characteristics of some altiplanic musicals, their practices within the South American regional context and their specificities within the São Paulo context through Kollasuyo Maya.

MUSICKING THAT BLOWS WIND AND PULSES LIFE: ETHNOMUSICOLOGICAL CONTEXTS

The *Aymara* musician César Chui Quenta in one of our interviews told us: "Everything we live, everything we are, it's air. Music would be the soul of life, the essence of life it's the breathing of life. When we do this – he breaths – that would be music". In this tone, the composer Alberto

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10 Aiko Ikemura (2019) investigated social and spatial mobility among *Aymara* immigrants between El Alto and São Paulo pays attention to the expansion of social and practical networks, maintaining connections with their rural origins, even in transnational migrations.

Villalpando affirms that the wind is like a musical instrument of the Altiplanic regions, and it is through the wind and the air that it´s possible to hear the warm regions and the cold weather of the mountains, sometimes like a flute, with hissing sounds, sometimes like a storm, with violent noises. Based on these perceptions, it is not difficult to understand the strength of wind musical instruments (aerophones) in regional autochthonous manifestations and the importance of this sound in the composition of the soundscape of the Andean Altiplano. The sound produced by blowing in aerophones, from several sizes, shapes and registers, commonly accompanied by *bombos* or *cajas*, is heard in the altiplano regions with specific timbristic and formal characteristics of each province, or even of each settlement, with change of audible textures in the periods of rain and drought, which on the one hand, reveals the existence of several musical styles, but on the other hand, requires an extensive research work to cover all the multiplicity of existing musical practices in the region.

The practice of these instruments and their musical styles in rural communities is related to the agricultural festive calendar, which is structured through the dry and cold weather (*Awti Pacha*, March to December) and the wet weather (*Jalla Pacha*, December to March). This alternation of periods is what makes possible the plantations and harvests that are always accompanied by corresponding celebrations. During *Jalla Pacha*, *Quechuas* and *Aymaras* play several flutes, like: *tarkas*, vertical airfoil representative of *Anata*[11], made of solid wood with six front holes and a bottom and nozzle mouth; *pinquillo*, vertical airfoil with six holes that can be of various sizes, with nozzle mouth; *moseños* that would also belog to the family of *pinquillos*, but with larger dimensions, some of which are touched in a transverse way, originating from the Cantón Mohoza region in the department of La Paz; besides many others which touched in the celebrations of this period establish a relation with the natural and supernatural phenomena. In this sense, Hans von Berg (1990) states:

> Music is an important, if not indispensable, element in the agricultural rites [of the *Aymara*]. As we have seen when talking about the rites of the dead and rain, the tones produced by the musical instruments influence natural phenomena and thus contribute to the regular growth of plants (Berg 1990, 125).

Commonly, *tropas* are the name for the groups which play aerophones and percussion instruments. The number of participants is also variable,

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11 The A*nata* is a pre-Hispanic agricultural ritual that in some rural regions is linked to the end of agricultural tasks in the month of February, being called in other areas as Carnival (Aramayo 1994, 124).

depending on the size of the village and the festivity. Percussion is present in most of the *tropas* by instruments such as *bombos*, drums and *cajas*, usually made of wood and leather from sheep, llamas, and other animals. The *wank'ara* is a typical hand drum from the Jalla Pacha period, often accompanying the *pinquillos* in carnival festivities, during which the player plays the *wank'ara* and the pinquillo at the same time. The *moseñada* is accompanied by the *moseño* drum, specific to this style[12]. In the tarkeadas the accompaniment can be with *bombos*, cylindrical membranophones with leather in the extremities and like in the aerophones, they have variations depending on the region, being able to be of tanned leather or not – which modifies the sonority – but normally they are instruments which the size of the cylinder is bigger than its diameter and they are carried on the shoulders by the players during the practices (Aramayo 1994). The presence of these instruments in the *tropas* not only guarantees the rhythmic pulse, but also symbolically, according to César Chui, is very important because it "represents the heart", the internal pulse, both of the group and of the nature.

In the *Awti Pacha*, people usually play a great diversity of pan flutes (*sikus* in *Aymara*). Among several *viento* instruments that are played in the Andean Altiplano, it is remarkable the predominance of studies and investigations of the various practices of *sikus*. According to archaeological researches, Walter Canedo (1996) points out the presence of this instrument in almost the entire region and as we will see below, there is an extensive bibliographical production dedicated to understanding the practice of sikus and *sikuris* (*siku* players) in their musical and anthropological aspects. The *siku*, also known as *zampoña* (in Spanish) and other variations[13] such as *lakita, maizu, chiriwanu, antara and jula-jula* – depending on the region and size variations and number of tubes – is a blowing aerophone, usually of hollow cane, formed by a row of parallel tubes ordered from the largest to the smallest, closed at one end and opened at the other where the blowing is performed. Many times, there is a secondary row that adds harmonics and both the first and second row tubes are tied by wires. There are size variations both inside the *tropas* – pairs of *sikus* with distinct tunings, in octaves and fifths for example – and from village to village, and even inside them, as in Conima (Turino 1933) – to distinguish themselves from each other, guaranteeing specificities of the style and mainly the diversity of sonority/density between the *tropas*.

12 For each style it is possible to find instruments such as drums and characteristic *bombos* depending on the province. The variations are numerous, beyond what we can hold in this text, for more specific definitions see Aramayo (1994).
13 Some researchers classify jula-*jula, maizu, chiriwanu, antara* and *lakita* as variations of *siku*. However, there are divergences on this classification, especially between interpreters of other pipes that are braided other than *siku*.

The intrinsic relationship of these musical practices with Andean cosmogony was a field of study for several researchers, such as Max Baumann (1980; 1996), Henry Stobart (2006) and Thomas Turino (1993). Based on analyses of the performance and musical structures of these expressivities, these researchers understood more about musical, performatic and spiritual interconnections, as well as about the transposition of cosmogonic principles to the musical and choreographic exercise, as is evidenced, for example, in the vertebrality of the *Aymara* and *Quechua* principles of reciprocity (*Ayni*) and complementarity (*Chachawarmi*) within the melodic and performatic organization of *sikuri* practice. The melody created through the *siku* is achieved with the alternated sounds and produced by two complementary instruments, the *ira*[14] (which guides) and the *arka* (which follows and has one less tube than the *ira*), and together they form a pair that corresponds to the unit. In *Aymara*, the *siku* technique is called *jjaktasiña irampi arcampi* which in an approximate translation, would be "to put itself according to the *ira* and the *arka*" (Chacón 1989). Understanding the dialogical interdependence of the technique, after all, the practice always needs two *sikuris* to form the melody, Chacón named it "Andean musical dialogue of the bipolar *siku*". It is not possible to generalize when it comes to the structures, musical forms and styles of *sikus*, because according to their regional particularities, either by the number of participants, rhythmic accompaniments, or other characteristic forms, the *sikuri* exercise is changing. However, when we look at melodies, there is a tendency in descending lines, usually in unison and sets with at least three sizes of instruments tuned in octaves and fifths guaranteeing the density of the texture. The form of interpretation (*dialogada*) indicates a non-predilection of individuality within the *Aymara* and *Quechuas* musical practices, that is, "no individual instrument should appear more (or escape) from the integrated fabric of the sound of the ensemble" (Turino 1989, 12), guaranteeing its community, medullar character to the Altiplano indigenous social forms. The number of players and the choreography of the play also reveal this community sense: the *sikuris* usually play among several pairs, and hundreds of players can join together, according to the characteristics of each region; and they often do it in a circle, listening and responding among pairs that complement each other, among all. Thus, these characteristics of *sikuri* practice also show the structural strength of reciprocity and complementarity in this duality between *sikuris*, in a constant round dialogue, publicly and communally re-establishing particular ways of relating to music and the world (Podhajcer 2011, 277).

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14 Commonly, the flute called *sikus* has 7 + 7 tubes (*ira*) and 6 + 6 (*arka*), but as explained, there is a huge variation in the number of tubes.

BEYOND LOCAL MUSICKING: SOUTH AMERICAN REGIONAL CONTEXTS

While these musickings continue to be practiced in the Bolivian and Peruvian Altiplano, migratory flows and the advance of technologies, especially in the 20th and 21st centuries, have led to the expansion of the practice of wind instruments beyond this territory. From the 1980's on, groups that practice *flautas del viento* have emerged in some South American cities, such as Lima, Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile, Bogotá and São Paulo. On the one hand, part of the *Aymara* and *Quechua* migrant communities that live in these capitals are reworking their recreational, ritualistic and performative practices, founding groups with family formation, respecting, as far as possible, the musical ties and rituals proper to the Andean agricultural calendar, interpreting, above all, the *sikus*, *tarkas* and *moseños*, maintaining the choreographies and clothing from the Altiplano. On the other hand, non-indigenous students and intellectuals, not necessarily linked to the family practices of the Altiplano, are forming groups of indigenous music that are predominantly dedicated to the practice of *sikus*, forming a "transnational regional movement" (Castelblanco, 2018), which has been referred to as the Sikuri movement. In another sense, through these musical practices, rituals, organizational methods and a set of cosmogonic assumptions intrinsic to *sikuri* music are also approached in order to experience and build forms of alternative societies in large cities (Castelblanco 2018, 487). This *movimiento sikuri* has been potentiated by the edition of magazines, conferences and international events, especially dynamized by metropolitan academic *sikuris* dedicated to various topics that intersect *sikuris* practices, such as the gender perspective (Vega 2012, Pizarro 2017), urbanization, politicization and patrimonialization of the practice, among others.

In Lima, Buenos Aires and Santiago de Chile, the internal and external migrations, mainly from regions with a large *Aymara* and *Quechua* presence in their respective countries, are one of the main reasons for an approach of musicians and urban students to the musical practices of Altiplano communities. In Lima, some researchers have developed investigations on the emergence of the movement in the 1970s (Acevedo 2007, Falcon 2013, Sanchez 2007, Turin 1993) and link it to the effervescence of social and political movements of the time (Falcon 2013, 24). Also strongly encouraged by migration from the department of Puno, a southeastern Peruvian region with an *Aymara* indigenous majority, the *Sikuri Limeño* movement usually differentiates players based on regional reference standards, categorizing them as *Sikuris altiplanicos* (*Aymaras* from Puno), regional (non-Indigenous Puneños migrants), and metropolitan (Limeño people or migrants from other areas not necessarily linked to Puneños practices and region). Although initially the *sikuris*

Limeñas groups had this great Puneña influence, Acevedo (2007) points out some transformations in the ways of organization of the groups, by the feminine involvement in the instrumental practices and the greater circulation and interconnection between groups, due to the internet and the new technologies.

In Buenos Aires, since the mid-1980s, indigenous and non-indigenous migrants have been strengthening processes of identity appreciation in which with not only music, but also cosmogonic principles and Andean ritualities are increasingly evoked. Over the years, in this *Porteño* context, several groups have emerged that are not strictly family-based, dynamized between indigenous and non-indigenous, men and women who, with different experiences, have ensured the heterogeneity of musical styles of *sikus*, such as *j'ach sikus de italaques*, *k'hantus*, *sikureadas*, *tuailos* (Bolivia), *sikuri de varios bombos* or *sikuri mayor*, among others (Barragan and Mardones 2012). This *Porteño* movement is also characterized by its participation in political and social manifestations, mainly related to indigenous movements. In this context, Adil Podhajcer (2015, 51) signals the possibility of musicians (migrants or not), through the performance, to live "the Andean dream and imagination" which would generate, in practice, new creative processes that innovate the repertoire, new forms of musical interpretation, new uses of the body and new strategies and demands to ensure the maintenance of this specific practice.

In Santiago de Chile, the emergence of collectives of *sikuris* and *lakitas* was motivated by regional migratory flows active since 1980 and the success of Andean urban music through the *conjuntos andinos*[15], which had Chilean representatives of international reach since 1950 (González 2012, Ibarra 2016, Ríos 2012). Miguel Ibarra (2016) points out some characteristics that preceded the migrations from the north of Chile and that supported with educational proposals, presentations of *Aymara* groups in the capital and the dialogue with urban musicians contributed to the interest in the practices of *sikus* and *lakas*. The author also mentions sound and discursive transformations as a trend among the *Lakita*s groups resulting from the urbanization of the practice and the resignification of its social and cosmological dimensions (2016, 146).

Differently from that experienced and registered in other South American cities, the *Sikuri* movement in Bogotá had few migrant references (Sinti

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15 *Conjuntos andinos* (Ríos 2012) would be ensembles formed primarily by urban folklorists in some South American countries such as Bolivia, Argentina and Chile, which in the mid-twentieth century were internationally successful, promoted by the recording industry. The instrumental formation is composed of *quena, zampoñas, charango, bombo leguero*, guitar and voices. Their repertoire presents adaptations of some native melodies or new compositions with the predominance of pentatonic scales, descending melodies, predominance of binary metrics and accelerated cadential times (González 2012, Ríos 2012).

2017, Castelblanco 2019). Nirvana Sinti (2017) refers to the "boom of Latin American music or *criolla* music" between 1970 and 1990, the circulation of vinyl records, cassette tapes, television programs, as the major factors for the emergence of Andean ensembles and the formation of the first Sikuri groups. Castelblanco finds in the Bogotan scene some specificities motivated by the lack of "authentic" models, since most of the performers had no relation with the *Aymara* and *Quechuas* family and community practices. In the same sense, Júlio Bonilla (2007, 2013) mentions the difficulty of access to music, written materials, and Altiplanic instruments. In this context, some groups also interpret the *kuvi*, transverse flutes of groups of *chirimía nasa* from the Colombian Cauca region. Sinti (2017, 93) states that the inaccurate way of learning styles and the few pretensions to copy Bolivian and Peruvian *tropas* have favored the non-exclusivity of specific styles of *sikus*, which implies the expansion of new practices to the established *sikuri* music.

WINDS BLOWING IN BRAZILIAN LOWLANDS: SÃO PAULO CONTEXT

Unlike the aforementioned South American cases, São Paulo is not included in this *movimiento sikuri*, although it shares characteristics of some of the contexts mentioned above. The existence of a "*ola latinoamericana*" (Garcia 2012) is one of them, which through discs, radio programs, recording of folkloric repertoire – mainly Argentine and Chilean – artists and intellectuals, Brazilian and exiles, stimulated in the middle of the decade of 1970 the formation of *conjuntos andinos*, which found spaces for performance, with a mainly university audience (Teófilo 2017). This period forged an imaginary of the "sonority of the Andes" in the city that still persists – represented by some groups – but that does not characterize the indigenous practices of *Aymara* and *Quechua* immigrants who are now playing in the city. In this sense, the capital of São Paulo does not currently experience a cultural and musical dynamic that can configure an extension of this *movimiento sikuri*. As we will see below, in broad strokes, the São Paulo context is configured either by its diversity of instruments and interpreted musical styles (and not primarily *siku*), by different altiplanic regional references, or by the tendency towards homogeneity in the formation of groups, commonly constituted between relatives, neighbors and friends, including male players and female dancers, almost all *Aymara* and *Quechua* migrants from different parts of the Bolivian and Peruvian Altiplano.

Currently, there are several active groups in the city, such as: the Conjunto Autóctono Jach'a Sikuri de Italaque – Nuevo Amanecer, the Grupo Autóctono Huaycheños del Corazón, the Centro Cultural Kollasuyo Maya,

the Comunidad Autóctona Vientos del Ande, the Bloque Moseñada Hijos de Luribay, the Conjunto Moseñada Hijos de Murumamani 100x100 Brasil Bolívia, the Juventud Moseñada 5ª Sección Araca, the Juventud Chicheña, the Comunidad Autóctona Coquero and the Conjunto Autóctono Waly Wayras. Others are made up of *Aymara* people from southeastern Peru, such as the Conjunto de Música y Danza Autóctonas Qhantati Ururi de Conima – Filial Brasil and the *Grupo de Arte 14 de Septiembre*[16]. Mostly mentioned by the Andean immigrant communities in São Paulo as indigenous groups, that is, as groups dedicated to the practice of native altiplanic music and dance, in general they comprise a majority of *Aymara* people, immigrants from the territorial axis between the Poopo and Titicaca Lakes, that is to say, of the altiplanic departments of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, such as Oruro, Potosí, La Paz, and to a lesser extent, *Aymara* of Puno, Peru. Among them there are also, to a lesser extent, *Quechua* families and people from these same regions and also from the department of Cochabamba[17]. It is worth mentioning that some of these groups also incorporate some Brazilian members, usually sons, daughters, wives and girlfriends of Bolivian *Aymara* players.

Between some groups formed since the mid-nineties, others with a few years of formation, these autochthonous groups share some similarities, but also several differences that differentiate each one. Almost all are formed between families and close friends, with the presence of babies and people in their sixties, maintaining a majority or totality of male players and female dancers. In São Paulo, these groups dedicate themselves to music different autochthonous altiplanic styles, interpreting diverse aerophonic instruments, such as *siku*, *tarka*, *pinquillo*, *moseño*, *quena*, *zampoña*, according to seasonality and repertoires referenced in specific areas of the Bolivian and Peruvian Altiplano. Some of them, such as the Bloque Moseñada Hijos de Luribay, the Conjunto Moseñada Hijos de Murumamani 100x100 Brazil Bolivia and Juventud Moseñada 5th Sección Araca, interpret exclusively *moseñadas* coming from the southeast of the department of La Paz. Others, such as the Vientos del Ande and the Huaycheños del Corazón, rehearse and present different altiplanic repertoires, including *sikuriadas*, *khantus* and *j'acha sikuris de Italaque*. Some meet to rehearse and perform only within the calendar of Andean community festivals, respecting the correspondence of the musical style with each season, for example, in carnivals times, in February and March, almost

16 There are also other informal groups, which are almost strictly family members, who work at Bolivian community feasts, especially on the most active dates of these migrant communities.
17 In addition to these groups with a majority of *Aymara* and *Quechua* members, there are other groups dedicated to the interpretation and dissemination of indigenous highland music, created and maintained by a majority of non-indigenous people, such as the Lakitas Sinchi Warmis (Pizarro 2017).

gis - gesto, imagem e som

all groups dedicated to *moseño* and *tarka* play, respectively, *moseñada* and *tarkeada*, as is customary in their reference regions. Few are dedicated to *sikus* and *zampoñas* throughout the year, regardless of the seasonality of the playing of these instruments. Although we consider several links between these groups, it is important to note features that differentiate and particularize them, fundamental in their intercommunity dynamics, in their internal group identity processes and in their altiplanic local restructuring.

Anyway, by bringing instruments, costumes and practices to the capital of São Paulo and by articulating between the altiplanic musical diffusion and the community maintenance in São Paulo, all these groups are asserting themselves in the city as Bolivian and Peruvian people, but also as expressively *Aymaras* and *Quechuas*. Conforming, then, their strongly transnational character, these players and these dancers build forms and expressions of existence in São Paulo.

THE MUSIC OF KOLLASUYO MAYA: ITS PATHS AND NETWORKS THROUGH THE CITY OF SÃO PAULO

Figure 5. Kollasuyo Maya (Mariana Teófilo, digital photography, São Paulo, 2019)

All of these groups are constituted as "communities of practice" (Wenger 1998) that interrelate in constellations of communities, more or less formalized by articulations between some of these groups, as in the case of the Centro Cultural Andino-Amazônico, or beyond them, for example, along with Bolivian folk collectives, such as the Associação Cultural Folclórica Bolívia Brasil (ACFBB). In this sense, most of them tend to circulate

in places already constituted by various sectors of the Andean immigrant communities of São Paulo, such as Praça da Kantuta, Rua Coimbra and Largo do Rosário, in Bairro da Penha. Among them, currently, the Centro Cultural Kollasuyo Maya[18] is the only group that in a more systematic way exercises articulations with other cultural circuits and builds networks of contact and synergy with non-native people, neither Bolivians, Peruvians or even Andean.

On June 21, 2014, the group was founded, asserting itself now as a way of "the struggle for cultural resistance of the *pueblos originarios* of Bolivia in São Paulo, Brazil[19], and it was born as a need to encourage, link, transform and disseminate in different languages the cultural wealth of the original peoples to the immigrant youth in São Paulo and the country Brazil". This intentionality put into speech and activated in the group's practices leads to circulation in other spaces and the creation of new networks and partnerships in the production of Altiplanic and Bolivian immigrant locations in the city.

Since 2014, the members of Kollasuyo Maya have been creating a very wide and intentionally representative and musical repertoire of various regions of Bolivia, from the higlands departments, from La Paz and Potosí, to the lower altitude departments, from Pando to Santa Cruz. Without necessarily following the seasonality of each music and ritual performed, the group prioritizes building an eclectic representation of their country of origin. According to César Chui, the group's current musical director, the repertoire is designed to represent the three climates of Bolivia, the cold climate, the climate of the valleys and the hot climate. Each of them would be represented by indigenous genres of the region: in the cold climate, the corresponding genres are from the departments of Oruro, La Paz and Potosí, represented by *Aymara* and *Quechua* songs such as *pinquillada*, *khantus (sikus)* and *pifanada*. In the climate of the valleys, the genres are from the departments of Cochabamba, Chuquisaca and Tarija, and the warm climate would be portrayed by the musical genres of the departments of Santa Cruz, Pando and Beni. Through its musical performance, Kollasuyo Maya intends to travel all over Bolivia, uniting the east with the west of Bolivia, the *collas* with *cambas*, the *Aymaras* with the *Guaranis*. Even so, since they still do not have the instruments characteristic of other regions, the group

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18 According to César Chui, Kollasuyo Maya could be translated as "healing land", as something white, related to healing and medicine (*kolla*), linked to one (*maya*) territory (*suyo*). Complementing this translation, it can be added that *Kollasuyo* refers to one of the four territories of *Tawantinsuyu*, the extensive Inca territory, corresponding to the Andean zone between the city of Cuzco and northern Argentina, crossing the current Peruvian southeast, Bolivian west, and part of Argentina.

19 Excerpt taken from the group's release, made available to the authors and used to publicize the group.

currently focuses on the interpretation of songs from cold climates, from altiplanic contexts. Faced with this difficulty in accessing the instruments, they improvise with their hands, for example, styles played with *pinquillos* are adapted to the available flutes. It is worth remembering that the group currently consists of about seven *Aymara* and *Quechua* people, migrants from the Bolivian highland's departments. Therefore, as indigenous Andean people, they take for themselves the possibility of musicizing, performing, constituting and representing all Bolivian plurinationality[20] and simultaneously expanding sonically and synesthetically the affective and sensitive creation of Altiplanic locations throughout the city. Thus, they assume, at least discursively, a double representative mission, a plurinational Bolivian and an autochthonous altiplanic one.

The group has its own compositions, including lyrics sung about the gratitude felt by *Aymara* and *Quechua* peoples and cosmogonies, as well as by Bolivians and Brazilians in general. They rehearse with some regularity, usually at the home of one of the members. The repertoire is learned through oral transmission, through listening, mimesis and sound memory, without the support of any audiovisual record or written transcription of the melodies. César comments that his grandparents used to say "listen to the wind and play the flute". In rehearsals, the group tries to maintain this practice: they sometimes listen to the same melody and start playing repeatedly until the melody arrives. The preservation of these altiplanic pedagogical practices asserts itself as a strong affective foundation of the group, as a nostalgic way of maintaining internal fraternal and musical relationships. The preservation of a certain performance sequence in their public performances, usually initiated by a ritual of thanks and permission to *Pachamama*[21], as illustrated in the video made by the group[22], also underlines both the continuation of affective and nostalgic meanings about common practices experienced by them in Altiplano territory, in family and community contexts, with the explicit intention of complementing and enhancing music and dance interpreted with ritual practices, in order to more fully represent the Altiplanic indigenous expressivities.

20 Corresponding to historical demands from Bolivian political, cultural and ethnic fronts, Bolivia is formally named as a Plurinational State by the 2009 Constitution, in consideration of the various indigenous nations that integrated the Bolivian Republican Nation-State project and the ethnic-cultural diversity of the territory. From the governmental public discourse, the term plurinationality institutes, therefore, a strong rhetorical apparatus for the expansion and rearticulation of the notion of Nation. This discursive apparatus has been put into practice by state action and also by the performance of artistic, political and cultural groups.
21 *Pachamama* corresponds to a cosmogonic entity related to the earthly world in its feminine form, related to fertility, motherhood and renewal.
22 The mentioned video can be seen through the link: https://youtu.be/-j8RzOV9R-s (Last accessed: 10.11.2020)

Taking advantage of some personal and professional connections of a few members already involved in theatrical, peripheral and political circuits in São Paulo, Kollasuyo Maya has been experimenting with acting in schools and universities, theaters and cultural centers, and in other spaces that are not usually frequented. by Andean migrant communities. In this way, the group is re-articulating the dimensions and densities of the Andean migrant localities that are being built in the city, expanding the construction of meanings of the altiplanic and Bolivian autochthon beyond those constituted in conventional Andean migrant locations. In this sense, we will briefly list two performances of this set, episodes that illustrate the involvement in the constitution of new migrant locations and in the consolidation of networks between different collectives of São Paulo.

In mid-February 2017, at Praça Coronel Fernando Prestes, also known as Praça da Amizade, at one of the entrances to Bom Retiro, symbolically between a state school and the Municipal Archives, between a Catholic church and the State Public Security Secretariat, the third Território Artístico Imigrante – TAÍ, was held, through the collective Visa Permanente – Acervo Vivo das Culturas Imigrantes de São Paulo (www.vistopermanente.com). Supported by the municipal public cultural fund Redes e Ruas and by the Coordination of Policies for Immigrants, of the Municipal Secretariat for Human Rights and Citizenship of the City of São Paulo, the Visto Permanente continued its proposal to transpose the virtuality of its collection to the face-to-face meeting between artists, cultural agents and immigrant artistic groups active in São Paulo from a perspective of immigrant artistic appropriation of the public space and confirmation of the creative and constructive immigrant presence in the city. Among Latin American, African and Arab immigrant artists, such as the Palestinian singer Oula Al-Saghir, the Guinean dancer Boubacar Sidibé and the Cuban band Batanga & Cia, Kollasuyo Maya performed in the promotional materials as "Bolivians".

In their work, they introduced themselves as "Bolivian Aymara and Quechua Indigenous people" who would perform songs and dances from Bolivia. They followed their usual repertoire, started by presenting a musicalized ritual of offering coca leaves to Pachamama, playing choquelas, followed by "songs of prayer and thanksgiving", in the words of César Chui, j'acha sikus, pifanada, pinquillada, tarqueada, italaque, khantus, sikuris, quenas, mediated by the theatrical performance of one of its members, Juan Cusicanqui, as kusillo. In a second part of the performance, less autochthonous and more mixed Bolivian, Kollasuyo Maya presented a song and dance of each style, among morenada, cueca, cullaguada, tinku and caporal. The entire performed repertoire referred mainly to musical and cultural practices, especially in the

altiplanic department of La Paz and, to a lesser extent, Oruro and Potosí, with some of these styles also being shared, with some differences, with Aymara communities in the Peruvian Altiplano and northern Chilean and with broader popular sectors, as in the central and eastern Bolivian region, in the case of caporal, and northern Chilean and Argentine, in the case of cueca. On the other hand, among artists and groups identified by republican nationalities, Kollasuyo Maya reaffirms, through discourse, music and dance, its Bolivian plurinational identity belonging, opening up the expressive existence of indigenous immigrant Bolivianities. Thus, presenting itself in a neighborhood historically associated with São Paulo immigrant diversity, far beyond the Andean one, supported by a network of immigrant artists and formally legitimized by a municipal public power (at the time closest to the São Paulo migrant political movement), the group expressed itself through his Andean and Bolivian musicians, expanding local affective senses, bringing us, in this transnational exercise, the Bolivian Altiplano from La Paz to São Paulo, making itself present in its ethnic particularities and in its plurinational breadth. However, it is not only in migrating and artistic articulations that Kollasuyo Maya undertakes the expansion of its networks and, with them, of the Bolivian Altiplano through São Paulo. Over time, its members have also been linked to other political, identity and musical connections around the city.

Figure 6. Kollasuyo Maya in the Andean-Amazonian new year (Mariana Teófilo, digital frame, são Paulo, 2019)

Figure 7. General view of the Andean-Amazonian new year (Mariana Teófilo, digital photography, São Paulo 2019

In São Paulo, since 2014, on every June 21, the Andean-Amazonian New Year[23] is celebrated. The event marks the winter solstice, a moment when the sun reaches its highest point in the sky – in angular relation to the equator line – which represents for some South American indigenous societies, the beginning of a new cycle and renewal. The moment of the sun's arrival is preceded by the longest night of the year, which in the celebration of the *Aymara* and *Quechua* communities in São Paulo, is a meeting place, filled with sounds and colors that refer to the Altiplano. In its first years, the act was organized by the conjunto autóctone Jacha Sikus de Italaque – Nuevo Amanecer, with the support of the Andean immigrant community. In 2019, to commemorate the year 5527[24], there was a collective organization, with the creation of the Centro Cultural Andino-Amazônico, formed by five groups: Conjunto Jacha Sikuris de Italaque Nuevo Amanecer, Grupo Autóctono Huaycheños de Corazón, Lakitas Sinchi Warmis, Centro Cultural Kollasuyo Maya and Conjunto Autóctono Waly Wayras. Within the *Aymara* and *Quechua* agricultural festive calendar, the festival took place during the *Awti Pacha*, so what you could hear and see in the festivity, at dawn, were the different styles of the sound sets of braided flutes (*sikus* and *lakas*)

23 In 2019 the event was called *Ano Novo Andino amazonico*. It's celebrated in other cities and countries, with their particularities, usually linked to the arrival of the winter solstice. On June 17, 2009, during Evo Morales' government, by Supreme Decree 173, June 21 was made official as a national holiday of the Plurinational State of Bolivia.
24 The event took place at the CMTC Club in the north zone of the city. Video of moments of the event: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lgt2miiVcLo&t=2s (Last access: 20.10.2020).

gis - gesto, imagem e som

accompanied by bass drums, *cajas* and the *polleras* and *ponchos* of those who danced and played. The program was scheduled to begin at 00:00 a.m. until 11:00 a.m. and included: reception of the participants, musical presentations by the organizing groups and guests; ecumenical meeting; preparation of the offerings and ritual of the arrival of the sun, made by the *yatiris*[25]; word of the invited institutional authorities; *aphtapi*[26]; and continuation of the celebration. In addition to the indigenous groups present, the event was attended by authorities from the Peruvian, Ecuatorian, and Bolivian consulates, the Afro-Bolivian Saya group, the Ay Vida – Fred Guzman group, media representatives who televised the event, and immigrant and Brazilian audience. The singularity of the relations constituted in this event around Kollasuyo Maya is interesting to be commented, because at the same time that they make music, they concretize the relations established from personal trajectories and interests of the group.

Starting with the organization of the event, the creation of the Centro Cultural Andino-Amazônico, with the gathering of indigenous groups that would establish social bonds that go beyond these groups, as for example, with the presence of the Lakitas Sinchi Warmis, who not only mark the female presence in the realization of a festivity tending to be masculinized in their organizational and musical practices, but also place the presence of non-indigenous, neither Andean people, although mostly immigrants. This collective organization also symbolizes the continuity of networks built daily in the community, in which the players cooperate (*Ayni*) in the realization of events linked to seasonality and altiplano cosmogonies, lend instruments and take turns in more than one group when playing, strengthening the bonds that are built during the music.

Another interesting point that attracted attention on this day was an excerpt from César Chui's opening speech. He talked about the valorization of indigenous cultures – "We are indigenous, we are native people, we have culture, we know medicine, we know how to organize ourselves and that´s why we are here" – and at the same time, the event was proposed to be an ecumenical act, with representatives of Catholic, African, Islamic and indigenous Kariri Xocó. The presence of *yatiris* who came from Bolivia for the event triggered transnational ties. At the time of the ritual, the presence of other religious authorities symbolized not only the interest in building intercultural relations, but also, in São Paulo's context, the demands of valorization of their indigenous knowledge in equivalence with others, resuming the need

25 *Yatiris* are shamans, healers and wises among the *Aymara* and *Quechuas* societies.
26 *Aphtapi* is a time of sharing the food and community coexistence, very common to the *aymara* and *quechua* societies.

for affirmation within a daily life in which their presences are commonly invisible.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Looking at the participation of the Kollasuyo Maya group in these events interests us to see how the transnational and local networks that the group mobilizes in the construction of its own trajectory interconnect and produce translocalities, while ensuring the maintenance of links and practices. In the face of new networks activated by themselves or articulated by others, new stages and new spectators emerge, with whom they dialogue and negotiate the music of this Bolivian and São Paulo Altiplano. Through choices of musical and performatic repertoire, among a majority of Altiplanic musical references and ritual *Aymara* and *Quechua* reenactment, Kollasuyo Maya links identity and affective belongings of their own, both by *Aymara* and *Quechua* autochthonies and by plurinational bolivianity. Thus, while activating and transforming indigenous identities, they also reestablish relations with the Andean immigrant communities, strengthen ties with Brazilian partners, and legitimize their discourses before government representatives and indigenous community references. In other words, the Kollasuyo Maya extends not only altiplano locations but also reaffirms the Altiplanic indigenous as Bolivian and as an immigrant in São Paulo. All this, by performing and musicking the Altiplano in the city, presenting it through the air and wind blowing.

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ARTICLES

PORTRAYING "MUSICKING" AND "PARTICIPATORY CHARACTERISTICS" OF BUMBA MEU BOI IN FILM

DOSSIER LOCAL MUSICKING

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ABSTRACT
This article presents reflections on how the practice of musicking (Small 1999) and the participatory characteristics (Turino 2008) of bumba meu boi are translated into audiovisual field (Romero and Vilella 2018) in the productions "Guriatã", directed by Renata Amaral (2018) "Taquaras, Tambores e Violas", directed by Hidalgo Romero (2018), and "Brilho da Noite", directed by Priscila Ermell (2004). The article explains what kind of musicking each production emphasizes and which techniques translate this into the audiovisual field, making relations between them. These films were chosen because their directors came from diferente fields of work and research, having different aesthetics and purposes.

PORTRAYING "MUSICKING" AND "PARTICIPATORY CHARACTERISTICS" OF BUMBA MEU BOI IN FILM

Audiovisual resources can be interesting for ethnographic research for several reasons, such as being a communication tool with the people being documented and also with a broader audience. "For whom, and why, have you made this film?" is what director Jean Rouch asks in *The Camera and the Man* (2003, 11). The answer offered by the filmmaker and anthropologist is broad: for the group he portrayed, for himself and for the widest possible audience. We believe this tool might make academic thinking and production accessible to other audiences:

> That is why my third response to the question "For whom, and why?" is "For everyone, for the largest viewing public possible." I believe that if the distribution of ethnographic film is, with rare exceptions, limited to university networks, cultural organizations, and scholarly societies, the fault is more our own than that of commercial cinema (Rouch 2003, 11).

When transposing an ethnographic musicking experience into audiovisual language for different audiences and purposes, thinking which devices are of interest in each system of symbols becomes relevant. In *Quando a roda acontece: o audiovisual como tradução da experiência na performance musical participativa*, Homero and Vilella (2018) discuss the process of translating a participatory performance experience[1] into audiovisual language. To this end, they rely on the notion of "translation" presented by Julio Plaza (2003), which expands the notion of "interse-miotic translation" or "transmutation" as proposed by linguist Roman Jakobson, which consists in transposing a system of verbal signs to a system of non-verbal signs, or vice versa – from verbal art to music, dance, or cinema, for example. Plaza claims that translations can go beyond "merely linguistic characteristics" (2003, 12), also happening between nonverbal systems – for instance, between music and dance or between music and image.

In its turn, the term "*musicar*" (Reily, Hikiji and Toni, 2016), derived from "musicking" as proposed by Christopher Small (1999), is used to refer to a broad way of engaging with music experience, beyond the performance moment. The term evokes actions such as watching a concert, rehearsing, listening to music, thinking about it, among others. This way of thinking is interesting when applied to the *bumba meu boi* universe[2], since different

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1 Thomas Turino (2008, 26) proposes a division for musical practice fields as follows: "music in real time", in which music making can be presentational or participatory, and "recorded music", described as either *high fidelity* or *studio audio art*.

2 The *boi*, or ox, is a scenic and dramatic element of numerous cultural manifestations in the world. In Brazil, its presence can be observed in various dramatic dances such as, for instance: Boi de Parintins, in the Amazon state; Cavalo Marinho, in Pernambuco; Boi Bumbá, in Pará; Boi de Mamão, in Santa Catarina; among many others. This work discusses specifically the bumba meu boi in Maranhão. Bumba meu boi can be thought of as a dramatic dance, since its performance brings together elements of great relevance, besides music,

manners of engagement are needed for the Boi[3] to perform or "play", which go beyond the acts of playing instruments, singing, and dancing. Activities such as, for instance, conducting rehearsals, making instruments, embroideries, and clothing, creating *toadas* (the songs), etc, are also fundamental.

In the participatory field proposed by Thomas Turino, the terms "audience" and "performer" do not apply: there are participants and potential participants; and the main objective is to integrate people into practice (2008, 28). Turino brings the idea of participation in the sense of actively contributing to the sound and movement of a musical event through dancing, singing, clapping, or playing musical instruments, when these activities are considered vital to the performance. In this type of music making, participatory performance is a field of activity in which sound and movement are conceived as a form of social interaction, and the focus of that practice lays on the act of doing, rather than on the final product of the activity. Although the quality of sound and performance is of great importance for a performance to be considered successful, the latter is also considered good when it involves a considerable number of people.

Therefore, some characteristics are often present in this type of performance. For example, people should know the dance and music of the occasion; challenges in executing that theme should be balanced in a way that it is not too easy (which could bore the participants) nor very difficult (which could demotivate those involved, preventing total engagement) to perform. When balance is reached, participants are fully present at the moment of the performance, increasing their concentration and the feeling of being completely involved in it. At the same time, the possibility of including people with different skills and different levels of execution is important to inspire engagement. In this way, beginners and virtuosos can participate of the same performance. These characteristics of what Turino describes as participatory music apply to bumba meu boi.

The "musickings" and the participatory character of bumba meu boi can be expressed in different ways by using audiovisual techniques such as

dramatic elements (the *auto*), and dance (Andrade 1982). There is a dramatized narrative that revolves around a special ox, stolen from the farm by Pai (father) Francisco because his wife Catirina is pregnant and has a craving for its tongue. This celebration has a variety of performative styles, a multiplicity which is a particularity of bumba meu boi in Maranhão. Bumba meu boi groups and their entire atmosphere form a socio-tourist-cultural complex recognized as part of Brazil's Cultural Heritage by the country's National Institute of the Artistic and Historic Patrimony (Iphan, 2011) and as part of the Intangible Heritage of Humanity by Unesco (2019). These groups, which are active all year round, constitute a set of characteristics in their artistic, aesthetic, and symbolic expressions and "arise for different reasons and in different places and, consequently, have attributes that are peculiar to each region of occurrence, but with qualities that individualize them and bring vivacity to the universe of the festivity" (Iphan 2011, 100, our translation).

3 When isolated and capitalized, the term "*Boi*" is used as an abbreviation to refer to the genre (bumba meu boi) or to a specific group; when isolated and in lowercase ("*boi*"), it refers to the ox itself, the character of this cultural manifestation.

researching, filming, and editing the material. The aim of this article is to reflect on this subject based on the productions *Guriatã* – directed by Renata Amaral (2018) –, *Taquaras, Tambores e Violas* – directed by Hidalgo Romero (2018) –, and *Brilho da Noite*, directed by Priscila Ermell (2004).

TAQUARAS, TAMBORES E VIOLAS. THE PANDEIRÃO EPISODE – CINEMATIC CARE

Pandeirão is one of the episodes of *Taquaras, Tambores e Violas*, a TV series directed by documentary filmmaker Hidalgo Romero which revolves around the process of making instruments used in popular traditions of Brazil. The episodes last around thirty minutes and each one is dedicated to following the construction of a specific instrument. Through this framing, the audience can learn about the various popular manifestations in which such instruments have been commonly used.

To understand the percussive instrument *pandeirão* and its use in bumba meu boi, the film take us to the cities of São Luís, in the headquarters of Boi De Maracanã, and São José de Ribamar, in Pedro Piauí's workshop. Two characters lead the narrative: Ribinha de Maracanã and Truvão, son of the late artisan. With Ribinha, the audience observes the preparation for the day of baptism, one of the greatest annual events of Boi de Maracanã; Truvão shows us the process of building the *pandeirão*.

The video begins with a *tocada*, the performance moment of Boi de Maracanã; we hear Ribinha's voice (off-screen) explaining a little about the *pandeirão*; then a map locates the audience on where this is happening in Brazil. The camera shows Truvão sharpening an axe blade and leaving the workshop. Background noises are enhanced; it is possible to hear the actions that take place in the studio (blades being sharpened, an axe hitting wood, a door closing). Then, he leaves. The audience follows Truvão's path, in wider and wider shots, including drone filming, in the place that is textually located as the city of São José de Ribamar. Then, the sounds of the town (birds and other animals) can be heard, followed by one of the most well-known *toadas* of bumba meu boi in Maranhão, "Maranhão Meu Tesouro Meu Torrão"[4], in the voice that the viewer will later recognize as belonging to Ribinha de Maracanã, current *amo*[5] of Boi de Maracanã.

> Maranhão, my treasure, my piece of land
> I made this *toada* for you, Maranhão
> Land of *babaçu* (coconut) cultivated by nature
> This native palm tree that gives me inspiration

4 Songwriter: Humberto de Maracanã
5 Amo do Boi, or master of the ox, is one of the characters of bumba meu boi. He is usually the main singer of the group, who composes *toadas* (songs) and who leads the play.

> There is an enchanted ox at Lençóis beach
> And the reign of King Sebastian
> The mermaid sings in the prow
> Guriatã sings in the woods
> Land of the sweet *pirunga*
> And of the tasty *pitombotã*

The next close shot is the action of cutting down a tree; the viewer watches the character bringing the wood back in a cart that is pulled by a donkey (the sounds of these activities can still be heard, as well as the *toada* being sung):

> And every year, the great festival of Juçara
> Happens in the month of October at Maracanã
> In the month of June there's bumba meu boi
> Which is celebrated in praise of St. John
> The *amo* sings and swings the *maracá*
> The *matraca* and the *pandeiro* make the floor tremble

On this path, the camera films close shots of Truvão's face, as well as of the streets through which he passes (in slightly wider shots) until he arrives at the house (in a shot made with a drone camera, at an even wider angle). In addition to ambient sound, it is possible to hear the instrumentation of a Boi with *sotaque*[6] *de matraca*, such as in the Maracanã's case.

> This inheritance has been left by our grandparents
> And it is now cultivated by us
> To be a part of your history, Maranhão
> Songwriter: Humberto de Maracanã

Figure 1: São Luís city and Boi de Maracanã's buses.

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6 "*Sotaque*" ("accent") is the term used to mark differences in sound and performance between groups.

I consider this set of scenes to be the opening moment of the video, because it presents elements that will be unfolded over the about thirty minutes of film, both in the narrative and in the audiovisual aesthetics used. The elements being presented are: the specific instrument, where and how it is used, the main characters (Truvão and Ribinha), and the places where they live. It is worth noting that the *toada* chosen for this moment ("Maranhão Meu Tesouro Meu Torrão") is a *hit* of the bumba meu boi genre, bringing even more impact to these moments as the establishing shot of the production.

> If the filmmaker knew about that dynamic, perceiving the movement that was being announced, and were to try to translate this moment into film, how would he build his narrative? What would he film? With which framing? Would he be able to use more than one camera? Would he try to build a parallel editing between the experience of the *amo* singing, the players, and the rest of the group? Would he film glances, feet, and hands intertwining? Would he use sound design to build dramatic tension? Would he dilate chronological time? Would he use a voice-over to try to explain the situation? Would he make a long-shot, showing that situation by wandering through the elements of the cultural manifestation? (Villela & Romero 2018, 7, our translation)

It is possible to observe that this series takes into account the reflections on filming quoted above. In the sequences of chosen images, the viewer sees a pattern of gradually revealing the general context. First, an action is shown in detail; then, scene after scene, it is possible to understand what is being portrayed (first, it shows the action of Truvão sharpening the blade, in order to understand that he is going to another place within São José de Ribamar to cut wood to make the *pandeirão*).

The use of camera lenses seems to follow this intention: using those with a selective focus on closer shots and those with a general focus on wider shots. There is a concern in establishing a well-defined narrative arc and the main elements that will compose the story, as well as how to convey the feeling of living that experience.

Figures 2 and 3: Close shots with selective focus on the act of performance

The narrative is based on interviews. The main ones are with Ribinha de Maracanã, in which he is sitting down while talking to and looking at at the interviewer, and with Truvão, filmed while builds the *pandeirão*.

Figures 4 and 5: Close shots with selective focus. Truvão making a *pandeirão*.

Ribinha chants about four or five *toadas* during the video while talking about some bumba meu boi elements, such as the killing[7], the day of baptism, and some characters present in this cultural manifestation. With Truvão, the viewer watches the steps that are necessary for making the *pandeirão*. It is also possible to see some elements of the preparation such as, for instance, members sewing costumes (close shots), the beginning of the baptism day (people arriving in several buses, the place getting

7 Also called comedy or *auto*, it revolves around the enchanted ox, stolen from the farm by Father Francisco because his wife Catirina is pregnant and has a craving for its tongue. This *auto* makes the connection between the plot and the characters of bumba meu boi celebration, being them the ox, the ox master (*amo do boi*), the *vaqueiro* (cowboy), Father Francisco and Catirina, *índios*, and *rajados*. Such characters are present in all sotaques, but there are also characters that are predominant in, and even unique to, certain sotaques, such as the Cazumba, especially present in *sotaques* da Baixada (from the Baixada region), and the Caboclo Real (or Caboclo de Pena), present in *sotaque de Matraca* (from the capital).

full), going through the religious litany until the moment when the ox *guarnece* (garrisons)[8] and the presentation begins.

Figure 6: Boi de Maracanã's *batalhão* in the act of performance. Wider shots after a series of detail shots.

BRILHO DA NOITE – A SOUND PORTRAIT OF THE BOI IN SÃO PAULO

Brilho da Noite is an audiovisual production by anthropologist Priscilla Ermell that portrays the involvement of Mestra Ana Maria Carvalho and of Ariel Coelho, a young *brincante* (member) of the group, in the cycle of parties of bumba meu boi from Maranhão that takes place in the city of São Paulo, in the region of Morro do Querosene. There are three festivities throughout the year: *birth*[9], which usually takes place on Holy Saturday; *baptism*, in June; and *death*, which happens in the second semester. The film begins with the last of them, death, in a moment of great commotion.

> My ox is already dead
> My *terreiro* became sad
> But next year
> I will sing Boi all year round
> Songwriter: Henrique Menezes

This *toada* is sung while the viewer sees some elements that allude to this ritual (the altar to St. John, the ox near a basin with wine/blood) and the faces of some members of the group, most notably of Ana Maria Carvalho. She is in a position that shows a certain authority in the ritual. Then, the title sequence of the film appears. In the opening scene, the spectator is introduced to the two main characters of the plot.

8 Starting moment.
9 In Maranhão, there is no "birth" party or event. What happens on the same date is the first rehearsal for the season of June parties. In São Paulo, this rehearsal was modified, becoming a street party in which the Boi presents itself to the public.

In about thirty minutes of film, it is possible to understand the involvement of Ana Maria Carvalho, artist and renowned *brincante*, in the various processes of preparing for the party, and the increasingly stronger participation of young Ariel in the group. Ana Maria overlooks and guides the way of sewing the leather of the ox that will be used that year; Ariel follows the process and also receives his first *boieiro* outfit. It is possible to hear some dialogues that happened at that moment and to see the relationship between children and adults in the group. Then, the spectator watches some actions of the preparation for the day of one of the parties – such as setting up booths on the square, placement of flags, the moment of baptism, and then the presentation of the Boi. During these actions, other people of great relevance appear, telling more about the Boi and its universe. Ana Maria is portrayed as an authority, as some sort of guardian of knowledge, and Ariel appears as an apprentice of vital importance for the continuity of tradition.

Figure 7: Ariel, one of the youngest members of the group, and Tião Carvalho, master and founder of Grupo Cupuaçu, performing together.

Throughout the film, there is a sense of intimacy between the viewer and the members of the group; it is possible to hear dialogues and to see everyday moments in which the members seem to be familiar with the camera and the person behind it, Priscilla. The video is a part of her postdoctoral project, entitled "A Tradição Oral na Música Brasileira" (The Oral Tradition in Brazilian Music, our translation), and of the Thematic Project "Imagem em Foco nas Ciências Sociais"(Image in Focus in Social Sciences, our translation). Even in situations where the characters speak more directly to the camera, a certain closeness can be felt. It is also

interesting how, despite having these main characters, the filmmaker brings scenes showing numerous *brincantes*, which reveals a familiarity with who they are and their involvement with the festivity. This shows a possible involvement of the director with the group before the actual start of filming, and a research conducted on the long term. The feeling is that the camera is the "fly on the wall" of observational cinema, leading us to be one of the participants of that party. By that term, we understand that:

> At the core of the approach lies the idea that through the rigorous observation of the minutiae of social events and interactions, it is possible to gain significant insights, not just into idiosyncratic personal motivations of the immediate subjects, but also into broader social and cultural realities of their social world (Henley, 2004, 101).

Figure 8: Ariel, her mother, and Ana Maria Carvalho singing together and drumming with their hands.

In a way, the everyday feeling of the video evokes some moments of the movie *Don't Look Back* (direction: D. A. Pennebaker, 96 minutes. 1967), which follows singer Bob Dylan through his tours, capturing usual scenes between the musician and his team, in which we can access different moments and conversations between them in "backstage" moments in a very natural way.

Figure 9: Ana Maria Carvalho in the moment of baptism. Wide shot with all elements in focus.

Regarding the type of shot, wide shots show everything is in deep focus. There are close shots in some moments, especially focusing on the faces of Ana Maria and Ariel, during interviews. It is possible to hear the *toadas* in three different ways: during the party, when the singer's voice is accompanied by all bumba meu boi instruments and other participants of the cultural manifestation, who sing in chorus; during the interview, when we only listen to Ana Maria's voice singing; and Ariel and Ana Maria jam together in a performance, when he plays the *pandeirão* and she sings. Imagetically, it is possible to observe overlapping images and slowed down speed as constant features of the audiovisual layer of the *toadas*. Situations of the party and the moment of the interview alternate through editing.

GURIATÃ – A LIFE'S WORK

> In the island of São Luís do Maranhão
> There will never be a Boi singer again
> Like Humberto Barbosa Mendes.
> Never again!
> Murilo Pereira (Guriatã, Direction: Renata Amaral, 2018)

gis - gesto, imagem e som

Figure 10: Establishing shot of the baptism of Boi de Maracanã.

It is with this statement by Murilo Pereira that *Guriatã*, the longest of the three films analyzed here, begins. In about an hour and a half, the musical documentary portrays the life story of Humberto de Maracanã and shows the reasons behind Murilo's emphatic statement. Through this singer, we learn about the history of one of the oldest active Bois in Maranhão.

Figure 11: Humberto de Maracanã performing

Considering the characteristics of the film, it possible to observe that *Guriatã* is a consequence (and not a starting point) of decades of working with and making records of Boi de Maracanã. There is a great diversity of filmings, notably made with different types of equipment with varied technologies and in different times – which appears to be an aesthetic concept in the final result. It is a vast material that, through editing, is organized around main themes throughout the narrative: Humberto's first experiences with

bumba meu boi; his relationship with nature; the connection between Boi de Maracanã and religion; the artistic side of the singer; his production in other musical genres; his relationships with women; family; continuity of his legacy. Recorded images showing Humberto in various situations interconnect those themes, most notably two interviews that appear frequently during the narrative: in one, he is on a beach; the other shows him in what is possibly a part of the region Maracanã, where the group is located.

Figures 12 and 13: Main interviews of the film.

What makes this documentary so noteworthy is the involvement of Renata Amaral, its director, with bumba meu boi, and specifically with Boi de Maracanã. Renata is a musician whose other experiences within this and other groups from Maranhão, as well as from other Brazilian popular traditions, span over more than twenty years; her relationship with Boi

de Maracanã and Humberto makes this movie one of a kind. An example of this is that in addition to *toadas* from Boi de Maracanã's records, we can also listen to songs from works by Humberto in the groups "A Barca" and "Ponto BR", both of which Renata is also a part. There are also brief references to other musical traditions, such as *carimbó*; some images used, which are not necessarily about the Boi, come from Acervo Maracá – a collection recorded and organized by Renata. In this way, we can perceive that *Guriatã* is a work of synergy and intersection of contexts, enabled by the director's work and conviviality networks, and by the way in which musicking is a part of her work at large:

> The musical exchange established with these masters [especially from Ponto BR], that has lasted over 15 years now, after several tours [...] has taught me much more than just playing the bass. It has taught me ways of rehearsing, creating resistance, varying accents, ornaments, forms and meters; it has taught me to translate strengths and subtleties, to read the audience, to create arrangements with the mosaics of their elements and memories, their mobile fences, and to understand the function of art in my life and of those around me, beyond the profession (Amaral 2018, 9, our translation).

The large amount of images taken over more than a decade has brought together a rich collection of details and situations from various presentations of the group. There are many images of the movements of *índias*, *caboclos de pena*, *rajados*, *boi*, and *vaqueiro*; of the musicians and their instruments (*tambor-onça*, *pandeirão*, *matracas*); and of the singers, who play the *maracá*. This has allowed the filmmaker to create several "music videos" of Boi de Maracanã's *toadas*, allowing the viewer to better understand the atmosphere of celebrating Boi in Maranhão, feeling as if they were there. The effort made in fine-tuning the synchrony between images of dance steps, beats of the instruments, and audio of the film strengthens the feeling of immersion in the event. The director's editing often uses songs that had already been recorded or that were recorded separately for the film, making the attention to "sync" even more necessary.

It is also interesting to notice how the film is narrated through a chain of *toadas* by Humberto, which seem to have been carefully selected and mined for each moment of the narrative; it is possible to hear a fragment of some, while others can be listened to in full. There is also a good number of interviews with other members of the Boi, such as Murilo (the only member still alive among those who were contemporary with Humberto), Maria Soares, Tarquínio Costa, Ribinha de Maracanã, Humberto Filho, Malvino Maia, among many others. This way, in addition to being a cinebiography of Humberto, the film is also about Boi de Maracanã.

The intimacy created over the director's long association with Boi de Maracanã is also revealed by relaxed and easy-going interviews. The extended time, and perhaps a greater commitment to the recording itself than to the realization of a specific film production, have also made it possible to capture relatively rare moments, some of them maybe unprecedented, such as conversations and dances with *encantados*[10]. In an interview for this article, Renata tells us that the aesthetics of the film emerged during editing, while analyzing the material:

> The first idea was to create a script in blocks, following the various sides of his [Humberto's] personality: the connection with nature, his connection with the *encantados*, women, history, the other songs he made (samba, *carimbó*), him as a man, artist, community leader. One time, I put together all the CDs I had, all the recordings by [Boi de] Maracanã. I listened to all that and I had this idea in which the *toadas* could lead the story. The idea of having that black and white thing [images] was a desire I had to have some different visual element, as in Pedra [da Memória, documentary]; [where] we had those illustrations by Carybé that led us. I always think it makes a big difference in a documentary when you have a visual aesthetic concept that goes beyond the script. As it turns out, I found it in the *toadas*. This wasn't planned beforehand, it just kept on appearing, as well as the whole construction of the script from analyzing the material. [Renata Amaral. Oral Information. Our translation]

Figure 14: Black and white images as transition elements during the film.

It is interesting to note the parallels drawn between Humberto/Boi de Maracanã and other contexts such as, for instance, Humberto's encounters

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10 Name given to the entities of Afro-Brazilian religions from Maranhão.

with Euclides Talabyan[11], Mestre Apolônio Melônio[12], and Mundico de Rita, which brings together conversations that access different realities. The inclusion of Chagas[13], one of the most well-known Boi singers today and who is still alive, is also meaningful. Through the participation of Mestre Walter França[14], the film draws a parallel between bumba meu boi and maracatu, a cultural manifestation originating in the Recife region and also present in other states. His work with the "A Barca" group[15] also broadens the horizons in which Humberto's music circulates.

In the book *Why Suyá Sing*, Anthony Seeger (2004) draws a comparison between the Suyá, the people he works with, and other societies, such as the Kaluli, Ancient Greeks, and North Americans. This intellectual tool facilitates the understanding of the Suyá and shows how this society relates to other contexts. In addition to that, comparing is also a way of expanding the universe being addressed through a dialogue with other research works, since "comparisons are as essential to anthropology and ethnomusicology as in-depth understanding of single cases" (2004, 62). Similarly, the parallels drawn in *Guriatã* bring new layers to the story being told, emphasizing the relevance of Humberto as an artist – which becomes even more manifest when the audience learns that famous Brazilian singers such as Alcione and Maria Bethânia have also recorded his songs.

Figure 15: Humberto performing with musical group "Ponto BR".

11 *Babalorixá* (male priest) of Casa Fanti Ashanti, one of the most important Afro-Brazilian religion houses.
12 Founder of Boi de Viana, Boi de Pindaré, and Boi da Floresta, and personality of great relevance to bumba meu boi in Maranhão.
13 Former member of Boi da Maioba and currently a member of Boi de São José de Ribamar.
14 Walter França is the conductor of Nação de Maracatu de Baque Virado Estrela Brilhante do Recife.
15 A BARCA is a São Paulo-based group that has been researching traditional Brazilian genres for about twenty years.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NARRATIVES

The productions analyzed here are similar by dealing with the same major theme, bumba meu boi, and different by offering different approaches and purposes, and by the ways in which they were made. I will make a brief comparison between the three productions, aiming at making evident filmic resources that were used on each of them, considering the following aspects: characters; time spent on research and recording; narrative arc; image aesthetics; editing resources; use of interviews; how the participatory character (Turino 2008) was addressed; which aspects highlight musicking (Small 1999).

Of the three productions, the episode of *Taquaras, Tambores e Violas* seems to be the one whose focus is more precisely defined, since it follows the construction of a specific musical instrument, the *pandeirão*. If we compare it to *Guriatã*, the time spent together and in recording is shorter – which is noticeable by the very purpose of the video, one episode of a 13-chapter television series, and by the number of interviews and their contexts (Ribinha always appears in the same place, where probably only one interview was conducted, while in *Guriatã* Humberto appears in various situations, which means that he was interviewed several times).

Pandeirão makes an intense use of ambient sound, and what we can hear from the *batalhão* (Boi) seems to have been recorded in the moment of filming; the sound of the *pandeirão* and of the *matracas* can be more easily heard than the *tambor-onça*'s. The singer's voice also seems to have been recorded during the presentation, probably having been captured by a microphone pointing to the car with the loudspeakers, a source that amplifies the singer's voice.

In *Guriatã*, audios of the *toadas* were recorded separately by using a sound-board with musical post-production work, since some of the recordings later appeared in music albums (others were already available in CDs and could be used in the film).

In *Brilho da Noite*, the audio also seems to have been captured during play. It is interesting to notice the overlap between images of the group playing at the moment of presentation and audios of the *toadas* with a different nature, in which only the voice of the *madrinha* (godmother) of the Boi can be heard. The director used the audio of *toadas* sung by Ana Maria over images of the presentation, presented in a slower speed. The result is interesting. On its turn, the time spent together with the characters and conducting research seems to fall between the two other videos analyzed here. Finally, something that shows some time of familiarity with the researcher is the ease demonstrated by the members of the Boi when everyday situations were being recorded.

Aesthetically, we can see a great refinement in the way of filming the chosen theme in *Taquaras, Tambores e Violas*. There is a concern with the type of image, lighting, framing being used for each scene and how they create a perspective of continuity and tell a story. For these reasons, the production seems to bring aesthetic references from the universe of fiction. As for *Guriatã*, the diversity of media is organically taken as an aesthetic concept, bringing along a production that makes reference to the universe of collections, without losing its vivacity. *Brilho da Noite*, on its turn, stands out for the way in which its director brings audio and image together through editing, creating interesting intersections. Priscila seems to perform the main functions necessary for realizing the video. That, on the one hand, builds an atmosphere of proximity to the narrative, but, on the other, ends up making it less precise in technical aspects.

In *Brilho da Noite*, the participatory character is most evident in the performative and musical interaction between adults and children of Grupo Cupuaçu. Examples of this are the moments when the boy Ariel plays the *pandeirão* while Ana Maria sings a *toada*. In *Pandeirão* and *Guriatã*, this is similarly made evident by the number of people playing the instruments, who are not necessarily dressed in any specific garment showing they are all part of the same group, for instance.

Considered broadly, one of the ways in which musicking is presented in the audiovisual context of the three productions is the portrayal of moments of preparation and extra-presentation of the cultural manifestation. In the *Taquaras, Tambores e Violas* episode, the construction of the *pandeirão* is an example of this; in *Brilho da Noite*, it is the setting up of the structure on the square where Boi parties take place, as well as sewing the leather for the new boi; in *Guriatã*, it appears in Humberto's relationship with the community, his concerns with food for the *batalhão* and visitors, among many others. The table below shows a little more of the comparisons we have been able to draw:

	Brilho da Noite	TTV – Pandeirão	Guriatã
Purpose	Sound portrait // Part of academic research	TV series	Musical Documentary
Main characters	Ana Maria and Ariel	Ribinha and Truvão	Humberto

	Brilho da Noite	TTV – Pandeirão	Guriatã
Recording time	About four years	About five days	Decades
Narrative Arc	Cycle of the festivity, from death to birth	Construction of the *pandeirão* and baptism of the Boi	Humberto's life and his relationship to specific themes
Image aesthetics	Camera lens focuses on everything; editing brings together *toadas* being sung a cappella and the Boi in action	Blurred camera lens; first details to later reveal; widen shots and close shots	Different types of images; different media; editing by themes
Editing	Everyday scenes, with interspersed appearances of the Boi	Chain of actions	Organization of themes and a lot of attention to audio and image sync
Audio aesthetics	A cappella *toadas*; direct sound of dialogues; direct sound of the Boi	A cappella *toadas*; direct sound of the group; direct sound from actions and environments	A cappella *toadas*; *toadas* from the Maracanã CD album; songs by Ponto BR; songs by A Barca; recordings from TV shows
Interview	Ana Maria, Ariel Coelho, Rita Coelho	Sitting (Ribinha) and moving (Truvão)	Different moments and situations // Humberto leads
Elements showing the participatory character	Musical and performative relationship between adults and children // Ariel playing the *pandeirão*	Images of the *batalhão*	Images of many people playing, often people who are not wearing the group's attire // People singing *toadas* along with Humberto

	Brilho da Noite	TTV - Pandeirão	Guriatã
Elements reinforcing musicking	Embroidering the *boi's* leather // Ariel dressed in *boieiro* clothing // Ariel playing // setting up the booths // acappella *toadas*	Embroidering costumes // construction of the *pandeirão*// Truvão playing *pandeirão* // beginning of the baptism, people arriving // a cappella *toadas* // Ribinha talking about the story	A cappella *toadas* // Humberto having conversations // attention to the group's affairs and a certain management // his relationship with the community // importance in dealing with the kitchen // moments in the buses, members going from one place to another

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Filmic productions constitute an interesting manner to portray several layers of bumba meu boi. In *Guriatã*, it is possible to learn about the story of Mestre Humberto and the group he has led for more than forty years, Boi de Maracanã. In *Taquaras, Tambores e Violas*, the viewer watches the construction of one of the most emblematic instruments of bumba meu boi, the *pandeirão*. Finally, in *Brilho da Noite*, the spectator understands how the exchange and transmission between masters and beginners take place in a bumba meu boi group, those two characters being of great relevance for the manifestation. These productions show some of the musicking in bumba meu boi and its participatory character. Through portraying them, video can contribute to the preservation of memory, documentation, construction, transmission, dissemination, and appreciation of the knowledges that are involved in this cultural manifestation and the knowledges of the people who participate in it. In a time like this, a global pandemic, with a drastic reduction of face-to-face and collective meetings, audiovisual productions become a tool of great relevance, even for the continuity of these manifestations.

Reflecting on how a video was used to portray the musicking of bumba meu boi and its participatory character is also a way of understanding

how to translate (Romero & Vilella 2018) an experience into a system of symbols that involves images and sounds. In addition, these analyses can be expanded and similarly thought for other cultural manifestations, beyond bumba meu boi.

The question asked by Jean Rouch ("for whom have you made this film?") can be answered in several ways; and understanding how audiovisual devices are thought of and how they are received by the audience helps in reflecting about an answer, since through it, it is possible to understand how and to whom to transmit an experience, story, or work to various audiences.

TRANSLATION
Caio C. Maia

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gis - gesto, imagem e som

ARTICLES

SENSITIVE CONNECTIONS: FOLLOWING THE ETHNOBIOGRAPHIC TRAIL OF A CHACOAN MUSICIAN

DOSSIER LOCAL MUSICKING

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ABSTRACT
The text deals with the production of the ethnobiographic video *Pascual Toro, flautero (flute player)*. I refer, first, to the theoretical and methodological proposal of the Argentine filmmaker and anthropologist Jorge Prelorán (1933-2009), who inspired the work. In a second moment, I describe the characteristics of the repertoire and the genre performed by the protagonist of the film in the *arete guasu* ritual to explain the reasons that guided the organization of the editing project. In turn, I discuss the value of individuality in the scope of *arete guasu* flute music, arguing that the ethnobiographic method is a fruitful way to understand the connections that sustain the skills to be a good flute player in this universe.

INTRODUCTION

Ethnobiography, as conceived by the Argentine filmmaker and anthropologist Jorge Prelorán (1933-2009), is a research modality that connects art and anthropology. This text intends to follow the path opened by Prelorán, first addressing some aspects of the methodology he developed. Much has been done and written about the relationship between art and anthropology since the time when Prelorán presented his proposal. It would be impossible to describe here the numerous studies that sought to transcend this border and, in this effort, made it tenuous.

In some cases, ethnographic practice implied the immersion of ethnographers in the arts (visual, musical, performative etc.) they researched; in others, ethnography used several languages to communicate in a sensitive way the aesthetic dimension of the ethnographic experience.[1] The option to accompany the proposal of an already classical author, as is the case with Jorge Prelorán, is linked to the interest in recognising the value of works that, although adding a few decades - and even for this reason - are still fertile invitations to experimentation.

Secondly, we present some considerations on the production of the ethnographic video *Pascual Toro, flautero,*[2] a project I have worked on in the last four years (2016-2019). It is an ethnobiographic documentary that integrates a series of written and audio-visual works in which I sought to translate into different languages some of the knowledge acquired with Chacoan musicians over these years of research. In this series of videos and texts[3] I present some traces of the knowledge of indigenous musicians – Chané and Guarani - who play the flute in the *arete guasu* ritual.

Arete is a feast celebrated annually at the time of carnival in many communities of these two ethnic groups in southeastern Bolivia, northern Argentina, and western Paraguay. The musical knowledge associated with it can be thought of as a *língua franca*[4] shared in the Guarani and Chané *communities* of the region and that, as it could not but be, relates to the history and cosmology of those peoples. In this video, and through the voice of the indigenous musician Pascual Toro (Guarani resident of the community of Santa Teresita, Boquerón, Paraguay), we learned part of the history of his people, the importance of the *arete guasu* ritual in his community, and the nature of his skills to be a good *flautero* (flute player). Pascual's narrative describes the long journey that led him to be a *flautero* in the main Guarani ritual of the Paraguayan boreal Chaco.

1 See, for example, Schneider (2007, 2017); Caiuby Novaes (2008, 2015); Ingold (2013).
2 Domínguez (2019).
3 Domínguez (2018a, 2018b, 2019, 2020, 2021).
4 The formulation is inspired by studies on the Upper Xingu that identify in the ritual a powerful means to weave relations in this complex multi-ethnic and multilingual scenario (Menezes Bastos 1978/1999a; Fausto, Franchetto & Montagnani 2011).

Two themes permeate his words: healing and death, topics that are also the reasons for the ritual. Through reflection on the ethnobiography of a *flautero* and *ipaye* (healer), we can observe - as the protagonist of the video invites us to do - what connects these action modes. We argue that along the path of ethnobiography we can understand the connections he and his people weave between domains that, in Western musicking and in the theories that shape it, usually appear separately.

ANTHROPOLOGY, CINEMA AND ETHNOBIOGRAPHY IN JORGE PRELORÁN

The ethnographic video object of this text follows, in general, the proposal elaborated by the Argentine filmmaker and anthropologist Jorge Prelorán (1933-2009). Prelorán is a fundamental name in both cinema and anthropology in Argentina, since he made original contributions in both areas. His work is representative of the Ethnographic Documentary Cinema that, in the 1960s and 1970s, approaches the movement of the New Latin American Cinema (Taquini 1994, Calvo de Castro, 2018). Influenced by Italian neorealism, Prelorán also followed in the footsteps of American filmmakers such as Timothy Ash and David MacDougall. Like Ash, he explored the narrative function of documentaries, lending protagonism to subjects who speak on behalf of the people represented. And just like David MacDougall, Prelorán moved away, through a participatory and close camera that allows the protagonists to speak directly to the public, from the trend in which the ethnographer is the main character of the documentary (Acosta 2016).

In the Argentine anthropological scene, Prelorán is recognized as one of the precursors of visual anthropology and ethnobiography. His theoretical and methodological contribution, on the other hand, is updated through the conceptual turn that leads part of contemporary anthropology to greater reflexivity and makes knowledge to be understood as a product of the relations between researchers and researched[5]. In this bias, his theory and practice around ethnobiography are an important inspiration for research that explores new ways of doing ethnography, not limited to the text to produce and circulate knowledge, and that seek not to replicate the division between individual and society in the effort to understand human worlds.

Jorge Prelorán transited between cinema and anthropology bringing them together, dissolving the boundaries between the two disciplines. His films reveal a singular poetics linked to his conception of the human being and

5 For works that consider Jorge Prelorán's contributions in contemporary anthropology, see Rossi (1987), Sherman (2007), Gonçalves (2012a).

anthropological practice. For him, the main value of the ethnobiographic film is the possibility of understanding the life and philosophy of real people who have a name, surname, opinions and problems with which we can identify, abandoning notions – such as 'communities' or 'societies' - that could result in generalisations (Prelorán 1987; 2006). At the time he developed such a line of work (1960s and 1970s) initiatives of this kind were uncommon, and his works, based on unconventional methods for the time, reveal a search for ways of knowing that would not abandon the sensitive aspects of ethnographic practice or human life.

Prelorán was a filmmaker long before he became an anthropologist. His passion for cinema led him to the documentary and, along this path, to seek to depict the worlds he met through the voice and narratives of their inhabitants. Instead of dealing with generic collectives where there is no room for individualities, as was customary in anthropology at the time, he sensibly observed the connection between people, environments, and social worlds. In this way, he bequeathed us beautiful portraits of artists quite different from each other, from different regions of South America (he worked from Patagonia to Venezuela), describing their worlds through the voices of the subjects portrayed in the films, showing them in their tasks, in many cases dedicated to artistic works.

Although he produced several films during the 1960s, criticism points out *Hermógenes Cayo, imaginero* (the image maker), released in 1969, as a turning point in his career, because there he launched what would become his personal style (Rossi 1987).[6] Among the new characteristics that marked his work in the 1970s, Prelorán emphasizes in interviews the way he began to treat voices and sound design, by using non-synchronous sound to introduce a narration in which the main character tells his own story. This voice is no longer that of an omniscient narrator, as in previous films. And as we listen to the voices of the protagonists talking about their lives and the places they inhabit, and mentioning their fears and longings, we see them dealing with their environments' elements and shaping their aesthetic skills.

The hallmark that characterizes Prelorán's ethnobiographic documentaries is, therefore, the unique way he produced the sounds and images used in the montage and editing process. In most of his productions, he first recorded the sounds of the environment, the sounds produced by human

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6 For a complete list and description of the films made by Jorge Prelorán, available in the archives of the Smithsonian Institution (Washington, USA) to which he donated his work, see Foley (2011).

action, and the protagonists' first-person narratives. Then he captured the images he would use in the montage.[7]

In Prelorán's unmistakable poetics, sound is as important as image. The soundscapes of his films include voices and sounds that fill the audio-visual plot – whether from human activities, animals, or other sound elements. In this context, characterized by asynchronous sound, the images offer a record of inhabited landscapes that do not rely on direct sound. Both narrative elements - images and sounds - are located at the same level of referentiality. Prelorán thus anticipated more recent approaches that emphasize the importance of sound in audio-visual (Chion 1994; 1999, Gorbman 1987) and in the ways in which we imagine places and their inhabitants (Feld 1996, Menezes Bastos 1999b, Ingold 2000, Sterne 2012).

The ethnobiographic video *Pascual Toro, flautero* was assembled based on the dialogue that took place in his home, when he invited us to watch a documentary that he helped to produce about the *arete guasu*[8]. On this occasion, he presented ideas on various topics referred to in the film and introduced others. We can say that the documentary triggered another film, which further opened the range of topics considered when we think of the complex of knowledges associated with *arete guasu*. The conversation we had (which I recorded with the small camera I carried in my backpack, in precarious technological conditions, which reveals a little of the magic of ethnography, giving us with invaluable opportunities when least expected) was complemented by several others, which allowed me to better understand his words that day. For the assembly of the video I also used recordings made over the next four years, when I followed his performance in the ritual.

The editing project of *Pascual Toro, flautero* followed Jorge Prelorán's proposal around ethnobiography, especially by presenting the protagonist Pascual Toro telling his story, with his voice, manner and words, and covering the events that give meaning to his trajectory. Some themes in the narrative stand out when he talks about the skills to be a good instrumentalist in *arete guasu*, as well as the reasons for the feast. In this bias, ethnobiography recovers that basic premise of the ethnographic interview, allowing the protagonist to draw the script of his speech instead of directing it with a questionnaire. Thus, Pascual Toro relates topics that give meaning to his narrative and the phenomena he describes, allowing

7 This is related to the type of technology Prelorán used at the time. The capture of images allowed only short shots. The sound recording allowed to register more extensive narratives, where people, in their speech rhythm, describe their lives.
8 The invitation took place at the 2016 carnival, when, together with anthropologist Graciela Chamorro, I visited the Guarani community of Santa Teresita (Boquerón, Paraguay) to participate in their *arete guasu*. The film we watched at Don Pascual's home in this opportunity is "Arete Guasu. El tiempo escindido", directed by Dea Pompa and Lia Colombino in 2012.

us to glimpse connections between aspects of his life and his world that we would hardly relate.

I also agree with Prelorán's proposal to give centrality to sounds, although I do so differently from what he used to do. I did not use the feature of asynchronous sound in all of Don Pascual's statements during the edition, because I consider profoundly significant the gesturality of the musician when he mentions certain subjects and expresses his emotions. This choice is related to the intention to share with those who watch the video some of the emotions of the musicians I worked with and the way they manifest themselves, because, as mentioned below, emotion is a central element in the way I interpret the effectiveness of the musical knowledge I seek to describe. The objective is to elicit the effect described by Marco Antônio Gonçalves (2012b) when he suggests that cinematic images allow a change of perspective so that the viewer approaches the emotions of the characters and experiences the perspective of the other. Likewise, I chose to keep the sound synchronous when the protagonist appears playing his instrument, so as not to neglect the association between the person of Don Pascual Toro and the sounds he composes and plays in the ritual. I also understand that this audio-visual material, which shows the musician and his gesture when playing – and not just the sound of the flute – is important as a register of his performance as a whole, either out of respect for his memory, or because of the value this material can have for *arete guasu* musicians who recover the ways of playing from other *flauteros* when developing their own style.

REPETITION AND DIFFERENCE IN *ARETE GUASU* MUSIC

Classical ethnographic studies often describe indigenous music as monotonous and repetitive, without addressing its aesthetic complexity in detail. This trend sometimes appears explicitly and sometimes between the lines in works dealing with *arete guasu*, especially in the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. Among such works, is also characteristic the perception that the feast and its musicality, as well as the culture of the Chacoan *Chané* and Guarani, were in frank dissolution due to the "acculturation" driven by the modernizing forces in the region[9].

From the 1980s, some authors researching *arete guasu* turned detailed attention to musical instruments and sequences of themes that characterize the rite. Moreover, they began to do this without the pessimism typical of their predecessors regarding the future of the indigenous peoples

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9 In this trend that considered the changes as loss or cultural dissolution - despite the valuable information they add about the past of the ceremony – we can include the works of Giannecchini (1898/1996), Nordenskiöld (1912/2002; 1920; 1924/2001), Métraux (1942, 1946); Palavecino (1949), Rocca and Newbery (1976), and Magrassi (1981).

who celebrate *arete*, as well as their art. Examples of this new bias are the works of Pérez Bugallo (1982), Sánchez (1998), and Perez Bugallo (2012). Authors such as Miguel Angel García (2015) and Anthony Seeger (2015) have already looked into the first trend mentioned above, offering some clues to better understand these forms of listening and the evaluations that accompany them. They certainly have different reasons. In some cases they are explained by the non-availability of a technology that would allow longer recordings and subsequent analyses by scholars who followed musical rituals in the first decades of the last century. In other cases, they are due to prejudice on the part of ethnologists, who negatively evaluated the sonority of indigenous rituals, whose aesthetics little resembled the standards of modern Western music.

The ethnomusicology of the last decades, however, has endeavored to reveal the complexity of musical systems that have remained little known for a long time. Seeking to insert this study in such a perspective, one of the purposes that guided my research with *Chané* and Guarani musicians was to identify the particular relation between difference and repetition in the *arete guasu* repertoire. Based on a series of records of the musical themes interpreted by the *flauteros* in several locations during the feast – in listening, transcribing and comparing these themes – we can say that there is a musical sequence that repeats and guides the ritual script, which is the same in the many communities in which *arete* is celebrated. The sequence of musical themes performed during the festival determines the structure of the rite.[10] The participants easily identify the differences between themes - and what they should do when they are played. In other words, the music of *arete guasu* is not all the same; different themes are played at certain moments of the ceremony, organizing its development and prescribing what people do at each moment.

However, despite the differences between the themes of the *arete* repertoire, they have a repetitive formal structure. Here we have, therefore, a particular relation between repetition and difference that relates to the temporality of the rite on two levels. On the one hand, the different themes organized in sequence create the linear time of the rite, from beginning to end; on the other, the repetitive structure of the musical genre played in the event, combined with the repetition present in the other languages that make up the aesthetics of the ritual - fundamentally dance[11] – allows the experience of an extraordinary temporality. The potential of sounds to promote different time-related experiences was exemplarily analyzed by Richard Middleton when dealing with repetition productivity. In *arete*

10 On the importance of musical sequences in the indigenous rituals of the South American lowlands, see Menezes Bastos (2017).
11 See Domínguez (2021).

guasu music, we perceive the same dialectic he described when dealing with musematic and discursive repetitions:

> *Sequence composes time (rather than marking time or obliterating it, as straight repetition, especially if musematic, seems to do); it makes us aware of rise-and-fall, a discursive hierarchy, and thus refers to irreversible experiences; into the ontology of repetition, it introduces a teleological directedness.* (Middleton 1983, 244)

In *arete* music, the repetition of short phrases is predominant. Such repetition often includes variations. In general terms, the themes are formed by two-part phrases of the same duration, but whose sound details are not identical. Each *flautero*, depending on experience and ability, can introduce more or less variations, as the case may be. Variations almost always fit a symmetrical pattern, forming a parallelism between the first part of the phrase and its repetition, with variation only in the second part of the phrase. This gives a particular rhythm to the *arete guasu* musical genre.

When analyzing indigenous art, Franz Boas already mentioned this very common aspect in narratives, songs, or other musical forms: "*The repetitions discussed so far are rythmic in form, varied in contents. They may be compared to an orderly succession of decorative motives that agree in the plan of the unit but vary in details.*" (1927/1955, 314) As he himself warns, symmetry in the strict sense does not exist in temporal arts such as music, but the successive repetition of brief phrases that have the same structure can leave this impression.

> *A reversion of time sequence is not felt as symmetry in the same way as a reversion of space sequence where every point has its equivalent point. In time sequences we have a feeling for symmetry only for the order of repetition and structural phrases.* (Boas 1927/1955, 320)

It is important to note that this course of action operates musically as an effective means when adjusting to formal standards established by convention, i.e., because it is widely used throughout the large area in which the *arete guasu* is celebrated. It is part of a historically settled knowledge in western Chaco, because although the *flauteros* never reported a theory that determines this way of playing, they all play in the same way. Far from considering this characteristic a low aesthetic quality index, it is key in the performance of music in the ritual. It is, in fact, a kind of productive repetition (Middleton 1983), because this sound organization plays a fundamental role in generating the specific experience of the *arete* and the extraordinary time that the rite introduces into the flow of social life.

The video *Pascual Toro, flautero* presents a register of the repertoire that the protagonist performs at the feast, revealing the differences between the themes that organize the structure of the rite. Based on this audio-visual material, we could identify the characteristics mentioned above when describing the musical genre played in the event. In the video assembly, I interspersed segments of about three minutes where the protagonist narrates his life story and his knowledge, and segments of the same duration in which Pascual interprets themes from his repertoire, amusing people who dance. By selecting the scenes and defining their duration in the editing project, we sought to evoke the form that characterizes the musical genre played in *arete guasu*, by the succession of segments of equal duration that translate a parallelism between verbal discourse and musical discourse. The proposal refers once again to the ideas of Franz Boas, for whom rhythm is an essential part of all the arts: painting, sculpture, dance, music, and poetry (Caiuby Novaes 2015, 11) - and, why not, the audio-visual.

As observed, musicians are responsible, through the sequence of themes interpreted and the duration they print at each moment of the rite, for the good development of the feast. This allows us to conclude that their knowledge is not reduced to knowing how to play, but extends to the very structure of the ritual and to the knowledge necessary for the development of the *arete* from beginning to end. Thus, musicians and music have a prominent role among the aesthetic languages that make up the cere-mony. In another work (Domínguez 2018a) I stated that, despite providing multisensory experiences, *arete guasu* is essentially a musical ritual, due to the centrality of sound in its organization. Not that music is more important than other languages when they occur in combination, but, unlike the others, musical language is indispensable in this ritual. In the *arete* season, they may even be short of masked people or dancers, but there will always be a group of instrumentalists. Most of the participants in the encounter may not know the myths associated with the *arete*, and the masks may not be present, but as long as there is music, the party is guaranteed. Therefore, we observe a kind of structural hierarchy in which the different languages that make up the rite have different degrees of dispensability, with music being the only essential one.

In turn, the *flautero* has a unique role in the group of musicians – who use, in addition to the flute, snare drums in variable number, and a bass drum. It is the flute's tune that commands the dancers' movements. Through a high and long sound, for example, the flute signals when the dance rounds change the direction of the turn or when - with the theme called *oguata pegua* (to walk) - the group of musicians and dancers must

move from one point to another in the community[12]. It also determines the pauses of a few minutes to then resume the dance and the entrance on stage, in the ritual arena, of some characters. The *flautero* performs different themes to announce the arrival and follow the performance of the *kuchi* (pigs - boys and young people with their bodies covered in mud); of the *aña* (masked men who evoke the souls of the dead); of the bull, who attacks and marks the *aña* on the forehead with a cross (the bull is a man with a painted body that, in the exegesis of the participants, evokes the non-indigenous colonizer and the cattle introduced by him into the *Chiriguano* or Guarani territory of the lowlands of Bolivia), and of the tiger (man with a painted body that evokes the figure of the jaguar).

The sound of the flute, while playing *koya-koya*, announces that the *kuchi* are coming to muddy the participants - a moment of great anticipation and bustling. Through a specific tune, the flute warns the masked that the ritual combat with the bulls is approaching. When playing the theme known as "the bull and the tiger", the instrument also accompanies the struggle between those characters. At this moment, which can be described as an adage, the ties of the drums are loosened, producing a more muffled sound than when the dance circles turn merrily, and the music plays at a much slower pace, creating a low sound for this point of climax in the dramaticity of the rite.

Of course, percussion is not less important. It marks the overall pace of the event and is decisive in the experience of the party. This does not preclude, however, that the functions of the snare drums, bass drum, and flute are different in performances. The melodic function of the flute is leader. As much as musicians claim that all instruments are equally important in the *arete*, the flute has a unique role in conducting the group. As the soloist, the *flautero* is the one who defines the *tempo*, the pace of the song. A political reading of this characteristic can be made to the extent that the action of the flute player determines that of the other musicians and even that of the other participants of the *arete*. This leads us – as Jorge Prelorán invites us to do – to resize the space granted to individualities when we approach the indigenous arts.

As already established in the anthropology of South American indigenous art, the existence of traditional, collective styles that distinguish certain societies does not prevent them from identifying individual styles related to the particular practices of some people. In the case of *arete guasu*

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12 On the importance of the movements and the itinerant character of *arete guasu*, see Domínguez (2021). In this text I describe the dialectic between dance in circles, at the same point in the space of communities, and the displacements through different houses of communities that the group of participants performs, observing the pragmatics of the ritual, i.e., what happens socially through these two types of movements.

musical tradition, one can easily perceive the value of the individuality of some *flauteros* recognized as unique musicians by the community. Not only are they recognized by the themes they interpret - and that their peers often understand to be exclusive of a *flautero*'s repertoire – but also by the characteristic way of playing certain themes considered standards of the *arete* music.

One possible explanation for the existence of individual styles that singularize some of the musicians is the way they learn to play. Flute music is not taught or transmitted from one musician to another, which could favour the similarity of the tune of the learner and his master. Each *flautero* learns to play by listening to others and practicing - in other words, self-teaching is the norm. Each *flautero* learns to play through a sole process. Although some recognize that this or that old flute player has taught him something, there is no master-apprentice relationship. Depending on the case, during the carnival children can play drums with the adult musicians. This is the way to approach *arete* music and develop the perceptual and motor competence that allows to join the action of musicians, elaborating their own gestures in the search for specific sounds. In fact, all *flauteros* also play the drum, but the reverse does not happen.

In the carnival season, when musicians and dancers rest or sleep in their breaks, it is possible to find groups of children playing the drums and a flute. That's how they learn, playing with their peers and practicing together[13]. The necessary skills are not acquired through an "oral transmission" process, following the classifications of the oldest ethnomusicology. There's actually neither transmission nor orality here. There is listening, observation, and much practice. There is a rhythm that permeates the gestures through the perception of the others' tunes, the memories that evoke the melodies heard and the possibilities offered by the material and the shape of the flute that is available. In summary, the learning of *flauteros* does not result from systematic training directed by a master, but from hours and hours of group practice that apparently has no other purpose than fun.

As each *flautero* plays only his flute, which he himself prepared, or someone he trusts prepared for him, his tune can also be identified by the particular timbre of the instrument, which is an important element of his personal style. In a parenthesis, I have been warned several times about the great risk of playing another person's flute because the person

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13 Evidently, Tim Ingold's ideas resonate in this interpretation. He states, following Jean Lave, that learning is more a question of understanding in practice than acquiring culture through the transmission of others. (Ingold 2000, 416; Ingold 2013, 13)

may be a victim of sorcery – for the same reason, a *flautero* hardly lends his instrument and it is part of the etiquette not to borrow flutes.

The flutes used in *arete guasu* belong to two major groups: the *temïmbï* and the *pinguyos*. Both are vertical flutes – the *temïmbï* is a quena, the *pinguyo* is a flute with a block at the mouthpiece – and each *flautero* specializes in the execution of one or the other type[14]. In both cases, they are handcrafted and the variety of sounds among them is enormous. They are crafted with tubes of various materials – *taquara*, *sacharosa (Pereskia sacharosa)*, bronze, aluminium, steel or polyvinyl chloride (PVC) – of different diameters and lengths, with different distances between the holes, as well as in the number and size thereof, and even in the type of embouchure. Some *pinguyos* also bring a smaller tube tied laterally to the main tube that emits a single very high tone, accompanying the melody performed in the main tube. As a result, and as much as flutes integrate these two groups, the individual differences are quite wide, and the particularities in the timbre of the flute that each *flautero* plays, as already mentioned, are one more aspect to define his individual style.

These particularities allow the recognition and differentiated valuation of the singular styles of each *flautero*. In other words, although the music of *arete guasu* is a musical genre with well-established characteristics in the area where the ritual is celebrated, although there is a characteristic repertoire of the ritual, with *standard* themes of the genre, and although the flutes are of only two types (*temïmbï* and *pinguyo*), there is room for individual styles linked to the characteristics of the instrument and, no less important, to the skills of each musician.

With this brief description of the musical genre characteristic of *arete guasu*, I tried to situate the specific role of flute sound and skills of the *flautero* in the universe under analysis. The shooting of the ethnobiographic video, as cited before, was the path through which this understanding became accessible. Thus, ethnobiography proved fruitful as an ethnographic research method, allowing us to sew different planes of knowledge that we approach – such as the individual and the collective. Also, because it was through a talk about his life that Don Pascual found the way to communicate the relationships that shape his knowledge, showing that this is not reducible to a strictly 'musical' knowledge.

14 The ways in which the two flutes are played are different. In the first case (*temïmbï*, quena) the *flautero* directs the blow to the bevel. In the case of the *pinguyo*, the blow is directed through the mouthpiece of the block.

MUSIC, HEALING AND DEATH

The main criteria among the participants of the *arete* when evaluating the aesthetic quality of the execution of a *flautero* is the efficacy of his tune, either to cheer people to participate in the dance, or in the sense of evoking certain memories, affections, and emotions. Although no one denies that a good *flautero* is the one whose flute has a beautiful sound, the reasons for his tune to have a singular appeal are most likely associated with the *secrets* he dominates. Such *secrets* refer directly to his partnership with some assistants or masters (*iya reta*) who accompany him when playing, helping him to have a powerful sound. Those skills are not, therefore, only the result of what Western musical tradition would qualify as a 'technical' training. Although any *flautero* recognizes that playing well requires a lot of practice, the skill is not explained solely on this basis. As Don Pascual says in the video, flute playing skills also relate to the experiences that made him an *ipaye* (healer), and these are based on a series of relationships with masters or other assistants such as *Saramaca* or *Salamanca*. Such relationships are based on reciprocity, because to count on their collaboration, the *flautero* must give them something in return.

Most of the *flauteros* I have known over the years researching the *arete guasu* musical tradition are individuals with healing skills. It is not difficult to imagine, therefore, that there is a connection between these two skills – musical and healing. Although not all *flauteros* I have known are *ipayes* recognized as such, in all cases they are people to whom possession of *secrets* is attributed, a term used to refer to the formulas by which people can communicate with the masters (*iya reta*) of the things of this world. Nevertheless, in many cases, *flauteros* are individuals who are publicly dedicated to healing and to whom the residents of the communities turn when they need to eliminate a malaise, change an adverse situation, or achieve a goal they set. The action of healing in the Guarani and Chané context, where the knowledge associated with *arete guasu* prevails, encompasses procedures that go beyond what Western biomedicine understands by healing – that is, the restoration of the patient's organic health.

Although for the Guarani healing means, in some cases, alleviating one's physical ills, it also means performing some type of procedure that, through action on the will or intention of a third party, causes a person to achieve their purposes or change an unfavourable situation. In the video, Don Pascual explains the connection between healing and flute playing skills. The aid of forces such as *Saramaca* or *Salamanca* can cause a large number of people to be attracted by the sound of the flute to the dance circles – and a party where many people dance is a successful party indeed.

Besides being a musician and *ipaye*, Dom Pascual is a *reikian*. As shown by the diplomas he proudly exhibits in the video, he graduated from

the *Asociación de Reiki de la República Argentina*, although he took the courses in Asunción, Paraguay. The description of the techniques he uses shows an interesting translation of his knowledge, combining the Guarani healing tradition learned from his people and the Reiki techniques taught by the "*orientales*", as he says. Here, as in other narratives about his knowledge, Pascual Toro connects modes of action through an integrative shamanism that assimilates ideas and practices from every origin. His explanation invites us to abandon rigid divisions between the traditional and the modern, between the local and the outside, and even between the indigenous and the non-indigenous, because the experience that Don Pascual describes, like that of many other Guarani people in western Chaco, transits between these worlds and bind them in the same plot of stories and knowledge.

Figure 1. Pascual Toro playing his *temimbï* at the *arete guasu* of Santa Teresita, Boquerón, Paraguay. February 2019. Photo by the author.

Besides mastering the indigenous *arete guasu* musical tradition, being an *ipaye* and a *reikian*, Dom Pascual acted for many years as a musician of the military band in the fort of his locality. In 1965, when he was 13, he began studying Western music theory with the military of the fort, joining the army band as a trumpeter, an activity in which he remained until the 1990s and thanks to which he was promoted to sergeant. In the army, he also learned to play trombone, bombardino, and saxophone. He also loves playing Paraguayan polka on his accordion. And when friends meet, he also plays the guitar to cheer their gatherings.

Don Pascual inherited the flute from his father and kept it with special affection. As he explains, he will know to whom he should give his flute only when the recipient appears to him in his dreams. For now he waits, although he is touched by the subject: "No one knows the day or time of his death." The *flautero* cries when he evokes the memory of his father and, at the same time, when he thinks of death or refers to the finitude of life.

It is not unusual for a person to cry when listing the reasons for playing the flute in *arete guasu*. On the one hand, everyone recognizes that flute is played to amuse the public, but there is also a close association between playing *arete* music and the memory of their ancestors. The *arete guasu*, as well as the conversations held with the musicians for the research, inevitably evoke the theme of death or the finitude of life. The ritual itself deals with death, and music – as well as masking – plays a key role in the process. In *arete guasu*, a diversity of techniques is placed at the service of this collective reflection on the place of the dead and death among the living. The masks made for the feast by the Guarani of the Paraguayan boreal Chaco – called *aña-aña* or *agüeros* – are a good example of the kind of aesthetic elaboration that provides this reflection.[15]

The *agüeros* (a term that for many is a variation of *abuelos*, 'grandparents' in Spanish) represent, according to the exegesis of the Guarani, the wandering souls of the dead; they are the *aña*, we are told. They are masks that can be described as chimeric figurations[16], because they make up a being that is composed of the union of parts or pieces of different animals. Thus, a hybrid figure is elaborated, made of animals of different species, but that brings together the animal and the human who wears it, the living and the dead. This technique of figuration evokes, in my view, the transformation of the human into an animal, from the living into the dead, and vice versa – it is worth remembering that when one dies one can, in the Guarani cosmology of the Paraguayan Chaco, become an animal.

To understand the role of music in this process it is important to emphasize that the *agüeros* do not remain all the time in the ritual arena. Their appearance and participation in the party only happens when there is music. When the musicians stop to rest and silence their instruments, the *agüeros* disappear into the nearby woods. Music adds to the texture of the ritual the element that enables their presence; without the tune of flutes and drums, the *agüeros* do not appear. Therefore, music has a conductive role that brings to the ritual arena the aesthetic force that

15 See the text by Diego Villar and Federico Bossert (2011), which inspired me for this topic, for an analysis of the association between masking in the *arete guasu* of the *Chané* of Argentina and the theme of death.
16 Chimeric figurations, following the proposal of Severi and Lagrou (2013), bring together the contradictory and thus operate as indexes of transformation.

enables this reflection on life and death. The *arete guasu* musicians know that, even if they do not express it in words. Their tears reveal the role that music plays in this context: its meaning does not refer to semantic content, but to the affection that it is capable of generating. Here as in other contexts, the meaning of music is performative and is associated precisely with the action, which can be observed in the ritual, of sounds on bodies and gestures. This is how the *flauteros* and other participants in the *arete* understand its efficacy, which becomes evident in the emotional way they refer to the affections that music evokes. This is also the understanding of the anthropology of art and ethnomusicology, at least since the 1970s. For example, in *A musicológica Kamayurá* (1978/1999, 247), Rafael Menezes Bastos suggests that music cannot be thought of as a projection of a culture, as it was thought in ethnomusicology until then[17]. He thus proposed a critique of the dualistic positions that separate musical expression and content (or form and meaning). In this study, the author states that musical significance is affective and psychomotor, more performative than referential. This praxiological approach allows us to follow processes in which the musical meaning gains contours of action or, as Tim Ingold proposes, of "affective presence": "The musical sound, on the contrary, delineates its own meaning: it is significant not by what it represents, but simply by its affective presence in the listener's environment." (Ingold 2000, 408)

The *arete guasu* music, without necessarily indicating a referential meaning, evokes memories and affections that make it effective to create an environment where masked people can dance and, by extension, where the theme of death can be present. The skills required to generate this space-time[18] through music relate to the competence to affect the emotions and actions of others-that is, to healing. Don Pascual, through a narrative that includes the history of the Guarani of the Paraguayan Chaco, the importance that the *arete guasu* has for them, the memory of the deceased father and the responsibility that it means to be a *flautero* of the *arete guasu*, offers evidence of the ineffable relationship between music, healing, and death. It is through ethnobiographic connections that we approach them.

17 Examples of ethnomusicological works of the 1950s and 1960s in which music is analyzed in two planes - one phonological-gramatical and the other semantic, without connection between them (Menezes Bastos 1978/1999, 42) - can be Alan Merriam's classic (1964) *The Anthropology of Music*; *Music in Primitive Culture*, by Bruno Nettl (1956); and *Ethnomusicology*, by Jaap Kunst (1957).
18 In Domínguez (2020a) I argue that music and ritual contribute to the elaboration of a Guarani place (in the sense of lived, practiced space) in the Paraguayan boreal Chaco. The approach accompanies studies that in the last two decades have examined *place making* processes where musical practices or musicking (Small 1998) are vital. See, for example, the works gathered in Stokes (1994); Feld and Basso (1996); Brucher and Reily (2018) and in Vilella et al. (2019).

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In the narrative presented by Don Pascual in the video described here, he mentions the forced displacement of his people from Bolivia to Paraguay after the Chaco War (1932-1935) [19], remembering that during the march someone made marks on his belt with the measurements of a flute so that the instrument could be produced later. Pascual evokes the memory of his father, also a *flautero* (and who gave him the flute he plays to this day) and the uncertainty about who he will give the instrument to before he dies, which must be revealed to him in a dream. These themes are linked to his skills as a healer, a subject to which he himself expertly directs his speech, creating his own script and argument for the film.

The production of the video *Pascual Toro*, *flautero* allowed me to not only know Don Pascual, but to understand aspects of the cosmology and history of the Guarani people of western Chaco. The materials I registered in the ethnographic research remembered me, due to the importance of some individual characters, what I knew of Jorge Prelorán's ethnobiographic proposal, although my recordings did not have the same technical quality of those of the Argentine filmmaker. However, I decided to experiment with the possibility of putting together a work that could communicate the aesthetic dimension that links form and emotion in the experiences lived during the years of research with Chacoan musicians.

In this exercise, Prelorán's work served as an inspiration in the effort to understand the logical paths of individuals whose knowledge was not immediately understandable to me. Connections between unrelated domains in my way of understanding reality became evident by following the trails through which they offered me maps of their rationality.

It is the protagonist of the film, in this ethnobiographic exercise, who tells the story, who narrates his life. It is not, however, a solitary speech – it is explicitly a dialogue, it has an addressee and an intention, that is to make specific aspects of a reality known. This dialogue creates a relationship and makes ethnographic research possible. Just as the ethnographer ceases to be the omniscient narrator to describe a world she believes she knows, she also does not hold the reins that define the course of ethnography. The video ends at the moment Don Pascual shows being aware that he has said enough and with the same words that we ended our conversation that day. After many hours of talking about his life and his knowledge, he concludes, smiling: "The Guarani know many things, but do not want to tell."[20]

19 For a description of the history of the communities founded by the Guarani in Paraguay after the Chaco War and the importance of the *arete guasu* in this process, see Domínguez (2020a).
20 This text was written during the post-doctoral period held at Departament Department of Anthropology of the Faculty of Philosophy, Letters and Human Sciences of the Universidade

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ARTICLES

LISTENING TO THE HEADPHONES, HEARING THE CITY: TOWARDS AN AUDIO-VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF THE LOCAL MUSICKING

DOSSIER LOCAL MUSICKING

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ABSTRACT

This essay discusses the use of audio-visual to represent the characteristics and possibilities of *local musicking*. When observing the process of creating the documentary *Um ouvido no fone e o outro na cidade*, the authors reflect on the uses and functions of music, as well as on the musical engagement and listening relationship of the *riders* – food deliverers by apps. These professionals are Brazilians who live in Dublin and who have music as an essential part of their work routine. In this sense, our question is: how to represent the diversity and contradictions of this local musicking? We argue that, through the collective stages of development and creation of this documentary, the directors express not only the engagement of the *riders* with the music, but also build a sensory representation of the music that runs through the relationships of work, affection and locality.

INTRODUCTION

- And then you will see that there are more
"app backpacks" than restaurants.
- All of them are Brazilian, right?
People said that 90% are Brazilian.
- Dude, I think 95%, do you know? (laughs)1.

This essay discusses the process of (re)building a *local musicking* in the documentary *Um ouvido no fone e o outro na cidade* 2. It is a movie made during the Covid-19 pandemic as a product resulting from the 7th Audio--visual Workshop of the Audio-visual Production and Research Center (NUPEPA/USP) in partnership with Universidade Nova de Lisboa. This film features four Brazilians who work as food deliverers in Dublin and addresses the relationship of these characters with the music and sounds in this city. Our argument is that, through the collective stages of development and creation of this documentary – basically production, filming and editing/assembly –, the directors express not only the engagement of these characters with the music, but also a sensory representation of

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1 This epigraph is a transcription of the moments 0'19" to 0'28" of the documentary that will be analyzed below. The term "app backpacks" is an allusion to *bags* – coolers with the shape of backpacks – that are used by food deliverers by app. The percentage quoted here, between 90 and 95%, is an empirical data frequently verbalized by interlocutors, but which lacks scientific proof. When presenting this statistic at the beginning of the text, we seek to justify the choice by the social group addressed. In short, at the time of writing this text, Brazilians represented the vast majority of riders in Dublin city.

2 Cf. Alexsânder Nakaóka Elias, Anna Flávia Guimarães Hartmann, Arthur Silva Barbosa, Brenno Brandalise Demarchi, Luiz Henrique Campos Pereira, Noelle Rodrigues Ventura e Renan Moretti Bertho. 2020. *Um ouvido no fone e o outro na cidade*. Colorful; Duration: 08'16 "; Country and place of production: Ireland and Brazil; Portuguese language. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u8w5tb4R1hc>. Accesses on 10/03/2020.

the musicking3, which permeates the relationships of work, affection and locality.

The film is based on a relatively simple daily observation: most of the *riders* – as the food deliverers call themselves – wear headphones throughout their workday. This fact drew the attention of the directors of the documentary to the following question: what does the food deliverer listen to? Taking this doubt as a starting point, the film seeks to demonstrate that the listening of these Brazilian workers who live in Dublin is marked by a diverse sound content, which mixes musical styles and genres, podcasts, local news and even compositions copyright. The engagement of these actors with the music, in turn, has a multiple, dynamic and functional aspect: "it helps to pedal faster"; "softens the uncomfortable sounds of the city"; and "relieves the homesickness of Brazil". Given this context, it is noted that the presence of music in the daily life of delivery people is essential and, possibly, (in)questionable as we will see below.

If, on the one hand, engagement with music contributes to overcoming the difficulties imposed by the work environment, on the other hand, rider's listening must be attentive to the sounds that come from traffic and calls from the cell phone apps, to which they submit their workforce. In other words, without listening to the music and podcasts, professional activity becomes more tiring and exhausting; without listening to the sounds of the city, the same activity becomes a risk and/or is rendered unfeasible. In this complex relationship between "want to listening" and "need to hearing", there is also a dense soundscape of the city4. This third sound layer is composed of natural elements (such as sounds of wind, birds, people's voices, etc.), as well as mechanical sounds (machines on construction sites, street artists with speakers, home and business alarms, among others). In short, Brazilian riders in Dublin relate to the locality and to the work through a plural listening, which encompasses desired, necessary and inevitable sounds, and sometimes even unwanted sounds.

Facing this reality, a second question that arises is: would it be possible to translate5 these experiences of listening into audio-visual language? Or

3 "Musicking" is a concept based on Christopher Small's theoretical proposal. Basically, the ending "ing" is incorporated into the noun "music" to emphasize human action and engagement with music. Semantically, it is about reaching the gerund or present participle of the verbal conjugation "to music". The topic *Concepts, theories and conceptions* in this article addresses some perspectives of this proposal.
4 At this point, we dialogue with Murray Schafer when he understood that the concept of *soundscape* defines the acoustic environment of a locality. For the author: "it is essential that we begin to listen more carefully and critically to the new soundscape of the modern world (…) Basically, we may be able to design the soundscape to improve it aesthetically" (SCHAFER, 1991, p. 13-14).
5 We are aware of the problems and tensions surrounding the term/concept "translation", even more when we deal with two or more different forms of expression/languages, as is the case, with orality and (audio)visuals. However, we will not resume this discussion

yet, how to represent the diversity and contradictions of local musicking? The solution found by the filmmakers was to explore the stereo effect of *panning*, a technique used to vary and distribute the sound content between the left and the right channel audio[6]. It is noted that when thinking about these sound possibilities and printing them as representations of the listening of the *riders*, the filmmakers also become participants and interlocutors of the local musicking. Suggestions, choices and decisions thought about the sound material in the film are actions that place the documentary production team in relationship with the subjects and phenomena that they want to represent[7]. In this sense, it would not be too much to say that the film producers were engaged in the musicking portrayed.

Through these questions and in order to deepen these reflections, this essay is structured as follows: the first section presents the main concepts used to support such discussions – basically, this moment builds a theoretical reflection relating definitions of local musicking to the issues of audio-visual. In sequence, we present the context that allowed the production of the documentary *Um ouvido no fone e o outro na cidade*. Afterwards, we comment on the general context of the Covid-19 pandemic in Brazil and in Ireland, as well as presenting the difficulties of making a film in these conditions. Then, we propose to present the *riders*, as well as the audio and video capture process. Subsequently, we analyse the editing process of this material, and, finally, we carry out an analysis on four moments of the documentary, in which the local musicking was represented through the use of *panning*.

CONCEPTS AND THEORIES

In *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Local Musicking*, Suzel Reily and Katherine Brucher (2018) argue that musicking is an interactive technology able to mediate relations between people and localities. In this sense, the notion of musicking (SMALL, 1989) is thought beyond the individual engagement with music, taken into account both the negotiation and the production of the locality. To support this concept, these authors dialogue with Ruth Finnegan (1989) understanding that, in the contemporary world, musical activities encompass styles and practices transcending the limits of the local.

in this essay, since the central purpose is to reflect on the potential of local musicking. For more information on the debates related to "translation", see, for example, Severi and Hanks (2014) and Cesarino (2016).

6 From the split of sounds between the left and right spectra of the stereo field, the audio *panning* creates interest and gives space to the sound sources. More information about this technique can be found on https://www.renegadeproducer.com/audio-panning.html and https://www.residentadvisor.net/features/1838.

7 For this article we do not propose to permeate the debate about representation, even though we are aware of the possibilities and limits of the term/concept and possible alternatives for it, such as, for example, the terms "re(a)presentation", "presentation", among others.

In *The Hidden Musicians*, Ruth Finnegan proposes the concept of musical pathway as a way to understand social practices and collective shared actions. The author presents these pathways as a result of interrelated musical worlds (FINNEGAN, 1989, p. 131) and observes how they are created and shared by people and by their life histories (FINNEGAN, 1989, p. 305). We observe that different people have different musical pathways, as well as particular ways to engage with music through these pathways. Musicians investigated by Finnegan were involved in these pathways by practising music – playing their instrument and participating in musical groups – in riders' case, which will be presented below, we argue that they were involved in these pathways through the act of active and functional hearing.

Tia DeNora, in turn, documents the uses of music as mobilization resource to the production of routines, scenes and occasions in social life. This author argues that music has a natural power (DENORA, 2004, p. X) and seeks to understand the agency of this power in the organization of the subjects and their trajectories. According to DeNora, music is much more than meaningful and communicative, it can influence dimensions of the social agency: "Music may influence how people compose their bodies, how they conduct themselves, how they experience the passage of time, how they feel – in terms of energy and emotion – about themselves, about others, and about situations". It is worth observing that, if music influences the behaviour of the individuals in the society, the control of this music is a source of social power constituting "an opportunity to structure the parameters of action" (p. 8-17).

To this theoretical body, we add the idea of locality as structure of feelings, elaborated by Arjun Appadurai (1996). In *Modernity at Large*, Appadurai seeks to understand the creation of values, meanings and relations between people and spaces, being them physics or imagined. Drawing on social theory, the locality is understood as contextual and relational (APPADURAI, 1996), a propriety of social life with fragilities regarding production/representation of its materiality, as well as hierarchy issues from modern nation-state. Given this "historical dialectic", Appadurai proposes locality as a structure of feelings, that is "always emergent from the practices of local subjects in specific neighbourhoods" (p. 178-198)8.

By relating the proposal of musical engagement to the possibilities of constructing the locality, we observe new articulations between sound and space. These new connections can be expanded and associated with other forms of expression and languages, in the specific case of this article, with image and audio-visual. That is why Reily and Brucher (2018)

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8 Neighbourhoods, in this context, are understood as situated communities, permeated by their capacity of social reproduction, as well as their spacial or virtual means (APPADURAI, 1996, p. 198).

realized that when we expand the notion of musicality we are challenged to "explore the full gamut of arenas in which human musicality operates as a technology of interactivity, mediating people's daily activities and their relations to locality" (p. 4). This daily involvement between music and individuals generates a complex system of interactions that provides bonds, commitments and personal experiences.

The concept of Local musicking, as presented here, echoes in *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros*, a Brazilian journal which published the thematic dossier called *O musicar como trilha para a etnomusicologia*. On that publication, Villela et al. assume that, in recent years, music as an object of study has come to be understood as a multidisciplinary prism that prioritizes process and practice; thus, diverging from the Eurocentric formalist view that understood music as a product / object. This new paradigm is associated with the notion of locality in the intention of investigating "how musicking constructs locality and how locality is constructed by musicking" (VILLELA, 2019, p. 19). As in *The Routledge Companion*, mentioned earlier, throughout this dossier, the dynamic contexts of different locations are observed, as well as the multiple connections between ideas, people, practices, objects and technologies.

Given these statements, we rewrote the central question of this article: how to present the main aspects of musicking – its process, its structure of feelings and the impact of its social power – through other languages that not only the music? In other words, how can we represent the diversity and contradictions of this local musicking? To answer these questions, we use multisensory languages[9], such as those used in audio-visual products. Therefore, it seems important to reflect on the particularities of sound and image and, fundamentally, on the relationship established between them on production/editing a film.

In the same way that, by filming or photographing there is an intentionality of "looking" in order to "show a person how I see him/her", we note that a qualitative distinction between "listening" and "hearing" is also noticeable. Initially, we observe differentiation between the acts of "looking" and "seeing/observing" (DIDI-HUBERMAN, 2013; MACDOUGALL e LEAHA, 2017), often taken as synonyms, which raises an exciting discussion. According to David MacDougall (2017):

> We are constantly seeing, if we can see. But perhaps there is an intention behind the seeing. You look with some purpose here or there, on the camera, at you, and we also look with the camera. In a way, the camera creates an intention and allows that intention to be amplified, framed in a par-

9 Examples of multisensory experiments in the field of Social Anthropology can be found in Elias, 2019.

ticular way, emphasized, in order to be shown to another person, of course. As Rouch said, "cinema is the only way I have to show a person how I see him", or he could have said "how I look at him". So there are two intentions: perhaps the intention of how we always look, interested in something, for curiosity, desire, for all the different reasons why we look, an aesthetic reason, appreciation, for pleasure. But then, the second intention would be that I want someone else to see this. I want someone else to see what I saw, what I looked at. And I think that this reduplicates the power of the camera (p. 343-344).

There are similar reflections in the sonorous/musical scope. Lucy Green (2002), for example, observes two distinct approaches in the practice of listening. The first, denominated as "purposive listening", is based on conscious purposes assumed in the act of listening. The second one, denominated "distracted listening", is associated with the act of listening and it occurs when "the music is heard at the back and it is not treated in a focused way: it enters almost entirely in the mind by the unconscious enculturation" (p. 23-24). Nevertheless, listening would be the act of receiving the sound and not necessarily paying attention to it, that is, the capacity to those who have a hearing; just like seeing/observing is inherent to those who have the vision.

Given these questions, it should be noted that, from an audio-visual point of view, there are three foundations that take up the acts of doing, supporting and looking: the operator, the one who makes and composes the (audio) visual footage; the spectrum, which is the referent that supports the "view/sight" of the image producer; and the spectator, the one who looks at the image in different circumstances. Barthes (1984), in his famous work *Camera Lucida*, speaks specifically about the photographic act, however the extension of the referred concepts (operator, spectrum and spectator) are also useful as an analytical instrument for cinematographic/videographic works.

Therefore, when thinking about the possible links between sounds and images, we are facing multiple sensory possibilities to explore the audio-visual field. In this sense, Sarah Pink presents sensory as an efficient interdisciplinary mastery to understand and represent the human experience (2015, p. 24). By articulating disciplines such as Anthropology, Geography and Sociology, the author proposes experiences through the sensorial perception *of* the spaces and *in* spaces (p. 26-32)10. Pink et al. (2017) and

10 According to Pink, initially the scholars understood sensory as a relation between body and mind. This relation has been changed over time: Victor Turner, for example, assigned different roles to the body and mind in producing experience. This point of view was questioned years later by phenomenological studies, which understood the body as a source of

Cruz (2017) will consider the issue of the "embodied" in fieldwork research, that is, in the intersubjective encounters between researchers and subjects, exactly from the notion of sensory. By analysing the production of images from digital devices, especially smartphones apps, the authors contribute on our thoughts about the elaboration of the documentary "Um Ouvido no Fone e o Outro na Cidade", in which the producers gathered themselves via a digital platform to compose some sort of "digital ethnography". Furthermore, throughout this process, the interlocutors themselves were using smartphones in their moments of work and leisure: being the food delivery apps, being the podcasts and music players. Finally, we understand that the virtual dimension and its mediation through smartphones and devices were an important convergence point in the sensory experience of those involved with the documentary, have they been the producers or their interlocutors.

NUPEPA AND THE CONTEXT OF THE CREATION OF THE DOCUMENTARY

In May 2020, the Institute of Communication of the University NOVA of Lisbon (ICNOVA) and the Social Research Laboratory of the University of São Paulo (LAPS/USP) started a partnership to carry out joint projects in the fields of Audio-visual Production for Social and Human Sciences. The articulation between these two institutions was in charge of the Audio-visual Production and Research Center (Nupepa/ImaRgens). This Center focuses on the formation and technical and theoretical training in audio-visual, using this language as a teaching and researching tool, with a special focus on the Social Sciences field, History and production of audio-visual material.

The NUPEPA/LAPS/ICNOVA partnership gave rise to the 7th Audio-visual Workshop – International Virtual Edition, and this initiative included more than one hundred students from all of the Brazilian regions and from abroad as well. Among the contents covered in the Workshop, are the usage of the audio-visual material in researches; functions and stages of film production; planning and organization; team guidance and creation of language documents. Such content was divided into several fronts that addressed different parts of audio-visual production.

At the Editing topic, the requirements for editing, the construction of tracks and timelines, the editing/montage process and the finalization

knowledge. Thus, the experience would be part of an embodiment process of the subjects and their agency. Later, David Howes added an environment perspective, establishing the notion of emplacement. In this sense, Pink's perspective for understanding the sensory is based on the body/mind/locality tripod (Pink, 2015, p. 25-28).

were studied. The photography and sound section, on the other hand, included principles of camera operation, framing, light, shots, stability, and sound properties. The part dedicated to screenwriting approached all the different types of scripts and adaptations. Also, there was a technical analysis about the relevancy of the contents for the workshop proposals and the introduction to cinematographic languages. During all of the workshop period, the participants performed individual and collective activities aiming to put into practice the content exercised in each module.

The workshop was free and took place via Zoom and Jitsi platforms. As the final exercise, the students were divided into groups and had had approximately two weeks to create a free themed film – overall, 14 movies were made by 74 participants, encompassing diverse possibilities, genres, and audio-visual production languages.

The documentary "Um Ouvido no Fone e o Outro na Cidade" analyzed in this paper, is one of the movies made in the workshop; it was created between June and July 2020 by a team of seven participants, namely: Alexsânder Nakaóka Elias, Anna Flávia Guimarães Hartmann, Arthur Silva Barbosa, Brenno Brandalise Demarchi, Luiz Henrique Campos Pereira, Noelle Rodrigues Ventura and Renan Moretti Bertho

It is necessary to highlight the transdisciplinary character of this team, which is composed of a Doctor in Anthropology, a Master's in Anthropology, a Master's in Sociology, a Bachelor of Social Sciences, a Bachelor of Visual Arts, a Doctor of Music Studies and an actress who is also an audio-visual assistant. Moreover, the geographical and institutional variety of the team draws attention since during the making of the film, three members were, at the moment, linked to the Postgraduate Program of Social Anthropology of the Federal University of Santa Catarina, the Postgraduate Program of Sociology at University of São Paulo, and the Faculty of Philosophy and Sciences from University of São Paulo State, and another member linked to a research internship at the University College Dublin during the doctorate degree at the Postgraduate Program of Music from UNICAMP. Three members were no longer linked to Research and Education Institutions but were once linked to the Arts Institute from the University of Brasília and to the Postgraduate Program of Social Anthropology from UNICAMP. During the shooting, the members were living in Dublin, São Paulo, São José do Rio Preto, Santos, Goiânia and Campinas.

Regarding the transdisciplinary character of the team, we agree with the point of view presented by Jürgen Mittelstrass (2011). When evaluating the history of science, the author states that due to an excessive specialization of disciplines and knowledge fields, the so-called transdisciplinarity began to be valued since the 1990s. Although it is a term that is often used in a

self-explanatory way, it can and must be specified (p. 329-330). Mittelstrass understands this concept as a type of scientific cooperation, that is: "trans-disciplinarity suggests that cooperation will lead to a lasting and systematic scientific order that will change the perspective of subjects and disciplines" (MITTELSTRASS, 2011, p. 331). Yet to this vision, we added the present content from the Charter of Transdisciplinarity. This document, elaborated by Lima de Freitas, Edgar Morin and Basarab Nicolescu throughout the First World Congress of Transdisciplinarity (1994), considers 15 fundamental principles. Among the approached topics, we highlight that "transdisciplinarity does not strive for mastery of several disciplines but aims to open all disciplines to that which they share and to that which lies beyond them" (p. 2).

In the field of audio-visual productions, multidisciplinary teams are very usual because the production of a film consists, basically, of a collaborative journey. In this sense, having a group with a division of labor and different specializations is usual for this area. If, on the one hand, a large share of audio-visual works are the result of a process carried out by countless people, occupying different roles, on the other hand, how these people organize and relate to each other is peculiar to each production. What could be described is that, when it comes to large productions, this organization is, in general, characterized by a verticalization in decision-making processes, where the people responsible for executive production, production, and general management centralize the development of audio-visual work.

In the making of this short documentary, the team had horizontally divided itself, because it was considered relevant for this type of organization in a context that each participant was in a different location, besides it was the peak of the Covid-19 at the time – a fact that will be discussed below. In addition, the relevance of making horizontality a democratic practice was also considered, even if we were in a smaller or larger number of people. In other words, we were a transdisciplinary team because the organization of the film was organic, not hierarchical and everyone, from their respective areas and plural worldviews, participated in a dialogical manner throughout the process. From the initial elaboration of the proposal to the practical execution of the film, the arguments were decided collectively, in a process that lasted 17 days.

So, two instruments were essential to assist the team's organizational process: the first was to hold meetings to follow the tasks that each member was responsible for doing, sharing what he had already done and what still needed to be done. This was important not to check "who had done what", but for us to help each other. So we held daily meetings or on alternate dates to discuss the film's script and the following steps, as the members volunteered to meet the demands that arose. The second

instrument – which relates to the previous one – was the production of minutes that documented each stage of the process, describing the situation we were in and what we had jointly decided at each of these meetings. From the first meetings, the members of the group established the production of these documents organized by meeting number, date, agenda points, reports of the debates and, finally, referrals.

This process favored the registration of a common unit and allowed the filmmakers to monitor the process widely. For example: all tasks and deadlines proposed by the event team were recorded and organized by the minutes. In addition, it should be noted that the minutes were not only organized by a folder on Google Drive, but also circulated at the end of each meeting via WhatsApp. These instruments contributed to making it possible to experience the principles of a collective and participative organization methodology, in which each person was aware of their tasks and responsibilities to themselves and to the group of which they were a member.

THE PANDEMIC AS AN ADJUNCT IN AUDIO-VISUAL CREATION.

As previously stated, the 7th Audio-visual Workshop at NUPEPA / LAPS / ICNOVA, which resulted in the creation of the documentary analyzed here, took place virtually. The choice for this format was due to the conditions of the Covid-19 pandemic. In this context - and considering the nature of shared work – it is worth mentioning that it was a great challenge to dialogue from a scenario of instability and social distance, the latter being very necessary.

One of the most critical points of the process was that the pandemic took on different phases and contours in each region. Depending on the location, that is, where the documentary filmmakers were residing, the pandemic had different indices, numbers and realities. In order to offer at least some type of reference to the reader, we highlight three panoramic and generic information on first-rate aspects of the Covid-19 pandemic, considering the World Health Organization's classification of the disease, the Irish scenario and the context of the State of São Paulo, Brazil: (1) On 03/11/2020 the World Health Organization classifies the disease caused by the new coronavirus (Sars-Cov-2) as pandemic status[11]. (2) After the suspension of non-essential activities and the ban on parties, such as

11 Agência Brasil. The World Health Organization declares coronavirus pandemic. EBC, 2020. Available at
https://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/geral/noticia/2020-03/organizacao-mundial-da-saude-
-declara-pandemia-de-coronavirus, access on 09/24/2020.

the national party of Saint Patrick's Day[12], the Irish government decrees lockdown[13] on 03/27/2020. (3) The São Paulo State Government announces quarantine throughout the State due to the Covid-19 pandemic, considering decree No. 64.881, of 03/22/2020[14].

Although audio-visual productions are affected to varying degrees by the pandemic, it cannot be said that there is necessarily a correspondence between producing about the pandemic and producing in an ongoing pandemic. Thus, it is worth noting that the focus of the collective work presented is facing the challenge of producing "about" and "in" the pandemic, by conducting a knowledge aware of the dialogue with the Other. Or, in other terms, a relational discovery with the Other that it concerns about a systematic reciprocity between the researcher and the research subjects, as stated by Rocha and Eckert (2008).

Note that the adversities do not appear as an exclusivity of the present work. It is observable that the pandemic has stimulated works in and about the context, ranging from national initiatives such as *Te trazer essa canção de amor*, directed and scripted by Thor Vaz Eustáquio, who addresses virtual conversations between friends in a fictional documentary; even international projects that bring selections of independent productions around the world, as *Feito em casa*, available on the Netflix.

WHO ARE THE RIDERS AND WHAT DO THEY LISTEN TO?

In general, the riders, who are currently based in Dublin, left Brazil and went to Ireland to learn English. As students, they necessarily need to be enrolled in language schools and fulfill a minimum workload at these institutions. In this condition, they do not have a visa for formal work, that is that they are unauthorized by the Irish government to exercise professions ruled by employment contracts, even if they are (these contracts) temporary attachments. Thus, the options of remunerated activities that are left to them are almost always exclusively in the role of autonomous and, in most cases, in precarious work conditions, which puts them, in a certain way, in a liminality situation in the environment where they live15.

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12 LUSA. Ireland decrees closure of non-essential establishments. Mundo ao Minuto, 2020. Available at https://www.noticiasaominuto.com/mundo/1441406/irlanda-decreta-encerramento-de-estabelecimentos-nao-essenciais, acess on 09/24/2020.
13 VITTI, Rubinho. Ireland announces 'lockdown' for two weeks. E-dublin, 2020. Available at https://www.e-dublin.com.br/irlanda-anuncia-lockdown-durante-duas-semanas, access on 09/24/2020.
14 GOVERNO DE SÃO PAULO. Governo sp, 2020. Página quarentena. Available at https://www.saopaulo.sp.gov.br/coronavirus/quarentena, access on 09/24/2020.
15 Several authors (Turner, 1967, 1974; VanGennep, 1909; Tambiah, 1985; Peirano, 2001, 2003; DaMatta, 1990) have made important contributions regarding this aspect of liminality,

From this point of view, the condition/circumstances of these subjects as students/immigrants/riders seem to dialogue with the three stages of a rite of passage. Initially, when they are newcomers to the city, they are associated with the first stage of the rite, a preliminary stage, marked by entering another locality, getting into the city and learning a new language. Later, in a second stage, these subjects feel the need to work in order to maintain living costs, but as they are in the condition of newcomers, they cannot yet occupy better paid positions in stable jobs. Therefore, they take on precarious work assignments. This situation corresponds, then, to the preliminary stage in which the subjects face the challenges of the new reality (job insecurity, traffic dangers. Climate instabilities, among others). Finally, this phase can culminate in a post-liminal stage, in which the subjects reach a new living condition, either returning to Brazil or ascending professionally in Ireland.

While riders, they are registered in companies that manage the provision of autonomous services – Deliveroo and UberEats are examples of virtual platforms (applications) for food delivery. In other words, this means that their profession is mediated by companies that connect restaurants to customers. As service providers, riders collect food in a commercial establishment and take it to a residence. They have no formal employment relationship, nor a minimum or maximum number of hours to work. They are paid according to the number of deliveries, that is, the more often food is taken from the restaurant to the client, the higher is the salary.

Giventhe predominantly flat geography of Dublin16, the vast majority of these workers use bicycles to make the deliveries. However, work time is not only guided by the bicycle "rides" from a restaurant to the customer's home. It is necessary to add the amount of time that the rider waits until they receive an order – a set of general instructions presented by the application informing basically where to collect the food, where to take it, distance to be traveled and how much will be the remuneration. In this perspective, we propose the division of the rider's work routine in two steps: the first consists in waiting for the application order – period in which the rider is idle, without being paid and without prediction of how long it will take until they receive the instructions of the next delivery. The second step is the delivery itself, when

which can be observed in multiple relationships of sociability. VanGennep and Turner, for example, highlighted this aspect by observing the so-called "rites of passage", through wich the elevation of the status of individuals occurs, who move from a level of sociability to a stage in which they occupy a higher position. Between the lower or pre-liminar and the higher or post-liminar stages, they pass through a liminal stage in which there is a social suspension, that is, the individual is temporarily on the sidelines. In the case of the riders, these workers occupy these precarious positions, that is, they are not unemployed, nor formal workers.
16 The average ground elevation in Dublin is 177 feet, and in the central region - where the documentary was recorded - this variable is only 100 feet (source: https://en-ie.topographic-map.com/maps/qb/County-Dublin/).

the rider is in motion, usually pedaling, having been previously informed about how long it takes from the commercial establishment to the customer's house and for which will be paid.

Whether during a delivery or while they are waiting for an order from the application, many riders use headphones. From this observation, the following question arose: "What do the riders listen to?". During the meetings between the documentary team, it was collectively decided to explore this questioning and use it as a tool to approach riders. Therefore, for approximately one week, Brazilian riders in different parts of Dublin were interviewed about the sound content present in their headphones17. The answers were as diverse as possible: various genres and musical styles (forró, sertanejo, funk, electronic music, among others), podcasts with tips and English classes, news and Irish radios, and even authorial compositions. Aware of these answers, the dialog with the riders was directed to other spheres: how and why do they listen? At this point, the most variable responses occurred, from functional aspects - "helps to pedal faster" and "softens the uncomfortable sounds of the city" - to affective questions - "relieves the longing for Brazil". Within this plurality of options and conditions of listening one thing became clear: music plays an important role in the daily lives of these subjects. However, the engagement of these subjects with the auditory sphere was not only an aesthetic and appreciative question. Besides the sounds that they "want to hear", there are also so many other sounds that make up the sound landscape of the city itself, sounds that they "need to hear".

Overall, all of the interviewees agreed that the level of noise pollution in Dublin is considerably high. There are multiple sounds echoing from machines on construction sites, from the surface metro, from cars, buses, from street artists with sound boxes, from home and business alarms, among so many others. Natural sounds like wind, birds, people's voices, laughter, screams, etc. are also added. If, on one hand, all this auditory layer generates a nuisance, on the other hand it characterizes a certain identification with certain points of the city. In this aspect, one can say that listening to riders on their headphones is related to the sound landscape of the city, becoming, in essence, local.

Another point highlighted throughout the interviews is that, even if some sounds are unwanted and unavoidable, there are others that are important for the safety and good performance of the profession. Paying attention to the traffic sounds, for example, is essential to guide the locomotion of these

17 It is worth mentioning that the choice to approach the riders in Dublin was a condition of the pandemic context. If, on one hand, most of the team that made this documentary was in Brazil, on the other hand, the Brazilian reality at the time of the capture of images was not conducive to the circulation of people in public environments. However, at the same time, the Irish government and a large part of Europe were preparing to reopen trade and discussed new norms and security measures for the occupation of public spaces.

subjects in the city, besides avoiding them to suffer accidents. Perhaps the most pertinent example of this paradox is the public comment that a rider – as a spectator – made on the platform where the documentary is available. According to him: "I am a rider here in Dublin and I do not recommend using headphones during work. Although it is a good way to spend time while working, it is completely risky for the cyclists, because they lose a very important perception of traffic, which are the sound signals" 18.

In brief, once they are contextualized locally in the daily lives of these employees, the sounds of the traffic are fundamental, reaching the point of conflict with the sounds that are "a good way to spend time while working". It is, therefore, a question of plural listening, which encompasses desired sounds, necessary, unavoidable, unwanted sounds and even conflicts between these sound categories. Like the concept of locality for Appadurai, the musical engagement of these riders is relational and contextual, as pointed out by Reily and Brucher (2018), when they say that local musicking is effective in mediating relationships between people and localities. To this structure is added the uses of music – and sound landscapes – as a resource to mobilize situations that make up social life, as theorized by Tia DeNora.

Once this complex listening relationship was mapped out, the interviews and conversations with these subjects reached a new level, something very close to a conversation between friends in which the city's problems, the risks of the rider profession and musical tastes were discussed. Once this position of comfort and delivery had been achieved by the interviewees, authorization/consent to record was requested. In case the riders had accepted the invitation to participate in the documentary, the material was instantly captured with the help of a Canon T3i model camera and a Zoom H1n portable recorder. Once the captures were completed, the material was made available to the other members of the group so that the editing process could begin.

## THE EDITING PHASE IN THE PROCESS OF REPRESENTATION OF LOCAL MUSIC

The documentary's editing process began from discussions held in a virtual environment as we sought the best way to organize the narrative, since the documentary was arranged in a more organic way. Although a line of reasoning guided the making of the short film since the beginning, the formalization of a script only happened later – after many meetings, outings to capture material and, of course, after the meticulous observation and listening of the recorded content.

18 Commentary presented in: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u8w5tb4R1hc&t=14s.

Once the narrative guideline was defined, it was time to carry out a previous editing: a decoupage that defined the first demarcations of speech, scenes and images of coverage. With separated files, a written selection was made, indicating the time and describing the speech and/or the scenes. To know the material and to observe images and audio with attention to detail was essential at this stage, so that no major excerpts were left out in the final cut.

In the meantime, the audio's importance to the short film was known by the crew, after all, music was one of the central points that guided the short film. However, it was noticed that, both by the reports of the interviewees and by the sound capture itself, the noises (or melodies) from the city of Dublin manifested effusively. These sounds were preponderant for the documentary montage, traversing it and even punctuating the short film's name. Thus, it was needed to think of a montage and editing that included the noises emitted by the city.

The practical editing process, already with a written structure of lines and scenes to be used, was carried out in a little less than two days, in constant contact with the other production members – something that was of great importance because it was felt the need to carry out, even if at a distance, a collective process. The software used was Adobe Premiere, which was familiar to other members and allows several tracks for both video and audio, enabling the insertion of several layers when necessary.
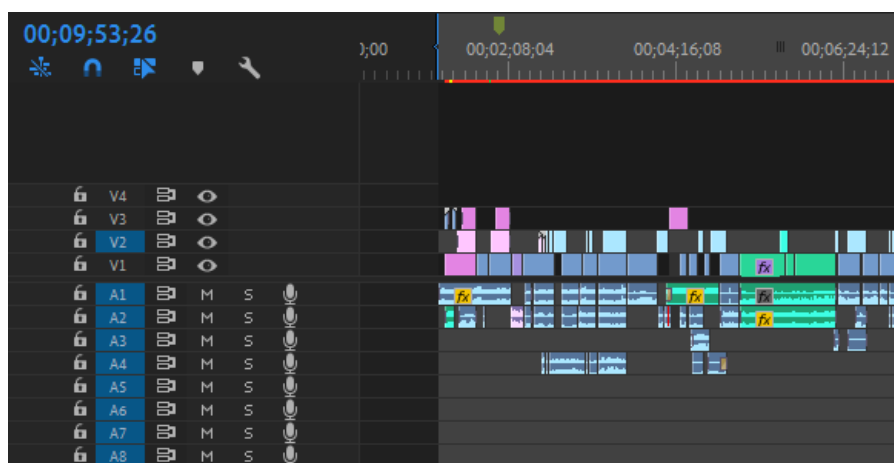
In the montage and editing phase, already inside the software, the power of the city sounds was explored in contrast with the musical diversity reported in the interviews. To balance several layers of audio was a complex exercise until it was agreed that to work with the functions of multi channels was the best option, in this case, right and left sides, in which one side would mostly reproduce the sounds of

the city while the other, the songs. Besides this experience, there was also a work with panning, in which there is the distribution of sound signals between multichannels, which initiates (and pervades) the film, reproducing the characteristic dynamism of this documentary, which explores the diverse sound possibilities, allowing its form to be in line with its own content.

TOWARDS AN AUDIO-VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF LOCAL MUSIC
Faced with the proposal of highlighting the city' s sound landscape as a central element of this documentary's narrative, the aim was to interfere as little as possible during the audio mixing and mastering processes, as well as in its properties. To highlight one example, the raw audio media, that is, those that did not have any previous modifications, were characterized by an enormous amount of constant noise caused by the strong winds that occurred during the captures. Another aspect of these raw audio was the fact that there were, sporadically, the sounds of the surface subway signals and seagulls flying over the surroundings.

In order to preserve these environmental peculiarities, and to improve audio quality, sound treatment was applied to cut the low and high frequencies and subtly reduce the decibel levels of each audio media without losing its original characterization. Finally, to bring an immersion to the viewer, the panning technique was applied in stretches where there is a movement of people, objects or vehicles from one side to the other of the screen, as was the case, for example, of the moment where there is the sensation that a seagull is on one side and the signaling of the surface subways and some cars passing, on the other.

Taking into account the idea of displacement in the creative process, it is observable that such a dimension goes from the migration of these Brazilians to the very practice of riders. In other words, to reflect in front of points of departure and points of arrival claims for what is set in motion. As soon as the use of the panning technique in the audio itself can, in some way, reinforce the proposal of thinking in movement. About this and to exemplify the argument, there are four examples of passages in which such a technical procedure was consciously used to represent the dynamics and characteristics of the local music of riders:

1-) Film start: 00'00"-00'30": The ambient sound starts intensely on the left side (left earphone), right at the beginning of the film and, between the 04" and the 05", it opens for both channels, with the insertion of the researcher's voice, which moves to the right side (right earphone). The audio of the respondent enters on the left side, taking turns with

that of the researcher (right side), accentuating the idea of dialogue between subjects who, despite occupying different positions, establish a co-production relationship. Then, from 15" on, the researcher continues the dialogue and enters another interlocutor, on the 19". Both voices are predominantly on the right channel, while the sound landscape, composed of the sounds of Dublin city and the background dialogues between several deliverers, fills the left side. This occurs until the ambient sound dominates both channels (stereo) when the title of the documentary is entered, the black background screen stops and the image of the first interlocutor appears in low-angle shot (on the second 29 he enters, adjusts his headphone, activates the sound/music via cell phone and starts talking on the second 33).

2-) At 02'54", the left earphone output projects the music produced by one of the interviewees, while the city sounds are evidenced by the right output.

3-) At 07'28", images of a cyclist through the city follow the sounds of his displacement through the city; and at 07'38", a song begins to play at the right exit of the headset.

4-) From 07'37" to 08'16": the music enters the right side (right earphone), while the ambient sound and that of the bicycle (first person camera) continue. At 07'41" draft, the black screen appears and the credits enter, while the ambient sound of the final scene of the film continues on the left channel and the music on the right. The ambient sound will stop (fade out) on the right side in 08'06", when the credits reach the end. The music stays only on the right channel (all the time), and the ambient sound returns in fade-in on the same channel, until the end of the film (08'16").

CONCLUSION

The documentary *Um ouvido no fone e o outro na cidade* was produced collectively as part of a virtual audio-visual workshop that was held during the Covid-19 pandemic. From this context, the question: "what do deliverers listen to?" proved pertinent to the reality of riders in Dublin. This question served as a gateway to approach the characters portrayed in the documentary and became the key point for the filmmakers to explore the dimension of listening throughout the development process of the documentary.

As the creators of this film, we understand that the riders' relationship with their headphones – and consequently with listening – is a symbolic relationship guided by multiple musical engagements. It is an essentially

contextual music that permeates - and is permeated - by relationships of work, affection and locality. Faced with such striking characteristics, we began to think of ways to transmit this rich feeling of listening to our spectators.

Throughout this process, the ability to see/observe/hear/listen was essential for us to think about the representation of local music in the conception of the documentary. By associating these four actions in the film we looked for ways to portray what the deliverers hear, as well as what they hear when they use headphones. At the same time, we thought about this auditory theme, we also sought to take a look at the music of the riders with the aim of portraying how they are constantly noticed but not seen by Irish society: as immigrants, as students, as young people, as informal workers and as cyclists.

Finally, it should be said that the representation of local music through audio-visual can be explored through various resources and possibilities. In the case of *Um ouvido no fone e o outro na cidade*, the work of the production crew was consciously directed towards exploring these possibilities: either by establishing an initial question that brings the subjects closer to reflecting on their own listening acts; or by using a sound treatment that minimally interfered with the characteristics of the captured audio; or, still, by using panning techniques in editing, with the aim of exploring the spatiality and distribution of the audio.

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ARTICLES

MUNDARÉU: AN ANTHROPOLOGY PODCAST AS A POLYVALENT TOOL

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ABSTRACT
This article is about characterizing the creation process of Mundaréu, one of the first Anthropology podcasts launched in Brazil. It is produced as a partnership between the Laboratory of Advanced Studies in Journalism (LABJOR) at Universidade Estadual de Campinas and the Department of Anthropology at the Universidade de Brasília. The article discusses definitions of podcast, podcasting, podosphere, podcasts as science communication and Anthropology podcasting as an activity of teaching, research and extension. The article presents and reflects on Mundaréu's production steps and creation process along the last biennial.

1 INTRODUCING MUNDARÉU[1]

Mundaréu is an Anthropology podcast, idealized by two friends, fellow anthropologists, Daniela Manica from the Laboratory of Advanced Studies in Journalism from Universidade Estadual de Campinas (Unicamp) and Soraya Fleischer from the Department of Anthropology Universidade de Brasília (UnB). Conceived in 2018,
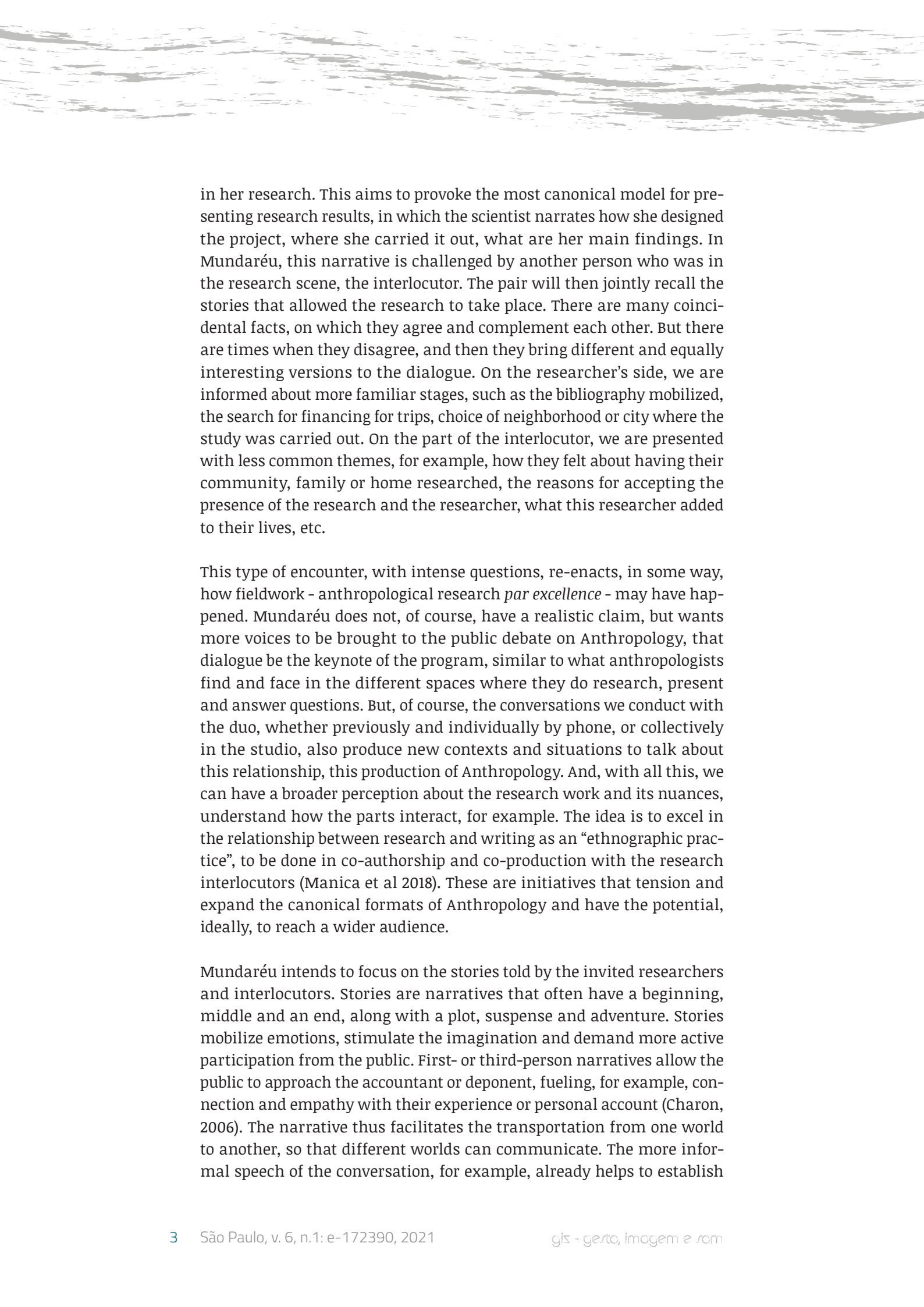
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organized throughout 2019 and released in November 2019. Mundaréu ended its first season in July 2020 with eight episodes. Its second season is to be launched in November of 2020.

Mundaréu has a main purpose: present, translate and expand the understanding of Anthropology as an area of study of the Social Sciences. It intends to produce content for the academic public, especially in the classroom, and also for the more general public, not always in direct contact with the scientific world. Among the three areas of Social Sciences, Anthropology may have the most exotic and least known name, at first glance. There is a lot of confusion about what this area actually does, with immediate associations with Archeology, Museology, Paleontology. Questions about our research topics, our ways and methods of work, our employability are common[2]. We face a problem of translatability, visibility and outreach. Since 2019, many podcasts from Humanities and Social Sciences have been aired. In the case of Anthropology, several new programs were launched, as initiatives by students and professors from universities across the country, as well as private initiatives. Below, we will detail this community. The purpose of scientific dissemination unites them all, but there are different formats, durations, participants, periodicities etc. (Fleischer and Manica 2020).

If, outside the area, an effort of presentation and translation is necessary, inside the area, there are other challenges to face. Training processes in Anthropology need to be oxygenated with innovative and creative teaching materials. The main publishing formats in Anthropology are books and journals articles. Blogs and YouTube channels have emerged, timidly. But there is a concentration in the written text, even a certain graphocentrism, as anthropologist Luísa Günther has suggested (2013). As a side effect, Anthropology suffers from visual fatigue. Graduate students, for example, are required to read an average of 300 pages per week. Producing a podcast, an audio material, intends to create and take advantage of other senses to talk about Anthropology. With that, the eyes are unburdened, the vision is decentralized, the visual overflow reported by many researchers is relieved. There is also a possibility of inclusion, when considering public with low vision or visual disability, for example. Our bet is learning Anthropology in another way, more direct, accessible and democratic.

Mundaréu chose to bring together a specific pair, an anthropologist and an interlocutor of her choice, someone who has participated significantly

2 Aiming precisely to tension this strangeness of the area, Mundaréu launching teaser, published in November 2019, brought together several of the questions and comments we heard when filliating to Anthropology. The audio file is available on the cover of the website: https://mundareu.labjor.unicamp.br/

in her research. This aims to provoke the most canonical model for presenting research results, in which the scientist narrates how she designed the project, where she carried it out, what are her main findings. In Mundaréu, this narrative is challenged by another person who was in the research scene, the interlocutor. The pair will then jointly recall the stories that allowed the research to take place. There are many coincidental facts, on which they agree and complement each other. But there are times when they disagree, and then they bring different and equally interesting versions to the dialogue. On the researcher's side, we are informed about more familiar stages, such as the bibliography mobilized, the search for financing for trips, choice of neighborhood or city where the study was carried out. On the part of the interlocutor, we are presented with less common themes, for example, how they felt about having their community, family or home researched, the reasons for accepting the presence of the research and the researcher, what this researcher added to their lives, etc.

This type of encounter, with intense questions, re-enacts, in some way, how fieldwork - anthropological research *par excellence* - may have happened. Mundaréu does not, of course, have a realistic claim, but wants more voices to be brought to the public debate on Anthropology, that dialogue be the keynote of the program, similar to what anthropologists find and face in the different spaces where they do research, present and answer questions. But, of course, the conversations we conduct with the duo, whether previously and individually by phone, or collectively in the studio, also produce new contexts and situations to talk about this relationship, this production of Anthropology. And, with all this, we can have a broader perception about the research work and its nuances, understand how the parts interact, for example. The idea is to excel in the relationship between research and writing as an "ethnographic practice", to be done in co-authorship and co-production with the research interlocutors (Manica et al 2018). These are initiatives that tension and expand the canonical formats of Anthropology and have the potential, ideally, to reach a wider audience.

Mundaréu intends to focus on the stories told by the invited researchers and interlocutors. Stories are narratives that often have a beginning, middle and an end, along with a plot, suspense and adventure. Stories mobilize emotions, stimulate the imagination and demand more active participation from the public. First- or third-person narratives allow the public to approach the accountant or deponent, fueling, for example, connection and empathy with their experience or personal account (Charon, 2006). The narrative thus facilitates the transportation from one world to another, so that different worlds can communicate. The more informal speech of the conversation, for example, already helps to establish

a pleasant tone for confidences and memories. Thus, the project aims to expand the text and also reach the audio, exploring the ability to tell stories, and to imagine other stories, other gifts and possible futures (Haraway, 2016). This is an urgent call at the present moment, when we lack shared meanings, a humanistic ethic and imagination.

As Anthropology tends to happen based on the relationships established with people in the field and outside, by bringing the pair, we are evidencing the existence of this assumption, of this relationship. One of the bets is that the conversation will be filled with stories regarding how the pair met, what were the first impressions, how these impressions were improved over time. At Mundaréu, we prioritize the narratives with lively passages, described in detail, about where the pair circulated, who they met, with whom they talked. Vivid moments of communion, but also of conflict, of resolution, of restitution, of new ways of living together. However, when bringing the pair into a single conversation, it is evident exactly how the anthropologist's speech is not to be confused with that of her interlocutor, there are two perspectives, two experiences of Anthropology.

Mundaréu works on storytelling, meaning it is a rescue of orality, speech cadence, original accents. And the audio medium allows this information to arrive firsthand, not necessarily mediated by the text and the interpretation of the researchers, as is the case in monographs and more conventional scientific articles. "Our interlocutors instigate us to invent other ways of telling their lives, our orality impels us to oxygenate texts with other ingredients, maybe we should explore ways beyond paper, such as the podcast, romance, film, blog, comic book or WhatsApp" (Fleischer 2018, 213).

This article, therefore, intends to weave the process of creating something new, Mundaréu being the first Anthropology podcast at UnB and Unicamp and one of the first in the area in the country. We will report the path we took to produce it to serve as another reference for creating scientific podcasts and thus expand the field and add to the podcast community, to encourage students and teachers to work together on podcasting projects, to contribute with a Anthropology that is public and engaged in its own dissemination (Howell 2010).

We will discuss podcasts, although the bibliographic set available is still very incipient. It is clear how reflexions on podcasting is still dispro-portionate to the production and broadcast of programs. Our collection of references includes a first set of authors, but none from Anthropol-ogy, which demonstrates the need to systematize our experiences in the podosphere more intensively, as producers and consumers of this media. Then, we will present the structure, the team's tasks and the construc-tion of Mundaréu. Finally, when thinking about our last year of work,

we also point to the challenges of creating and maintaining this scientific podcast. We aim to leave some of our learnings with this unusual and still unfamiliar medium in our area, in the hope of densifying and problematizing this field.

2 *PODCASTS* WITHIN TEACHING, RESEARCH AND OUTREACH

2.1 PODCAST AND PODCASTING

Podcast is a medium based on audio. For Lenharo and Cristovão (2016, 311), the term podcast itself may seem strange to those of little contact with the digital medium. According to Medeiros (2006), however, the version most publicized and accepted by the authors (Souza and Martins 2007; Moura and Carvalho 2006) is the one that considers podcast as derived from the combination of two terms: broadcasting (radio broadcasting) and iPod, the Apple device player that plays audio files in MP3 format. But there is another explanation, that "pod" would be an acronym, "program on demand", when radio programs started to be produced for specific audiences, circumscribed niches of listeners (Freire 2013, 47). This definition seems broader and more democratic than to derive the name from a single electronics brand. In addition, this definition, in our view, reinforces the relationship of the podcast with radio media, much older and pioneering. Radios, however far they could reach, develop their programs and styles in dialogue with a community in view.

The podcast is an audio file made available on and distributed over the internet. It is usually available free of charge by network users. Its functions are varied, from entertainment and information dissemination, to educational and technical purposes. According to Medeiros (2006), the first podcast was produced in 2004 by Adam Curry, at the time, known as an MTV presenter, but who was later nicknamed as a podfather (father of the podcast).

According to Alex Primo (2005, 17), from a technical point of view, it would not be inappropriate to say that the podcast is "a media process that emerges from the publication of audio files on the internet" (*apud* Freire 2015, p. 1038). And, even with audio as a vehicle, audio production differs from the traditional model of many radio stations by the greater variety of access and the focus on content. The file can be in MP3 format and can be heard online, via streaming, by the user's preferred digital audio player, or downloaded and saved for future listening (Freire 2013, 151). Guerrero, Duque and Peña (2017, 83) state that the type of download does not constitute a limitation for access to radio products due to the advantages of the available bandwidth for mobile, domestic and institutional internet today.

Freire also explains that this tool is not limited to audio, as there is "the podcast modality for the deaf, which is the reproduction in text of the speeches of the program participants" (Freire, 2011, 201). Thus, "this practice partially maintains orality, inasmuch as it reproduces, through its text, the fluency of the speakers, while dispensing with the use of audio files, a feature not provided for in the strictly technical definitions of the technology dealt with here" (*ibid*, 202). And the author reinforces, "in view of this, the podcast proves to be not an audio technology, but a kind of orality" (Freire 2013, 42).

Podcasting, according to Vicente, is the practice of producing and transmitting episodes from a single program. Thus, the relationship with the listener is established in the frequency of production of new episodes: daily, weekly, monthly, etc. (2018, 97). In these terms, the practice of podcasting would have an approximate equivalent in a record label or a studio that produces several songs from a disc or a singer or several chapters of a single television series. Vicente documented the thematic diversity of podcasts: journalistic, fictional, identity, scientific and cultural (2018, 98-103). And he adds:

> The universe of podcasts is also occupied by productions very different from those described here, such as educational programs (especially language courses), self-help (meditation, yoga), fitness, entrepreneurship, personal marketing, humor in various formats (stand up, imitation, political satire, pairs, classes), mystery (UFOs, conspiracies, supernatural cases), crimes, suspense, terror, religion, sports, music, health, among others. (2018, 104)

The survey entitled "Podcast Consumer", by the American company Edison Research, found that between 2006 and 2016 the percentage of adult individuals in the USA who were familiar with the term "podcasting" grew from 22% to 60%, equivalent to an increase 168 million individuals (Vicente 2017, 87). In addition, the study found that in 2016, 24% of respondents said they had heard at least one podcast in the last month while 15% had heard an episode in the last week - equivalent, respectively, to 67 and 42 million listeners (2018, 88). Alex Primo calls this picture a change from the "push" model (pushed to the audience) to the "pull" model (pulled by the audience) (2007, 3). In this way, massive content loses space for those who address specific topics and who, by treating them in depth, manage to retain their audience. This is precisely the idea of producing "on demand".

Santos and his colleagues (2018) urge us to think about how foreign techniques and technologies are reconfigured and appropriated in Brazilian lands. For that, they take as an example the anthropophagic movement founded and theorized by the São Paulo poet, Oswald de Andrade, and his

friend, the painter Tarsila do Amaral. The anthropophagic movement, in summary, tries to equate Brazilian culture to others, not only rejecting what originates outside the country, but re-signifying and recreating from foreign art what strengthens the national/local reality. In addition, they treat Latin American identity as an "inter-place", one that is not expressed through notions of purity and unity, as in European molds, but as a new meaning and recreation (Melo 2010 *apud* Santos et al 2018, 1-2).

For Santos and colleagues, Brazil presents itself in the "podosphere" as a space dominated predominantly by "amateurs" and has become an important communication tool for socially marginalized sectors, serving as a space for "militancy" in the defense of their rights (2018, 12). These initiatives are able to exalt national/local characteristics of the productions, in addition to reconciling the content with the possibility of using their own language to communicate with their target audience, highlighting their own trait of the format (ibid), the culture of podcasting implies considering the context of Brazil, and we bet that this can also extend to podcasting coming from the academic world.

Célestin Freinet (1998) considers cooperation as a joint educational action, motivated by spontaneous interest and surrounded by a free atmosphere. Paulo Freire (1971) recalls that education is not just about schooling, but also what happens outside school banks. When researching the use of podcasts in Brazil, Eugênio Freire, supported by these two authors, thinks that the Brazilian use of recent technology could configure a new educational sphere. Following this suggestion by Eugênio Freire, podcasts have also been taking up notable space in classrooms. For example, Foschini and Taddei report that Harvard and Stanford universities are among the pioneers in using podcasts as an educational tool (2007, 10). Lenharo and Cristovão maintain the project "The use of podcasts in the continuing education of English language teachers" in schools in the State of Paraná (2016). These authors assess that digital tools are a *sine qua non* for contemporary educational practices (2016, p. 309). In addition, reducing the gap between social practices and school practices is one of the contemporary tensions in teaching (ibid).

When dealing with the use of podcasts in higher education, Borges considers many possibilities for the use of podcasts:
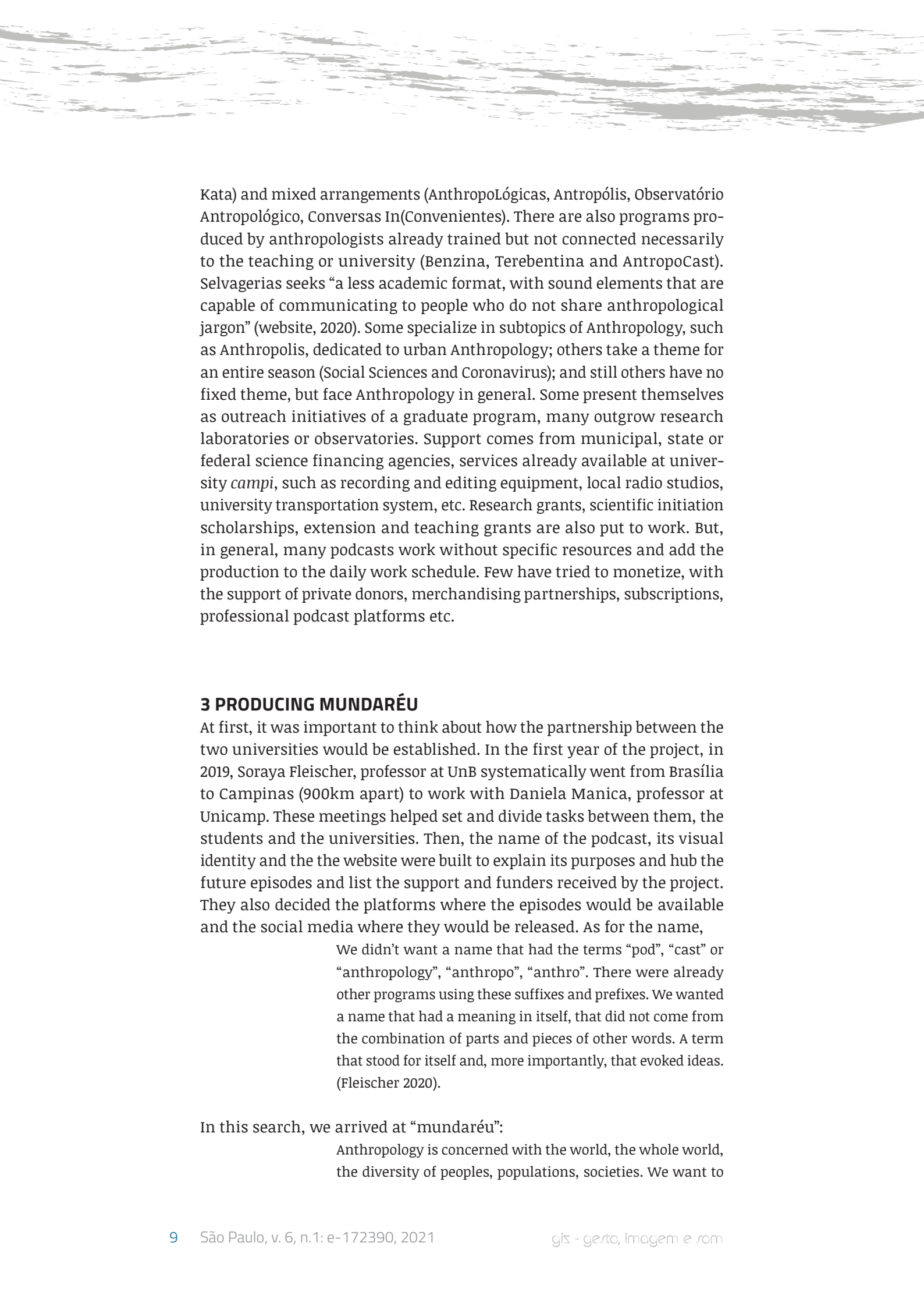
> In the master class or exposition ("lecturecasting"), indications for field work, explanations for laboratory work or simulations, I reinforce the consolidation of concrete contents, basic or preparatory contents, comments/personalized information, enlargement/current content and promotion teaching and institutional. (Borges, 2009, pp. 44-46 *apud* Piñeiro-Otero and Domínguez, 2011, p. 19-20)

2.2 THE PODOSPHERE OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

There are thousands of podcasts on thousands of subjects, this is what has been called the podosphere. Here, we want to dwell on the scientific podosphere, in particular, in the area of Anthropology. There is more scientific dissemination about the so-called "hard" areas, such as the Biological and Health Sciences. Blogs have long been a strategic form of scientific dissemination. Now, it seems that podcasts have presented themselves as a new and promising format (Kwok 2019; Luiz 2014). But there are still few science podcasts in Brazil to date (Kwok 2019, 388), indicating a large market to be occupied. Therefore, there is room to work on rebalancing to achieve a greater representation of the Social Sciences. A podcast in the field has the potential to explain, in a clearer and more informal way, about its themes and objectives and can even become a skill for professional placement in the job market. Podcasts are a tool with a lot of potential to present and translate Anthropology to a wider audience. In the last year, 2019-2020, several podcasts from the area have emerged. It is a very new tool and, it seems, has shown to be very prolific in the area.

Currently, there are those who conduct, edit and broadcast interviews with anthropologists, the most common format. In this category are Selvagerias (Faculty of Philosophy, Letters and Human Sciences at the State University of São Paulo), AnthropoLógicas (Department of Anthropology and Museology at Federal University of Pernambuco), Conversas da Kata (Postgraduate Program in Social Anthropology at University of Brasília), Antrópolis (Department of Anthropology of Federal University of Pelotas), Larvas Incendiadas, Benzina, Terebentina and AntropoCast (private podcasts). There can be a pair or a trio who direct questions to the guest or a single hostess who receives the participant for a conversation. There is the roundtable discussions between a fixed and permanent cast of hostesses, such as Antropologia e Pandemia (Institute of Philosophy and Human Sciences at State University of Campinas) and the Observatório Antropológico (Graduate Program in Social Anthropology at Federal University of Paraíba). In(Convenientes). Colleagues of the Graduate Program in Social Anthropology at Federal University of Santa Catarina presente a classroom format, with several people discussing a topic, an author or a text for more than two hours, while Mundaréu comes in the form of a double pad -de-deux, with two fixed hosts and, for each episode, two new guests. Poéticas Sociais (Department of Social Sciences at Federal University of Uberlândia) and the Social Sciences and Coronavirus (ANPOCS et al) have very different formats. The former has a single hostess who links Anthropology with Literature in a poetic way, the later gathers testimonies, in first person, without mediation or comments from the host.

There are teams compose by professors (Mundaréu, Poéticas Sociais, Social Sciences and Coronavirus), graduate students (Selvagerias, Conversas da

Kata) and mixed arrangements (AnthropoLógicas, Antropólis, Observatório Antropológico, Conversas In(Convenientes). There are also programs produced by anthropologists already trained but not connected necessarily to the teaching or university (Benzina, Terebentina and AntropoCast). Selvagerias seeks "a less academic format, with sound elements that are capable of communicating to people who do not share anthropological jargon" (website, 2020). Some specialize in subtopics of Anthropology, such as Anthropolis, dedicated to urban Anthropology; others take a theme for an entire season (Social Sciences and Coronavirus); and still others have no fixed theme, but face Anthropology in general. Some present themselves as outreach initiatives of a graduate program, many outgrow research laboratories or observatories. Support comes from municipal, state or federal science financing agencies, services already available at university *campi*, such as recording and editing equipment, local radio studios, university transportation system, etc. Research grants, scientific initiation scholarships, extension and teaching grants are also put to work. But, in general, many podcasts work without specific resources and add the production to the daily work schedule. Few have tried to monetize, with the support of private donors, merchandising partnerships, subscriptions, professional podcast platforms etc.

3 PRODUCING MUNDARÉU

At first, it was important to think about how the partnership between the two universities would be established. In the first year of the project, in 2019, Soraya Fleischer, professor at UnB systematically went from Brasília to Campinas (900km apart) to work with Daniela Manica, professor at Unicamp. These meetings helped set and divide tasks between them, the students and the universities. Then, the name of the podcast, its visual identity and the the website were built to explain its purposes and hub the future episodes and list the support and funders received by the project. They also decided the platforms where the episodes would be available and the social media where they would be released. As for the name,

> We didn't want a name that had the terms "pod", "cast" or "anthropology", "anthropo", "anthro". There were already other programs using these suffixes and prefixes. We wanted a name that had a meaning in itself, that did not come from the combination of parts and pieces of other words. A term that stood for itself and, more importantly, that evoked ideas. (Fleischer 2020).

In this search, we arrived at "mundaréu":

> Anthropology is concerned with the world, the whole world, the diversity of peoples, populations, societies. We want to

know and understand the other country, the other culture, the other neighborhood. The term refers to the world and also refers to the collective, a set of things, a range of ideas, a bunch of spices, a world of people (...). That is why, even, (...) the images we use on the podcast website are always of sets or collections, to suggest the social, the society, this important assumption for the studies of Anthropology. (ibid)

Once the basic format was defined - the conversation with the duo, an anthropologist and her interlocutor - we started with the internal format of the episode. There are five parts of content: Opening, Part 1, Filling, Part 2 and Closing. In the Opening, the vignette music starts the episode, the two hostesses present the podcast, themselves and their universities and introduce the theme and guests of the episode. They also report the date and location of that recording. To move on to the first Part, a song that relates specifically to that episode makes the transition. Generally, music is suggested by the guests, either because it relates to the subjects they are going to discuss, or because it is a band or singer from the region of the interviewees, for example. This initial part helps introduce the trajectory of the guests with a focus on the theme to be treated, linking these trajectories to the theme of the episode and the moment when the duo met. Another musical transition helps to reach Filling. This is when the two hostesses comment on what was discussed in Part 1, highlighting especially productive points to think about Anthropology and its way of working. Another excerpt of the song is often chosen, valuing a stanza that is directly related to the issues to come in Part 2. Here, the episode delves into how the research happened, methodological, ethical and political aspects from of the pair's perspectives. And in Closing, when we are taken again by the music-vignette of Mundaréu, which helps to consolidate its identity, and the hostesses elaborate, in a more succinct way, about contents that have appeared in the second part and conclude the episode. Acknowledgements, credits, team members, funding and scholarships are all listed at this end.

3.1 PRODUCTION STEPS

In this section, we intend to describe how Mundaréu is produced. It might be similar to several other scientific podcasts, but it is worth systematizing the experience, in order to think about this practice as part of our scientific, pedagogical and extensionist routines. Not naturalizing science's backstage is essential to elaborate it in a replicable, transparent and public way.

Although here these steps are in linear and increasing order, it is good to remember that several episodes are being produced simultaneously, each in one of these stages.

Part A: Agenda definition: guests, theme and invitations

1. We choose an anthropologist who is doing interesting research, who easily tells stories from the field, stories from her work.

2. The anthropologist chooses a research interlocutor, someone with whom she is working and who has the will, interest and ease to tell stories, remember examples and passages shared with the researcher before, during or after work.

3. The collective recording schedule begins to planned.

Part B: Preparatory conversations

4. We conduct a previous conversation with each of the guests, at a time that is both opportune and convenient for each one. It takes place over the phone, WhatsApp or Skype and is recorded with the consent of that guest.

5. We prepare a script for these conversations based on the theme, what we know about the work of the anthropologist, on her *Curriculo Lattes*, on the activities the duo did together, etc. Questions are asked and we let the guest tell, remember, reflect. We want to assist the memory and the storytelling. In general, we want to know the trajectory of people, how they met, what kind of work they did together, dilemmatic, difficult, and cool moments of the relationship, etc. This conversation also helps setting the mood for the encounter and the studio recording of Mundaréu.

6. We write down central points of the conversation.

7. The two telephone conversations are fully transcribed.

Part C: Script writing and recording

8. From the transcripts of the two telephone conversations and the notes taken down, we create the recording script.

9. Studios are very busy. The date for recording should be defined in advance with the guests and the studio. And there is not much time for recording, the conversation must be fluid, but also concise.

10. The recording takes place in a professional studio, with the help of a recording technician and with the presence of the Mundaréu's staff (professors and students). The recording takes, in general, 60 minutes. The recording script serves as the main guide for this conversation, but other spontaneous questions and answers may arise at the moment. Then, the two hostesses spend another 30 minutes to record, *impromptu*, their impressions and comments about the conversation. This second material will help compose the Filling.

Part D: Writing the editing script

11. The two recordings made in the studio - the conversation with the guests and the improvisation between the hostesses - are fully transcribed.

12. From 4 materials (2 preparatory conversations, 1 conversation with the guests and 1 improvisation), we prepare the editing script. We read everything, decided what will be the central theme of the episode, selected excerpts, stories and dialogues to compose the script. We need two parts of content and one filling (the intermediate moment in which the two hostesses comment on the overall content).

13. After selecting the text snippets, it is important to check the audio, that is, listen to the selected passages and confirm that there is sound and speech quality to be used.

14. Based on the theme of the episode and the suggestions made by the guests, we chose a band and/or a song to create the episode's atmosphere. We write to the musicians and formally ask for permission to use the songs in the episode.

Part E: Editing the audio

15. From the editing script, the audio material is cut out. The assembly is done with *Audacity*, a free and friendly software.

16. A finer edition takes place, removing and correcting problems (cacophonies, differences in volume and clarity, repetitions, excesses of information).

17. The episode name is decided. We can use words and terms that appeared as important and central in the conversations; excerpt from publications previously made by the guests; excerpt from one of the songs, for example.

Part F: Closing

18. We write the text for the website. It has a summary of the episode, the names who worked on it, credits for extra materials that were used (songs, sound settings, etc.) and thanks to everyone who, in some way, helped the episode take shape. Names should be and links to access extra materials should be double checked. A representative image of the theme is chosen. We have preferred images of collectives, groups, bunches, sets.

1 9. We publish the episode on the website and on the players.

20. The episode is sent to the guests and we ask for help to disseminate it.

21. Advertising materials are produced. Posts, photos taken on the day of the recording, audio clips, ideas and phrases will be published on social

networks to announce the episode. We also use email and institutional channels. We send the material to strategic groups and people, according to the theme of the episode.

22. We save the reactions we receive, with people's consent. These returns come via email, social networks, WhatsApp audios, face-to-face encounters. The feedback has been an important material to reflect on the production of podcasts in general and on this one, in particular.

3.2 CHALLENGES TO PRODUCE MUNDARÉU

Within a prolific production of Anthropology podcasts in the last year, as we have mentioned, one of the challenges was to create a different and innovative format for the Mundaréu, so that it could contribute to podo-sphere's diversity. The dialogue between anthropologist and interlocutor highlights the program, in our view, but it was not easy to mature and arrive at this idea.

Choosing the name was also a big challenge. We knew that we didn't want the commonplace to use "pod" or "anthropology" or "anthropo", "anthro". We wanted a name that spoke for itself, that referred to a place, an image. Dozens of ideas emerged up to agreeing on "Mundaréu".

Discovering and testing the different recording and editing freely available and most user-friendly softwares and the highest quality result was also a laborious step. We always wanted to know the means of production and not just discuss the contents. Therefore, it was important to test and get familiar to the options of recording, editing and also playing podcasts. We also learned how to subscribe to the players, create the feeds, prioritize free access, for example. Technology to convert video files to MP3 audio (in order to include music and sound effects) and create and update websites also had to be learned.

Auxiliary materials were found, such as the photographs we use on the website, which come from free image data base. In the case of vignette, two singers from Brasília, Danú and Tatá, agreed that the song "Quem canta" become the musical identity for the Mundaréu's first season. Specific songs, sometimes suggested by the guests, assured authorization with each singer, each band. Those who have the rights to their own music more easily grant us the use. But we have already been denied when a song, for example, was owned by a major local or foreign label, even when explained that our project non-profit, but educational and scientific.

The logistics with the guests were also considered. In the first season, all conversations with them were recorded in person. But, since we did

not have resources for tickets nor *per diem*, we prioritized names living and working in the São Paulo-Campinas axis. Some worked there, others were coincidently passing through. We also tried to adapt our schedules to the guests willing to spend a few hours dedicated to working with us.

In terms of content, one of the great challenges is to be concise and clear, so that communication can be efficient. The final edition of the episode should be around 40 minutes, a deliberate choice we made to avoid heavy or long files on the one hand and, on the other hand, have time to tell stories, delve into some of them, allow for breaths and sensations. We calculate a duration to allow the episode to be heard, more or less, during the washing of a load of dishes or a daily commuting from home to work or vice-versa. Thus, we bet that the episode can fit into everyday routine. The challenge is to start from about 300 minutes of raw material (two previous interviews, collective conversation and conversation for the Filling), to reach the final edited 40 minutes. It was necessary to learn how to define the agenda, the main themes, find the best excerpts in terms of ideas and also of sound quality (and sometimes the second aspect compromised the first) and cut the material. We know, therefore, that this challenge is

> not about reducing realities, always immense and complex, to 40 minutes of an episode. The tone and analysis cannot be resolute, encapsulating, essentializing. We are talking, after all, about an area that has as its heritage monographs, 400-page texts to explain a point, a rite, a practice. There is a huge challenge when we travel in another format, much leaner, much more direct. (Fleischer 2020).

Hostesses and guests are not very familiar with microphones, cranes, studios. Usually, these people speak by improvisation, they are familiar with the classroom and the lecture format. That means they also talk a lot, for many hours and without interruption. For a podcast, none of this is convenient and we had to relearn another way of talking. Staying within the microphone spectrum required better control over the mouth, head and entire body. It is not possible to move the chair too much or gesture so much to speak, because the sound becomes irregular and heterogeneous in its intensity, as well as the chair itself emits unwanted noises, rings and bracelets can hit the table and produce noise etc. Speak slowly, with an interesting and authorial cadence, avoid cacophonies and personal mannerisms. Avoiding sniffles, coughs, dry or soggy mouths have all been learned to live more harmoniously with the studio paraphernalia.

There are other challenges that have been noticed and gradually faced. Not every colleague in the field perceives a podcast as an academic production, although the evaluating metrics of the Ministry of Education and

different funding agencies (CAPES and CNPQ, mainly) are increasingly considering activities that refer to "technical production" as well as "popularization of science". The article published in a higher strata journal is still the most valued product in and by intellectuals (Sanjek, 2015: 292-293). In addition to a certain prejudice with the initiatives that translate and apply Anthropology, we also have unfamiliarity with the podcast media, both among professors and among students, although the latter tend to be the most interested and assiduous listeners. We know that
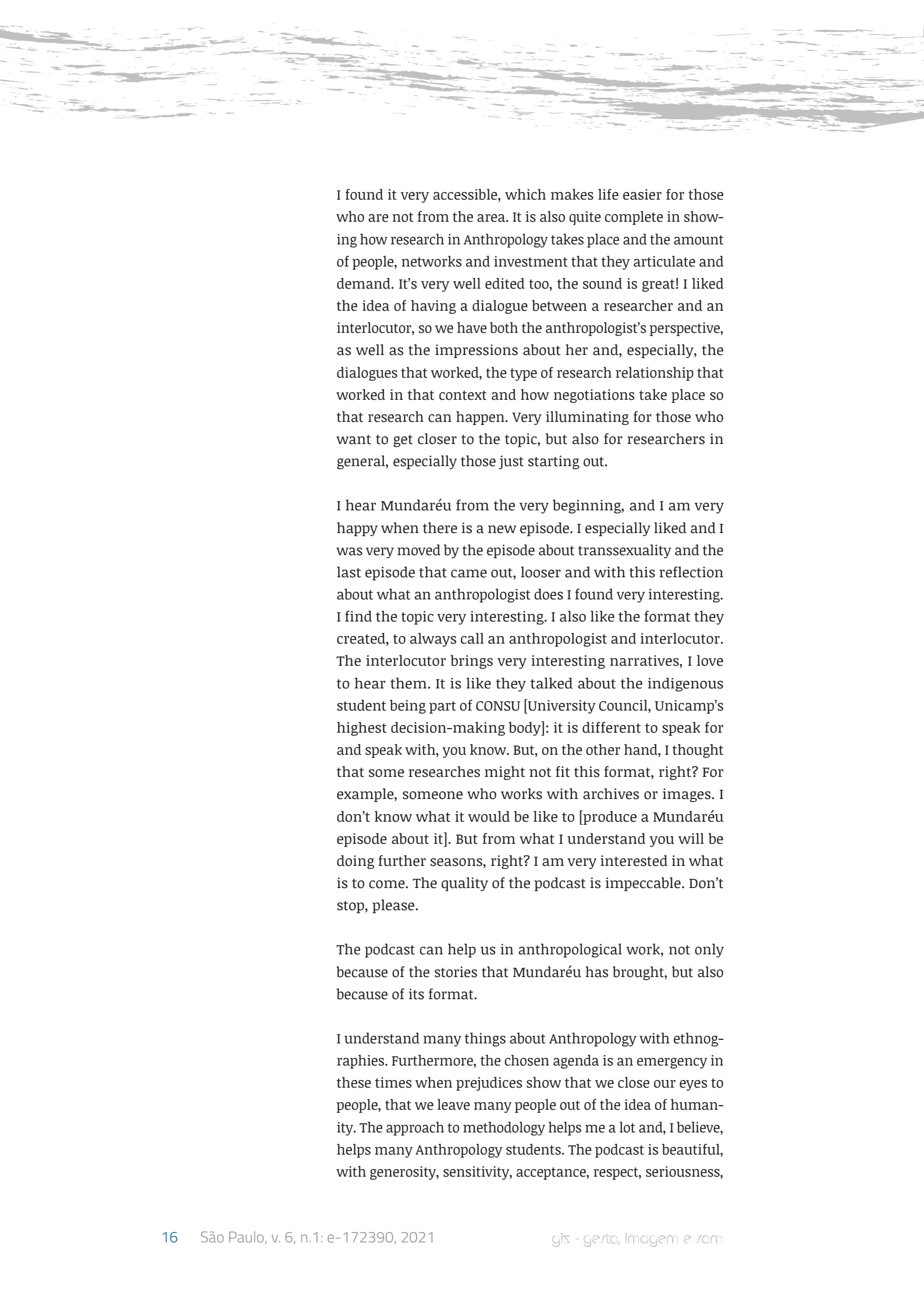
> Social Sciences have a tradition of reading, writing, and publishing books. The type of concentration required to read is very different than to listen. There is a challenge in socializing people to consume podcasts, for the time of an episode, longer than a song or a radio program. We bet that storytelling and personal narratives are good arguments in this regard. (Fleischer 2020).

As the literature has shown, the audience for podcasts has steadily increased. Finally, we have invested in deploying the project, which has a very clear purpose as research and extension, but can also have space in educational activities. How to use a podcast as a teaching resource, how to bring audio materials into the classroom, how to learn Anthropology by listening (instead of reading) to stories are challenges that we want to face in our next steps.

4 FINAL REMARKS

So far, the feedback we have received on the program has been very positive. There were reports from other anthropologists and also professors and researchers from other areas, students from various backgrounds, friends, family members and audiences directly related to the themes of the episodes (sex workers, integrative and complementary health professionals, transsexual population, rural settlers, students and indigenous leaders, mothers and family members of people with autism, etc.).

Santos and colleagues recall that the way the majority of the Brazilian public listens to podcasts is directed towards participation, the idea of collective consumption and exchanges of experience that are expressed through comments (2018, 13). Therefore, we have collected, systematized and analyzed the testimonials that people send us via email, direct messages and on social media, such as Instagram, Facebook and Twitter. It has been an important source for our self-reflection and self-criticism, always trying to improve the program. So far, there have been dozens of them and another article will further analyze them. For now, we reproduce some as illustration:

I found it very accessible, which makes life easier for those who are not from the area. It is also quite complete in showing how research in Anthropology takes place and the amount of people, networks and investment that they articulate and demand. It's very well edited too, the sound is great! I liked the idea of having a dialogue between a researcher and an interlocutor, so we have both the anthropologist's perspective, as well as the impressions about her and, especially, the dialogues that worked, the type of research relationship that worked in that context and how negotiations take place so that research can happen. Very illuminating for those who want to get closer to the topic, but also for researchers in general, especially those just starting out.

I hear Mundaréu from the very beginning, and I am very happy when there is a new episode. I especially liked and I was very moved by the episode about transsexuality and the last episode that came out, looser and with this reflection about what an anthropologist does I found very interesting. I find the topic very interesting. I also like the format they created, to always call an anthropologist and interlocutor. The interlocutor brings very interesting narratives, I love to hear them. It is like they talked about the indigenous student being part of CONSU [University Council, Unicamp's highest decision-making body]: it is different to speak for and speak with, you know. But, on the other hand, I thought that some researches might not fit this format, right? For example, someone who works with archives or images. I don't know what it would be like to [produce a Mundaréu episode about it]. But from what I understand you will be doing further seasons, right? I am very interested in what is to come. The quality of the podcast is impeccable. Don't stop, please.

The podcast can help us in anthropological work, not only because of the stories that Mundaréu has brought, but also because of its format.

I understand many things about Anthropology with ethnographies. Furthermore, the chosen agenda is an emergency in these times when prejudices show that we close our eyes to people, that we leave many people out of the idea of humanity. The approach to methodology helps me a lot and, I believe, helps many Anthropology students. The podcast is beautiful, with generosity, sensitivity, acceptance, respect, seriousness,

commitment. Elements that I have thought I need to put more into practice. Oh, and it still has the importance of listening.

We also received suggestions, for example, to speak in a less scripted and more spontaneously way. Names, research and universities were suggested to us. We believe that feedbacks are fundamental to set the course and continue producing quality Anthropology and, more importantly, in an accessible and understandable way, challenging the hermetic, wordy, and deliberate sophisticated prose of our area.

In the future, Mundaréu intends to find more resources so that, once we leave the physical isolation imposed by the Covid-19 pandemic, we can visit our guests, instead of receiving them on the telephone or in the studio. We aim to talk about research in the place where it is happening, *in loco*, exactly when anthropologist and interlocutor are in dialogue, negotiation and coexistence. Also, we have been writing up results, which systematize our processes and learnings. We currently develop a project with the Distance Learning Center (CEAD/UnB) to experiment Mundaréu as a didactic material inside Anthropology, Sociology and Public Health classrooms. Six undergraduate students were selected, half will receive a scholarship from CEAD and the team will follow these experiments and also produce their own episodes, in a specific season of the Mundaréu, which we will call "The world in the classroom".[3]

In times of physical isolation, we also bet that podcasts can especially connect with students. It can allow continuous and updated learning about Anthropology, meeting researchers, bibliography, ideas. It can help translate the planetary phenomenon of the Covid-19 anthropologically and to imagine ways of doing research within the context of immobility and risk. Also offering company during loneliness and hopelessness, creating a community of podcasters, students and researchers in the area.

Given that so many Anthropology podcasts have appeared in the last year, we want to propose a meeting of podcasters, either face-to-face or in the form of a webinar in order to exchange experiences and create collectivity. We also intend to start the project "Scientific waves", where Mundaréu and other similar podcasts can be presented to public and community through radio stations. The idea is to negotiate a weekly space on local radio stations for the reproduction of a consortium of science podcasts, such as Anthropology and other areas, aiming to disseminate and democratize access to scientific production, making it increasingly closer and clearer for the general population, not just the academic one.

3 This series came to life while we finished the writing of this article. Nine episodes were produced by the students that participate in Mundaréu team and were published from August to October 2020: https://mundareu.labjor.unicamp.br/series/mundo-na-sala-da-aula/

Mundaréu's experience has been very positive for the whole team. In general, it has been a chance of producing Anthropology in another format, creating an opportunity for professionalization for so many students involved while overlapping teaching, extension and research, strengthening the Brazilian university and science. These are effects we aim for with this podcast, through the adventure of making Anthropology gain ground.

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DEATH IN FORENSIC PHOTOGRAPHY

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ABSTRACT
This article aims to reflect on the forensic necroscopic photographs taken in cases of police lethality that occurred in the city of São Paulo and, through the bibliography related to anthropology of image and photography, approach and exclude analysis by authors who also work with the relationship between image and death. Through the analysis of five images taken from necroscopic reports from digitalized legal proceedings and inquiries at the São Paulo State Court of Justice, this article seeks to analyze how the uses and contexts of production of these photographs allow us to understand the way we express and face certain deaths.

INTRODUCTION

In 2016 I was selected to participate in a Thematic Project coordinated by Professor Vera Telles, from the Department of Sociology at the University of São Paulo, entitled "Conflict management in the production of the contemporary city: the experience of São Paulo" (2014-2018, and funded by FAPESP). In this project, I was part of a team of researchers responsible for mapping and analyzing police reports, inquests and criminal proceedings arising from people killed in confrontation with the police force, also police lethality (then called "resistance followed by death "[1]).

As a result of this work, the researchers recently published an article entitled "Police Lethality and

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[1] The terminology was abolished in 2015 and now the official expressions are "personal injury resulting from opposition to police intervention" or "homicide resulting from opposition to police action".

Institutional Support: Profiling and Prosecution of Cases of 'Resistance Followed by Death' in the City of São Paulo", jointly written by Rafael Godoi, Carolina Christoph Grillo, Juliana Tonche, Fábio Mallart, Bruna Ramachiotti and Paula Pagliari de Braud.[2]

In general terms, the work of the research group began with the analysis of 316 police reports classified as "resistance followed by death", all registered in the city of São Paulo in the year 2012. All of which were obtained in partnership with the *Núcleo de Direitos Humanos da Defensoria Pública do Estado de São Paulo*[3]. After analyzing the police reports, we conducted a representative sample of inquiries and lawsuits arising from these police records. To do so, we randomly selected 38 police reports[4] and, after searching through the institutional meanderings of the São Paulo State Court of Justice and dealing with its setbacks, 22 cases were digitized.

These reports are registered by the police when a policeman kills a civilian in an alleged pursuit or confrontation. After registered, an investigation begins, which is called police inquiry, and, if the public prosecutors believe that the event represents a crime (and not an act justified by resistance), they promote a criminal lawsuit that analyzes the existence of guilt and, if it is confirmed by a jury, leads to punishment.

These police reports registered 388 people killed by the police in the year 2012 in the city of São Paulo. Of those, 62% were black, 386 males, and most of them young (an average of 24 years old). Of the 22 digitized lawsuits, although some had not yet been completed when the article was written in late 2019, we have not had access to any convictions.

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[2] The mentioned article was published by Revista de Estudios Sociales, n73, Universidad de Los Andes, and can be accessed at: https://revistas.uniandes.edu.co/doi/full/10.7440/res73.2020.05.

[3] Specialized human rights department of the public defenders of the State of São Paulo.

[4] "After analyzing the police reports, the next step of the research was to select a random sample to proceed with the unfiling and qualitative analysis of the cases. A total of 38 police reports (n=38) were drawn. This corresponds, within a confidence level of 95%, to a sample with a confidence interval of 15 percentage points. This value is high, of course, but we would need to increase n a lot to decrease it. Since the purpose of the research is to follow the processing of cases in the justice system, the confidence interval is consistent with the objectives of the proposal". (Godoi, Grillo, Tonche, Mallart, Ramachiotti, Pagliari de Braud 2020, my translation). In this stage of the research, as opposed to the quantitative analysis of the police reports, the goal was to conduct case studies from a random sample of police reports that became inquiries and criminal lawsuits and subject these procedures to a qualitative analysis.

Despite being recurrent themes on the news and on television programs, the technicalities of a criminal lawsuit can be complex. Such technical aspects, which I believe are powerful to elucidate the phenomenon of police lethality and its institutional support by State agencies, will be here deliberately left aside. I believe that the reflexive exercise on the forensic images, through the authors chosen to rethink the funeral photographs, can be better explored if we move away from the details of its surrounding punitive apparatus, at least partially, and focus on the images as an expressive form of representation of the death of certain groups.

When I analyzed the images for this article, two difficulties immediately imposed themselves, both related to the posture of alterity, so dear to anthropological reflection. The first was due to the fact that I, operating in the world of criminal justice for some years now and therefore witnessing its violence5, knew that it would be difficult for me to take the distance necessary to exercise a reflection that didn't limit itself in denouncing the brutal death of these young men by the police, or, in a worse manner, limited itself in simply explaining what these forensic photographs are and why are they used in a criminal procedure. The second comes from the fact that, when applying the anthropological look to the expressive forms and images, it seemed to me, from the bibliography and articles found and selected in the area, that we were always dealing with something that, if not art per se, at least touches or resembles art (or rituals with a strong artistic component, loaded with imagination and creation). This approach is well explored by several authors like Belting (2014), Gonçalvez (2009), Junqueira dos Santos (2017), Satiko (2017), Villela (2015), and several others. In all these works, I noticed a deep respect in the treatment of the forms of expression of the interlocutors, who develop and discuss, furthermore, the possibilities of the anthropological reflection through art.

The difficulty, then, presented itself to me in the following question: how to treat photographs of young people killed by the police with due alterity and strangeness, in order to try to capture what this way of expressing such deaths tells of ourselves as a society, without relegating to them the place given to art, nor the respect and admiration that art evokes, but still exploring the concepts brought by this bibliography?

To carry out this reflexive exercise when analyzing these photographs, I tried to: (i) include the context of production and legitimation of these

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5 I have been a lawyer since 2015 and have acted in several cases as a criminal lawyer. In addition, I've worked in the Defensoria Pública do Estado de São Paulo for three years, first as an intern in the Jury Court and after as an administrative officer in the Departamento de Inquérito Policial of São Paulo (DIPO) – part of the criminal justice system responsible for processing inquiries and investigations in progress.

violent deaths, since it also composes the image by what the image does not reproduce (Belting 2014); (ii) but exclude the minutiae and procedural techniques that could reposition the instrumental and utilitarian function that these images occupy in the inquiries and lawsuits themselves and in the narratives that legitimizes these deaths as legal. Although the denouncement of the State's actions that support this practice - central political position even in obtaining these procedures and images - is on the horizon, the proposal here is to shift the analysis (and why not also the denunciation?) to the forms of expression of these deaths in criminal lawsuits and inquiries.

The images analyzed for the present article were taken from two of the lawsuits digitalized for the abovementioned research. All the 22 files had images of the young men killed by police action, called "necroscopic reports". My contact with them was, however, mediated by several physical means. The original photographs were never accessed by me or the researchers, we only had contact with the copies of these photos reproduced in the reports that are attached, in their turn, to the judicial process or inquiry, which was photographed and digitalized. The contact was, therefore, with the *image of the image.*

On the exhibition of these photographs there is, besides the representation of extreme violence, an ethical debate about the privacy of photographed people and their families - even if they are not identified - about the naturalization of these deaths and the recrimination of these young people that is often propagated when these images are divulged by the media and public agents[6]. Therefore, I chose not to include the images in the article, but only to describe them so that the reader can follow the analysis carried out without having to see them.

Still on the choices of analysis of these photographs, it is not ignored that they are part of a procedure that seeks to legitimize the death of these people, and that, along with them, the reports, depositions and testimonies that build the criminal procedures are responsible for building this truth, which will also be explored in the article. Here, however, and above all, there is the goal of provoking another reflection on these photographs to the extent that they are inserted in the debate around the ways we represent and express death.

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[6] In the words of Borges (2003): "Far from being a neutral document, photography creates new ways to document life in society. More than the written word, drawing and painting, the pretended objectivity of the photographic image, conveyed in newspapers, not only informs the reader (...) but also creates truths from the fantasy of the imaginary almost always produced by fractions of the ruling class" (my translation).

WHO PHOTOGHRAPS AND WHY

Crime investigations begin with an ordinance from the police chief that, besides formally beginning the investigation, determines what steps are to be taken by the investigators within it. Cases involving dead people are, in general, instructed by many images that appear in several of the investigative procedures. The visuographic crime scene recognition report, as one of the first procedures, carries photos of the place as it was found after the occurrence, with images of streets, cars, bullet marks and blood on the ground and serves to maintain a visual archive that can be used for the reconstruction of the event within the judicial process.

Another document filled with images is the forensic crime scene report, which articulates the photographs from the visuographic recognition with images of shell casings, projectiles, vehicle and wall perforations, and is accompanied by a descriptive written technical report.

Finally, without excluding other less frequent types of image-reported forensics, there is the necroscopic report, which serves to certify the cause of death (in legal terms, to give its concreteness) and point out the injuries that caused it. It is loaded with images of the dead people and representations in drawing that indicates the injuries (the drawings are called sketches) (Godoi, Grillo, Tonche, Mallart, Ramachiotti, Pagliari de Braud 2020).

In deaths resulting from police intervention, all these photographs serve, ideally, to ensure the truth of the event and to instruct the investigation around the crime that triggered the police action (the crime supposedly committed by the dead person) and the existence or not of a homicide by the police, which is, most of the time, seen and attested in official documents only as a result of resistance to police action and, thus, legalized.

As elements and evidence, on one hand, of an event with criminal interest, and, on the other, of the phenomenon of genocide of the young and black population by the police, the forensic photographs of these cases initially referred me to Ilana Feldman's discussion of the representation of the Holocaust from Didi-Huberman's essays. In it, he discusses four photographs captured in 1944 of the Auschwitz-Birkenau extermination camps by Jewish prisoners who were members of the Sonderkommando (Feldman 2016).

Auschwitz is, then, described as a "witnessless event", because those who should testify – the authentic witnesses, Primo Levi (2016) would tell us – were killed in the gas chambers; and the four photographs captured in August 1944 are described, in turn, as lacunar, because of their necessary partiality. Such images only allow us to inquire what actually happened,

leading us to reflect on the unimaginable character of the Nazi concentration and extermination camps.

In relation to the provocation brought by the discussion around these images, the forensic photos brought here led me to think about the following contradictions: unlike the photos captured clandestinely in crematorium V, the forensic photos are "official", that is, they carry in themselves, as described by Miranda and Pita (2011), an expansion of value resulting from "statehood"[7] (my translation). They are records mediated by different specialists and civil servants, ranging from the police officers responsible for the violent death and who describe the event translated in the police report, to the photographers and coroners of the *Instituto Médico Legal*, responsible for the images and the elaboration of the report. In this manner, they are the opposite of clandestinity: they compose public documents that back up and reconstruct the legality of the event in order to give it legitimacy. However, in another analytical point of view, these photographs are also testimonies of a practice of demential violence perpetrated by the State[8] and constantly denounced[9]. Unlike the Nazi regime, which sought to erase the traces of mass extermination – an erasure that the four photographs refute –, the photos of these dead men actually attest to the State's policy of extermination, while the erasure of the traces is left to the eyes of the prosecutors and judges who observe them.

The photos are contradictory in another sense. They serve so that the Judiciary can take over the event, control its existence and certify its truth: that those young men were killed for resisting police action. In this way, they absolutize the documents, as if the set of images (of the bodies, the places, the bullets, etc.) were total images, concealing reality and manipulating the truth. They are, as Sontag describes, an attempt to "record of the real – incontrovertible, as no verbal account, however impartial, could be", they not an argument, but simply the raw statement of a fact (2003). Its claim is to possess the weight of objectivity, as do all judicial proceedings, and thus, possibly, as does law itself.

[7] According to the authors, state records must be understood and observed in their multiple dimensions. The "language of the State" they describe is "at the same time result and/or effect of the actions, decisions, and 'ways of thinking the world' of a bureaucracy, which has in itself a meaning, a significance, and carries an extension of value: the 'statehood'" (Miranda and Pita 2011, my translation).

[8] State here taken as one, as hole, holding the monopoly of violence in the Weberian sense.

[9] There are several movements denouncing the police violence and lethality such as Black Lives Matter, *Mães de Maio*, among others.

However, and considering the forensic images not as objects to be analyzed, but taking the notion of things developed by Tim Ingold (2010), it is possible to perceive how they present themselves in relation to the Judiciary itself and its agents, elucidating aspects and opening gaps for the understanding of the controller agent. What I mean is that, by analyzing such images, which serve the purpose of taking control of the existence of these deaths, we can understand so much more about the image producer – the State, the Judiciary, the agents of law, the police – and, why not say, about our own way of facing the production of some deaths.

The very incompleteness of these images, what they do not say or what they are not allowed to say within the judicial process, seems to fit, in the words of Didi-Huberman, that is that the images are not bearers of truth, they are "a rag of it" (Didi-Huberman 2013, my translation), and in this assertion perhaps is where the contradictions abovementioned truly lie. These images are effectively parts of a verification regime, taken as evidence, placed in a court of law, and presented as a whole, though ontologically fragmentary. And this whole represents points, over many other things, to the most absolute attempt at control. This control, according to Medeiros (2018), presents itself in the very "categories assigned to the dead by classification systems", routinely mobilized by agents of the state, whose function is to "exercise state power over the treatment that is given to the dead" (my translation).

WHO (OR WHAT) GETS PHOTOGRAPHED

As already stated, there is in these photographs something to be attested as truth. This characteristic has already been raised and described as central in the production of legal documents in general (Eilbaum and Medeiros 2015; Nadai 2018). Forensic documents have the peculiarity that they, in addition to serving the construction of the "police truth about death", are endowed with a scientific legitimacy arising from the methods employed and form of presentation (Medeiros 2018, my translation).

Reflecting on this production of truth, I recall the notion of presentification worked by Hans Belting. According to the author, the image finds its true meaning in representing something that is absent. It is the attempt to bring to the present something from the past. However, his analysis falls on funeral rituals, the embodiment of the dead, of someone who has lost his body, of death as an unbearable absence made good by the presence of images (Belting 2014).

It initially seemed to me that studies such as this one had very little to do with forensic necroscopic photographs, mainly because of what I pointed out in the opening paragraphs. These photos have very little to do with

the sensitivity or the relationship that we, as a culture, establish with mourning or funeral rituals, since these photos do not refer specifically to the person being represented, nor do they matter as a remembrance to their loved ones. But one passage caught my attention and I would like to retain it to develop it further: "an image finds its true meaning in the fact that what it represents is absent and therefore can be present only as image. It manifests something that is not *in* the image but can only *appear* in the image" (Belting 2014).

Carolina Junqueira dos Santos, in the article *Amor, Morte, Fotografia* (2016), analyzes the photographs in the context of mourning as the desire to keep someone, the other. If "death returns nothing," "the image brings something of the order of love. In the absence of a tactile body, comfort falls on the image, "matter of a residual body" (my translation). In photographs, an instant is fixed, and behind it life and death continue.

In another of her texts, *Um lugar para o corpo: fotografias familiars em contexto de luto,* she explores the possibility that photography provided of saving things from oblivion. Bringing also the notion of presentification, photography appears as a means of making something endure (Junqueira 2017).

Reading these studies, the same impression remained. Since I was not dealing with images that evoke affection or are related to funeral and family rituals, I could not observe in the forensic photos the notion of presentification of the person. This, otherwise, seemed completely absent to me.

The five pictures selected and analyzed here show men, all black and apparently young, lying naked on metal tables, with paper plates containing identification numbers - which link the body to the report and the report to the criminal procedure - and the word "unknown" written just below. In two of them the focus lies on the traces of the event - gunshot wounds to the chest and side of the body -, and in three others the bodies are cleaned and the attention is given to some distinctive marks on the body or to something that the body carries – a sneaker, a tattoo, scars. The photographs display and focus only on parts of the body and its distinctive marks.

The whole scenario set up by the set of images provokes a reflection on what is being displayed and, consequently, what is not. The "not missing anything" (Junqueira 2017, my translation) seems to become here the capturing and controlling everything, but the everything not in relation

to the person, and, yes, in relation to the event of death, giving this death the due materiality[10].

In the forensic photographs, what presented itself as the object of the presentification treated by the authors, of this making endure that is typical of photography, is the evidence of death itself and not the dead man as a person. It is the death, through the images, that must remain present, be controlled, attested and remembered as legitimate, which stands out as a double cruelty, since death was produced by the State and is also eternalized by it in images.

If "the corpse is the first reinvented body of the one who dies - because what we want to see in it is not its organic substance, but the person" (Junqueira 2017, my translation), as a measure of affection and love in grief processes, in forensic photos what one wants to see is almost purely the organic matter, since it allows one to observe an event that one wants to attest as truth. For Flávia Medeiros (2018), the body of the deceased is once again objectified as criminal evidence, "from fragments of his body that would become "'material'" so that the police could investigate and build elements that would constitute the police truth about his death" (my translation).

Again, it is not life that is attested, but the moment of death itself, and here there is no space for mourning. What I observe through these photos presents itself, in this way, as the most complete absence of affection.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

As Susan Sontag states in *On Photography* (1977), photography has different versions of utility. If in one of them "the camera record justifies", in another "the camera record incriminates". If forensic photographs - the necroscopic reports - are necessary to take control of these deaths and certify them as legal, these very photos can be used and analyzed to prove the existence of the phenomenon of police lethality, which victimizes countless young black men in the Brazil[11].

In this way, such pictures, things that they are, point to the forms of social and state power embedded in their very production and existence, as Butler describes in *Frames of War: when is life grievable?* (2010). The necessity of these photographs and their production in this construction of judicial

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[10] Materiality or concreteness in criminal law and criminal procedures is the objective dimension of a crime. That which attests to its existence, and, therefore, a necessary element for the existence of a fact subject to investigation by the criminal justice system.

[11] Such as CAAF, 2018.

truth rarely become part of what is seen when we look at them, "but when it does, we are led to interpret the interpretation that has been imposed upon us, developing our analysis into a social critique of regulatory and censorious power" that these images are able to represent.

Butler, when discussing the photographs of war and of the tortured prisoners at Abu Ghraib, as well as the suffering produced by these images and their ethical implications in dialogue with Sontag, points to framing as something active, and to how these photographs reconstruct and are also produced according to implicit and explicit norms that determine which human lives count as lives and which do not. Which lives are thus grievable and which are not. I wonder then, if the centrality of these images is not in this differential norm of humanity, "communicated through visual and discursive frames" that allow the institutional backing of judges, prosecutors, police officers, and regulate our own capacity for outrage at the deaths portrayed by these photographs. The "effective regulation of affect, outrage, and ethical response is (it seems) at stake" (Butler 2010). The dead, here, continue as targets of violence by being subjected to a politics of classification and control that takes any space for the production of affection and memory, but that, on the contrary, is based on the reproduction of the "legitimacy of dying and killing" (Medeiros 2018, my translation).

Finally, all the reflection that I tried to produce in this article reminded me of a passage of Viveiros de Castro's speech, dealing with death as a ritual, given at the TV program *Café Filosófico*[12]: according to him, for some Brazilian indigenous groups, the dead are enemies and desire the living, they try to attract them by making them think about death. In this sense, the dead exert a kind of suction on the living. He describes the indigenous "bad encounter" as an encounter with a person who has already died, and how this event produces a shock that is constantly narrated as a near-death experience, because there was contact with the dead, who wants to kidnap you and bring you to death.

In describing and analyzing these events, he draws attention to the fact that, often, they occur in moments of loneliness. This loneliness is thus seen by such groups as an illness, a danger, which brings death closer. Kinship, on the other hand, is presented as the safety net that protects that person from death. Death is portrayed as the enemy of kinship, and to confront it is to be, in Viveiros' words, "at the mercy of a subjectivity far more powerful than his, with no one to turn to" (my translation).

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[12] The interview can be accessed at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LW0ojNmrF68. Acessed in July 25, 2020.

In our culture, this bad-encounter is approximated in experience by Viveiros de Castro with "being stopped by the police". This encounter with the police that generates a discomfort, a "chill in the belly", because, he concludes, "the State that is behind the police, in principle, is the antithesis of kinship", is a sublimating subjectivity. In front of the State, maybe some of us are not human enough.

In necroscopic forensic photographs, the body serves only to give materiality to death and, thus, present the event of death and eternalize it not as a quality of the subject that will be remembered by his loved ones, but as the center of a regime of verification of the death event. They presented themselves to me, in this way, as the very antithesis of the affection and love brought by funeral photographs or in the context of grief. Absolutely distant from any discussion in the order of art. Related to cases of police lethality, they also bring the disturbing component of the death of lives that are not even grievable.

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AUDIOVISUAL

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ARTICLES

INTERCULTURALITIES IN DANCE: RECREATING ARGENTINA'S IDENTITY IMAGINARY

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ABSTRACT
This article analyzes how Argentine cultural policies between 2010 and 2015 sought to challenge the traditional identity imaginary of Argentinians as White Europeans. For this purpose, I initially made a genealogy of the main transformations of these policies and imaginaries to later focus on the performances of the *Combinado Argentino de Danza* (CAD) in the celebrations to commemorate the birth of Argentina as a nation state organized by the National Cultural Ministry. CAD was the first group on the local scene to propose combining national folk genres that re-evaluate indigenous influences with hip hop, modern dance and electronic music, prompting artists from different regional and esthetic origins to work together. This case forms the basis for my examination of the ways in which global multiculturalist ideologies have been reworked locally as political attempts to legitimize a new intercultural, popular and non-sexist national imaginary.
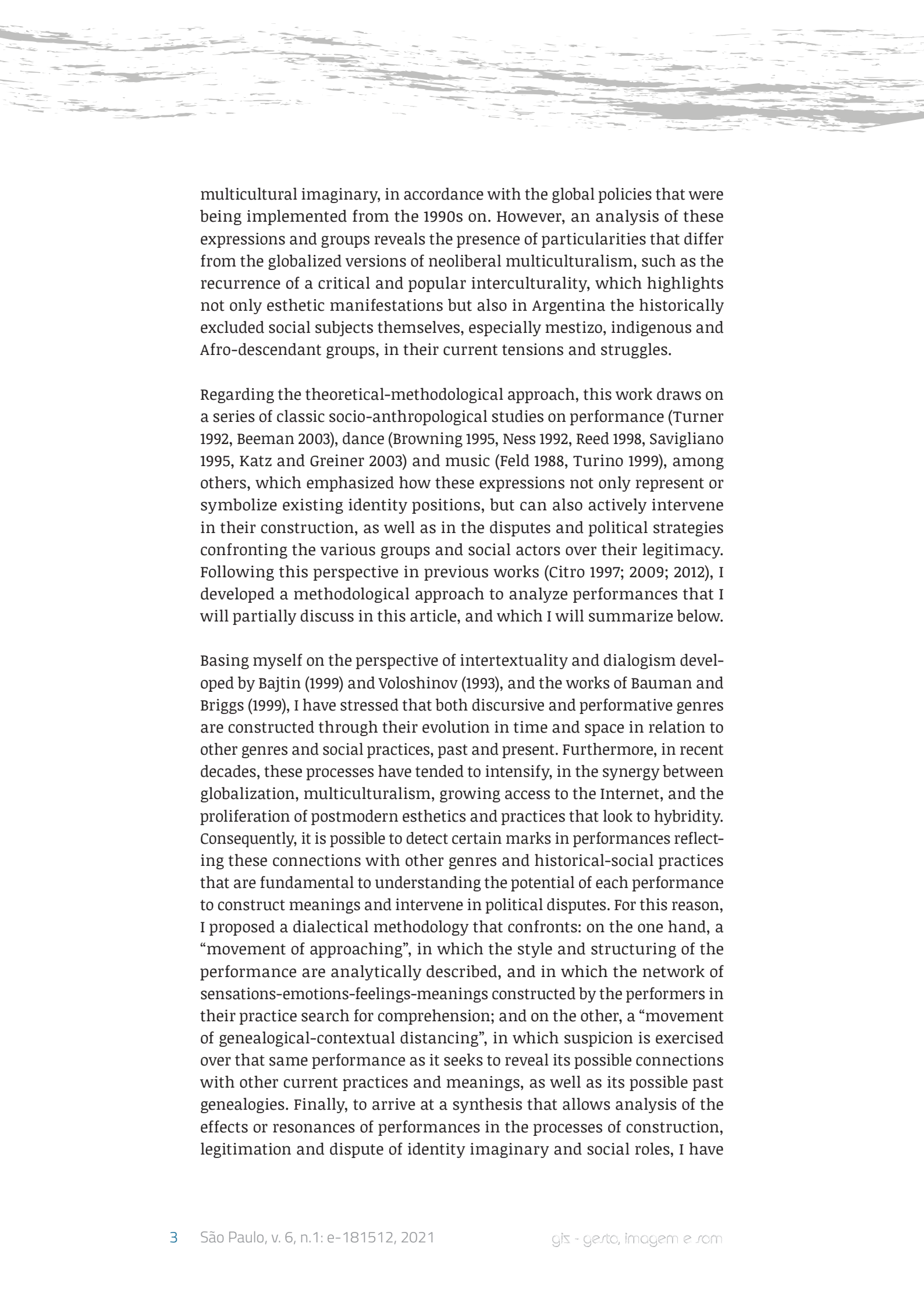
INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the ways in which the cultural policies implemented in Argentina, mainly in the period 2010-2015, sought to challenge Argentinians' traditional identity imaginary as being of "White-European origin". Continuing with the line taken in previous research, I am interested in analyzing how national identity imaginaries are constructed, not only through textual inscriptions, verbal discourses, spaces and iconographies, but also through gestures, dances and music highlighting corporalities and sounds in public spaces, mobilizing intense collective emotions. For this reason, I propose to focus on one of the dance groups the Argentine state chose to place center stage in that period: Combinado Argentino de Danza (CAD). Formed in 2011, this group was soon invited by the Ministry of Culture to participate in various important official events, including the celebrations in 2014 and 2015 to commemorate the birth of the nation. My interest in the CAD is based on the fact that it was the first group on the local scene to propose a novel esthetic modality that combined local folk genres that re-evaluated indigenous influences, hip hop, contemporary dance and electronic music.

During the period between the celebration of the Argentine Bicentennial in 2010, commemorating 200 years of independence, and 2015, the national government, under the presidency of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, invited different artists to participate in a series of mass events. The celebrations were held in the city of Buenos Aires, on stages set up in Plaza de Mayo (opposite Government House) and broadcast throughout the country by Argentine public television. As Connerton (1989) pointed out, commemoration rituals recalling the origins of various social groups are privileged moments in which to build "imagined communities", enabling collective identities and memories to be transmitted and recreated through shared ceremonies. In Latin America, celebrations commemorating independence from the colonial regime have been key rituals for the symbolic construction and political legitimation of national imaginaries. Throughout their history, they have appealed to performances in public spaces, which through different esthetics condense and express these identity imaginaries. These festivities became privileged spaces in which to analyze how states use and mobilize "culture as a resource" – to echo the well-known expression of Yudice (2002) – to actively intervene in public space and consolidate or, as in this case, transform national and regional identity imaginaries.

My initial hypothesis was that performances of this kind and by other invited artistic groups – such as the electronic and indigenous music ensemble *Tonolec* and the indigenous choir *Chelalapi* (Citro and Cerletti 2013), or the performance group *Fuerza Bruta* (Citro 2017) – reflected the intentions of a state cultural policy that sought to legitimize a national

multicultural imaginary, in accordance with the global policies that were being implemented from the 1990s on. However, an analysis of these expressions and groups reveals the presence of particularities that differ from the globalized versions of neoliberal multiculturalism, such as the recurrence of a critical and popular interculturality, which highlights not only esthetic manifestations but also in Argentina the historically excluded social subjects themselves, especially mestizo, indigenous and Afro-descendant groups, in their current tensions and struggles.

Regarding the theoretical-methodological approach, this work draws on a series of classic socio-anthropological studies on performance (Turner 1992, Beeman 2003), dance (Browning 1995, Ness 1992, Reed 1998, Savigliano 1995, Katz and Greiner 2003) and music (Feld 1988, Turino 1999), among others, which emphasized how these expressions not only represent or symbolize existing identity positions, but can also actively intervene in their construction, as well as in the disputes and political strategies confronting the various groups and social actors over their legitimacy. Following this perspective in previous works (Citro 1997; 2009; 2012), I developed a methodological approach to analyze performances that I will partially discuss in this article, and which I will summarize below.

Basing myself on the perspective of intertextuality and dialogism developed by Bajtin (1999) and Voloshinov (1993), and the works of Bauman and Briggs (1999), I have stressed that both discursive and performative genres are constructed through their evolution in time and space in relation to other genres and social practices, past and present. Furthermore, in recent decades, these processes have tended to intensify, in the synergy between globalization, multiculturalism, growing access to the Internet, and the proliferation of postmodern esthetics and practices that look to hybridity. Consequently, it is possible to detect certain marks in performances reflecting these connections with other genres and historical-social practices that are fundamental to understanding the potential of each performance to construct meanings and intervene in political disputes. For this reason, I proposed a dialectical methodology that confronts: on the one hand, a "movement of approaching", in which the style and structuring of the performance are analytically described, and in which the network of sensations-emotions-feelings-meanings constructed by the performers in their practice search for comprehension; and on the other, a "movement of genealogical-contextual distancing", in which suspicion is exercised over that same performance as it seeks to reveal its possible connections with other current practices and meanings, as well as its possible past genealogies. Finally, to arrive at a synthesis that allows analysis of the effects or resonances of performances in the processes of construction, legitimation and dispute of identity imaginary and social roles, I have

resorted to the articulation between Peircean semiotics with the proposed performativity theories by Butler (1999; 2002).

Different authors have highlighted how sonorities-corporeality-visualities construct meanings by appealing to iconic and indexical modalities, which precisely link them with other social practices and cultural meanings (Browning 1995, Lewis 1992, Turino 1999, and others). From the Peircean perspective, iconicity refers to that relationship in which some of the perceptible properties of the sign have within themselves isomorphisms or formal similarities with some of the properties of the referenced entity or object; while in indexicality there is an "existential bond" between the indexical sign and its object, which is based on their co-occurrence within one's own life experiences. That is why various indices "draw attention to their objects by blind impulse" and "redirect" the subjects to those objects by "contiguity" (Peirce cited in Verón 1993, 5). However, once these indexical relationships have been established, either by the reiteration of that link in time or by the affective impact that that sign once generated in a particular context, the real co-presence of the sign and the object is not required because, as Turino (1999, 235) points out, "the index can still bring" to the present those "experientially linked objects" from the past, and in turn, "new elements" of the present situation "can remain linked to the same sign". For this reason, these indexical forwardings contribute to the gestation of what Turino (1997, 235) calls a "semantic snowball", which I also consider to be "performative", since these forwardings accumulate, sediment and update (present) affectations and meanings. In other words, they "become present, are activated in the subjects and are relived as if the mediation between the vehicle sign and the indicated entities could be reduced or even canceled to merge into the same existential current", which materializes in bodies (Citro 2009, 227). For this reason, they are words, sounds, movements, objects, visualities, which have the potential to "do-carry out" what they say, sound, move and show.

From this perspective, the iconic and indexical meanings or these "performative effects" of performances emerge from the complex webs of genealogical and contextual connections. For this reason, to reveal how these effects are produced, it is essential to pay attention to the ways in which certain elements of style, mode of structuring, affectations and also, of event organization and its micro-politics, are de-contextualized and re-contextualized in other performances (Hanks 1989, Briggs and Bauman 1996), through direct quotes and/or reworkings, which, when recombined, contribute to make certain features visible and make others invisible, or exclude them. Thus, with this previous background, we can analyze how the experience of execution and perception of a certain performance produces different "effects" (affects and meanings), mainly through these two modalities, which are combined with each other. On

the one hand, by fostering links of similarity (or iconicities) with everyday sociocultural experiences and meanings or other esthetic expressions that have been part of the biographies of the performers and viewers and that are quoted and reworked; and, on the other, by encouraging these references to also bring with them and update other experiences (sensations, affects and meanings), which were part of their previous perceptions/performances (indexicalities).

For this reason, the ways in which performances construct meanings and performative effects do not depend solely on the communicative and political intentions of their makers, but also on the meanings that emerge from these iconic and indexical links that are gestated in complex genealogical-contextual plots and that often operate in a pre-conscious or unconscious way. Hence the margin of indeterminacy that persists in the different interpreters/performers.

Given the importance this theoretical-methodological approach brings to the genealogical-contextual approach to performances, in the first part of this article I will review the main ways in which that imaginary identity of White-European origin was built in Argentina, based on the multiculturalist ideologies that spread in the 1990s, as well as the first fissures in it. I will highlight how these imaginaries have featured in the hegemonic musical and dance repertoires of Argentine folk, which will be questioned, reworked and recombined in CAD performances, a more detailed analysis of which I shall make in the second part.

1. A GENEALOGICAL APPROACH: FROM THE WHITENING OF THE "MELTING POT" TO GLOBALIZED MULTICULTURALISM

Various authors coincide in pointing out that Argentina is one of the Latin American countries where the legitimation of a "White" nation imaginary identity, fundamentally inheriting Western European traditions is strongest (Ratier 1971, Bartolomé 1987, Segato 1999). With the process of consolidation of the nation-state in the middle of the 19th century, the ruling elites began to intensify the military persecution of indigenous peoples as well as their forced assimilation to "Western and Christian civilization", as recognized in the Constitution of 1854, by promoting their conversion to Catholicism (Article 67, subsection 15). In the case of Afro-descendants, the most classic historiography spoke of a drastic decline in their numbers and even their disappearance during the 19th century as a result of their large-scale participation and mortality in the wars of independence, and in the later Paraguayan war (1864-1870), as well as in the 1871 yellow fever epidemic in Buenos Aires. However, recent research maintains that these theses on their early disappearance were attempts

by the elites of that time to make the presence of people of African descent invisible and to build a "White European" society, pointing to the absence of studies on complex processes of miscegenation of this population (Reid Andrews 1989). Parallel to these processes, the ruling elites promoted European immigration, with Argentina being the second country after the United States to receive the largest number of immigrants at that time, numbering approximately 6.6 million. Although the dominant narratives of the "melting pot" projected a fusion of different ethnic and racial origins – which would diminish the differences between them and bring about a new and homogeneous "national being" – the European components were prioritized while the indigenous and Afro-descendants were rendered invisible.

During the governments of Juan Domingo Perón (1945-1955), cracks appeared in this imaginary. On the one hand, various policies were promoted to "protect" the aboriginal (Martínez Sarasola 1992), affording greater visibility to the problems of this population. On the other hand, there was a proliferation of policies designed to secure the "vindication and social inclusion" of popular sectors, especially of mestizo and rural workers, who started to migrate mainly from the north of the country to Buenos Aires to work in the industrial sector that was just beginning to develop at that time. These young people were in fact referred to as "little black heads" by the urban elites of European descent, which reflected the persistence of racist categories (Ratier 1971). As Gravano (1985, 87) points out, the contingents of "little black heads" led to a drastic increase in the population of Buenos Aires and its suburbs, which came to exceed 50% of the country's total. This social sector thus became one of the main beneficiaries of Peronism's social inclusion policies and the main architect of its electoral triumphs. Let's see how these imaginary identities intervened in the shaping of folk music and dance repertoire in Argentina.

In the 1940s, musicologist Carlos Vega (1944; 1952) undertook one of the most important systematic documentations of "Argentina's folk music and dance".[2] However, his studies did not include indigenous or Afro-descendant groups and considered that only a few folk genres contained indigenous roots from the Andean zone (the *carnavalito* and the *baguala*), but none were Afro. This repertoire creation differentiated Argentina from other Latin American countries, such as Bolivia, Peru, Colombia and Ecuador, in which Creole, indigenous and Afro-descendant musical and dance genres stand out, although with different visibility and legitimacy throughout their history. Thus, over a long period of time, in Argentina a musical and dance folk tradition was created, which not only tended

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2 On Vega's work, see Blache (1983), Ruiz (1998), Hirose (2010), Benza, Mennelli and Podhajcer (2012), among others.

to make indigenous and Afro-descendant influences invisible, but it also stylistically reformulated mestizo components in an attempt to reappraise those features that were closest to the European imaginary. A key example of this process is the treatment of the gaucho. This term refers to Creoles or mestizos from different rural regions who had historically coexisted with the indigenous people of the area and, in several cases, had rebelled against the White urban elites who took over their territories and tried to recruit them for agricultural purposes. However, in traditional folklore, the gaucho tended to be stripped of these attributes that were linked to both miscegenation and rebellion, to become an estheticized figure with a romantic air. Blache (1983) has analyzed how the traditionalist landowning sectors, aligned with the conservative and nationalist right, promoted this process: they tried to install this estheticized gaucho as a symbol of Argentine nationality to differentiate themselves from those European migrants, who had arrived in the country and whose upward mobility was seen as threatening. In short, in these processes of folklorization and reinvention of traditions, we can appreciate what Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998, 72) refers to as an "erasure of the ideological power of performance and its ability to confront the dominant social and political orders" since "at the heart of the traditionalization process lies the desire to mask power and domination questions."

It is important to add that during the Peronist government, folk music was promoted as one of the policies to build and legitimize a "national" and "popular" culture (Gravano 1985), and in an analysis by Hirose (2010), that period was key to legitimizing the repertoire of Argentine folk music and dances. Benza, Mennelli and Podhajcer (2012, 176) emphasize the confluence of three processes between 1940 and 1950: a) "support for studies on folk music and dances from a "scientific" perspective, as is the case of the works of Vega, as mentioned above; b) "the creation of teacher training" courses institutionalizing folk dances and the "inclusion of folklore on the school curriculum"; and c) the "creation of various ballet companies that represented and promoted them". Thus, in 1953, one of the most important folk-dance companies in Argentina was formed, led by dancers Santiago Ayala (El Chúcaro) and Norma Viola. This artistic couple created more than 160 choreographic works, many of which were adapted for the stage, while incorporating new choreographies designed to highlight skill and virtuosity, such as acrobatic figures in *malambo*, the only male solo dance genre that mainly features stomping. The style created by Ayala and Viola has been influential among later generations of dancers, and from 1990 until their respective deaths they directed the then recently created National Folk Ballet. One element to highlight is that when Norma Viola joined Santiago Ayala's ballet in 1954, she was a "classical ballet dancer" trained in one of the most prestigious ballet institutions in the country, namely the Instituto del Teatro Colón. The

following images reflect fundamental the impact of European classical ballet in the National Folk Ballet company.

IMAGE 1: "Norma Viola and el Chúcaro in New York", no date or author. Source: http://tierrayarteasociacioncivil.blogspot.com.ar/2012/08/santigo-ayala-el-chucaro.html

IMAGE 2: "El Chúcaro and Norma Viola in one of their many film appearances", no date or author. Source: http://www.laautenticadefensa.net/76228, accessed in June 2015. Originally published in *Antes y después, Santiago Ayala "el Chúcaro" y Norma Viola,* by J. C. Guillen, 2009, Editorial Balletin Dance.

IMAGE 3: Official website of the National Folk Ballet, no author, 2015[3].

IMAGE 4: Official website of the National Folk Ballet, no author, 2015.

IMAGE 5: Official website of the National Folk Ballet, no author, 2015.

3 These and the following photographs are available at http://www.cultura.gob.ar/elencos/ballet-folklorico-nacional/ (June 2015).

IMAGE 6: Official website of the National Folk Ballet, no author, 2015.

The slim silhouettes and the balanced proportions of the bodies, the hairstyles and make-up of the women as well as the upright postures and the body movements of the head, torso, arms and hands are clear references borrowed from European classical ballet. They tend to operate as a sign of expertise and professionalization in these and other official folk dance companies.

In image 6, we can also see the confluence between a spatial arrangement of the bodies that adopts the typical rounds of certain choreographies of indigenous Andean influences (such as the *carnavalito*) and the backward posture of the women, typical of classical ballet and also used in contemporary dance. Thus, it can be observed that even when these ballets incorporate into their works references that by analogy invoke a certain "indigenous" imaginary, they are subsumed to a technical-expressive language very largely based on classical ballet (Citro and Torres Agüero 2015). In short, folk dance professionalization is linked to a technical training based on certain principles of classical ballet, and is considered to be one of the most legitimate techniques for the physical training of the dancer. It then emerges in the forms and proportions of the dancers' bodies, in their postures and gestures.

Returning to the historical synthesis, it is important to remember that between 1955 and 1983, Argentina lived through a troubled period that included successive coups d'état, outlawings of Peronism, and military dictatorships. Neither indigenous nor Afro-related matters occupied a place in the public agenda. However, in the early 1970s, the first indigenous political organizations in Argentina began to take shape, although the military dictatorship of 1976 meant that many of these processes had to be aborted. It was also at the beginning of the 1970s that the first anthropological investigations were conducted, documenting the musical and dance expressions of indigenous groups from the northern Andean region, Chaco and southern Patagonia, thanks to the pioneering work of

Irma Ruiz and Jorge Novati. This work has been continued by colleagues from my University and myself. Only with the reestablishment of democracy in 1983 and with the inauguration of Raúl Alfonsín of the Radical Party was National Law 23,302 of 1985 on Indigenous Policy and Support for Aboriginal Communities enacted. This law recognizes the ethnic and cultural preexistence and the rights of these peoples, and is still in force.

In the 1990s, with the return of Peronism to power under President Carlos Menem, a period of neoliberal policies and reduction in the size of the State began, ending in a deep economic and political crisis during 2000-2001. In this period, the first influences of the multiculturalist discourses promoted by international organizations can also be observed. They favored the emergence of previously invisible peoples, groups and cultural expressions, which began to claim rights in the name of their identity and to obtain legal recognition and even financial resources from transnational and national organizations. In this context, in 1994 a new National Constitution was approved, which for the first time included the recognition of a multicultural past and present, whose main references were indigenous peoples, although not Afro-descendants (Art. 75, Sec. 17). However, this legal recognition did not imply a better quality of life for these populations. As various authors have pointed out, coexistence and respect for all cultures equally, as propounded by multiculturalism, operated as the ideological other face concealing a political economy of inequality that became entrenched under neoliberalism (Zizek 1998, Segato 1999, Lacarrieu 2000, Grüner 2002). Walsh (2008) considers it to be a functional multiculturalism that "seeks to promote dialog and tolerance without affecting the causes of social and cultural asymmetry currently in force", and therefore, "assumes cultural diversity as the central axis (…) leaving aside the devices and patterns of institutional-structural power that maintain inequality".

One cultural policy that reflects this articulation of multiculturalist ideologies under neoliberalism was the process of tango patrimonialization. In 1999, tango was recognized as an "integral part of the cultural heritage of the city" of Buenos Aires, and in 2001 a proposal was made by the Argentine and Uruguayan States to include it on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity of UNESCO. The description of tango presented in the UNESCO list highlights precisely the multicultural character of this expression, which was born among:

> [...] popular classes of the cities of Buenos Aires and Montevideo. In this region, where European migrants, descendants of African slaves and natives (Creoles) mix, an amalgam of customs, beliefs and rites was produced and transformed into a specific cultural identity. (...) the music, dance and poetry of tango are both an incarnation and a vector of diversity and cultural dialogue. (Source: https://ich.unesco.org/es/RL/el-tango-00258).

As can be seen, the European component is mentioned first of all, followed by the African component, while the indigenous peoples are absent, since they could hardly be included under the term "native" or "Creole", i.e., already mestizo, or mixed-race. It should be noted here that, given its origin in the cities, tango has tended to be considered as a genre apart from folk music or dance, consolidating the urban/rural division and, in this case, the division between the city of Buenos Aires and the other provinces in the country. In other words, Buenos Aires, the port city that received all the immigrants, is assigned urban tango, while the colloquially called "interior of the country" with mestizo predominance is assigned "rural folk" music and dance. In relation to the Afro component of tango, in recent decades some musicians and researchers such as Juan Carlos Cáceres and later Pablo Cirio (2006) have investigated and reappraised these influences, arguing over the origin of the word and the sources that testify that Afro-descendants practiced this genre in its beginning. However, earlier musicological studies such as those by Vega (1944) and then Novati (1980) disregarded these possible influences. Beyond this musicological controversy, it is interesting to note that this emphasis on identifying an Afro origin for tango helped to place it within a multicultural and non-racist identity imaginary, more in line with the global cultural policies of the time.

It is important to add that, as Morel (2010) points out, UNESCO was initially reluctant to approve this presentation because tango was not considered to be an expression under threat requiring "urgent safeguard measures". However, after several changes it was finally accepted in 2009. This presentation revealed how heritage policies prioritized an expression of great cultural vitality and, above all, one that was widely successful in the entertainment market, especially on tourist circuits. This helped to generate an exoticizing imaginary concerning "passion" in tango (Savigliano 1995). In the first photograph on the UNESCO site dedicated to tango as heritage, shown below, we can see how the impact of this process of spectacularization. In front of a large audience a couple on stage is apparently in the final pose of their choreography. She is wearing a shiny dress while he is wearing a jacket. The presence of postures, gestures and body movements typical of classical ballet training is once again evident, especially in the raised arm of the dancer and in the semi-kneeling position of both, poses which are not common in popular modes and more traditional dance places.

IMAGE 7: Official website of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of UNESCO. Author: Ministry of Culture of the City of Buenos Aires, 2008. Source: https://ich.unesco.org/es/RL/el-tango-00258 (access: September 2016).

As stated by Prats (1997, 6), in these processes of "heritage activation [...] a selection is made and incorporated as heritage, either to endorse or to represent and sell a certain version of identity". Thus, in the case of tango, an expression that has operated as cultural capital and that generates important economic benefits was activated as "heritage". In addition, this reinforces the historical centralism of Buenos Aires in defining national imaginary, because despite being a specific expression of Río de la Plata and Buenos Aires culture, it has functioned metonymically as a symbol of a greater Argentine identity in the cultural market. Although other expressions existed in Argentina, under UNESCO criteria they were gradually "being forgotten" and deserved urgent "safeguard" measures – like many of the musical and dance expressions of indigenous groups. However, it would have been difficult for the national state of that time to have tried to activate them as heritage. On the one hand, they were ineffective for the imaginary of a national identity that has historically been built on a denial of the existence of the indigenous people of the "interior of the country" and by prioritizing the European origins of "Porteños"; and on the other, because those indigenous expressions are less profitable, as they tend to be esthetically less attractive for the esthetic sensibilities of the current cultural market (Citro and Torres Agüero 2015). What better, then, than the successful and passionate tango

of Buenos Aires, which inherited the embrace of the migrant waltzes but redefined it with Afro traits to endorse that new imaginary of multicultural identity and, at the same time, to increase the economic benefits derived from its associated cultural industries.

Regarding more specifically the national cultural policies implemented by the governments of Néstor Kirchner and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (2003-2015), some authors have analyzed the tendency to promote a multicultural imaginary that gave greater visibility to the native, Afro-descendant and mestizo peoples and even Latin American immigrants (Bayardo 2008, Citro and Torres Aguero 2015, Adamovsky 2016). In this respect, we should remember that during that period ties were consolidated with other Latin American leaders with whom certain economic, political and cultural guidelines were shared. Such was the case of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela, Lula da Silva in Brazil, Evo Morales in Bolivia, Rafael Correa in Ecuador and José Mujica in Uruguay, a situation that some authors have called the "swing to the left in Latin America" or, also more controversially, the "populist swing" (Damin and Petersen 2016). Thus, this new imaginary and its policies allowed many Argentines to symbolically bond with other Latin American nations with whom they now shared not only that "political shift", but also the recognition of those shared indigenous, African American and European cultural roots.

Beginning in 2010, the year of the Bicentennial, this imaginary was especially strengthened. In a previous paper (Citro 2017), I analyzed what I termed a "multicultural, but at the same time popular imaginary" in the Bicentennial celebrations, especially in the central parade by the performance group *Fuerza Bruta*. That parade represented a redefinition of national history that gave greater visibility and prominence to its indigenous, Afro and mestizo components, as well as to the popular political struggles of the previous century, for example, by the labor movement or the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo. In addition, I analyzed other symbolic acts of that year that reflected the reconfiguration of that imaginary identity. For example, what was formerly called Columbus Day on October 12, commemorating the "discovery" of America, was renamed "Day of Respect for Cultural Diversity". Several reforms were also carried out in the seat of the National Executive: a "Gallery of Latin American Patriots", which included portraits of Túpac Amaru, Simón Bolívar, Augusto Sandino, Eva Perón, "Che" Guevara and Salvador Allende, was inaugurated; the room called "Cristóbal Colón" was renamed "Indigenous Peoples"; and the "Argentine Women" room featuring indigenous fighters was created. In addition, a decision was made to change the figure on the highest value banknote in the country: the image of Julio Argentino Roca, the general who led the military campaign against the

native peoples of the south, was replaced by the bust of one of the main reference figures of Peronism and of the popular sectors, Eva Duarte de Perón. In 2014, the National Culture Secretariat was raised to the rank of Ministry, and for the first time was headed by a woman, who came from the world of folk music: singer-songwriter Teresa Parodi from Corrientes. Finally, in 2015, after several judicial and media disputes, the statue of Christopher Columbus standing behind government headquarters was removed and replaced by a statue of Juana Azurduy, a female "mestizo leader" who fought in the wars of independence. The statue was a gift from the president of Bolivia, Evo Morales[4].

I consider that these actions revealed the attempts to de-colonize key moments and spaces for the construction of a national identity imaginary, such as certain milestones on the official calendar, as well as the images and names that populate Government House and the banknotes in circulation. Thus, part of the imaginary the ruling elites have built around a "White" nation since the end of the 19th century, fundamentally inherited from *Porteño* European traditions, has been challenged and reformulated. We could also add it was built around a nation whose main heroes, dignitaries and other prominent personalities seemed to be only male (Citro 2017). However, despite the promotion of this new identity imaginary, conflicts with numerous indigenous communities persisted during this time, especially those linked to their territorial claims in the northeast and south of the country.

Next, I will analyze CAD's esthetic proposals as independent productions which, according to Walsh (2008), involved an "intercultural experience built from below", in this case articulated with these cultural policies that were built "from above", from the national state.

2. THE ARGENTINE DANCE MIX: TOWARDS A POPULAR INTERCULTURALITY

CAD is an independent dance company from the province of Buenos Aires, which began performing at the end of 2011 and was dissolved in early 2019. In Argentina, groups that perform outside the official casts, ballets and orchestras that operate in state theaters and cultural centers

4 The symbolic importance of these acts is also clear to see in the inauguration of Mauricio Macri's neoliberal government in 2015, when a large part of these reforms were abandoned. Both the gallery of the Latin American Patriots and the statue of Juana Azurduy were removed from Government House. In the celebrations of the May Revolution, the traditional parades by the armed forces once again acquired a fundamental role and figures of animals were put on the new bank bills. Also, in public speeches, the president said that Argentinians "come from ships" and that "in South America we are all descendants of Europeans" (Página 12 newspaper, 01/25/2018), generating fierce controversy.

are called "independent". However, especially until 2015, the CAD and other independent groups were invited to participate in festivals and other state events and/or received different grants to support artistic creation. This situation changed dramatically with the new government that was installed in 2015.

One of the main characteristics of CAD is that they define themselves as a "mixture" of artists from different origins, as stated on their website: "Hip hop, contemporary dance and folk artists from different formations and life experiences carry out a constant process of training, dissemination and creation of dance actions"[5]. This mixture is also present in its name, which alludes to the "mix", although highlighting the Argentine component especially present in folk genres. Although their name identifies them as a dance company, comprising a total of 11 male dancers and female dancers, they also clarified that it was made up of "musicians, set designers, video artists, illuminator, DJ Villa Diamante and a manager and producer". Another feature that characterized them was their intention not only to dance in theaters, but above all in "the street, poor neighborhoods or unconventional places" such as nursing homes or hospitals. They thus considered "art as a tool for inclusion and social transformation" and their dance as "the dance that advances for a social cause"[6]. Finally, another feature of the group is that many of their performances were combined with a series of participatory workshops, which they called "A Possible Dance" and were held "in various voices and with an unlimited number of participating students, promoting the desire to dance and the search for what is one's own always in relation to the other".

These esthetic and political choices by CAD are linked to the peculiar origin of the group. Its director, Andrea Servera, is a renowned dancer who performed her first works in the 90s on the independent dance circuit of Buenos Aires with the group *El Descueve*, one of the main references of dance-theater of that time. In 2000, Andrea began working at *Fundación Crear Vale la Pena*, an NGO created in 1997 by dancer Inés Sanguinetti. This NGO was one of the first in Argentina to offer "social integration programs for young socially vulnerable people", through various artistic and community activities, at a time when the first consequences of the crisis caused by neoliberal economic policies were making themselves felt. The *Centro Cultural Puertas Abiertas* (Open Doors Cultural Center) Foundation is located in Beccar, near Villa La Cava, one of the largest shanty towns in the north of Buenos Aires province, which was created in the '40s by workers emigrating from the northern provinces of the

5 In http://combinadodedanza.com.ar/ (September 2016).
6 Source: https://www.facebook.com/combinadoargentinodedanza/ (October 2016).

country to suburban Buenos Aires, that is, to the municipal districts that surround the capital city[7]. In that space, Andrea forged a relationship with Laura Zapata and other young hip hop and folk artists trained in the Foundation's workshops. With these young people who, in many cases, were the grandchildren of those internal migrants, CAD was born. It should be noted that Laura Zapata had already coordinated her own "creative laboratory", *Big Mamma*, where she fused urban dances with Argentine folk, particularly by taking up the folk expressions of Santiago de Estero (the northern province where her family is from), and where she even began to learn Quichua, the indigenous language that certain families and communities continue to speak. As Andrea Cervera summed up in an interview, in CAD "different worlds come together, which is good because each one contributes to the group from their standpoint"[8].

I shall now analyze the main stylistic features of the "mix" that CAD featured in its works. In their choreographies, they combined folk music and traditional instrumentation, which was intervened with electronic music performed by live DJs. Although there are moments of fusion between the various genres, many of the references used tend to preserve the characteristics of each genre, without one genre imposing or subsuming the instrumentation, timbres and melo-rhythmic forms of the others.

Regarding body image, an element that differentiated CAD from the more traditional folk ballets (such as the National Folk Ballet) was the diversity of bodies in the group, many of which deviated from the slender model and balanced proportions of the classical ballet dancer. Such is the case of certain stout males in the cast. Another differential element was the clothing, typical of everyday wear among middle and working class young people: jeans, T-shirts and sneakers, and occasionally a football shirt. The dancers only incorporated the "poncho" and sometimes a hat as the main references from traditional gaucho clothing, but it is precisely these garments that are still used in rural areas, and the poncho can also be seen in some towns and cities, although to a lesser extent.

For this reason, at least for an Argentine spectator/researcher, these uses do not generate such a strong "traditionalist" effect as they do with other "gaucho" costumes of folk ballets, which have now mostly ceased to be used in everyday life.

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7 At the end of the '90s, as a member of a dance-theater group, I participated in presentations at *Centro Cultural Puertas Abiertas*, in which some classmates also gave workshops. This allowed me to learn about the work of the Foundation at that time. You can also see the later paper on these workshops, prepared by Iuso and Greco (2012).
8 http://revistarevol.com/actualidad/combinado-argentino-de-danza/ (October 2016).

IMAGE 8: The CAD in the celebration of the May Revolution 205th Anniversary, 2015. Frame taken from Public TV footage.[9]

IMAGE 9: The CAD in the 205th Anniversary celebrations of the May Revolution, 2015. Frame taken from Public TV footage.

In relation to postures and body movements, both folk references (mainly from *malambo*) and hip hop were predominant. They follow the forms of these popular genres and are not transformed or stylized, according to the codes of classical ballet, as they are in traditional folk ballets. Thus, the intensity of the *malambo* stomping, with its downwards discharges, the breaks and destabilizations of hip hop, which break with the usual balances and postures of the body, tended to maintain their original design. Similarly, although to a much lesser degree, in some choreographies we were able to observe the fleeting appearance of certain leg movements typical of tango steps. The influence of contemporary dance was present in other movements that were also inserted, such as certain turns, jumps

9 This footage is available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xMXT55usaZM (March 2017).

and rolls, and above all in the diversity of ways in which the choreographic sequences were structured, that is, in the relationships between the dancers in their different spatial designs. In this regard, it is important to note that although brief moments both of solo sequences and of dances of couples occupied a central place, the movements of the whole group predominated. This type of group articulations differs from traditional folk dances (such as *chacarera* or *zamba*) in which couples or the male soloist (in the case of *malambo*) dance, and also in hip hop, in which soloists take turns to compete, in a central space, surrounded by other dancers.

As I mentioned above, *malambo* is the only "solo folk dance" in Argentina documented to date, and Vega (1952) described it as a "manly, demanding dance, a demonstration of vigor and skill", which involves different "changes" or footwork figures. It has often been interpreted as the "tournament for gauchos" among men vying for supremacy in variety, agility, speed, and accuracy of their dancing skills. Such masculine competition is also present in the origin of hip hop dance (break dance) during the 1970s among young African Americans and Latinos from the Bronx and Harlem in New York, and continues today under the forms of Breakdance Battles. However, this individual competition between dancers, typical of *malambo* and hip hop, is absent from the references of these genres made by CAD, whose choreographies involve a collective articulation of all bodies. They also incorporate various forms of direct contact, which are relatively uncommon in these genres, although they are in contemporary dance and in the influences it has received from contact-improvisation. Therefore, the structure of competing soloists was dismantled and replaced by ensemble scenes, in which the bodies share the same sequence of movement at certain times, while at others they overlap, converse and make contact in their diversity of movements. In spite of these important transformations, CAD choreographies continued to reproduce a certain tendency to highlight the virtuosity and bodily (and at times acrobatic) dexterity involved in many *malambo* and hip hop movements, which is aligned with the processes of spectacularization of many dance genres that seek to produce an effect of astonishment in the spectator (Barba and Savarese 1988, Beeman 2003). On the very large stages set up for the mass public presentations in Plaza de Mayo this trait of virtuosity seems to have been intensified for the benefit of the distant viewer.

Another transformation introduced by CAD was that women also participated in these traditionally male movements and, as we have seen, the clothing was the same for men and women. They took different roles and were not restricted to those differences that are naturalizing but which often limit bodily potentialities. The choreographic roles linked to heterosexual binarism (dexterity and vigor for men and delicateness for women) were deconstructed and incorporated into the movements of each one.

In summary, those esthetic features that reinforce the heterosexual matrix and refer to competition (especially male) were excluded in the folk and hip-hop references proposed by CAD; and in contrast, movements of circulation, cooperation and reciprocity between the choreographic roles were promoted in an attempt to generate more horizontal links, although without losing the diversity of singularities. This intention is also apparent in the way in which the group offered its classes on the website of the independent cultural center where they took place:

> We offer a space of physical reflection and dedication to movement; the body democratically put into action. Myself and the other, with our imaginations awakened in a state of action [...] building inter-relationships with an "other" and his/her singularity, training our listening capacity and perception, and challenging choreographic conventions, roles, hierarchies, to organically dance one's own way and the "other's way"[10].

I believe that by highlighting gender equality, ensemble collaborative figures that "challenge hierarchies" and that diverse body, which dances its own way and in the way of others and is democratically put into action, CAD's choreographic and teaching activities were particularly akin to the orientation of the government, both with regard to gender policies as well as in its criticisms of the role of competition and individualism in neoliberal capitalism. Regarding gender policies of that time, it is worth noting that the Right to Gender Identity Law and the Equal Marriage Law were key milestones, especially among youth sectors, fostering critical reflection on heteronormative matrices, which influenced the field of dance. In this respect, it is also important to stress that these transformations in gender roles as well as in the dancers' clothing were already present in the independent folk circuit born at the time of the 2001 crisis, especially among youth sectors from the cities of Buenos Aires, Córdoba and Rosario. They later crossed over into tango with queer tango, danced by same-sex couples (e.g., Lucio and Montenegro 2012).

As Benza, Mennelli and Podhajcer (2012, 177) have pointed out "other stories" also began to acquire greater visibility and legitimacy in these independent folk spaces. They attributed indigenous and Afro origins to some folk genres and it was considered that "tradition has much more to do with the contemporary bodies and experiences of young people in the urban context than with the faithful copying or imitation of bodies from the past" (Benza, Mennelli and Podhajcer 2012, 177). This circuit evolved into workshops, clubs and spaces for experimentation and exchange with other artistic disciplines, and gradually became an alternative to the

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10 In: http://ccmatienzo.com.ar/wp/entrenamiento-cad/ (September 2016).

folk practiced in dance teacher training courses, ballets and traditionalist centers. Thus, genres such as *chacarera* and *malambo* were assigned Afro and also indigenous origins (Arico 2008). These genres are actually the most cited in CAD music and choreographies as their rhythmic configuration (mainly attributed to the Afro component) are particularly conducive to articulation with hip hop and electronic music. They converged in one of the esthetic pursuits of the group: "to build together [...] a particular and energetic universe, which is constantly transforming and in transformation[11]". It is worth noting that precisely these references to the energy displayed by the dancers or the intensity and strength of their performances and the emotion they arouse are the signifiers that most appeared in the comments I was able to collect from some of the spectators at the anniversary celebrations of the May Revolution in 2014 and 2015, at which the CAD performed.
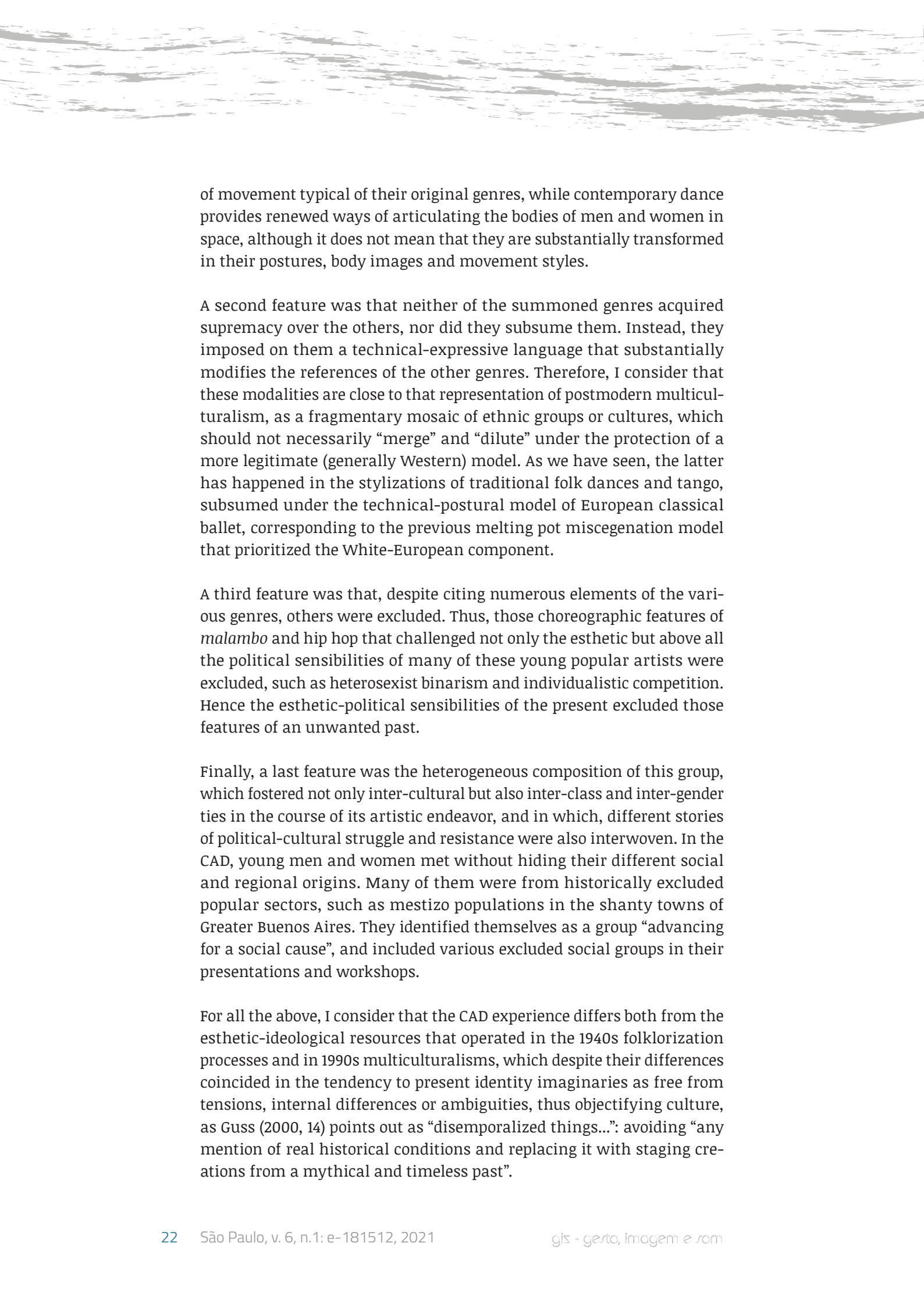
Finally, in relation to these multiple CAD features, I would like to mention a brief final gesture observed in the 2015 performance and documented in image 9. One of the dancers (center back) raised his arm and made the "V" sign with his index and middle fingers with his palm facing outwards, a gesture that usually means V for victory or peace. However, in Argentina, and in the specific context of a popular festival in Plaza de Mayo organized by the government, it has become a sign adopted by the Peronist political movement that had ruled the country during the previous decade. Fleetingly and subtly towards the end, another feature appeared: this time that of an everyday, popular, politicized body, a body shared with the spectators-demonstrators present in the square, which has borne witness to many of the political struggles of Argentine history.

FINAL THOUGHTS

To conclude, I will return to the CAD's main esthetic and social features analyzed so far, in order to show how its proposals display a peculiar interculturality, which corresponded to the identity imaginary that national cultural policies sought to legitimize between 2010-2015.

A characteristic element of this group was that it proposed a montage of especially musical and choreographic esthetic elements of diverse historical-cultural and regional origins, appealing to the montage of direct references that operate as signs of those genres – and not so much to metaphorical reinventions that draw on iconic analogies or similarities. Thus, as we saw, *malambo* stomping or hip hop movements preserve the forms

11 In http://combinadodedanza.com.ar/ (September 2016).

of movement typical of their original genres, while contemporary dance provides renewed ways of articulating the bodies of men and women in space, although it does not mean that they are substantially transformed in their postures, body images and movement styles.

A second feature was that neither of the summoned genres acquired supremacy over the others, nor did they subsume them. Instead, they imposed on them a technical-expressive language that substantially modifies the references of the other genres. Therefore, I consider that these modalities are close to that representation of postmodern multiculturalism, as a fragmentary mosaic of ethnic groups or cultures, which should not necessarily "merge" and "dilute" under the protection of a more legitimate (generally Western) model. As we have seen, the latter has happened in the stylizations of traditional folk dances and tango, subsumed under the technical-postural model of European classical ballet, corresponding to the previous melting pot miscegenation model that prioritized the White-European component.

A third feature was that, despite citing numerous elements of the various genres, others were excluded. Thus, those choreographic features of *malambo* and hip hop that challenged not only the esthetic but above all the political sensibilities of many of these young popular artists were excluded, such as heterosexist binarism and individualistic competition. Hence the esthetic-political sensibilities of the present excluded those features of an unwanted past.

Finally, a last feature was the heterogeneous composition of this group, which fostered not only inter-cultural but also inter-class and inter-gender ties in the course of its artistic endeavor, and in which, different stories of political-cultural struggle and resistance were also interwoven. In the CAD, young men and women met without hiding their different social and regional origins. Many of them were from historically excluded popular sectors, such as mestizo populations in the shanty towns of Greater Buenos Aires. They identified themselves as a group "advancing for a social cause", and included various excluded social groups in their presentations and workshops.

For all the above, I consider that the CAD experience differs both from the esthetic-ideological resources that operated in the 1940s folklorization processes and in 1990s multiculturalisms, which despite their differences coincided in the tendency to present identity imaginaries as free from tensions, internal differences or ambiguities, thus objectifying culture, as Guss (2000, 14) points out as "disemporalized things...": avoiding "any mention of real historical conditions and replacing it with staging creations from a mythical and timeless past".

To close, I would add that the CAD proposal also differs from the neoliberal multiculturalism that, as Walsh (2009, 9) points out, is built "from above" to "continue promoting the benefits of capitalist accumulation" in the contemporary cultural market. They partially approach a "critical inter-culturality built from below [...] of and from people who have suffered a history of subjugation and subalternization [...] and who therefore seek to transform it". This is an inter-cultural, inter-class, inter-gender and social transformation experience that the CAD and other independent artistic groups "built from below", and which some state cultural policies "built from above" sought to make visible between 2010 and 2015 in Argentina to legitimize a new national, intercultural, popular and non-sexist imaginary. We could say that, as well as in esthetic terms, CAD performances re-versioned hip hop, Argentine folk and global electronic music, while, in political terms, the cultural policies of the government of that time also attempted to revert the global ideologies of neoliberal multiculturalism.

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ARTICLES

REVOLUTION THROUGH WORDS: REFLECTIONS ON THE USE OF LITERATURE AND ORALITY AS SOCIAL EXPRESSION AND POLITICAL ACTION IN THE "SLAM DAS MINAS" IN RJ

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ABSTRACT

This article is a result of a research in progress that intends to understand the meanings and political effects of female participation in Brazilian *slam poetry* and the way that this artistic expression interacts with the city territory. Using an ethnographic approach in the "Slam das Minas" events in the city of Rio de Janeiro, this article aims to show how women and trans people are acting politically through spoken poetry and what are the effects of the union of their bodies in the public space.
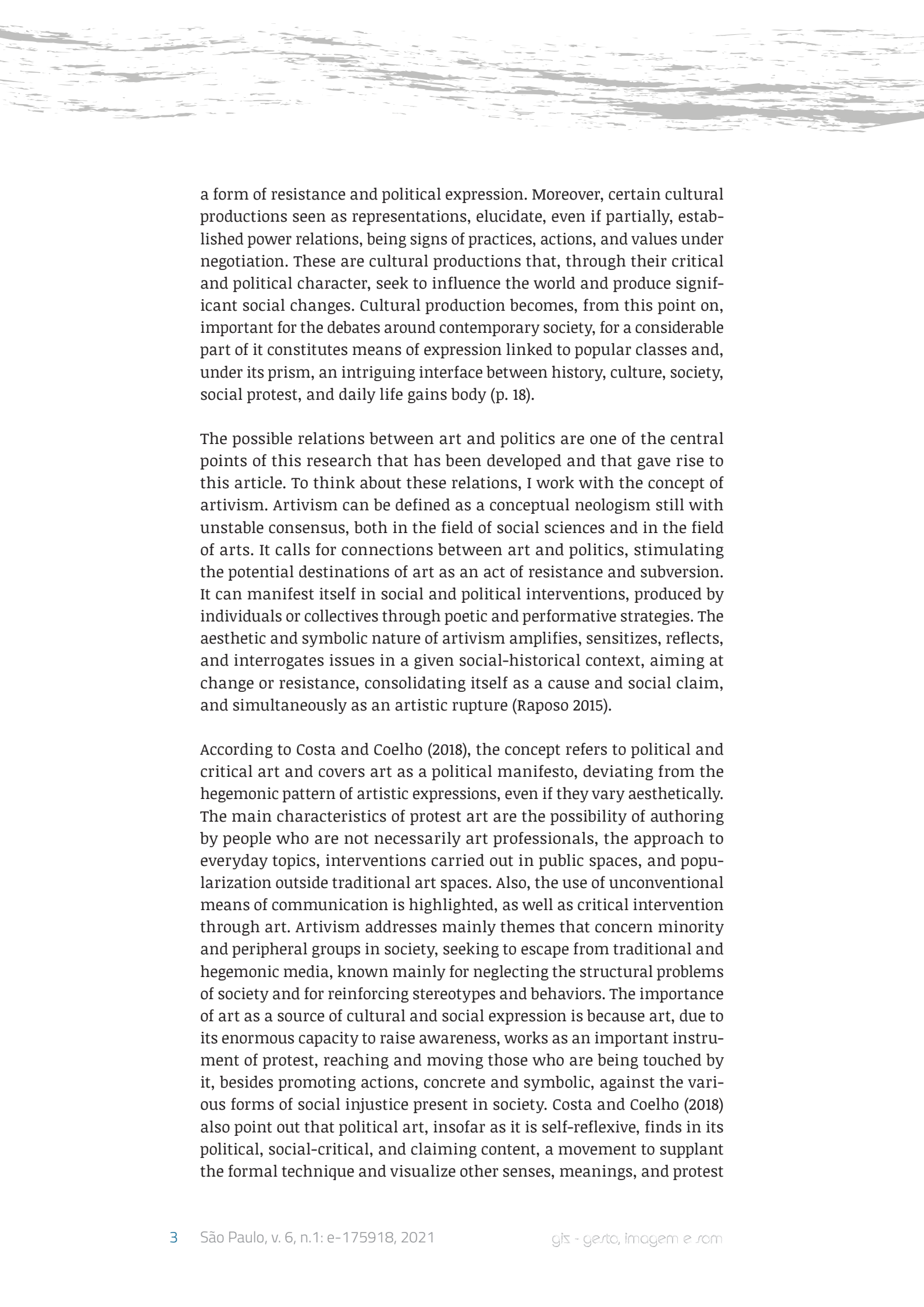
SLAM DAS MINAS: CULTURAL AND POLITICAL INTERVENTIONS IN CITY SPACE

The right to the city is a concept that covers a variety of meanings within urban studies. First proposed by Henri Lefebvre (2011), the concept refers to the full right to a transformed and renewed urban life. This full right, according to the author, constitutes access to basic human rights such as the right to instruction and education, the right to work, culture, rest, health, and housing. The right to the city also advocates the need to create a city geared to social needs through an urban revolution that encompasses the working classes, victims of segregation, and deprived of urban life in its entirety. Also mobilized by David Harvey (2014) in the sense of a collective rather than an individual right, the right to the city is built on the idea of reinventing the city through the exercise of collective power over the urbanization process. It is "more than a right to individual or group access to the resources that the city embodies: it is a right to change and reinvent the city more following our deepest desires." (p. 28). Harvey defines the right to the city in the sense of claiming some kind of shaping power over the processes of urbanization and how cities are made and remade.

The discussion on the right to the city and the dispute over urban space focuses largely on the exclusionary urbanization process that resulted in cities marked by territorial division where social and political inequality predominate, with segregated and exclusive urban centers that do not reflect the totality of social life. The free access to urban space and resources is under the power of the state and of those who belong to the most privileged classes of society. In the face of this, less privileged social groups struggle to reclaim these spaces, which in definition belong to everyone, but in practice segregates, differentiates, and excludes.

Different strategies are mobilized to claim the right to these spaces and to build a more just and inclusive city. One of these strategies is the political use of the voice and the body. Historically silenced, the less privileged layers of society seek to break the silence imposed by the structures of domination by claim, through their voices and the physical presence of their bodies, and furthermore, the physical and symbolic spaces. The political mobilization of this voice and these bodies takes place largely through artistic and cultural productions. Resulting from experiences, practices, and relationships, these productions function as a means of expression, through which subjects communicate and transmit their worldview, enabling the perception of the social, cultural, and economic framework of societies in their different historical and social moments (Oliveira 2015).

According to Oliveira (2015), art works as a means of communication through which it is possible to reproduce cultural aspects of a given society and also allows a possibility of overcoming conflicts when used as

a form of resistance and political expression. Moreover, certain cultural productions seen as representations, elucidate, even if partially, established power relations, being signs of practices, actions, and values under negotiation. These are cultural productions that, through their critical and political character, seek to influence the world and produce significant social changes. Cultural production becomes, from this point on, important for the debates around contemporary society, for a considerable part of it constitutes means of expression linked to popular classes and, under its prism, an intriguing interface between history, culture, society, social protest, and daily life gains body (p. 18).

The possible relations between art and politics are one of the central points of this research that has been developed and that gave rise to this article. To think about these relations, I work with the concept of artivism. Artivism can be defined as a conceptual neologism still with unstable consensus, both in the field of social sciences and in the field of arts. It calls for connections between art and politics, stimulating the potential destinations of art as an act of resistance and subversion. It can manifest itself in social and political interventions, produced by individuals or collectives through poetic and performative strategies. The aesthetic and symbolic nature of artivism amplifies, sensitizes, reflects, and interrogates issues in a given social-historical context, aiming at change or resistance, consolidating itself as a cause and social claim, and simultaneously as an artistic rupture (Raposo 2015).

According to Costa and Coelho (2018), the concept refers to political and critical art and covers art as a political manifesto, deviating from the hegemonic pattern of artistic expressions, even if they vary aesthetically. The main characteristics of protest art are the possibility of authoring by people who are not necessarily art professionals, the approach to everyday topics, interventions carried out in public spaces, and popularization outside traditional art spaces. Also, the use of unconventional means of communication is highlighted, as well as critical intervention through art. Artivism addresses mainly themes that concern minority and peripheral groups in society, seeking to escape from traditional and hegemonic media, known mainly for neglecting the structural problems of society and for reinforcing stereotypes and behaviors. The importance of art as a source of cultural and social expression is because art, due to its enormous capacity to raise awareness, works as an important instrument of protest, reaching and moving those who are being touched by it, besides promoting actions, concrete and symbolic, against the various forms of social injustice present in society. Costa and Coelho (2018) also point out that political art, insofar as it is self-reflexive, finds in its political, social-critical, and claiming content, a movement to supplant the formal technique and visualize other senses, meanings, and protest

subjectivities, registering and exposing the yearnings of a given society and its way of seeing the world, as well as problematizing social and political issues that seem invisible.

Following the prompt in this research, I investigate the political meanings of art in an artistic movement of urban and peripheral character, the slam poetry. Known as *slam*, slam poetry emerged in a Chicago bar in the United States in 1986 a creation of the poet and construction worker Mark Kelly Smith. Mainly a movement linked to the periphery, the slam, according to researcher and slammer[2] Roberta Estrela D'Alva (2011), can be defined as a spoken poetry competition, a space for free poetic expression, an agora where current issues are debated, or even another form of entertainment. It is also, as put by Vilar (2019), a hybrid poetic and artistic material, an art form that allows the recognition of different ways of knowing and being in the world, a tool for self-determination for marginalized communities that can find in these spaces, listeners who share similar experiences. In slams, unease is transformed into lyricism. Aesthetics and experience are the sources of poetic making, and themes cross borders, almost always reflecting structural problems common to diverse societies.

The slams promote integration between the participants of the event as they take the proportion of a celebration, where the word is communed among all, in a poetic circle where the demands of the now of a certain community, its most poignant issues, are presented, opposed and organized according to the experiences that this community lives by (D'Alva 2011). For a slam to happen, there must be the collective and active participation of all those who are present. The term "community" defines well the groups that practice poetry, since they have been organizing collectively around a common interest, under a minimal set of norms and rules (D'Alva 2011). These rules will be responsible for defining how the event will be conducted since they govern from the time that each performance will last to how these poems should be spoken by the slammer.

Three fundamental rules must be respected: the poems must be written by the poet who will perform them, they must be a maximum of three minutes long, and no costumes, props, or musical accompaniment may be used. Five judges are randomly chosen from among the audience present at the event, and it is up to them to evaluate the poets' performances, giving scores ranging from 0.0 to 10.0, where the highest and lowest scores are discarded so that there is no favoritism or disfavoring on the part of the judges. The whole event is conducted by the slammaster, who is the person who acts as a mix of presenter and master of ceremonies. The audience is also an important part of the slam competitions, interacting

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2 Name for the poets who participate in poetry slams.

throughout the event with the poets and acting as something similar to a thermometer because it is through their reactions that we realize how the poetry was received by the audience.

The movement, which emerged in the United States, has already spread around the world and is gaining a lot of space on the Brazilian scene. According to the last survey done by SLAM BR[3] in November of 2019, there are now 210 slams in 20 Brazilian states, of which all of them are very connected to the peripheries and social themes, such as violence, prejudice, sexuality, and low political representation. It is important to highlight the political direction that slam has taken in Brazil as a movement mainly of black and peripheral people. According to Sabino (2020), contrary to the poetic battles in countries like the United States and France, the slam editions in Brazil are held mostly by black people, mainly women, non-academical and poor. Moreover, the poems are about marginalized lives, translating experiences crossed by constitutive agendas such as race, class, gender, and territory.

 Some of the groups that have been gaining more and more notoriety are the gendered groups, such as the Slam das Minas groups, which are organized exclusively for the participation of women and transgender people. Created for the first time in Brasília in 2015 and then in São Paulo the following year, the collective currently operates in 17 Brazilian states, and emerged with the need to create a space that aimed to welcome and give prominence to the voices of women artists. Besides, it was also an objective to expand the spaces occupied by them in *saraus*, recitals, and competitions[4], such as SLAM BR and the Slam World Cup, held in France.

The narratives exposed in the Slam das Minas meetings question mainly the forms of violence present in society and seek to demonstrate how this violence crosses and constitutes the existence of these women. In Rio de Janeiro, the city where I conduct my research, the Slam das Minas has been taking place in public spaces since May 2017 and was created by the poet Tom Grito, being currently organized and formed by Moto Tai, Débora Ambrósia, Gênesis, Tom Grito, Rejane Barbosa, DJ Bieta, Andrea Bak and Lian Tai.

Through the analysis of the artistic production and the path of these women, I seek to understand how art has been mobilized politically in the search for the construction of inclusive spaces free of violence. In this article, I will make a brief description of one of the poetry battles of Slam das Minas - RJ, held in 2019. I intend to demonstrate how the word has been politically mobilized, exploring the importance of the voice of these women and the power of poetic performances in public spaces.

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3 SLAM BR is the Brazilian national championship of spoken word poetry.
4 Available at: https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2019/02/19/cultura/1550599627_105700.html. Accessed on: 01/12/2020.
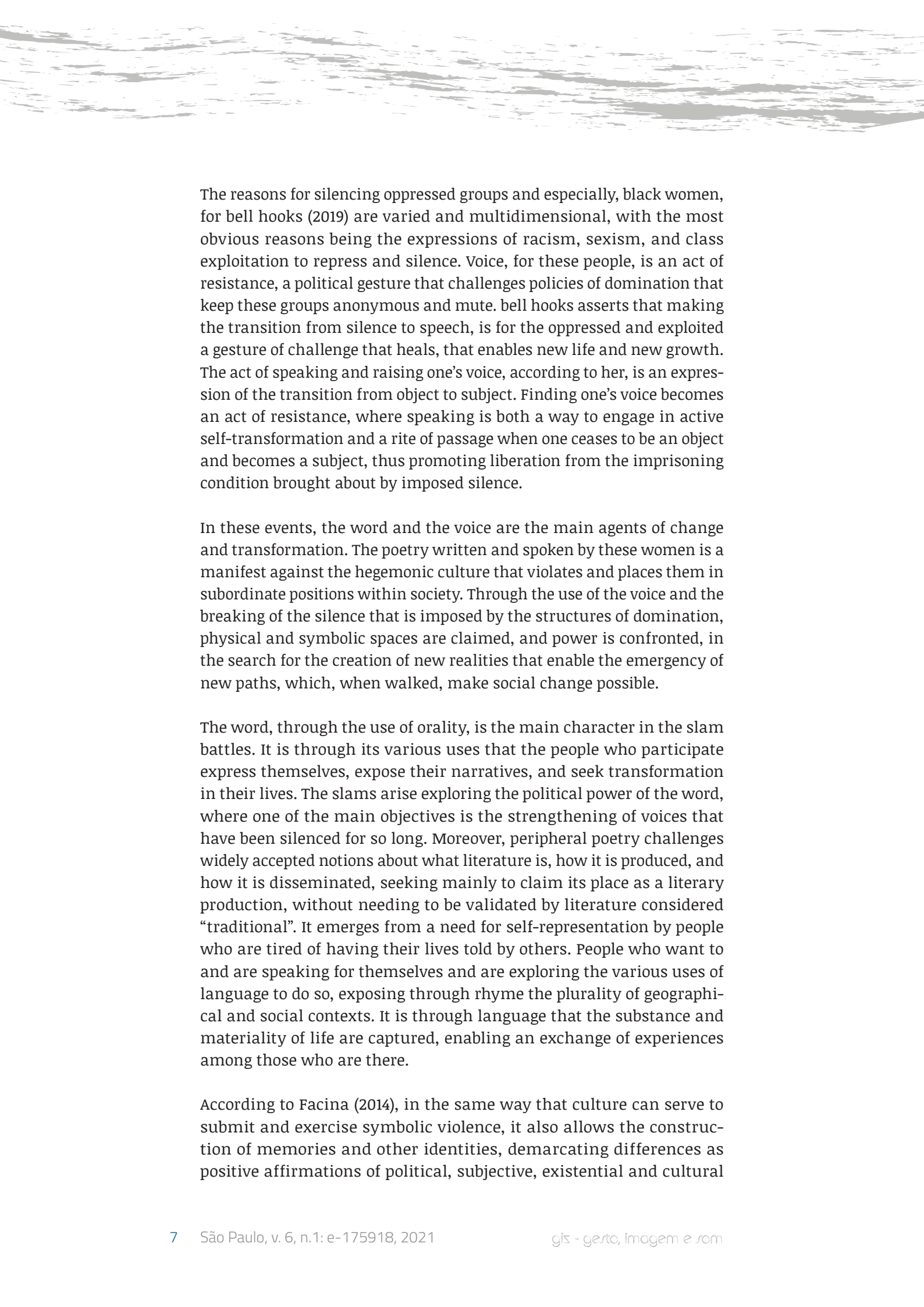
BREAKING THE SILENCE: THE POLITICAL POWER OF THE WORD

Slam das Minas presents itself, in an artistic material of the collective, as an event "that brings together women from the most diverse locations in search of a safe and oppression-free space for the development of the artistic potency of women (straight, lesbian, bis, queer people, agender, non-binary and trans)". In an interview[5] given to the Poeme-se blog, the poet Genesis, one of the members of the collective, says that the events and interventions of Slam das Minas - RJ aim to revolutionize through the word, promoting healing and liberation of women's voices that have been silenced for so long.

FIGURE 1. Slam das Minas 2 Year Anniversary. Source: Personal Collection.

5 Part of the answer given by the poet Genesis, a member of Slam das Minas - RJ, when asked about what the members of the movement believed in. Interview for Poeme-se blog. Available at: https://blog.poemese.com/entrevista-com-ge%CC%82nesis-do-slam-das-minas-rj/. Accessed on: 15/01/2020.

The reasons for silencing oppressed groups and especially, black women, for bell hooks (2019) are varied and multidimensional, with the most obvious reasons being the expressions of racism, sexism, and class exploitation to repress and silence. Voice, for these people, is an act of resistance, a political gesture that challenges policies of domination that keep these groups anonymous and mute. bell hooks asserts that making the transition from silence to speech, is for the oppressed and exploited a gesture of challenge that heals, that enables new life and new growth. The act of speaking and raising one's voice, according to her, is an expression of the transition from object to subject. Finding one's voice becomes an act of resistance, where speaking is both a way to engage in active self-transformation and a rite of passage when one ceases to be an object and becomes a subject, thus promoting liberation from the imprisoning condition brought about by imposed silence.

In these events, the word and the voice are the main agents of change and transformation. The poetry written and spoken by these women is a manifest against the hegemonic culture that violates and places them in subordinate positions within society. Through the use of the voice and the breaking of the silence that is imposed by the structures of domination, physical and symbolic spaces are claimed, and power is confronted, in the search for the creation of new realities that enable the emergency of new paths, which, when walked, make social change possible.

The word, through the use of orality, is the main character in the slam battles. It is through its various uses that the people who participate express themselves, expose their narratives, and seek transformation in their lives. The slams arise exploring the political power of the word, where one of the main objectives is the strengthening of voices that have been silenced for so long. Moreover, peripheral poetry challenges widely accepted notions about what literature is, how it is produced, and how it is disseminated, seeking mainly to claim its place as a literary production, without needing to be validated by literature considered "traditional". It emerges from a need for self-representation by people who are tired of having their lives told by others. People who want to and are speaking for themselves and are exploring the various uses of language to do so, exposing through rhyme the plurality of geographical and social contexts. It is through language that the substance and materiality of life are captured, enabling an exchange of experiences among those who are there.
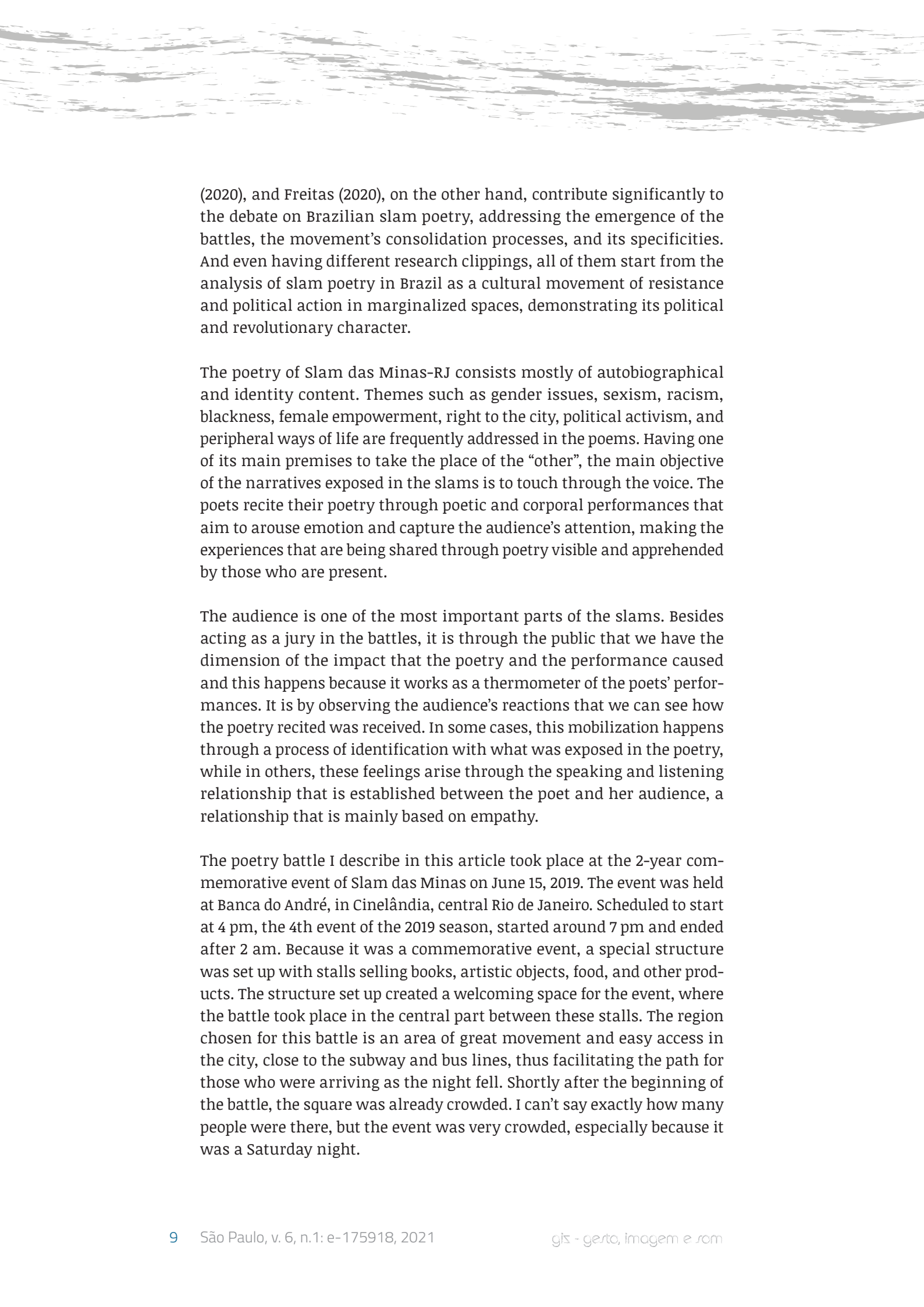
According to Facina (2014), in the same way that culture can serve to submit and exercise symbolic violence, it also allows the construction of memories and other identities, demarcating differences as positive affirmations of political, subjective, existential and cultural

dissidence. According to the author, culture can emerge as a resource that can be triggered "for the production of emancipatory counter-hegemonies, allowing to put into perspective, relativize and counterpose the hegemonic discourse" (Facina 2014, 6). When reflecting on culture and pacification in Complexo do Alemão, the author demonstrates how the residents of the Complexo used culture as a form of resistance and reconstruction after the intervention and pacification processes of the UPPs (Pacifying Police Units) and the housing removal programs of the PAC (Growth Acceleration Program). In addition to being forms of resistance, the cultural manifestations in these contexts also configure ways to build a memory and to imagine new ways of living:

> Diasporic, the cultures of the favelas are narratives that carry the memory of struggles, of shared experiences that perpetuate themselves in history through poetry, music, forms of social interaction, architecture, and in so many other places where creativity faces the world as it is and rehearses the world as to-be. (Facina 2014, 11).

The work of Lopes et al (2018) also demonstrates the importance of artistic creation processes in the construction of new spaces and new sociabilities. From ethnographic listening to the literacy history of two young university students, producers of cultural interventions and residents of subaltern areas in the city of Rio de Janeiro, the authors seek to show how those who have been subordinated by modernity do not surrender peacefully to writing, but rather appropriate and transform its meanings, "constituting themselves as authors of their own stories and reinventing ways to act, to narrate and to survive linguistically and culturally" (p. 23). In the exposed narratives, writing and reading go hand in hand with political engagement showing stories that counterpoint the hegemonic narratives that represent peripheral youth as subjects who lack skills and competencies and need to be colonized, civilized, and educated (idem).

Research on rap and hip hop (Alves 2016, Cura 2017) also shows the importance of understanding art as a social and political intervention in marginalized spaces. The work of Oliveira (2015), already cited in this article, analyzes from the emergence of Rap to its transformation into a consolidated movement that became known primarily as a cultural and political expression of the peripheries. The author argues that focusing on rap-society relations makes it possible to study how certain social tensions are expressed in the field of culture, as well as how these productions demonstrate an engaged attitude, a critical position, and a protest stance, showing an alternative of social action and a point of convergence between the individual and the collective. The works by D'Alva (2011), Stella (2015), Araújo (2019), Vilar (2019), Sabino (2020), Neves

(2020), and Freitas (2020), on the other hand, contribute significantly to the debate on Brazilian slam poetry, addressing the emergence of the battles, the movement's consolidation processes, and its specificities. And even having different research clippings, all of them start from the analysis of slam poetry in Brazil as a cultural movement of resistance and political action in marginalized spaces, demonstrating its political and revolutionary character.

The poetry of Slam das Minas-RJ consists mostly of autobiographical and identity content. Themes such as gender issues, sexism, racism, blackness, female empowerment, right to the city, political activism, and peripheral ways of life are frequently addressed in the poems. Having one of its main premises to take the place of the "other", the main objective of the narratives exposed in the slams is to touch through the voice. The poets recite their poetry through poetic and corporal performances that aim to arouse emotion and capture the audience's attention, making the experiences that are being shared through poetry visible and apprehended by those who are present.

The audience is one of the most important parts of the slams. Besides acting as a jury in the battles, it is through the public that we have the dimension of the impact that the poetry and the performance caused and this happens because it works as a thermometer of the poets' performances. It is by observing the audience's reactions that we can see how the poetry recited was received. In some cases, this mobilization happens through a process of identification with what was exposed in the poetry, while in others, these feelings arise through the speaking and listening relationship that is established between the poet and her audience, a relationship that is mainly based on empathy.

The poetry battle I describe in this article took place at the 2-year commemorative event of Slam das Minas on June 15, 2019. The event was held at Banca do André, in Cinelândia, central Rio de Janeiro. Scheduled to start at 4 pm, the 4th event of the 2019 season, started around 7 pm and ended after 2 am. Because it was a commemorative event, a special structure was set up with stalls selling books, artistic objects, food, and other products. The structure set up created a welcoming space for the event, where the battle took place in the central part between these stalls. The region chosen for this battle is an area of great movement and easy access in the city, close to the subway and bus lines, thus facilitating the path for those who were arriving as the night fell. Shortly after the beginning of the battle, the square was already crowded. I can't say exactly how many people were there, but the event was very crowded, especially because it was a Saturday night.
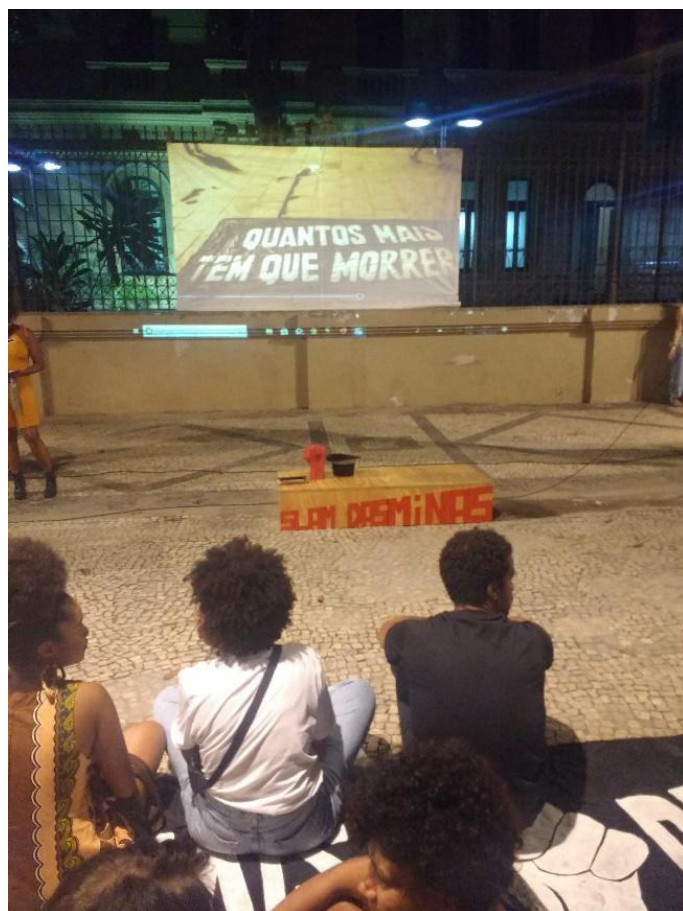
FIGURE 2. Slam das Minas 2 Year Anniversary. Source: Personal Collection.

Before the poetry battle began, some artistic and musical performances took place. While these presentations were happening, the poets were getting ready for the beginning of the battle, which took place right after slammaster Tom Grito presented the rules to the audience. As is customary at Slam das Minas, at the beginning the microphone is open, which means that anyone present can sign up to enunciate poetry or make an announcement. But first, as in every slam battle that has its own slogan, Tom called out "Slam das...", to which the audience responded with the slogan "minas!

The event was crowded with people who saw in that built space a welcoming environment to expose through poetry stories of their trajectory. During the battle, all the performances were well received by the public and received many applauses and shouts of support, which is a behavior encouraged by the presenters, who say that despite being a poetry battle the goal is not only the battle itself but to encourage and support the poets who are performing there. The battle was quite crowded that day and the space was somewhat small, which made it so that people stayed close and could hear and look at each other closely. Some of the audience sat on

the floor in the center of the space, and some of the audience sat around those people who were sitting down. This configuration was encouraged by the slammaster, because according to him it facilitated the interaction between the poets and the audience. When a poem was well received the ecstasy was shared and people stood up to applaud and cheer, and looked at each other as if they were trying to share the feeling caused by that performance. One of the performances that moved the audience the most and was responsible for putting the audience in a real ecstasy was that of the poet Valentine:

Sou como uma boneca, não tenho sentimentos
As minhas falas devem ser programadas
Quando não sirvo mais, sou jogada fora
Sem cerimônias ou lamentos
Boa de brincar, fácil de largar, não sou levada para passear
Entre quatro paredes ou em um baú é onde devo ficar
Guardo segredos
Sou amável, mas o amor eu não posso tê-lo
Afinal bonecas não sentem amor e nem medo
Não respondo ao padrão, não mereço amor não
É o que dizem os donos da razão
Meu sofrimento pra eles é diversão
Mas não importa, pois boneca não tem depressão
Sou como uma boneca
Mas não sou uma boneca
Sinto medo, mágoa e solidão
Me machuco, sinto dor e sangro
Dentro do meu peito bate um coração
Mas vocês comigo vão continuar brincando
E essa poesia não vai terminar com uma rima
Verão que mais difícil do que prever o clima
É ser o objeto que tem vida
E tentar manter a graça, a ternura e o que restou da alegria
E eu não sei se vai adiantar avisar
Mas agora mais uma vez eu vou falar
Eu não sou boneca pra você brincar
Não sou objeto para você usar
Não sou fetiche para você experimentar
E não sou a porra de um produto pra você aproveitar
Eu sou uma mulher pra você respeitar
E acima de tudo, eu sou um ser humano
Meu nome é Valentine, jamais Valentina
Se quiserem me encontrar vão me achar num *slam*
Nunca numa esquina
(Valentine 2019)[6]

6 2 Year Commemorative Battle of *Slam das Minas* – RJ, 2019. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H5KWmNBigs0. Accessed on: 15/08/2020.

Valentine's performance was a presentation that aggregated the main characteristics of what is considered a good slam performance: she allied the use of her voice and body in the construction of a powerful performance that moved and held the attention of the audience, being applauded at the end of her presentation. Through poetry recited and the use of her body in a lively and intense way, Valentine addressed issues that cut across and constitute her experience as a black and transgender woman. In the transcribed poem, she questions the treatment of her deviant body, addressing mainly the objectification of a body that escapes the heteronormative logicthat takes placein society.

Through her verses she talks about important social issues, such as the exclusion of the transgender population from the labor market. In the last verses "Se quiserem me encontrar vão me achar num slam/ Nunca numa esquina" we can see a clear allusion to the process that results in 90% of transvestites and transsexuals living solely from prostitution[7] and scarce informal jobs. The difficulty of access to formal jobs by the trans population occurs because in Brazil, cultural standards constitute transgender identities as deviant and inferior, resulting in the difficulty of access to the formal market (Almeida e Vasconcelos 2018). By saying that if they want to find her, they will find her in a slam, Valentine uses her voice to refuse and protest against this framework, refusing prostitution as a way of survival and claiming her place as a poet and artist.

Another performance that caused a great impact on the public present was that of poet Aline Anaya. Through her poetry, the slammer addressed a recurring theme in the poetry written by the women who participate in the slam: sexual harassment.

Desde o início
Fadada ao assédio
A mercê da sujeira
Objeto do tédio
Eu nego
As memórias de sua malícia
Às portas de minha alma uma criança ainda grita
E é mó fita
Parecia brincadeira
Impunidade
Mente branca
Abusando da vila inteira
E eram alguns anos de distanciamento
O meu jeito frágil, pequeno, era alvo do seu tormento?

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7 Available at: https://economia.estadao.com.br/blogs/ecoando/transgenero-transexual-
-travesti-os-desafios-para-a-inclusao-do-grupo-no-mercado-de-trabalho/ Accessed on: 07/08/2019.

E tudo cheirava a manipulação
O teu sorriso no rosto
E no meu corpo a sua mão
Ah não!
Vamos às vias de fato
Da história do lobo mau eu era estudo de caso
Eu anulei alguns sonhos
Fui pele, saliva e fracasso
E como as antepassadas eu fui pega no laço
E eu jurei, assim lentamente
O seu suor foi gasolina pro meu ódio permanente
Eu peço aos orixás que protejam meu consciente
Pra que a fuga do meu olhar afaste macho indecente
E mesmo em frente
Eu só ando olhando pros lados
Se vier pro meu canto vai ser raiva ao quadrado
E eu botei no meu texto: manos, fiquem ligados
Hoje eu sou preta d'água
Se me tocar, morre afogado
(Aline Anaya 2019)[8]

Aline Anaya's poetry, besides relating how she assimilated and reacted to the violence described in the poem, discusses a practice characteristic of a society structured by male domination and that constantly reduces women to the condition of objects. Moreover, it is possible to see how this event altered her perception of the world and the way she chose to act upon it. Just like Valentine's poetry, Aline Anaya's poetry was also energetically received by the people who were present. The experiences shared in the poems infected the audience, touching on sensitive and important points and issues.

Being in the field as a slam spectator was an experience that directly affected me. Besides acting as a researcher, I was also present as a woman who listened at certain times to stories that affected me because they reminded me of things I had experienced or because they touched on sensitive places. Thus, besides the exercise of the ethnographic look, affective listening was also present, moved by the awakening of feelings through poetry. These looks crossed by affection (Favret-Saada 2005) were decisive not only for my field experience but also in the choice of poems incorporated in this article.

8 2 Year Commemorative Battle of *Slam das Minas* – RJ, 2019. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L_QqT2SUGf8. Accessed on: 15/08/2020.

BODIES IN ALLIANCE: STRATEGIES AGAINST GENDER AND STATE VIOLENCE

The slam events then become, beyond the battle of spoken poetry, a space where these women feel safe to gather and express their trajectories, addressing issues related to the place of women and the entire population that is placed on the margins of society. As previously stated, slams take place mostly in public spaces and these events have great representation in these spaces, because, as said by Butler (2015), the power that people have to gather is itself an important political prerogative. According to the author in the book "Notes toward a performative theory of assembly" gathering signifies beyond what is said, and this mode of signification is a concerted bodily representation, a plural form of performativity. Within these assemblies, the body that is on display exhibits its value and its freedom in the manifestation itself, representing, through the corporeal form of the assembly, an appeal to the political. For Butler, acting in concord may be an embodied way of calling into question the incipient and powerful dimensions of the reigning notions of politics. The bodies present are the object of the manifestations that take precariousness as their stimulating condition: these are the bodies that experience the condition of a threatened livelihood, of ruined infrastructure and precarious condition. These are the bodies that through a plural form of performativity, demand better conditions of life and existence in society:

> (...) when bodies come together in the street, in the square, or in other forms of public space, they are exercising a plural and performative right to appear, a right that affirms and instantiates the body in the middle of the political field and that, in its expressive and meaningful function, conveys a corporeal existence for a more bearable set of economic, social, and political conditions, no longer affected by the induced forms of precarious condition. (p. 17).

The assembled bodies stimulate a form of social solidarity, a gathering represented by bodies under duress or in the name of duress, which signifies a form of persistence and resistance (Butler 2015). At a time when there is the rise of conservative and fundamentalist governments and the resurgence of moralistic agendas, the gatherings are also a claim for the right to unite, to meet in assembly, and to express oneself freely. These plural representations demonstrate that the situations experienced by these people are shared situations and that they are not alone: they create a sense of belonging. In the case of the female slam, by using their voices and breaking the silence imposed by the structures of domination present in society, these women claim symbolic and physical spaces through the embodied manifestations represented by the slam battles.

FIGURE 3. Slam das Minas 2 Year Anniversary. Source: Personal Collection.

The artistic performance of these people is a political and performative presentation of bodies that are launched in public spaces calling attention to themselves and to the issues that come across them. This process intensifies and becomes even more symbolic when performed by bodies that deviate from the norm, bodies that are victims of prejudice and submission processes. The inscription of these bodies in public spaces represents the struggle to break the determinism that defines the place these bodies should be. They seek a place, they say through their voice and poetic performance: I am, I am here, and I want to stay.

The poems presented at slams constantly address themes that question the actions of the State and the use of coercive power in peripheral spaces.

Themes such as urban violence and the abusive use of police power are recurrent in the poems and make explicit how the State acts in these spaces and how these practices influence the lives of these people. The poems also speak to how peripheral lives are seen as disposable lives[9] (Butler 2015). These technologies mobilized by the state and its institutions regulate the everyday lives of people inhabiting marginalized spaces, resulting in a relationship primarily centered on the exercise of State power. The exercise of coercive and domineering power in conjunction with the absence of public policies that enable a life that can be lived[10] results in an existence that takes place between the presence and absence of the state. The State is present in these spaces in an attempt to control them, and is absent when it does not seek to implement public policies that reduce inequality, enable a dignified life, and promote social justice.

The spaces created through slams, especially in the case of the Slam das Minas with its specific gender clippings, are spaces that facilitate that these experiences are shared. They are spaces intentionally created to be safe and welcoming spaces, spaces that encourage speaking and listening, wherewith the exchange of knowledge through the sharing of the sensitive (Ranciére 2005), new realities can be imagined and built-in community.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The spaces built through the events organized by Slam das Minas - RJ are not only spaces of resistance, but also of reexistence, seen as the participants are always agents of their own trajectory, seeking, besides social change, change in their own lives. The exploration of the political dimensions of art and poetry through the collective mobilization of women constitute new possibilities of resistance to daily violence, resulting in the construction of new patterns of thought and action. Through artistic performances and the exhibition of personal narratives, the poets who participate in the Slam das Minas - RJ provoke listening and stimulate the public, collaborating with the construction of a space where the right to freedom of speech, free thinking, and dialogue among differences can be exercised. And as Roberta Estrela D'Alva (2011) points out, an autonomous space where the word is celebrated, expressed, and, even more, fundamental in a world like the one we live in – listening.

9 To address this issue, Butler (2015) draws on Foucault's (2000) discussion of biopower and Mbembe's (2003) discussion of necropolitics, demonstrating how bodies are controlled and life and death managed through the exercise of state technologies of power.
10 Butler 2015, 33.

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ARTICLES

ESSAY ON THE SIGN: EXCHANGE, LANGUAGE, SPACE AND A WORK BY NUNO RAMOS

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ABSTRACT
In *Ensaio Sobre a Dádiva* (2014/2015), Nuno Ramos starts out from and refers to Marcel Mauss' The Gift, reaching a cumulative turning point that remits to a decisive assemblage in his poetics: the production of planes of articulation between heterogeneous elements. While putting into action a problematic of exchange, Ramos re-enunciates a space of aesthetic-historical remissions central to certain passages between modern and contemporary arts, relaunched into the relations between body and space. Therefore, starting from a reading of the sign as the elementary entity of linguistic and anthropological structuralisms by Patrice Maniglier, this article explores a possible field of reciprocal translations between visual arts and poetry, anthropology and philosophy, also delving, further, with Jacques Rancière, into Stéphane Mallarmé and Marcel Broodthaers, with Lévi-Strauss and Saussure and certain lines of debate within contemporary arts, into the problems between the visual arts milieu and an ontological horizon of thought with the arts.

With *Ensaio Sobre a Dádiva* (Essay on the Gift), the writer and visual artist Nuno Ramos recasts, within a new order of consequences, a poetics anchored in the production of crossing-points between media, practices and heterogeneous modes of assemblage developed throughout the last three decades. From the point of view of the artist's trajectory, the work echoes, initially, a statement of the insufficiency of the "matter-form" pairing, as the central interpretative operator of the plurality of the aforementioned poetics. However, more importantly, what appears at the forefront in the structuring of this work, as elementary as it is prone to immoderation, is exactly an opening field of binary oppositions charged with an elevated historical and aesthetic density: determination and indetermination, materiality and immateriality, verbal language and plasticity, finite and infinite, reversible and irreversible, intelligible and sensible, as well as the long-lasting and vastly inoperative opposition between "art" and "life". Thus, the opening of these pairings should necessarily pass through the acumination of a mode of attention that incides on the continuous gradients that constitute their environment, which means following latent developments in that environment of environments of human intellect, namely, language.

In both variants of the work[1], Marcel Mauss' (2002) classic essay inspires, according to the artist[2], the construction of a system of "impossible exchanges", exchanges between things that cannot be traded or in the exchanging of which no clear meaning can be found. In his essay, Mauss (2002) studied circuits of "giving, receiving and returning" which would be indispensable to the functioning of the societies in question, specifically, however, within a mode of social causality wherein reciprocity transcends the production of mercantile value. Far from suggesting a solely voluntaristic logic that would escape from all forms of obligation, this functioning led to a peculiar synthesis between voluntaristic and coercitive dispositions. Therefore, there would be something in the very things being exchanged that would compel the agents to exchange them, which leads the author to a new conceptualization of the inextricable nexus, or co-extensivity, between symbolism and the natures of social relation.

It is at this point that Levi-Strauss arrives at his critical intervention in the celebrated essay *Introduction to the work of Marcel Mauss* (Lévi-Strauss 1987). Mauss would extract the magical notions of hau and, mainly, mana, from an order of reality other than that of the exchange relations themselves, notions which would arise, then, from the realm of "feelings, volitions and of beliefs", making mana an "emotional-mystical cement", which would articulate exchange relations. Lévi-Strauss, on the other

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1 Fundação Iberê Camargo, 2014; Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo, 2015. All artworks mentioned in the present article have their documentation available on the artist's website: http://www.nunoramos.com.br.
2 See, for example, Giufrida (2015).

hand, proposes thinking of mana's statute as a "symbolic value zero", in the same gesture through which he shifts the emphasis on the gift from "a complex edifice built on the obligations of giving, receiving and returning" toward "a synthesis immediately given to, and given by, the symbolic thought" (1987, 58). It was a question, therefore, of radicalizing in another direction the approximation between the nature of social relations and that of symbolism, which would be distinguished by a kind of synthesis "which, in exchange as in any other form of communication, surmounts the contradiction inherent in it, that is the contradiction of perceiving things as elements of dialogue, in respect to self and others simultaneously, and destined by nature to pass from one to the other" (1987, 58-59).

As we shall see further on, Nuno Ramos' work maintains the whole dimension of the effective agents of the exchange in suspension, configuring what amounts solely to an open system of exchanged objects. Thus, it becomes possible to understand this contemporary rereading of *The Gift* as a poetic exploration of what Lévi-Strauss suggested as the overcoming of the "contradiction" proper to that notion of exchange. An overcoming which Patrice Maniglier formulates as remitting to the "property" or "force" of the things themselves, (Maniglier 2017, 172) which would mobilize the exchange acts with the "dual and overdetermined" nature of things as signs (Maniglier 2005).

Maniglier's comment on Lévi-Strauss' reading of *The Gift* is situated within a project dedicated to "rewriting" the birth of structuralist thought following a revision of Ferdinand de Saussure's intellectual legacy (Maniglier 2006). Anchored mainly on a dialogue between philosophy and semiology, while making use of recently discovered secondary materials allowing for a new vision of the "semiological project" that Saussure announced for structuralism, Maniglier reconstructs the Saussurean legacy as a "symbolist philosophy" of the spirit (Maniglier 2006). In remitting the dimension of symbolic thought to what has been called, in the passage from the XIXth to XXth centuries, "symbolist poetry", the author allows for a return to the dialogue between Lévi-Strauss and Mauss, taking it up as a co-extensive relationship between the symbolic functioning of exchange and the functioning of language.

It is an issue, therefore, of reading Ramos' work through the reception of Mauss' studies on a transversal level, initially philosophical-semiological, bringing to the fore an ontological dimension where the real is structured according to the dual and overdetermined nature of signs. Furthermore, it is an issue of opening a space for reciprocal translations between this reception, the problematics of the sign in the field of poetry and its relations to another notion of exchange incidental to certain nexuses between poetry and the visual arts.
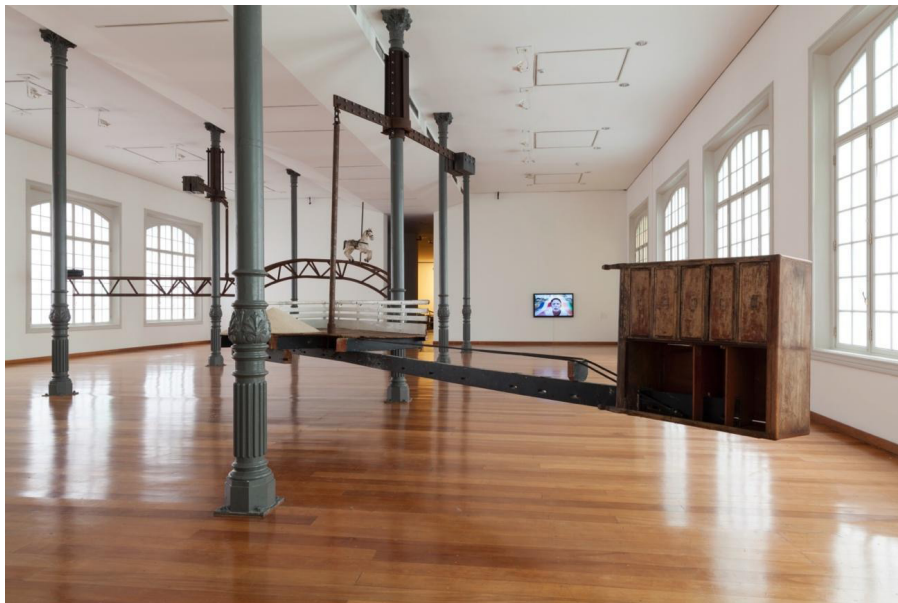
FIGURE 1: *Dádivas* ("Gifts") on show at Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo, 2015. Artist's archive.

ARTFORSIGN

In Ramos' work, the proposed materialization of the dialog with Mauss' essay resulted in three pairs of *Dádivas* (gifts): Pierrotporcavalo (pierrotforhorse), shown at both exhibitions; Copod'águaporvioloncelo (glassofwaterforcello) and Casaporarroz (houseforrice), shown respectively at the first and second exhibitions. In all three cases these exchanges are materialized in the form of sculptural configurations made from objects and materials standing for the terms mentioned in the titles – a sound system emitting a song related to the pierrot and a merry-go-round horse; a glass of water and a cello; an old wooden cabinet and a pile of rice. On another side, the dialogue is materialized in the form of videographic narratives, which fictionally mold the space between the exchange objects. To these are added, finally, replicas of the sculptural pairs, now forged in brass and aluminium and integrated in a circulatory mechanism through which two substances communicate, glucose and morphine. So that these multiple orders of resonances seem to find some foundation and synthesis precisely along the mediating axes that materially and conceptually support the relations between the terms, which resembles something like a scale: the axis of the bodywork of a truck, a section of roller coaster track and a segment of a boat.

FIGURE 2: A view of the exhibition at Fundação Iberê Camargo. Source: Ramos, Nuno. *Ensaio sobre a dádiva.* 2014. Porto Alegre: Fundação Iberê Camargo.

Indeed, with the Dádivas (all three sculptural pairs in dialog with the videos) everything occurs in the in-between, on a plane of open and mutual commensurability between incommensurable elements. In the video for *Copod'águaporvioloncelo* a girl drives to the beach, gathers water from the ocean in a cup, goes to a small store and exchanges it for a cello. She then returns to the beach, plays a couple of abrasive, scattered sounds and finally casts the cello out to sea, while we watch its slow departure. Between the cup that gathers the ocean and the cello, itself thrown out to sea, all the symbolism of the ocean can spring up, close, for example, to the semantic field of the offering (Tassinari 2014, 10). However, a more abstract opposition also appears, between that which has no discrete units and the act of scanning the mass of the continuous into discrete units.

In each of the exchanges, different series of remissions begin to germinate and refract between the exchanges of objects and the videos, between the small coastal town and the city, a donation, an offering, an abduction and so on. In the video for *Casaporarroz*, a woman donates all of a

house's furniture, which is then thrown in a clearing through which passes a wide sheet of water, receiving rice in exchange, which she takes out of her pocket to fill the house's floor before sinking her body into this strange telluric resting place. The result is the formation of an interior spanning the exterior and an exterior walled into an interior, with the body submitted to a gesture that unites both poles.

Let's think a while. House and rice, on the one hand: the delimitation of an interior, perhaps of a space for conserving memory; on the other, fertility, the feminine, nature, exteriority, vast expanses... This however isn't, structurally, all. Glass of water and cello: the ocean, the origin of life, thirst, containment, the mere object, the most charged symbol, to quench thirst creating thirst...; musical instrument, music, cultural elevation, production of affective states, the mere object and the object which stands for its incorporeal effects. Pierrot and horse, between the duplicity of the sad clown, carnaval, samba and animality, the "gratuity" of nature as treated in books like *Ó* (Ramos 2008) – what else?

Alberto Tassinari (2015) suggests that the pierrot is the central figure in the work. This is given a few semantic arteries that persist throughout the secular transformations of the figure, like the figuration of art itself, subject *par excellence* of a kaleidoscopic variation of images that return in its historical repertoire (cf. Tassinari 2015, 13 ss.). However, it is possible to identify in a definite manner a gravitational center among the systems of exchange, a sort of scale's fulcrum. Which, in turn, points toward the fact that if it seems possible, up to a point, to arrive at a median for the series around the closure-opening and discrete-continuous axes, as long as this median, however, does not reduce the infinite proliferation of remissions that the work sets into motion.

The fact is that we can only begin to set loose the remissions in and between the series. How can we say that everything occurs between two terms when everything here may be symbol and matter, perception and semantics, remembrance and potential, with every network of differences open to twists inside each actualization? The house, for example, that harbors the rice field as its interior, that in turn receives the body in its interior, making itself continuous with the infinitely granular interior-exterior ocean of rice – a cup-house?

As Lorenzo Mammí, who already highlights the sign-oriented functioning of the work, has pointed out, the *Dádivas* "are a perfect system of exchanges – so perfect that anything equals everything else":

> The exchange allows for all interpretations, but authorizes none. Indeed, exchange systems are proper to signs themselves, who stand for things. But when things are too ready to

obey them, signs lose control of meanings. We have then, on the side of the names, a disorder analogous to this material magma [on the artist's vaseline-based paintings shown at the same 2015 exhibition]. Both disorders converge toward infinity, toward a word that might finally utter itself, unifying sign and reference, a word we may be sure will never come.

In this sense, it seems worth pointing out that if the Pierrot serves as a synthetic image of both aforementioned axes, it maintains a structural kinship toward another, perhaps more decisive figure: that of the horse. After all, in the videos, just as the happy-sad clown finds himself maladjusted within the circus and all other environments, the horse ends up being, quite literally, abducted from its context, and set free to roam in the city. As seen in Nuno Ramos' most recent work of fiction *Adeus, Cavalo* (Ramos 2017) (Goodbye, horse), we're dealing with a floating signifier, adhering to Brazilian cultural history while also maintaining existence as a pure sign in constant reactualization. A multiple body, that the artwork sets free as language's sort of free radical, a signifier of the very undecidability of the language dynamic it produces, besides, of course, being a virtual entity, a piece in this same play of remissions. After all, what is imprinted on it is a dynamic where the centrifugal and the centripetal, roaming and circularity, closure and opening, continuous and discrete, orbit around along a plurality of axes, to which the superposition of all series can only give further movement. This the work itself, this is all.

FIGURE 3: *Pierrôporcavalo* and *casaporarroz*. Artist's archive.

THE LANGUAGE OF POETRY, THE POETRY OF LANGUAGE: NUNO RAMOS IN CROSSINGS

In *Ensaio sobre a dádiva*, the arranged objects do not function as icons of things. They exist as clusters of relations, entities that present themselves as momentary crossings between all variation parameters that a receptor in a given moment can actualize. In fact, what the work does, according to Maniglier (2006), directly encounters a seminal nucleus of a certain comprehension of language in modern poetry, the main emblem of which can be found in Stéphane Mallarmé: "make the signs utter themselves" (cf. Maniglier 2006, 269).

In the words of Maniglier, what is at play is the sign as an arrangement of "regular correlations between heterogeneous variations", or a space of continuous redetermination of "terms" resulting in the production of values (Maniglier 2005, 157). From the outset, the crux of the problematics circumscribed by Saussure would not rest on the fact that a single sign corresponds to different significations and vice-versa, nor on the dislocation related to the opposition between sign and reference. In truth, the very opposition between "signifier and signified" would remain open: these terms are also not given in advance, but are constituted "in the sign itself" (Maniglier 2006, 255).

"'Spiritual' but 'real' entities", as Lévi-Strauss would allow us to think, both "material and incorporeal", "at the same time something and something else" (Maniglier 2006, 23, 25 e 276), signs would render visible the symbolist tenor of Saussure's thought (2006, 257-276). In lieu of presupposing that language in itself is incapable of expressing the singularities of sensible qualities, we would rather say that the sign itself is an inexpressible quality apt to express other qualities, virtually determining the perception thereof. In other words, the right word would not index a thorough referentiality, but would be, rather, the "impression that captures" the "nuances", themselves expressed with nuances, "undefinable sensations" (266 – highlights are our own). This fits in with the paradigm proposed by Mallarmé in *Crises de Vers* (Mallarmé 2010), words relate to the world as "qualitative realities" (267). The symbolist poet would then do nothing more than "gather, amplify and make ring a system of echoes already interior to the world" (Mallarmé apud Maniglier 2006, 269).

In this sense equivocation would be precisely language's mode of functioning, rather than that which it must settle in order to work, even if the controlling of this equivocation is proper to the regularity of the sign itself. The poetic is in, therefore, on the very basic level of language, precisely its dimension of evocation, a key term in symbolist poetry. Which, after all, does not prevent us from thinking of the sign beyond the sound-sense relationship. The sign is "something that circulates" (Maniglier 2013, 165)

in a given system of points of view and also between such systems. All that is required is that a "plurality of levels of experience" (2006, 280) be condensed at the intersection of the networks that determine produced values as clusters of relations.

Ensaio sobre a dádiva constructs an elementary language-machine, both restrictively determined and semantically inexhaustible. It would be more precise than stating that the terms of each exchange are signs than to affirm that that which each of the three *Dádivas* structures is, itself, a sign. Accordingly, the materiality of the arrangement works most of all as a catalyst of the immaterial relations they project into space. If, as we shall see ahead, the whole of the 2015 exhibition keeps the physical neighborhood of materials in its order of the day, the objectual character of the *Dádivas* is presented as split, or better yet, refracted, between sculpture and an open network of signs, situated in groups of sensible formations that live only as supports of the expansive incorporeality of the association networks that allow the experience of the work to germinate.

All a possible spectator sees before their body is a material-immaterial machine, generated by an arrangement of multiple reciprocal incidences, spinning upon its axis in regular, infinite refraction. Opening only in uttering itself, in rendering possible the very transformation of the closure-opening, discrete-continuous axes, around which all remissions acquire greater consistency. Here, rendering the gift visible means giving an incorporeal language body to the overdetermination arising out of intermediation.

A Mallarmean Nuno Ramos? The question is beside the point; however, it acquires some value when posed in accordance to the artistic trajectory that led to *Ensaio sobre a dádiva*. The actualization space circumscribed by the work is already evident in the exhibition in which it was presented for the second time. Perhaps starting from its very title, *Houyhnhnms*, the intelligent race of horses from Gulliver's Travels whose speech or (pre) semantic sounds are used by Jonathan Swift as matter for their name. Swift, by the way, had already been alluded to previously by Ramos, in a text that shares its hybridity with the figure of the centaur, the horse-man whose entering the scene concludes *Minuano [diário de um trabalho]*, simultaneously opening it to its double nature (Ramos 2007, 221-244). However, most of all, the field of remissions configured by the shown artworks is highly revealing: besides *Ensaio sobre a dádiva*, the reliefs and vaseline-based paintings and the series of drawings Proteu – sign, matter and myth.

Returning to the artist's first endeavours, we reencounter the signifier "matter", which has become indissociable from the greater part of the

most well-known images of Nuno Ramos' work, in two fields of signification. On one hand, as a virtual plane of potentials, the complementary face of the different aceptions of the unformed; on the other as a remission to the physical pregnancy of the material dimensions of semantic processes. Before arriving at the vaseline paintings that, taken up again in 2015, characterize his first authorial propositions, it is worth pointing out that Nuno Ramos' work begins at the "end".

His artistic initiation began during the 1980s when, associated with the Casa 7 painters, Ramos responded to the arrival in Brazil of "the return to painting", the central reference of which were European Neoexpressionists, on the rise after repeated declarations of the "death of painting" and of art itself. The supposedly terminal stage of what had traditionally been the most paradigmatic genre in art became a sort of landfill of its own recycled historical repertoire, the gaps therein allowed for rehearsing more propositional projections. The difficult differentiation of pictorial elements was accompanied, according to Alberto Tassinari (1985) by an unignorable sense of "impropriety", relating to the possibility of painting itself. Alongside art's problematic individualization in the contemporary world lay a primary impossibility regarding the attempts at returning to the virtual figuration of the plane, or to the canvas as a stage for the artist's expressive performance, thrown into a state of crisis since Abstract Expressionism. The pictorial plane "is now a territory invaded by remains of forms and meanings", suspending like a "husk" or a "fossil", "the very capacity of signification", ushering in a space-time relationship related to "garbage" (Mammi 2014, 183).

In the vaseline works from the late 80s, "material" and "physical materiality" formed an inextricable pair. The artistic medium (cf. Krauss 1999), assumed a particular importance, in its classical, both literal and material sense: vaseline, like oil, for example, was the pictorial vehicle that brought to light potentialities of pigments. At the same time, the pasty amalgam of the paints, along with the handling of chromatic tonalities, placed the paintings constantly in the vicinity of the amorphous, on an unstable limit, subject to the risk of homogenization, between determination and indetermination.

It is in the passage from the 1980s to the 1990s that early critics of Nuno Ramos situate a first decisive turning point. From the vaselines onward to the later paintings, marked by the use of more diverse materials and by a greater emphasis placed on differentiation between pictorial elements, a new assemblage comes into play, a "making by juxtaposition" (cf. Tassinari 1997, 18-21). Freely approximating two comments by Lorenzo Mammi, one on the vaselines and one later comment, on another artist, we arrive at a revealing analogy with the musical universe. In the first

paintings, we have something akin to white noise in acoustic physics, in which "all frequencies are heard simultaneously; therefore, none are intelligible. A form of silence reached not by subtraction but through saturation" (Mammi 1997). The juxtaposition-paintings, however, are closer to another type of operation, which will acquire different forms throughout the artist's career, similar to the "combination or ghost tone phenomena", where a third note is produced from the shock between different notes played simultaneously (Mammi 2012, 299).

In these new paintings, which elaborate a research in plasticity which was also taken up in the 2015 exhibition, a stubborn tension is introduced, central to what is at stake. When "painting" means, for example, producing tension between a broken mirror glued to the canvas and a strip of red fabric, the plane becomes a "swamp-plane", "a deposit, a place receiving materials" (Ramos 2004, 39 e 44). In the foreground, the irreducible immanence of the pictorial surface. Furthermore, however, the multidirectional flutter of the combinations seems to cross the surface with the multiplicity of what emerges between potential and act. Reassembled, the "poor" materials – fabrics, glass, metal sheets, leaves, plush – shed their original statute which might be associated with debris and begin to compose a number of germinative points of organization and differentiation. In the very center of the surface's irreducibility, as Rodrigo Naves would say, we find cultivated "a sort of origin" (2007, 319-328).

However, the germinative multiplicity seems to actualize another order of potentials with the coming onto the scene of a new entity intersecting with the others: language. Initially, unassuming verbal inscriptions are introduced into the paintings. Soon, these begin to take part in exhibition spaces with works such as *Vidrotextos* (Glasstexts) from 1991, compositions in which material formations, such as glasses blown into banana tree leaves, are articulated with texts by the artist printed large enough to make reading difficult, on media such as wax, installed at the halfway point between writing and objectuality. An operation which is presented again in the well known exhibition *111*, from which point on the mediums configured by the artist spread out into a number of other directions.

Sequentially, Nuno Ramos' first book *Cujo* is composed of texts that integrate some of those visual works, among other textualities. To the hypothetical spectator of these works, attention is drawn to a translational nexus between both dimensions. Starting from a basic scene, similar to the manipulation of matter in a workshop, diverse modes of the assemblage of verbal matter spring up, in formations and rearticulations producing heterogenous materialities. If the signifier "poetry", inscribed in the book's classificatory register, does fit in with a number of conventions in editorial organization typical of the genre, we notice,

at the same time, a potential opening of the normative fiction mobilized by such a signifier, which will be unceasingly actualized.

Indeed, throughout the following decades, between literature, visual arts and other forms of mediality, other modes of producing heterogenous materialities and of recombining their articulating operations will emerge. In the intervals between the irreducibility of the literal and the potentials of the relational, between stagnation and motion, circularity and openness toward alterity, dynamics of overdetermination are progressively set off, which, to make use of terms inherent to the artist's reasoning, may be called crossing operations.

In 1995, *Balada* is presented as a "896-page book pierced by a revolver bullet" (Ramos 2010; 1995). In this book-thing, both symbolic and material, writing and plasticity, writing as formal action, the "ballad" as literary form and the literal action of the bullet[3] pierce into a hole-filled objectuality, while taking it to its paroxysm. In *Para Goeldi II* (2000), a woodblock carving by Goeldi is transported to the floor of the gallery, next to old used furniture, the elements of which are in turn crossed by sheets of glass and granite. It is as if, coupled with the radicalizing replication of the material act of engraving, memory's objects were literally crossed through with planes, in a pictorial sense.

Examples could very well continue in a flux, but it is useful to highlight here a nucleus of transformations inciding on the role and statute of language. If, as Alberto Tassinari argues, the *Vidrotextos* seek something on the level of a "translucidness between words and things", eventually reflecting a wider search for the alike in unlikeness (1997) (words and paintings, heterogeneous materials and so on), a highly significant inflection in this field of questioning seems to progressively insinuate itself, reaching a heightened pitch in *Ensaio sobre a dádiva*.

Alongside this work, another which appears as particularly unavoidable is *Vai, Vai* (2006). A peculiarly scenic installation, acted out by three voices, the "voice of water", the "voice of salt" and "the voice of hay", emitted from loudspeakers disposed on top of six barrels of water and six piles of salt and hay as well as on the backs of "three pack-mules" which randomly trace the closed circuit of the scene (Ramos 2006). The sedimented imaginary universe that the work intends to burrow into and open up is beside the point here, while we do wish to highlight the work's central tension: on one hand, the expectation of a fable-like setting, in which animals and things "have a voice"; on the other, the breaching of fable-like

3 Translator's note: "bala" is the Portuguese word for bullet, and aside from a play on the "ballad" as literary form, its homophones explored by Ramos also denote a literal bullet-strike

enchantment by the progressive revelation of the installation's underlying scenic immanence.[4] This breaching, furthermore, is operated in a more impactful manner not by the transpecific conflict of voices, but by the scenic play between each of its incarnations. Incarnations which, split and paradoxical, ambiguously embody the voices in material formations which are adequate or inadequate, according to each agency. The voices do not belong to the bodies, but cross through them as foreign emissions, simultaneously in both the surrounding bodies and in those they correspond to. Between voices and bodies, a productive spacing crosses a supposed language-based continuity between the human and the non-human, in a play between conjunction and disjunction. "Everything speaks", as the artist is known to say, but, at the same time everything falls silent. Each body, both symbolized and unsymbolized, a body of one's own and the bodies of others.

FIGURE 4: *Vai, vai* (2006), artist's archive

Thus, according to *Ensaio sobre a dádiva* and *Vai, Vai*, it is possible to affirm that language is not exactly a medium that "finds likeness in the unlike", that approximates heterogeneous, predetermined and essential entities. Rather, it is a medium that, in providing the relations through which we apprehend the real, crosses through the heterogeneity of its terms, revealing the different in the self-identical, the multiple in the singular. Language, after all, as the potential for revelation, an opening, as well, of a translational border between language and life. Therefore,

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4 While "the voice of salt" verbalizes a harsh order for spectators' expulsion, a fundamental part of the project is that the loudspeakers, initially covered over, would be exposed at the pace with which the mules ate the hay and salt and drank the water.

after a brief incursion into a more obviously poetic work by Ramos, our path of reading may continue, returning to an ending, to another end.

This return may come on horseback. In *The End of the Poem* (1999b), Giorgio Agamben sheds light on the ever-ambiguous materiality of the medium in poetry. At the core of his argument is the enjambment, which in french originally meant the little leap that someone on horseback takes to throw one leg over the horse while the other foot lies on the stirrup. The enjambment however is a simple poetic resource, occurring between established divisions between a poem's verses. We have, therefore, a statement; on the other, the various possibilities of assembling it as enunciation, over one or more verses. In the latter case, however, what determines, from the outset, that the extension of a statement, of a thought, should coincide with the extension of its sonorous materiality? Nothing that the duplicitous overdetermination of the semantic-acoustic continuum does not immediately place in multiple suspension. How, then, are we to finish a poem without impinging upon this nuclear hesitation that operates in "tension" and in "contrast" (therefore in the possible interference between) sound and sense, between the semiotic and the semantic series (Agamben 1999b)? Some echo of an answer seems to spring up between *Vai, vai* and poem number "1" in *Junco*:

> Cachorro morto num saco de lixo
> areia, sargaço, cacos de vidro
> mar dos afogados, mar também dos vivos
> Escuta teu murmúrio no que eu digo.
>
>
> Nunca houve outro sal, e nunca um dia
> matou o seu poente, nem a pedra
> feita de outra pedra, partiu o mar ao meio.
> Assim é a matéria, tem seu frio
>
>
> e nunca vi um animal mais feio
> nem pude ouvir o seu latido.
> Por isso durmo e não pergunto
> junto aos juncos[5]

The whole poem hinges on a relationship of tension and interference between sound and sense, set into action by enjambment. On one hand,

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5 Dead dog in trash bag / sand, flotsam, shards of glass / Ocean of the drowned, ocean of the living too. / Hear your murmur in what I say.// There has never been another salt, never has a day / killed its eastering, nor has the rock / made of another rock, split the sea in two. / So is matter, it has its cold // and I have never seen an uglier animal / or been able to hear its bark. / Which is why I sleep and don't ask / among the driftwood.

the statement, by definition immaterial, of the continuity of matter, the reading of which is already split between a supposed absolute permanence of the material (second stanza) and a continuity between the voice that utters the poem and non-human beings (first stanza). In the first stanza, the speaking subject is presented as a sort of acoustic shell that sustains a speaking-listening circuit, reverberating the continuous voicings between beings. Like in the rest of the poem, the rhythmical dynamics are anchored in oscillations around the decassilable, the ten-syllable verse line that is the most traditionally given to poetic listening in Portuguese. The poem begins in total musical enchantment, sound and sense, thought and caesura, in harmonic accord.

Now the second stanza emits the central statement: in the world of matter nothing is lost, there is no cut. Once this is spoken on the immaterial level of the statement, what is stated, on the sonorous plane of enunciation, is precisely the opposite. So, the enjambments come onto the scene, cutting into pieces at each step the seamless continuity being stated. The magical correspondence between sound and sense[6] is broken, the enchantment of musicality is broken, with the rhythmic bifurcation of the decassilables and the dissolution of the rhyme scheme. Finally, after the overlapping of one stanza into the other, we return to harmony between "durmo" (sleep), "pergunto" (I ask), "junto" (next to), "juncos" (driftwood)[7]. The fall back into the active inaction of the unconscious and the reflexive faculty resound something of the order of participation in the natural.

However, inside this conjunction-disjunction game, the idea of participation is overdetermined by the play of tensions between statement and enunciation springing from the paratopical location that organizes the poem, assembling the sound-sense continuum: the voice stated is joined with driftwood, but the voice that states establishes a disjunction in the center of the saying itself, the continuum is actualized specifically in the cut. Like in *Vai, vai*, if there is a link between the multiplicity of beings, this link is the cut-up, multiple statutes of each being, both dual and overdetermined in their presentation as language. The voice that speaks and sleeps has its synthesis open into rhyme, an audible-semantic disjunction-encounter.

6 The relationship between poetry and magic is so vast and intrinsic, overall in its modern rehabilitation, that we find ourselves obliged to remind the reader of the title of the central work of the poet who defined poetry as "the prolonged hesitation between sound and sense" (Valéry 2011): *Charmes* – enchantments.

7 Translator's note: We have maintained the words relevant to the audible dimensions of the poem in Portuguese, so that a reader, however slight their grasp of the language, may at least intuit the relevant acoustic and rhythmic coincidences, for example, in the recurrence of vocallic syllables grouped around a "u" sound.

To begin at the end and to keep returning on horseback is a poem's vocation. If the horse is a sign standing for the exchange between books, diaries and physical artworks in Nuno Ramos, it might be useful to remember, with Agamben, that enjambment not only marks the infinite opening-remission between the poetic and the prosaic, but "brings to light" the "essential hybridity of human discourse" (Agamben 1999a, 32). Without having to apprehend, as we have just done, the sign placed into a vocal act, Nuno Ramos' *Ensaio sobre a dádiva* seems to materialize, in a minimal language machine, a functioning of signs that remits to every other symbolic system, expressing itself with particular force in myth: to close a "cycle of transformations" is possible only as an opening toward other "re-chainings" (Maniglier 2008). It becomes necessary, then, to pursue, between different arts and systems of thought, the language of media, with a renewed return to the multiple in-betweenness of the material and the immaterial, virtual and actual, when in "the artist of matter" and of irreducible materiality an immeasurable unpretentious pretension can be heard:

> Abolished is the pretension, aesthetically an error, even though it produced some real masterpieces, of including in the subtle paper of a volume something other than, for example, the horror of deep woods, or the scattered mute thunder of foliage: not the the intrinsic and dense wood of the trees (Mallarmé 2007).[8]

SPACES IN EXCHANGE

To think of art not as the field of inscription of predetermined entities, embodied in univocal material arrangements, but as the production of material-immaterial clusters, triggers of multiple relations (the "forest" and "the horror", the "foliage" and its "scattered mute thunder"): this seems to be the wager at stake in Nuno Ramos' *Ensaio sobre a dádiva*. As we have seen, the work condenses and distills a functioning of the sign that crosses through and precedes other fronts of the artist's activity, such as the exploration of the hesitations between voices, bodies and modes of agency, a functioning which sets into action the very dynamic of successive re-chainings that qualify Ramos' work. As Jacques Rancière (2020) suggests, this proposal for the creation of a plane of commensurability between language and space invites us to think of a "space of words", a notion that is both non-physical and non-specific but conceptual, pertaining to an inter-artistic space. Such a notion reverberates between the 19th century and the 1960s, making the work of art into a space of relations between the arts, and the relations between those and their

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8 Cited in Maniglier 2006, 267.

modes of circulation a "space of exchange" (2020, 22). This is what might be insinuated when another decidedly liminal artist, Marcel Broodthaers, utters a revealing temporal fold: Mallarmé would be "the founder of contemporary art" (apud Rancière 2020, 10).

With *A Throw of the Dice Will Never Abolish Chance* (1887), Mallarmé establishes a seminal version of poetic modernity which sets all conceptual oppositions discussed thus far into a state of perpetual revolution. The poem presents a succession of events occurring in the virtual intervals of a shipwreck/consecration, between potential and act, circumstance and eternity, ideality and event. Structured like a musical score, on double pages graphically configured as the surface of a visual and spatial experience of poetic events, the poem enacts the unfoldings of an action of throwing dice, visible only as a theatre of mental operations. The title proposition A Throw of the Dice Will Never Abolish Chance, runs through the whole poem, with its structuring position marked by the typography. At the same time, at each moment segments of the main proposition are unraveled in propositions of a second order, which results in a space of emergency, of unstable figures and multiple relations.

In *The politics of the Siren*, Rancière has already provided us with a wide-ranging reading of this proposal, which found in *A Throw of the Dice* the maximal realization of the search for "a true choreography of the idea" (Rancière 2011, 53-54). Mallarmé's horizon is the ideal, a quest for the poem which is fit to present the Idea. This, however, in an historical situation where all that is left is the "golden dust" of ideas, that is, placed before the finding that all normative models for collective life had disappeared. This is the Mallarmean paradox: to find the poem "apt to reproduce the topography of the theatre of the spirit", precisely when "a crisis of the ideal and the social", is reflected in a "crisis of verse". Reflected, therefore, in the current state of nascent modern poetry, where the hegemony of poetic conventions gave way to new configuring processes of the minimal units and modes of organizing poetic discourse (Mallarmé 2007, 201-211).

Indeed, Mallarmé's diagnostic regarding his social and historical situation led him to a radical questioning of the issue of community, which in turn leads to an artistic thought unequivocally nurtured by the pluralities of the arts. Before the general imperative of constructing a new religion and new myths in the disenchanted core of the XIXth century, initially put forth by German Romanticism, Mallarmé glimpses a "musical religion". Its true "end" would not be the essentialist determination of man, but "a restitution of language to its powers", which would coincide with the fictional, open and productive character of "the very procedure of human spirit" (Rancière 2011, 22).

Hence Mallarmé's critique of the model of thought regarding the artic-ulation between the arts as proposed by Richard Wagner, precisely in what refers to its relation to the inextricable issue of community. Given that in Wagner the religion built into art would be made concrete in an essentialist belief in the possibility of a Hymn for The People, the Wagne-rian total artwork would transform the "communion 'through the vacant space' into the people's real presence to itself, invited to the celebration of community origin" (40).

These are a few of the historical, aesthetic and social factors implied in the founding paradoxes of Mallarmean poetics, the formulation of which passes through a crucial dialog with the other arts, namely music and theater, pantomime and dance. The virtual, anticipatory presentation of what Mallarmé called "a conflagration of the unanimous horizon" could only be given in a Work that would "make the poem into the religion of the future, and simultaneously to refuse all incarnation for this religion or a body of any sort to guarantee the poem" (Rancière 2011, 58). Hence the notion of a writing that is "more than writing" and "less than writing", a "simultaneously painted and effaced" Book, "body and idea of the idea", material-immaterial, so that the poem may be made into the religion of the future (2011, 60).

These are the main aspects that lead from Mallarmé and Broodthaers to contemporary art, under the sign of exchange. What is at stake pertains to four problems: the issue of the relationships between "art and life"; a revision of the autonomist paradigm for comprehension of the relations between the arts, hegemonic in influential readings of European Mod-ernism; the contagions and distancings between the regimes of art and those of commodities; the problem of the comprehension or establishment of a plane of the common.

This is the path that leads Rancière to *The space of words: from Mallarmé to Broodthaers* (2005/2020) and to 1969, when Broodthaers appropriates A *throw of dice* in order to simultaneously limit and recast the horizon of infinity in Mallarmés poem[9]. This is Broodthaers paradoxical gesture, as Rancière has it: to present *A throw of dice* anew, as twelve plates correlating to the double pages occupied by the choreographic-plastic distribution of characters, while at the same time substituting the whole text, line by line, for black rectangles of varying sizes.

In so many words, Broodthaers recasts the double spatialization of Mallarmé's poem, which is both virtual and material, in an "indiffer-ent spatialization" (Rancière 2020, 16). The artist would pay homage to

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9 Broodthaers, *Un Coup de Dés Jamais N'Abolira Le Hasard* (1969).

gis - gesto, imagem e som

Mallarmé, defending "the power of words to create spaces", while in the same gesture demonstrating that "there is no space proper to words. What there is are words and extension". Relaunching the potential of the Mallarmean unravelling between the immateriality of the word and their constitution in a concrete material space, Broodthaers "closes Mallarmé's poem at both ends: words without space and space without words" (54). In short, he reopens the analogy between "the spatializating potential of the poem and the alphabet of the stars" in order to, we may say, paradoxically enclose it in a new folding-unfolding potential.

What is at stake, initially, is Mallarmé's position as a trigger of the aesthetico-historical revision of the modernist paradigm of autonomy in the arts. As a counterpoint, Rancière remits to the most emblematic incarnation of this paradigm, put together by the North-American critic Clement Greenberg.[10] Greenberg's approach took as its starting point the decisive role that European modern art ascribed to painting's reflexive attention to the fundamental properties of its medium, characterized by the two-dimensionality of the plane and of its material components. This path, developed by the author into a reading of the new American painting being made from the 1950s onward, was based on an identification of artistic modernity with a generalized process of purification and specification of each artistic medium, whose fields of operation would be based exclusively on the constitution of their singular legalities.

However, in commenting Broodthaers' dialog with decisive modern artists who made art into fields for the circulation of verbal language and plasticity, Rancière points out that it would suffice to take a glance at a Paul Klee, or an Apolinaire, to recognize a different paradigm. Once the empire of representation is thrown into a state of crisis, far from sedimenting into a progressive self-purification, the surface of the painting, but perhaps that of the poem and so on, becomes a "surface of exchange where the procedures and materialities of the other arts slide into and over one another, where signs become forms and forms become acts". Which is to say that both Mallarmé and Broodthaers institute and reinstate the modern statute of relations between arts, making visible the fact that the autonomistic paradigm in art "is no longer valid (…) since it never was to begin with" (2020, 18-22).

Simultaneously poetry, theater, choreography, pantomime and typography, Mallarmean space presents and anticipates, with maximum acuity, this "space of exchange". However, at the same time, this space would be born grafted together with a modernist utopia, that of the supposed identity between a revolution of the forms of art and a revolution in the forms of

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10 Cf. for example, Greenberg 1961

social life. Mallarmé's own attempt, as Valéry proposes, was to "raise a page to the power of the starry sky" (apud Rancière 2011, 56), even given the admission of a "blackout of the sky of Ideas". In *A Throw of dice*, creating a field of commensurability between verbal language and graphic space corresponded to the constitution of a space harboring "communities of signs, forms and acts" where the poetic act could configure the very collective horizon of a new possible.

Hence the unravelling gesture proposed by Broodthaers: to enclose Mallarmé's poem means opposing oneself to the identification of "the surfaces of image-words with a new collective sky" (Rancière 2020, 34). This is because on the hinge of the 60s and 70s, a preoccupation already pre-established by Mallarmé regarding what Rancière calls his "double economy" had irreversibly taken root. For Mallarmé, taking the side of the sign constituted an alternative to the hegemony of communicative, transparent language, which would merely be a different face of commodities' regime of circulation. In this direction, what Broodthaers would have established is that the risk glimpsed by Mallarmé of an identifying dissolution between the "symbolic gold" prospected by the poet and the "exchange gold" of commodities had already taken hold[11]. The political-economical name for this ironic realization of the mallarmean utopia itself, that of transforming objects into signs, a "prosaically accomplished form of life", would be "commodity fetishism"[12] (51).

Thus, Broodthaers appears as the spokesman for a new situation in the arts, which places them on two contrasting horizons. On one hand, a recognition of the depletion of the utopia in which forms of art and forms of social life would establish a community between them, and of an irreversible process in which *equivalence*, proper to the conversion of things into signs of market exchanges, becomes generalized. On the other hand, a wide range of possibilities stemming from Broodthaers' gesture of "reintroduction", "on the surface plane", of "heterogeneities of the sign and forms" (39). Indeed, the "conquest of space" by Broodthaers recasts the inter-artistic turn of language in Mallarmé, crossing through the post-utopian horizon in contemporary art toward a prospective explosion of the relations between the arts, as much as the very comprehension of artistic media, which is joined with a a transformation of the very statute of the "artist".[13]

11 Cf. Marchal, 403-450.
12 If Pop Art presented a more solid embodiment of this convergence between the modes of circulation of commodities and art from the XXth century onward, this diagnosis also carried with it an artistic and theoretical attention to the assemblage of language and of the sign in this context. See Foster, 1996, 71-99
13 A poet who left poetry to become an artist., then an artist who left art to become a rare sort of curator, Broodthaers exploded the notion of the artist on a scale comparable to Duchamp. The universe of modes of articulation between plastic, textual and conceptual operations he conceived configured itself reciprocally with a situated critique of the modes of

In fact, Nuno Ramos' *Ensaio sobre a dádiva* appears to enunciate a singular articulation of these two horizons. Here, the visual arts appear as a space of mutual assemblage between sculptural, conceptual and poetic medialities. However, concurrently, this space of signs, the definition of which is nothing more than a trigger for multiple, virtual relations, reformulates decisive tensions in the artist's trajectory, making clear a historical and theoretical direction of the preceding investigations toward a liminal position in between determination and indetermination in the media articulated by art. We can explicitly see a manner of extracting poetic value from a tenuous limit between *equivalence* (everything means everything, echoing the homogenizing character of the monetary scale) and *equivocation* (every sign, like everything, actualizes signifying relations on various scales).

If, since Nuno Ramos' first steps, the opening of sedimented forms to the multiple virtualities of the continuous could not escape a counterweight in the "funeral march of merchandise"[14], *Ensaio sobre a dádiva* finds itself side by side with the remains of "utopian imagination"[15], placed in infinite hesitation regarding its own impossibility. Something that reminds us, still, of the relation between the reversible and the irreversible. In Nuno Ramos, the limit of life's material expiration is always in the vicinity of the prismatic turns of language. The horse-voice in his aforementioned 2017 book finally settles where it had begun: in an old washed-up actor who is giving an interview from his bathtub filled with lukewarm water. The Proteus of the 2015 drawings was already, in a story from *O Pão do corvo* (The Crow's bread), an old man tired of transforming (Ramos 2001). After all, real symbolic machines also die (Almeida 1999). Which is not to say, after all, that immersion in a funeral space cannot give rise to other modes of organizing sensible experience between points of view, discourses, forms of life – shedding light on "fittings we do not yet understand, but with many more alternatives than our male-female polarities"[16]

circulation, classification and institutionalization of artworks. At the same time, Rosalind Krauss situated Broodthaers as "spokesman" of a "Post-Medium condition", in an effort to provide an alternative to its conception as a physical vehicle given beforehand, instead thinking it in terms of a "recursive structure – a structure that is, some of the elements of which will produce the rules that generate the structure itself" (6).

14 "O som da chuva contra o som das fontes, o contínuo do céu de fora contra o contínuo do chão de dentro. Olho o desfile das vitrines misturadas, a prata enlutada dos seus brilhos e o cortejo fúnebre das mercadorias" (Ramos 1993, 69). (Translator's note: "The sound of the rain against the sound of the fountains, the continuum of the sky outside and the continuum of the floor inside. I look at the parading intermixed shop windows, at silver aggrieved of its shine and the funeral march of commodities".)

15 As can be seen in the titles of the same exhibition in 2015, whose artistic references the artist associates to "utopian imaginaries". Private communication.

16 *Túmulos*, in Ramos 2008.

Nuno Ramos' *Ensaio sobre a dádiva* seems to echo a question that operates a supplementary twist regarding Broodthaers' return to Mallarmé: is it still possible to excavate something out of the irreducible surface of contemporary art, so that we may hear, perhaps not with our ears, what Mallarmé thought of as "music of relations between everything" (Mallarmé apud Rancière 2011, 53)?

SIGN MATTER

The affirmative reply provided by Ramos' work to the above question can be found in the thought paradigm that informs it, directed at an *ontology of multiplicity* (Maniglier 2006, 465). Initially, it is possible to excise this kind of thought from the work's inscription in relation to the theories and historicities of visual arts. Further, this means establishing the differences between this ontological paradigm and certain aspects of the *phenomenological* paradigm which has crossed through many theories in modern and contemporary art. In the modern context, the phenomenological statute of the artwork pertains to a relationship between form and perception that centers debate around these works' modes of appearance, taken as transitive, unstable processes of actualization, determining singular experiences of reception according to each subject. From the 1960s onward, however, a "phenomenological turn" specifies this perspective through emphasizing the production of singular and situated articulations of the artwork, modes of the relation between the objectual and material character of the work and the presence-based experience of the spectators. In both cases, the basic presupposition is that the works are given as *objects* (in an epistemological sense) and usher in different possibilities of experience for the *subject*, different points of view.

The most emblematic case here is probably that of Richard Serra. Serra radicalized a distinction between painting and sculpture, turning the latter into a field of experience in which the spectator's situated body, far from dominating the field of the gaze through a determined, front-facing perspective, discovers diverse and singular ways of looking. This means refusing the possibility of a *Gestalt* that would totalize on a single plane the possibilities of configuring the experience of the work (Krauss 2000). Take something like *St. John's Rotary Arch*, a large tilted plate of Corten steel disposed in the middle of a rotary in New York City, designed to be looked at from innumerable heterogenous positions. If the experience of the work consists of the infinite superposition of multiple points of view made possible by the object itself, in the artist's own words the form of the art object becomes "indeterminable, unknowable as an entity" (Serra *apud* Krauss 2000, 140).

These words seem to echo something akin to Nuno Ramos' *Ensaio sobre a dádiva*. However, given the peculiar material-immaterial, plastic-linguistic statute of this last work, an inflexion regarding the problematics of the *object's* statute appears. The notion that the work stands for the pluralities of points of view it determines, in an open and infinite manner, is maintained. On the other hand, given the work of the sign, the intrinsic variability of the object assumes the position of an arrangement of possibilities for presentation and variation of the real, according to the limits and potentials of language.

It remains to be determined, however, in what way Nuno Ramos' work relates to Rancière's preoccupation regarding the *aesthetic* configuration of a plane of the common. That is, the constitution of the field of that which may be presented in sensible terms, of the limits of what is visible or sayable in a given context of interaction between two subjects (Rancière 2018). What Ramos seems to propose is the encounter between a "space of exchanges", between artistic media – the work as the singular invention of a multiple, dialogical field – and a radical exploration and decomposition of the sign, fundamental receptacle of the exchange dynamics that characterize symbolic thought.

In *From Mauss to Claude Lévi-Strauss* (2006), Maniglier carries out a cross-reading of the comments of Lévi-Strauss and Marcel Merleau-Ponty regarding Mauss' *Essay*. In both cases, what is at stake are alternatives to a positive apprehension of the social as factual totality. Following phenomenological thought, Merleau-Ponty starts from the notion of a regime of *intersubjectivity* that would make "social reality a system of substitutable points of view or of correlate movements of signification" (Maniglier 2013, 164-168). For Lévi-Strauss, on the other hand, the initial datum would be the symbolic origin of the social, that is, that which precedes the relational determination of the points of view would be the overdetermined nature of objects structured according to the nature of the sign. In Merleau-Ponty, the first differing occurs in the subject (2013, 166). In Lévi-Strauss, Maniglier suggests, this differing would be found in the object, in the structuring precedence of the sign's overdetermination over the singling-out of an object. "Before the object, there is an apprehension of the object as an opposition" (167).

As becomes clear in mythical thought, this is valid for any symbolic system, since thought itself singles out objects as dual, overdetermined entities, actualized according to points of view. The thing itself *is* only the system of points of view it actualizes. In the words of Lévi-Strauss,

> It cannot be said purely and simply of the world that it is; it exists in the form of an initial asymmetry, which shows itself in a variety of ways according to the angle

from which it is being apprehended: between the high and the low, the sky and the earth, land and water, the near and the far, left and right, male and female, etc. This inherent disparity of the world sets into mythic thought in motion, but it does so because, on the higher side of thought, it conditions the existence of every object of thought. (Lévi-Strauss 1981, 603).

After all, speaking about signs means speaking of the entities that constitute the fabric of our sensible-intelligible world, attributing to the discontinuations extracted from its continuity the characteristic of its essentially being "incessantly between-two, always virtually another" (173). In so many words, "the real is itself symbolic": "the nature of things" is "made of these virtualities, that are signs, and not of their passing actualizations, it is itself purely differential and non-positive". This is the "symbolic matter of the world" (174-175).

This, too, is the new field of signification established by the signifier "matter" in Nuno Ramos' recent work. In earlier works, an infernal alternative was put forth, as was uttered in *Ó*: "matter or language?" (2008, 18). Now, this opposition seems overcome, through thinking not of "matter" and "language", but through "language *as* matter". Now, the plane of virtual potentials that draws all things together is language. This is a twist that prolongs a hesitation between an infinity of relations and the finite nature of the world, that assumes a historical sense in the horse-actor protagonist of *Adeus, cavalo*, a book openly directed at a post-utopian horizon, in its multiple and unstable incarnations of other-voices:

> There is no beat common to all things, like there was before [...] Everything sings, dispersive and percussionless, looking for an audience, singing life away. Bodies spat from the safe rails to the ravine and the wall, walled-in love, sons who weren't born, little poems that became screams, sound with no order or return, all this formed an invincible mass, a point with no counterweight on a *scale*[17] that no one sees (2017, our italics).

Thus, on the tenuous limit between the pull of a logic of equivalences and the opening of a logic of equivocation, *Ensaio sobre a dádiva* makes the posthumous finitude of the "art-life" utopia spin infinitely. As we have seen, this microsystem of exchanges suspends any conjecture as to modes of social organization, limiting itself to showing that each presentation of the real by any kind of language contains the possibility of making

17 Translator's note: the interplay, between the Portuguese noun for "scale", "balança", and the Portuguese verb for "sway", "swing" or "wave", which is also "balança", is to be made clear in the author's use of italics.

visible the multiple layers that interweave each singled-out object. To think with *Ensaio sobre a dádiva* implies, therefore, experimenting a version of Mauss' anthropological intuition, enacted in the way that its reception here suggests: as an opening to a relationist conception between the fields of knowing and making, taking its objects as a challenge to what we consider *being*. Hence the possibility of "a constant labor of expositing the contingency of our forms of life" as "active practice of disobedience" (Maniglier 2013, 254).

In conclusion, all that this simple, beautiful poem by Nuno Ramos does is reverberate the reciprocal opening between the world and the constitutive equivocity of language, under the form of a political conjecture as to what it means to exist. A minimal machine of symbolic thought, a minible device of maximal openness, makes a space of exchanges between the arts reverberate, from a sensible-intelligible prism, languages and modes of thought; making visible, though refraction, some chords in a music of relations between everything.

TRANSLATION
Pedro Köberle

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ARTICLES

MYTH-HERMENEUTICS OF HOLLYWOODIAN FILMS ACCORDING TO THE IMAGINARY OF GILBERT DURAND

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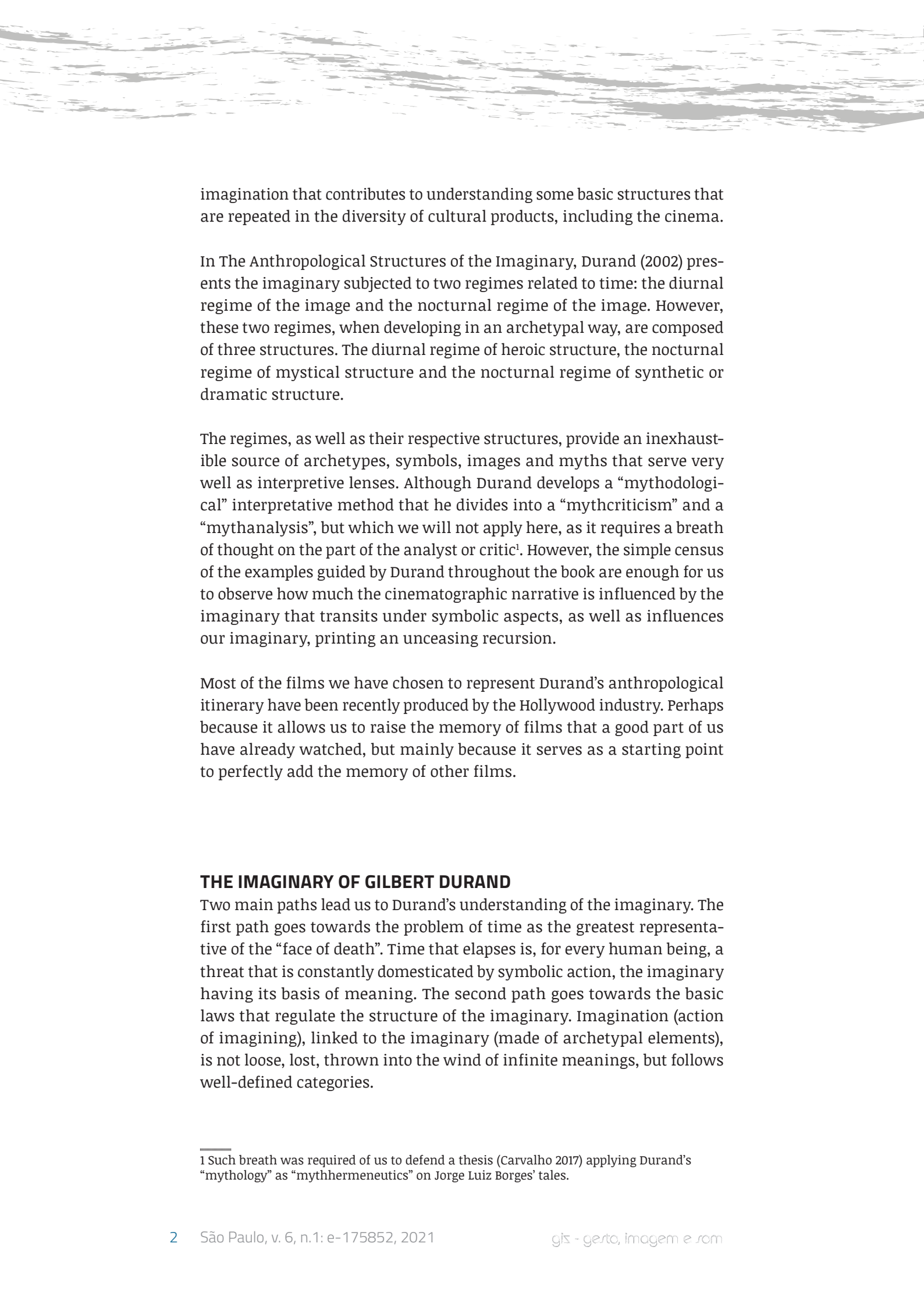
ABSTRACT

This text aims to present an anthropological interpretation of the imaginary of cinema, specifically in films mostly produced in Hollywood. To this end, we will apply a mythological hermeneutics developed by the anthropologist Gilbert Durand, which configures three archetypal imaginary structures that serve as a kind of guide. The itinerary must follow the imaginary regimes thought by Durand, which are the diurnal regime of heroic structure, the nocturnal regime of mystical structure and the nocturnal regime of synthetic or dramatic structure.

INTRODUCTION

Cinema is one of the most current languages to fuel our imagination in the universe of the arts. If, on the one hand, it inspires and dynamizes imagery already explored in other arts, on the other hand, it uses an open discursive strategy for many possibilities of anthropological interpretation. For this purpose, we use very specific hermeneutics, called "myth-hermeneutics". In particular, the mythology of Gilbert Durand brings to the horizon of interpretation the imaginary connected to the symbolic and archetypal aspect. In a sense, Durand created a "guide" of the anthropological

imagination that contributes to understanding some basic structures that are repeated in the diversity of cultural products, including the cinema.

In The Anthropological Structures of the Imaginary, Durand (2002) presents the imaginary subjected to two regimes related to time: the diurnal regime of the image and the nocturnal regime of the image. However, these two regimes, when developing in an archetypal way, are composed of three structures. The diurnal regime of heroic structure, the nocturnal regime of mystical structure and the nocturnal regime of synthetic or dramatic structure.

The regimes, as well as their respective structures, provide an inexhaustible source of archetypes, symbols, images and myths that serve very well as interpretive lenses. Although Durand develops a "mythodological" interpretative method that he divides into a "mythcriticism" and a "mythanalysis", but which we will not apply here, as it requires a breath of thought on the part of the analyst or critic[1]. However, the simple census of the examples guided by Durand throughout the book are enough for us to observe how much the cinematographic narrative is influenced by the imaginary that transits under symbolic aspects, as well as influences our imaginary, printing an unceasing recursion.

Most of the films we have chosen to represent Durand's anthropological itinerary have been recently produced by the Hollywood industry. Perhaps because it allows us to raise the memory of films that a good part of us have already watched, but mainly because it serves as a starting point to perfectly add the memory of other films.

THE IMAGINARY OF GILBERT DURAND
Two main paths lead us to Durand's understanding of the imaginary. The first path goes towards the problem of time as the greatest representative of the "face of death". Time that elapses is, for every human being, a threat that is constantly domesticated by symbolic action, the imaginary having its basis of meaning. The second path goes towards the basic laws that regulate the structure of the imaginary. Imagination (action of imagining), linked to the imaginary (made of archetypal elements), is not loose, lost, thrown into the wind of infinite meanings, but follows well-defined categories.

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1 Such breath was required of us to defend a thesis (Carvalho 2017) applying Durand's "mythology" as "mythhermeneutics" on Jorge Luiz Borges' tales.

To follow the path of mortal time, Durand followed Heidegger's epistemological footprints. When Durand develops his theory about the power of the imaginary as an antidote against fatal destiny, in the face of mortal time, it is impossible to avoid the notions outlined by Heidegger in *Being and Time*. As the philosopher, Durand did not want to lose sight of the finitude of the human being in the face of time and implied "existential anguish" as a driver of meaning, as a kind of "engine" of anti-destination. The threat to the being requires sometimes a fight against time, or sometimes an escape from time. Be it combat or flight, the domestication of time by imagination works as a way to make sense of destiny. Imagination is, by the rules and regimes of the imaginary, the "standard" way that the human being "discovered" to play against the fatal destiny.

Durand called symbolic action, sometimes subjective, or sometimes objective, an "anthropological path": "the incessant exchange that exists at the level of the imaginary between subjective and assimilating drives and objective ultimatums that emanate from the cosmic and social milieu" (Durand 2002, 41). The imaginary is what provides the relationship between subjectivity and objectivity, between the subject's assimilating reactions and the emanations of the objective environment[2]. "The imaginary is this anthropological crossroad that allows one aspect of a given human science to be clarified by another aspect of another" (Durand 2002, 18).

The anthropological path does not happen by chance. Durand sought inspiration at the Eranos School[3], which sees the need to recover the Gnostic-Hermetic tradition submerged in Western rationalization. The imagery, having an ambiguous character, totalizes the conception of truth: bipolarity is the hallmark of human representations.

For the valorization of the dimension of the imaginary as a mediation between subjectivity and objectivity in anthropological terms, Durand had as reference Henry Corbin, heir to Heidegger's hermeneutics and linked to Husserl's phenomenology.

Corbin applied hermeneutic and phenomenological principles to religious consciousness by studying the great texts of mystical and visionary experience of the Zoroastrian Persians and Muslim Shiites. He found that these traditions preserve the idea of an intelligible meta-historical world, made up of autonomous images that consciousness can experience. According

2 In addition to Bachelard, the notion of anthropological path is based on Bastide's conceptions of the relations between sociology and psychoanalysis.
3 The Eranos School was founded by Rudolf Otto and Karl Jung. In this school, developed in Ascona, Switzerland, from 1933 to 1988, issues related to comparative mythology, cultural anthropology and symbolic hermeneutics were discussed. Just to name a few, scholars such as Mircea Eliade, Joseph Campbell, James Hillman, G. Scholem, Jean Danielou and Henry Corbin participated.

to Corbin, the experiences are based on a hierarchy with three levels of reality: that of an intelligible world, of the divine One, that of a sensitive world, commanded by the body and an intermediate reality, through which the intelligible world manifests itself. Pure intelligence belongs to the intelligible world, to the sensible world only sensory perception, and to the intermediate world belongs the visionary imagination.
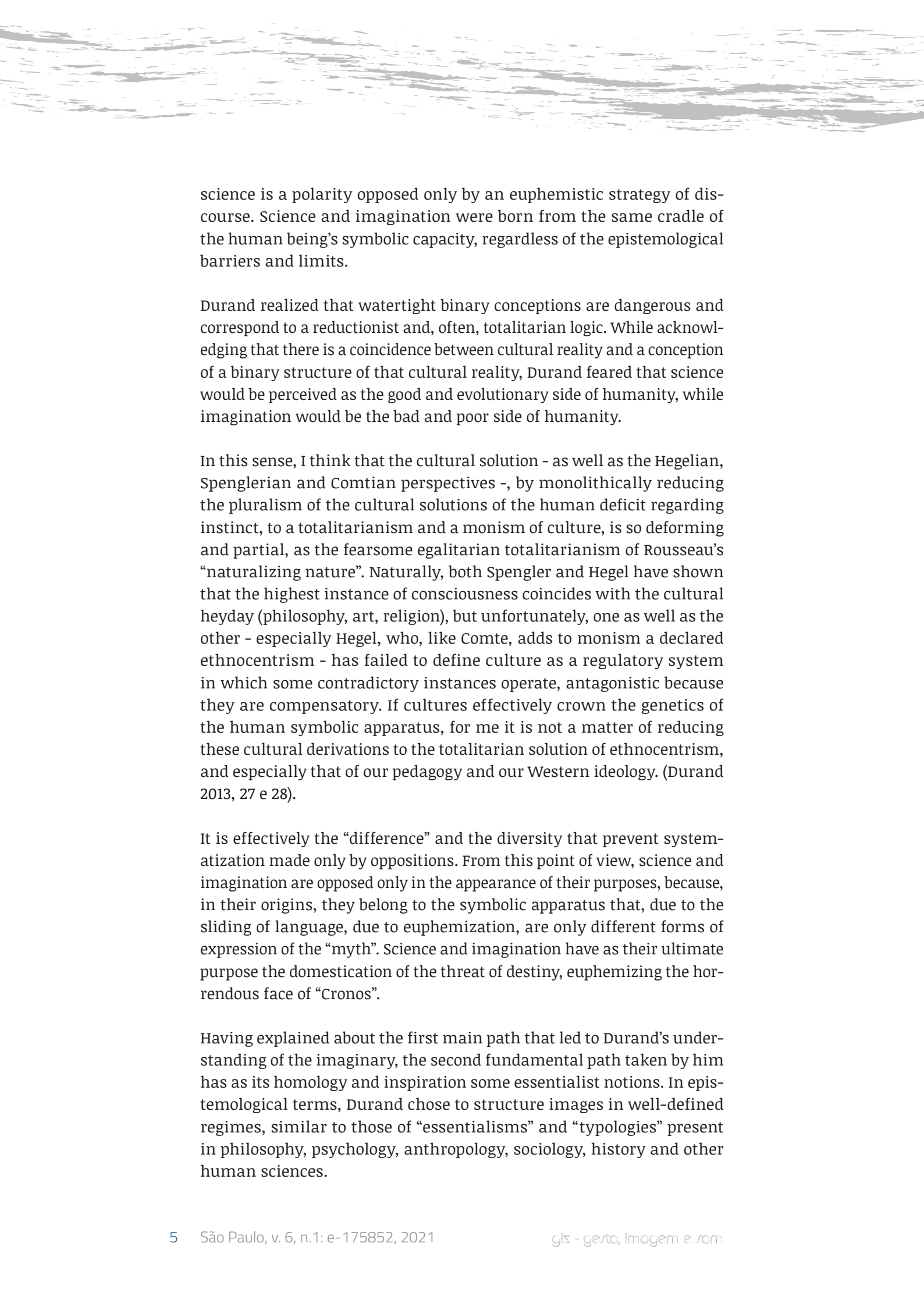
In the intermediate world, two types of images are produced: the images of the psychophysiological imagination and those of the creative imagination. The first is inseparable from our bodily condition, from sensory perceptions. The second is separate from the subject, autonomous, which allows offering pre-established representations to consciousness, far from any subjectivism. These are the images of the creative imagination that lead to the path of archetypes and are called "imaginal".

These conceptions by Corbin are enough to realize that Durand has antecedents in the ideas he developed about the body being the headquarters of matrices of the imaginary, on the one hand, and archetypes, on the other. Durand's leap was to relate one to the other, that is, to link the dominant reflexes that are related to the body, to the schema-producing schemes of the archetypes. Here, in this universe, in this recursive dimension between body and archetype, Durand generated his foundations about the symbol.

Before Durand, Bachelard, on whom Durand also relied, perceived this ambiguity, this bipolarity of the nature of the discourse, governed by the imaginary. For the French epistemologist, the human psyche is oriented towards metaphorical representations organized in two poles: that of rationality, naturally opposed to the spontaneous course of images, and that of reverie, naturally assimilated by the spontaneous course of images. Thus, the imaginary can become effective through the negative path of science, which understands the image as an epistemological obstacle[4], or through the path of poetic reverie.

Unlike his master Bachelard, however, Durand did not view science as the opposite polarity of the imagination. According to his intuitions,

4 Bachelard develops a "philosophy of no" in which he rejects the univocal notion of science by the principle of Aristotelian identity and by positivism. In this case, neither positivism nor negativism. The "no" designates the overcoming of the philosophy of science hijacked by axiomatic systems and ready for an opening of scientific thought. In addition, Bachelard, realizing that imagination and reverie create "epistemological obstacles", that is, precede the creation of an empirical explanation, turns to investigations in the field of literature, especially poetry. Bachelard understands that before an empirical "a posteriori", or even before a rational "a priori", there is an imaginative desire that "dreams" the solution in the face of the obstacle that appears to the human spirit. For example, before the rationalization of the epistemological obstacle: "flying", and its solution: "airplane", it preceded an imaginative activity of "flight", present in the daydreams of the human being in the history of literature, for example.

science is a polarity opposed only by an euphemistic strategy of discourse. Science and imagination were born from the same cradle of the human being's symbolic capacity, regardless of the epistemological barriers and limits.

Durand realized that watertight binary conceptions are dangerous and correspond to a reductionist and, often, totalitarian logic. While acknowledging that there is a coincidence between cultural reality and a conception of a binary structure of that cultural reality, Durand feared that science would be perceived as the good and evolutionary side of humanity, while imagination would be the bad and poor side of humanity.

In this sense, I think that the cultural solution - as well as the Hegelian, Spenglerian and Comtian perspectives -, by monolithically reducing the pluralism of the cultural solutions of the human deficit regarding instinct, to a totalitarianism and a monism of culture, is so deforming and partial, as the fearsome egalitarian totalitarianism of Rousseau's "naturalizing nature". Naturally, both Spengler and Hegel have shown that the highest instance of consciousness coincides with the cultural heyday (philosophy, art, religion), but unfortunately, one as well as the other - especially Hegel, who, like Comte, adds to monism a declared ethnocentrism - has failed to define culture as a regulatory system in which some contradictory instances operate, antagonistic because they are compensatory. If cultures effectively crown the genetics of the human symbolic apparatus, for me it is not a matter of reducing these cultural derivations to the totalitarian solution of ethnocentrism, and especially that of our pedagogy and our Western ideology. (Durand 2013, 27 e 28).

It is effectively the "difference" and the diversity that prevent systematization made only by oppositions. From this point of view, science and imagination are opposed only in the appearance of their purposes, because, in their origins, they belong to the symbolic apparatus that, due to the sliding of language, due to euphemization, are only different forms of expression of the "myth". Science and imagination have as their ultimate purpose the domestication of the threat of destiny, euphemizing the horrendous face of "Cronos".

Having explained about the first main path that led to Durand's understanding of the imaginary, the second fundamental path taken by him has as its homology and inspiration some essentialist notions. In epistemological terms, Durand chose to structure images in well-defined regimes, similar to those of "essentialisms" and "typologies" present in philosophy, psychology, anthropology, sociology, history and other human sciences.

Durand understood that the imagination, to express itself, to gain a "body", is subject to a "transcendental fantastic". At this point it is worth mentioning that the principles used by Durand regarding the symbolic that comes from the Neo-Kantian Cassirer. Principles that are very well elaborated in his *Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*.

Indeed, the Philosophy of Symbolic Forms is, according to the author's own comment, a phenomenology of knowledge, and is, by no means, intended to be a metaphysics of knowledge. The term knowledge is defined in the broad sense of human "apprehension" of "world", never passive apprehension, always mediated by the spontaneity that shapes the human mind. In the broad sense used by Cassirer, the term knowledge does not apply only to scientific understanding and theoretical explanation, but refers to all spiritual activity in which "we build a 'world' in its characteristic configuration, in its order and in its' being -so '..."Thus, the philosophy of symbolic forms "does not intend to establish, beforehand, a certain dogmatic theory of the essence of objects and their basic properties, but aims to apprehend and describe, on the contrary, through patient and critical work, the modes of objectification that characterize art, religion, science", above all, however, language and myth. (Cassirer 2013, 12-13).

For Durand, the notion of "shaping mind", inspired by Kantian philosophy, with a strong intensity in the idea of active imagination in Bachelard, will be a challenge of alignment between the phenomenology of knowledge and the symbolic.

In this way, Durand defines a first moment or starting point for symbolic action, which he called "schemes" (*schèmes*). At the starting or origin edge of the symbolic apparatus are the "schemes" and at the arrival or destination edge are the myths.

In this sense, the notion of schemes is very close to Freud's notion of "psychic apparatus" and to actuarial models[5], such as Jung's.

Schemes are the referential capital of all possible gestures of the species *Homo sapiens*. This is what Bergson intended in the archaic presence of our *Homo faber*. But, by placing the scheme at the root of the symbolic figuration, I use the Jungian theory at the same time, which places in the last part a reserve of archetypes elaborated in a collective unconscious, and the reductions of the symbolic figure, both Freudian (reduction to the *symptom* from a single libido obsessed by the orifice, digestive and genital) as Lacanian (reduction of this pre-linguistic language to the syntax and

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5 Actuarial models can be defined as archetypal matrices of a culture, generally related to verbal schemes of a culture.

word games of a natural language). With Mauss, I firmly think that the first "language" is "verb", it is bodily expression. And I don't ask myself questions like Faust, who was supposed to read Derrida to find out if the verb was the action of what was "in the beginning". Because the verb is a specific action, and not only under the exclusive caption of the verbs to *cover*, *accumulate*, *fill*, *swallow* etc., but also in the very important field of motricity and limbs, postural addressing, and, first of all, the hand. (Durand 2013, 19-20).

In the search for dominant gestures present in the body that serve as matrixes for the archetypal schemes or nuclei, Durand relates his anthropology to the reflexology of the Leningrad School. This school established the conception of dominant gestures or reflexes, with anatomophysiological and ethological studies, more specifically through the observations of Betcherev, its research base. Inspired by reflexology, Durant proposes three dominant gestures: postural, digestive and copulative. These three dominant reflexes will form the matrices in which human representations naturally converge and integrate.

Resuming the conception of an anthropological path, the bridge that connects the subject to the world and the world to the subject in this path is made by schemes, archetypes and symbols. The scheme (not a sketch, but an interior and dynamic movement), means the junction between dominant sensory-motricity gestures and their respective representations.

In the search for verticalization, after a long time in the horizontal, a baby, for example, experiences the repetition and standardization that the body and brain offer in the construction of the scheme of rise and fall, rise and fall. These schemes, in turn, coupled with symbols, undergo an archetypal valuation, which is characteristic of our anthropological condition, of *Homo sapiens*.

Sapiens is inseparably a living being, if not cultured, at least immersed in a culture. The human animal, with its "big brain", is, as it were, functionally cultivable. It is what radically differentiates the human child or the mentally ill from the monkey or the dog: society - and its "conscience" which is culture - is for man a symbolic form doubly demanded by the social characteristics of the human animal, so devoid of survival instincts, and the qualities of reflexive mediatization of their "big brain". (Durand 2013, 26).

Thus, Durand proposes that the human being is an unfinished being and capable of being developed, "cultivated", educated. Despite a "big brain", the brain is immature and incomplete and, added to a body equipped only with basic survival devices, it remains for the human to symbolize.

In a kind of "human neoteny", that is, unfinished, Durand puts us in a dead end and makes us claim that the power to symbolize works as an evolutionary strategy for the maintenance of the species that, by "coincidence", is called as *sapiens*.

Archetypes are mediators between the schemes and the images perceived in the environment. The dominant gestures, manifested in schemes and in contact with the environment, originate archetypes. Constituting the bridge between the imaginary and rational processes, they prove to be universal and, therefore, adequate to the scheme. "For example, the ascension schemes correspond to the archetypes of 'summit', 'sky', 'tower', 'hero' [...]" (Turchi 2003, 28).

While archetypes are universal, symbols are multipurpose. Archetypes have a constant, but symbols, manifestations of these archetypes in culture, are re-signified according to the social environment. For example, "the ascension scheme and the archetype of the sky remain immutable, however, the symbol that marks them out changes from a ladder to a flying arrow, a supersonic plane or a jumping champion" (Turchi 2003, 28).

Let us not lose the sequence: dominant or dominant reflex gestures originate schemes, which have an archetypal nature. From that point, Durand moves on to symbols. In order, the sequence is: dominant gestures → schemes → archetypes → symbols. Symbols converge to archetypes; archetypes converge to schemes and schemes converge to dominant gestures.

To reach this structural configuration, Durand used a convergence method that shows an isomorphism of converging symbols. The convergence process is done by homology and not by analogy, by the semantics of the symbols and not by the syntax. This means that symbols follow their archetypal nature, preventing them from being lost and scattered in their cultural and social functions and discourses etc., or, on the contrary, from being trapped in a rigid structure and bearing sedimented meanings.

In addition to Jung's notion of archetype, Durand was faithful to his preceptor Gaston Bachelard, to whom he attributed the pioneering spirit of designing an archetypal structure made up of symbols or four elements of the "material imagination" (earth, water, air and fire). Bachelard called it material imagination because our daydreams, in the act of active imagination, follow rules and laws similar to those that matter follows by the laws of science, such as Physics. Bachelard himself (1990, 14) states that "we are drawn to the imaginary search for fundamental matters, for imaginary elements, which have idealistic laws as safe as experimental laws".

Durand, for his part, understands that the imagination follows rules and laws that put the imagination in a structure of the imaginary. He unveiled this by linking images to dominant gestures, schemes, archetypes and symbols.

There is also a bipolarity in Bachelard's theory of material imagination, a "oneiric" ambivalence. The four elements have a semantic pregnancy related on the one hand to the dreams of the will and on the other hand to the dreams of rest[6]. As Bachelard, Durand also understands that the structure of the imaginary is ambivalent and demonstrates this by relating, both the dominant postural gesture, of the diurnal regime, and the dominant digestive and copulative gesture, of the nocturnal regime[7].

In proposing the basic rules and ambivalence that guide the imaginary, Durand formulated his general theory of the imaginary that he called "figurative structuralism", consistently exposed in his work *The Anthropological Structures of the Imaginary*.

However, the anthropologist's structuralism does not follow traditional patterns. In fact, "Durand tries to reconcile the dispute between Lévi-Strauss's formal structuralism and Ricoeur's existentializing and historicizing hermeneutics, rejecting neither structural synchronicity nor hermeneutical understanding (*gnosis*)" (Turchi 2003, 25).

To put it another way, Durand understood that the structure must be a dynamic, intuitive and organizing space, and not as a static and emptied form of meaning. Durand, for example, sees that the German term for symbol (*Sinbild*) is the best term to define the balance between the polarities of the imagination.

Including in its etymological composition the sense (*Sinn*), an integral element of the recognizing and formative consciousness, and the image (*Bild*), the creator's substantial raw material, located in the collective unconscious, the symbol has a transcendent function and is the basic formula of the individuation process. (Turchi 2003, 25).

 In short, we can recognize two antagonistic regimes marked by time: diurnal and nocturnal. Related to body rhythm and archetypal tendencies, human beings represent the world and configure the historical context.

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6 Bachelard develops these ideas in works such as *Earth and Reveries of Repose: An Essay on Images of Interiority* and *Earth and Reveries of Will: An Essay on the Imagination of Matter*.
7 Durand is based on the works of Georges Dumézil and André Piganiol to classify the images in a bipartition: the diurnal and the nocturnal regime.

This archetypal tendency is specified in the *Sinn-bilden* of an era manifesting itself through the language of art, scientific systems or religion.

Durand's fantastic is nothing more than the anthropological "trajectory" [8] that begins in the body and transcends symbolic schemes, in a structure that narrates through the semantics of myth. In the same tone proposed by Novalis, Durand pursued a "physiology" of the imagination, as if the imagination were an apparatus intrinsic to the human being. The "function of the imagination is motivated not by things, but by a way of carrying things universally as a second sense, as a sense that would be the most universally shared thing in the world" (Durand 2002, 378).

This way of carrying universally, as if they were "categorical imperatives" of the imagination, therefore "structurable", is revealed in the world and in its cultural manifestations by a certain "pedagogical" or historical pressure. This "pressure" functions as an eon (*aion*) [9], as if it were a mentality, similar to Jung's archetypal images or elements, however, imprinting an imaginary force in history.

 In fact, one can think, with Jung, that a socio-historical typicality will replace psychological atypicality and edit the preponderance of this or that image regime. However, it is necessary to explain well what we mean by historical pressure: it is only the pressure that occurs in the ideologies of an instant of a civilization, and to mean that pressure we prefer to call it "pedagogy" more than history, because this last term brings confusion, in the mentality of the last two centuries, precisely with a messianic and progressive myth. (Durand 2002, 384).

In this way, it would be possible to match works of art, such as cinema, with the psychosocial motivations of an era. On the other hand, the pedagogical pressure of an era can frustrate the emergence of a contrary pressure. A dominant imaginary regime would exercise a negative pedagogy, that is, it would use methods of repressing an opposite regime. That is how an imaginary regime remains and creates its survival mechanisms, until the opposite regime, little by little, gains its space and equally imposes itself.

This is what would explain the diastoles and systoles in the history of the imaginary as Guy Michaud shows them through the history of French

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8 Durand uses this term sometimes to represent the anthropological path that originates in the body (dominant reflexes) and ends at the symbol. The concept behind the word "trajectory" differs from "path". While a path presupposes a starting point and an ending point, "trajectory" is recursive, feeds back and, therefore, is not linear, it is cyclical.
9 "Era" or "life force".

literature. A "journey" of imaginary becoming would be about two generations of 36 years each, one diurnal, "idealistic", the other nocturnal, "realistic", noted for the more frequent use in both and the other reciprocal case of the "theme of the night" and the "noon theme". (Durand 2002, 386).

As Durand uses a pedagogical vocabulary, that is, which allows us to deduce that a regime "educates", cultivates souls and minds, it is not absurd to understand that:

[...] every culture instilled by education is a set of fantastic structures. The myth, writes Gusdorf, "is the conservatory of fundamental values". The practice is initially taught in an extreme theoretical way: in the form of apologists, fables, examples, select places in literature, in the museum, in archeology or in the lives of illustrious men. And the games are nothing more than a first rehearsal of myths, legends and tales. (Durand 2002, 397).

Bearing this in mind, Durand imposes himself the task of elaborating a methodological tool that can read or carry out hermeneutics supported by the imagination, the symbol and the myth, a "mythhermeneutics" or a "mythodology".

First of all, it would be a question of rehabilitating the study of rhetoric, an indispensable compromise for full access to the imaginary, and then trying to start literary and artistic studies from historicizing and archaeological monotony, in order to replace the work of art in its convenient anthropological place in the museum of cultures and which is the hormone and support of human hope. (Durand 2002, 431).

Therefore, Durand's general archetypology, based on a fantastic transcendental of symbolic and mythic nature, structured in an anthropology of the imaginary, allowed the development of a loyal critique of the myth.

CINEMA UNDER THE DAY REGIME OF THE HEROIC STRUCTURE IMAGE

Faced with the faces of death and its characteristics of temporality and destiny, the diurnal regime assumes verbal schemes of distinction, that is, narratives of denial of time and darkness. With a dayiretic attitude (towards the daylight), it projects itself upwards and beyond, in the timeless. The negative instance, that is, the anguish of death, and which obviously must be rejected, is represented by teriomorphic symbols (animals), nictomorphic symbols (darkness) and catamorphs (fall and abyss).

It is not by chance that the heroic structure is very well represented by the "hero's journey", so explored by literature or cinema. The hero or the king is dressed in light and, wielding his sword, knows no other way to overcome the threat of death than through combat. Death threat often embodied by symbols at the same time teriomorphic, nichtomorphic and catamorphic, such as a dragon, a vampire, or any model of a devouring monster.

Durand realized that the teriomorphic scheme "slips" into the symbolism of the bite, of the devouring monster. This, can be represented by any number of animals and beings, a complete bestiary inserted in the dynamics of the devouring threat, of death: bogeyman, ogre, wolf, lion, dragon, vampire, or even villains who, in some way, represent the threat of death.

The nictomorphic symbols have a negative isomorphism of the most original psychological nature. The darkness of the night is one of the first symbols of time. "The night gathers in its malevolent substance all the preceding negative valuations" (Durand 2002, 92), which leads us to understand why so many villains and enemies of heroes in theaters have their origins in darkness, in the dimension of darkness. From current villains like Darth Vader from the *Star Wars* film series and Lord Voldemort in the *Harry Potter* film series, to "villains" or older nictomorphic beings like the Werewolf. The latter became a film as *An American Werewolf in London* (1981); *The Howling* (1981); *Silver Bullet* (1985); *Teen Wolf* (1985); *Wolf* (1994); *Underworld* (2003), which puts us in the middle of a war between lycans (werewolves) and vampires; *The Wolfman* (2010). Also, vampires like the famous Count Dracula in *Nosferatu* (1922); *Dracula* (1931); *Dracula* (1979); *Bram Stoker's Dracula* (1992); *Dracula Untold* (2014); the amusing films about Count Dracula from Hammer Film Productions made between 1958 and 1974, with Christopher Lee as the protagonist. The Mummy in films like *The Mummy* (1932); *The Mummy's Hand* (1940); the trilogy *The Mummy's Tomb* (1942), *The Mummy's Ghost* (1944), *The Mummy's Curse* (1944); the most current trilogy in *The Mummy* (1999), *The Mummy Returns* (2001), *The Mummy: Tomb of the Dragon Emperor* (2008). These three beings, the werewolf, Dracula and the Mummy, along with Frankenstein's monster and the Invisible Man, have their rights held to the cinema by Universal Pictures, which created a label called "Dark Universe".

The catamorphic symbols are united by the dynamics of the fall and the downward movement. Therefore, symbols related to vertigo (abyss, well, depths, precipice, etc.), have their place in the imaginary that preserves the negative aspects of death. The fall, in the sense of original sin, produces notions that permeate both the religious and the existential horizon: the fall also serves to mean sin as well as defeat. Depression is contrary to ascension, conquest or victory.

Well, it is not by chance that catamorphia is a characteristic that adheres very well to the psychology of beings of darkness and villains. We can cite any number of characters who justify their criminal actions by some catamorphic psychopathology, related to some moral or existential fall. This is the case with psychopathic characters such as the Joker, who appears in films like *Joker* (2019), or in the Batman trilogy as Christopher Nolan's *The Dark Knight*. Hannibal Lecter in *The Silence of the Lambs* (1991); the Green Goblin in *Spider-Man* (2002), or linked to the demonic aspect as Louis Cypher from the film *Angel Heart* (1987) and Sauron from the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy (2001, 2002, 2003).

It is not yet possible to state categorically, even because we lack research and systematization on the prevalence of the imaginary regimes defined by Durand applied in cinematography. However, thinking about the cinematography of an industrial nature, mainly that one produced in Hollywood, it is possible to observe a quite large number of films that use the heroic structure of the image. Suffice it to mention that a good slice of films currently produced focuses on productions linked to the comic books of heroes from Marvel and DC Comics. Almost all the heroes, obviously, follow the "primer" of the heroic structure of the image, that is, combat and denial of death.

Several heroes explored in cinematography range from the "classic" characteristics of a primordial hero, who basically uses strength and weapon (Conan, Superman, Thor, Iron Man, Hulk) to more complex heroes who use other strategies (Batman, Ghost Rider, Hellboy, Spawn). The latter are not even heroes of the diurnal regime, they are heroes of the nocturnal regime, which we will explore later, and who have heroism with a mystical tendency. In any case, even with heroes related to a mystical regime, the narrative of the films is always based on the same scheme of combat, victory and "apocatastasis", that is, the happy restoration of everything in the end.

Thus, diurnal imagination adopts a heroic attitude that reinforces the dark and evil aspect of "Kronos". In an antithesis of death, he places the figure of the hero with his weapons, which usually ends with an ascetic and luminous teleology (the hero overcomes death, resurfaces and ascends to the luminous sky).

Since the diurnal regime is linked to the figure of the hero and the technology of weapons, ascension symbols will be of paramount importance in representing the post-combat effect. The heroic attitude, which knows no escape, only combat in the face of the threat of death, naturally pursues discourse schemes anchored in the rise and never in the fall. Defeat or failure does not fit in heroic language. It is in the victorious combat that the heroic attitude, of diurnal regime, unfolds in the representations of success, conquest and triumph.

Furthermore, the idea of the Promethean fire linked to technology and its consequences in modern conflicts is accentuated, reason which led Durand (2013) to interpret Prometheus as a myth that represents modernity. Modern science and technology, invariably, are anchored to the diurnal regime of heroic structure.

Cinema and literature approached the updating of the Promethean myth in different ways. In the 19th century, with the dazzle that technology provided, creatures that were victims of science were elaborated, such as Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, or Robert Louis Stevenson's *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde. Frankenstein* became a film in 1931 and 1994, and as *Victor Frankenstein* in 2011. *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* in 1908, 1912, 1913, 1920, 1931, 1941, 2008. With the name *The Two Faces of Dr. Jekyll* in 1960; *I, Monster* in 1971; *Jekill and Hyde* in 1990. It even yielded some comedies like *The Nutty Professor* (1963, 1996).

Likewise, in the Promethean trail we have names like H. G. Wells and Isaac Asimov in science fiction. Wells' books that became films: *The Time Machine* (1960 and 2002); *The Island of Dr. Moreau* (1996); *The Invisible Man* (1933, 2020); *The War of the Worlds* (1953, 2005). Asimov's books were also filmed: *Bicentennial Man* (1999); *I, Robot* (2004). By the same author, the famous *Foundation Trilogy*, will soon become a series on Apple TV.

Philip K. Dick is the name of current science fiction, which was also used by the cinema. Imaginator of a dystopian future, where science and technology are protagonists, he created the tale that gave rise to the film *Blade Runner* (1982) and *Blade Runner 2049* (2017), as well as *Minority Report* (2002) and *Total Recall* (1990 and 2012).

The Promethean risks of technology have been addressed by countless films, such as in *The Matrix* trilogy (1999 and 2003); in *The Terminator* franchise (1984, 1991, 2003, 2009, 2015 and 2019), in Ridley Scott's film, *Prometheus* (2012), who addressed the questioning of creatures to their creators in a very direct way.

Rise and ascent to the hero's sky provides the imagery connected to the light. Because of the light, we have dayiretic symbols, that is, linked to the day. That is why the heroic figure has its rise against darkness or against the abyss. The solar hero uses his "bladed weapons", like the gladius, which, in its phallic action, reinforcing an obvious sexual allusion, gives a feeling of power, of dominance. It is what we see in cinema with the exploration of Arthurian legends and its unfolding in the heroic action of the male who, under the culture of patriarchy, dominates the attitudes of the prince charming, liberator of the kingdom and the virgin, even when ironic in an animation like *Shrek* (2001).

So it is with films that highlight a society of men like most military cinematographies, or the circles of the sages as *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* (2015) and *Kingsman: The Secret Service* (2015).

Rarely does Durand cite the heroic structure directly related to the woman or the feminine, except to enhance the masculine aspect. However, the necessary update shows us that the diurnal regime of heroic structure can also be explored in the female dimension in cinema, both in the "traditional" heroic figures of use of force, power and weapons such as *Wonder Woman* (2017) and *Captain Marvel* (2019), as well as in complex heroic figures like Hermione Granger from the *Harry Potter* films, Princess Leia from the original *Star Wars* trilogy and Lieutenant Ellen Ripley from the *Alien* franchise (1979).

The diurnal regime, in a way, prepares the nocturnal regime (mystical structure), as this is at the same time the opposition of the diurnal regime and its symbols, and its adaptation (synthetic structure).

THE NOCTURNAL REGIME OF THE IMAGE OF MYSTIC STRUCTURE

The nocturnal regime of image transmutes the negative aspect of death, capturing the vital and beneficial forces of becoming. In an attitude of assimilation, it converts death and darkness into acceptable images and symbols. Thus, the nocturnal regime is divided into a mystical structure, which converts and euphemizes death, and a synthetic structure, which reconciles the desire to become with the eternal return.

In the mystical structure, the ascent and the light become descent and darkness to penetrate the depths. In a taste for secret intimacy, it seeks the cavity, the return to the mother's breast and becomes a symbol of primordial rest. If in the diurnal regime the threat of death is denied and combated, in the nocturnal regime the threat of death is assimilated and mitigated. The horrible face of Kronos, the attack of the devouring monster, the dominion of darkness and the fall into the abyss are euphemized. Time is dramatized, as in passage rituals and fertility services, marked by astrobiological calendars; the monster is domesticated and sometimes gains a less threatening or controlled profile; darkness becomes a resting place for death and a space for mystical actions; the abyss becomes a desire for the secret intimacy of cozy havens, such as the tomb or the chthonic "houses".

While the heroic structure is based on combat, the mystical structure is based on refuge. By avoiding combat as much as possible, the mystical

dimension makes use of other strategies and "technologies" to deal with the threat, such as the perspicacity of anti-heroes, the pacification of the refuge (house, castle, cave, lair), magic or the miracle". In fact, many narratives make use of an ancient artifice typical of the mystical structure, which is the miraculous, magical solution of a *deus ex machina*.

The nocturnal regime imposes the symbols of the inversion of the symbols of ascension and light of the diurnal regime. It will give preference to the techniques of descent and penetration to a center, as in the technologies of excavation and, contrary to celestial gods and sovereigns, it will follow clues left by the fertility goddesses and by matriarchal and feminoid schemes[10].

Just as the hero needed his protective weapons, his shields and helmets, the descent also needs protection, whether from the armor of an aqualung, the stomach of a fish or a whale. At the heart of protective intimacy, such as the uterus or the mother's cervix, the fall is not to be confused with the rapid descent to death, but is transmuted into the typical descent of the gestures of swallowing and digestive activity. "The imaginary return is always a 'ticket' more or less cenesthetic and visceral" (Durand 2002, 201).

The "Jonas complex" (Durand 2002, 202), for example, is disseminated not only by the myth of the prophet swallowed by the fish, traveling in protective entrails, but by the Christ in the sepulcher, traveling in the entrails of death and hell, as well as by the Trojan Horse, as well as by giant swallowers, or, homologously, to the "soul egg".

Swallowing giants are beings exploited in countless films, as in the film *Ulysses* (1954), in which we see a cyclops devouring and swallowing humans; in *Jack the Giant Slayer* (2013); in the *Harry Potter* film series with a Basilisk and a Mountain Troll; in movies about dragons. Regarding the "soul egg", we must mention again the film *Angel Heart*, from 1987, by Alan Parker, which is a reinterpretation of "Faust". In a curious scene, it shows the character Louis Cyphre (Lucifer) charging the protagonist Harold Angel for the payment of his soul, while devouring a boiled egg.

In the night regime, the euphemistic strategy allows a double that approaches the threat to the threatened as a solution to the conflict: the thief is stolen, the deceiver is deceived, the devouring monster is devoured. In a kind of paradox, ethical acumen, trickery and the use of symbols of death against death itself are preferred. It is not by chance that some "anti-heroes", which we prefer to call "mystical heroes", use techniques

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10 We avoid the word "feminine" or "feminist" because of the limited scope of terms for Durand's use in his text. Although the author uses "femininity", many examples are of an androgynous and hermaphroditic nature such as Hermes and "male-female" gods.

and strategies based on intelligence, on cleverness, with the use of magic, "cheating", enchantments, rather than typically heroic combat weapons. We can mention some, which even became films such as *Constantine* (2005), *Hellboy* (2004, 2008 and 2019) and *Spawn* (1997).

The double is isomorphic with the idea of refolding: the fish swallows another fish, which in turn is swallowed by another, so successively and indefinitely. The maze is made up of a corridor that doubles in others and this in other bifurcations. A vestibule opens into a gallery, identical to the first and all other galleries. Which leads us to remember the film *Inception* (2010), and the film *Doctor Strange* (2016), which "play" with this idea of unfolding and refolding. In the first film, these developments take place in a dream world and in the second film in a mystical world. The possibility of choosing other outcomes and paths in a narrative, as if it were "unfoldable", is noted in several cinematographic works such as *Being John Malkovich* (1999), *Big Fish* (2003) and *Stranger than Fiction* (2006).

The double and the refolding lead us to the mirror, a simulacrum that dominates literature and Western cinema in works of horror and fantasy like *Alice Through the Looking Glass* (2016), *Us* (2019), or the unpretentious *Mirrors* (2008). As well as miniaturization, which reveals the possibility of fitting the small into the big: mirror games, Easter eggs.

Miniaturization fantasies will haunt scientists in their microscopic models in biology, chemistry or physics. Perhaps the most popular film with this idea is *Honey, I Shrunk the Kids* (1989), followed by *Ant-Man* (2015) and *Innerspace* (1987).

Miniaturization takes us to the processes of "gulliverization", that is, the intrinsic relationship between gigantism and smallness, between the very big and "small thumbs", or, if we want, in the miniaturization of Alice in Wonderland. "Gulliverization" inhabits the fantasy world of dwarves, fairies and goblins and creates the dimension of the little one as a kind of secret universe, far from the eyes of the combatant hero of the diurnal regime.

Swallowing, miniaturization, "gulliverization" and refolding establish fantasies of the universe within the other, such as the "universe within the shell of us", or the "mind-drawer", as illustrated in the film *Being John Malkovich*, or the "universes- drawers" cabinet that appears in the film *Men in Black 2* (2002).

In the nocturnal regime, we observe all the richness of precious stones. "The fantasies of the night descent naturally imply the colorful imagery of paints (teintures). Coloring, as Bachelard notes about alchemy, is an

intimate, substantial quality" (Durand 2002, 221). It is in the transmutation by fire, ancient alchemy, that food gains colors and textures, it is in the cauldron of vegetable mixtures that the mystique of old healers and magicians of vitality works. One of the reasons why in so many films that focus on food, colors and passions are exalted as symbols of vitality: *The Mistress of Spices* (2005), *Babette's Feast* (1987), or the excellent Brazilian film *Estômago: A Gastronomic Story* (2007), or the famous *Like Water for Chocolate* (1992) and *Ratatouille* (2007).

But also the magic of healers is manifested in characters from cinematographic fiction such as Severus Snape from the *Harry Potter* film series or in witches' potions, or even in the illusory eating set up by the witch of "Hansel und Gretel", so often filmed. The most current example is *Gretel & Hansel* (2020), in which the witch Holda does not let the children go because she keeps them full with her colorful banquets.

In the diurnal regime, water determined the symbols of purification, but in the nocturnal regime, water is the vehicle for paints and colors. In Jungian doctrine, in the unconscious, where the soul lives (anima / animus), the primordial water is confused with the mercury of alchemists, often represented by old Hermes. Old Hermes who can be seen as a wise old man, androgynous or not, like Dumbledore, wizard in the *Harry Potter* film series, wizard Gandalf from the *Lord of the Rings* films and Master Yoda from the *Star Wars* films.

From pagans to Christians, religions have known how to take advantage of the figure of the "primeval mother", the "madonna". Morgana is linked to the water element, just as Aphrodite is "born from the sea". The "Virgin Mother" has an evident union with the Great lunar and marine Goddess. In fact, Durand informs us that in liturgy, Mary is often called "spiritual moon", "star of the sea" (*Stella maris*), "queen of the ocean". The symbolic of the mother linked to the symbolic of the waters, due to isomorphism, slips into the notion of protection of sailors against the deadly arms and hair of the sea. If, on the one hand, the Melusian mothers, with their terrible hair, want to make men succumb to their maternal charms at the bottom of the waters, by euphemisation, they can also become protective mothers of drowning, of the disappearance among ocean waters.

Films that, in a certain way, approached this notion of water as a maternal, poetic or gestational dimension of life, can be seen in *Lady in the Water* (2006), *The Little Mermaid* (2018), *Aquaman* (2018), *Splash* (1984).

Some cultures maintain the habit of laying the baby down on the ground as a "telluric cradle" practice. Abandoned, but welcomed by the earth, a primordial element, they are now born under the auspices of heroic

destiny. A curious destination, because, on the one hand, his life will be overdetermined by the heroic actions of the diurnal regime, his birth was due to the nocturnal initiation of the "first-mother matter". So, it is with the popular hero Superman, raised by an earthly mother after "abandonment", or with the Christ born of the mythical virgin and welcomed by the tomb. Or even when we observe "pure" models of heroes who choose to "visit" their ancestors in the refuge of the "land of the dead" in a moment of deep reflection and decision, in films such as *Thor: Ragnarok* (2017), *Black Panther* (2018), *Superman* (1978), as in the most current *Man of Steel* (2013). In all of them the element of reflective refuge appears before the final battle.

In many initiation rituals, the chrysalis precedes the flight phase, or mummification preserves the future destination. In Candomblé, the starting point is the "belly" of the land, a place of death and rebirth. "There is a deep claustrophilia at the root of all the desire to preserve the corpse" (Durand 2002, 238). For Bachelard, all "insectoid" images suggest the safety of a closed being; carries his own grave. "Sleeping beauty" gathers folkloric images of rest and intimacy from popular tales, such as those collected by the brothers Grimm and reveals the character locked up in the castle chamber, awaiting her nuptial intimacy.

In fact, Bachelard proposes the imagination of the "universal house", or that house where the ultimate meaning of life is found. For Eliade, the house connects earth and heavens, a center (*axis mundi*) of sacred source. This is what we see in the film *The Fountain* (2006), which explores the idea of an *axis mundi* that connects the protagonist to heaven and earth.

Better expression is the "favorite song", which mimics the microcosm of the ancestors of the caves, as we observed in the film, in fact a cartoon feature film, *The Croods* (2013). In this cartoon, we see a clear opposition between the forces of the diurnal regime and the forces of the nocturnal regime. The diurnal regime appears notably in the protagonist's ascension symbols, who climbs the rocks to see the last rays of sun, and in the day-iretic symbols of light against the dangers and threats of darkness, which allows the prehistoric family to travel, hunt and fight for life. The night regime, on the other hand, fo cuses on protecting the family under a cave, a place of rest, security and the development of art and mythic narrative.

Another good example in cinema that deals with the threat of death through escape to a safe haven is the film *War of the Worlds* (2005), directed by Spielberg. The story shows a father who tries to protect his children from the attack of aliens by avoiding to the maximum the combat and preferring to escape, unlike the adolescent son, who prefers to fight the threat by adapting perfectly to the heroic structure.

But, the refuge does not have to be enclosed by walls and ceilings. In addition to the labyrinth, we observe the mandala pattern in closed circles for protective purposes. This is the case with images created by fiction in enchantments and spells to keep demons and entities outside. That is why several horror films and series repeat the act of protection by drawing a circle, a star or a line with chalk or coarse salt to delimit a threshold between the space of protection and the demonic or ghostly threat. Likewise, the secret garden or the "center" garden of the kingdom follows the symbolism of the sacred circle, sometimes containing a sacred or life tree. This is what we see, for example, in the film *The Lord of the Rings: The Return of the King*, where a citadel called "Minas Tirith", with a spiral design, has in its "mandalic" center a garden containing a tree of life.

In fact, the address is not necessarily attached to a fixed place. The abode on water is taken up by mythical images in ancient religions as well as in literature and cinema. Noah's barge or ark, the ghost ship, the home of souls, or the mortuary journey of the boatman Charon, are examples. As well as the cradle for the transport of infant Moses. Similar to the romantic boat in romanticism, we now have the automobile: the car is a microcosm, an object that is so often anthropomorphized.

In this sense, usually in the horror genre, we can see a ghost ship (*Ghost Ship*, 2002), or a ghost town, as in the movie *City of Ghosts*, 2002, and the famous *Silent Hill* (2006), based on the video game Silent Hill. Anthropomorphized cars go so far as to become a "person", as if they were alive, "dwelling in a soul", as in the cartoon *Cars* (2006) or in the film *Christine* (1983), based on the book of the same name by Stephen King. At other times, the "basket-cradle" appears symbolized in a space cradle as in *Superman* (1978), as well as in the space module in *Gravity* (2013), or when the spaceship, in addition to a "survival address", has the risk of becoming a death journey or "final home", as if it were a tomb. We see this in *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968) and *Apollo 13* (1995).

THE NOCTURNAL REGIME OF THE IMAGE OF SYNTHETIC OR DRAMATIC STRUCTURE IMAGE

The nocturnal regime of the image is not only antiphasic, that is, the reverse of the diurnal regime. In fact, since the night regime maintains its assimilation strategy, it has brought many diurnal expressions close to it. In this case, the night with the day are integrated into the anthropological structures in a synthesis.

[...] we have already seen that night symbols are not constitutionally free-ing themselves from diurnal expressions: the valorization of the night is often done in terms of lighting. Euphemism and antiphrasis only act on one term of the antithesis and they do not follow the reciprocal devalua-tion of another term. The euphemism only escapes from antithesis to fall into antilogy. The night poetics tolerates "obscure clarities". It overflows with riches and is therefore forgiving. (Durand 2002, 268).

In the synthetic nocturnal regime, the integration of the tragic attitude with the triumphant attitude of becoming is evident, converting them into a dramatic conception. That is why time in this synthetic regime is dramatized in related symbolic constellations and astrobiological dra-mas, agricultural calendars. Temporal flow, the terrible face of death, is integrated in a huge diversity of cyclical conceptions, ideas of progress and evolution, as well as in utopias.

Consequently, the "classic" symbols of the synthesis are cyclical or progres-sive, operating within time itself, in an attempt to domesticate becoming.

The cyclical pattern was, moreover, a constant concern for Eliade. For him, the mythological canons of all civilizations are based on the repetition of time, on the principle or myth of the eternal return. It is a repetition of creation or primordial mythic events, with an etiological constant behind it. The abolition of destiny as a fatality presupposes a new beginning, a new creation. The new year "annihilates" the chaos of the last days of the year, because the year (*annus*) is related to the ring or circle (*annulus*).

Durand draws attention to the binary, trinar and quaternary divisions and how they each form a constellational nucleus where symbols and myths related to these divisions will be attached. In binary symbols, for example, polarity and ambivalence are well documented in ancient cul-tures and folklore. The iconography underlines the ambivalence of deities or children of the gods: Heracles, Hermes, Jesus, Neith. It also accentuates the hybridity of certain beings such as the mermaids, centaurs or bicolor gods of Mexico. The theater is represented by the two faces of the mask of "acting", Jano is "bifrontal", which indicates the double character of time, as well as the double character very well represented in pop culture with "Two-Face", Batman's enemy in comics and cinema. In fact, Batman himself hides his double identity, as much as most of the heroes created by the comic book culture and taken to the cinema in superproductions like *Superman*, *Spider-Man*, *Hulk*, *Captain America*, etc.

The unification of opposites allowed the mythical drama of death and rebirth. "Poetry, history, as well as mythology or religion, do not escape the great cyclical scheme of conciliation of opposites. The temporal repetition,

the exorcism of time, became possible through the mediation of opposites […]" (Durand 2002, 294). Thus, it is the cyclical symbolic of renewal that commands the myth of the flood, the historical revolutions, the reincarnation with its karma and the resurrection.

The constellational nucleus that concentrates many of these symbols is the "agrolunar drama", overdetermined by the vegetable symbol that inspires the invention of gods and goddesses, elemental beings and characters endowed with some power coming from nature. It is what we can perceive either in literature or in the films in *The Lord of the Rings*. Tolkien explored the imagery of the plant cycle well, both in its main characters, the hobbits, in a specific character, which few pay attention to like Tom Bombadil, and in the Ents, ancient anthropomorphized trees. Still in cinema, the Popol Vuh twin who turns into a tree is portrayed in the film *The Fountain* (2006). This last film also explores the cyclical conception of life at the beginning of the eternal return.

The water cycle as a means of rebirth is very well portrayed in the film *Lady in the Water* (2006), and in the film *Big Fish* (2003). In the first film, a "water nymph" appears in the swimming pool of a hotel and, to be saved from a devouring monster, mobilizes all guests. Guests represent a kind of microcosm of peoples and cultures. Each one needs to play their part before the nymph called "Story" so that, in addition to it, everyone can rediscover their "identity", a kind of rebirth. The entire movement is directed by the hotel's caretaker, who stutters in a way that makes it impossible for him to tell his own story. When everyone is together and the caretaker finally helps "Story" to save himself, his speech returns to normal and he recovers the ability to tell his affectionate story. In *Big Fish*, a son finds it difficult to relate to his father because he believes his stories are lies. The father, on the other hand, does not abandon his exaggerated stories because they are part of his cyclical nature, of giving meaning beyond the fact. Like the hotel's caretaker in *Lady in the Water*, the son in *Big Fish* not only understands why his father tells stories, but joins him to tell the ultimate story. At the end the symbols of the cycle are taken over, a fish and a wedding ring.

Similar to *Big Fish*, we have the movie *Life of Pi* (2012), which tells the story of a boy who had to reframe his sufferings experienced in a shipwreck. Instead of telling what happened, it presents a different and more "poetic" version of the facts, a euphemized version. In fact, this euphemization of painful facts, the anguish of death softened by "mythified" stories, is a very well explored literary and film technique. See *Pan's Labyrinth*, *Life is Beautiful*, etc. All are stories of "rebirth" or "second chance", typical of the possibility of dramatizing the time that we find in the synthetic or dramatic structure.

Just as baptism represents death before rebirth, "making the head" in Candomblé marks the death and rebirth of the neophyte, even with a seclusion ritual, as if he were being "born". Often, such rituals are accompanied by sexual mutilation, euphemized by circumcision, or when the initiated are replaced by a doll that must be "shattered" or mutilated, celebrating androgynate.

The mutilation of gods and heroes often reminds them that they have undergone martyrdom or sacrifice, creating sacrifice rituals by isomorphism. Human sacrifices, for example, were very common where there was the practice of agrarian liturgies, as in the Aztec maize cult. Often the victim's body was shattered and "planted" in the fields for fertility purposes.

Some characters from several films follow this symbolism of sacrifice, of life or of a part of the body, such as the god Odin portrayed in the *Thor* films, a Marvel Studios franchise started in 2011. It is said that Odin gave up one of his eyes in exchange for absolute knowledge. Unlike the blindness of the imaginary diurnal regime, which is perceived in a negative way, here it is welcome and, in fact, it is a "blindness that sees beyond", because a "mystical eye" replaces a common eye. We can also see in another character like the Black Widow (*Avengers: Ultimatum*, 2019), who sacrifices herself for the salvation of the group and humanity. Or in Gandalf, the gray wizard from the films *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*, who, after dying to save the Fellowship of the Ring, is reborn as a white and more powerful wizard.

In the film *Gravity* (2013), Dr. Ryan Stone, despite not sacrificing herself, is experiencing a kind of death and rebirth. Her trip represents the painful process of overcoming her daughter's loss. After landing, being in fetal position, she exits the spatial module, a type of womb or uterus. Then she crawls, rises and walks, reminiscent of an evolutionary movement, typical of cyclical symbolism of transformation.

It is also what we perceive in films that reveal the transformation of characters such as Alice (*Alice in Wonderland*, 2010) and Claireece "Precious" Jones (*Precious*, 2009). Adolescents who need to go through the hardships of puberty and transition to adulthood, assuming responsibilities and taking their own lives. Although Alice lives in an enchanted world, where monsters and enemies are euphemized, and Precious lives in a real world, where family members are the real monsters, there is a symbol of cyclical transformation in both films: the butterfly. In Alice, the character encounters a blue caterpillar at the beginning of her journey, before entering Wonderland and, when she leaves, the caterpillar had transformed into a butterfly, representing her own transformation from a teenager to a responsible adult. In Precious, the transformation process

is symbolically portrayed by the movie poster in which the character appears with large butterfly wings.

The negative epiphany of the lunar cycle, with sacrifices, shatters, mutilations, has its apex in orgiastic rituals, in an attempt to return to chaos, to inform, from where everything can be restarted. As in a cycle, the renovation is preceded by a chaotic party, with the abolition of rules and laws. So are the New Year and Carnival parties that, at one time or another, resemble the parties of the bacchantics, worshipers of Bacchus. In fact, at this party, the bacchanal is accompanied by a lot of wine and broken members of curious men.

We have an example in the film *Midsommar* (2019), in which the character Dani becomes a queen of fertility after all her friends die sacrificed in the rural commune they visited. The film reveals agrolumnar elements related to fertility such as planting, harvesting, veneration of nature, circular dances, hallucinogenic drinks, and ritualistic sex.

The series of films that began in 2013, *The Purge*, goes back to the idea of purging all sins and crimes. On that night of chaos, rules and laws are abolished, to then allow the idea of a return to order.

Often botanical symbols and moon goddesses will be accompanied by a teriomorphic scheme, a complete bestiary. Hecate, Diana, Artemis are escorted by dogs. The caduceus of gods and heroes who bring renewal are flanked by animals. Other times these goddesses and gods turn into animals, or the transformation reveals the hybridity of the diurnal being that becomes a nocturnal being. Examples can be seen in the transformation of a human being (man or woman) into an animal, such as a dragon, a bear, a bat etc.

The fantastic literature, often taken to the cinema, created different characters with this hybrid characteristic in which at times it is a human being, at times it is an animal. Thus we find in Tolkien's literature and in the films of *The Lord of the Rings* a character, Beorn, who turns into a bear, or in the films of the *Harry Potter* series in which each wizard is able to invoke his *expecto patronum*, a guardian of positive energy that presents itself in the form of a light animal.

We also see in the book series *His Dark Materials* (volume 1, *The Golden Compass*, became a film in 2007) the souls of humans being transformed into companion animals called daemons.

In the 1985 film, *Ladyhawke*, a couple is unable to bond because they have been cursed. During the day the woman turns into a hawk and during the night the man turns into a wolf, in a clear allusion of opposition between

the diurnal and the nocturnal. Incidentally, the diurnal-nocturnal synthesis can also be seen in the film *Maleficent*, from 2014. In the film, Maleficent, sorceress from "Sleeping Beauty", is a lady of nature, of the mystical world, of the universe that is sometimes controlled by night time, sometimes due to the cyclical time of vegetables. The future king, with whom she falls in love, is lord of the kingdom of heroes and knights, of the universe commanded by diurnal time, of the scepter and the sword. The redemption of this union was only possible through the intervention of synthetic mediation between darkness and light, that is, twilight. Note that at the end of the film, at dusk, redemptive death is performed by a child called "Aurora", who stuck his finger in a needle on a distaff wheel (symbol of the cycle).

Various animals by themselves represent cyclical transformation such as the butterfly, the moth, the frog, the insects and the reptiles. In the 1999 movie *Magnolia*, after the characters undergo a redemptive transformation and the beginning of a new cycle, frogs rain. The magnolia flower is represented in the film's poster as being in a spiral and in the concentric circles of water. A sign that the characters meet each other and enter a cycle of mutual aid.

In fact, the moth often symbolizes transformation through death and rebirth. This can be seen in the film *The Silence of the Lambs* (1991), both in the poster, in which a moth appears ("skull sphinx"), representing the criminal's desire for transformation, as well as in the cocoons of this moth that appear in the mouths of the murdered.

The cycle is already a symbol that involves a constellational nucleus centered on the technologies of the cycle such as the spinning wheel and spinner (the weave joins the separate parts), the mill wheel, the clock (symbol of "controlled" becoming). Therefore, the circle will be a symbol of temporal totality and the celestial sphere will appear in the zodiac in various civilizations such as Babylon, Egypt, Persia, and India.

It is not by chance that films explored the idea of a principle of eternal return that allows the protagonist a new chance. See *Groundhogday* (1993) in which a reporter gets caught up in the repetition of the same day in a city that, interestingly enough, is a tourist spot because of a groundhog that purportedly pointed out whether the winter would be long or not. Here, time, animal and cycle of the seasons mix.

Another film that addresses the repetition cycle is *Edge of Tomorrow* (2014). The film emulates the language of some video games that do not allow a check point, that is, a saving point in the game to start over. This means that the protagonist has to start from scratch and trust his memory, until he can reach the end of the cycle.

CONCLUSION

What we present in this text is not exactly a rigid method of interpretation, but a methodological path that allows for a hermeneutic exercise. To some extent, we were able to perceive indications of symbolic elements that are "fished" and integrated into most of the narratives explored in the films. Since these elements point to archetypal cultural expressions, it is wise to say that the examples linked to the cinematographic universe can be almost infinite. However, this does not mean that the examples overlap the structures. Quite the contrary, although the structures of the imaginary admit changes in their polarities, they are well delimited and follow rules that imply that symbolic constellations remain faithful to their archetypes.

This means that the images explored in the cinema have symbolic motivation, they are not there by chance. The narratives, imbued by their discursive nature, will inevitably stick to their archetypal, symbolic and imaginary aspects. Regardless of the theme covered by the film, we will always be able to interpret its symbolic elements with the small Duranian "encyclopedia" as a starting point.

Furthermore, since cinema is an art that reverberates with other arts, it is possible to pull the thread of the discourse in such a way that the myth-hermeneutical method is also applied in other expressions of culture. In fact, such a hermeneutic exercise allows both to start with cinema and to focus on other arts, with the guarantee that results will be very similar.

TRANSLATION:
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ARTICLES

THE ACTOR-NETWORK THEORY AS A TOOL FOR THE SOCIAL REVIEW FROM THE FILM HER

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ABSTRACT

Technology is usually seen as impersonal and life-less, and it loses these characteristics in the cinematographic work "Her". The film takes us to unusual lines of reasoning. This essay uses the film "Her" as a pretext to propose a look at new ways of relationships in contemporary times, ways that unite human and non-human actors for the production of a collective, in the Latourian sense, beyond society. This collective has as a social product the hybrid actor/actant, in the proposal to visualize the union in the same context of humans and technologies. Therefore, I propose the use of the cinematographic work of director Spike Jonze, as an audiovisual field capable of producing in the reader an image on the proposed Latourian theme: new social, hybrid actors, mediation, collectives, interaction between human and non-human. As a theoretical basis, the essay moves through concepts extracted from the Actor-Network Theory (ANT).

INTRODUCTION

Her[1] is an American film, which mixes diverse cinematographic genres that run through romantic comedy/drama and science fiction. It is a 2013 work, written, directed and produced by Spike Jonze. The narrative centers on a human character, who develops a personal

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1 Original title: Her. Translation into Portuguese: Ela. Screenplay / direction: Spike Jonze. Photography: Hoyte Van Hoytem. Art direction: Austin Gorg.

relationship with his virtual computer assistant, which in turn, endowed with personality, has a voice identical to that of a human. Theodore, played by Joaquim Phoenix, brings a melancholy experience to the audience, caused by the end of a relationship. A lonely man, who will suffer a change in his destiny when he discovers the existence of an artificial intelligence program, extremely close to the voice and personality of a human subject. Artificial intelligence is Samantha, which voice is played by Scarlett Johansson.

The focus of the narrative is the trajectory of Theodore, who lives the melancholy of remembering the past, and the hesitation and excitement of experiencing something new. The work is very rich in details, ranging from the images well placed by the art director, to a soundtrack that conveys the character disturbance. Santaella and Cardoso (2015, 168) express the uncomfortable experience transmitted by the film:

> Her is emblematic for the society of the 21st century, insofar it translates in a disturbing and credible way the stunning disturbing sensation of the invasion of technology in the most intimate shelter of human life. The narrative is a plural expression of very current dilemmas of artificial intelligence and the human-machine relationship.

Theodore finds, through this new virtual relationship, a way of comfort and escape from his own reality, which is shown in the film as that of a lonely man, with difficulties in creating bonds with other humans. We see a subject overflowing with "existential crises", so present in the digital and "modern" era, and the problem of new virtual technologies insertion, such as affections mediation and socialization means. The plot highlights a close reality, in which objects, technologies and other "non-human" contributions are presented not only in the sphere of silenced effectiveness and efficiency, aimed at human improvement, but also as a sphere of innovation in the social relations of the subjects.

In the first scenes of the film, we are taken inside the character apartment. The images refer to the momentary identity chosen by Theodore: that of a subject who is disorganized, disconnected and anonymous in the midst of a pulsating society. In this way, a space for reading the scene is opened, based on the premise of our character removed from the ties seen as social and subject to the fear of fast and superficial relationships. The interference caused by the insertion of Samantha in his routine, gives him more disconnection with other humans. In contrast, we see a new type of connection being created in their daily lives, a new way of relating is presented to the public. This can generate identification at first. Although we have not yet proven an operating system as developed as "Samantha", we have already glimpsed its possibility by tasting, for

example, "Siri" - developed by Apple, or "Alexa" - developed by Amazon, both virtual assistants run by voice, resources that are able to interact and provide information, among other functions. They became everyday actresses, by helping people to perform the most varied types of tasks just "talking" with the device.

Her, presents the contradiction of Theodore life, who works by writing letters to bring people together. A lonely man who uses his computer and technology to write letters addressed to unknown people - speaking for them - who are also in an unbridled quest to connect. I open a parenthesis for slightly echoing the necessary reflection that the film provides about the insertion in the sphere of affections capitalization, feelings commodification, and interaction as a product.

As the cast and plot are introduced, the image of a society of consumers in need of exchanges of affections, buyers of attention, self sellers and exhibitors on social networks becomes clearer. It is possible to read the character as a response to a consumer society, which promotes physical isolation and generates connectivity through other ways of relating, maintaining bonds and creating bonds. Fioruci (2019, 134) will say:

> In this society in which consumption becomes a substitute for the affective dimension and subjectivity is transformed into an egocentric individualism, the basis of social ties precariousness and the eclipse or impoverishment of otherness experience, human being resorts to promises that are easy to satisfy. Her protagonist chooses this path, more or less consciously. Hooked by the announced offer, acquires the OS1 operating system. [...] First of all, the need for communication by Theodore becomes evident, which, for a moment, seems to be really on the couch.

Her plot, when presenting the relationship of the characters "in romance fashion", tends to persuade us in defense of the character disconnection with human ties. It promotes a diffuse feeling of identification, while allowing reflection on a possible overcoming of traditional forms of socialization, reassessing the differences, pros and cons through the prism of sociology of associations.

HER AND THE ACTOR-NETWORK THEORY

To direct the look to this new social proposed in the sociology of associations, I use the Latourian concept to understand the new definition of

social as a flow of associations and I adopt concepts that encompass the Actor-Network Theory (ANT), choosing as the main work to represent it an excerpt from the book: "Reagregando o social" by Bruno Latour. Again, the ideas for the discussion will be social, hybrid actors, mediation, collectives, interaction between human and non-human.
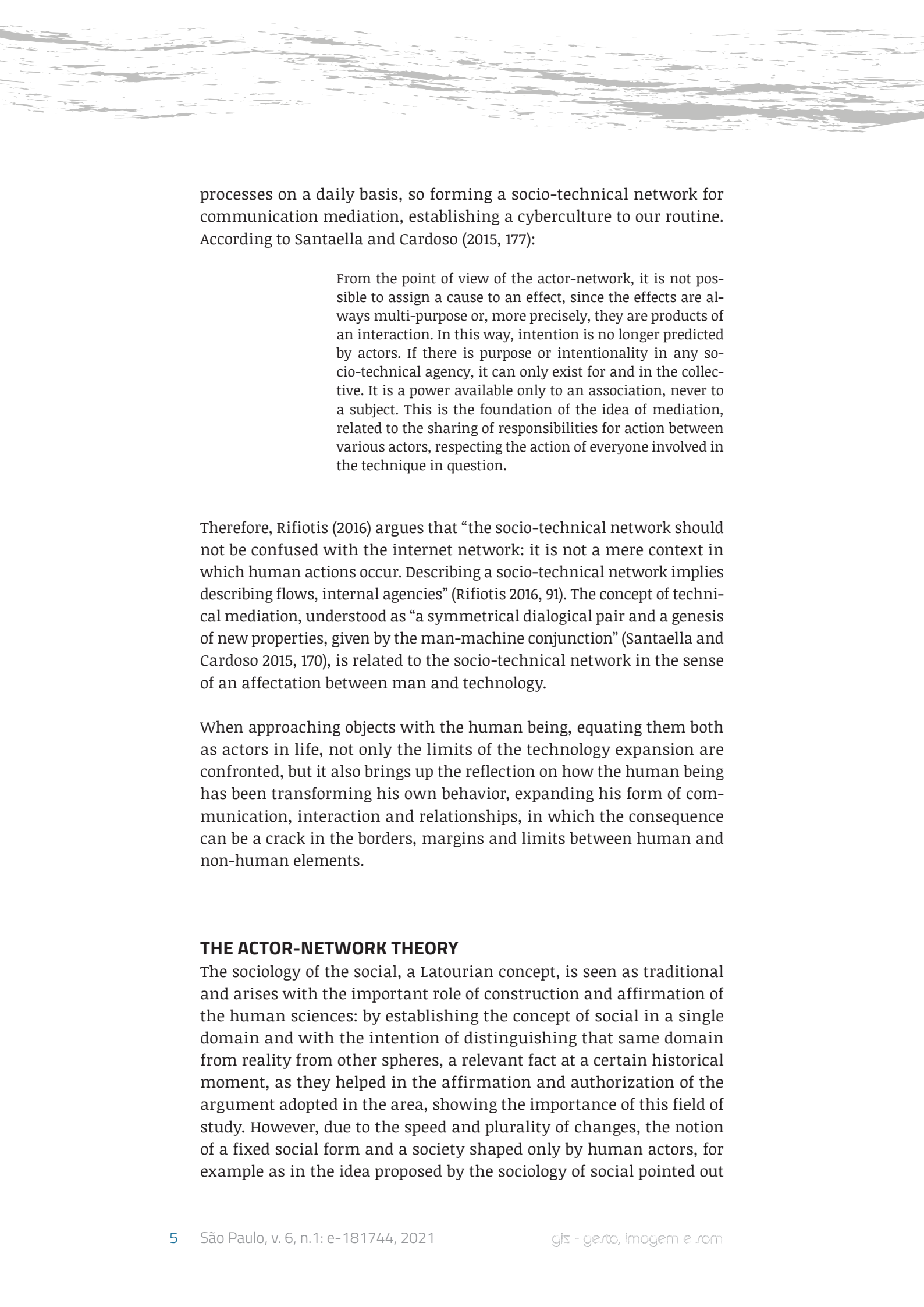
From the reflection on Her cinematography and Latour work, as well as other ANT theorists, I was able to identify, in an example very close to our technological time, a new way of being social. Through a more fluid communication, an experience provided with excellence by the cinema, I was able to displace Lautorian concepts to reflect on a society of associations within that contemporary time.

The choice for the film Her was due to the understanding that the work of director Spike Jonze dramatically illustrates an anthropological idea applied by authors of the Actor-Network Theory. Therefore, cinema, as an aspect of art, shifts the look of the world to its nuances, creates value and adds it to our way of being culture. I believe that the use of the work as a corpus of analysis will facilitate the visualization of an example of technical mediation, suggested by the Actor-Network Theory (ANT). ANT takes shape in an attempt to provide reflection on technical mediation with the sociology of associations. "In this, the concept of technical mediation requires that the social is seen as the product of an association between human and non-human actors, functionally symmetrical in the actor-network theory (ANT)" (Santaella and Cardoso 2015, 168).

The reflection proposed in this essay seeks to elucidate the construction mechanismof hybrid actors interactions (human and non-human, Theodore and Samantha), which are formed through technical mediation, and also to present the concept of the Actor-Network Theory of replacing the term society by collective, with a great collaboration of the socio-technical field presented here by Rifiotis (2016). Although the amount of concepts used in the short text is broad, they are interconnected and related in order to clarify the idea of a "new social".

The use of non-human elements, represented in the film, for example, by the cell phone, computer and game that simulate a parallel existence, become interaction tools, in which the character develops new social bonds. We can see in this relation the expansion of the way that traditional sociology is intended for the sphere of the social, that is, the one only aimed at humans.

In the view of Latour, the social is no longer inhabited exclusively by humans. With the installation and immersion of technologies, our forms of communication have been undergoing transformation and adaptation

processes on a daily basis, so forming a socio-technical network for communication mediation, establishing a cyberculture to our routine. According to Santaella and Cardoso (2015, 177):

> From the point of view of the actor-network, it is not possible to assign a cause to an effect, since the effects are always multi-purpose or, more precisely, they are products of an interaction. In this way, intention is no longer predicted by actors. If there is purpose or intentionality in any socio-technical agency, it can only exist for and in the collective. It is a power available only to an association, never to a subject. This is the foundation of the idea of mediation, related to the sharing of responsibilities for action between various actors, respecting the action of everyone involved in the technique in question.

Therefore, Rifiotis (2016) argues that "the socio-technical network should not be confused with the internet network: it is not a mere context in which human actions occur. Describing a socio-technical network implies describing flows, internal agencies" (Rifiotis 2016, 91). The concept of technical mediation, understood as "a symmetrical dialogical pair and a genesis of new properties, given by the man-machine conjunction" (Santaella and Cardoso 2015, 170), is related to the socio-technical network in the sense of an affectation between man and technology.

When approaching objects with the human being, equating them both as actors in life, not only the limits of the technology expansion are confronted, but it also brings up the reflection on how the human being has been transforming his own behavior, expanding his form of communication, interaction and relationships, in which the consequence can be a crack in the borders, margins and limits between human and non-human elements.

THE ACTOR-NETWORK THEORY

The sociology of the social, a Latourian concept, is seen as traditional and arises with the important role of construction and affirmation of the human sciences: by establishing the concept of social in a single domain and with the intention of distinguishing that same domain from reality from other spheres, a relevant fact at a certain historical moment, as they helped in the affirmation and authorization of the argument adopted in the area, showing the importance of this field of study. However, due to the speed and plurality of changes, the notion of a fixed social form and a society shaped only by human actors, for example as in the idea proposed by the sociology of social pointed out

above, needed to be revisited and rethought through brief interactions and/or new associations, that is, a new form of social being, a substitution of society for collectives, through the network of associations, with human and non-human actors/actresses. In this way, the sociology of associations appears against the representation of the social as a single domain and proposes the concept of the social as "[...] the name and a type of momentary association characterized by the way in which it takes on new forms" (Latour 2012, 100).

> [...] often, in the social sciences, "social" designates a type of bond: it is the name of a specific domain, a material such as straw, clay, rope, wood or steel. [...] For ANT, as we now know, the definition of the term is different: it does not designate a domain of reality or a special item; it is rather the name of a movement, a displacement, a transformation, a translation, a record. It is an association between entities that are in no way recognizable as social in the ordinary sense, except during the short time when they are confused (Latour 2012, 99).

In the work *Reagregando o Social: uma introdução à Teoria do Ator-Rede*, Bruno Latour presents two approaches: the "sociology of the social", as previously commented, that is, the one seen as more traditional and part of common sense and the second, and "sociology of associations", the anagram of English words: ANT (Actor-Network Theory), which objective is: when analyzing scientific activity, consider both human and non-human actors. ANT proposal was to undo an idea of social as a domain of reality, a unique or special domain.

Through the Actor-Network Theory it is possible to clarify the relationship of objects in everyday life, within the sphere that we understand as social, and also, as we can more easily notice, the argument from which sociology has been absent for a long time, that is, from the discussion about the split between what is human and what is non-human, what is object, artifact and/or animal, that is, placing the perspective of humanism as a fragmented issue of the relationship with the world, the issues of this collective world. Latour (2012), in his work, proposes an alternative to sociology, in the sense of re-aggregating the social, moving from the idea of society to that of collectives, and this collective is thought, by him, as what can be constituted by different actors (human and non-human). According to Latour (2012, 112):

> Therefore, from now on, the word "collective" will replace "society". Society will be just the set of entities already assembled that, according to sociologists of the social, were

made of social material. Collective, on the other hand, will designate the project of bringing together new entities that have not yet been brought together and which, for this reason, are obviously not made of social material.
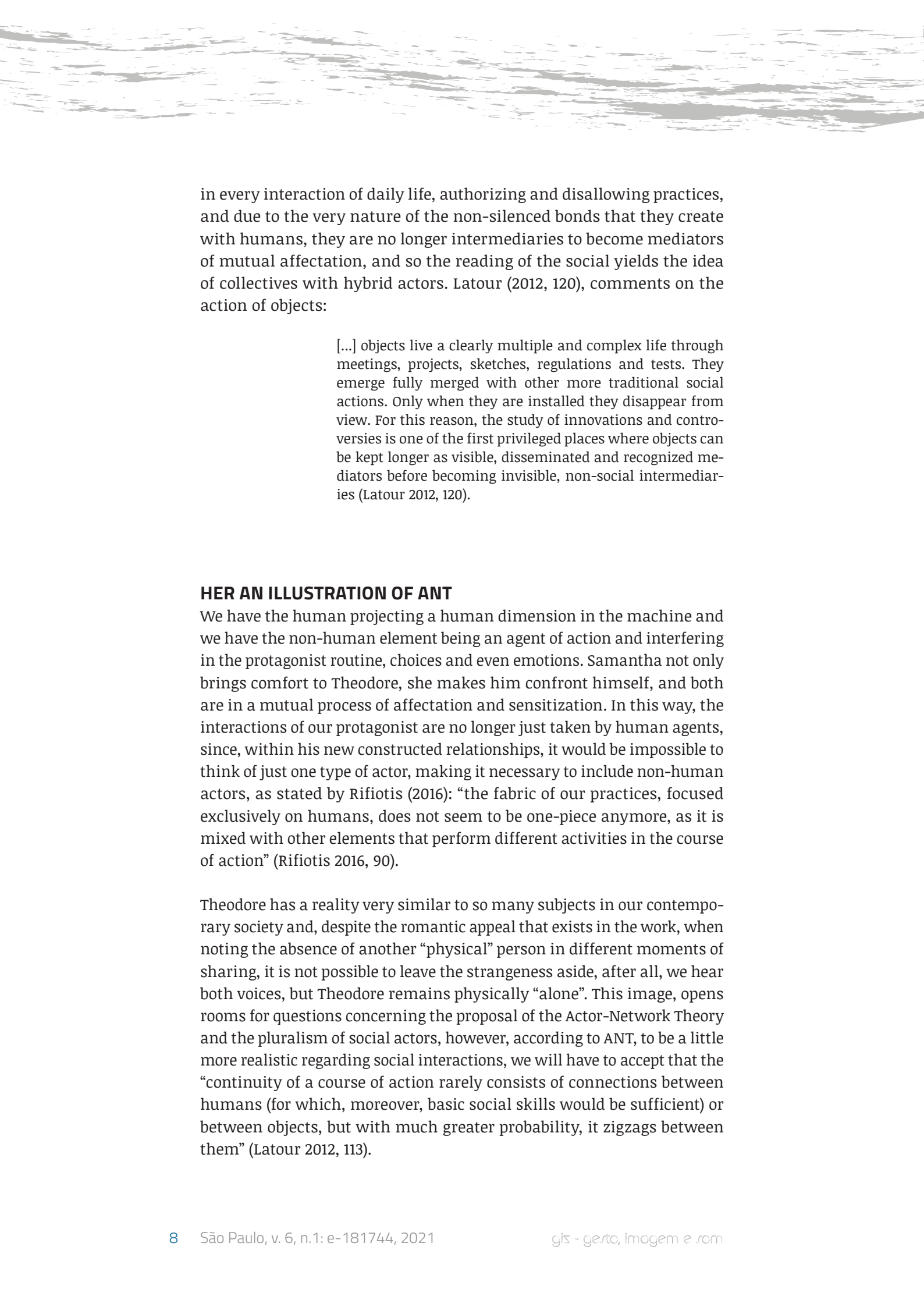
According to the Actor-Network Theory, there are several types of actors, and those who make a difference in the course of action of another agent or environment are qualified as such: "[...] participants in the course of action that awaits figuration" (Latour 2012, 108), "[...] if we insist on the decision to start with controversies about actors and actor, anything that changes a situation making a difference is an actor - or, if you do not have a figuration yet, an actant (Latour 2012, 108).

Latour (2012) comments on non-human actors from the point of view of the Actor-Network Theory: "In addition to" determining "and serving as a" backdrop "for human action, things need to authorize, allow, grant, stimulate, give rise to, suggest, influence, interrupt, enable, prohibit, etc." (Latour 2012, 109). ANT does not indiscriminately claim that objects perform actions in place of human actors.

 Starting from the premise that objects also act, not necessarily thinking of them as intentional movements, but as having a certain subjectivity, the idea is to propose a reflection on the social as a collective of associations and networks between humans and non-humans. Here, the actors would not be distributed on the scene as subjects and objects, but starting from the same point of mutual affectation. Santaella and Cardoso (2015, 173), commenting on Latour work, point out that:

> Paradigmatic, to illustrate the new sociability that emerges there, are the agency possibilities typical of digital culture, in which several sensors allow devices not only to alert, but also to validate or invalidate, authorize or disallow human action, or rather, the action mediated by devices according to inputs given by the interaction with man.

In the idea of collectives, proposed by ANT, the social ties that technology provides, that is, the non-human element as an actant within the provided social, continue to exist even after its creation and configuration, or better, they continue creating new forms of interactions, not unlike other objects, animals and other non-human actors, however the new technologies are not silent, as an example used by Latour: "Once built, the brick wall does not pronounce a word - even though the masons continue chattering and graffiti proliferate on its surface" (Latour 2012, 118). Technology as an actor of the social, even after its configuration, does not have the characteristic of silence, it is present

in every interaction of daily life, authorizing and disallowing practices, and due to the very nature of the non-silenced bonds that they create with humans, they are no longer intermediaries to become mediators of mutual affectation, and so the reading of the social yields the idea of collectives with hybrid actors. Latour (2012, 120), comments on the action of objects:

> [...] objects live a clearly multiple and complex life through meetings, projects, sketches, regulations and tests. They emerge fully merged with other more traditional social actions. Only when they are installed they disappear from view. For this reason, the study of innovations and controversies is one of the first privileged places where objects can be kept longer as visible, disseminated and recognized mediators before becoming invisible, non-social intermediaries (Latour 2012, 120).

HER AN ILLUSTRATION OF ANT

We have the human projecting a human dimension in the machine and we have the non-human element being an agent of action and interfering in the protagonist routine, choices and even emotions. Samantha not only brings comfort to Theodore, she makes him confront himself, and both are in a mutual process of affectation and sensitization. In this way, the interactions of our protagonist are no longer just taken by human agents, since, within his new constructed relationships, it would be impossible to think of just one type of actor, making it necessary to include non-human actors, as stated by Rifiotis (2016): "the fabric of our practices, focused exclusively on humans, does not seem to be one-piece anymore, as it is mixed with other elements that perform different activities in the course of action" (Rifiotis 2016, 90).

Theodore has a reality very similar to so many subjects in our contemporary society and, despite the romantic appeal that exists in the work, when noting the absence of another "physical" person in different moments of sharing, it is not possible to leave the strangeness aside, after all, we hear both voices, but Theodore remains physically "alone". This image, opens rooms for questions concerning the proposal of the Actor-Network Theory and the pluralism of social actors, however, according to ANT, to be a little more realistic regarding social interactions, we will have to accept that the "continuity of a course of action rarely consists of connections between humans (for which, moreover, basic social skills would be sufficient) or between objects, but with much greater probability, it zigzags between them" (Latour 2012, 113).

Samantha's "existence", intermediated by an object (cell phone, operating system and/or application) as an everyday actress, in a place similar to our human protagonist, brings a reflection on the traits identified with a new way to read the social, not only limited to human relationships, but expanding the pandora box to other forms of being that same social, through a look at the practices provided by technical mediation and/or socio-technical network.

The inclusion of objects as actors that influence social decisions as well as humans is part of an approach that serves both for the discussion about the involvement and development of technologies, and also to reflect the limitations of what defines us as humans. The non-human elements seen as mediating and non-mediating actors, provide greater clarity so that we can see the current movements of the collective as a fluid process and present in contemporary time. Fioruci (2019, 128), comments the connection between the context of contemporary cinema and the work of the North American director:

> [...] contemporary cinematography, which Jonze is aligned with, invests in the exploration of its protagonists identity, their crises and anguishes, especially regarding the instability of these identities, expressed in their observable fragmentation and ambivalence (Fioruci 2019, 128).

Even though the work narrativeis possibly set in the future, it is a time very close to that of the spectator of the present, bringing an identification bias with the protagonist and his experiences. Theodore does not live only among humans, his social, his "social drama"[2], his questions are involved with non-human elements. The contemporary "new social" no longer fits inside the box imposed by a traditional sociology.

AFFECTED AS MERCHANDISE

The process of producing the stranger, strangeness, loneliness, fragmented identities, and polarities, is a process that determines places and creates maladjusted subjects. They are part of a system that manipulates certain relationships, promotes social uncertainties and ineptness "one hour at a time". Theodore, found himself lonely, without lasting ties, devoid of the feeling of social belonging, a character who was a predictable target of the capitalization of affections. Passive consumer, he surrenders to Samantha, falls in love with Her, and is also disillusioned within this collective scenario - of technologies and humans as agents of mutual affectation.

2 Concept taken from the work of Victor Turner: Dramas, fields and metaphors.

The actor-network theory foresees the fastest and most efficient connections, and what would be faster and more efficient than loving relationships with your cell phone? The chance of hurt, disappointment and lack of assertiveness would be slight. A less "truncated" communication that would involve few actors and few processes, that is, leaving the sphere only human, full of processes and which may not be efficient in the end. "After all, in the terminology of the actor-network theory, the notion of "actor" is not reducible to the traditional sense of "social actor", since it must name everything that acts, what/who makes a difference, it leaves traces, which could be people, institutions, animals, objects, etc" (Rifiotis 2016, 90).

To elucidate the reflection on affections as a commodity, I displace the concept of Taussig (2010): "The lively appearance of commodities highlights people reified appearance, and both dissolve when the commercial inspiration of the definitions of man and society are emphasized" (Taussig 2010, 30). Based on the author's premise, thinking of relationships as merchandise, became the new instrument of power: relationship chats, communication and interaction apps, cell phones with better camera images; subjects can "post" the best cut of their own life.

Even if technology starts to be considered in the social world, through the sociology of associations, as an act of mutual affect alongside the human agent, it does not neglect its bias as a consumer commodity, that is, it only develops gains another structure within its configuration, and showing how a system of capital, which aims at consumption and consecutively interactions via the capitalization of affections, is transforming us into isolated, fragmented and polarized subjects in our relationships.

> In capitalist culture, blindness to the social base of essential categories makes the social reading of supposedly natural things quite confusing. This is due to the peculiar character of the abstractions associated with the marketing organization of human affairs: essential qualities of human beings and their production are converted into merchandise, into something to be bought and sold [...] (Taussig 2010, 24).

Therefore, there is a transposition of ideas and the era of likes, visualizations, of performing doing something, gains an aspect of essentiality and also of production. Getting views or not has become capital and, as such, an object of dispute, power and frustrations. The proposal of a collective that surpasses the idea of society, does not exactly aim at the satisfaction and maintenance of ties, but on the contrary, the more present and elastic the interactions between hybrid actors are, the more the subjects will become dependent on the market.

The self used to be presented and maintained jointly by individual skills and with the use of innate resources that now tends to be mediated by technologically produced tools that can be purchased on the market. In the absence of such tools, partnerships and groups disintegrate (if they had the opportunity to emerge before) (Bauman 1998, 35).

The film Her portrays this scenario well, as it presents the proposal of a virtual character, the result of a paid operating system, like a real character, the drama proposes the mixture between different types of "societies", human and non-human, adopting the Lautorian concept of collectives, extrapolating the concept of a single domain of social imposed by the sociology of the social. This character is hired a priori to organize the life of our protagonist. Samantha was supposed to limit herself to her standard functions, but she was designed within a system of capital, which manipulates relationships and alienates affections. Theodore isolates himself from other human beings, connects and allows himself to this unique relationship, gets emotional and buys the sold idea of a personalized operating system. He no longer feels lonely. He is no longer able to create bonds of belonging outside of Samantha's "presence". Affection was sold to him, now another object is an integral and important part of his social. From a material good, we can witness the construction of a feeling, an abstraction more than the real, producing identifications through beautiful scenes, music and interpretations.

The "new" way of reading the social world, with the insertion of technologies as a non-human agent, now permeated by the dominant spirit of consumerism, does not aim to generate lasting ties, as we can witness at the end of Her. Theodore discovers that Samantha is shared with other "n" consumers, that that relationship is not exclusive and much less durable. Bauman (1998), discussing the liquid ties of postmodernity, adds the reflection when he affirms that: in a world where ties are concealed in successive, recurring and fragile encounters, the history of life ends up becoming a series of episodes which unique lasting consequence is his equally ephemeral memory.

It is noted that non-human agents and, in this example, new technologies, the massive insertion of cell phones and apps in daily life, fulfill the dual function of actant and merchandise, that is, how actants are capable of directing decisions and shaping life routines. Together with humans, forming a large collective of interactions production. And now, while fulfilling the role of commodity, they serve as a fetish of capital to manipulate affections, to "give" us affections through the purchase of these.

CONCLUSION
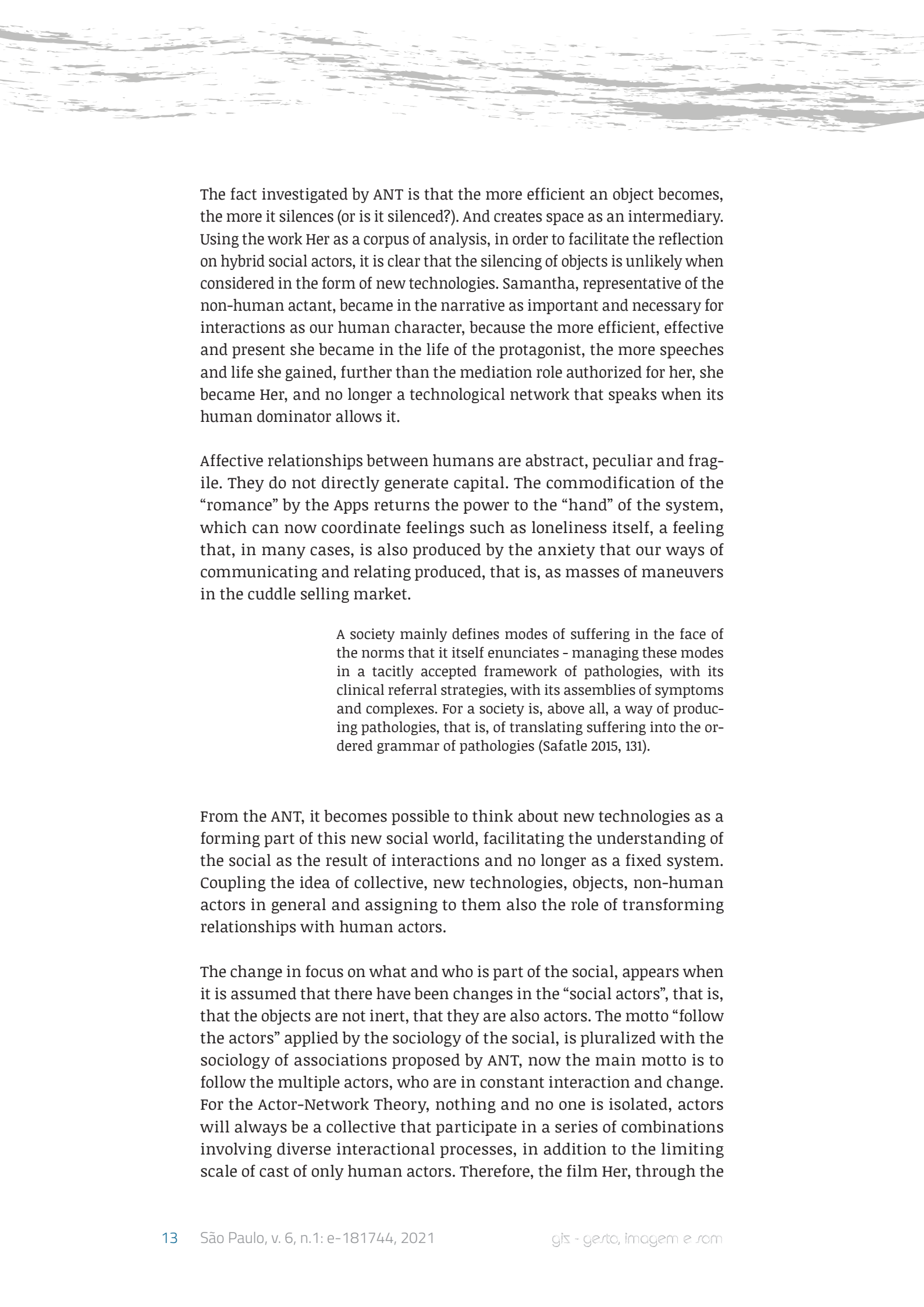
Her, the film by director and screenwriter Jonze, is part of a contemporary cinematic universe. It portrays the new way of living and experiencing technologies in everyday life, as well as the British anthological series Black Mirror, which is "centered on dark and satirical themes that examine modern society, particularly regarding the unforeseen consequences of new technologies"[3], work as a suggestion for reflection on a type of reality more than present today.

We live on the basis of objects and in contemporary times we are hostages to them, and it is important to reflect on this relationship, that is, on the real role that objects have in our lives, as believed by Rifiotis (2016): "The elements of the world are no longer fit into the categories of the "social" previously established, but are in a framework of permanent innovation" (Rifiotis 2016, 94).

The actor-network theory is an important tool to assist us in thinking about how these objects can be "reread". It presents a new view on the integration of non-human elements into our practices, because in that particular historical time, objects also shape our fields of action and can no longer be seen as inert, and are only social meanings, assets, goods or silenced artifacts. They have become endowed with an essential role in the configuration of an action structure, which allows us to act in a certain way or in other ways. "ANT project is to expand the list and modify the shapes and figures of the assembled participants, outlining a way to make them act as a durable whole" (Latour 2012, 109), "It is known that the actor-network theory represents an attempt to overcome the idea of Cartesian mind and its resulting dualisms" (Santaella and Cardoso 2015, 168). Through ART, it opens up the possibility of rethinking the social world as a network of interactions and society as a collective with hybrid actors, that is, with human and non-human actors that affect each other.

Non-human actors, of course, are not the target of social thinking. They are spontaneously allocated to the margins of the social, allowing to elucidate the idea that there are no means to insert them in the fabric of the social, preventing the possibility of showing other multiple social ties. Through the sociology of associations, looking at the social as a collective, as an interactive socio-technical network with multiple actors, starts to include hybrid actors as performances of everyday life through a technical mediation of mutual affectation of the actors, that is, the human and non-human agents affecting each other. Or rather exemplifying, Samantha and Theodore as agents of mutual existence and affectation.

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3 https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Black_Mirror. Accessed on 02 april/2021.

The fact investigated by ANT is that the more efficient an object becomes, the more it silences (or is it silenced?). And creates space as an intermediary. Using the work Her as a corpus of analysis, in order to facilitate the reflection on hybrid social actors, it is clear that the silencing of objects is unlikely when considered in the form of new technologies. Samantha, representative of the non-human actant, became in the narrative as important and necessary for interactions as our human character, because the more efficient, effective and present she became in the life of the protagonist, the more speeches and life she gained, further than the mediation role authorized for her, she became Her, and no longer a technological network that speaks when its human dominator allows it.

Affective relationships between humans are abstract, peculiar and fragile. They do not directly generate capital. The commodification of the "romance" by the Apps returns the power to the "hand" of the system, which can now coordinate feelings such as loneliness itself, a feeling that, in many cases, is also produced by the anxiety that our ways of communicating and relating produced, that is, as masses of maneuvers in the cuddle selling market.

> A society mainly defines modes of suffering in the face of the norms that it itself enunciates - managing these modes in a tacitly accepted framework of pathologies, with its clinical referral strategies, with its assemblies of symptoms and complexes. For a society is, above all, a way of producing pathologies, that is, of translating suffering into the ordered grammar of pathologies (Safatle 2015, 131).

From the ANT, it becomes possible to think about new technologies as a forming part of this new social world, facilitating the understanding of the social as the result of interactions and no longer as a fixed system. Coupling the idea of collective, new technologies, objects, non-human actors in general and assigning to them also the role of transforming relationships with human actors.

The change in focus on what and who is part of the social, appears when it is assumed that there have been changes in the "social actors", that is, that the objects are not inert, that they are also actors. The motto "follow the actors" applied by the sociology of the social, is pluralized with the sociology of associations proposed by ANT, now the main motto is to follow the multiple actors, who are in constant interaction and change. For the Actor-Network Theory, nothing and no one is isolated, actors will always be a collective that participate in a series of combinations involving diverse interactional processes, in addition to the limiting scale of cast of only human actors. Therefore, the film Her, through the

perspective of the Actor-Network Theory, leaves the image of who are the actors that are part of this network of interactions less nebulous.

> [...] the network itself is no longer exclusively something that is "used" by humans, or a mere context for human action, after all, in the course of each action, the network can be either the context within which certain relationships are produced, or also a mediator who transforms relationships and enables the emergence of subjects (Rifiotis 2016, 94).

The example that is suggested in Her is in charge of the reflection on the cell phone and apps, as responsible for the transmission of information as the human that shares the information with it, forming a connective network that transports them to another dimension, the dimension of affection previously dominated exclusively by beings said to be alive. Thinking of the cell phone object as an actor, and in the case of Jonze's film, the voice of the actress Scarlet who represents the character Samantha, is giving life to this new way of thinking about the social, in which humans and non-humans are agents of mutual affectation, are actors of everyday action and both become responsible for the process of relating.

Objects thought of as things that need to authorize, allow, grant, stimulate, give rise to, suggest, influence, interrupt, enable, prohibit, as described by Latour (2012) or devices having a capacity not only to alert, but also to validate or invalidate, authorize or disallow human action, as reported by Santaella and Cardoso (2015), are also endowed with great power of persuasion by the means of the capital system that is present and dominant in relationships, providing in advance the alienated sense of freedom and autonomy to the consumer, to the human actor. The seemingly reasonable division between machine/technology and human, is unlikely and becomes what hampers the reflection on the possibilities of actions being collective and interactive, a process that actually is really going through our daily lives.

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SEA, LAKES AND LAGOONS: POETRY IN THE ART BASED RESEARCH OF A MUSICIAN

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SEA, LAKES AND LAGOONS

Prologue
I enter the lake.
Does it define me?
Does it shape me?
It just suffocates me.
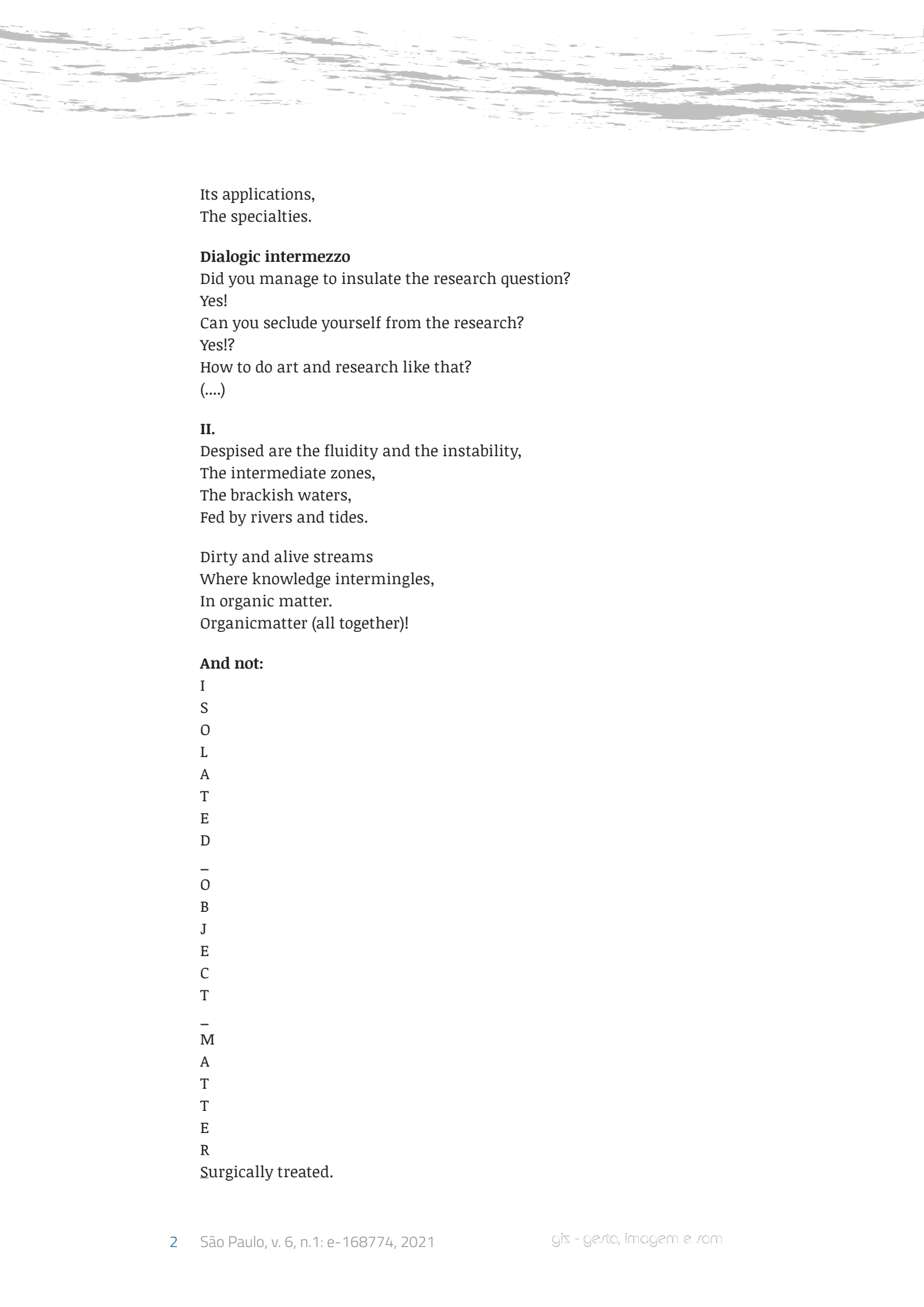
I.
Revered are the clear lines of a discipline,
The borders of its territory,
The slices of knowledge it produces
And the people who isolate themselves in it.

Applauded are the research problems,
Predetermined methods,
The routes already covered,
The results already expected...

Praised are the contours of the lake,
The stillness of its crystalline waters,
Beautiful, controllable,
Cold, dead.

Lauded are the verticality,
The references (theoretical only),

Its applications,
The specialties.

Dialogic intermezzo
Did you manage to insulate the research question?
Yes!
Can you seclude yourself from the research?
Yes!?
How to do art and research like that?
(....)

II.
Despised are the fluidity and the instability,
The intermediate zones,
The brackish waters,
Fed by rivers and tides.

Dirty and alive streams
Where knowledge intermingles,
In organic matter.
Organicmatter (all together)!

And not:
I
S
O
L
A
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E
D
–
O
B
J
E
C
T
–
M
A
T
T
E
R
Surgically treated.

III.
Sealed lakes,
Artificially dammed:
Installed,
Established,
Controlled.

IV.
Semi-open lagoons,
Movable and changing:
What's in between,
What moves,
What is discovered.

Smell of sea,
Breath of freedom,
Maresia.
Audacity.

Misbelief?

V.
Offshore? Hold on!
Ventures and ruptures!
Danger!
Object not
D-E-L-I-M-I-T-E-D.

Choose a bay!
- But the bay is not the sea.

The sea is endless...

Epilogue
If I am something/someone today, it was because I dared not to follow
the disciplinary limits of music. I followed instincts and established
relationships between knowledge, including affectively.

The intradisciplinary dismemberment of music itself,
In so many isolated lakes, something that bothers and hurts (me).
Lakes formed from the split between theory and practice,
Between the music score and the music performer,
Between the inside and the outside,
Between the subject and the object.

For a place in the sun, subjects and processes are detached from the space.
The lake sculpts the thought, the body and the sensitivity.

As an artist, I want to be able to enter and leave these lakes (anytime).
I am not constructed by disciplines and theories,
Referential authors.

I am not a product restricted by a field.
I am not derivative.

I am interested in the brackish, fickle waters,
Because, through them, I taste the salty taste of an oceanic freedom.

I do not mind:
To follow stipulated processes,
To understand parts of my craft,
To look at mirrors in which I can see myself more clearly,
To expand my cognitive spectra,
To sharpen intellect and instinct.
To be clear and explicit.

However, I always stay:
Situated, contextualized,
Whole, incarnate,
Embodied,
Sensitive,
Procedural
Creative,
Relational.

ABSTRACT
In my investigative process as a musician, researcher and professor, I approach the autoethnography with the intention of listening/seeing/understanding me (a little) better. Perhaps the most important question of research (and of life) that I have is this: how do I perceive the relationship between research and the arts at the Academia? As a result, I wrote a poem manifesto (!?) that opposes certain research conventions in favor of a greater disciplinary and methodological fluidity in the art based research.

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gis - gesto, imagem e som

THE PEACOCK JUNCTION

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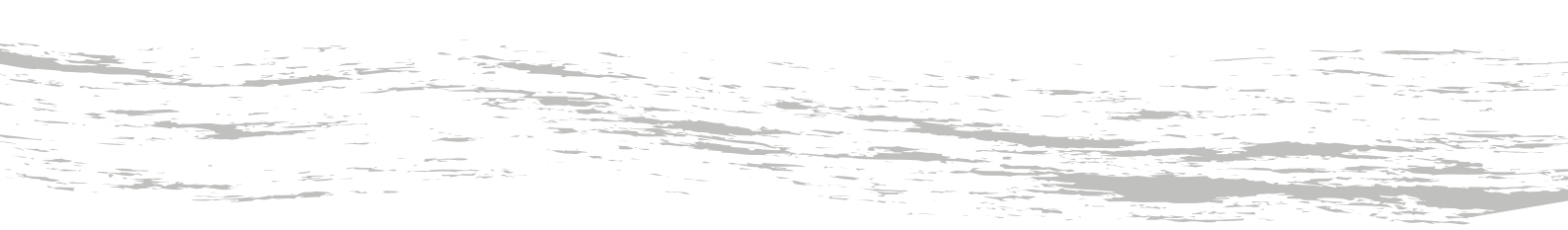
The followers of Âryabhata say:

"It is sufficient for us to know the space which
is reached by the solar rays."

The Book of India, Abu Rayhan Al-Biruni (c. 973 - 1050)

THE PEACOCK JUNCTION

Attention passengers of Flight EK544, please collect your luggage at baggage carousel number 19. Passengers of Flight EK544, please collect your luggage at baggage carousel number 19.

In numerical terms, I should announce the hyperbolic scale of India right from the outset. With more than one billion three hundred and seventy-eight million inhabitants, the first visible sign of the country's size is the long arrival corridor at Chennai airport and the myriad of welcome signs displaying a huge diversity of names, languages and characters. A few metres from the end, I recognized my name, responding shyly and relieved. The arrival doors always make me anxious. We pushed the trolley to the concourse outside where we were inundated by the dense hazy air. In the parking lot, always the same confusion on entering a car with right-hand drive.

Arriving on January the first, towards the end of the winter holiday period, we avoided the colossal traffic of this southern metropolis. Previously called Madras, Chennai is one of the four largest cities on the Indian subcontinent, situated in the state of Tamil Nadu on the shores of the Bay of Bengal. But still, this was not our destination. With the car packed with luggage and my small family, we left along the national highway towards the city of Vellore, the location of one of the campuses of the Vellore Institute of Technology, the academic institution where I had recently been hired to teach photography.

During the short trip of one hundred and seven kilometres, the friendly driver Jagadeesh cordially announced the names of the places with the calm for which inhabitants of the south are known. Travelling at speed on the highway, the dizzying landscape that my eyes could take in resolved into suburbs, advertising images on immense billboards, industrial areas installed in rural surroundings and innumerable works under construction. Through this impermanent landscape, I thought of the countless challenges that had already announced themselves to me. I meditated on the frontiers to be transposed in the quest to understand and enter the new landscape in all its variations of light, contrast, tonal scale and combinations of colours. It was clear that for me to connect more closely with this landscape, I would also have to ponder the geographic, cultural, aesthetic and educational differences.

The today's Republic of India obtained its independence in 1947 and possesses an important chapter in the History of Photography. Since the

introduction of photography in what was then British India in 1840 – registered at the time by the *Calcutta Courier* – probably no other colonial territory was so extensively depicted and documented. During the nineteenth century, British India was the setting for a considerable flow of production and circulation of photographs, as well as the place of photographic studios and societies.[1] Consequently, there are innumerable cases where photography was instrumentalized by the colonial apparatus of propaganda and territorial control.

Many photographers left important visual documents that reflect not only technical and aesthetic concerns but also colonial interests. Photography was used extensively in an undertaking of spatial and human 'mapping.' Just as Reverend Joseph Mullens, in 1856, encouraged photographers to expand their photographic themes and motifs towards documenting the "perfect specimen of all the minute varieties of Oriental Life; of Oriental Scenery, Oriental nations and Oriental manners."[2] Indeed, the relationship between photographers and the colonial administration was not based solely on the aesthetic inclinations of photographic genres: it was centred above all on a concrete connection established through commissions and contracts to realize specific projects. In many cases, Photography was a military specialization, and the photographer was an officer tasked with a specific "mission,' as the documentation of the buildings damaged during the anticolonial battles led by Tipu Sultan, photographed by the officer of the East India Company Army, Linnaeus Tripe, in Tamil Nadu in 1858.

1 Pinney, Christopher. 2008. *The Coming of Photography in India*. London: The British Library.
2 Idem.

The collection of works by the photographer is now held at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. Depicting above all landscapes, fortifications and temples – photographed using the calotype and wet collodion processes – the photos comprise a valuable image archive. The bucolic view of the mountains of Virabadra Droog suggests that the image belongs to an unattainable time. The landscape stretches out over a rugged terrain: above, dark clouds enhance the natural beauty while simultaneously framing the edges of the picture. The perspective is highlighted by the effect of atmospheric shading, captured in the gradation of grey tones that lend depth and grandeur to the scene. An idyllic landscape that, analysed outside the military context in which it was taken, might suggest only a deep appraisement of nature. Does observing only the landscape falsify its meaning? In asking this question, I have no wish to insinuate that the photographer lacked any genuine interest in transcribing the landscape or in preserving architectural antiquities. Rather, my point is that, in his photographs, it is difficult to dissociate his artistic interest from his commitment to the colonial protocol. Moreover, to what extent are these not two sides of the same coin? At first glance, it is difficult to recognize the paradox of the photographs that were taken to record the aftermath of the ferocious siege of Tipu Sultan's final bastion: the picturesque vistas and the legitimization of colonial conquest.

A Bengal village.

In 1867, some years later, the renowned British photographer Samuel Bourne photographed the rural surroundings of the state of Bengal. In his photographic work *Village life in Bengal*, once again it is possible to see the

delight of this genre of calm and peaceful scenic views. On the other side of the road, the observer remaining at a distance, we can see the ox cart at the entry to the village with houses sheltering amid the palm trees. Probably the same year, this was also the setting for numerous conflicts between the colonial enterprise linked to indigo production and the local population.[3] This type of idealized image of nature reveals no trace of the other elements of the colonial landscape and the semi-industrial surroundings of the Bengalese rural world.

Samuel Bourne was one of the central figures in the photography of British India. Winner of various prizes awarded by the Bengal Photographic Society, his best-known work was made during a series of explorations of the Himalayas in a quest to photograph the sources of the Rio Ganges. As well as the precious series of views photographed on wet collodium, which show the omnipresent view of the uncontaminated and glacial nature of the mountains, he published his travel accounts in the *British Journal of Photography* between 1863 and 1870 – reports that can be read as an antithesis to the transcendence of his photographs. His travel accounts describe the *off-camera* of a photographic practice allied to the colonial

3 Pinney, Christopher. 2008. *The Coming of Photography in India*. London: The British Library. The "Indigo Rebellion" is one of the most significant chapters in the resistance to British colonization in India and comprised a series of popular uprisings against the forced cultivation of indigo, which had the objective of exporting the product to supply primarily the European textile industry in dyeing clothes and fabrics, a trade that declined after the invention of artificial dyes. Likewise, the historical event emphasizes the complexity of the meaning of colour in Indian society.

apparatus, relating the government contracts, the outposts, the logistics, the thirty 'coolies' carrying the photographic equipment and occasionally the disagreeable encounters with "barbarous Hindostani."[4] Samuel Bourne was also a partner of the company and photographic studio *Bourne & Shepherd*, an establishment that curiously – even after the sale of his share of the company and his return to the United Kingdom – remained in business until 2016 and is believed to have been the longest-running photographic studio in the history of photography.[5]

Obviously, throughout all these years of photographic production on the Indian subcontinent, there had always been Indian photographers. Even so, Raghubir Singh is the only photographer from the country cited in the volume *On the Art of Fixing a Shadow: One Hundred and Fifty Years of Photography*, a book on the history of photography published in 1989 in commemoration of 150 years of the announcement of the invention of photography. Colin Westerbeck cites Singh in the chapter 'New Colour," where he discusses the commercial reasons why the production of colour photos was attributed a minor status among art critics. The text also reflects on the aesthetic strategies of US photographers seeking recognition of colour photography as fine art and its eventual assimilation in museums and galleries. In this context, Westerbeck (1989) remarks on the Indian photographer:

> When a native photographer works in an exotic land with a more colourful culture than our own, as Raghubir Singh has in India, we accept the lushly picturesque results with a readiness that we would not have for such imagery made here.

Although the small citation partially recognizes the relevance of India's photographic culture, it does not consider that the photographer from another country must also deal with problems and solutions to the representation of the colours present in his environment – after all, innumerable technical choices and decisions (the type of camera, film, processing, enlargement, printing, colour space, and so on) will contribute to the final result of his colour palette. The colours we observe are the direct result of light conditions, situations that vary with the change of geographic coordinates. On the other hand, the use of colours by a culture is a universe that is not determined by climatic questions alone, but also by the symbolic and the subjective. In the case of India, due to its large climatic and cultural diversity, I cannot assert that there exists a unified chromatic identity that corroborates the image of an *exotic land with a more colorful culture.*

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4 Banerjee, Sandeep. 2014. *"Not Altogether Unpicturesque": Samuel Bourne and the Landscaping of the Victorian Himalaya*. Cambridge: University Press Cambridge.
5 Nagar, Kshitj. 2016. *World's Oldest Working Photo Studio Shuts Down After Long Legal Battle*. Petapixel. 18/06/2018. https://petapixel.com/2016/06/18/worlds-oldest-working-photo-studio-shuts-long-legal-battle/

However, we can find texts by Raghubir Singh himself that extol chromatic symbolism and colour an element as every day as it is essential to life in India.[6] In Tamil Nadu, I observe a popular predilection for using colours to paint houses and buildings. The arrangement and repetition of these colours end up creating a pattern in the urban landscape and its surroundings. The observation of a chromatic quotidian with its variations and combinations encountered in the landscape and other local visual manifestations lead me to think of the presence of a chromatic identity. However, I cannot assert that the use of colour is a distinctive element that differentiates the colonial photographic representations from the postcolonial.

6 Singh, Raghubir. 2006. *River of Colour: The India of Raghubir Singh* (2nd ed.). London: Phaidon Press.

Happily, the contact with photography students appeared to be the shortest path and nonetheless also the most relevant source for me to explore the paradoxes of the photographic image in India. Arriving in Vellore, we were given accommodation in the professors' residence located close to the west gate of the campus. The Vellore Institute of Technology is one of the largest academic institutions in southern India. Today, the institution has 51 undergraduate courses, 34 postgraduate courses, and more than 36,000 enrolled students. Among the students, 62.12% are Indian from other states, 26.63% are Tamil students living in the state itself, 2% are students with Indian nationality but who completed their secondary education abroad, and 1.48% are foreign students, the majority from African and Asian countries.[7]

After some institutional procedures, I presented myself to the class of the first year of Multimedia for the Basic Photography course. In a huge class with almost seventy students sat in an orderly fashion at benches equipped with computers, the first encounter was marked by mutual empathy and curiosity. The enthusiasm generated by the new experience is especially enriched by the demographic diversity of the students, a shared curiosity, since I am at present the department's only foreign professor.

The local movie industry, Tamil Cinema, which produced an average of two hundred films per year up to the beginning of 2020,[8] is an important factor stimulating the interest of young Tamils in the Multimedia course and consequently the practice of photography. At the beginning of my experience with the students, I observed that Photography was seen more as an intermediary practice between the audio-visual and the graphic arts. Seeking to enlarge the understanding of Photography, as well as asserting its importance as a tool in contemporary modes of image production, it has been fundamental to show that learning photographic practices also involves decoding ways of seeing, thinking and representing the world.

This decodification between the world and its representations is made evident in the digression at the start of this narrative. By overlapping the contemporary landscape with the landscapes produced by traveller photographers of British India, I seek to reflect on how far the

7 Vellore Institute of Technology. 2020. *Self Study Report for 4th Cycle of Accreditation*. Submitted to the National Assessment and Accreditation Council. Bangalore.

8 Sreedhar Pillai. 2019. *As Tamil releases for 2019 fall below norm of 200-mark, a look at factors that led to declining numbers, Firstpost.* 25/11/2019. https://www.firstpost.com/entertainment/as-tamil-releases-for-2019-fall-below-norm-of-200-mark-a-look-at-factors-that-led-to-declining-numbers-7693251.html The Tamil Cinema movie industry is international in reach and diffusion considering that Tamil is one of the official languages of countries like India, Sri Lanka and Singapore. Equally it is a representative language in Tamil communities in countries like Malaysia and other countries of the Tamil diaspora.

representations produced by nineteenth-century travellers have shaped how we see and represent the landscape and some of the countries of the world. At what moments have I been seduced by the visual effect of this idyllic and picturesque image? Undoubtedly, the construction of this idealized image precedes Photography with its representations already rooted in Orientalism.[9] On the other hand, I observe that countries extensively photographed during the colonial era – also the initial period of photography's development – are more prone to the crystallization of this idealized image. From a personal viewpoint, this problem of representation renders my own photographic practice reserved and introspective.

Consequently, the overlapping of the contemporary landscape with the landscapes produced by traveller photographers of the nineteenth century also serves as a way for us to think about the ways in which colonial imagery influenced how Indian photographers represent their own country. Put otherwise, how much is an individual's self-image influenced by their image created by others? Clearly, a large archive of colonial imagery can also generate a larger critical reaction, reflected in the creation of an antithetical image. Among the photography students, I perceive their awareness of the importance of creating an authentic representation of India.

In this sense, contemporary Indian photography comprises a stimulating source for research. In Chennai, in 2016 the Chennai Photo Biennale was founded, promoting many different events like exhibitions, portfolio readings, workshops, lectures and other educational activities linked to Photography. Other festivals take place regularly throughout the country and numerous Indian photographers publish and show their work internationally, like Sohrab Hura, Kapil Das and Dayanita Singh. Among the texts to best show off contemporary production is *On Finitude. Life and Death under Neoliberalism*[10] where the researcher Zahid R. Chaudhary analyses the works of young Indian photographers.

9 Orientalism is generally understood as a discipline of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that concentrated on the study of the arts, languages, religions, literature and philosophical works of Asian societies and cultures. Since postcolonial theories, Orientalism has been critiqued especially for having contributed to the creation of exoticist and essentialist notions of these same societies and cultures. As an artistic aesthetic, Orientalism presented an ambiguous character insofar as it constituted an important medium of visual representation of otherness; the images created by European Orientalist artists – very often produced during voyages – circulated widely in European and American social environments.

10 Chaudhary, Zahid R. 2018. *On Finitude: Life and Death under Neoliberalism*. Amsterdam: Schilt Publishing. http://dx.doi.org/10.17613/pbkt-1s70

Recognizing from the outset the difficulties of producing a photographic essay of such a complex scenario, I began my visual research as a study of the landscape of the Indian subcontinent, specifically the Tamil Nadu region. Initially, it was interesting to ascertain how the chromatic variation of this landscape would be represented in the photographic medium. But the practice of representing the landscape should also be a critical reflection of space, where the landscape transformed by human action emerges in opposition to the idealized landscape. As this practice developed, the ubiquity of the photographic image (poster, billboard, etc.) as an element of the landscape also emerged.

The natural landscape of the region has experienced an accelerated process of urbanization. This phenomenon has contributed to a new configuration of the landscape and one of the aspects of this transformation has been the widespread construction of two-storey houses and small buildings. Notably, the free design, or the absence of a normative pattern to these new constructions, allows a combination of geometric inventiveness and unexpected chromatic elements. Considerable freedom exists in terms of mixing colours and a predilection exists for secondary and tertiary colours (green, orange and violet) and saturated hues. The presence of these constructions creates a profuse chromatic variation and establishes the recurrence of a vibrant pattern in the landscape.

Transcribing the colour of this landscape in all its chromatic complexity to the photographic medium points to the need for aesthetic enhancements in two research areas: colour management and the possibilities for articulating colour photographs within the visual narrative. Colour management would enable more consistency in translating the colour captured in the landscape with the digital device and its transcription to the colour spaces of the monitor and printing. Concerning this research, the Vellore Institute of Technology has shown an interest in implementing an experimental print laboratory where devices can be calibrated to refine these transcription processes.

The research on the possibilities for articulating colour photographs within the visual narrative involves the study of different practices for image editing and layout. Over the process of creation, a complex palette of colours

was noted, along with an enormous variation in the luminosities of the Tamil Nadu climate, problematizing the construction of the sequence of images, the visual narrative, light and colour causing a disruption in their fluidity. On the other hand, could this difficulty denote a visual education based on narrow visual models? Or, like Colin Westerbeck, a discomfort over distancing oneself from the canons of US colour photography?

By contrast, in 2014 and 2015, as part of my doctoral research,[11] I was able to study and photograph in Egypt, a country that was also extensively photographed during its colonization, as well as represented abundantly by Orientalist painters and writers. The predominance of orange and ochre in the unplastered constructions and buildings, the arid desert of the monumental outskirts of Cairo, which, permeated by an almost always hot light with a low colour temperature due to the dust in the atmosphere, generated a set of photographs with a lower chromatic scale and in principle easier to be articulated within the sequence of the visual narrative. Comparing the two experiences from an editing viewpoint, fitting together the photographs of Egypt was like assembling the pieces of a simpler jigsaw puzzle than the one represented so far by the set of photographs produced in India.

Closer involvement in the landscape of Tamil Nadu also enabled me to observe its prolific visual universe. A singular context observed in innumerable visual manifestations like architecture, *kolam*,[12] popular paintings on trucks, the pattern of the traditional fabrics, and vernacular uses of photography. In all these visual manifestations, colour plays an important role in construction and visualization. Consequently, the study of the landscape that ensued involved me in the observation of its visual representations, approaching this observation as an aesthetic apprentice-ship in the adoption of potential solutions, variations and derivations of colour within and between photographs.

While it has been possible to enumerate the aesthetic difficulties, the educational challenges have proven equally numerous. As a professor, I am conscious of how my foreign mode of representing India can influence students to reproduce this same distancing. In this sense, aesthetic and educational issues both complement and merge into one another without clear boundaries. On this point, teaching Photography must shift beyond its technical dimension to include the decoding of the intentionalities and contexts where photographs are produced – whether these contexts are military, advertising, journalistic or academic. This deconstruction is

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11 Schellini, Marcelo. 2017. *UMM al-DUNYA Mãe do Mundo. GIS - Gesto, Imagem E Som - Revista De Antropologia*, *2*(1). https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.2525-3123.gis.2017.128973
12 *Kolam* is a genre of popular art involving elaborate geometric designs commonly painted at the entrance to houses using rice flour by women in southern India.

necessary to investigate their possible paradoxes. In terms of landscape photography, the photographic representation of space should not dispense with the photographer's involvement with the place being represented. Perhaps in this way, the landscape ceases to appear as the landscape of a distant place. In search of this closer contact, the photographer must become interested not in the visitable place but the habitable place. The photographer's presence should be visible in some way in the landscape, even if only perceived in the *off-camera*.

Just now it is still difficult to anticipate the complexity of the educational challenges that await us. With classes suspended due to the Covid-19 pandemic, teaching has depended primarily on online platforms, a medium that has allowed the term programs to continue and that entails a significant reformulation of teaching dynamics. On the other hand, as in other institutions and countries where the teaching of visual arts is evaluated within the parameters of the traditional academic model, a constant shortfall in meeting certain evaluative criteria and curricular performance can be noted. I would observe that adopting the same evaluative criteria for such distinct branches of knowledge – such as the artistic educational process – can compromise the understanding and development of future works. Likewise, privileging only the traditional written academic form as a means of legitimizing and divulging visual research proves to be an ineffective means for visualizing it. Hence, the paradoxes inherent to photographic practice can only be properly understood and evaluated within parameters specific to artistic research rather than through other paradigms.

EPILOGUE

Henri Cartier-Bresson photographed Tamil Nadu between the 1940s and 1950s. In one of the best-known photographs from the resulting essay, we can identify the figure of a peacock. Although the photo is in black and white, we can perceive that the peacock is a rare example of a bird of the species with white plumage. Today on the Magnum site this photograph is accompanied by the following caption: "INDIA. Tamil Nadu. Tiruvannamalai. 1950. While Sri Ramana Maharshi is dying in his last incarnation and thus becoming a god, his favourite peacock (the gift of a rajah) strolls the ground of his last earthly home."[13] It seems interesting that this photograph proposes to represent the *off-camera* of an event occurring simultaneously.

Since the act of seeing does not happen in isolation, our perception establishes spatial and temporal relations inside and outside the field of vision. Just as

13 Cartier-Bresson, Henri. 1950. *Peacock*. Magnum Website. https://pro.magnumphotos.com/image/PAR46305.html

there is a desire to understand and translate landscape, so it also becomes necessary to decode the innumerable contexts of its representations. Based on the intuition that the voyage proposed here is not just one of spatial movement, researching landscape has implied exploring its representations to conclude that the best reply to an image is another image.
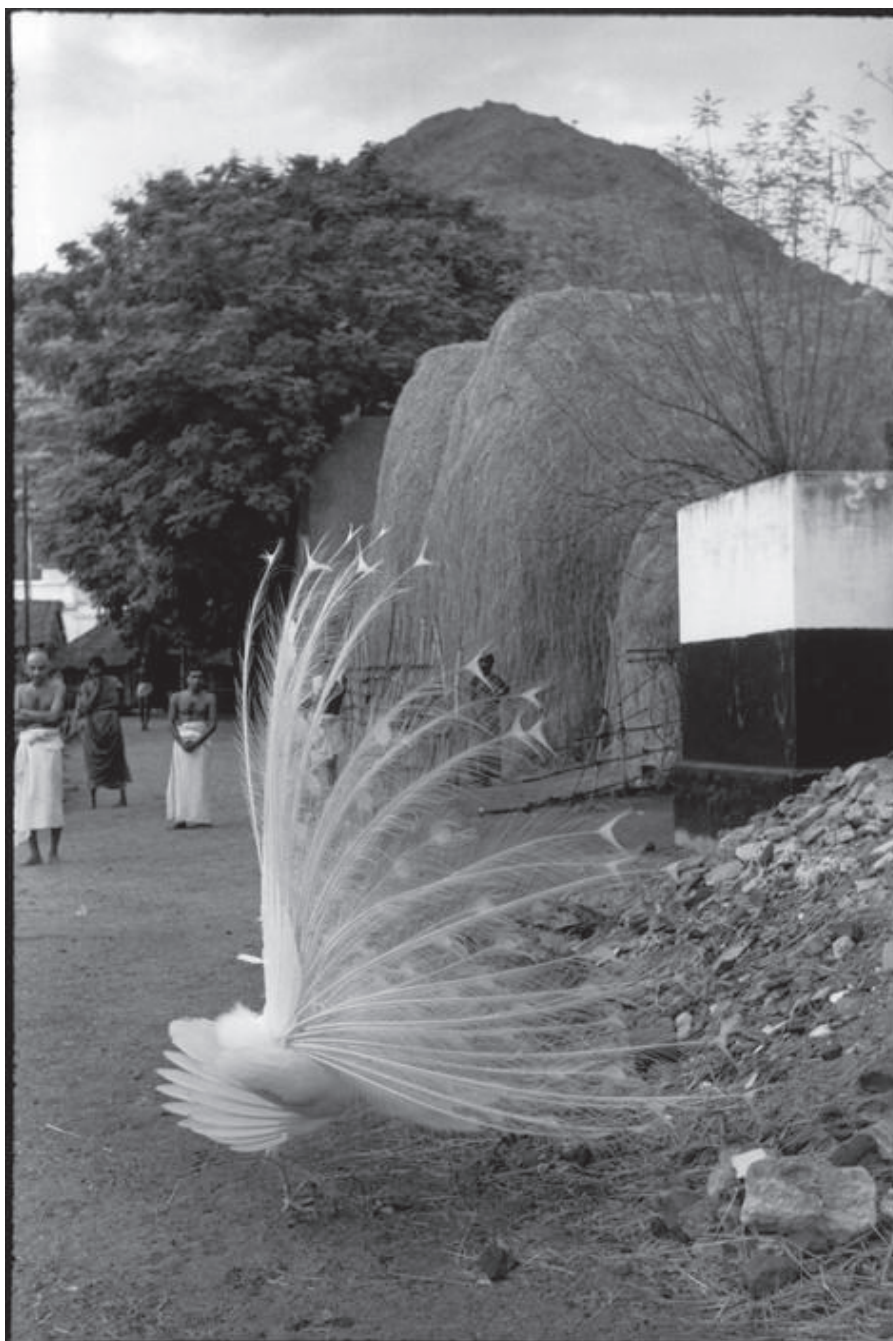
On this trip, guided by the encounter with a new perception of colour – present in the prolific visual universe of Tamil Nadu – I have been oriented by the colour present in the genre of Indo-Islamic miniature paintings.

Among the artists of this genre is Ustad (Master) Mansur, who at the beginning of the seventeenth century – according to accounts from the period – attained excellence in the pictorial representation of the natural elements (wildlife and flora) of the landscape. Honoured by the Mughal Emperor Jahangir with the title *Nadir al-Asr* – 'Marvel of the Era' – he is identified as the author of the exquisite watercolour painting 'Peacocks,' depicting the perfection of the bird's plumage in harmony with the shapes of the floral elements of the minutely detailed landscape.

The peacock is one of the national symbols of India. Its mythic figure appears in Dravidian religious iconography innumerable times next to Murugan, a splendidly faced youth who is the god of war. The peacock is his war mount and, simultaneously, celestial mount. Riding the bird, Murugan is ready for victory. The figure of the peacock is also frequently encountered in popular paintings on trucks. Covering their cabins and bodies, the image has more than a decorative function. The peacock is the strength and traction that transports the loads of a country that seems to be under construction twenty-four hours a day. On the building sites, in the dust of the endless roads, it is the peacock that performs the task of supplying and assisting the construction of one of the largest populations on the planet. And even so, the peacock is a delicate creature.

I would also like to add that it is not difficult to produce a 'beautiful photograph' of the landscape. However, just as the peacock's beauty has a natural function, landscape photography should be a study to better understand the environment in which we live. The plumage of the peacock, the exuberance of its colours, as well as other natural elements, are not beauty without purpose. While the natural landscape mostly makes me think: *Seeing live is much more beautiful*. In this sense, the photographer's perception should not be limited to framing idealized scenes. On the contrary, the camera should probe the landscape and the photographer should be capable of apprehending its complexity, its innumerable layers, its paradoxes. Following this precept, the photographer will use the optical device as an instrument for diving into space – into the landscape.

TRANSLATION:
David Rodgers

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ABSTRACT

This essay presents images and texts depicting the contemporary landscape of Tamil Nadu in Southern India. In early January of 2020, as a result of an educational experience at an Indian academic institute, I conducted visual research that approached landscape photography as an immersive procedure in space, allowing me to reflect on the territory and its representations. Over the course of its development, with the landscape revealing itself as a space for interaction, the genre of landscape photography juxtaposes complex relationships that go beyond a simple transcription of nature, expanding the idea of landscape through the transformations provoked by its inhabitants, the observer's presence, the *off-camera* and its historical representations.

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GAZE SENSITIVITY - ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE ACADEMIC TRAINING OF THE ANTHROPOLOGIST[1]
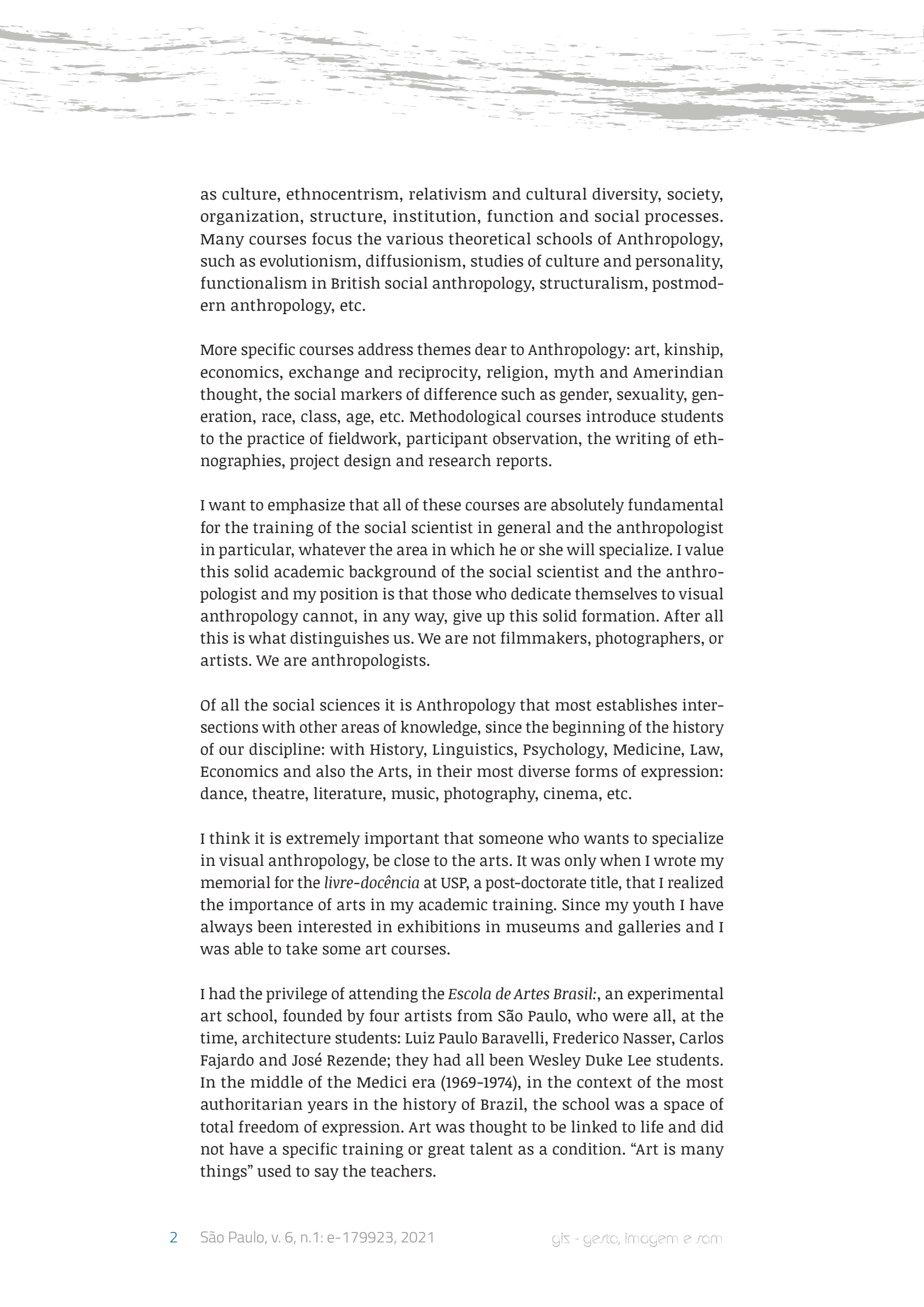
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My focus on this essay is not the ethnographic film, but something on which the films, in my opinion, very much depend: the sensitivity of the gaze, an expression that is perhaps more common among photographers. In visual anthropology I dedicated myself much more to photography than to film, an area in which I acted few times.

Anthropology is one of the areas of the so-called Social Sciences in which the verb, the words, the book, the readings, have a predominant role. What I mean is that from the beginning, the training of the social scientist concentrates on learning concepts, theoretical frameworks of the various curricular subjects, the history of these disciplines, the different approaches developed by the various social scientists. In the various courses, the goal is to deepen conceptual, theoretical and methodological instruments relevant to anthropological analysis, which begins in courses with central concepts of Anthropology, such

[1] Conference for the Universidade Federal da Paraíba (UFPB), campus Rio Tinto, III Mostra Arandu, cycle of debates on ethnographic films

as culture, ethnocentrism, relativism and cultural diversity, society, organization, structure, institution, function and social processes. Many courses focus the various theoretical schools of Anthropology, such as evolutionism, diffusionism, studies of culture and personality, functionalism in British social anthropology, structuralism, postmodern anthropology, etc.

More specific courses address themes dear to Anthropology: art, kinship, economics, exchange and reciprocity, religion, myth and Amerindian thought, the social markers of difference such as gender, sexuality, generation, race, class, age, etc. Methodological courses introduce students to the practice of fieldwork, participant observation, the writing of ethnographies, project design and research reports.

I want to emphasize that all of these courses are absolutely fundamental for the training of the social scientist in general and the anthropologist in particular, whatever the area in which he or she will specialize. I value this solid academic background of the social scientist and the anthropologist and my position is that those who dedicate themselves to visual anthropology cannot, in any way, give up this solid formation. After all this is what distinguishes us. We are not filmmakers, photographers, or artists. We are anthropologists.

Of all the social sciences it is Anthropology that most establishes intersections with other areas of knowledge, since the beginning of the history of our discipline: with History, Linguistics, Psychology, Medicine, Law, Economics and also the Arts, in their most diverse forms of expression: dance, theatre, literature, music, photography, cinema, etc.

I think it is extremely important that someone who wants to specialize in visual anthropology, be close to the arts. It was only when I wrote my memorial for the *livre-docência* at USP, a post-doctorate title, that I realized the importance of arts in my academic training. Since my youth I have always been interested in exhibitions in museums and galleries and I was able to take some art courses.
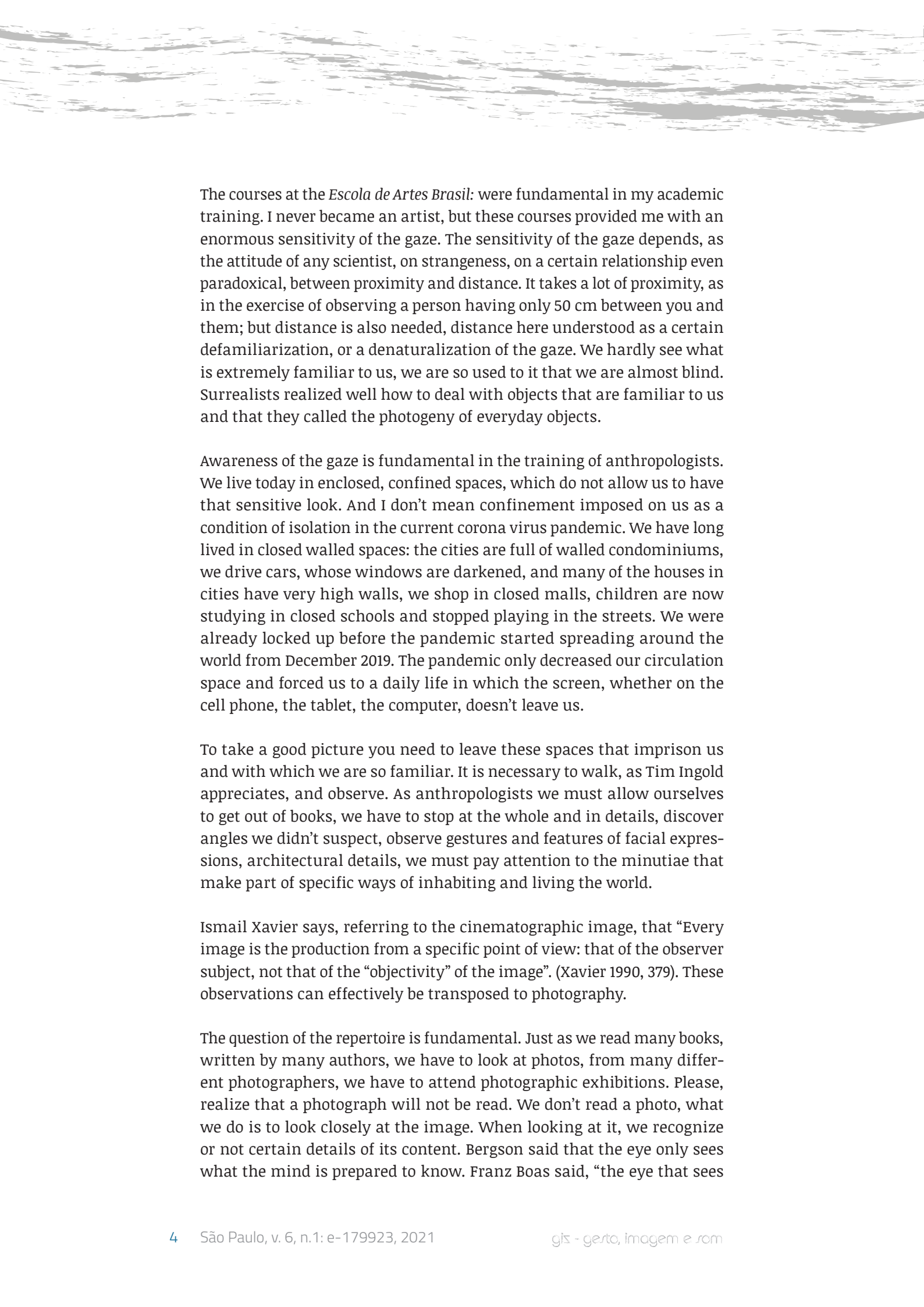
I had the privilege of attending the *Escola de Artes Brasil:*, an experimental art school, founded by four artists from São Paulo, who were all, at the time, architecture students: Luiz Paulo Baravelli, Frederico Nasser, Carlos Fajardo and José Rezende; they had all been Wesley Duke Lee students. In the middle of the Medici era (1969-1974), in the context of the most authoritarian years in the history of Brazil, the school was a space of total freedom of expression. Art was thought to be linked to life and did not have a specific training or great talent as a condition. "Art is many things" used to say the teachers.

Learning was distanced from the "work" and the "market". The important thing was restoring sensitivity through aesthetic education - from repertoires. In this school it was not the expressive means, but the creative processes of teachers and students that should guide learning. The process was always more important than the result, hence the importance of creating repertoire, going to the library, to observe carefully.

There was a lot of experimentation at school and one of the most important was the blind drawing. Design and the creative process were a matter of observation, interest, visual reasoning and experience. The observation design was almost an equivalent of the experience of seeing: the hand that draws go together with the eye that sees. I remember one of the exercises, which was to sit in front of a person, having a narrow table between them, about 50 cm wide, so that the distance between the two people who sat opposite each other was very small. We had to be silent for about 10 minutes, just watching, which is already a very unusual and even embarrassing experience for many. After 10 minutes of careful observation, we had to start drawing, but the paper was placed on a shelf below the table, so that it was not possible to see what the hand was drawing. I remember drawing Helena Carvalhosa, today a great artist, and that my whole body participated in this gesture that was performed by my hand. It was important not to look at the hands, lest we exercise a critical and self-destructive censorship of what we were drawing. Drawing was the result of the gesture, so it should come with it. Drawings do not necessarily use the entire surface of the paper and it is not necessary to start by thinking about the whole to draw (as opposed to painting). The results were extremely expressive. *Escola de Artes Brasil:* bet on new ways of making art.

I had two classes a week, 3 hours each. Other artists, such as the photographer Claudia Andujar participated in the workshops. I took a one-year photography course with Claudia Andujar. During classes we stayed for hours around a huge table, just looking and talking about the photos placed on the table. Photos of great photographers like Ansel Adams, Elliot Erwit, Cartier Bresson, Bill Brandt, Eugene Atget, Irving Penn, Pierre Verger, Marcel Gautherot, George Love, all of them photographers with very different styles. The most important was to create a repertoire, as if to absorb the way of looking of these great photographers.

We also went for walks in downtown São Paulo, to photograph the city. Important detail: we photographed without any camera, which according to Claudia could lead us to privilege technique over of the look. With the forefingers and the thumb of both hands we did the best framing of what was being observed. I can say that I continue, to this day, photographing wherever I am, even without a camera.

The courses at the *Escola de Artes Brasil:* were fundamental in my academic training. I never became an artist, but these courses provided me with an enormous sensitivity of the gaze. The sensitivity of the gaze depends, as the attitude of any scientist, on strangeness, on a certain relationship even paradoxical, between proximity and distance. It takes a lot of proximity, as in the exercise of observing a person having only 50 cm between you and them; but distance is also needed, distance here understood as a certain defamiliarization, or a denaturalization of the gaze. We hardly see what is extremely familiar to us, we are so used to it that we are almost blind. Surrealists realized well how to deal with objects that are familiar to us and that they called the photogeny of everyday objects.

Awareness of the gaze is fundamental in the training of anthropologists. We live today in enclosed, confined spaces, which do not allow us to have that sensitive look. And I don't mean confinement imposed on us as a condition of isolation in the current corona virus pandemic. We have long lived in closed walled spaces: the cities are full of walled condominiums, we drive cars, whose windows are darkened, and many of the houses in cities have very high walls, we shop in closed malls, children are now studying in closed schools and stopped playing in the streets. We were already locked up before the pandemic started spreading around the world from December 2019. The pandemic only decreased our circulation space and forced us to a daily life in which the screen, whether on the cell phone, the tablet, the computer, doesn't leave us.

To take a good picture you need to leave these spaces that imprison us and with which we are so familiar. It is necessary to walk, as Tim Ingold appreciates, and observe. As anthropologists we must allow ourselves to get out of books, we have to stop at the whole and in details, discover angles we didn't suspect, observe gestures and features of facial expressions, architectural details, we must pay attention to the minutiae that make part of specific ways of inhabiting and living the world.

Ismail Xavier says, referring to the cinematographic image, that "Every image is the production from a specific point of view: that of the observer subject, not that of the "objectivity" of the image". (Xavier 1990, 379). These observations can effectively be transposed to photography.

The question of the repertoire is fundamental. Just as we read many books, written by many authors, we have to look at photos, from many different photographers, we have to attend photographic exhibitions. Please, realize that a photograph will not be read. We don't read a photo, what we do is to look closely at the image. When looking at it, we recognize or not certain details of its content. Bergson said that the eye only sees what the mind is prepared to know. Franz Boas said, "the eye that sees

is an organ of tradition". The fact is that no one can see with innocent eyes: without the preconceptions of their time and culture; on the other hand, the broader our repertoire, the more we can see.

In this sense, in addition to the cultural issues that allow us or not to decode a certain image, it is the repertoire of each observer that will lead to the perception of different meanings. The polysemy of the image, its multiple meanings are not in the image itself, but in the reception.

Images have this enormous power of evocation, which depends on the experience of those who observe it, their life history, and their memories.

José de Souza Martins sees the photographic act as an imagined construction, the expression and moment of the act of knowing society with resources and unique and peculiar horizons. The image often demonstrates the insufficiency of the word as a document of social awareness and as raw material of knowledge. Paradoxically, images allow us to better understand how to read "between the lines", the implied meanings.

We can read articles on hunger in Africa, analyses, information, and statistical data. Images can be more eloquent. Kevin Carter, a South African photographer won in 1994 the Pulitzer Prize for photography by portraying a scrawny and dying Sudanese girl, with a vulture beside her that just waited for its final moment. It is known that the photographer committed suicide months after the award.

Photographs are not the only images that move us by the sense of reality they provide. As social scientists, we've read countless critical texts about institutions such as the State, the Church, the Army and the family. Goya's prints, - I think especially of the *Los Caprichos* series and *The Disasters of War*, which moved the 18th century-, continue to make a big impact on us by the strength of what they visually present. *Apocalypse Now*, a 1979 film by Francis Ford Coppola, certainly brings the viewer closer to the horrors of the Vietnam War unmatched and in my opinion surpasses Conrad's novel that inspired the film. I myself tried to address socio-economic inequality in Brazil in a video clip in which the coldness of statistical data could be replaced by the irony of photos from magazines like *Caras* and *Chic and Famous*, with the background music *Weekend in the Park*, by Racionais.
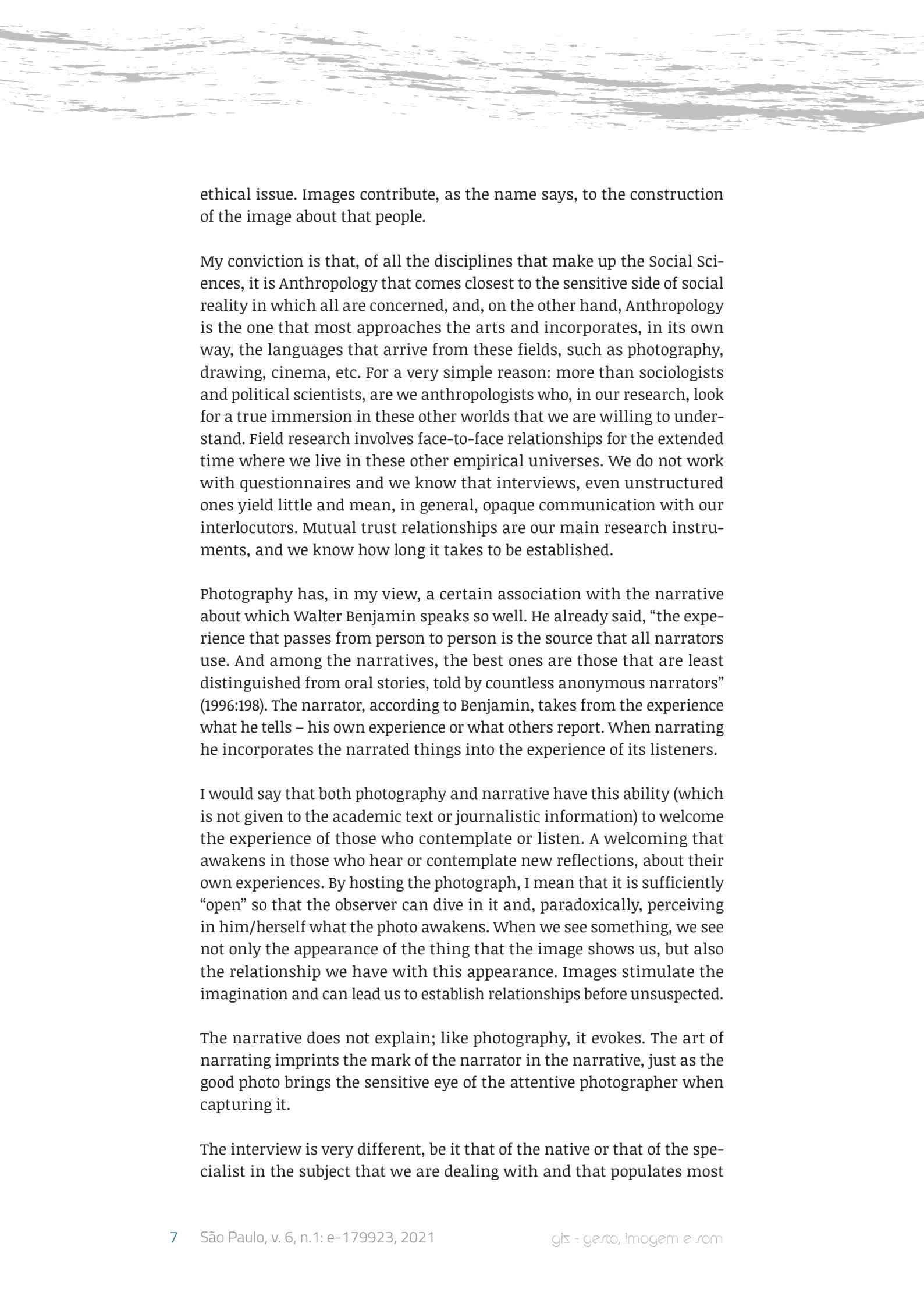
But why emphasize the importance of photography in the academic training of anthropologists?

Today I have no doubt that photography is an excellent resource for someone to start fieldwork in order to produce ethnographies. Firstly, because photography allows you to change the focus - from the verb to behaviour,

body, gestures, details about which it is not always possible to talk. With photography we can leave the famous interviews, which often very much impoverish the ethnography. The photos show immediately whether the researcher was able or not to have a greater intimacy with the chosen subject and the people. Without getting close a good photo is impossible. In this sense, photography, which is essentially silent, is more important than the act of filming; as social scientists we are always running the risk of filling everything that was not observed and recorded in the film with those boring interviews, of natives and experts.

In field research, photography can be a stimulus for the researcher to get closer to the universe he wants to know. The act of photographing implies empathy and certainly intersubjectivity. It is very difficult to photograph in environments we do not belong to without establishing a relationship of trust, intimacy and empathy. The camera, on the other hand, is an instrument that requires careful observation, a sensitive look and a certain denaturalized way. As with all good research, to photograph it is necessary to wonder - or to denaturalize the look - and at the same time to get close. Distance and proximity are, as we said, fundamental ingredients of both the good ethnography and photography. To photograph also implies a type of knowledge that does not go by the word, but much more with the sensitivity of the look, the intuition, the capacity to be in the right place at the right time, due to the sensitivity of placing the body (and the camera attached to it) at the correct distance. Photographing implies good relationship to be established with the people we photograph. It's equally important in the act of photographing deciding what will be in focus and what will be out of focus, or if everything the photo shows will be in focus. I have no doubt that these skills are fundamental for the good fieldwork.

I participated in 2018 in a photographic exhibition of works made by anthropologists, curated by Fabiana Bruno and entitled *Confidences of images in Anthropology, ways of seeing, thinking and interrogating*. There are two meanings connected to the word confidence in the title of this exhibition that I would like to emphasize: secrecy and intimacy. Secret and intimacy because the photographs, drawings and objects gathered in this exhibition of anthropologists reveal much of their authors, as if these were their secrets; on the other hand, they are images and objects that reveal feelings of affections between anthropologists and their research partners, a relationship of intimacy and complicity with the theme and their interlocutors. Secrecy and intimacy that we would hardly achieve with the academic text, which we share with the other Social Sciences, as Sociology and Political Science. On the other hand, I want to empha-size that the researcher must be fully aware of the images he wants to see published about his research partners, his interlocutors. This is an

ethical issue. Images contribute, as the name says, to the construction of the image about that people.

My conviction is that, of all the disciplines that make up the Social Sciences, it is Anthropology that comes closest to the sensitive side of social reality in which all are concerned, and, on the other hand, Anthropology is the one that most approaches the arts and incorporates, in its own way, the languages that arrive from these fields, such as photography, drawing, cinema, etc. For a very simple reason: more than sociologists and political scientists, are we anthropologists who, in our research, look for a true immersion in these other worlds that we are willing to understand. Field research involves face-to-face relationships for the extended time where we live in these other empirical universes. We do not work with questionnaires and we know that interviews, even unstructured ones yield little and mean, in general, opaque communication with our interlocutors. Mutual trust relationships are our main research instruments, and we know how long it takes to be established.

Photography has, in my view, a certain association with the narrative about which Walter Benjamin speaks so well. He already said, "the experience that passes from person to person is the source that all narrators use. And among the narratives, the best ones are those that are least distinguished from oral stories, told by countless anonymous narrators" (1996:198). The narrator, according to Benjamin, takes from the experience what he tells – his own experience or what others report. When narrating he incorporates the narrated things into the experience of its listeners.

I would say that both photography and narrative have this ability (which is not given to the academic text or journalistic information) to welcome the experience of those who contemplate or listen. A welcoming that awakens in those who hear or contemplate new reflections, about their own experiences. By hosting the photograph, I mean that it is sufficiently "open" so that the observer can dive in it and, paradoxically, perceiving in him/herself what the photo awakens. When we see something, we see not only the appearance of the thing that the image shows us, but also the relationship we have with this appearance. Images stimulate the imagination and can lead us to establish relationships before unsuspected.

The narrative does not explain; like photography, it evokes. The art of narrating imprints the mark of the narrator in the narrative, just as the good photo brings the sensitive eye of the attentive photographer when capturing it.

The interview is very different, be it that of the native or that of the specialist in the subject that we are dealing with and that populates most

of the contemporary ethnographic films. The interviewee only responds to questions previously asked by the researcher and speaks in front of the camera with minimal involvement. There are almost no gestures; the speech that comes to the camera is practically a ready speech. We do not see in the interviewee a dip in the subject that requires him to work on memory. This is certainly not a rule that applies to any and all interviews. Claude Lanzmann, director of *Shoah* and Eduardo Coutinho are great masters of the interview.

On the other hand, I would say that photography is an excellent ally for the researcher in the field. Taking to the field the photographs that we took of the people is essential in a long-term relationship. Furthermore, as the photos stimulate conversations, it is always possible, in the field, to insert photos on the themes that we want to discuss with our interlocutors, without the topic falling from the sky. Photographs yield conversations that would certainly be impossible without them. How to talk about funerals if none is taking place when we are in the field?

In terms of presenting research results, photography can bring to Anthropology a new, more sensitive horizon, from which it will even be possible to elaborate a speech closer to our research partners. Here I launch another interesting challenge for contemporary anthropology and, more specifically, for experimental ethnography. See that I am not referring here to the image as an access route to the imaginary, but to the image as language. This is another challenge, to be taken seriously and with the desired competence. Images much more evoke than explain. After the crisis of representation that affects human sciences from the mid-1980s, languages like photography and cinema can be inspiring. A writing that incorporates assembly, simultaneity, polyphony and non-continuous narrative, which cinema has been using for almost a century, should encourage us as anthropologists to problematize our notion of culture, to review the increasingly present deterritorialization in the groups we study, and fundamentally they could stimulate us experimenting with new narrative structures.

When photographing the researcher isolates some fragments of the universe that he investigates. This spatial cut out highlights some aspects of the photograph. As anthropologists we know that the results of our research are greater when we look at universes of a more reduced scale. Our micro approaches are usually more interesting than our macro approaches. This is also how photography works. Nobody photographs reality or society. Like ethnography, photography gives us the feeling of incompleteness, neither one nor the other can cover everything, they are always fragmentary, they cut out a field on which they deepen, in a dive that is, at the same time, sensitive and intelligible. This can only

mean a gain for us. It is the eloquent silence of images that we can take to our discipline, with everything that, in their own way, photographs have to say.

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ABSTRACT

In this text, I try to associate anthropological field research to the photographic act itself, showing what is common in these two activities: the need for clipping, proximity, intimacy and empathy, the decision about what will or will not be in focus. From my experiences at the Escola de Arte Brasil: I talk about the awareness of the gaze, the need to create repertoires and the opportunity that photography offers to change the focus - from the verb to behavior, the body, the gestures, the details about which it is not always possible to speak. I also try to emphasize the association of photography with the narrative that Walter Benjamin talks about, the ability of both the narrative and the photography to welcome the experience of those who hear or contemplate it.

KEYWORDS
Photography, Field research in Anthropology, Eye awareness.

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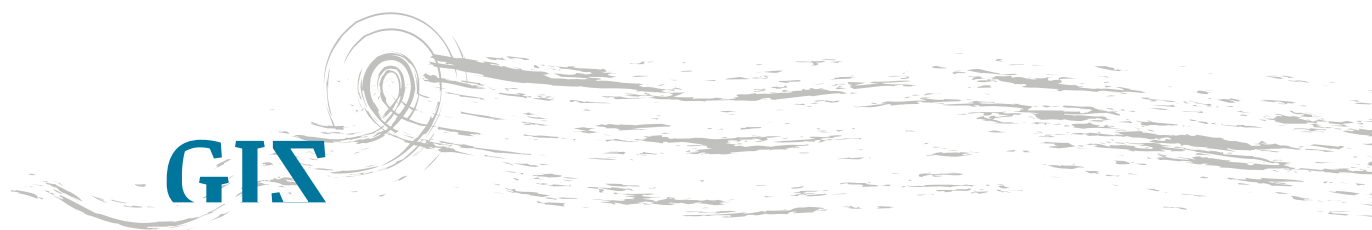
MOMENTI FOTOGRAFICI

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In novembre il cielo di São Paulo è spesso grigiastro e lattiginoso, ingombro di un tappeto liso di nuvolaglie da cui, la trama sottile delle nubi, lascia filtrare una luce diafana, omogenea, senza contrasti; questa illuminazione diffusa ad alcuni piace come luce fotografica perché non crea problemi di latitudine di esposizione, non costringe a compensare i contrasti e rende morbide le immagini. A me però non sempre piace, anzi il più delle volte non la amo proprio, anche se conosco la sua comodità soprattutto nelle fotografie di architettura, una luce standard che consente di sbrigare la fotografia come una pratica da evadere. Non sei costretto a riflettere sull'orario migliore ovvero sulla migliore posizione del sole rispetto a ciò che vuoi fotografare; sì a volte può essere utile questo tipo di illuminazione naturale diffusa e diafana come in una sala riunioni.

Di questo parlavamo Rose, una collega della USP con cui condivido il campo dell'antropologia visiva, ed io mentre la metropolitana ci portava da Vila Madalena fino alla fermata di São Bento. Mi trovavo a São Paulo per un ciclo di conferenze proprio su invito di Rose e ospite del LISA della USP, che sciogliendo le sigle è il Laboratório de Imagem e Som em Antropologia della Universidade de São Paulo, nella seconda metà di novembre del 2019. Avevamo intrapreso questa piccola escursione perché volevo scattare foto al Mercado e Rose era stata così gentile da accompagnami in questa passeggiata fotografica dato che conoscevo poco la grande città; da diverso tempo faccio fotografie nei mercati nei luoghi in cui passo, mercati piccoli, grandi, di città o di rione o singoli banchi di vendita lungo le strade.

Giunti a São Bento avremmo raggiunto a piedi la nostra meta, il Mercado Municipal della Città.

Usciti dalla stazione della metropolitana un tumulto di persone, bancherelle, colori ed odori ci stringe da presso ed è difficile spostarsi; io ho uno zainetto fotografico che porto appeso davanti invece che alle spalle, per scrupolo. Ci infiltriamo tra la gente che affolla scendendo lungo la strada (?) e camminando tranquillamente raggiungiamo l'edifico del Mercado Municipal in una decina di minuti. Tralascio di fotografare lungo la strada che ci porta al Mercado anche se densa di bancherelle perché non mi sento a mio agio: troppa confusione con poliziotti che girano avanti e indietro a sorvegliare che non succeda nulla. Aspetto dunque di arrivare al mercato coperto.

Il Mercado Municipal è ospitato all'interno di vasto edificio costruito negli anni trenta e progettato dall'architetto Francisco Ramos de Azevedo nella seconda metà degli anni 20 del '900 Lo stabile è contraddistinto da ampie vetrate alcune illustrate da policrome scene di lavori agricoli, da cui all'interno filtra una luce debole, soffusa e senza contrasti a tratti compensata da bolle luminose formate dalle lampade dei banchi di vendita. Situazione complicata perché ad una sostanziale penombra si alternano fonti puntiformi di luce che rischiano di rendere quasi non fotografabile l'ambiente, o per meglio dire rendono la resa della luce un problema in più nell'inquadratura, anche usando una tecnologia analogica.

Entriamo dunque dall'ingresso principale posto in Avenida do Estado, davanti all'ingresso un banco di frutta ben illuminato raccoglie lo sguardo di chi entra che indugia volentieri sulle frutta colorate; sulla destra invece un punto di ristoro con qualche tavolo invita a sorseggiare qualche succo. Ci accomodiamo qui, ad un tavolo di legno coperto da una tovaglia di plastica, per bere un succo e approfittare di una postazione comoda per preparare la macchina fotografica. Poiché in questo caso, adoperavo una macchina analogica dovevo scegliere il rullo da adoperare e avevo aspettato di vedere la luce per decidere perché non si tratta di selezionare attraverso un menu una sensibilità come nelle macchine digitali, ma scegliere il rullino adatto e caricarlo. Avevo due scelte rispetto al materiale fotografico che mi ero portato o *tirare* un 400 ASA oppure mettere direttamente un 3200 Asa, opto per quest'ultimo. Questo significa che non potrò più cambiare sensibilità nel corso delle fotografie. La differenza tra le due scelte è nella diversa *grana* ma soprattutto nella risposta ai contrasti; anche se sembrano solo questioni tecniche in realtà sono strumenti espressivi per metafora potremmo dire che è come scegliere la forma e la grandezza di un pennello.

Il succo, forse di mango, mi invita dal bicchiere deposto sul tavolo, io continuo a maneggiare con calma la camera; controllo che sia tutto in ordine e

inizio a pensare ai valori di tempo e diaframma da impostare in relazione alla profondità di campo, mentre beviamo i succhi continuiamo a parlare di fotografia, della differenza tra adoperare una macchina analogica e una digitale; io racconto a Rose, che è una "nativa" di immagini digitali, come personalmente non mi sia ancora abituato a guardare attraverso lo schermo che ormai è presente su tutti gli apparecchi a volte in maniera esclusiva, preferisco, anche quando adopero la macchina digitale, guardare attraverso l'oculare impiegando un solo occhio. In realtà anche con le macchine analogiche di medio o grande formato, come nelle *sei per sei* a pozzetto per non parlare delle *folding*, si guarda in molti casi uno schermo, ma è uno sguardo diverso perché l'immagine è diversa, senza dubbio meno nitida di quella degli schermi lcd, più evanescente comunque sempre frutto di una proiezione ottica, diafana e con un sapore di magia. La differenza tra fotografie analogiche e immagini digitali non è infatti una differenza tecnica bensì espressiva. La resa della luce infatti è restituita in modo molto diverso e questo è un elemento descrittivo che trasforma la performance espressiva.

In questo caso adopero una macchina analogica 35 mm a telemetro non reflex con una focale di 45 mm; l'immagine si traguarda su un oculare con una maschera che segna i confini, si tratta di una camera panoramica che lavora su un fotogramma di 6,40 x 2,4 cm. Il fuoco si verifica con un sistema a telemetro che tra la mia vista sempre più scarsa per l'età e la poco luce, è un gran patimento. Ovviamente niente fuoco automatico. Vi è però un sistema semplice ed efficacie per ovviare alle difficoltà, adoperare l'iperfocale. Tra un sorso di succo e un altro indico a Rose le linee colorate sul barilotto dell'ottica che evitano i complicati calcoli della formula che mette in relazione i metri con la focale e il diaframma. Non so se le mie spiegazioni siano state chiare ma lo scopo era spiegare come farò a fotografare con questa camera desueta, senza dover troppo "pensare" alla messa a fuoco e anche all'esposizione che in un ambiente uniforme si può misurare una volta e poi solo procedere a piccoli aggiustamenti di mezzo o al massimo un diaframma, dunque l'attenzione si può riservare all'inquadratura.

Scatto una prima fotografia proprio al banco all'entrata principale qui ancora la luce che filtra dalle vetrate ha un ruolo abbastanza importante e dunque mi concentro su questo banco. Il rullo è in bianco e nero e dunque non cerco i colori della frutta neppure la omogeneità dell'illuminazione, mi servono piuttosto i contrasti e le difformità tra zone illuminate e ombre che permettano di delineare le forme.

Ecco qui presentarsi un grande differenza tra le immagini digitali e le fotografie B/N, nel digitale si scatta generalmente a colori e si lavora nella post produzione attraverso i software a disegnare la riduzione del colore

in B/N. Qui non c'è invece mediazione a posteriori si deve guardare in bianco e nero, è uno sguardo diverso; certamente lo si può fare anche con il digitale ma per me è meno automatico. Tuttavia in questo caso c'è sempre un appello a posteriori. Non è una questione di più o meno difficile ma di un approccio diverso, di una concertazione legata anche al limitato numero di scatti che si possono fare e all'impossibilità di controllare immediatamente il risultato e a guardare in bianco nero soprattutto.

Guardare in bianco e nero questo è il punto centrale, ma non so non so se riuscii a spiegarmi: il punto principale a mio modo di vedere è che noi vediamo nei colori, la vista è cromatica dunque vedere in bianco e nero è una acquisizione che richiede uno sforzo immaginativo importante.

Davanti al banco di frutta riempito di colori che formavano esattamente il dispositivo di attrazione visiva dovevo trovare un altro sguardo; disinteressarmi dei cromatismi che invece prepotentemente saturavano la vista; innanzi tutto mi venne in soccorso un'altra importante istanza, in realtà non ero lì per fotografare i banchi della frutta ma le persone, i venditori o gli acquirenti, insomma ciò che costituisce il cuore del mercato non le merci o i beni alimentari ma le persone che si scambiano oltre che merci e denari, sguardi e movimenti, gesti e parole, intenzioni e rinunce. I corpi diventano in questo sguardo i soggetti principali e allora il BN ritrova tutta la sua forza espressiva rendendo il corpo il soggetto principale che sovrasta e ridefinisce tutte gli altri elementi.

Sono davanti al banco e senza parlare chiede il permesso di fotografare al mercante, mi è capitato tante altre volte, c'è un modo silenzioso per chiedere il permesso piccoli gesti e sguardi chiari. Scatto un paio di fotogrammi e subito in risposta mi porge un cestino di frutta forse fragole, mi schernisco non perché non le avrei mangiate volentieri ma se le avessi mangiante con le mani poi non avrei più potuto toccare la macchina. Qui l'interazione diventa più vicina e devo spiegarmi anche a voce per non suscitare incomprensione. Rose che era rimasta nelle vicinanze mi soccorre e proseguiamo così con un sorriso di commiato verso altri banchi.

Saliamo al piano superiore, un ammezzato vasto sospeso per un terzo della profondità dell'edificio che corre per tutta la lunghezza. Si vede dall'alto tutto il vasto spazio sottostante, le corsie e i banchi, le persone che transitano si raccolgo a crocchio per parlare, indugiano comprano; lo sguardo dall'alto è sempre accattivante domina la scena, spiega lo spazio, lo mostra nelle sue articolazioni di luogo, svela ciò che non si comprende standovi dentro.

Nell'ammezzato la luce è scarsa per una "pellicola", probabilmente con la camera digitale si potrebbero fare delle fotografie meno "oscure"; questo

però mi impedirebbe di cercare di impressionare il fotogramma non con la luce ma con l'aria, l'aria ovvero l'atmosfera di quel luogo, la sua suggestione; probabilmente con la digitale avrei un effetto realistico che in realtà diverrebbe iperrealista dunque ugualmente immaginario ma in una direzione diversa da quello dell'immaginario analogico. Nel caso numerico otterrei un effetto di svelamento anche al di là delle possibilità dell'occhio stesso mentre con la chimica dell'analogico posso avventurarmi nel non dicibile, in ciò che evoca senza descrivere.

Lo spazio dell'ammezzato accoglie locali di ristorazione con ampi spazi di tavolini e sedie. Uno di questi bachi di ristorazione è sovrastato da una insegna luminosa Mortadela Brasil, il nome rivela la sua ascendenza italica ma ormai è un alimento totalmente brasileiro; Rose mi spiega qualcosa che non si vede ma solo si intuisce dalla dimensione: l'importanza nella alimentazione povera o forse solo rapida della Mortadela che è quasi un cibo nazionale (espressione difficile da utilizzare ovviamente per il Brasile), un cibo che assume anche una connotazione politica perché molto diffuso tra i sostenitori di Lula dunque un cibo della cultura di sinistra.

Scatto dunque una fotografia e di questo scatto avrò sempre la curiosità di vedere come è venuto, aspetterò più di un mese per soddisfare questa curiosità; al contrario della digitale qui non posso schiacciare un pulsante e rivedere lo scatto. La pellicola ti costringe ad aspettare.

Ho prestato attenzione all'esposizione cercando di compensare l'evidente oscurità di tutto l'ambiente con la luminosità della sola insegna ma non volevo un primo piano volevo un panorama e dunque luce ed ombre dovevano incontrarsi in qualche punto della latitudine di esposizione di quella pellicola.

Nella versione panoramica con un rullo si fanno 22 scatti quindi difficile fare i doppi scatti variando di uno stop l'esposizione, uno scatto deve essere sufficiente. Anche così non ci vuole molto a fare 22 scatti e dunque abbastanza in fretta finisco il rullino, ripongo la macchina nello zaino e rientriamo verso le rispettive abitazioni.

La domenica l'Avenida Paulista di Sao Paulo è chiusa al traffico automobilistico fino al tramonto e si anima di un visibilio di persone, da chi passeggia da solo o in compagnia a chi mette in scena musica, performance varie trasformando lo spazio stradale in una grande palcoscenico in cui ognuno segue una sua traiettoria, un suo disegno, chi si fa attore e chi spettatore chi solamente passeggia o gioca a fare il flâneur. Dunque la successiva tappa del mio tour fotografico sarà proprio una domenica pomeriggio lungo la Avenida Paulista. Questa volta raggiungo da solo la Avenida anche se ho un appuntamento con Isabel una dottoranda del LISA. Arrivo alla

Paulista con la linea B della metropolitana con un buon anticipo rispetto all'orario di incontro così posso passeggiare a lungo e scattare qualche foto. Anche in questo occasione la luce è quella diffusa e morbida del cielo coperto, non so se dispiacermene o meno; in fin dei conti questo tipo di illuminazione diffusa semplifica molto e non costringe a posizionarsi sempre rispetto al sole; c'è una maggiore libertà nella scelta del punto di vista, questo sposta tutta l'attenzione sull'altro fattore dell'inquadratura il movimento tra le parti che la compongono; il movimento non tanto della scena ma dell'occhio che guarderà l'immagine, la tensione che i punti, o meglio i luoghi dello spazio fotogramma intesseranno tra loro. Non saranno più i contrasti di luce ed ombra a guidare lo sguardo ma la tensione tra le parti tra i corpi che compongono la scena.

Quando esco dalla stazione della metropolitana mi trovo nel mezzo a un flusso di persone che passeggiano senza fretta negli ampi scenari della Avenida; le corsie normalmente dense di macchine autobus o motociclette sono ammutolite e calpestate da uno sciame che non dimostra nessuna fretta, a volte si raduna intorno a una qualche piccola recita, canzone, movimento o si disperde e diventa tranquillo passeggiare con il gelato oppure allegro vociare di gioventù. Mi domando se questa sia la versione pop dell'aristocratico flâneur. L'atmosfera mi piace e cammino senza nessuna meta lungo i chilometri dell'Avenida. Non penso di fare fotografie piuttosto di andare semplicemente a zonzo, guardarsi intorno, se scegliessi di fare fotografie non potrei osservare senza scopo quello che mi circonda, assorbirlo inconsapevolmente. Mi ricordo di Bateson e della sua lettura della poesia di Coleridge The Ancient Mariner. (Bateson 1987)

Tuttavia siccome sono molto in anticipo alla fine non riesco a sottrarmi alla voglia di fare qualche scatto, in realtà generalmente quando faccio degli scatti sono solo ma oggi come al Mercado pensavo ad una passeggiata fotografica in compagnia. Così quasi inavvertitamente inizio a fotografare; noto guardando poi i provini che primi scatti sono generali, cercano di dare l'idea del luogo probabilmente, non c'è nessuna persona in primo piano; al contrario del Mercado dove nella prima fotografia del rullo la figura del mercante si stagliava nel primo piano contro lo sfondo del banco. Nella Avenida gli spazi liberati dalla pressione del traffico appaiono nella loro ampiezza e non c'è una funzione prevalente che li connoti come in un mercato, l' Avenida Pualista la domenica è un luogo in cerca di autore.

All'orario concordato mi reco all'uscita della stazione Brigadeiro della metropolitana dove avevamo fissato l'appuntamento con Isabel; lungo la Avenida ci sono due diverse stazioni della medesimo linea e il sospetto di ricordarmi male a quale stazione ci dovevamo incontrare mi disturbava leggermente. Rapidamente il dubbio svanisce mentre Isabel compare

sulle scale che salgono dalla stazione della linea due. Scopro che in due in qualche modo le cose sono più semplici, passeggiare in due persone è molto più mimetico che da solo con la macchina in mano. Mi sento più anonimo in una folla costituita da gruppi di persone., in qualche modo anch'io sono a spasso per l'Avenida senza un preciso motivo. Non so bene cosa, durante i dialoghi nel passeggio lungo i marciapiedi del grande viale sia riuscito a spiegare ad Isabel, del mio modo di intendere la fotografia di strada declinata nei suoi due assi spaziotemporali: l'istantanea e la deriva.

L'istantanea è il luogo in cui si incrociano le affinità e le differenze tra cinema e fotografia; Deleuze analizza molto chiaramente questa peculiarità nei suoi Immagine Tempo Immagine Movimento. Tuttavia se analizziamo il percorso delle tecniche di ri/produzione delle immagini in movimento vediamo che le prime macchine che permisero la nascita della Camera Lumière furono inventate per scomporre il movimento in tante rapide istantanee che permettevano di analizzarlo. Il cinematografo inventa la proiezione in rapida successione di queste istantanee e produce il tempo filmico che tuttavia come sottolinea Deleuze è legato all'immagine movimento.

La fotografia invece ferma e isola l'istantanea superando la propria propensione alla posa diventa un estrattore di Aion; sempre Deleuze ci parla dell'Aion nel suo Logica del Senso, l'Aion il tempo senza presente. "Secondo Aion soltanto il passato e il futuro insistono e sussistono nel tempo. Invece di un presente che riassorbe il passato e il futuro, un futuro e un passato che dividono ad ogni istante il presente, che lo suddividono all'infinito in passato e futuro, nei due sensi contemporaneamente. O meglio è l'istante senza spessore e senza estensione che suddivide ogni presente in passato e futuro, invece di presenti vasti e spessi che comprendono gli uni rispetto agli altri il futuro e il passato" (Gilles Deleuze, *Logica del Senso*, Milano, Feltrinelli editore, 2005, p.147). La fotografia tuttavia non è filosofia ma un atto concreto in cui macchina e umano si fondono per produrre una emanazione del passato e renderla oggettiva nel suo significato di condivisibile dai soggetti e non di aderenza oggettiva alla realtà complessa. Estrarre una figurazione e cristallizzare così il flusso del vedere per un frammento di tempo tendente a zero.

L'altro operatore che permette la fusione tra sguardo e otturatore è, nel mio modo di concepire la fotografia di strada, la deriva La deriva: dal flaenur di Charles Baudelaire e Walter Benjamin alla deriva di Guy Debord.

Per fare una deriva, andate in giro a piedi senza meta od orario. Scegliete man mano il percorso non in base a ciò che sapete, ma in base a ciò che vedete intorno. Dovete essere straniati e guardare ogni cosa come se fosse

la prima volta. Un modo per agevolarlo è camminare con passo cadenzato e sguardo leggermente inclinato verso l'alto, in modo da portare al centro del campo visivo l'architettura e lasciare il piano stradale al margine inferiore della vista.

Dovete percepire lo spazio come un insieme unitario e lasciarvi attrarre dai particolari (Debord 1956).

La fotografia di tutto questo non si interessa anzi quando il mio sguardo diventa fotografico il pensiero alfabetico scompare e la figurazione appare come luogo del pensiero e l'otturatore il pennino dello stilo, l'occhio e la mano.

Dopo un certo numero di scatti per l'esattezza 22, e qualche divagazione lungo il camino per osservare l'incrocio tra la Paulista e il parco, entriamo alla Livraria Cultura - Conjunto Nacional Un Luogo comodo dove in una enclave ritagliata tra i sovrabbondanti scaffali di libri è possibile ristorarsi con un succo o qualche cosa da mangiare. La conversazione con Isabel si sposta su altri temi cinema e fantascienza, robot umanoidi e rappresentazione del corpo, il tempo passa rapidamente e quando usciamo è già buio; pochi minuti e la luce che cercavo quello della transizione tra le prime luci artificiali e l'ultima luce naturale era svanita.

Qualche scatto nella oscurità illuminata dai fari delle vetture che luccicano sotto qualche stilla di pioggia.

Ultimi giorni del mio soggiorno a São Paulo, mi sono trasferito nei pressi della Paulista, ho lasciato il tranquillo rifugio a Lapa Alto nella casa che Sylvia, una altra collega della USP che era in quel periodo a Montreal (?), mi aveva messo a disposizione molto gentilmente; ora mi sono arrampicato al 23 piano del Blue Tree Premium Paulista un grattacielo albergo. Questa volta torno alla solitudine dello scatto.

Sono a pochi metri dalla Paulista e lo scenario dalla finestra è attraente; in realtà mi basta scendere con l'ascensore dal mio appartamento appollaiato quasi alla sommità del palazzo e in quattro passi arrivo al Museu de Arte sulla Paulista. Invece quando esco dalla hall dell'albergo mi guardo intono e scorgo dal lato opposto rispetto alla Paulista, scorgo un grande murales di Kobra con una crocerossina in primo piano. Proprio alle spalle del Museu quasi a indicare una opposizione tra i luoghi chiusi e la strada. Edoardo Kobra è un artista molto noto che si definisce "street artist soldier" è di São Paulo, ma ormai oltre che nella sua città natale opera in tutto il mondo.

La Paulista in tempo normale è flusso ininterrotto di macchine e di umani, le prime riempiono le otto corsie mentre al centro c'è una ciclabile, gli umani scorrono ai lati su ampi marciapiedi.

Dopo tanto parlare di analogico senza essere in realtà un fondamentalista della immagine su rullo prendo una "full frame", espressione gergale che significa che il sensore digitale della camera ha una dimensione uguale a quello di un fotogramma 24x36 mm, e inizio a camminare da solo e con passo veloce in su e giù per i due chilometri e mezzo della Paulista. La reflex è molto più ingombrante della telemetro analogica, la uso in modalità manuale e adopero una sola ottica fissa di 85mm. Come dire rinuncio a molti dei vantaggi delle moderne reflex digitali. Non è per un forma di snobismo o per essere vintage, è solo il mio modo di concentrarmi sulla fotografia una sorta di forma rituale di approccio alla macchina un modo per entrare in simbiosi tra corpo e macchina.

La fotografia digitale è una fotografia a colori nella sua tecnologia di base anche se attraverso manipolazioni software si possono ottenere immagini in bianco e nero, per me tuttavia l'immagine digitale è a colori e dunque l'adopero in questa modalità. Eppure ho la sensazione che un contrappunto feriale a colori delle fotografie in bianco e nero della domenica sia necessario a completare questa ricognizione a volo di uccello sulla più grande strada della metropoli brasiliana, dove si accalcano le contraddizioni di un mondo che pulsa al ritmo delle transazioni finanziarie ma che resta disperatamente attaccato al corpo degli umani.

Inizio a sentirmi a mio agio nel percorrere la lunga Avenida e i suoi larghi spazi ingombri di corpi e di auto tutti assillati da un ritmo accelerato. Le sincopi del questo flusso continuo di auto moto autobus sono date dai semafori che interrompono e regolano il getto delle auto e permettono ai pedoni di attraversare in tempi ristretti l'arteria. Al centro dell'arteria una corsia rialzata accoglie dalle biciclette ai monopattini.

É in questo caos di macchine e persone, di ricchezza e povertà, che di proposito scelgo di non fotografare i meninos de rùa che scorrazzano ai bordi non solo materiali della Avenida; si cibano delle briciole che cadono a terra dalle altezze dei grattacieli dove dal tabernacolo della finanza mondiale cascano sul cemento della strada. Mi sembra troppo facilmente retorico inserirli come sguardo frettoloso ed esotico e al contempo troppo difficile e complesso per uno sguardo completo.

Questi scatti li posso vedere subito molto prima che un aereo mi riporti in Italia dove dovrò aspettare ancora qualche giorno per vedere le immagini negative scattate con la macchina analogica. Tutto sommato questo tempo di attesa mi piace e rende il ritorno carico di aspettative.

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ASTRATTO:

Conversazioni con fotografie nel Mercado Central e nella Avenida Paulista di San Paolo; descrizioni, pensieri e riflessioni sulla fotografia e sull'im- magine digitale.

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gis - gesto, imagem e som
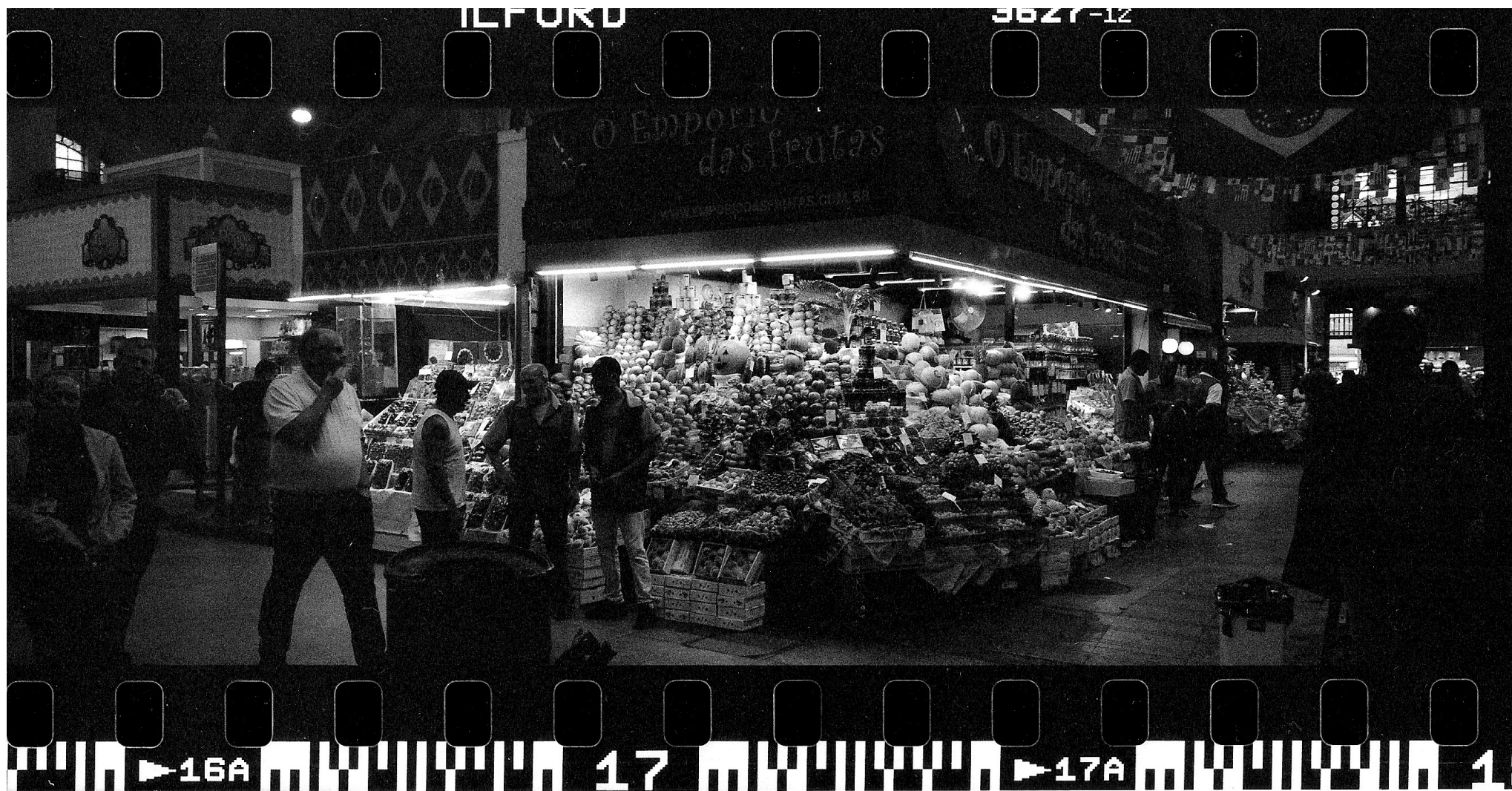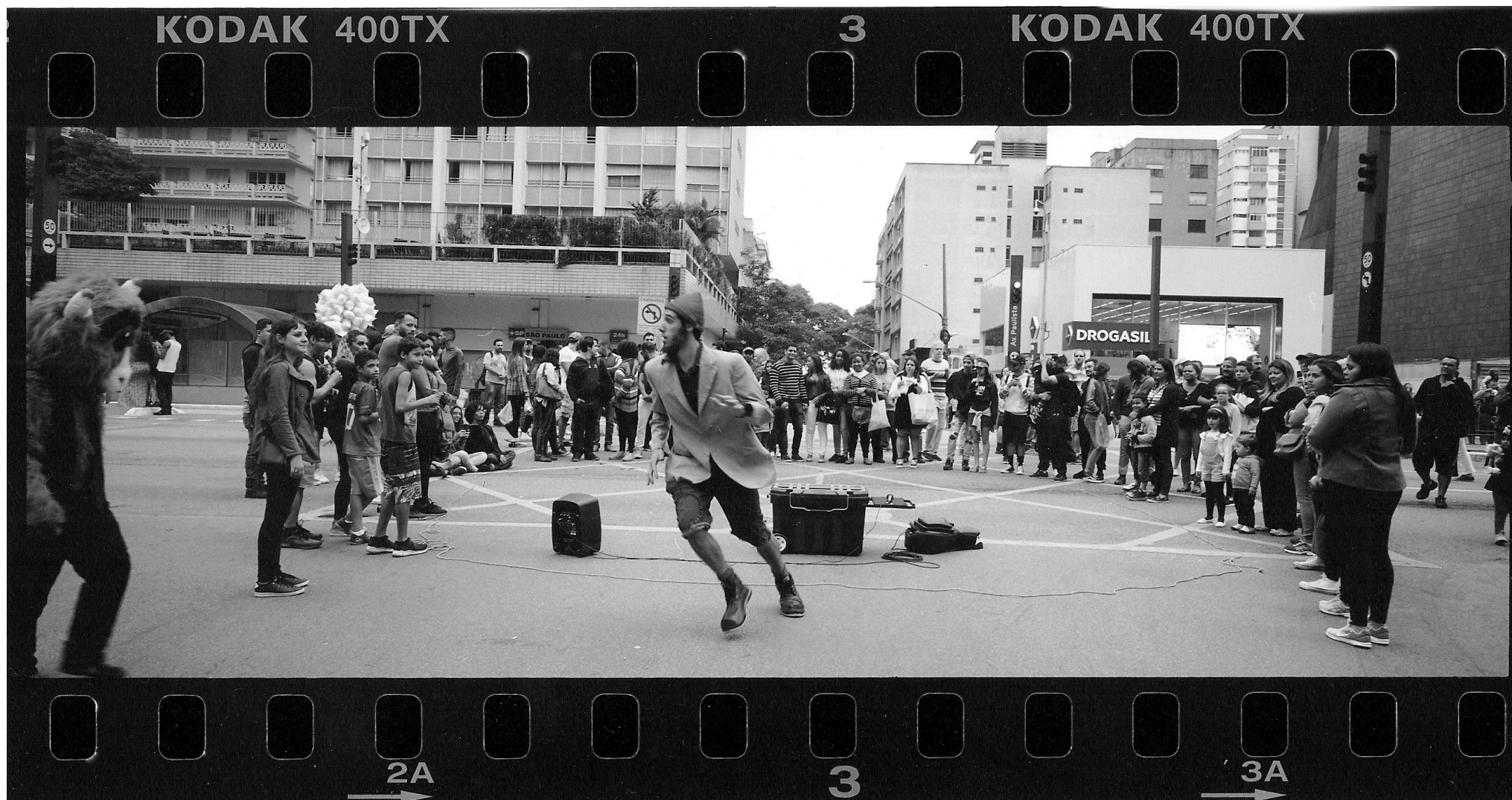
OBJET TROUVÉ: STREET ETHNOGRAPHY – PARIS

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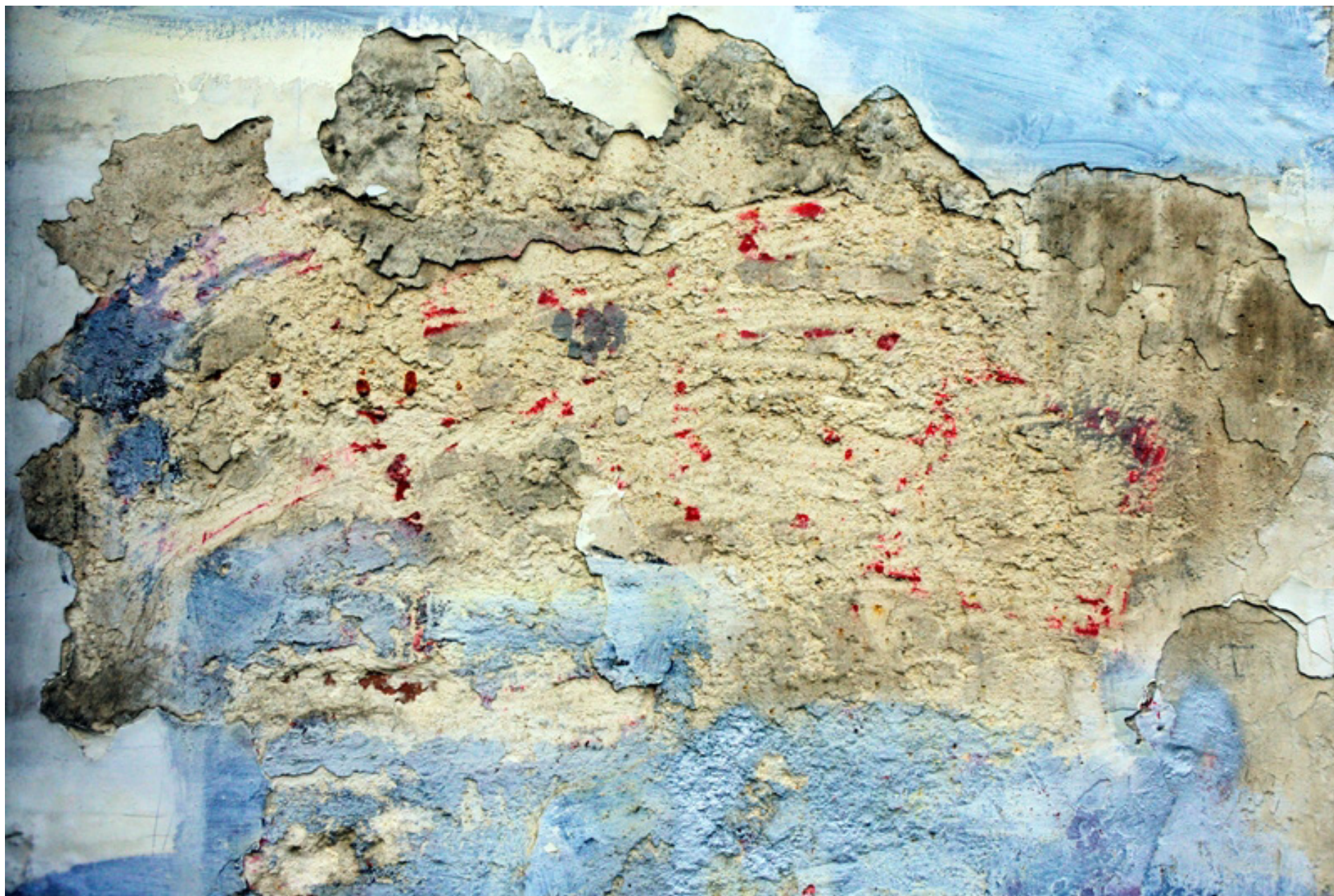
ABSTRACT

This brief essay is part of a broader proposal about the city of Paris. It began in 2012 inspired by the relationship between the book "Passages" (by Walter Benjamin) and the photographs by Eugene Atget. At that moment and during a period of one month images were produced of streets, store windows, *PASSAGES?*, small corners. Three types of cameras were used, one of those analog. Based on and inspired by Atget's technical looks (also making use of a blind camera - GoPRO and a LOMO - fisheye camera) overlapped images were created in the negative itself so that the decomposition of monumental spaces could be evident using these images.

A sequel to this proposal took place during a wider period between March 2016 and February 2017. Based on photographic wandering through the streets of Paris, spontaneous occasions and casual encounters with unexpected objects revisited Jean Baudrillard's thoughts, highlighting the dialogs the city introduces. These also made constant the search of an existence or a dialog between the objects and its surroundings. Such objects seen as common, forgotten, discarded or interfered with can transform the photographer in a gatherer in the anthropological sense through the photographic pulses they create.

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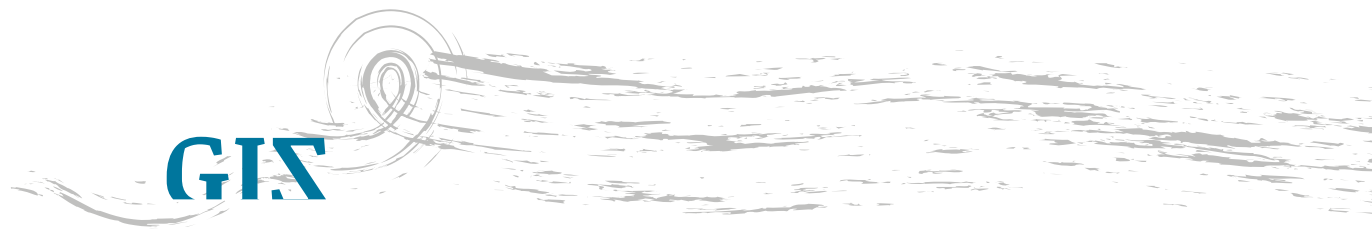
DRAWING SIGNS

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INNER AND OUTER CIRCLE[1]

How do ritual and international travel territories work in terms of performativity and embodiment? And when does a journey to either of these places begin and end? Perhaps, more importantly, how do symbols generate energy for these travelling bodies as they negotiate liminal states in these in a parallel and yet disparate universe of the cosmogram and the airport? When air travel started in the 50s some called it a cocktail party on wings: families got dressed up, parents donned their best clothes, and boys knotted ties for the first time. It was like dressing for church, albeit glamorous and jetset. At first glance airports place bodies on a threshold and force travelers to submit to a long line of checkpoints, not entirely devoid of liminality.

In his book "The Life of Lines", Tim Ingold (2015) makes a distinction between the maze and the labyrinth. Within this analogy, the airport is the maze, with corridors demarcated by barriers which obstruct any view other than the way immediately ahead. It channels, diverts and finally confuses the traveler who can easily arrive at the wrong gate, or worse: the wrong terminal. This is a functional, destination-oriented transportation maze. Within Ingold's analysis airports seemingly force travelers to follow pre-defined routes, within a static network of connectors. In Ingold's labyrinth, however, the path is not as clearly delineated,

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1 "Drawing Signs" is a performance-lecture in which "photographic-combines", or "polyptic montages" are projected in slideshow show fashion, recalling the days in which anthropologists and other travelers made live presentations of their travels around the world.

and it is easy to wander off on a tangent, or to "wayfare". Subtler signs indicate the way ahead. States Ingold: "You may sleepwalk or dream along a labyrinth's path, and explore other types of perception, but you must pay attention to the process of walking in order to reach your destination" (Ingold 2015, 131) Does the hand-drawn and ritually-sung cosmogram of the ponto-riscado, which channels multiple moving lines into a central narrative where gods, ancestors, nature and humans become intertwined, encourage such "wayfaring"? And can we really talk about the character of spaces without discussing what happens to the bodies that animate them? Do travelers simply continuously perform pre-assigned roles in an airport, whose often circular design is comparable to a maze (and a mandala) or is the airport more like a ritual cosmogram and the traveler a performer of flights of passage?

Like rituals, air travel is "purposive (devoted to the achievement of a particular objective)," and beyond "ordinary, everyday events" (Tambiah 1981, 113). Air travel resembles a rite: plans begin weeks ahead and generate considerable anticipation in the lead up to what is so often a stressful experience, and involves multiple portals, from choosing a destination to online and on-site check-ins. This rite includes full-body scans – which critics have called "virtual strip searches without probable cause" – and sometimes intrusive physical checks, ase well as close examinations of one's body based on nationality, physical appearance and cultural signifiers. A study that analyzed the perception of airport safety by travelers found that those selected for elevated screenings perceived it as a physical threat and assault on their dignity (Alards-Tomalin et al 2014, 62). Indeed, regular interaction with the triad of gatekeepers – Customs, police and migrations officers – is reminiscent of Foucault's notion of biopower: "mechanisms through which the basic biological features of the human species become the object of a general strategy of power (Foucault 2007, 1)." And the process is repeated when one arrives and then leaves the destination.

The notion of an airport as a liminal space, a site for both affective and emotional intensities, counters Marc Auge's airport as a sterile "non-place", a cultural void, originally coined by the author in the book *"Introduction a une antropología de la submodernité."* Auge states that places and non-places are not real spaces, but imaginary ones, and refers to tourism as an impossible journey. For him, a site passes from the typology of place to non-place whenever it is lacks history and meaning. But can his "Imaginary" in any way be compared to symbolic negotiations of liminal states? Does a traveler pass through what Schechner calls a "period of time when a person is "in between" social categories or personal identities" (Schechner 2012, 63). Do Van Gennep's three rites of passages – separation, liminality, and incorporation – occur in international travel? Does the designation "threshold person" apply the moment a traveler boards a plane?

When I interviewed High Priest Nilson for the film "Kingdoms"[2], he stated that all those arriving at his temple for his Wednesday night "Curing Sessions" must undergo ritual cleansing before participating in the ritual, to rid them of negative "street energies" that had "contaminated" them. The initial posture, for anyone entering a temple, is one of yielding and submission before Exu, the gatekeeper. Stepping into both temple and airport simultaneously deterritorializes and reterritorializes the traveler-visitor. During the pandemic, travelers submit to having temperatures read and taking PCR tests in anticipation of any signs of a potential fever from Covid-19. Similarly, visitors to Pai Nilson's temple line up on a series of long benches against the wall and watch as he enters and praises Indian sprite "Coral Snake", one of the first entities he received in trance when he was fourteen years old and still an umbanda practitioner. He disperses smoke from a Liturgical censer in front of visitors, while chanting song-lines, or *pontos-cantados* – the lithurgical songs associated with the ponto-riscado – to the Indian spirits. Once he has received *Caboclo Sete-Flechas* ("Seven-Arrowed Indian") he runs flames from lit candles across his chest, in a series of cross-armed gestures, that mimic the signs on the ponto-riscado. He then redraws these symbols over objects that will be used in the healing session. This cleanses the Indian's medium's – Pai Nilson's – body. He then systematically ritually cleanses and activates other objects with the same gestures, sometimes tracing them in the air. According to the priest:

> "What does this ritual do? The entity that possessed me rubs fire over my body, hence purifying the body he is using while reaching out to the initiates' aura and singing, "Run magic Indian! Vanquish opposition and clear the pathways". Once everything has been cleansed it's as if everyone's energy is stabilized and then you begin to cure." (Pai Nilson in an interview for the film "KINGDOMS")

Seven-Arrowed Indian then walks towards the visitors and draws a cross with a large chalk stick (*pemba*) on each person's forehead, thus embodying one of the founding symbols of the *ponto-riscados*. Farris Thompson, in "Flash of the Spirit" reminds us that the *Yowa* cross links the bottom half of the Kongo cosmogram, called *Kalunga* (the world of the dead is called *lunga*) with the world of the living on the upper side. In Brazil the cross is multipurpose and demarcates the relationship between deities, entities (or sprites), ancestors, the living and – when applied to candomblé divination – also one's own personal destiny (*odu*). The Greek cross [+] drawn on the ground is the simplest of all ritual spaces. Pai Nilson activates these lines by blowing smoke onto them. "We use smoke to redirect the energies and put them to work on behalf of the people there." Fire and smoke are

2 https://rodericksteel.wixsite.com/reinos

the most virtual of all material forms and mimic scientific principals. For Emanoel DeLanda, modern physics thinks in terms of unobservable forces, which he calls "attractors", that come together in complex ways to produce vectors and form particular shapes or figures. The embodied "indian spirit" performs a metaphorical unleashing of these attractors, by a variety of means which in turn virtually and physically modify objects and bodies. For DeLanda, attractors modify matter and make it detecable. In real science, gasses, solids and liquids are different states of a single system, and the fire manipulated and smoke blown by the *caboclo* from a cigar or inverted pipe attract by modifying, awakening, activating – virtually and in the spirit world – the latent potential of ritual objects. Visitors close their eyes as the smoke is blown over them: they become haptic, rather than optic, in a reversal of touch's subordination to the visual. Smoke is perceived by the body, proprioceptively, through mechanosensory neurons in the muscles. Brian Massumi describes a knock-on effect of a ritual, caused by the heightening of energies "sustained long enough to leave a kind of afterimage of its dynamism that can be reactivated or injected into other activities (Massumi 1987, XIV)." The ritual weaves together intensive states and then directs connecting routes to a specific end, or cure. Though visitors might only eventually get "initiated", their bodies are graphically paired with "cosmic" lines on the ground. Each *caboclo*'s signature ponto-riscado merges with the visitor's body, who then becomes a co-performer free to infuse symbols with subjective meaning. Roger Bastide, a French ethnographer who charted candomblé in the 50s, assigned pontos riscados the task of "revealing individuals their secret life." (Bastide 2011, 95).

Victor Turner tells us that ambiguity reigns on the borders of ritual frameworks and that liminality is not a concept that explains things (Turner 1988, 102). In the second volume of Capitalism and Schizophrenia, Deleuze and Guattari set out to write and create a number of "plateaus of intensity" in order to seek new vocabularies for overcoming Gregory Bateson's formulation of the plateau, from his essay on Balinese culture (Deleuze & Guattari 1987, 24). They take on directly his understanding of plateaus as "a continuous self-vibrating region of intensities whose development avoids any orientation toward a culmination point or external end" (Deleuze & Guattari 1987, 24). This recalls Pai Nilson's description of the forcefield into which visitors are brought into by the cosmograms drawn during healing sessions: "It's a science and wisdom in which a person is trapped within positive energies that suppress the negative forces and dispel them. But there is a double current here: After this release the same symbols then bring goodness." The polisemic nature of these symbolic arrows, drawn on the ground in the healing sessions, is very different from the course they prescribe on airport runways. Within the *ponto-riscado* rituals such symbols become forcefields "in play": they eschew specificity and are emergent

to visitor embodiment. Airport signs, however, are not "in play": there may be minor variations from country to country, but their meanings have remained fixed since the 1951 International Civil Aviation Convention. The ponto riscado, on the other hand, is a 'self-vibrating region': a connected set of moments and experiences which are nonetheless able to move themselves. If indeed it is the territorialization into region that holds the plateau together then the umbanda temple provides a highly symbolic region, potentialized through these "vibrations". Graphic lines and symbols paradoxically give the plateau, as a field of potential virtual energies, a mobile ground. Indeed the word "vibration" figures as one of Umbanda's main "scientific principles". A quick search on the internet reveals a series of texts based on the "Kybalion", published in 1908, that herald umbanda's link to science and "hermetic principles" championed thousands of years ago by ancient Egypt's Masters, in which the "differences between various manifestations of Matter, Energy, Mind and Spirit, result from the variable vibrational orders", and which allows the Hermetic student "to know his mental vibrations, as well as also that of others."

Perhaps it is from the fact that the onus of interpretation during healing rituals befalls the visitor, who is unable to effectively modify the ritual structure, that the ponto-riscado generates a cure. "The plateau of intensity is a goal-in-itself, a situation of constant evolution and becoming in which conflict does not build, but is expressed and released." The only possible conflict here, is how to individuate an assemblage of symbols that have been assigned a potential or power to cure within a mystical "science" that transcends the organized perceptual apparatus of subjectivity. Pai Nilson makes this relationship explicit: "A six-pointed star is made up of two triangles which balances the earth and the sky. The arrows, and other symbols could be perceived as being Indigenous signs but no, they are means of directing energies. Which is part of another wisdom which are other forms of consciousness acting on the astral body of the Indian spirits I receive, such as "Seven-Arrowed Indian".

As argued by Turner, events and performances are not simply structured, but have their own life. We have to study such moments as real instances of contingency, moments where meaning-formation and symbolism condense and take new forms. Nilson emphasizes: "The symbols address each visitor's universe". Symbols are individuated, and those who have been healed – some of whom later become initiated and receive their own *caboclos* – re-assign meaning to the symbols that have cured them. Once again, we turn to Campbell who specifies the functioning of a three-tiered symbolic system: physical conscience in a state of wakefulness; the spiritual, the dream; the inexpressible, and the absolutely unknowable." (Campbell 1997, 199). Campbell states that the term "meaning" can only refer to the first two, which belong to the sphere of science

and signs. The inexpressible, the absolutely unknowable, can only be felt and no more today in the religious sanctuary than anywhere else. Campbell's "inexpressible" is reminiscent of greatness beyond all possibility of mathematical calcuation inherent to Kant's sublime. For Pai Nilson, this boundlessness is found in the distance between extremes summoned by the ponto-riscados hybrid forms, that connect with both African and western forms of thinking. In his own words: "Polarity exists in most traditional religions. Positive and negative co-exist: Masonry has its two columns. Card-readers, Tarot readers see everything in terms of polarity. The way a card falls is either positive or negative." DeLanda takes an example from thermodynamics, to describe a similar process: morphogenesis. For him, systems that embody a difference in intensity are adept at creating a phenomenon of experience. This happens, for example when polar opposites, such as cold air and hot air are separated in containers, and then mixed, producing a spontaneous flow of air from one side to the other. For him, "many phenomena, in geology, meteorology, biology and even economics and sociology, emerge spontaneously from the interplay of intensity differences." (Delanda 1997, 3). Indian spirits seemingly perform and manage morphogenetic intensities and energies, and fold deterministic causes in on themselves. This reverses what DeLanda calls physics' obessions with the final equilibrium forms in favor of a symbolically and magically constructed "difference-driven morphogenetic process which gives rise to those forms." (Delanda 1997, 4). The Ponto-riscado, and rituals in general, "free intensive differences from the extensive structures (structures extended in space-time) they give rise to". What matters here is the co-creation of phenomena of experience, which generate, in Deleuzian terms, important philosophical (and psychological) insights for the visitor that during the process of morphogenesis "before the final form is actualized, before the difference disappears." The *ponto-riscado* ritual orchestrates the interplay between these intensity differences, and gives rise to phenomena of experience in order to produce a phenomenon (a magical cure) that may also eventually produce scientific evidence (such as alterations in a medical exam). We are approximating, in such a case, Deleuze's notion of the body without organs, and his "spiritual automaton" that requires an inventive upsurge of affects and actions to respond to a novel sensory condition, that combines "transmit[s] the spiritual sense of the world directly to the brain." (Ramey 2012, 11). The visitor's self-performed transcendence possibly lies somewhere between what is empirical, personal and individuated, and what is transcendental in terms of an impersonal and pre-individual ritual. This is a vectorial space rather than a metrical one. Indeed, a body placed in the middle of a cosmogram quickly becomes an overwhelmed sensorium, unable at times to even perceive clearly enough to activate the imagination. We turn again to Kant's sublime as expression of the transcendent found in nature and a multi-sensory drama that overwhelms

the body. Such a conception designates a disconnect between experience and symbolic imagination.

CONCLUSION

Using a Deleuze-ian analogy, it's as if the ponto-riscado restores a sick body to its n-dimensions which reality has gradually subtracted. In contrast to this airport tarmac arrows, onto which have been deposited all sorts of tyre skidmarks and engine oil, now denote lacerated lines of contagion, viral transmission, pandemic lines of flight. The airport that was previously an impersonal crossroads of convergence now coordinates diverging worlds, to produce invisible lines of flight that have become scatological decentralizers of biopower. Just like the *ponto-riscado*, airports have proved that "Liminality is a world of contingency where events and ideas, and "reality" itself, can be pushed in different directions." (Thomassen 2012, 700).

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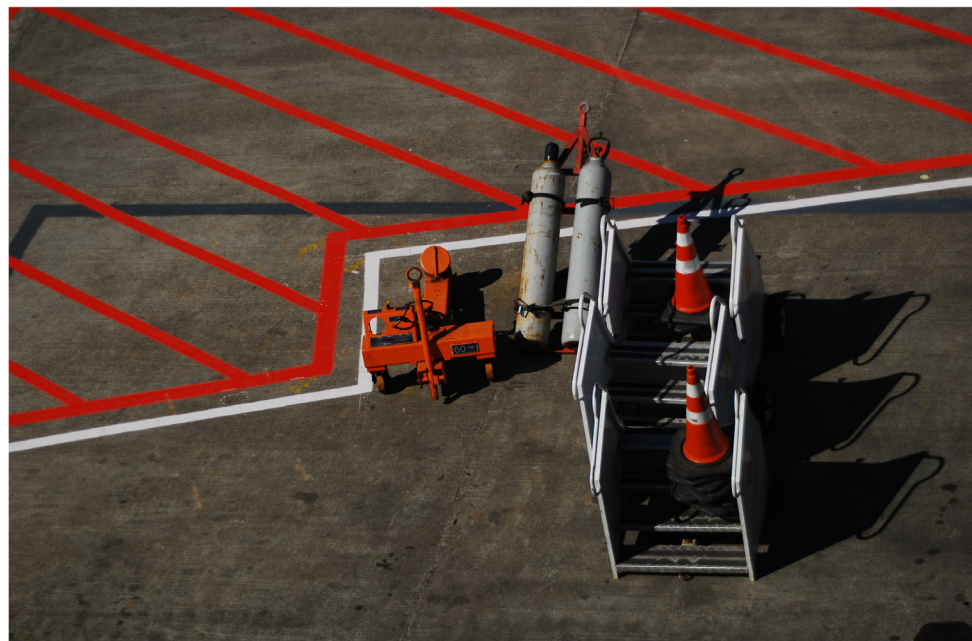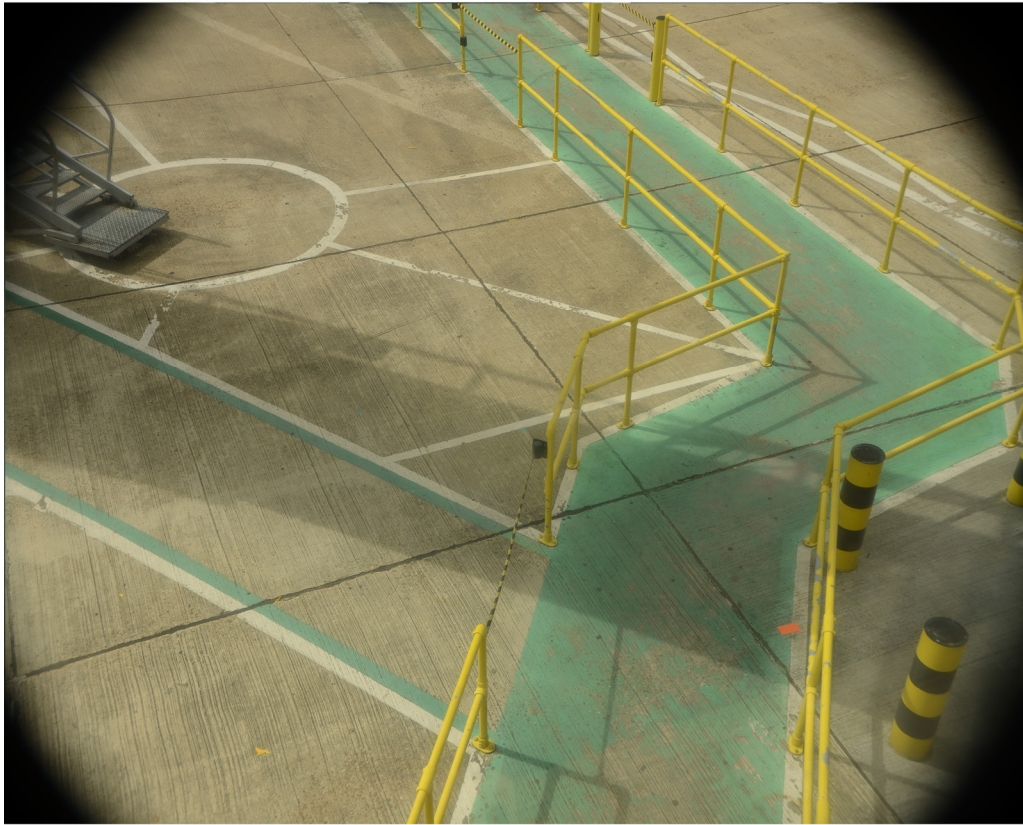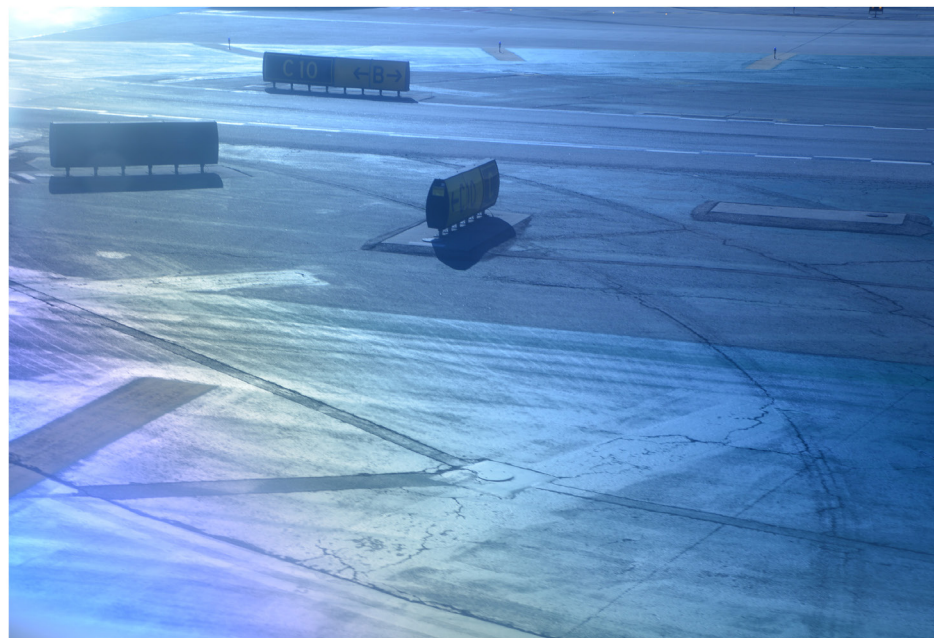
ABSTRACT

This photographic essay creates an experimental parallel flow between ethnographic observation and polyptychal[3] photographs, in order to align artistic and anthropological borders between African Brazilian cosmograms – *pontos-riscados* – and airport markings[4]. The polyptychs explore similarities between a 'visual vocabulary' prevalent in cosmograms and airport signs to create lines of flight between between these liminal spaces. Text and images suggest imagining new ways of relating diametrically opposed worlds: umbanda temple / airport; trance / being-in-transit; cosmogram/ airport markings; cure / covid-19. And to open up to multiple temporal dimensions that enable us to dislocate, to perceive anew through an artistic-academic manifestation.

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3 Beyond the obvious link between the polyptych with the *ponto riscado*, which is sometimes divided into four equal parts by its horizontal and vertical lines (that form a "Greek Cross") Polyptychs were most commonly created by early Renaissance painters for altarpieces in churches and cathedrals.

4 I started photographing the Iemanjá Party in Praia Grande in the 90s. Twenty years later, in a waiting room at the Tucson Airport, faded airplane tracks – recalling visual scores – recalled earlier encounters with umbanda's graphic moving lines. I revisited and separated photos of drawn signs – *pontos riscados* – taken on the beach, in some Umbanda, Tambor-de-Mina and Candomblé de Angola terreiros, and mixed them with photos of airport markings taken over a 5-year period.

"THE RITUALS I DO ARE FIRM!" - THE QUEEN'S GESTURE

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Laroyê, Rainha Pombagira Sete Encruzilhadas! She is the woman who paves the way, the gatekeeper, for this essay, which is a *macumba* of anthropology and image. Pombagira is a woman who challenges the world of patriarchy with her subversive body. She dances, sings, drinks, smokes and laughs. It is with a laugh that the Umbanda entity announces its arrival at the *terreiro*. The purpose of the Pombagira manifestation is to fulfill the wishes of their sons and daughters. Pombagira is an Exu Woman, that is, she is an intercessor, an entity of communication between the material world and the spiritual world. Exus, as Birman (1985, 42) says, are excellent spiritual guides. They are transgressive figures, as indicated by Augras (2009, 16), which in everything correspond to the inversion of values valued by good society.

In Cabana do Preto Velho da Mata Escura, na Umbanda *terreiro* located in the Bom Jardim neighborhood, in Fortaleza-CE, Rainha Pombagira incarnates (Anjos 2019, 102) in Pai Valdo de Iansã. The Queen's Party has been held since 1987 and is one of the most beautiful in the city. Pombagira arrives and sings "The gira I do is firm. She is a woman who doesn't wobble. In the middle of the crossroads, at dawn, Pombagira makes the gira.".

Among the strength of the mystery, Pombagira supports the thoughts of those who trust it. The party takes place on the second Saturday of November and it takes seven preparatory rituals, the procession with the settlement of the entity by the city and the killing for the banquet of the party. During the celebration, Pombagira receives flowers, perfumes, jewelry and other offering that Umbandistas and customers bring to present it.

I photograph letting out sacred secrets, subtle gestures. But those who look, sometimes, do not see. It is necessary to train the researcher's eye. Not everything is said. And not everything is possible to say. Rabelo (2015) in his article "Learning to see in Candomblé" says that "iaô trains the attention to see what is not directly accessible to your eyes". The anthropologist-photographer also trains. It is the sideways glance, "a glance, discreet and quick". Trains the look to the invisible present in the visible. Learns to deal with the responses of silences. Desires, desires, disputes, between the lines … What can the invisible world reveal to us through images? The woman's strength.

The strength of Rainha Pombagira is the power of this essay, which is shown in visual poetics. It is not by chance that the woman's movement overflows through the photographs, spreading the emotion that the entity embodies. Revolutionary in love, of love and for love, the Girl, as she is also called, lives and reigns attending to longings, shepherding bodies and souls, rekindling the flame of life, healing wounds... When the woman incarnates, my body trembles and my hairs stand on end. Because we know each other and she is at the crossroads of my existence. The present, living body emanates perfume and life flows because the paths open. In the embrace, grace and forgiveness present themselves as a perennial river. Confirmation arrives, freedom spills out and the soul illuminates. The Queen, mistress herself, sings: "Beautiful star is coming down from Aruanda. Star of da Pombagira, she is the Queen of Umbanda. Beautiful star in the hall lit up. Star of Pombagira, she is Queen of Love".

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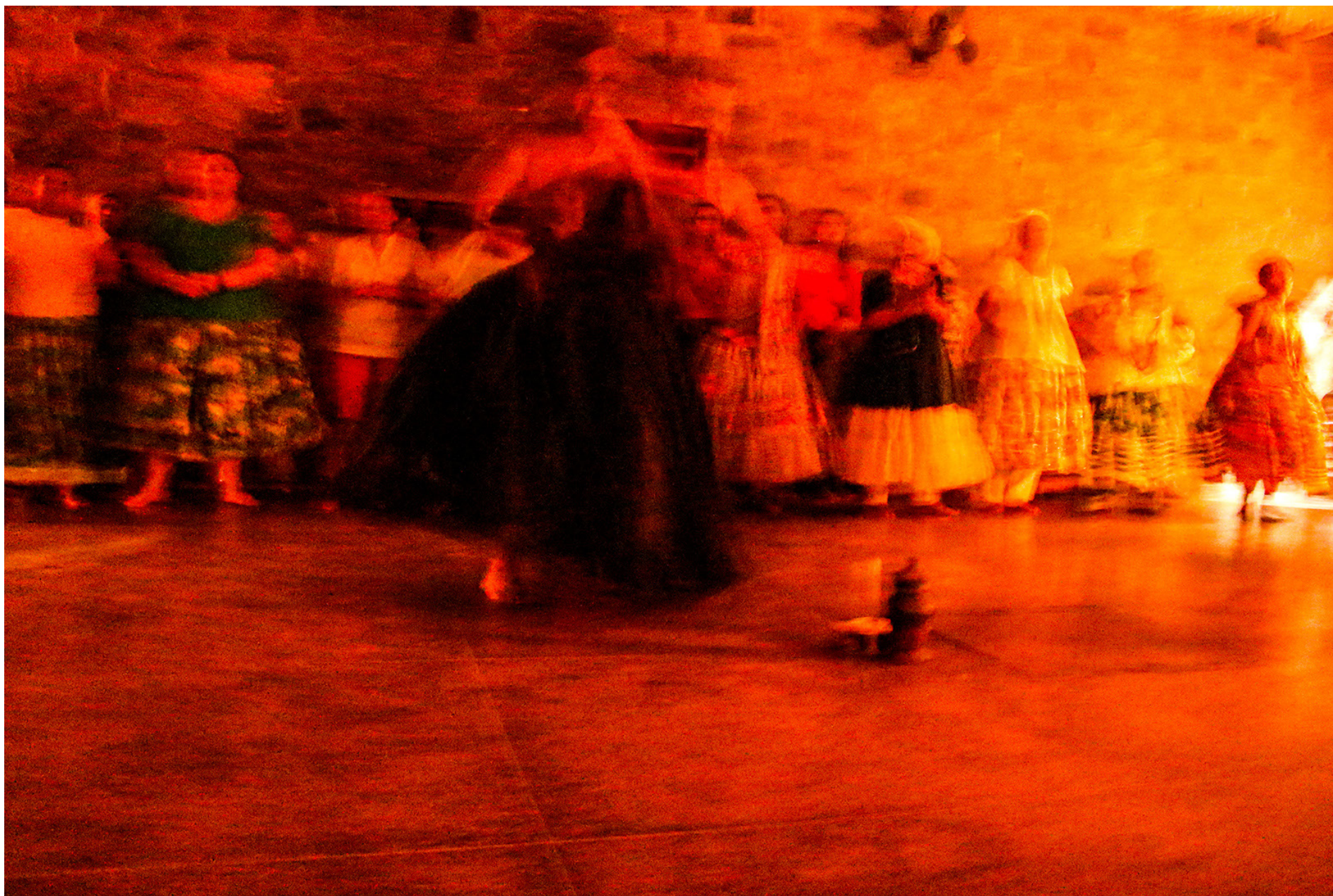Rabelo, Miriam C. M. 2015. Aprender a ver no candomblé. *Horizontes Antropológicos*, Porto Alegre, ano 21, n. 44, p. 229-251, jul./dez. Available from: https://www.scielo.br/pdf/ha/v21n44/0104-7183-ha-21-44-0229.pdf Access on: Oct. 01, 2020.
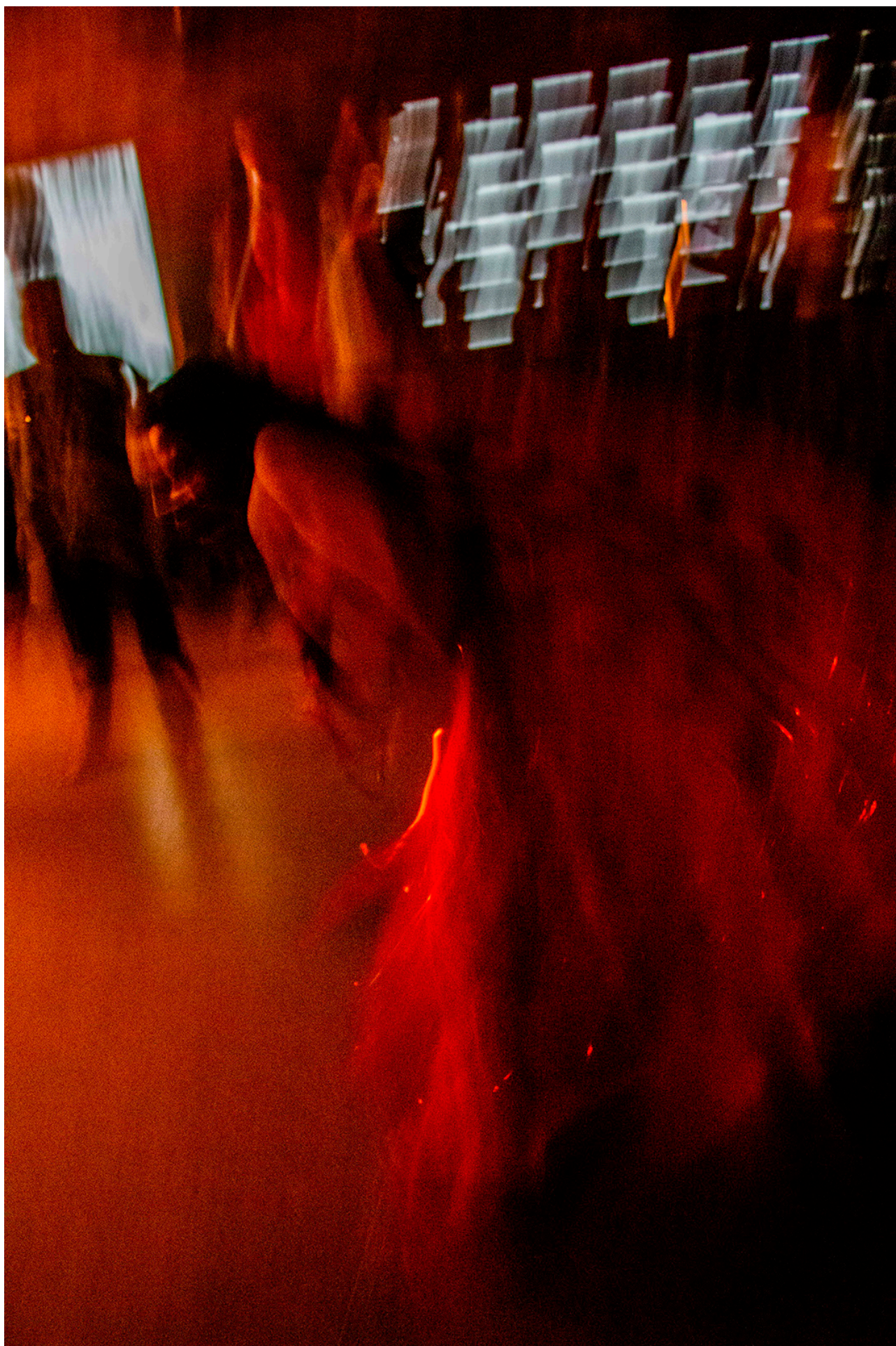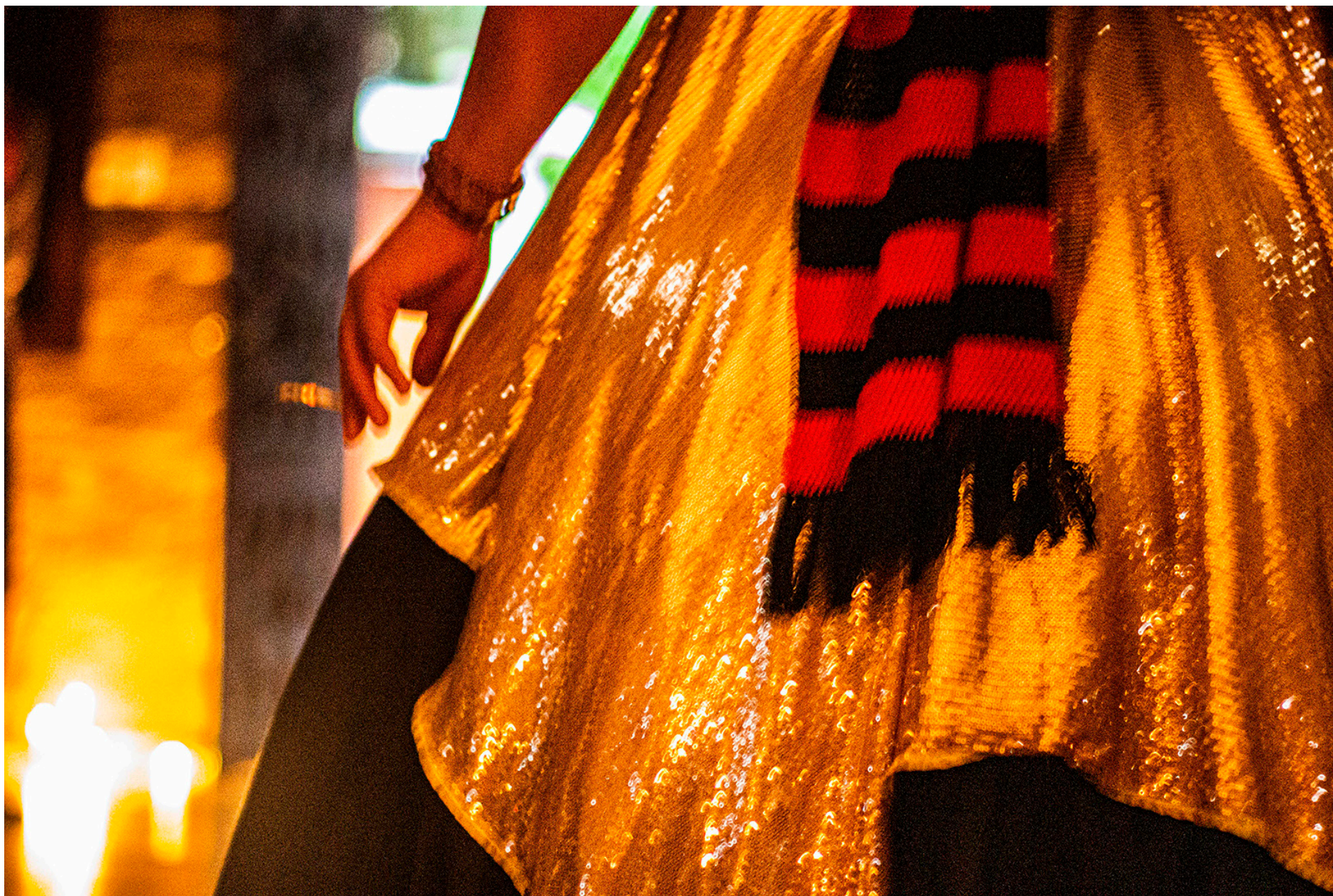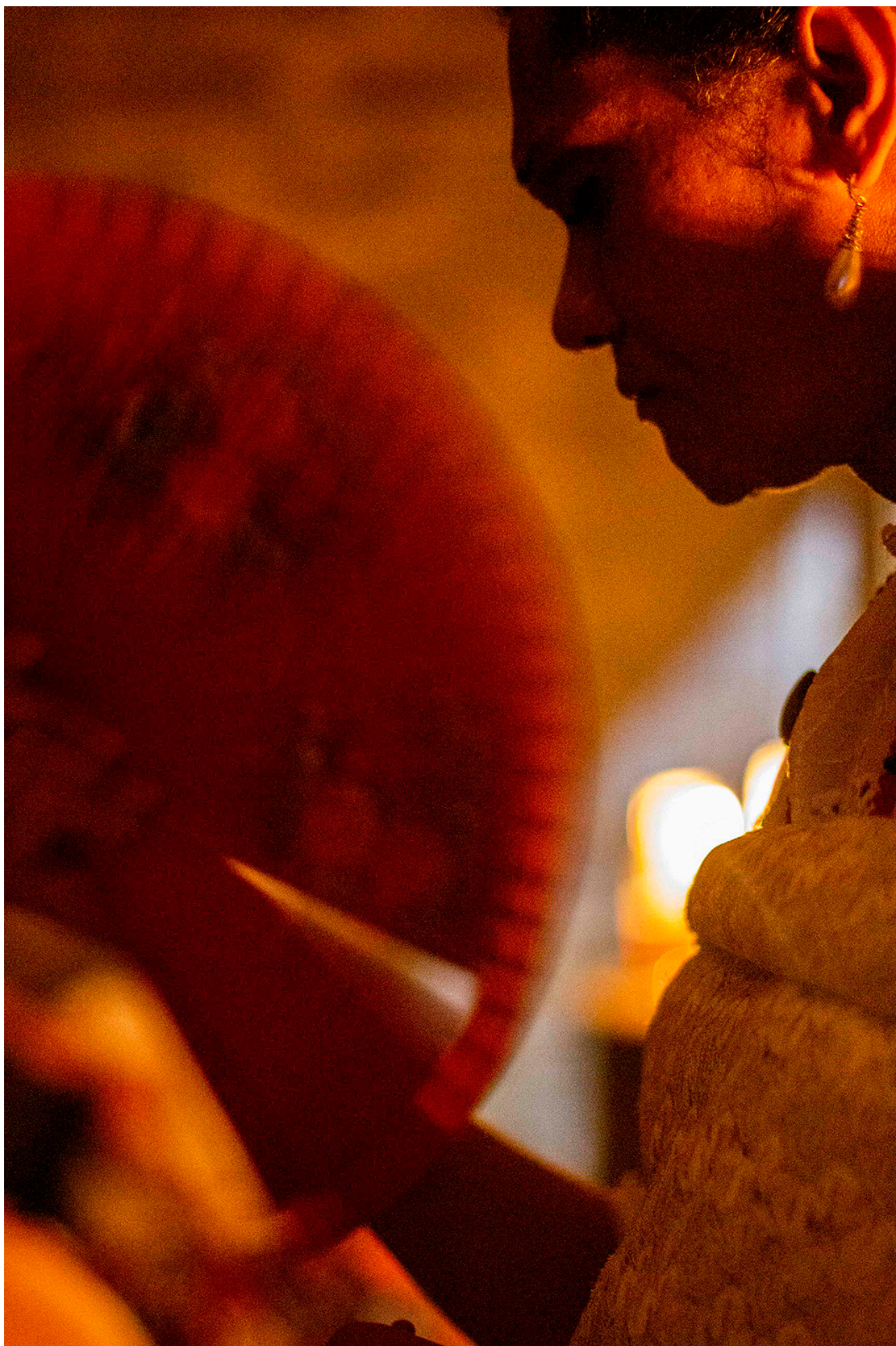
ABSTRACT
Photo essay on the rituals of Rainha Pombagira Sete Encruzilhadas in the Cabana do Preto Velho da Mata Escura, in Fortaleza, CE. A worker, a *macumbeira* anthropology that moves and bewitches. The enchanted images reveal what you can look at and keep the sacred secrets, gestures. The visible and the invisible find themselves revealing poetics, interstices, and knowledge.

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MEMORY IS MOVEMENT

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On a December-day, already bathed in the hot summer of Rio de Janeiro, the bodies that go up and down buses look limper, immersed in the energy that the end of the year seems to exhale little by little, drenching the city in a silent and somewhat sore ecstasy of another year. We prepare the wheat paste for the posters under a blazing sun and it evaporates too quickly. Moving the ladder here and there, the top right of the photo is coming off, where's the paste again? Careful, it'll rip; it needs more paste; you have to remove the air bubbles with the tips of your finger; careful, I'll do it; there are still eight photos to go; can you go to Beta to get more water for the mixture while we go down the street to ask the market owner to flypost the picture of the bride on that green wall; okay, take the ladder with you so we can glue the images that will go on the water tank's wall; okay, let it drip.

Tonight is the inauguration of the exhibition and there will be a barbecue and the screening of a movie. The screen is already up there in the courtyard of Azul, while the meat and soft drinks for the grill are arriving and we are setting up a table with postcards printed with archive images from the residents of Azul. One of the pictures is of six women, all dressed in pink, at a carnival party of the Jaca Samba School, the *Unidos do Jacarezinho*. Another is a black and white photo that shows a soccer team, the ones standing have their arms crossed and the ones crouching are all embraced. There is a white soccer ball waiting patiently on the grass. Still another photo, this one colored, is of a birthday party. The people stare at the camera, posing from behind a birthday cake, snacks, and soft drinks, which

come in glass bottles, as the bear bottles still are today. All these images are part of personal archives that, when shared, become collective, and evoke various times. As Didi-Huberman (2012) said, the image is a footprint, a cut, a visual trace of the time that it evokes, but also of other times.

A month prior to the exhibition, we organized another event named "Tent of Memories", also surrounded by many images. It happened in front of João's bar, the pub of a former resident of Azul next to Aunt Beta's house, who was Léo's mother, and received us. On the day of the event, João's bar was essential in providing bear and music, next to two tables full of pictures. There were still more pictures hung by small wooden pegs on clothes lines on the walls. Whoever walked by almost always lingered on some image or other. This movement of coming and going was filmed by Léo and Gê and was photographed by Dudu and myself. Everyone drank and talked, there were people dancing, and the afternoon slowly went by.

***

Memory is movement is a photo essay about the power of sharing personal and family archive images. Its starting point was the exhibition *Outro olhar*, held in the streets of Azul, upper part of the Jacarezinho community. The event was the result of cooperative and decentralized artistic practices of the collectives Norte Comum and Cafuné na Laje, both active in the city of Rio de Janeiro at the time. The essay documents the collective process of organizing the exhibition, which consisted of working with the visual memory of Morro do Azul and with images of resident's own archives, their stories, and memories of the territory. This project was also an unfolding of Cafuné na Laje's research to shoot the film *Favela que me viu crescer*, released in 2015.

Having the exhibition's process as a starting point, the photographs in this essay focus on how the mobilizing of visual memory of personal archives promotes the encounter and the sharing of these portal-images as a way of perceiving and experiencing photography collectively. This strengthens community bonds and validates the territory's historical importance from within, emphasizing how it signifies itself visually. Thus, the recognizing and valuing of these archives is a necessity for the contemporary debate about photographic images and their participation in the construction of a collective memory.

The photo essay is about the encounter with images from personal but also collective archives that reveal the history and memory of Azul, in Jacarezinho. It is about the ties of family images, of albums, with the streets. The emphasis here is placed upon the relationship people have

gis - gesto, imagem e som

with their memories, and the power to mobilize them: in each bond set of by the images, the territory is restored and strengthened.

The favela Azul is situated in Jacarezinho, in the North Zone of Rio de Janeiro. Between the walls of General Electrics, the river Jacaré, and the train tracks, Jacarezinho was Rio de Janeiro's second largest industrial park. Léo Lima, photographer born and raised in Azul and member of Cafuné na Laje, describes Jacarezinho:

> Localized in the North Zone of Rio de Janeiro, Jacarezinho originated in the Vieira Farm, the perimeter of which went from the lower part of the favela up to the highest point of Morro Azul. It was surrounded by industries and factories. On the path that begins on the trainline crossing, there are wattle and daub houses next to masonry ones, Umbanda and Candomblé houses of worship next to evangelical churches, soccer fields and narrow bars. All this is connected by countless concrete stairs, tireless kites, children always moving and still and steady water tanks.
>
> The former Titica Hill was slowly shaped over time, by the desire or the need of its residents, young and old, to what it currently is today: an overlapping of dreams, desires and necessities, houses, bars, sport fields, stores, and rooftops.
>
> What is extraordinary about Jacarezinho? I'm not sure. What I know is that when you ask a Jacarezinho resident to describe a happy life, he always imagines a favela like his own, with his people, with soccer in the GE sports field and samba in the Samba School Unidos do Jacarezinho.

If a place is always a puzzle of looks and permanence, and its perspectives are composed of simultaneous layers, whether temporal or relational layers that occupy the same territory, we suggest that photographs are portal-images that allow us to share and move through these layers of simultaneity, providing us with a journey adrift of time/space of a territory and of its *diverse pasts* (Rivera Cusicanqui 2018).

Therefore, the exhibition did not seek to tell a linear narrative of the territories' history, but rather, starting with the photographs, to share stories told on the edge of the favela, without separating or organizing the territory temporally in a traditional way. We were not interested in a cataloguing process like those of museums and institutions, but in a process of exchanging experiences and stories that inhabit a place of *tiempos mixtos* (Rivera Cusicanqui 2018), or mixed times, where family photos gather and replace a temporality mixed with the simultaneity of heterogeneous times activated by them. This refusal of linearity and

choice of simultaneity as approach of the residents' photographs seem to me an important step for the processes we were aiming for.

<center>***</center>

Outro Olhar gathered people around images that they themselves produced, narrating these memories together. It may seem trivial, but if we stop to think about the historic entitlements of visual memory in Brazil and the types of images associated with Jacarezinho in the mainstream media, it becomes evident that this encounter to celebrate the photographs that represent their stories is a form of resistance.

To face memory as an event is an important step to think about how the exhibition brought images opposing the characteristic fetish of the artistic visual arts environment. The whole process was developed around types of *mobilizing* and *paths* striving for *exchange*. The exhibition mainly exposed the relations themselves, instead of objects and products. The act of remembering together is a powerful practice, even as a collective ritual. It seems to me that, when memories are shared locally, reinforcing the bonds of collective memory, we reiterate the power of the community.

When we remember together, we access the many pasts of a territory, activating memories that reinforce the feeling of belonging. The demolition of a striking building in the neighborhood, the termination of a bus line, or even an accident during the soccer match, birthday parties, and other episodes are important collective events. In short, they configure embodied images with perspectives and ties that refer to a diverse temporality and simultaneous territories. In *Outro Olhar*, the exhibition of photographs was not stagnant, but involved moving the images around, which brought people closer to the photographs (instead of distancing, as is common in museums and art institutions). This approach strengthened the relation of self-representations in Azul. Therefore, it constituted an event dynamic, as it promoted movement.

Thus, if the exhibition focus was on the relationships and not the product, it happened truly in the conversations triggered. The photo essay *Memory is movement* is about those encounters and conversations with the by-passers that stopped to look at images of themselves, of their neighbors. They saw their relatives, pictures of cousins when they were children, of family members that already passed away, of old boyfriends and girlfriends, and of the neighborhood's soccer team. The exhibition happened in the movement of the photographs, which passed from hand to hand. It established the encounter with the flyposted pictures and did not orbit around products-objects to be exposed and commercialized in a restricted space.

Having the relationships as a starting point, this photo essay states that memory is movement. The archive images of Azul residents, along with their stories, manifest the narrative of a territory that is still changing. The territory is reborn through each word and image produced from the inside and that tell the many pasts of Azul. It seems to me that because memories are not stagnant, they configure an event. They are created in the encounter, in movement, they exist in conversation, in the core of stories, in a reverie/array that, as lonely as it may seem, is always moving.

TRANSLATION:
Alice Faria

More about Outro Olhar project: https://navalhanaliga.com/Outro-Olhar-1

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ABSTRACT

The photo essay *Memory is movement* is about the encounter with personal archive photographs of residents of Azul, in Jacarezinho (Rio de Janeiro), gathered by the exhibition *Outro Olhar,* conceived by the collectives Cafuné na Laje and Norte Comum. Having the exhibition's research process as a starting point, the photographs focus on the importance of mobilizing visual memory of personal archives. The aim was to approach and share these portal-images and promote a way of perceiving and experiencing photography collectively, while strengthening community bonds. The emphasis was placed on the historical importance of the territory from within, of how it is visually signified. Thus, the recognizing and valuing of these archives is a necessity for the contemporary debate about photographic images and their participation in the construction of a territory's collective memory.

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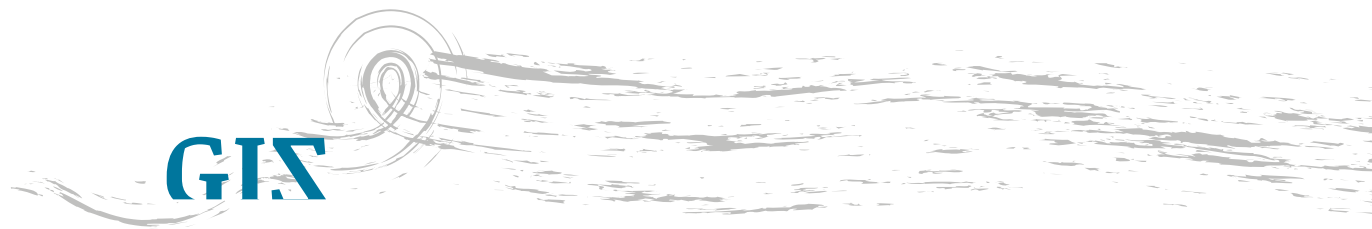
DENGBÊJ – A KURDISH RESISTANCE YELL

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At a large outdoor patio, a group sitting in the corner smokes cigarettes while they drink tea and talk. A voice echoes. There is a room full of men: they are Kurdish singers and their audience. A gentleman with white hair and a mustache, wearing a Kurdish scarf around his neck resonates the verses of his song. One hand muffles the sound in one of his ears, while the other holds the tasbih[1]. Without the accompaniment of instruments, using only his voice, he sings in Kurdish. At each verse, a pause, a cough, a throat clear… The end of his song, which ends with a long "eee eyh!", is followed by the voice of another singer. And so, one after another, four men sing the Kurdish legends to an audience composed mainly of men. These performances are daily, start at 13:00 and end at sunset.

This is the Dengbêj Evi (Dengbêj House), in the old district of Sur, in Diyarbakir, the main city of Turkish Kurdistan[2], which is located in the north of Turkey and is today considered the main center of *dengbêj*. What brought me to this place were the words of Ciwan, a Kurdish-Syrian refugee: "If you want to know about a people, you must to listen their music". Without speaking the language and with the camera in hand, I wandered the city of Diyarbakir in search of the so-called "mountain nightingales".

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1 Tasbih, also known as Masbaha, is an object similar to the rosary, with beads (which can be 33 or 99 and representing the 99 names of God) used by Muslims in their prayers.
2 Kurdistan is a region in the Middle East that was divided between Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey after World War I. The Kurds are not Turkish, Arab or Persian, they form their own ethnicity, whose origins are uncertain (Cf. Pessuto 2017).

Dengbêj means singer in Kurdish, it is a term composed of the words *deng* (voice) and bêj (present tense of the verb to say) (Scalbert-Yücel 2009, 4). These singers are professional poets, who sing tales, legends and stories of their people. Their songs have no instrumental accompaniment, they use only their own voice, thus transmitting the traditions. The term is used to define both these singers and the musical genre. *Dengbêj* is one of the biggest cultural manifestations of the Kurdish people, responsible for transmitting the Kurdish language and stories.

The idea of a Kurdish nation is directly linked to the issue of the Kurdish language. Sovereign governments, knowing the importance of the Kurd as a mobilizer of identities, try to suppress its use. The assimilation process perpetrated by the "host nations" (native category) – Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey – already begins with the language, since by undermining the culture of a people, their collective memory is weakened. The Kurdish language is responsible for maintaining the cohesion and preserving the national identity of 25 million Kurds.

Since the practice of *dengbêj* is linked to the use of the Kurdish language, it has suffered several crises[3] since the creation of the Turkish state. Since the 1960s, the period of Turkey's first military coup (a time marked by strong nationalism), there have often been tensions between *dengbêjs* and the authorities. In 1980, after the military coup in Turkey, the *dengbêjs* were silenced. The Kurdish Language was officially banned, there was imprisonment and even torture, which spared neither singers nor listeners. Singers and people who had recordings at home were arrested, at a time when speaking Kurdish in the streets generated even arrests.

As of the end of the 1990s, *dengbêj* was institutionalized and in 2007, in the city of Diyarbakır, was created the Dengbêj Evi, (Dengbêj House) a place that brings together these singers, who can only sing love songs and never address political themes in their songs.

In this way, *dengbêj* is the main means of transmitting the Kurdish language and culture. And this photographic series, shot in the city of Diyarbakir, portrays these singers and the surroundings of Dengbêj Evi.

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3 The Kurdish music in Turkey has gone through seven different periods, ranging from total prohibition to the institutionalization of dengbêj (Cf. Reigle 2013).
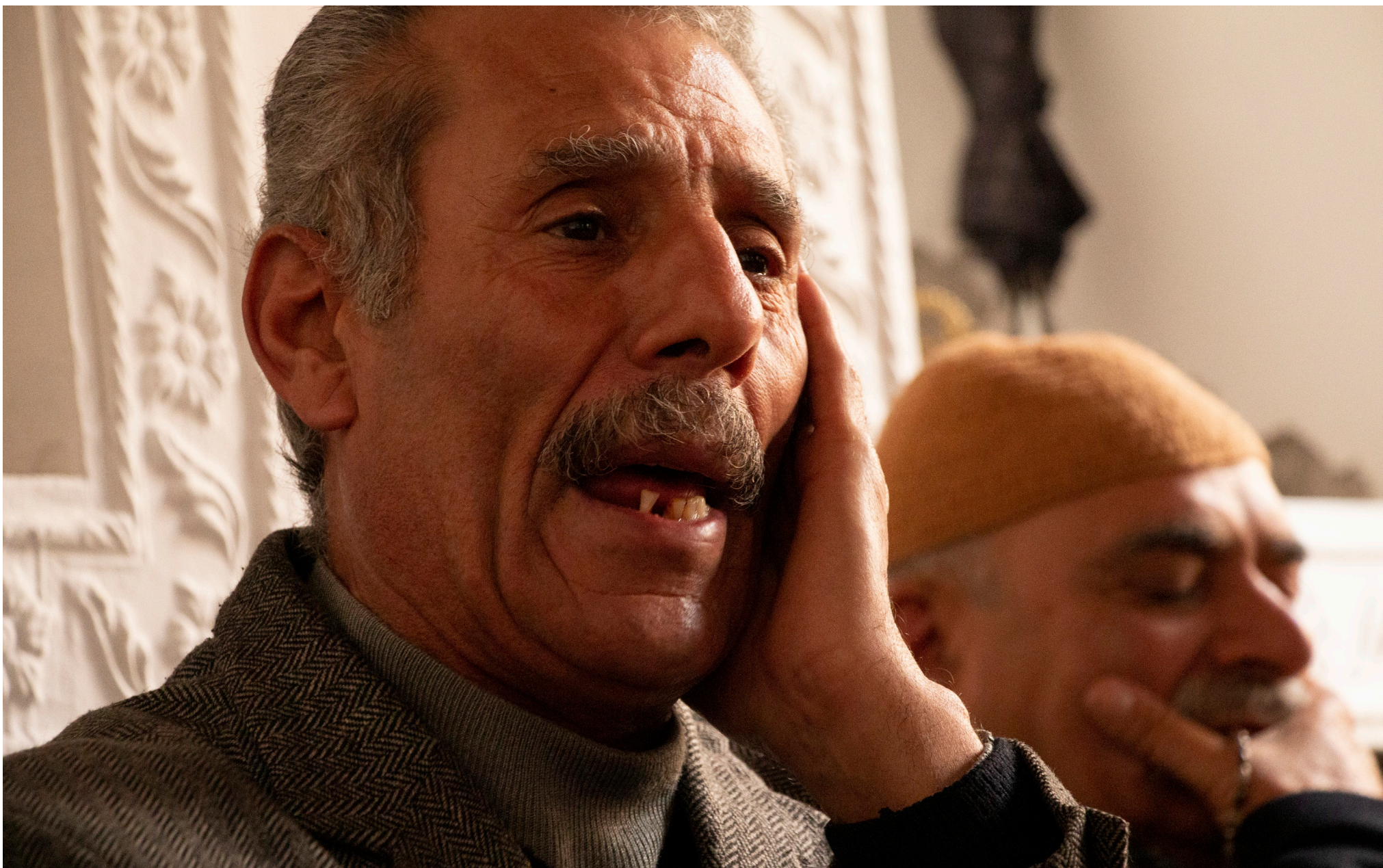
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ABSTRACT

This photo essay was accomplished in the Diyarbakir city, in the Turkish Kurdistan, and portrays the Dengbêj, the principal cultural practice of the Kurdish people, which aims to transmit their language, myths and histories through generations. In a country where the idiom is forbidden even at schools, the Dengbêj practice, even institutionalized (since 2007, when was founded the Dengbêj House), is an act of resistance of the Kurdish people, because through these songs the Kurdish language lives and resists.

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TRACES AND MARKS BEYOND HUMAN

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For people living on the shores of Lake Amanã, the creation of a place involves a considerable practical aspect of action on a certain portion of the forest. One should be active, *diligent*, but first of all, a good negotiator. For a young man to start a *roça* (small plantation/small farmland) is required the consent of his parents, relatives or elders. It is, first of all, a sign of maturity, that adult life has come and with it the possibility of forming a family. I speak of this need for negotiation also glimpsing a temporal character. Rarely a piece of land is *raw forest*, like *capoeira*[2]; there are marks of other people and other times. It is also a negotiation with the past, about what must be told about the marks that can be seen, who are their producers and owners. Part of this negotiation at some point can take place in the cosmopolitical field, when in addition to animals and plants, people meet curupiras, mother of the forest, father of the animals, caboclinho, mapinguari and so many other beings that transit between ontological statutes.

This active dimension of places production, involving the establishment of a *roça* and subsequent implementation of a *sítio*,[3] articulates in at least two dimensions: the social life of the communities, which are updated

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2 Translator's note: secondary vegetation manly compost by grass and scattered bushes
3 The dynamics of cultivation in the region involves a migratory system of farmsteads of short-cycle species aimed at subsistence and small-scale commercialization, and prolonged management of areas called sítios (small farmlands) that constitute themselves as agroforestry.

through marriages, births of children, and the rearrangement of alliances and kinship networks. In addition, the past of those places which are often effectively the product of personal journeys, involves the desires and actions of individuals, but it is always limited to a time-specific as well: the times of the old ones and *ancestors*, the rubber boom time, *the bosses*, or even the *reserve time*. The clarity of this relationship between the formation of places and their historical framework was visible to me when I received the invitation to visit the *sítio* of Erinei Tavares known as "Careta", son of my main hosts in the community Bom Jesus do Baré.

On a Thursday morning, with three days left for my departure and the closure of another stage of the field, I left with Careta and his son Gabriel, of only 4 years, known as Gabigol in allusion to the Flamengo player, a football team that is almost unanimous in the community. Just the three of us in a good canoe, with a *rabeta* (pulp engine) and 10 liters of gasoline. A Colombian smoke, a shotgun and a *terçado* (a type of machete), accompanied us, we also carried a backpack with some gear such as knife, spoons, a pack of stuffed wafer and a cloth diaper to clean the child, a bottle with cold water and our lunch: mandioca flour with fried sausage. In my bag, I carried the camera, my smartphone that fulfilled the function of GPS and a notebook with a pen. It was about 7 o'clock in the morning when we went out, without having a clear objective other than "walking" through the creek, stopping at places that had a name and getting to know them. Despite the fact that in my terms "knowing" would mean a lot more than just two basic elements: geo-reference or "mark a point". As Careta was referring to and to register the information that I found relevant - such as the plants, if it had been a farmstead, who cleaned the area, if there was a "*chupador*"[4], or a story or a curiosity about the past. In addition, it was an opportunity to check out the presence of potsherd.

Obviously, every 10 minutes or less, Careta would tell me a new name on both riversides of the creek. There was a gunk, then another trail, or where the people open their gardens and cottages, further ahead a "*sítio*", on the left, chestnuts and rubber tree roads. How terrible! It would be impossible to stop at all the pieces of land; after all, they were all "places". How disappointing! Plan a walk to return on the same day, with a child, without much food and the feeling that it would take days to travel just a few kilometers. Everything was going wrong, but I was excited! The creek that had some monotone in its green, so meandering that at every glance deceived me with a hangover, made up of so many possible places

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4 They are marshy places that in the specialized bibliography relates to the areas that animals seek to obtain minerals. It is hunting points used on the territory, which among the people of Amanã can be called *barreiro*, *chupador* and *canamã*, classified according to the criteria of implantation, seasonality, frequency and diversity of animals.

that I reassessed whether it was even necessary to proceed with that said mapping of significant places.

In fact, mapping them didn't make me know them. My Amanã companions always kindly informed me of this. The trip of little Gabriel made me think about how that child among so many incursions, like the time we've spent on the canoe that makes us look at every shade of green and forms of foliage. He was building his map, not exactly a mental one but a map incorporated through expeditions from an early age and many years of going back and forth.

Of being.

Stopping and taking a shower.

Of making a roast.

Focusing and going for a hunt.

Events like the one narrated by his father, which had occurred a week before our "tour": he and two of his cousins went to São Sebastião river; one of them was not a good hunter. Without enough experience to walk in that creek no longer too full and with many fallen trees, suddenly a broken helix.

They came back 40 km down the creek on the rowing.

The four-hour journey turned into twenty.

A relative time which without the noise of the engine allowed a detailed observation of the nuances and shadows of the banks, the sounds of giant otters and birds, the marks of people and animals.

Already aware at that beginning of the day that it would take a lifetime to understand and know those places, I continued to write down, and especially, to photograph. We stopped at those places that Careta chose as the most interesting, choosing the easiest places to walk and what to talk about them, as well as what he considered relevant to my goals: recording stories and finding "material traces".

The first place visited was the *sítio* of his brother. We did not reach the cassava cultivation, which they had worked the previous year, but on the banks full of traces of giant otters. Therefore, we took advantage of the visibility of the terrain to find some *shards* of pottery. The next stop would be the *sítio* of Careta himself, and paraphrasing him: "*think about a beautiful*

place". A not very high edge, with a smooth slope leading to a very clean water bank. We are greet by a structure of *paxiúba* and thatched roof of *ubim*, surrounded by diverse palm trees such as *açaí* and *bacaba* (different types of palm tree). This house called *tapiri*, was raise from the ground; it had no walls, only the pillars that are supports for the sleep nets. The only two objects present were a *cooker*[5] and a jar for water made of clay, probably acquired with the women of the Nova Olinda community. In front of the house facing the creek, Careta was observing the surface of the land looking for fragments. Although he had not found archaeological remains before, he justified to me that looking was important because he did not know if they really did not exist there, as he had never looked, and *had not yet walked to see* those things. We access the farmstead going through a trail between an old capoeira and fruit trees, the clearing invaded by a strong light, implanted at the back of the *tapiri* of the *sítio*, with cassava, yam and banana. It was eye-catching and caused the gradient between the rough forest and the cultivation of the young family.

With each new stop or place sighted, narratives were unleashed on experiences of the most diverse ones. Phenomena such as thunders that opened a clearing in the forest. Unusual creatures like the *janauí* that are attract by the smoke of roasted fish on the banks of the creek, and so the simple act of roasting a fish away from communities (social place by excellence) hung some tension between the prohibition among the elderly and transgression of the younger. The concentration of marajá palms that became device for narratives of sensory experiences, as the story of the disastrous encounter of a man with the owner of the animals, when the hunter became aware he was among prickly palms and quite wounded. Even a specific point on the surface of the creek referred to *a enchant*, whose name Cantagalo indicated that there in the river an enchanted rooster continues to sing. The sisters chestnut trees that give name to the place, whose crowns give clues to the mosaics sewn between the forest and human management, but are only seen through a continuous exercise of observation. Stories such as the death of a former owner of a place that, after buried there, gave its name to Ponta do Felipe, today used as a hunting camp and which refers us to *supernatural visions* experiences.

At the *Ponta do Felipe* there was an ephemeral structure for hunting, and my guide when talking about it smiled in a jocular tone, venturing connections between him and the ancient Indians who might have lived on the lake. Like today's communities, Careta thinks that the villages should be on the shore of Lake Amanã, the creeks would be the *"streets"* through which they passed to go in the *"forest market"*. His metaphor

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5 A ceramic object quite typical of the Middle Solimões region, a kind of mobile "barbecue pit" for baking fish.

evoked approximations of his rural universe with mine from the city, so that I could understand the dynamics that today the inhabitants of Amanã print in the use of their territory. For me, his explanation would meet the archaeological models that we are slowly building according to the identification of settlements and concentrations of useful plants.

On that day, our destination was São Sebastião creek, where the great-grandfather of Careta, a northeastern married to a *Peruvian indigenous* still in the nineteenth century, began to work on the rubber tree boom. The only place we walked for about an hour inside the woods, going through tracks not so marked on the ground. A serpentine course full of thorns, populated by rubber trees, some identified as daughters of others, by *tauaris* that *curupiras* like and *sapopemas* that are abodes of the entity known as the mother of the woods. On the trail, Gabriel followed his father. I, in turn, followed the boy. He thought of his perspective seeing the greatness of the forest, whose rubber trees and brazilian nuts trees made up part of the networks that intertwined the child to his previous generations. In the photograph, the movement through a blur lapse, with the thought that I archaeologist and mother, longing for my children, saw Gabriel's walk. Surely, that day affected me because the ceramic fragments, which we once found in our first stop, were now just a few more traces in the complex tangle of marks that I was being gifted to every place we passed.

In the last twenty years, the research agenda of Amazonian archaeology has reconfigured, focusing less on the exploratory character of the mapping of sites and typologies of material culture, to deepen in intensive regional studies, more holistic and with diversification of analyses on micro and macro traces, with a closer relationship with historical ecology. With this focus shift, archaeologists have been able to make an archaeology without artifacts, but rather about landscapes (Neves 2015, 15). This is an increment with a politically engaged aspect with the defense of the biome, where archaeological information supports the scaling of the human impact on the forest. This aspect makes archaeology an area of knowledge extremely current, socially responsible and concerned with urgent issues that reverberate in the guarantee of rights and the existence of indigenous and traditional peoples, facing deforestation and expansion of the agricultural border.

However, my incursions through the places of Amanã led by diverse people, young and old, leave me two lessons. The first part of a recurring phrase in which these guides told me was *"we do not find more shards because we do not walk around looking for them"*. In other words, the human traces that researchers elect as primary are not fundamental indices for the experience of these people with their world. We can broaden our scope,

to think the stories through the landscapes, but the visible landscape changes would not be unique to humans.

Faced with our archaeological insistence to relate concentrations of useful plants close to archaeological sites to an ancient indigenous heritage, it is extremely common for residents to express themselves in apparent agreement "*it seems even sown*". But it is mistaken who thinks that these connections are easily made by the people of Amanã. There is such a deep ecological knowledge that chestnut trees are not noted as a result of human management over the years, but are seen and called forest or plantation fields or small farms of *cutia*. The same occurs with the toucan and *açaí* palms, while *tambaquis* spread seeds of rubber trees, *mungubas* and *jauari* palms. Despite this, these plants can be equally attributed to human labor. At the same time that it is a plant of tambaqui, jauari is a sign of old settlements because new specimens can be born after people consume the fish, clean them and discard the seeds that they carried in their belly.

Phrases such as "*it seems even sown*" are so common that can refer us to senses of correspondence between a "native" view and the archaeological one of the forest as a resource. But first I have been thinking what they could indicate, more an equivalence between the beings that populate the worlds and possibilities of entering in relation with each other (Gonçalves 2001, 355), than necessarily a logic that confers "continuities" [between all the quotation marks] of management about the forest or that humanizes the actions of beings in the cosmos.

Here lies the disjunction between our historical goals and traditional or indigenous knowledge. Thus, the second lesson starts from this disjunction. The worlds we research are and have always been populated by many more beings than just humans. Invariably these groups, in the past and present, have always engaged in relation with diverse beings, some cosmological who can be owners and exercise mastery and zeal over certain features and other beings. For the matter seeking human marks as we do is, before everything, an objective determined by a naturalistic ontology.

If before I intended to expand my analysis to landscapes focusing on human marks, in this research path they unfolded also considering *other* marks, with greater interest in the *enchanted* that populate the waters and forests, seen by the people with whom I work.

In this essay, I gathered twelve photographs considering as fragments of that experience, signs and marks of the various beings and times that can connect the places of the Baré creek. I invite those who read to try to recognize in them something other than the apparent uniformity of

the forest, even if initially such images can be regarded as simple and little technical. Raise attention to the tones, the shapes of the foliage, the presence of father and son, plants and their growers like fish and rodents, the perspective of human smallness in the face of forest life. It is an exercise in connecting to these places informed by my account, not as a narrative that explains the images, but as a clue to a horizon of forest transformations. A provocation to incite fluid senses such as the waters that are confused with the forest, from the plants of people that are also fish, animals and enchants, the gradients of the plantation fields, small farmlands and raw forest, the movement between these categories like our movement in the canoe and by the rails of the mainland. The landscapes there are nothing close to being monotonous.

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ABSTRACT

This essay took place through an incursion to the Igarapé do Baré, a watercourse of black waters that flows into the headwaters of Lake Amanã, which gives name to a Sustainable Development Reserve, in the lower Japurá River, State of Amazonas. The research I have been developing has an ethnographic character and comes from archaeological questions about construction and transformation of places, connecting them to the process of anthropization of the biome. It seeks to understand how contemporary riverside collectives are inserted and relate to the ancient history of Amazon and landscapes where archaeological sites are. The images are like vestiges of my own research path in archaeology as a practice of meaning. These photographs are indices of an expansion of a view- previously directed at human marks about the places – now filled with signs and traces of animals, plants and

cosmological beings that populate the waters and forests of Amanã.

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Photo 1
Title: "To Walk".
Overview of the
"Estirão da Beleza".
Gabigol remains
on the bow of the
canoe in silence.

Photo 2
Title: "*think about a beautiful place*".
Careta in search of Indian shards on the water's banks.

Photo 3
Title: "house of the sítio".
Structure used during planting and management periods of the Careta's sítio.

Photo 4
Title: "Roça"/
"Farmstead".
Typical plantation
of cassava suited
for the production
of flour. It has plan-
tations of yam and
bananas.

Photo 5
Title: *"where's the rail?"*
During a walk in São Sebastião, Gabriel and I followed Careta. While I was photographing, I was thinking about the perspective of that child.

Photo 6
Title: "Jauari".
Concentration of
palm trees enjoyed
by tambaqui
fishes. Plant that
is index of fish
dwellings and at
the same time can
be indicative of
old settlements
or areas of use by
people.

Photo 7
Title: "Two sisters".
Pair of Brazil nut
trees that mark the
place that has var-
ious meanings and
uses. Old rubber
tree placement.

Photo 8
Title: "Smallness".
A Brazil nut tree
"daughter" of other
trees in the place
called Cajubim,
complex of cultiva-
tion areas between
roças, capoeiras and
sítios.

Photo 9
Title: "*the caboclo woke up inside the marajaí*"
Concentration of prickly palms that during our incursion it became an device of narratives about encounters of hunters with the father of the animals, the curupira and mother of the woods.
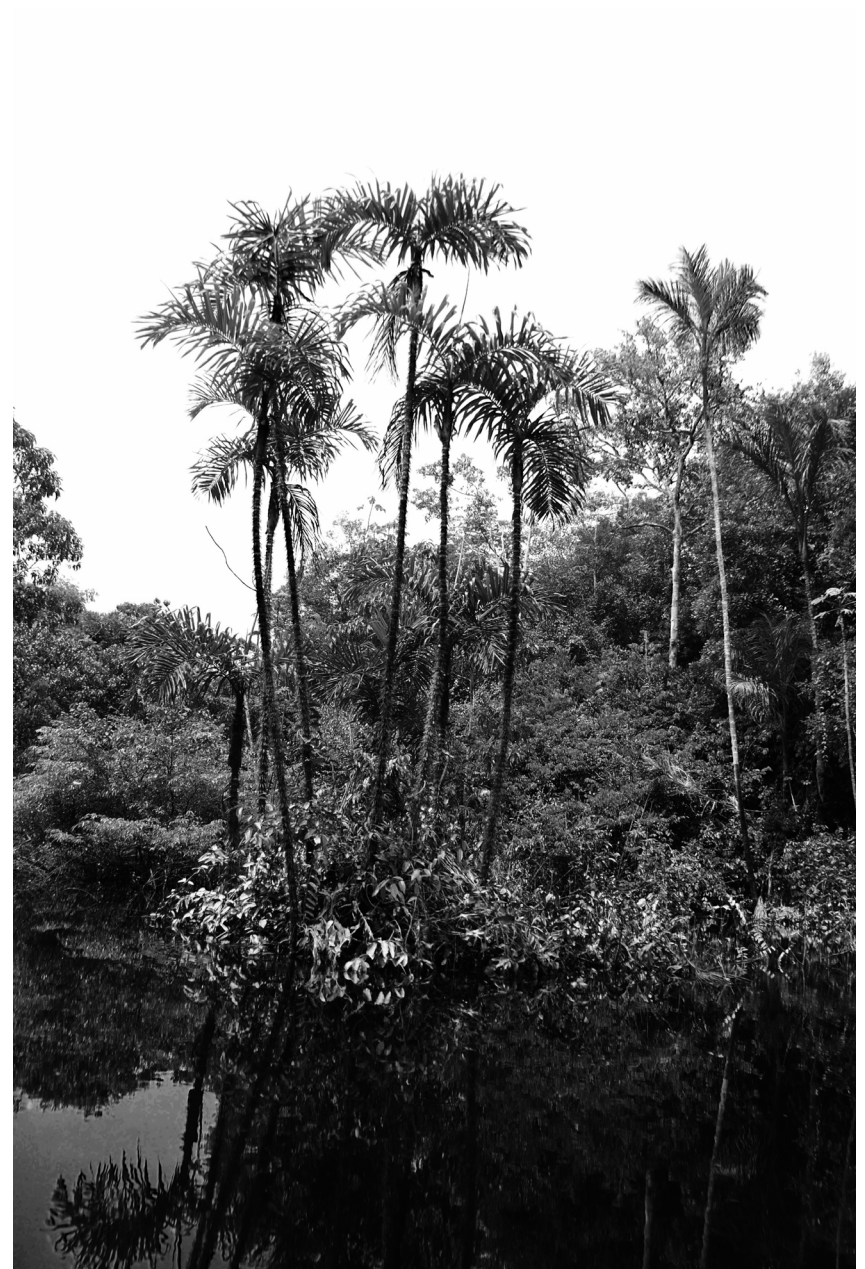
Photo 10
Title: "looks *like an Indigenous thing*".
Temporary structure of hunting camp in Ponta do Filipe. Careta jokingly referred that the hunting camp was something common to the Indians who lived at the time of the archaeological sites.

Photo 11: Title: "rubber tree milk". Demonstration of rubber tree bleeding, so common *in the time of the ancients* during the cycles of rubber exploration.

Photo 12
Title: "End of the day".
Last stop already returning to the community of Bom Jesus do Baré, area of intense agroforestry management. It was an ancient laying in the early twentieth century.

SCHIZOANALYTIC ESSAY WITH TEXTS AND IMAGES AND BODIES, FANTASIES AND PORTRAITS OR WHAT DOES THE MIRROR REFLECT BACK TO US?

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LUANA G.
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To John Dawsey and Regina Müller, master and mistress of the anthropologies and arts of performance

To Dom Barbudo, godfather whose partnership allowed me to realize, at a certain point, what I had managed to condense as an *artistic-existential experimentation in ethnographic imagination*, without which it would have been impossible to produce the images of BDSM included in this essay

"in its fundamental use, phantasy is the means by which the subject sustains himself at the level of his vanishing desire"
The direction of the treatment and the principles of its power, Jacques Lacan

This essay encompasses diverse projections and collages (from earlier elements, published or otherwise), concepts, inspirations, and textual and visual hallucinations about BDSM (Bondage, Domination, Discipline, Sadism, Submission and Masochism) and cross-dressing.

As an experimentation, it certainly does not set out to construct a coherent line of reasoning, something close to the maximum, perhaps, that an article might announce/enunciate. Instead, I want to bring together elements and to awaken effects of proximity and vicinality in the process. Something very Clarice Lispector: "Coherence, I don't want it anymore. Coherence is mutilation. I want disorder." Here, therefore, "I don't want to have the terrible limitation of those who live merely from what can make sense."

INITIAL DELIRIA ABOUT METHOD

Once in my already distant adolescence, when I was still rehearsing my first words within this academic space that converted into my own, appeared a professor, a reading, a discussion, a work. They became ideas that haunt my thought even today. The book was *Family Ties* (Laços de família) and the professor – what was she called? I search but can't find her name! – drew our attention to the way in which Clarice subjectivized people by adjectivizing things and body fragments, parts of the body.

> ...richer still would be to hide the doe ears with her hair and make them a secret, but she could not resist: she uncovered them, pulling her hair behind her incongruent pale ears.

This is how I wish to proceed here. Experiment with a mode of constructing understanding (or perhaps affectation?) that unfolds less through the resolution of meaning and more through approximation and contagion. A magical procedure, therefore. In the first pages of *The Golden Bough*, Sir James Frazer, discussing the principles of magic, states that:

> If we analyse the principles of thought on which magic is based, they will probably be found to resolve themselves into two: first, that like produces like, or that an effect resembles its cause; and, second, that things which have once been in contact with each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed. The former principle may be called the Law of Similarity, the latter the Law of Contact or Contagion. (Frazer 1957[1890], 14)

In the words and images that follow, the impetus perhaps is, both precisely and openly, to pass from similarity to contact.[1] Indeed, contact is a fundamental part of everything in this universe. Multiple and varied contacts: drenched in sweat, dry or slippery, contact with the hard and rough surface of leather or the smooth and slick surface of latex, suspensive contact, immobilizing contact, human and non-human contacts – of the kind dreamt by Latourians and ANTians – a sharp contact with the point or tip of a shoe, a palatable contact of tongue and world, a tight, squeezing and overwhelming contact, a contact between pain and pleasure, pleasure and danger.

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1 I have also thought about this passage as a transition from representation to evocation through my own idiosyncratic reading of *Partial Connections*, where Marilyn Strathern (2004[1991]) reworks the notion of evocation first counterposed to representation by Stephen Tyler (1986) in his text for the classic *Writing Culture*.

Homages to Mapplethorpe aside, it involves precisely this: a con-fluence such that "blood took a wrong vein and became lost." A blood that animates organic and inorganic bodies, both inadvertently full of anima.

To rush ahead of myself slightly: to **deface**, then, emerges as a principle of method, a relational principle of the universes of desires and phantasies in BDSM and the cross-dressing that I seek to evoke in this essay without ever though resolving them. In sum, defacement as an ethical-aesthetic-existential practice.[2]

Discussing an English army officer's ethnography of a Spanish village, Michael Taussig, in his book *Defacement*, observes that the oppositional pairs on which the research is built only function because they act out their ambivalence in the space between the oppositions employed by Augustus Henry Lane-Fox – who entered the history of anthropology as a founding father alongside the name of Pitt Rivers, I'm not entirely sure why – to outline what Taussig calls a structure. **Without the mediation of the space between, the entire structure would be unsustainable.**

What I present you with here aims to pursue a schizoanalytic procedure, since, as Félix sets out clearly:

> Schizoanalysis does not thus choose one modelisation to the exclusion of another. Within the diverse cartographies in action in a given situation, it tries to make nuclei of virtual autopoiesis discernible, in order to actualise them, by transversalising them, in conferring on them an operative

2 In my postdoctoral research, entitled *Terrorisms and bridges of local musicking: theoretical and ethnographic explorations of dissident genders and sexualities in music*, the place occupied here by defacement was occupied then by disidentification, a conceptual weapon forged by the Cuban-American academic José Esteban Muñoz (1999).

diagrammatism (for example, by a change in the material of Expression), in making themselves operative within modified assemblages, more open, more processual, more deterritorialised. (Guattari, 1995[1992], 60-61)

Both the idea of defacement and what Taussig and Michel Journiac conceive as the labour of the negative were analytically fecund in my efforts at textual-imagetic writing. Dissident sex-gender practices are not just produced in a "between space" constructed by sexo-generic dichotomies,[3] as they also appear deeply marked by defacement, since "defacement works on objects the way jokes work on language, bringing out their inherent magic nowhere more so than when those objects have become routinized and social" (Taussig, 1999, 5).
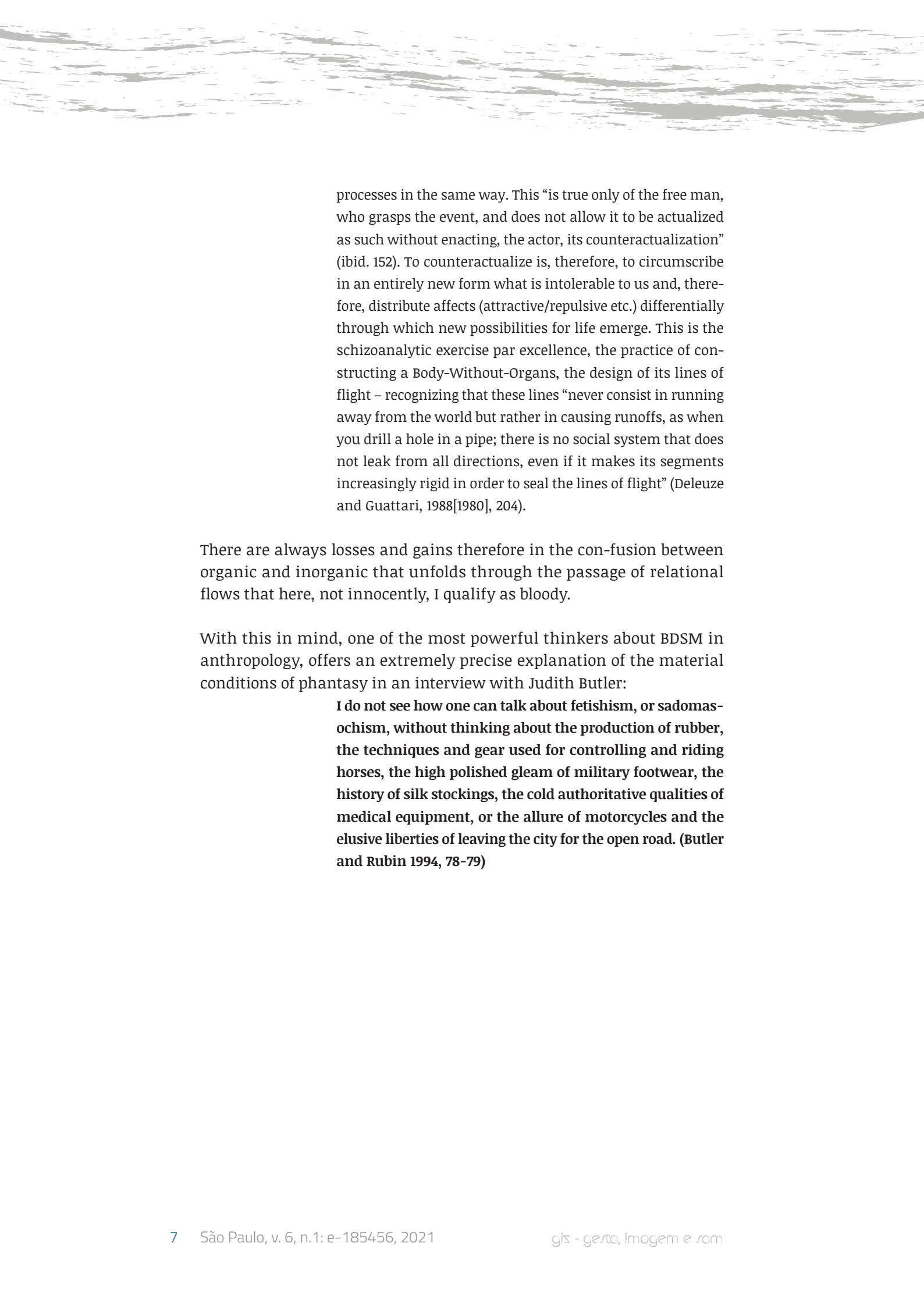
It seems to me that by defacing (the routine conceptions and affections relating to) organic and inorganic bodies – and, we should not forget, their relationship to pleasure, identity, realization and pain – both BDSM practices and cross-dressing acquire a certain specificity.[4]

It is critical to note, however, that actualization and counter--actualization are not equivalent tasks!

Every event unfolds into a present moment of actualization, in which a state of affairs becomes embodied, and a process of counter-actualization that points to its unactualizable side, where the event is taken in itself rather than being reduced to any specific present. "On one side, there is the part of the event which is realized and accomplished; on the other, there is that 'part of the event which cannot realize its accomplishment.' There are thus two accomplishments, which are like actualization and counteractualization" (Deleuze 1990[1969], 151-152). However, while every event can be said to be like this, it cannot be assumed that everyone carries out both these

3 The expression sexo-generic (*sexo-genérica*) is more common in the *hispanohablante* world. This is not mere posturing: all of us are aware of how certain languages emanate, like no other, particular specific meanings. The condensation of two words into one unit of meaning could not be more appropriate. Applied to questions of sex and gender, the term is a perfect transposition of what I have called elsewhere (Grunvald 2009b) 'socio-natural,' insofar as "man and nature are not like two opposite terms confronting each other – not even in the sense of bipolar opposites within a relationship of causation, ideation, or expression (cause and effect, subject and object, etc.); rather, they are one and the same essential reality, the producer-product. Production as process overtakes all idealistic categories and constitutes a cycle whose relationship to desire is that of an immanent principle" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1983[1972], 4-5)

4 In her "livre docência" thesis, transformed into the book *Prazeres Perigosos* (Dangerous Pleasures), Maria Filomena Gregori describes in magisterial detail some of the anthropological implications of these specificities for BDSM. In relation to the territory of transvestic experiences, I have argued elsewhere (Grunvald 2016) for the existence of a categorical and territorial-existential heterodoxy that also processes these practices from the inside (and not as a constitutive exterior).

processes in the same way. This "is true only of the free man, who grasps the event, and does not allow it to be actualized as such without enacting, the actor, its counteractualization" (ibid. 152). To counteractualize is, therefore, to circumscribe in an entirely new form what is intolerable to us and, therefore, distribute affects (attractive/repulsive etc.) differentially through which new possibilities for life emerge. This is the schizoanalytic exercise par excellence, the practice of constructing a Body-Without-Organs, the design of its lines of flight – recognizing that these lines "never consist in running away from the world but rather in causing runoffs, as when you drill a hole in a pipe; there is no social system that does not leak from all directions, even if it makes its segments increasingly rigid in order to seal the lines of flight" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988[1980], 204).

There are always losses and gains therefore in the con-fusion between organic and inorganic that unfolds through the passage of relational flows that here, not innocently, I qualify as bloody.

With this in mind, one of the most powerful thinkers about BDSM in anthropology, offers an extremely precise explanation of the material conditions of phantasy in an interview with Judith Butler:

I do not see how one can talk about fetishism, or sadomasochism, without thinking about the production of rubber, the techniques and gear used for controlling and riding horses, the high polished gleam of military footwear, the history of silk stockings, the cold authoritative qualities of medical equipment, or the allure of motorcycles and the elusive liberties of leaving the city for the open road. (Butler and Rubin 1994, 78-79)

At first Lóri tricked herself into thinking that Ulysses wanted to transmit some things from his philosophy classes to her, but he said: "It's not philosophy you need. If it were, that would be easy; you would attend my classes as a listener and I would converse with you on other terms" … now that the earthquake that she had experienced would help her in her hysteria, and now that she was freed, she could even postpone to the future her decision not to see Ulysses … But today she wanted to see him, and despite her being unable to tolerate his silent, unexpressed desire for her, she knew that it really was she who was provoking him into wearing down the patience with which he was waiting; with the monthly allowance that her father sent her, she bought expensive, always tight-fitting dresses because that was the only way she knew to attract him … and it was time to dress … she looked at herself in the mirror and saw that she was pretty only because she was a woman: her body was delicate and strong, one of the imaginary reasons for which she imagined Ulysses desired her … she chose a dress made of a heavy fabric despite the heat, almost shape-less, her own body would give it shape … but making herself pretty was a ritual that made her solemn … the fabric was no longer mere cloth: it became trans-formed into a material thing and it was this stuffing to which she gave body with her body – how could a simple cloth acquire so much movement?

An Apprenticeship or The Book of Delights, Clarice Lispector

Indeed, my search is for a perspective that understands "body and image not as symbols or as symptoms but as vehicles for the transgressive" (Taussig 2006a, 162). In an article on "another theory of magic," Taussig, returning to Maussian theory, argues that "clothing – that second skin – goes hand in hand with 'corporeal techniques'" (2006b, 122) and proceeds to give examples of the construction of the sacred or holy with Islamic veils, the habits of priests and nuns, Orthodox Jewish clothing, and so on. What remains latent in all these cases is how the adornments foster and activate a differential relation with the body and with lived reality.

If clothing is a second skin, then the skin itself must be the first clothing.

Le corps est premier, il apparaît avec le sang et les vêtement.
Michel Journiac, L'Humidité, 1973

RECETTE DE BOUDIN AU SANG HUMAIN

Michel Journiac, cursed and disowned father of French body art, is a vampire!

At least the vampire image proves extremely productive to think about his artistic practices and propositions. In a text written by Journiac and Dominique Pilliard, published in the art magazine *arTitudes* at the start of the 1970s, the vampire appears as a catalysing figure. On one hand, he is "the symbolic expression of everything that, in sexuality, is repelled by social morality"; on the other, the strength of the vampire is in the "effectiveness of his ritual, whose dialectic opposes a sexuality divested of sentimentalism and reduced to the consumption of the other through blood to a religion limited to formalism (cross, exorcism...), indeed, a fundamentally bourgeois society" (Journiac, 2013, 70).

The inextricable link between vampirism and the corrosive power of dissident genders and sexualities is not an invention of Journiac. In *The Second Sex*, Simone de Beauvoir also turns to the image of the vampire to speak about sociocultural conceptions relating to women. "Woman is vampire, ghoul, eater, drinker; her sex organ feeds gluttonously on the male sex organ" (2011[1949], p.187).

In his book on "Gothic horror and the technology of monsters," Jack Halberstam analyses how blood is an overdetermined sign in both the rhetoric of vampirism and the discourses on race and ethnicity: "it signifies race as well as sex, gender as well as class and to have blood on your hands is to be implicated in the blurring of essential boundaries of identity" (1995, p.77).

As a vampire, Journiac was always fascinated by blood. From his first paintings in the 1960s to his later sculptures and installations, this vital liquid, the essence that gives life, was an omnipresent element. The vampire embodies the idea that life flows and can escape the body. It also expresses its precarious stability and suggests that the identity boundaries evoked by Halberstam are also boundaries marking the limits of life and death.

Journiac, following the vampire tradition, always proposed that the relation between death and life – including their absolute separation – is problematic. In his works, this relation, owing to its instability, is recursively doubled and gives way to a questioning within life itself about modes of existence and possibilities for transformation.

Let us say mass for a body

24 heures
dans la vie d'une femme ordinaire
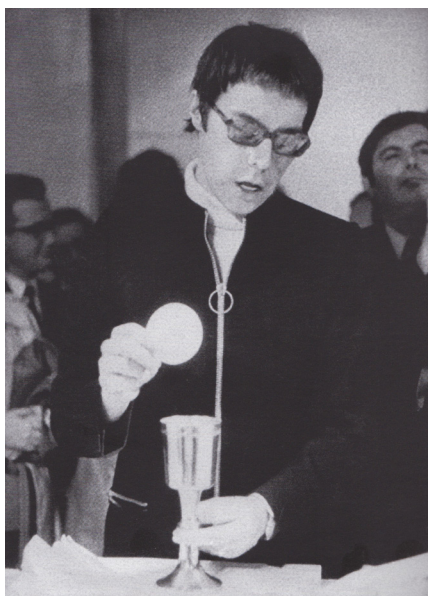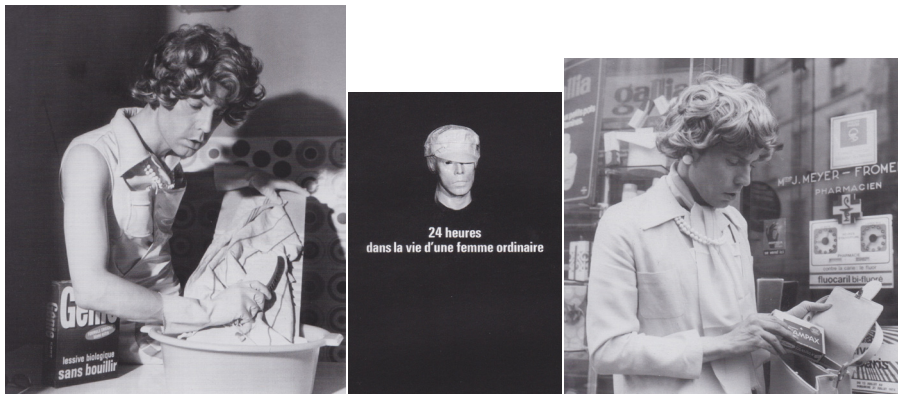
"The travesti body is not configured as a epiphenomenon of gender identity,
rather it is the very condition for its existence" (Bento, 2009, 19)

It seems to me that Rei Kawakubo, the famous designer of the *Comme des Garçons* fashion label, called attention precisely to this relationship of relative consubstantiality when she called her 1997 Spring/Summer collection "Body Meets Dress, Dress Meets Body."

And first, then, was the body.

Since as the immense philosophy of Pául Valery forces us to confront:

the deepest is the skin.

In these scenarios, I hasten to add, the desiderative expression is dreamlike and hallucinatory, but not its functioning. This is somatic. "Everything seems like a dream to me. But it isn't […] It's reality that is unbelievable," Ulysses says to Lóri. In fact, believing in reality does not matter, because the issue is not belief, no![5] but the world. Modes of existence and how we pass from some to others. Bordering the surface, via the skin.

5 On this issue, see the kind of (mis)treaty against belief proposed by Latour (2002[1996]).

Let us sign the contract for a body
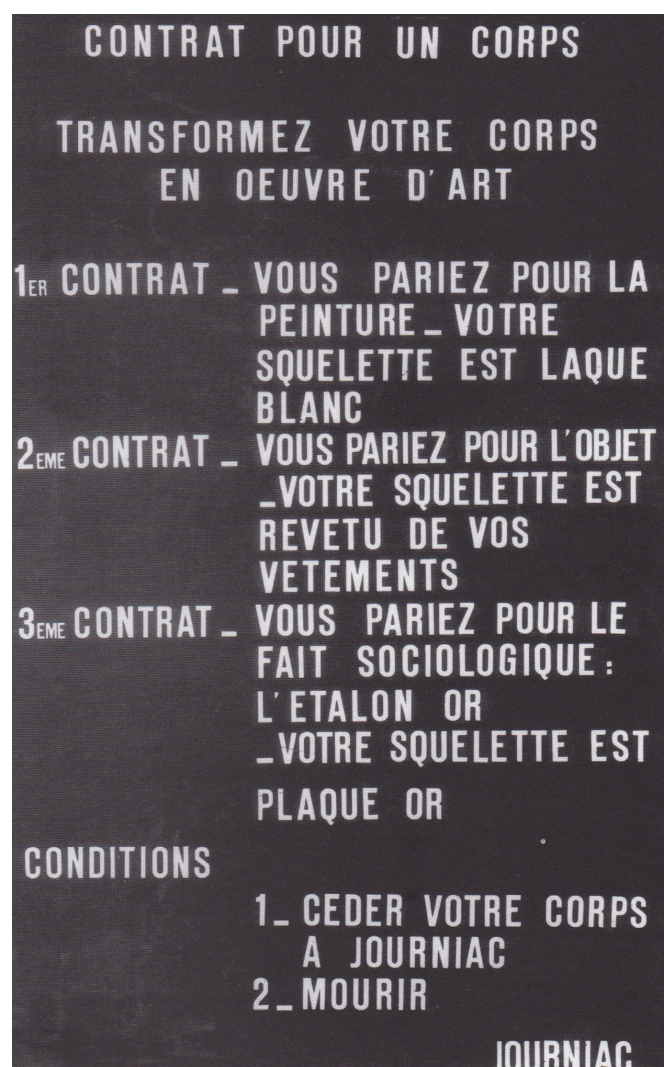
Throw your body into the battle, wrote Pier Paolo Pasolini.

> Defacement is the confrontation with death and dislocation whose meaning is irrecuperable by a more transcendent system. Why irrecuperable? Because it breaks the magic circle of understanding [...] where [...] contradiction cannot be mastered and only laughter, bottom spanking, eroticism, violence, and dismemberment exist simultaneously in violent silence.

> (Taussig, 1993, p.41)

But no one could imagine what she was thinking. And for those near the door who gave her one final look, the old lady was only what she appeared to be: seated at the head of that messy table, with one hand clenched on the

tablecloth as if holding a sceptre, and with that silence that was her final word. With her clenched fist on the table, she would no longer be only what she thought. Her appearance had finally surpassed her and, overcoming it, she serenely grew in stature. Cordelia looked at her in terror. That fist, mute and severe on the table, was revealing something to the unhappy daughter-in-law who was helplessly loving her perhaps for the last time: "One must know. One must know."

"Happy Birthday," *Family Ties*, Clarice Lispector

It is as though different combinations of body and clothes – subjects and objects, or, to use a jargon widely used in today's anthropology, the articulations between humans and non-humans (Latour 1993[1991], 2005) – produce different modes of being-in-the-world. Journiac explicitly argues that "clothes are objects made body" (Journiac 2013, p.114). And if we take the body as something constitutionally related to how we perceive others and how we are perceived in the world, bodies are also, in a certain sense, clothes – as the Americanist ethnological literature has so well argued elsewhere.[6]

In 1970, Deleuze, absorbed by the same political-social context as Journiac, published a book on Spinoza in which he reinforces the idea that what really matters is *what a body can do*, not *what a body is*.

It should be clear that, as this rhizomatic thinker and his accomplice Félix argue so insistently in *Anti-Oedipus*, it is not a question of representation. And this is just as true for the BDSM universe as it is for my own awkward endeavour.

As I wrote at another moment (Grunvald, 2016), I have no intention of lending visibility to anything. Hopefully it is clear that my desire is not to make something visible but to explore something that is not visible, nor even very thinkable as such. Even though I may speak (and a lot) about visibilities in the process. I do not wish just to focus on people made invisible and make them apparent, but to explore processes and moments invisible to the naked eye. And as real as gravity. (What isn't as real as gravity?)

My question is not to create representations. It is not to represent any of the people with whom I came into contact or whom I was. What I want (what we want?) is to free monsters, particles. Things that threaten us. Shadows that we presume are us/our own and end up gaining their own

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6 See, for instance, Seeger, Da Matta, Viveiros de Castro (1987) and Viveiros de Castro (2002).

life and pursuing us, as in the anthological scenes of *Bram Stoker's Dracula* by Francis Ford Coppola.

Ethico-aesthetic movements (Guattari, 1995[1992]) in which a body becomes the shadow of a body, which previously had been its shadow.[7]

Are shadows only the presumed (non-apparent) side of visibility?

[On Facebook, a friend posted the video clip of a child who, looking askance and see-ing their shadow projected on the ground, begins to run away from this strange creature. The angle of their trajectory means that after running some distance and feeling herself free of the shadow, they discovers it once again projected in front of them. Startled, the child recoils and, stumbling as she moves backwards, falls, and the shadow again hides beneath her body on the tarmac. A false sense of security. As one day all adults did, or at least those considered normal, the child will even-tually become accustomed to her shadow. But the custom that generates a particular framing, including affective, of our sensory perception will never be able to completely exorcise the fact that, as this child so wisely fears, a shadow is far from being just the void of our image.]
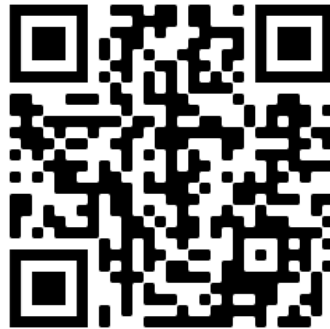
Perhaps my focus of attention is precisely on those processes that, to invoke Deleuze's formulation (1990 [1969]), are insistences more than existences. Put otherwise, those "modes of existences that 'do not exist,'" "these beings [and processes] about which one cannot say with precision whether they exist or not according to the parameters and templates we have available," as Peter Pál Pelbart (2014, 250) wrote in a text published in the catalogue for the 31st São Paulo Biennial. And also the passage from insistences to existences and vice-versa, in hallucinatory fashion: the production of events.[8]

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7 Carl Jung (1964, 81) also speaks of the importance of the shadow as something that threatens us, "the dark and shadowy side of our nature". As one of his disciples wrote in the same book: "This is the concept of the 'shadow,' which plays such a vital role in ana-lytical psychology. Dr. Jung has pointed out that the shadow cast by the conscious mind of the individual contains the hidden, repressed, and unfavorable (or nefarious) aspects of the personality. But this darkness is not just the simple converse of the conscious ego. Just as the ego contains unfavorable and destructive attitudes, so the shadow has good qualities – normal instincts and creative impulses. Ego and shadow, indeed, although separate, are inextricably linked together in much the same way that thought and feeling are related to each other" (p.114). My thanks to Sylvia Caiuby Novaes for alerting me to this connection.
8 The dynamic between existences and insistences is seen to be necessarily linked to a topological thinking of the surface. Actual and virtual, existence and insistence should

Bringing discourses that *insist* on the world to the centre of discourses that, institutionally, *exist* – such was the intention of the curatorial team of the renowned biennale.[9]

Fieldnotes: After the ramp located in the Park area that provided access to the first floor, one could see a large banner unfurled on the right-hand side (Figure 1). It read: "Tiago always wanted to be a pop diva dancer or even transform into a diva. Having no idea how to achieve this, he decided to study engineering and perform in front of the mirror." A non-visibility exposed by a non-idea. Next to the climb from B1 to B2 in the Ramp area, another banner emblazoned with the phrase: "Henrique Cacique, at the age of 7, wearing his stepmother's red lace knickers, had no idea how to escape his father who caught him in the act and even today, at university, must reconcile himself to going to class in underpants" (Figure 2).

Tiago performed in front of the mirror. But what self-portrait did the mirror reflect back? Certainly, not a replica. Like *Fresh Widow* by Marcel Duchamp. A alter-portrait of himself as an other.[10]

"But she felt a rush inside, a rush: there was something she needed to know and experience, something she didn't know and had never known."
An Apprenticeship or *The Book of Delights*, Clarice Lispector

Erving Goffman is the architect of the performance as façade. Indicative mode.

Victor Turner encounters the destruction/interruption of the façade. Subjunctive mode. Richard Schechner reconstructs the façade. Restorative mode.

be understood through "the coexistence of two sides without thickness, such that we pass from one to the other by following their length. *Sense is both the expressible or the expressed of the proposition, and the attribute of the state of affairs.* It turns one side toward things and one side toward propositions. But it does not merge with the proposition which expresses it any more than with the state of affairs or the quality which the proposition denotes. It is exactly the boundary between propositions and things. It is this *aliquid* at once extra-Being and inherence, that is, this minimum of being which befits inherences. It is in this sense that it is an 'event': *on the condition that the event is not confused with its spatio-temporal realization in a state of affairs.* We will not ask therefore what the sense of the event is: the event is sense itself" (Deleuze, 1990 [1969], 22).

9 The art historian Vinicius Spricigo, in his Flusserian works of "archaeological excavation" of exhibitions that by-pass the Euro-American canon, argues that, despite the attempt to construct spaces of innovation outside the sphere of institutionalized art, the field that was constituted as a history of exhibitions still operates through a strongly Euro-American-centric bias. Perhaps this can also be traced to the fact that the contemporary art biennales themselves, in their multiple functions and roles (Herkenhoff 2002), have also shifted from innovation to institutionality over the years, although the efforts are always directed towards the former.

10 For a series of elaborations on the alter-portrait, analysed through the work of Duchamp, see Grunvald (2015).

But as my opening dedication makes clear, in anthropology, after Michael Taussig, nobody has taught me more about the mimetic dynamics of selves, non-selves and non-non-selves than the great master of the anthropology of performance, John Dawsey. Ê boi!

And his great accomplice of a thousand personas, Regina Müller: Croquetta of queer Brazilianness![11]

"Once again, as customary in Winnicott's psychoanalysis, having access to the negative field of being, to its lack of experience or dreaming, in a space that propels it within a symbolic movement towards the other human (in the case of self-analysis, to the reader of the text and to death itself), makes this field of absence revert to a kind of presence: a negative that on being formulated through the humanity of an other, a dreamt other, becomes the distinctive mark of a particular being that is constituted out of this history. This was how Winnicott treated the failed or faulty dreams of his little patients: the same dream that ruptured the evolutionary flow of psychic development under the weight of its specific anxieties, reconstructed – on being shared within the illusionary environment of the presence of the analyst – that humanity lost and rigidly constituted in subjective defences"
O sonhar restaurado (The restored dream), Tales Ab'Sáber

"Of all the authors I know, Winnicott is the one who wanted to be dead. He had a profound notion of the importance of death in the continuity of life. There is a passage in which he laments the fact that did not have a son who could have killed him."
Em busca da sagrada singularidade da natureza humana (In search of the sacred singularity of human nature), Gilberto Safra

In a text that examines the creation – which we could also call the production – of *her* queer and clownish Carmen Miranda, discussing the subject-character relation through Schechnerian ideas and her own fieldwork with the Asuriní of the Xingu River, begun in 1976, Regina explains that:

> So it occurs with the shaman's trance state, the result of dance and song (breathing and movement) whose aesthetic form makes present the metamorphized being. Along with the constitutive physicality of performance, this same form is the simulacrum of the self, the experience that elements that are 'not me' become 'me' without losing their 'not me-ness.' (Müller, 2013, p.29)

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11 Alusion to Regina's participation in the groundbreaking queer collective Dzi Croquettes. See Lobert (2010).

gis - gesto, imagem e som

gis - gesto, imagem e som

John, in his digressions on what he calls the counter-theatre of the everyday life of rural labourers, and without a (pseudo)necessary recourse to contemporary theory on the relation between humans and non-humans, already highlighted, through performance theories, the instability of the poles of this relation. "In truth, in the relations between rural labourers and sugarcane plantations, it is unclear who fells whom, whether it is the cane cutters who fell the cane, or the cane fields that fell the labourers" (Dawsey 2005, 19).

In their "visceral experiences of a logical scandal," the rural workers reveal an "extraordinary everyday or an everyday extraordinary" in which the "dream dimensions of the real," expressed in the seriousness of jokes, as Turner would say, contaminate the denotative reality that many unbelievers – who are the actual believers, if we again take into account Latour's explorations (2002[1996]) – call reality.

METAMORPHOSIS, MUTATION, TRANS-FORMATION, CONTAGION.
In my doctoral thesis, it was the dyad Marcel-Rrose, as well as Journiac, who enticed me to ponder some of these questions.

Who knows both artists would say, without blinking, that Marcel Duchamp produced Rrose Sévaly. But if so, would it be necessary then to specify to whom this production refers and why on earth I talked about mirrors?

This fabrication certainly involves a performance and it is necessary, therefore, for us to clarify what performance this is. Firstly, it is not a representation of roles in Goffman's sense (1959). Instead, there is a

conception of theatre in which the actor does not represent a role that pre-exists him or her, but fabricates a persona that acquires its own specifications through this fabrication.

In his book *Difference and Repetition*, Deleuze contrasts theatre to representation and argues that "[t]theatre is real movement, and it extracts real movement from all the arts it employs" (1994[1968], 10).

The devices used by Duchamp in the fabrication of Rrose Sévaly thus differ essentially from representative mechanisms. We can think of Duchamp and Rrose Sélavy as actor and character only insofar as both form what Deleuze, in his book *Cinema 1: The Movement Image*, calls a crystal image. Yet, "this was already the situation of the actor in himself: the crystal is a stage, or rather a track [*piste*], before being an amphitheatre" (Deleuze, 1989[1983], p.71).

By actualizing Rrose Sélavy, it is Duchamp himself who becomes lost – that is, becomes counteractualized. Much is said about how an actor must enter into the character in order to live the latter as though he was it. What seems to happen in the great acting performances is that, as the character enters the scene – that is, enters into life with its anguishes and desires, its cries and gestures and its body – so the anguishes, desires, cries, gestures and body of the actor exit the scene. Or rather, they go to (and sometimes return from) the aisles. Undoubtedly, actual and virtual are two sides of the same coin: in this sense, the actor is virtual while the character is actual, and vice-versa.

Deleuze's emphasis on the "double face of the actor" (1994[1968], p.92) constructs a type of performance also emphasized by dramatists like Bertolt Brecht and Richard Schechner. Duchamp never intended to pass as a woman, he never wanted to dissolve "the distance between character and performer." What interested him was the dual composition, an androgynous and ambiguous corporality, masculine *and* feminine. Posing the question of body (de) composition in terms of consciousness, we could state that Duchamp sought a performance "in which the transformation of consciousness is not only intentionally incomplete but also revealed as such to spectators who delight in the unresolved dialectic" (Schechner, 1985, p.7). Even so, by giving expression to Rrose Sélavy, it is Duchamp himself who becomes inexpressible, inaccessible to representation.

Being this *or* that is what Deleuze calls an exclusive disjunction, an identity model. Its counterpoint is an inclusive disjunction: this *and* that. Viveiros de Castro calls attention, through Deleuze, to the fact that the disjunctive synthesis

or inclusive disjunction, being a multiplicity, "is a modality of relation synthesis different to a connection or conjunction of terms"; a "relational mode that does not take similarity or identity as its (formal or final) course but as divergence or distance; another name for this relational mode is 'becoming'" (2007, pp. 99-100). A becoming-woman of Duchamp and art.

If we consider that the identity produced by exclusive disjunctions is made through discrete entities or cuts, it follows that becoming, or inclusive disjunctions, correspond to the middle or medium, the between, the continuous. Alfred Gell situates precisely this idea at the centre of Duchamp's artistic output.

> Duchamp's work is essentially *about* the notion of a continuum, insofar as it is based on the exploration of the 'fourth dimension.' This dimension, I should immediately add, is not 'time' in any ordinary sense, especially not time as a mere measure of duration or the time of physicists. For Duchamp – and certainly for his contemporaries – the 'fourth dimension' was the essentially 'real' but strictly *unrepresentable* domain beyond or encompassing the 'ordinary' world in which we live and which we normally perceive (1998, p. 243).

In discussing the problem of the individualized self, in her article "Notes on the index: Seventies Art in America," Krauss recalls the work *Airtime* by Vito Acconci. In this film, the video artist speaks to his image reflected in a mirror for 40 minutes.

> "Referring to himself, he uses 'I,' but not always. Sometimes he addresses his mirrored self as 'you.' 'You' is a pronoun that is also filled, within the space of his recorded monologue, by an absent person, someone he imagines himself to be addressing. But the referent for this 'you' keeps slipping, shifting, returning once again to the 'I' who is himself, reflected in the mirror. Acconci is playing out the drama of the shifter – in its regressive form."
>
> (1977, pp. 68-69).

Krauss goes on to explain that 'shifter' is the term utilized by Jakobson to refer to linguistic signs whose 'meaningful content' is empty. 'I', 'you',' 'this' are examples of shifters insofar as their content is situational and thus variable: 'I' is only I when the utterance is made by myself; when

someone else uses the word 'I,' the content to which 'I' refers itself shifts. Now, if it is only in concrete and coeval situations that 'I' and 'you' acquire meaningful content, if the content depends on the existential presence of a specific enunciator, then these pronouns, Krauss argues, also form part of a special category of signs, the indices. Thus, with the use context of shifters in mind, Acconci allows us to perceive

"…a space in which linguistic confusion operates in concert with the narcissism implicit in the performer's relationship to the mirror. But this conjunction is perfectly logical, particularly if we consider narcissism – a stage in the development of personality suspended between auto-eroticism and object-love – in the terms suggested by Lacan's concept of the 'mirror stage.'"

(Krauss 1977, p. 69) [12]

The co-presence of (self)portraits and mirrors is not exclusive to the argumentation of this author and very often her ideas are treated as almost self-explanatory. The portrait is closely related to the idea of the double and, frequently, the mirror appears as a privileged element in this context, since, as Bonafoux argued with Alberti in mind, "the mirror is, must be, the criterion of every similarity, every imitation" (2003, p.24). Indeed, one idea leads to the other given that, as a sort of double, the portrait is a mirror that doubles the image. What, then, would be the distinctive mark of the portrait of Duchamp (cross)dressed as Rrose Sélavy? Is Rrose Sélavy the double of Duchamp? What play of mirroring is produced there?

In his analysis of *Las meninas*, Foucault (2002[1966]) considered the work to be the representation of classic representation; precisely the space that Duchamp intends to block and ban in his work. Speaking about Velázquez's painting, he observes that "[o]f all the representations represented in the picture this [the mirror] is the only one visible" and that "[i]t is not the visible it reflects" (pp.7-8).

12 I follow Krauss's reasoning a while longer since it will be relevant shortly: "Occurring sometime between the ages of six and 18 months, the mirror stage involves the child's self-identification through his double: his reflected image. In moving from a global, undifferentiated sense of himself towards a distinct, integrated notion of selfhood – one that could be symbolized through an individuated use of 'I' and 'you' – the child recognizes himself as a separate object (a psychic gestalt) by means of his mirrored image. The self is felt, at this stage, only as an image of the self; and insofar as the child initially recognizes himself as an other, there is inscribed in that experience a primary alienation. Identity (self-definition) is primally fused with identification (a felt connection to someone else). It is within that condition of alienation – the attempt to come to closure with a self that is physically distant – that the Imaginary takes root" (1977, p.69).

If, as Gell (1998) observes, Duchamp aims at the unrepresentable, the invisible, whatever is beyond our normal perception, could we not think of Duchamp's self-portraits as foregrounding whatever was behind the space created by the image?[13] Or, put another way, was Duchamp, in his artistic practice, not breaking with the classic representation insofar as in which he places the invisible and the unrepresentable, reflected in Velázquez's mirror in the foreground, as the centre of his own work? It is as though the mirror of *Las meninas*, this place of the invisible, was now the totality of the image itself, of what merits highlighting.

Krauss, inadvertently, sees Rrose Sélavy's photographs as self-portraits. And as self-portraits, we can consider them as mirrors, doubles; but only under the condition of them being a mirror that does not possess any reality to a mirror and a double that does not respect – which in fact denies and deforms – the image of its original. The self-portrait of Duchamp dressed as Rrose Sélavy is, in truth, an alter-portrait; a simulacrum rather than an identity.[14]

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13 If I use the expressions 'foregrounding' and 'behind' it is, precisely, with Velázquez's painting in mind. The painting shows Velázquez painting in his studio. We only see the back of the canvas since the front faces the painter who, brush in hand, stares at his subject, which is simultaneously the painting's spectator. The invisible place presented by the mirror to the spectator is, therefore, the place of the eye of representation, which, in this case, is subsumed by the real perspective: it is the king and his wife who appear there reflected.

14 For a discussion of the simulacrum and its relation to identity, see Grunvald (2009a, 2009b). As an example of a master in the composition of alter-portraits, see the work of Japanese artist Yasumasa Morimura, including his *Doublonnage*, an alter-portrait of Duchamp as Rrose Sélavy. On the question of mirroring – the 'renvoi miroirrique' or 'mirrorical retur n' – and the fact that "difference [...] is Rrose Sélavy's authentic work," see Singer (2004).

Before the series *24 heures dans la vie d'une femme ordinaire*, in his initial experiment in cross-dressing, it was Gérard Castex and not Journiac who played with swapping clothes. *Trap for a travesti* presents a series of four photographs in which dressing, undressing and cross-dressing transforms a man with male clothing into a nude body and then into Greta Garbo or Rita Hayworth. Finally, in the last photograph, the viewer can see the name of the female artist into which Gérard had transformed, but instead of the image of the 'star,' Journiac appears, reflected in a mirror.
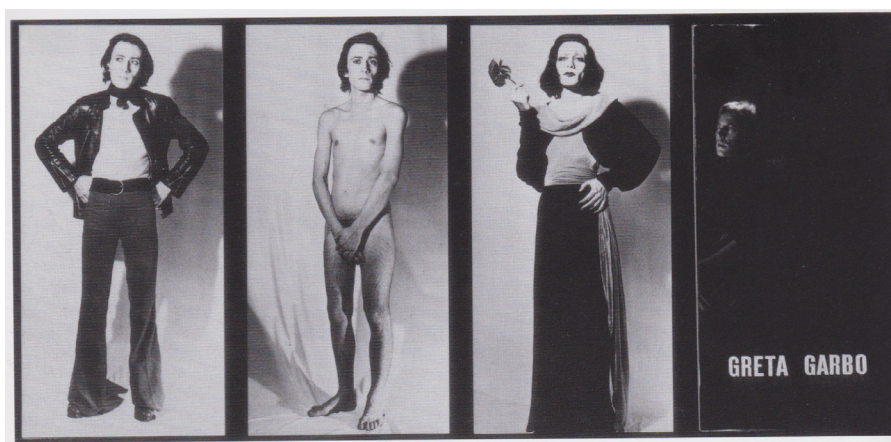
I wish to return to the trope of the vampire with which I began my evocation of Journiac's work and recall another aspect present in some versions of its mythology, namely the idea that the image of vampires is not reflected in mirrors. I take this claim to refer not so much to the vampire as the mirror itself, a recurrent figure in my reflections here on Duchamp and Journiac.

As stated earlier, if Alberti could claim Narcissus as the inventor of painting, it was because, according to him, "the mirror is and must be the criterion of all similarity, all imitation" (Bonafoux 2003, p.24).[15]

Another version of this same fable is the one that announces not the faithful reflection of the mirrors but the clear and transparent view through windows. Whether conceived as a mirror or a window onto the world, art is immersed in a model of relationality in which similarity is enthroned as a guiding principle.

15 As discussed by Jones, Alberti's notion of artistic practice colludes with a particular conception of the artist as someone who "both epitomizes the centered individual of early modern European culture and acts as an exaggerated or special case of this individual (secured in his privileged access " (2006, p.5).

A completely different model is offered in *Fresh Widow* by Marcel Duchamp, which I discussed earlier. The idea could not be further from a model of relationality based on similarity: no view passes through the window giving access to an *outside reality*, no reflection is offered to a *subjectivity within*.

I daydream that if the vampire's image is not reflected in the mirror, it is not because of some psychoanalytic absence – do vampires have a phallus? – but because the mirror, in the vampire's world, has another nature that makes it lose completely the quality of mirroring marked by similarity.[16] Perhaps, to recall the image evoked by the anthropologist Victor Turner (1987), the mirror here is a magic mirror that does not return an image of life save as a kind of function derived from the phantasy that makes strange and plays with the world itself. Dawsey uses the image of the magic mirror to speak precisely about the type of performance to which I refer here:

Experiences of liminality can arouse a feeling of strangeness in relation to the everyday. As expressions of these types of experiences, ritual and aesthetic performances provoke more than a simple mirroring of the real. In these moments, a subjunctive mode is established ('as if') of situating oneself in relation to the world, provoking fissures, illuminating the fictional dimensions of the real – f(r)ictioning it, one might say – revealing its unfinishability and subverting the effects of reality of a world seen in the indicative mode, not as a moving landscape, filled with possibilities, but simply as it is. Performance does not produce a mere mirroring. Subjunctivity, which characterizes a performative state, emerges as an effect of a 'magic mirror.' (Dawsey, 2013, 239).

The exchange of fluid between bodies through bites connects people and thereby creates an entirely different composition. What person should the mirror reflect? What reality is there to be analysed? Are we not presented here with the same premises that underpin Journiac's work when he considers tranvestism not as a secondary process that dislocates an original Self but as the process itself through which all and any subjectivity is created and recreated? Even his parents were travestized as themselves.

In his work, Journiac seems to propose a relational principle by which the positions of subjects are never assured, since there is no original model to stabilize them. Not even the human. This argument is advanced as early as 1974 – a year be-

16 According to Deleuze and Guattari, the same can be said of thought itself. "Thought is like the Vampire; it has no image, either to constitute a model of or to copy" (1987[1980], p.377).

fore *24 hours* therefore – with the piece *Journiac travestized as God*. It is not a question just of crossings and transmutations that can occur between sexual and gender positions, but also between other types of beings, transversally slicing even the boundary between the human and the sacred. "The supernatural imposes itself," Marcel Paquet (1977, 25) wrote.

JOURNIAC TRAVESTI EN DIEU   JOURNIAC TRAVESTI EN SUPPLICIE   JOURNIAC TRAVESTI EN CADAVRE

Journiac travestized as a corpse and the entire body of work derived from his obsession with bones and skeletons leads to the idea that the investigation of modes of existence does not concern outer appearances alone but also inner compositions. Vampire, a composition of natural (human) and supernatural (a kind of God); a composition of life and death. Something in the middle.

On one hand, he dissects the body, opens it, invades it and subtracts it towards the bones. On the other, he ferments it, increases it and amplifies it through clothing. Interior and exterior no longer make sense. Clothes are the form of the body until putrefaction when just the bones remain...

To avoid any mistake: I am not talking about metaphorical events that manifest in eccentric cases – artists and degenerates.

"The tradition of the oppressed teaches us that 'the state of exception' is the rule" (Benjamin, 2006[1985], p.226)

The instability of being – as present and strong as it is sometimes imperceptible – attains, in the dissident sexo-generic practices that I evoked here, merely a *quantum* of liminarity that carries with it the possibility of moving beyond or remaining before the human, since, as so well argued by Foucault, queer practitioner of BDSM and a disciple as he was of Nietzsche, humanity, as a form of being, did not always exist and will not exist forever.

It is entirely a question, therefore, of modes of being-in-the-world, their interchangeability and the impossibility of a solid and immutable meaning both of internal coherence (stabilized subjectivity as identity) and external consistency (stabilized world as reality).

Lu, the woman who I also am, back in 2006, in one of her first public apparitions.

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FILMS AND VIDEOS AS FORMS OF KNOWLEDGE: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND FUTURE POSSIBILITIES

Vannini, Phillip Ed. 2020. *The Routledge International Handbook of Ethnographic Film and Video.* London and New York: Routledge. 359p. ISBN: 978-0-367-18582-4 (hbk) ISBN: 978-0-429-19699-7 (ebk)

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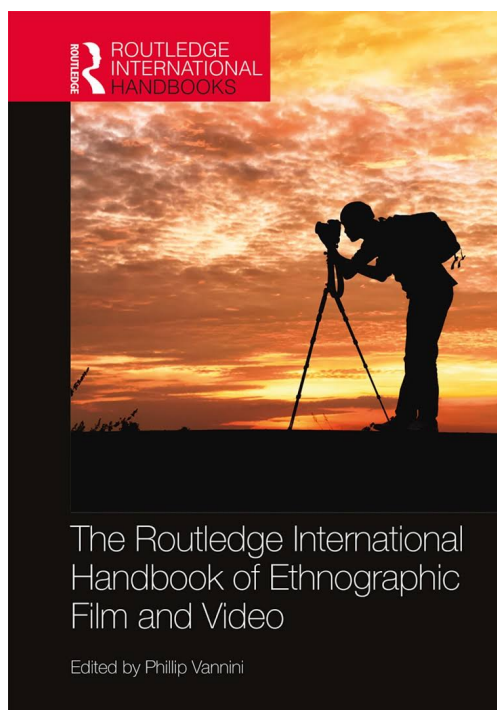
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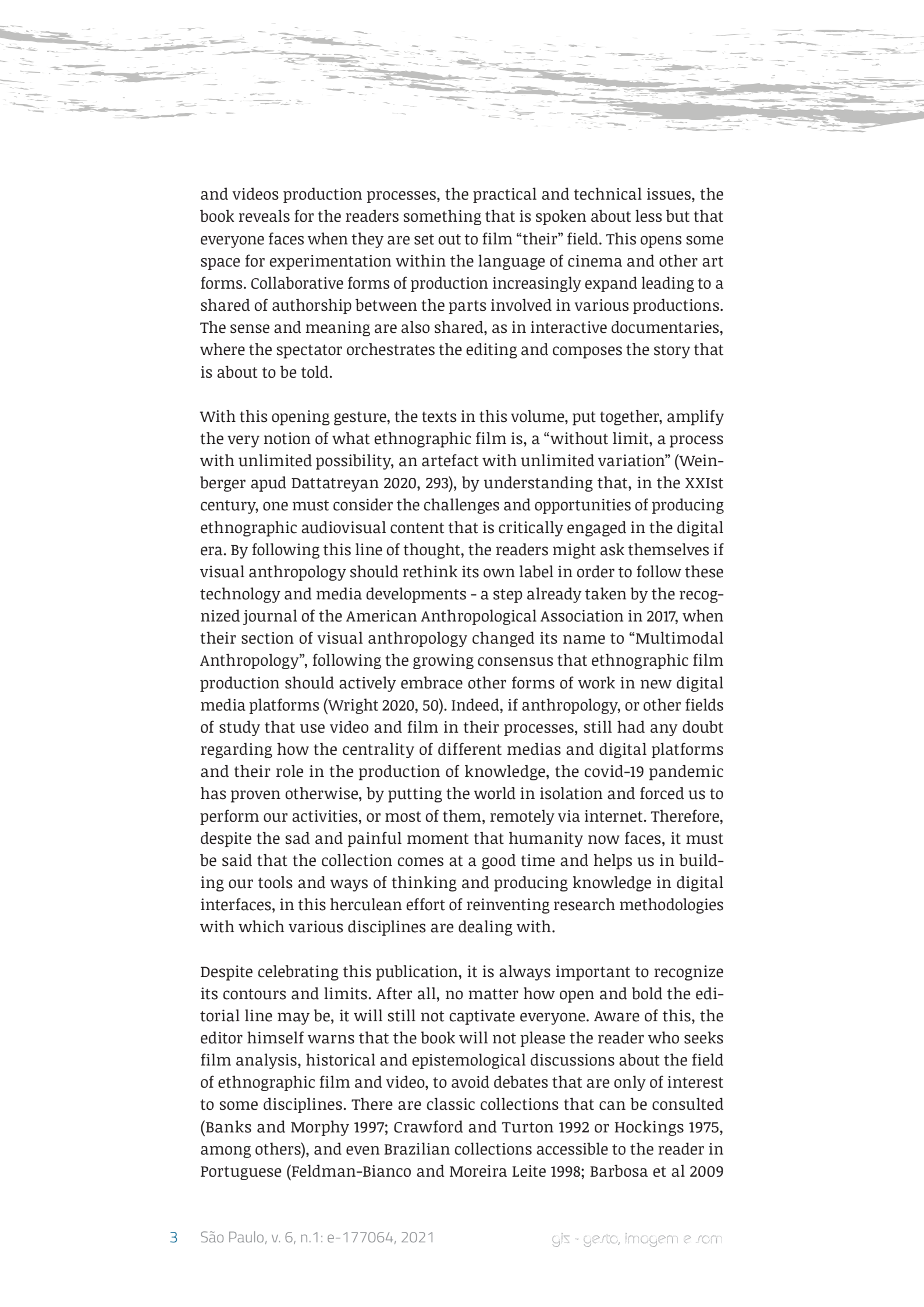
Fifty years ago, visual anthropologists, then a special class of researchers and filmmakers, were enthusiastic about the technological revolution of the time - the possibility of capturing sound and images in sync with portable and light equipment. However, they could not have imagined where the global phenomenon of the internet would take us, which at the time was more of a promise than a reality. In the past twenty years, we have seen the emergence of low-cost, easy-to-use cell phones with video cameras, drones and portable cameras giving a chance to billions of people around the world to document their lives and make video accessible and storable; social networks such as Facebook, Instagram and Whatsapp, in addition to video sharing platforms, turned the circulation of these materials into a new globalized and widespread practice of visual documentation.

It is from standpoint of technological development and internet revolution that the collection The Routledge International Handbook of Ethnographic Film and Video, published in English by Routledge, is made public. The editor of this book is Phillip Vannini, a professor at the School of Communication and Culture at Royal Roads University in Victoria, Canada and a professor at the Canada Research Chair in Public Ethnography. The inclusion of the word "video" in a field that has always privileged the term "ethnographic film" comes precisely from the editor's finding that the definition of what ethnographic film is has dramatically expanded with the advent of internet, which has changed not only the ways in which ethnographic films and videos are accessed, but how and whom they are made for.

With an emphasis on practices conducted by visual anthropologists and researchers from other disciplines that employ film and video today, the book offers the reader a "state of the art" overview regarding the use of film and video in ethnographic research. The thirty-one articles bring a great variety of themes, approaches, methodologies, epistemologies, theories, ontologies, aesthetics, ethical questions, and other paths through which the authors explore in their research and productions. The authors speak from a variety of positions (researchers, directors, filmmakers, curators of ethnographic films, among others) while sharing insights from their own works. This resulted in a collection of alive texts and original narratives. At the same time, they provide a powerful mapping of contemporary production, or at least a part of it, since most of the articles was written by authors located in the United States or Europe.

The effort of the volume is to open the field of ethnographic film and video, and this is done in various ways. For instance, by incorporating its use in other fields of study, such as sociology, geography, arts, history, psychology, environmental studies, cultural studies, media studies, among others – which, by its turn, reflects the expansion of ethnography beyond the boundaries of the anthropology. Also, by opening about the films

and videos production processes, the practical and technical issues, the book reveals for the readers something that is spoken about less but that everyone faces when they are set out to film "their" field. This opens some space for experimentation within the language of cinema and other art forms. Collaborative forms of production increasingly expand leading to a shared of authorship between the parts involved in various productions. The sense and meaning are also shared, as in interactive documentaries, where the spectator orchestrates the editing and composes the story that is about to be told.

With this opening gesture, the texts in this volume, put together, amplify the very notion of what ethnographic film is, a "without limit, a process with unlimited possibility, an artefact with unlimited variation" (Weinberger apud Dattatreyan 2020, 293), by understanding that, in the XXIst century, one must consider the challenges and opportunities of producing ethnographic audiovisual content that is critically engaged in the digital era. By following this line of thought, the readers might ask themselves if visual anthropology should rethink its own label in order to follow these technology and media developments - a step already taken by the recognized journal of the American Anthropological Association in 2017, when their section of visual anthropology changed its name to "Multimodal Anthropology", following the growing consensus that ethnographic film production should actively embrace other forms of work in new digital media platforms (Wright 2020, 50). Indeed, if anthropology, or other fields of study that use video and film in their processes, still had any doubt regarding how the centrality of different medias and digital platforms and their role in the production of knowledge, the covid-19 pandemic has proven otherwise, by putting the world in isolation and forced us to perform our activities, or most of them, remotely via internet. Therefore, despite the sad and painful moment that humanity now faces, it must be said that the collection comes at a good time and helps us in building our tools and ways of thinking and producing knowledge in digital interfaces, in this herculean effort of reinventing research methodologies with which various disciplines are dealing with.

Despite celebrating this publication, it is always important to recognize its contours and limits. After all, no matter how open and bold the editorial line may be, it will still not captivate everyone. Aware of this, the editor himself warns that the book will not please the reader who seeks film analysis, historical and epistemological discussions about the field of ethnographic film and video, to avoid debates that are only of interest to some disciplines. There are classic collections that can be consulted (Banks and Morphy 1997; Crawford and Turton 1992 or Hockings 1975, among others), and even Brazilian collections accessible to the reader in Portuguese (Feldman-Bianco and Moreira Leite 1998; Barbosa et al 2009

and Copque e Peixoto 2015, to name a few). Although the editor claims that the book is for diverse audiences, I venture to say that the work speaks to the youngest in a more expressive way, due to how familiar this new generation is with equipment, cameras, platforms, apps, since they have always been part of their lives.

A certain constant in the articles is the emphasis on increasingly participatory, collaborative and shared processes. Here, a huge range of possibilities for participation and collaboration are presented and, strictly speaking, each research and each project measures and shapes the way the collaboration will take place. There are references to Jean Rouch's shared anthropology in some of the works, but the ethical stance as a central issue is certainly a mark of the critical turn in the production of knowledge during the 1970s and 1980s. An important milestone in anthropology was the publication of Writing Culture, recently translated into Portuguese (Clifford and Marcus 2017[1986]). Collaborative productions do not happen only between researchers and filmed subjects, but also within the scope of academic reflection, which is attested by the high number of articles written in co-authorship.

The task of condensing in a few pages a project of such magnitude, in its potential and scope is somehow disenchanting. Yet, my task is to synthesis themes, approaches, and problematics that for obvious reasons some of it will be left out. In order to repair this frustration, at least in part I chose to discuss the volume part by part in as much detail as possible.

What is an ethnographic film? Part I of the collective book "Practicing the art and science of ethnographic film and video", focuses on the conceptual and theoretical foundations around the notion of ethnographic film and video with an emphasis on contemporary production. The article by P. Kerim Friedman, which opens the section, aims on reflecting on the definitions of the genre. Instead of just gravitating among the canons, the author builds on his experience as a curator of an ethnographic film festival, the Taiwan International Ethnographic Film Festival (TIEFF).

By looking at contemporary ethnographic film production, Faye Ginsburg (2018) suggests that the field's achievements are advancing in two possible directions. On the one hand, one direction draws from the observational school of documentary film and develops formal experiments with film's sensorial aspects, such as the work of the Laboratory of Sensory Ethnography at the University of Harvard[2], and, on the other hand, anthropologist filmmakers who seem to be more concerned with relational aspects, collaborative, shared production and indigenous media.
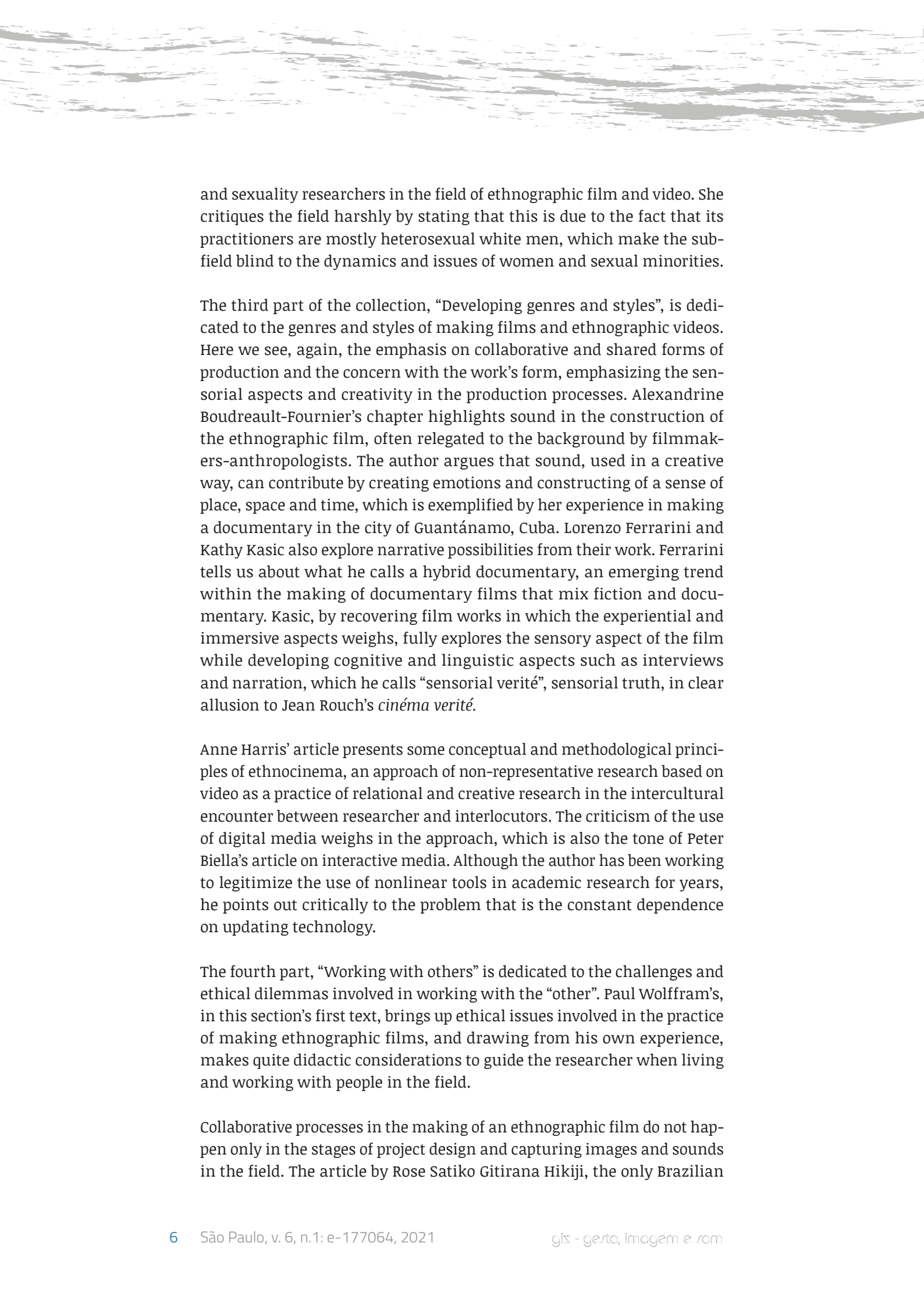
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2 Ver https://sel.fas.harvard.edu/.

Regarding the relational aspects of film, the article by Stephanie Spray dedicates itself to the difficult issue of constructing the representation of the other that in the act of filming implies, which is, inevitably, an objectifying act. The author defends a collaborative and shared film practice, against dominant ways of making documentaries. Evaluating the formal aspect and moving around art and anthropology, the articles by Jenny Chio and Robert Willim, both intended to open the field of ethnographic film production and leave space for artistic experiments. Chio develops a relation to ethnographic theory and relates it to the practices of art probing. Willim on the other hand, forwards an artistic and research process combining reflective analysis and non-representational practice.

Wright's article goes from Ginsburg's (2018) argument mentioned earlier to argue that if there is fertile ground for the expansion of ethnographic film, this place is the combination of relational inventiveness with an openness to formal experimentation as a the new art of ethnographic cinema. In this sense, multimodal means allow new forms of sharing production process and, at the same time, aesthetic experimentation. This is the subject of the article written by Samuel Gerald Collins and Matthew Durington, which closes the section, with a defense of the transition from traditional ethnographic means to multimodality.

The second part of the volume "Applying and extending approaches and methodologies", brings contributions where the videos and film's methodological use reveal quite a different research traditions. From various possibilities, there are authors who use video as a tool to support ethnographic analysis in the fieldwork, such as the works of Asta Cekaite, who discusses the use of video in research and ethnomethodological analysis, an approach that proposes recordings video to engage in an analysis closer to social life. This is followed by Charlotte Bates' contribution, who focuses on daily videos filmed by the research interlocutors generating material for ethnographic analysis. The article by Robert Lemelson and Annie Tucker takes a different path by emphasizing film results that get closer to the language of cinema to impact the viewer. These are films centered on character narratives about crises, traumas, mental illnesses, among other themes that touch the interface between psychology and anthropology.

Discussing the documentary product, but in a different way, there is the work of Kathleen M. Ryan and David Staton about nonlinear interactive documentary. The authors argue that this kind of documentary, by giving way to the audience's narrating agency, presents itself as an alternative form to the traditional documentary, in which the authority of the editor and researcher imposes a narrative line. In this same atmosphere of criticizing the researcher / director's authority, the section ends with an article by Molly Merryman. The author discusses the scarcity of gender

and sexuality researchers in the field of ethnographic film and video. She critiques the field harshly by stating that this is due to the fact that its practitioners are mostly heterosexual white men, which make the sub-field blind to the dynamics and issues of women and sexual minorities.

The third part of the collection, "Developing genres and styles", is dedicated to the genres and styles of making films and ethnographic videos. Here we see, again, the emphasis on collaborative and shared forms of production and the concern with the work's form, emphasizing the sensorial aspects and creativity in the production processes. Alexandrine Boudreault-Fournier's chapter highlights sound in the construction of the ethnographic film, often relegated to the background by filmmakers-anthropologists. The author argues that sound, used in a creative way, can contribute by creating emotions and constructing of a sense of place, space and time, which is exemplified by her experience in making a documentary in the city of Guantánamo, Cuba. Lorenzo Ferrarini and Kathy Kasic also explore narrative possibilities from their work. Ferrarini tells us about what he calls a hybrid documentary, an emerging trend within the making of documentary films that mix fiction and documentary. Kasic, by recovering film works in which the experiential and immersive aspects weighs, fully explores the sensory aspect of the film while developing cognitive and linguistic aspects such as interviews and narration, which he calls "sensorial verité", sensorial truth, in clear allusion to Jean Rouch's *cinéma verité*.

Anne Harris' article presents some conceptual and methodological principles of ethnocinema, an approach of non-representative research based on video as a practice of relational and creative research in the intercultural encounter between researcher and interlocutors. The criticism of the use of digital media weighs in the approach, which is also the tone of Peter Biella's article on interactive media. Although the author has been working to legitimize the use of nonlinear tools in academic research for years, he points out critically to the problem that is the constant dependence on updating technology.

The fourth part, "Working with others" is dedicated to the challenges and ethical dilemmas involved in working with the "other". Paul Wolffram's, in this section's first text, brings up ethical issues involved in the practice of making ethnographic films, and drawing from his own experience, makes quite didactic considerations to guide the researcher when living and working with people in the field.

Collaborative processes in the making of an ethnographic film do not happen only in the stages of project design and capturing images and sounds in the field. The article by Rose Satiko Gitirana Hikiji, the only Brazilian

author in the collection, and Jasper Chalcraft, explore the potential of collaboration in post-production stage. At the center of the reflection is the process of making the narration and soundtrack for a film made with a Congolese artist living in São Paulo, Brazil.

Arjun Shankar's critical and dense article points to the limits of what the author calls the ideal of participation, functioning as a sober and necessary voice, somewhat contradicting the celebration of ways of producing knowledge in a participatory and collaborative manner. For the author, there is a certain tyranny of the ideal of participation that converts the subjects' consent in relation to research and filming projects into a new form of objectification. Sarah Abbott's article also questions the limits of working with "others", but in a different way, expanding the very notion of what constitutes the "other", to include non-humans as subjects of the films: plants, stones, mountains, land, and water. For instance, this type of investigation helped by the role of technology (portable cameras, drones etc.) enable us to pay more attention to nocturnal habits of predators or fly over entire forests.

The centrality of technology and the new possibilities of ontological research that are breaking open are further explored in the fifth part of the collection, "Working with tools and techniques". Katrina M. Brown and Petra Lackova explore the potential of wearable cameras, often known as GoPros, a major innovation of the second decade of the 21st century. Adam Fish deals with the new technology of drones and their anthropological possibilities and Mark R. Westmoreland addresses experiences with 360 ° video in the construction of immersive experiences.

In the case of both 360° cameras and drones, as well as wearable cameras, the visions produced broaden a human perspective and open the possibility of radically expanding our perspectives - epistemologically and ontologically - to other world views, such as the perspective of the body of a bird, from the head of a cyclist or from the atmosphere, expanding ways of seeing and the agency of the beholder. The development of technology can take us far, but also as close to us as possible, like the worktable of an ethnographer. Steffen Köhn's chapter, which closes this section, addresses documentaries recorded on computer screens, emphasizing the poetics of digital culture as a powerful way of producing knowledge.

Part 6, "Distributing and circulating", is dedicated to the circulation and distribution of films and ethnographic videos, a theme that has grown in importance. In the chapter that opens the section, Harjant S. Gill offers the reader some guidance and advice from his long experience of producing and distributing ethnographic films, such as, for example, defining the audience in advance, having authorizations of the subjects that were filmed and photos in high quality, to use to promote the films.

Ethnographic film festivals are not the only places where the audio-visual products circulate. Today, web-based platforms offer great potential for ethnographers-filmmakers. This is what Ethiraj Gabriel Dattatreyan's article looks at, arguing that this form of circulation allows for a more democratic distribution and greater agency for the public. The presence and circulation of videos and films in academic environments is the subject of Catherine Gough-Brady's article. How to make a film without so many resources, and without access to equipment, financing and technicians? These and other practical issues involved in the production of films as part of graduate work are themed by the author.

The chapter that closes the section examines the phenomenon of the expansion of ethnographic film festivals and how the cinema format changed the ways in ehich we understand the field of ethnographic film. Carlo Cubero argues that ethnographic film festivals, as events that attract audiences and filmmakers from within and outside anthropology, select films for their ability to engage an audience, rather than for their ability to illustrate or present themselves as proof of anthropological ideas based on texts.

We are about to arrive at the finish line of this long journey. Two final chapters to take on the conclusions. The first one is a very technical round of questions and answers with some of the collaborators of the collection about how they carry out their film work. The second text brings Jean Rouch, a canon of the field, but in an unusual way.

If there is one thing that seems to remain in the ethnographer's job, it is also to be an apprentice and thus, there is no way to walk into the future and open new paths without knowing what the elders said. In this case, the griot is the old and well-known Jean Rouch, brought by the voice of Paul Stoller, who signs the final article. However, contrary to expectations, Stoller does not provide us with an analysis of Rouch's already well-known work; he chooses to tell us how the wisdom of the Songhay people profoundly shaped Rouch's approach to anthropology and the world, and how this approach can shape future works in visual anthropology. Although it may sound seemingly simple, the depth of the relationship that the ethnographer builds with his others seems to be the basis for present and future visual ethnography, at least that is what Stoller learns from Rouch, and what Rouch teaches readers of the collection. If the opening gesture broadened and expanded, under the risk of tearing apart the field of ethnographic film and video, the ethnographic intention appears to be the gesture that sustains and that gives ground to the field. With this gesture, Rouch teaches us, films and records are constructed as narratives open to the world.

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AMACULO MANIHAMBA: WOMEN'S WALKING SONGS IN A BORDERLAND REGION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

DOSSIER LOCAL MUSICKING

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Published in 2018, Angela Impey's book offers an ethnographic bridge between the macronarratives of official and historiographical discourses, and the more intimate memories contained in the songs of elderly women in Maputaland, an environmental conservation area located on the border between South Africa, Mozambique and Eswatini. For readers who have never heard of this country, Eswatini was known as the Kingdom of Swaziland until April 2018, when was renamed by its king, Mswati III. Eswatini means "Land of Swazi" in their own language. This sudden change was announced only after the book had gone to press and says much about the region's fluid political dynamics.

Today multilateral treaties and development policies have excluded the local population from decision-making and subjected them to new displacements. Such measures recall previous agreements for the exploitation of natural resources or, going back a little further, the colonial sharing system between 19th century European powers. The practical consequences of these arrangements, however, do not change. In spite of current concerns with sustainable development, governance fails to incorporate the voices of those who will most suffer its consequences.

In this Transfrontier Conservation Area, women, since ancient times, have been involved in farming and grazing. As their lands were divided up by Europeans, access to water, forest or pasture areas became more limited. Such restrictions, accompanied by other colonial changes, forced men to move to the nearest urban centers for work, while keeping women tied to ever-shrinking plots of land in rural areas. Paradoxically, these women never had any rights to the land that they worked.

Initiated in 2002, the South African scholar`s research is motivated by her interest in hearing the most silenced voices in a place where colonial memories, the brutality of past and present governments, transnational interests, and local patriarchy overlap. Amidst these multilayered forms of oppression, women found space to exercise their agency on the few paths still open to them, where they plowed fields and raised livestock.

The silence to which these women are subjected is broken on the day Impey meets them as they wait to receive pensions in a tumultuous scene outside a school in the Ndumo environmental reserve, northwest of Maputaland. It is on this day that women of all ethnicities from throughout the borderland region meet every month. The streets are abuzz with vendors plying their trades, and military police surround the entire area. Armed with a box of *isitweletwele*, Impey approaches the women and asks if anyone remembers how to play them. Their attention piqued, the women snap up the mouth harps, adjust them in their mouths, determine which fit best, try to play familiar melodies, and recall how well their ancestors played.

From that first encounter, Impey invites them to get together to play. Most women who attend these meetings are between fifty and seventy years of age; they live near the Ndumo reserve but weren't all born there, some having moved to the region via exogamous marriage. During the first meetings, they sit beneath a tree and, as they recall melodies, they let memories of past walks emerge. When they were young, they had walked in groups with the small metal arches in their mouths, synchronizing their voices and movements through melodies. But the paths they trod back then are closed to them today.

Usually made of brass, the small mouth arch makes sounds when vibrated by the fingers. The mouth becomes a sounding board, regulated by lip movement. With this movement, words can be imitated: the *isitweletwele*, therefore, "sings" songs, with lyrics. The languages spoken in Maputa-land, as well as the songs that were sung and shared, are not hermetic, but rather mix linguistic and aural elements from all those peoples. Impey's ethnography reveals the frictions present in this process in which women, who belong to different ethnic groups, work on the same shared land, thereby developing familial relationships with other women from different communities and backgrounds.

Through exogamous marriage, women from different ethnic groups came to share family ties. Speaking their mother tongue and that of their husband's family fluently is natural for many of them. In addition, the spaces for cultivation and walking intersect, allowing them to listen to each other and eventually communicate in all their different languages.

When Impey asked the women about the similarities among the songs formerly performed with isitweletwele, however, her interlocutors strive to show her what they did to make themselves stand out when they were young. They played differently, because they made the instrument "sing" words in different languages. Thus, songs played on the isitweletwele demarcated spaces, trails and diversity in their shared border territory.

Walking and playing simultaneously completely engages the body at the same time that a second rhythmic and audible engagement is performed with the group. On walks from the forest to the fields or from the river to the house, this was the way the women now seated with Impey under the shade of the tree moved around the areas they were permitted to enter in the borderland conservation area. Their ancestors, however, could walk freely throughout the territory. It is not by chance that the first songs recalled narrate experiences of removal, not necessarily lived by Impey's companions. They are intense memories, as if their families had just been deterritorialized; women relive a social trauma when playing isitweletwele.

Soon, these meetings gained movement. Women left the shade of the tree to sing *amaculo manihamba* - walking songs – on the trails they still had access to. The amaculo manihamba style encompasses everything that the isitweletwele can sing. In addition to songs denouncing land removals, there are others: of marriage, advice for girls and boys, radio hits and day-to-day events, almost like sound chronicles. Songs composed about commonly known facts from the past – a police raid that arrested someone they know, for example – can be resignified in the present – as when the group of women bypasses an approaching guard when passing through a restricted trail inside the forest reserve. A sense of complicity is built among them, immediately after, through the responsive form of amaculo manihamba: when one of the players suggests this song, known to all in the group, and the others accept, they echo the melody that once reported the abuses of the past, but which today is used to mock the guard.

As Impey accompanies women on their once-again musical walks, she brings to mind Ingold and Vergunst's (2008) discussion of walking. More than just moving, walking has to do with the agency of the senses, with gaining skills and knowledge, even as it demarcates spaces. Walking is both journey and narrative (Ingold and Vergunst 2008). This is how these "butterfly" women, as Impey calls them, walk, showing her their knowledge of a host of native plants, sprouting here and there, good for curing the most diverse array of evils.

In the middle chapters, Impey shows that the Maputaland region has not only became cross-border based on colonial divisions, but was already a region of transit for the Mabudu-Tembe, or Tonga, people from the Maputo Bay region; the Ngwane, or Swazi, associated with the western region of the Lebombo mountain range and the Zulus, from south of the Pongolo River. It was an inhospitable natural landscape with a rocky terrain, prone to droughts and floods, only suitable for meetings – whether ceremonial, friendly, wars or negotiations – but which eventually served as a refuge for dissidents from these three peoples.

The European colonial partition at the end of the 19th century would involve Portuguese, British and Boers as the main players, as they took advantage of local conflicts and allied themselves with local chiefs in the pursuit of political and commercial domination. By the early 20th century, South Africa had already passed laws, which would eventually be replicated in both Swaziland and Mozambique, that racially divided the population into a native working class. In South Africa these existing laws were incorporated in 1948 into the country's official policy of apartheid.

From that moment, all the inhabitants of Maputaland started to be treated as Zulus by the local authorities. Rural areas, previously utilized for family

farming, were expropriated, giving way to cotton and sugarcane monoculture. Access to the Usuthu River and all that came with it was blocked by the construction of weirs for the maintenance of large estates. Deprived of water and much of the land destined for subsistence agriculture, families lost irreplaceable sources of subsistence. By destroying autonomous land tenure systems, the colonial administration created a surplus of male labor that would be critical for mining and other industries in southern Africa. Formerly self-sufficient Maputaland families began to depend on the wage men sent from the main urban center, Johannesburg.

It was also in the mid-twentieth century that the isitweletwele first appeared. Sold as a cheap manufactured good in the south of African continent, the "Jewish harp" could be found on the counters of a wide variety of urban stores. When they returned to the countryside, migrant workers brought it as a gift for their girlfriends and wives. The instrument came to be used by single women as a necklace pendant, adorning their necks. The married women, who had already collected some isitweletweles, kept them close to their bodies. This small metal instrument has remained little studied by researchers of southern African music. Impey speculates that this may be due to the fact that it looks rather like a children's toy, or even because it is not part of the pantheon of traditional African instruments.

Impey mentions previous studies, concerned mainly with music and genre, of other mouth harps, such as the *umqangala* or the *isizenze*, both of which are larger and made of bamboo. However, as confirmed by her interlocutors, while women traditionally play these instruments, their performance is restricted to the domestic sphere. The isitweletwele, however, is different because it is a women's instrument meant to be played while walking in a group. Hanging as it did around women's neck, it was always readily available for any opportunity to play that appeared. Making their little arches sing, women coordinate their steps through the sound, while engaging in musical messages collectively amplified by the little instruments resonating in their mouths.

Maputaland women had their movement even more curtailed in the early 1970s. Decolonization and independence would be followed by international concern with environmental conservation. Such environmental policies, given form in the creation of ecological reserves, framed the hunting and planting habits of the land's native inhabitants as a problem for preservation, which in turn conveniently justified their removal or access restrictions.

Such expropriations silenced the isitweletwele, since women understood it as an instrument to be played along the trails that led them to the

fields. Now they were alienated from those fields, the paths patrolled by armed guards. At the same time, the men brought the first stereos (*gumba-gumba*), to the countryside, drastically changing musical habits. Finally, the international embargo imposed on South Africa as reprisal for apartheid resulted in the disappearance of imported goods, not only there, but also in the surrounding countries that depended on South Africa as the middleman for their own import sectors. The isitweletwele did not escape the embargo. As it disappeared from the shelves, it became increasingly rare among women, until it disappeared completely, since brass does not last forever. This, however, did not erase the instrument from women's memories, nor did it undermine the isitweletwele's potential to echo the most oppressed voices within the social system.

By daring to invite the women of Maputaland to reinsert the isitweletwele into their daily lives, Impey seems to have opened the floodgates of subaltern memories and practices. In Maputaland caring for the land is understood as a female domain: women cultivate and walk on it. It is the women who have the necessary knowledge about the territory. They know which plots of soil are good for planting. And only the girls, with their naked bodies, are able to walk through a locust infestation and dispatch them by singing and ritually burning food.

The amount of land required to maintain this family agricultural system is increased by the need to frequently let the soil lie fallow; by alternating between vegetable cultivation and resting periods, daughters and mothers-in-law, sisters-in-law and mothers and daughters exchanged surpluses in order to supply their families with all types of food. Nevertheless, the landscape they see now while walking is comprised of fences, which have transformed into "reserved" lands that were previously arable fields. Not only the lost land is at stake, but also the relationships forged among women and mediated by the land and its cultivation since time immemorial, but which are now constrained by a fence.

In addition to restricting the use of the fields, fences also prevent access to important rivers such as the Usuthu and the Pongola. Not by chance, many songs denounce the lack of water, or the stolen water. Enclosed or dammed to supply large estates intended for the planting of exportable products, the scarcity of water left a trail of misery and death in its wake. The decrease in resources previously used for family farming has ultimately changed the very relationships among women and between them and the land. Although they were once the guardians of family self-sufficiency, today women are dependent on their husbands, brothers and sons. When women "romanticize the past", they actually remember a time when they did not depend on cities or money to survive, which gave them greater emancipation from men.

As recalled by the women of Maputaland, the isitweletwele's songs reveal some of the most intimate dimensions of human relationships, such as dates with boys at *isigcawu* parties, engagements and weddings. From her conversations with MaFambile, an elderly resident of the Eziphosheni region, a reserve located further to the south, Impey comes to understand a network of exogamous marriages between young people from that region and the residents of the Usuthu valley, further west. The main reason these boys went to work in Johannesburg was to get enough money to buy cattle to offer for a dowry. In exchange, the young wife owes a debt that she will pay for the rest of her life. In return for being traded for oxen, a woman owes a lifetime of loyalty to her husband, who himself is free to have other wives and lovers.

This relationship was profoundly altered when husbands started to leave the countryside in search of work, and as economic life began to gravitate around gold and diamond mines, and, by the 1960s, a rapidly industrializing Johannesburg. This new economic organization made women, formerly self-supporting providers for their families, economically dependent, as we have seen. In fact, with the exception of cases of abandonment or the husband's death, which caused some women to migrate to the cities to work as maids for European-descended families, they were prevented from leaving the countryside by both the colonial administration and the patriarchy that it helped reinforce. Separations between couples lasted as long as an entire year. The return home of these workers has been identified as one of the main causes of the serious spread of AIDS in the region, which has decimated so many communities.

Furthermore, the stories the iisitweletwele tell denounce the capillarity of pre-independence violence in these cross-border regions. Young men, when moving from rural areas to urban centers, were subjected to prison (and torture) if they failed to carry their passports, a requirement imposed by the South African apartheid regime; women, even without leaving the countryside, suffered much the same abuse if they were caught selling or producing alcoholic beverages from sugar cane, a traditional economic practice, which was suddenly criminalized.

In Johannesburg, apartheid placed restrictions on what shops and public spaces the migrants could frequent. Even so, the men recruited for this type of work gained a certain amount of prestige in their home communities for having worked in the big city. Until the beginning of Mozambique's war of independence, Maputo presented a less hostile alternative, albeit less developed than Johannesburg. The war of independence, however, reversed the direction of migration, with many Mozambicans fleeing to South Africa. To prevent South African and Mozambican freedom fighters from providing support for each other, the Transfrontier Conservation Area

between the two countries gained military reinforcements that would restrict movement even more, turning the territory into a buffer zone.

The release of Nelson Mandela from prison and his subsequent election to the South African presidency would bring, in addition to the end of apartheid, the concept of the inseparability of human development and ecological preservation. This approach to conservation prioritizes a model of ecological tourism in which government, private initiative and local authorities theoretically manage public policies together. The initiative, however, soon proved to be flawed, with business interests (often from outside Africa), steamrolling any attempt to make the region prosperous for the native population.

At the same time, in the absence of men, female responsibility for immediate family support had to continue, since the process of regaining access to natural resources advanced only fitfully. Dynamic and creative, the women of Maputaland have expanded their commercial activities to include not only the sale of agricultural products in the local market, but also the formation of cooperatives to sell these products in more distant regions. Some even purchase clothes, shoes and other Chinese-made products in Johannesburg for local resale. The resumption of isitweletwele-playing itself became an economic activity, as women formed performance groups like the "Mamas of isitweletwele", whose concerts brought in a little extra income. And, of course, some of them also are employed by the reserves themselves.

From their walks with different groups of women through the territory of Maputaland, Impey and her interlocutors were able to draw three musical maps, distinguished by their temporalities and contexts. Demarcating the pre-1960s, the 1980s, and the present (2009, when they were made), these maps show the transformation of geographical space from the point of view of women. The paths, recalled as songs were remembered, are distinguished by access and restrictions, by the need to maintain survival and by adjusting to new spaces.

Although it recalled memories of decades of expropriation, the process Impey initiated by bringing back the isitweletwele also brought up memories of resistance: women remembered how important they had been for their families' livelihood in the past and realized how restrictive impositions had been increasingly imposed on them. With their isitweletwele back, they felt as strong as when they were young and realized that they had never abandoned the battles for survival imposed upon them by every plunder of their rivers and lands. In particular, they began to remember how they used the isitweletwele to express themselves during a time when colonialism continuously reinforced the oppressions of the

patriarchy. "My music is my weapon," said MaGumede, one of Impey's interlocutors, leading her to recall James Scott's (1990) reflections on the arts of resistance.

Song Walking sheds light on a global problem: the imposition of state and corporate power on native peoples by force, with a near-total disregard for their lives. It also speaks directly to issues in Latin America involving indigenous and *quilombola* communities. For example, in Brazil ethnographers have documented the daily experience of abuses of all kinds, including expropriations, the dismantling of family farming due to the concentration of land in fewer and fewer hands, violence, forced displacement, and death (see: Ferreira 2013; Kopenawa and Albert 2015 e O'Dwyer 2002). Just as in southern Africa, Latin American indigenous and quilombola communities also use creative forms of expression to evoke memory, reaffirm rights to land and resources and advocate for environmental justice and the right to self-sustainability in the face of unrelenting state oppression. (see: Oliveira 2011; Mombelli 2014; Araújo and Sansone 2008 e Arruti 2006).

Impey urges us to follow the path of shared and engaged ethnographies, not simply among marginalized communities in general, but specifically with the most excluded voices among the oppressed. Ethnographers can become instruments that amplify their voices, like the isitweletwele itself. Research that engages with the most sensitive dimensions of human life is able to perceive, even in silence, the presence of the hidden and the unspeakable, as Foucault suggested (1990). Like Donna J. Haraway (2016), Impey warns us that public policies often fail because they are incapable of seeing these "hidden transcripts." She thus claims that ethnographers, who are trained precisely to observe the hidden and the unspeakable, have an important role to play in transforming flawed and unjust policies.

TRANSLATION TECHNICAL REVIEW:
Bryan Pitts

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MUSICKING LOCALITIES, LOCALIZING MUSICKING

Reily, Suzel A. & Brucher, Katherine (eds.), 2018. *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Local Musicking.* New York; Abingdon: Routledge.

DOSSIER LOCAL MUSICKING

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The Routledge Companion to the Study of Local Musicking

Edited by Suzel A. Reily and Katherine Brucher

In this relevant book, editors Suzel A. Reily and Katherine Brucher present a vast panorama composed of almost forty articles from different parts of the globe. They have in common an effort to discuss the various possibilities of connection between the notions of music and of locality. The book is result of the research projects "Local Musicking in Cross-Cultural Perspective", carried out in the United Kingdom between 2014 and 2015 and the ongoing FAPESP Framework Project "Local Musicking: New Pathways in Ethnomusicology", which involves USP and UNICAMP.[1] In 2019, it won the Ellen Koskof Edited Volume Prize, from the Society for Ethnomusicology.

The volume is a significant contribution to the growing movement in the area of ethnomusicological studies and its interfaces, especially Anthropology of Music, towards thinking of music as a chain of processes and a network of relationships. To this end, most of the authors of the book finds their inspiration in concepts in concepts like the one of *musicking*, from the ethnomusicologist Christopher Small (1998), allied to the notion of *locality* by the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (1996). Other significant theoretical contributions are the reflections of the anthropologist Ruth Finnegan (1989) and the ethnomusicologist Thomas Turino (2008) - the last two signed chapters in the compilation. The main research question behind this volume is how musicking and locality are mutually constituted in the contexts in which such social dynamics unfold.

Between the preface and the introduction, signed by the editors, we have the presentation by Trevor Herbert, which explores the frictions between local and global in the musicking of brass bands in the United Kingdom and the multiple rearrangements and dialogues with transformations in the American tradition of such practices. The first section, "Modes of Local Musicking", delves into Small's concept of musicking, discussing it in its various forms, going beyond production and performance, also encompassing listening, dancing, debates and research about music. In the first text of the section, "Participatory Performance and the Autenticy of Place", Thomas Turino analyzes, based on examples of American old-time music, how policies of musical genre unfold through the claim by actors of notions such as authenticity and tradition, and the mobilization of locality as a tool to differentiate musical styles.

In "Protestant-Lutheran Choir Singing in Northern Germany", Britta Sweers ethnographically describes the daily life of German choirs between rehearsals and performances. Focusing on the function of each moment, the author highlights the continuum that Turino (2008) presents between participatory performance and presentational performance. In addition,

Sweers defends the importance of rehearsals as communitarian experiences of social interaction; she also emphasizes that musical presentation is not always a mere reflection of commercialization of a musicking which used to be communal.

The relativization between participation and presentation is also discussed in Andreas Otte's text, "Attending Concerts: Local Musicking among Greenlandic Youth". When accompanying young people in shows performed by local musicians, the researcher notes that the engagement in these events also includes the "warm-ups", meetings that precede the concerts, as well as the parties that follow them. This creates sociabilities that, originated in concert attendance, develop into a reinforcement of intense affection bonds and shared experiences.

In "Hyperactive Musical Communities On- and Offline: Dancing and Producing Chicago Footwork, *Shangaan* Electro, and *Gqom*", Noel Lobley presents three contemporary genres of electronic music shaped by international online connectivity. Based respectively in Chicago, Limpopo and Durban, the genres are strongly linked to dance moves developed by local communities and circulate globally through internet, especially by videos shared on Youtube.

"Community Beyond Locality: Circuits of Transnational Macedonian Romani Music", by Carol Silverman, discusses the *Roma* from Macedonia's production of a "community beyond locality" based on their musical practices in several countries of immigration. In "Community and the Musicking of Participatory Research in Rio de Janeiro", Vincenzo Cambria discusses methodologies of ethnomusicology, which usually think of musical contexts from the micro-level of the community, passing on to the nation-state or even larger scales, such as global and transnationals processes. Through his experience of participatory action research in a *favela* in Rio de Janeiro, the author suggests that the city may represent an important medium scale between those levels of analysis; Cambria then focus on the relationship between Favela da Maré and the city of Rio.

Section II, "Musicking and the Production of Locality" brings together articles that consider the dynamics of mutual conformation between musicking and locality. In "Sounding and Producing Locality: Creating a Locally Distinctive Band Practice in Cape Town", Sylvia Bruinders shows how Christmas bands are spaces where "*coloured* people", a minority group in South Africa, seeks to overcome stereotyped visions that victimize them through the demonstration of their musical discipline, which at the same time reflects and reinforces the discipline of these musicians as members of the community and respectable citizens. Another article that addresses the role of local and collective musical practice in the production of

citizenship is "Orfeanismo: Local Musicking and the Building of Society in Provincial Portugal", by Maria do Rosário Pestana. The practice of the Portuguese choirs described by the author is not only a reflection of socially produced agreements, but also a form of resetting and updating these agreements, reaffirming qualities such as the notion of "decency".

Érica Giesbrecht explores in "It gets better when the People come to Dance" connections between the black movement and the participative music of *jongo*, where the audience is urged to enter the dance, an involvement considered to be an enriching experience. "Music Contests and Community: A Small Competition Powwow and a Complex Fiddle Contest", by Chris Goertzen, points out how in such competitions social interaction is more valued than competitiveness.

In "Tuning in to Locality: Participatory Musicking at a Community Radio Station in Chicago", Andrew Mall debates an active form of music consumption that produces a sense of local identity attuned to the community radio station CHIRP. Similarly, the article "Performing Locality by Singing Together in Mizoram, Northeast India" by Joanna Heath, demonstrates how the singing of each *veng* (the researched localities) performs and claims "stories" about them as communities. Evanthia Patsioura brings a new perspective to the notion of locality in "Bringing Down the Spirit: Locating Music and Experience among Nigerian Pentecostal Worshipers in Athens, Greece". The author argues that in the Pentecostal religious practices she researches, locality is a transcendent place reached by sharing the music-spiritual experience: musicality and spirituality are related manifestations of the sacred.

In "The Musical Structuring of Feeling Among the Venda", Suzel A. Reily revisits John Blacking's works on the Venda people of South Africa, noting that, over the fifty years that have followed such research, this group has undergone a series of changes: one can no longer think of one musical totality, but in several musical processes linked to diverse contemporary social dynamics of that locality.

The next section, "Pathways to Local Musicking", takes Finnegan's concept of "tracks" as a metaphor for thinking about trajectories of subjects in their relations with musicking, whether as amateurs or professionals. Theodore I. Konkouris addresses the image of "blood" in "'I am Sorry that we Made you Bleed': Locality and Apprenticeship among Mande hunters". Bleeding, both literally and figuratively, is part of the learning of Mande hunters from Mali. Mande brotherhoods supersedes ethnic, religious and class markers by privileging the ethic of sacrifice. In the hunters' moral code, total devotion to the art of hunting, including musical activities, is what defines one's position in the group. The learning of synchronized

dance and singing also affirms one's social place in the Balinese student community in "Child Musicians and Dancers Performing in Sync: Teaching, Learning, and Rehearsing Collectivity in Bali", contribution of Jonathan McIntosh.

Michael O'Toole explores the role of schools dedicated to education of amateur musicians, shaping social practices and values of local musicking in "Local Music School Learning and Teaching: A View from Chicago and Beyond". "The Hidden Musicians of the *Guqin* Music World of Lanzhou", signed by Zhao Yuzing and Suzel A. Reily, follows the revival of *qin* musical practice and its role in forming a sense of Chinese-ness after the Cultural Revolution period. In "Rehearsing Values: Process of Distinction in the Field Band Foundation of South Africa", Laryssa Whitaker looks at rehearsals of brass bands as moments of incorporation of social values and a sense of belonging; an example is the emphasis on listening, which allows the absorption of empathy as a skill for life.

In the chapter "Class and Locality in Loyalist Parading Band Rehearsals in Northern Ireland", Gordon Ramsey, who analyzes three different bands, demonstrates how the continuum between rehearsal, composition and performance varies according to distinct articulations between class, religion and place. Concluding the section, the article "Pathways to Musicianship: Narratives by People with Blindness", by Lucia Reily and Augusto Cardoso de Oliveira, narrates trajectories of five blind musicians who complexify assumptions of common sense, which associate blindness with extraordinary musicality.

Section IV, "Locality, Musical Connections and Encounters", presents examples in which local elements and elements from broader scopes are articulated in the production of localities and forms of musicking. In "Borders and the *Alma Guarani*: Musical Encounters Between Paraguay, Argentina and Mato Grosso do Sul", Evandro Higa tells us how musical genres that cross three countries represent the Guarani soul with its local nuances. "Coastal Music: Musicking Afro-Azorean Encounters in the South of Brazil", by Reginaldo Gil Braga, portrays the emergence of a kind of music that makes encounters between enslaved Azorean and African immigrants in the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul. The author defines this music as an "invented tradition".

In "Laughter, Liquor, and Licenciouness: Preservation through Play in Southern Vietnamese Traditional Music", Alexander M. Cannon uses the polysemic notion of play by pointing out how the playful aspect is an instrument in the preservation of traditional Vietnamese music in the face of social changes. "Performing the Local: Javanese Gamelan, Institutional Agendas, and 'Structures of Feeling' at Southbank Center,

London", by Maria Mendonça, describes Southbank Centre, a cultural space in London where people of various origins practice Javanese gamelan, sharing a communitarian musicking, at the same time producing and performing different localities.

Gabril Hoskin addresses in "Mapping Cultural Diversity Among Brazilian Musicians in Madrid" the ways in which Brazilian migrant musicians in Madrid mobilize stereotypes about Brazilianness to establish themselves on the local scene. "Sounding Out Community at Feasts in Portugal and in the Diaspora", by Katherine Brucher, also focuses on the production of localities through musicking in the diaspora. In "Local Musicking for a Global Cause", Caroline Bithell argues that musicking is a powerful tool for engaging in global militant causes, such as contemporary environmental activism.

Based on Anna Tsing's (2005) concept of "productive frictions", the final section of the book, "Musicking Local Frictions", investigates tensions in local music scenes. In "Sensing the Street: The Power and Politics of Sound and Aurality in a Northern Australian Rhythmscape", Fiona Magowan analyzes the dialogue between ancestral and contemporary ways of life that make up the soundscape of Galiwin'ku, a remote Aboriginal town in Australia. "Negotiating Local Tastes: Urban Professional Musicians in Athens", by Ioannis Tsioulakis, explores the differentiation that professional Athenian musicians make between "work" and "play", according to their own aesthetic preferences and the working relationships they are subjected to.

In "Listening Low-Cost: Ethnography, the City and the Tourist Ear", Lila Ellen Gray explores the conflicts between local artists and tourists who consume *fado* on the Lisbon scene. Ray Casserly describes in "Localizing the National: Performing British Identity in Northern Ireland" the multiple relationships between local and British national identity in the Northern Irish band scene. In "The Political Aesthetics of Musicking During Carnival in Santiago de Cuba", Kjetil Klette Bøhler approaches the connections between aesthetics and politics in the Cuban city's carnival, articulating the nationalist discourse present in the event's imagery to the musicality that claims a local, national and transnational identity.

"(Re)presenting Marginality: Place and Musical Thought in Fernando Cabrera's Song 'Ciudad de la Plata'", by Ernesto Donas, examines a Uruguayan song that expresses the frictions of local social inequality. "Opening Eyes Through Ears: Migrant Africans Musicking in São Paulo", by Jasper Chalcraft and Rose Satiko G. Hikiji, describes the efforts of African musicians to, through their music, "open the eyes" of Brazilian audiences to the difficult reality of immigrants. Closing the book, Ruth Finnegan's

afterword, "The Real Realization of Music-Ritual: Local, Not-local, and Localized", complexifies the notion of locality, exposing its multifaceted character.

Throughout these many articles, we get to know the role of music beyond more restricted readings that tend to focus more on the oeuvre and on the product. The articulation between the production of locality and musicking understood as a complex net of construction of meanings and social encounters is presented in the most diverse contexts in this volume. I believe that this makes it an indispensable read to contemporary Ethnomusicology, to Anthropology of Music and to related studies.

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IN MEMORIAM

EN SOUVENIR DE MARC-HENRI PIAULT (1933-2020)[1]

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En décembre 1952, André Leroi-Gourhan, Jean Rouch, Edgar Morin, Henri Langlois, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Alain Resnais et d´autres cinéastes, sociologues & ethnologues se sont réunis dans la salle de cinéma du Musée de l'Homme pour fonder le Comité du Film Ethnographique (CFE). Leroi-Gourhan et Jean Rouch ont été nommés président et secrétaire général, respectivement, leur objectif étant celui de développer les relations entre les sciences humaines et le cinéma et, ainsi, « de collationner, de conserver, de diffuser les films d'intérêt ethnologique existant déjà et de produire de véritables films ethnographiques nouveaux » (CFE)[2].

En 1956, le CEF a ajouté aux objectifs précédents, un cours d'initiation cinématographique distinct des cours traditionnels de cinéma,

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1 Je remercie David MacDougall qui a autorisé la publication de ses photos. Festival de Nuoro, Sardenha, juin 2010. Dans ses mots: 'I shall miss him greatly, as a colleague and enjoyable companion'.
2 Site CFE http://www.comitedufilmethnographique.com/historique-du-cfe/, accès en 13/11/20.

notamment, dirigé aux jeunes chercheurs des sciences humaines. Rouch voulait encourager ces jeunes à intégrer des images cinématographiques à leurs recherches anthropologiques. Marc-Henri Piault faisait partie de ces jeunes formés par le CFE et qui s´est intégré au groupe d'anthropologues-cinéastes du Comité du Film Ethnographique. Ce qui l'a enchanté dans cette approche originale, était la possibilité de réduire la distance entre celui qui observe et filme et le sujet filmé. Dans un texte en hommage à Jean Rouch présenté à la *Conference Origins of Visual Anthropology. Putting the Past Together*, à Göttingen (2001) Piault a appelé cette démarche de *phenomenological accompaniment*.

Avec l´organisation du Bilan du Film Ethnographique, la formation de ces jeunes anthropologues est ainsi devenue l'un des axes d'action du CFE[3]. Afin de mieux encourager cette formation, le Comité a créé, en 1969, la Commission des Programmes, composée seulement par de chercheurs français du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS): Jean Rouch, Nicole Echard, Françoise Foucault, Claudine de France, Guy Le Moal, Jean- Pierre Olivier de Sardan et Marc-Henri Piault.

A cette époque, Piault avait déjà fini son doctorat (1996) - dont la thèse *Histoire Mawri. Introduction à l'étude des Processus Constitutifs d'un État*[4] fut dirigée par Roger Bastide - et il avait aussi réalisé deux films avec le soutien du CFE: *Yan Kassa, les enfants de la terre* (1965, 16mm, 52min); *Mahauta, les bouchers du Mawri* (1967, 16mm, 22min). Il a fait à peu près six ou sept films en Afrique, mais peut-être qu´*Akazama*[5] est le plus connu parmi eux, puisque primé au I Festival d´Anthropologie Visuelle de Tallin, en Estonie (1987). Ses recherches et ses films sur l'Afrique de l'Ouest traitent des questions liées à la migration, aux politiques coloniales et aux cultes de possession. Il devient ainsi un

3 Au long de plusieurs années le Bilan a consacré une séance aux films d´étudiants. A partir de 2018, avec la SFAV et Nanterre, ils co--organisent le Festival Premiers Regards.

4 Paris : Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1970, pp. 206.

5 CNRS-Audiovisual, 16 mm, cor, 52mn, 1985. Dans le territoire des Mawri (Niger), son chef est mort après un long règne et son successeur doit jurer le respect aux rituels anciens. Mais, quelle sera la place de l'islam, du rôle de l'Etat et de la politique contemporaine?

africaniste et il est élu à un poste au Centre d'Études Africaines, de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales.

Dans les années 1980, Piault commence à s'intéresser à la région des Cévennes, dans le centre-sud de la France, principalement aux représentations culturelles, aux identités régionales et au patrimoine local lié à l'art de la soie et à la Route de la soie. Il publie *Les itinéraires européens de la soie*[6] en co-auteur avec Françoise Clavairolle et il réalise quatre films dans le cadre de cette recherche : *Les chemins de la soie*, avec Luc Bazin (1987, 16mm, 54mn) et *Un Jeune homme à la campagne* (1992, 16mm, 25mn), qui fut son dernier film.
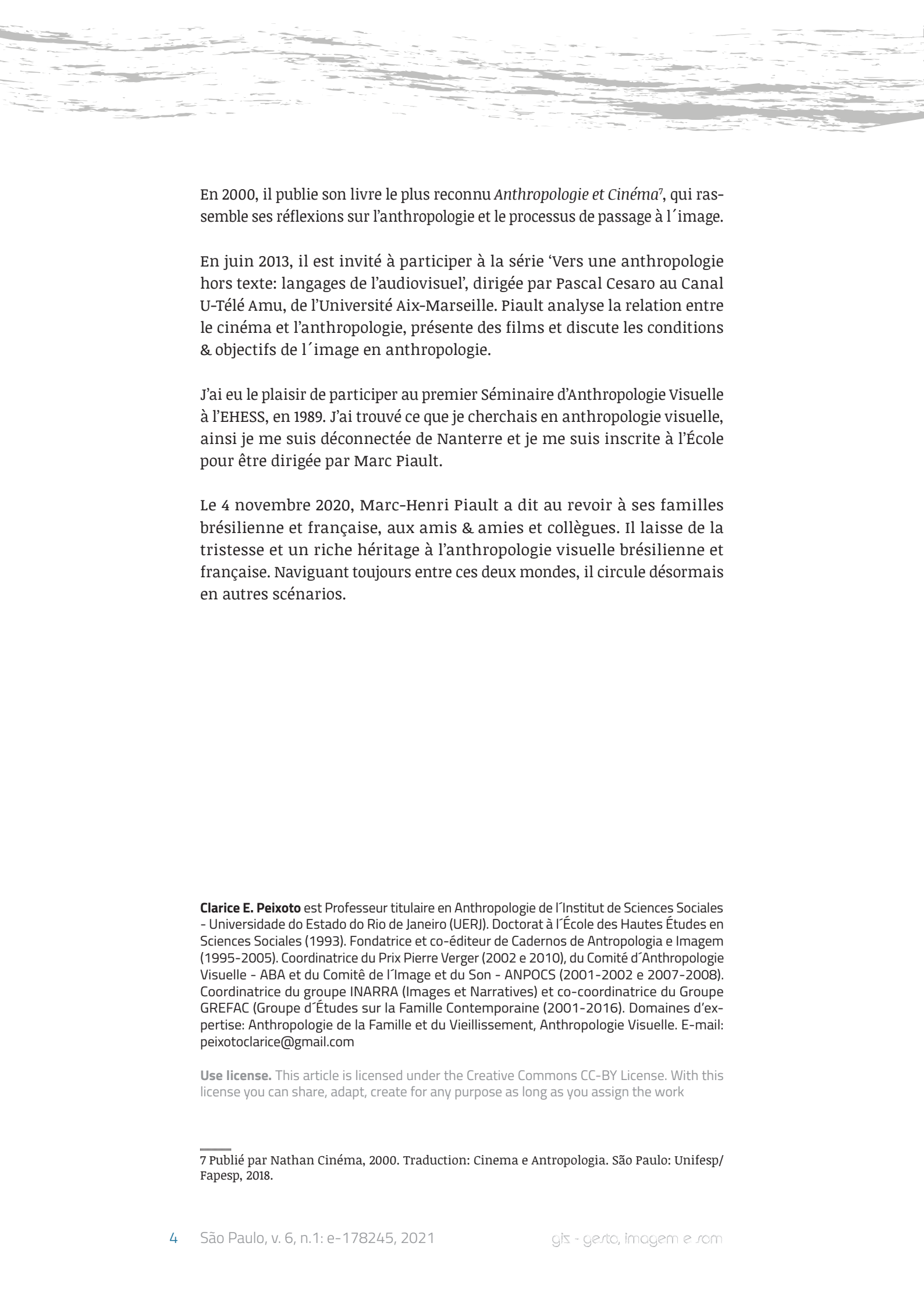
À la fin de la même décennie, il crée avec Jean-Paul Colleyn et Eliane de Latour le Séminaire d'Anthropologie Visuelle (1989). C'était la première fois que l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales intégrait un cours d'anthropologie visuelle à son répertoire de disciplines. Le succès a été si grand - la salle remplie d'étudiants de l'École, mais aussi d'autres universités, comme nous de Nanterre -, que le Séminaire est offert annuellement par le Centre d'Études Africaines de l'EHESS.

En 1994, Marc Piault est venu au Brésil pour la première fois et il a été enchanté ! Les premières invitations venaient davantage de Rio de Janeiro où il a fait plusieurs cours à l'UERJ et peu à peu il a participé à plusieurs séminaires et festivals brésiliens. Un jour, il nous a révélé que son grand rêve était de connaître Bahia, ses habitants, sa religiosité et sa cuisine. Deux ans plus tard, lors de la 20e Rencontre Brésilienne d'Anthropologie, en Salvador (1996), nous l'avons invité à participer d'´une table ronde et du jury du Festival de Films Ethnographiques, devenu Prêmio Pierre Verger de Filmes Etnográficos en 1998.

Marc Piault a pris sa retraite et il est venu s'installer à Rio de Janeiro. Il élargit alors ses rapports dans le champ de l'anthropologie visuelle brésilienne, étant invité à des congrès & séminaires, aux universités et en publiant des articles dans nos revues.

Tout au long de sa vie universitaire, Piault a occupé des postes importants. Il a été président de l'Association Française des Anthropologues (1983-1987) et rédacteur en chef du *Journal des Anthropologues* et du *Journal des Africanistes*. Mais, certainement, ce qui lui a fait le plus d´honneur a été la présidence du Comité du Film Ethnographique (2005-2010) qu'il a pris avec le décès de Jean Rouch. Il a été ainsi le responsable de l'organisation du Bilan du Film Ethnographique, qui est devenu le Festival Jean Rouch.

6 Paris: L'Harmattan, 1992.

En 2000, il publie son livre le plus reconnu *Anthropologie et Cinéma*[7], qui rassemble ses réflexions sur l'anthropologie et le processus de passage à l´image.

En juin 2013, il est invité à participer à la série 'Vers une anthropologie hors texte: langages de l'audiovisuel', dirigée par Pascal Cesaro au Canal U-Télé Amu, de l'Université Aix-Marseille. Piault analyse la relation entre le cinéma et l'anthropologie, présente des films et discute les conditions & objectifs de l´image en anthropologie.

J'ai eu le plaisir de participer au premier Séminaire d'Anthropologie Visuelle à l'EHESS, en 1989. J'ai trouvé ce que je cherchais en anthropologie visuelle, ainsi je me suis déconnectée de Nanterre et je me suis inscrite à l'École pour être dirigée par Marc Piault.

Le 4 novembre 2020, Marc-Henri Piault a dit au revoir à ses familles brésilienne et française, aux amis & amies et collègues. Il laisse de la tristesse et un riche héritage à l'anthropologie visuelle brésilienne et française. Naviguant toujours entre ces deux mondes, il circule désormais en autres scénarios.

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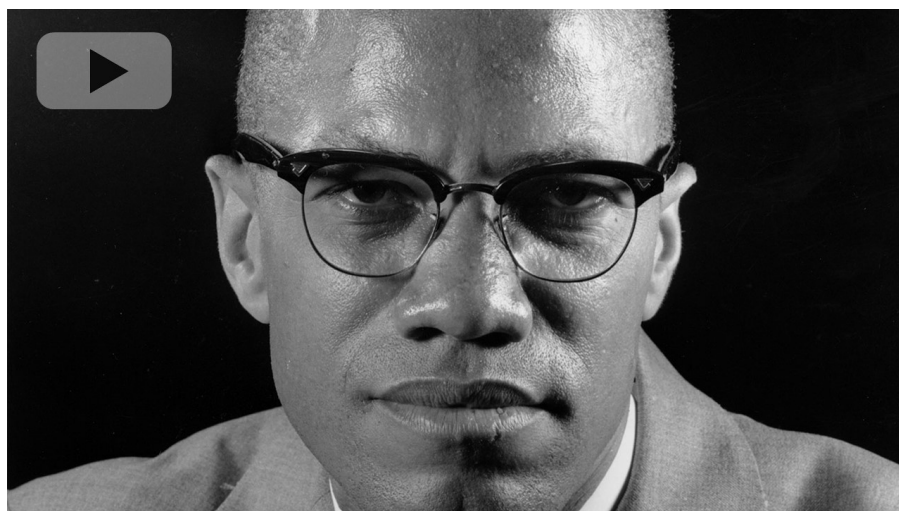
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7 Publié par Nathan Cinéma, 2000. Traduction: Cinema e Antropologia. São Paulo: Unifesp/Fapesp, 2018.

COLLECTION OF SPEECHES BY MALCOLM X

Source: Eddie Adams/AP Images.

In times when the fight against Racism is essential and urgent, Malcolm X's speeches mark an important period of struggle of a converted to Islam man, that after his Hajj (pilgrimage to Mecca), expands his perspective on the human and on his struggle that was not against white men but against men who exploit other men. He came to be known among Muslims as *Al-Hajj* Malik Al-Shabazz (1925-1965), a distinction given to every person who does Hajj. Better known as Malcolm X, he was a Northamerican activist, one of the most polemics and popular leaders of the movement for black people civil rights in the United States, one of the most controversial and popular leaders of the black people civil rights movement in the United States. He founded the Organization for African American Unity, with separatist inspiration. African American Rights defender, Malcolm X has achieved to mobilize white and black people to raise awareness of the crimes committed against this population. In 1998, Paul Gray, from Time Magazine, cited Malcolm X's autobiography among the 10 most important non-fictional books of the 20th century.