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EDITORIAL

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In this year of 2020, we are living through an astounding collective and planetary experience caused by dissemination of the new coronavirus or COVID-19. For months we have been confined to our homes, working, doing research, and meeting friends through countless windows: apartment and house windows; computer, tablet and cell phone windows; windows of dreams. Studies show evidence of increased narrativity of dreams during the Pandemic. This singular uncommon experience is painful, but also encourages reflection. For those who have been able to stay indoors, this has been an opportunity to care for self and others. Many, less fortunate, have had to expose themselves on streets, public transportation, and front lines, living between fear and hope. Others have simply been trying to survive. The numbers keep rising: tens of thousands of dead in Brazil, and more than half a million in the world.

The Pandemic affects the planet as a whole. In Brazil, a country which is the size of a continent, the situation is especially chaotic, bringing to light the ravages of inhumane inequality. During what has become the greatest sanitary crisis of the country, we have been without a minister of health for more than two months, and our government has been incapable, so far, of taking action or, even, effectively deciding to care for the people and overcome this crisis. On the contrary, the sanitary crisis is seen as an opportunity for environmental destruction, leaving a cursed heritage for future generations. Indigenous populations that have resisted developmental policies for over five centuries, now, once again, are endangered and will have to demonstrate their resiliency in order to survive.

In this context, we think of our finitude, and, with a look to the future, of possibilities for our world. This fifth edition of the *gis* Journal arises from an onward looking movement charged with resistance and hope. For readers we present a collection of articles, visual essays, translations, and reviews that show how productive and energizing this movement may be. In this material one senses the intensity of life itself.

Intensity is a good word for defining the work of Carolina Junqueira dos Santos, in the section **FOUND ON THE NET**. The site “Body, Lacuna, Trace” deals not only with finitude, but, also, with expansions that glimmer in residues, traces, and indices of existence. The work (text and images) hurls us inward and outward, near and far. Onwards.

We open the **ARTICLES** section with the paper “Films as things in colonial India”, by Marcus Banks. This is an interesting analysis of Indian cinematographic production during the colonial period. The main argument is that movies made by English and Indian filmmakers, both in English, and using the same equipment, are substantially different and result in diverse trajectories. The manner in which this difference is produced is demonstrated by analysis of various movies and their materiality. In reaching his conclusions, the author mobilizes archival material.

Rodrigo Frare Baroni also uses archival sources in his research on images produced by the blind philosopher and photographer Evgen Bavcar. “Evgen Bavcar – self-portraits and stain-images”, which presents a collection of self-portraits, seeks to understand how a photographer constructs the figure or persona of the “blind photographer”. In this exercise, the author proposes the idea of a stain-image as a way of looking at and thinking about these photographs. Such images make possible another regime of visibility (or visibility). Directing our gaze to the material in expectation of encountering images made by a blind person, we are presented with an image of our own common blindness. Situated at the edges of visibility, they bring into question and dispute our own imaginary regarding blindness.

The following article, by Luís Felipe K. Hirano, is a study of the work of an anthropologist and filmmaker who has been fundamental to the course of visual anthropology. The article “The Anthropologist-filmmaker and the Native-Actor/Author: the transformations of Oumarou Ganda and Petit Touré in *I, a Negro*, by Jean Rouch” focuses on creative space of Rouch’s interlocutors in the making of the film. The author, however, moving beyond questions of performance and creative attributes of the characters, also discusses Rouch’s own anthropological practice that transpires in his films and interpretive rifts.

A possible history of ethnographically oriented photography in Brazil is presented by Fabiene Gama in the article “Anthropology and Photography in Brazil: the beginning of a story (1840-1970).” In this study of collections of anthropologists and research groups, the author directs attention to data gathering and systematization, and then points to possible ways in which Brazilian visual anthropological production may unfold.

A musical question is sounded in Lisabete Coradini’s article “What samba is this? Samba and batucada in Barcelona, Spain”. In this vivid ethnographic paper, based on recent field research (2017-2018), the author discusses the creation of specific musical spaces within the musical scene produced by Brazilian immigrants in Barcelona. Transnationality emerges as a key idea for understanding these spaces.

The manner in which music creates new spaces for relations is also the focus of the article by Renato Albuquerque de Oliveira, “Therapeutics of insistence: the experimental musical scene and the use of trance mediated by music as therapeutics against the ills caused by the Paulistano ethos.” In the specific case of this ethnography, the question is how music is used as a medium for inducing trance, seen in context as a way for treating anxiety, for example. The author finds in the Paulistano ethos a cause of “maladies”. Shared musical experience, involving proximity between performer and audience, creates possibilities for treating experiences of inadequacy by insertion into a diverse and receptive context.

A closing contribution to the discussion of worlds of sound and music in this volume is found in the article “The concept of *Campeiro* in regional gaucho music: a reconfiguration of the cultural/artistic order”, by Eduardo Ferraro. In this text, the author reflects on regional gaucho music and the process of reconfiguration in which the *Campeiro* concept exerts a gravitational force.

The three following articles discuss objects, museums, and agency within research, from an epistemological standpoint, and without, in regard to relations with the surrounding world.

The article by Marta Jardim, “Amulets in corners in and outside of the Pitt Rivers Museum: The anthropology that we do and criticism of contemporary hegemonies”, which results from ethnographic research carried out by the author in the city of Oxford and at the Pitt Rivers Museum, presents a complex discussion of transit between magical objects and enchantments, and production of anthropological knowledge. A critical stance is assumed in regard to presuppositions and categories of analysis reproduced by anthropology and admitted as a result of the position taken by the discipline and its alliances – that are oftentimes silenced – with hegemonic practices in knowledge production.

In “Religious monuments as a new type of object: genealogy and updated presence of a form of Catholic presence in space”, Emerson Giumbelli contributes to discussion of objects and their agency in the world. The author asks: what makes a monument? Recent religious monuments, which are significantly different from nineteenth-century monuments inspired by a memorialist principle, the author suggests, tend to establish a new particular form of Catholic presence in public space.

The closing contribution to the **ARTICLES** section, “Between Sea, Mountain and Iris of the whole world: an approximation to the Ushuaia penitentiary museum”, by Natália Negretti, discusses the museum construction movement. How does a prison that carries the marks of

violence become a tourist site? Addressing this question, the article analyzes processes of construction of collective memory, human rights, and logic of museums.

The **GIS** section, dedicated to gestures, images, and sounds, consists of four thought-provoking works regarding the power of images for contemporary social thought.

Gesline Braga's "Crude Objects" presents a universe of affects and memories that arises from a composition of residues of inputs used in insulin for treatment of diabetes, and family objects such as fruit dishes and sugar bowls.

In "The images that I lack", Barbara Copque also explores questions of memory. In this work, gaps of memory give rise to the inventive challenge, on a trip to the Recôncavo Baiano, Brazil, for creating imagetic memories from the memories narrated by the author's mother about the land of her ancestors.

In "Visual artifacts in political manifestations: an essay on mutations of modes of subjectification in political action between 2013 and 2018", Henrique Parra calls attention to a certain aesthetic and political configuration found in street manifestations beginning in 2013. The visual artifacts in which this configuration materializes indicate disputes taking place concerning contemporary modes of political action.

"On presences", by Fabio Manzione, is a filmic experiment on sensorial aspects and body presence in the experience of the Free Musical Improvisation. How is this experience relevant to situations involving bodies that are physically separate yet digitally joined by networks? By this provocative experiment we are exposed.

The **TIR** section presents two translations and seven reviews. The translation of John Blacking's "Towards an anthropology of the body" intends to widen discussion of the ideas of a musician and anthropologist beyond the field of ethnomusicology in which he is especially known.

"The artist and the stone: project, process and value in art", by Roger Sansi, explores different temporalities involving process, project, and contemporary art product, showing how they tend to be juxtaposed, and revealing the profound contradiction between art as a form of value, and art as a life form.

The reviews present texts and films covering a wide range of themes and interests for anthropology and the arts, and their intersections: theater reception, materiality of religion, Latin American photography, candomblé, experience of fire in the *cerrado*, aesthetics and sociabilities in barber shops of popular districts of Rio de Janeiro, and mobilization of indigenous populations of the *Terra Livre* (Free Land) camp.

May your reading experience be fruitful and thought-provoking!

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FILMS AS THINGS IN COLONIAL INDIA

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ABSTRACT

This paper argues that the visual is also material, in the sense that visual objects (even digital ones) can circulate through a variety of different spaces and, depending on the context, may acquire or express very different properties. This paper draws upon research conducted by the author in film archives in both India and the United Kingdom, aiming to show that non-fiction films (and lengths of film footage) shot by British colonial officials and visitors to India in the first half of the 20th century form visual “documents” that draw upon earlier film and photographic conventions. Concurrently, the nascent Indian fiction film gets underway, with the pioneering work of D. G. Phalke. Both cinemas use the same materials – even possibly the same kinds of camera – yet never intersect. This paper concludes that the full range of film is formed in the period, and subsequently, has to be considered so one can understand visual relations between Indian subjects and British colonisers.

KEYWORDS

Visual anthropology;
Colonial film; India.

INTRODUCTION

Some years ago, Howard Morphy and I observed that the sub-discipline of visual anthropology had become dominated by the production and consumption of ethnographic film (Morphy and Banks 1997, 4-5). We argued that while making moving visual representations of social and cultural life was undoubtedly important, there was a danger that mainstream, non-visual anthropologists would increasingly fail to see these endeavours as having any relevance for their work. In addition, as Jay Ruby has subsequently argued, the production of so-called ethnographic film has become increasingly dominated by professional filmmakers who, while undoubtedly making interesting films, are also ignorant of or uninterested in anthropological analysis (Ruby 2000).

The piece provoked a number of negative responses, with most arguing that Morphy and I were more concerned with policing disciplinary and sub-disciplinary boundaries than with advancing a genuinely open intellectual agenda (for example, Taylor 1998). Few, however, gave any serious consideration to the other main core of our argument, which is that the visual is also material. This shifts not merely the substantive focus of the sub-discipline – from the production of films to the study of objects – but relocates the intellectual centre, away from issues of representation and towards an examination of social relations. This, in our opinion, makes for a more – not less – anthropological or sociological approach. Visual media (that is to say, film and photography, but also drawings, paintings and diagrams) often represent material objects and aspects of the material world, but visual media themselves also exist as material objects. As objects they circulate throughout the human world through systems of exchange and thus become a prime means through which to examine the social relations of exchange. This in no way diminishes their representational qualities, for it is normally these that ostensibly motivate the processes of exchange in the first place (for example, children exchanging cigarette cards of famous football or baseball players in days gone by, Pokémon or superhero characters today). The materiality of visual media is surely often overlooked or analytically unmarked, but to overlook it in all cases is to make a serious sociological error. To put in other words, and highlighting the theme of this volume, visual media not only proffer evidence about the material world, they also proffer evidence about themselves as objects in that world.

MATERIAL EVIDENCE

It is in representational mode that images are most often considered evidence. The 19th century photographs exhibited in the 2001 National Portrait Gallery exhibition, “The Beautiful and the Damned” were originally taken to provide evidence of their subjects’ madness, criminality

or social celebrity (Hamilton and Hargreaves 2001); a century later a grainy shopping-centre security camera image is referred to as “chilling evidence of the ease with which the crime [a child’s abduction and subsequent murder] was both committed and subsequently detected” (Mirzoeff 1999, 2); David Hemmings, the photographer in Antonioni’s film *Blowup* (1966), accidentally photographs what appears to be a murder in a London park. Yet in none of these cases are the actual image evidence of what is claimed. Bertillon, Huxley and the other 19th century “scientific” photographers were working on a flawed agenda that falsely presumed a correlation between physiognomy and social or medical pathology: a correlation that could be confirmed and mapped by cameras.¹ While the shopping centre video footage was certainly used as evidence in the subsequent court case, it only acts in evidential manner as part of a chain of evidence: the images show no “evidence” of the crime that was committed. The driving narrative of *Blowup* revolves, of course, around the very ambiguity of what the images appear to show, which itself acts as a metaphor for the ambiguity of the status, motivations and indeed mental state of the Hemmings character. In short, representational evidentiality is complex, layered, and subject to interpretation at every step.

Material evidentiality is similarly complex yet stems from the brute and irreducible fact of material presence. As Chris Pinney has noted, while the dominant realist modes of visual representation in the West depend on a unity of time and space and presume a unitary viewing subject, this is by no means universal – Pinney argues for India as an exception – nor determined by the photomechanical means of representation (Pinney 1992). What does, however, unite the photo-representational practices of both India and the West is the occupation of fixed points in space-time by the material objects of representation. While the things represented may be unitary or multiple, and the mode of representation linear and perspectival or fragmented and montaged, the objects that convey the representations – film strips, photographs, posters – are unique, singular and locatable, in time if not in space. Similarly, and going beyond the materiality of the image-objects themselves, the material conditions by which such image-objects come into existence, are preserved and reproduced,² inflected by local socio-economic conditions – e.g., late capitalist market relations – but only up

1. Bertillon’s development of the profile and full-face “mug shot” in the 1880s for the identification of criminals still remains in use today, however; see also Phillips, Hallowell and Squiers (1997).

2. While the relationship between an “original” photograph and its subsequent reproductions can be a matter for concern (Banks 2001, 60; Benjamin 1992), for the purposes of this argument all reproductions are unique in their materiality. The “same” image may be reproduced in hundreds, or indeed millions, of copies – in a daily newspaper for example – yet in each case the ‘performance’ of that image (Edwards 2001) is slightly different, depending on the historical and social context of its consumption.

to a point: chemical developing baths and offset lithography presumably work in much the same way as technical processes in India and the West, regardless of the social relations surrounding such processes. Finally, because of the similarities of being and origin, image-objects must often – if not always – be considered in dialogue with one another as well as with their makers, owners and consumers; whatever evidence image-objects proffer, they do so contingently and within a field of social relations that they both influence and by which they are influenced. All objects are entangled in social relations by those who possess, exchange and seek to control them (see Thomas 1991 for examples from the colonial histories of the Pacific), and all image-objects derive at least part of their capacity to derive meaning from their relationships with others (see Edwards 2001: Chapter 2 for examples from the archives). Elsewhere I have considered contemporary Western practices of image-object exchange, circulation and commodification (e.g., Banks and Zeitlyn 2015, 57-61, 66-70), but below, I wish to follow the lead provided by Thomas and Edwards in considering the circulation of image-objects in a colonial context of domination and resistance to domination: the flow of films as objects in late colonial India.

Films of India from the colonial period – both those produced by resident or visiting British, as well as those produced by Indians themselves – can undoubtedly be “read” from their surface content alone. Indian scholar Ashish Rajadhyaksha, for example, concludes from a reading of early Indian commercial films that the “private” space of the home, personified in the roles of wives and mothers in fictional narratives, represented a specific site of anti-colonial nationalism (Rajadhyaksha 1994); while my own viewings of amateur British films of India from the same period reveal a counterpointing fascination with mysterious and veiled Indian womanhood in the “public” arena of the streets and fields. But equally, many early Indian commercial films show no particular interest in women’s roles and domestic spaces, whereas many amateur British films are more concerned with the social activities of upper-class British women at garden parties and Governors’ receptions than with trying to get behind the veil of their Indian lower-class counterparts. It is necessary therefore to take a much broader perspective, at least initially, to consider the full range of films in circulation during the last decades of colonial rule. It is also necessary to consider the films as objects, not so much in the literal sense as rolls of celluloid, but as the summation and embodiment of a series of social and material processes.

A BRIEF TYPOLOGY OF FILM IN THE COLONIAL INDIAN MEDIASCAPE³

The first cinematic images were seen in India in July 1896, in a screening of the Lumière brothers' short films at Watson's Hotel in Bombay only a few months after they had been screened for the first time in Europe. The screenings were intended for a largely European – that is to say, British – audience, yet within two years Indians were beginning to experiment with the technology themselves. As in Europe and America, after the first tentative beginnings, film quickly took root in India, rapidly expanding across the sub-continent.

Conventional histories of Indian cinema focus exclusively on the development of the indigenous Indian feature film industry, often seeking to demonstrate stylistic linkages and continuities with earlier, pre-cinematic spectacular forms such as shadow puppetry and narrative religious paintings. But the mythological drama that is most associated with the development of Indian cinema was by no means the only film form to be found: an examination of the wider “cinemascape” (to borrow and adapt a term from Arjun Appadurai) reveals that there were at least four distinct types of film objects in circulation in the first four decades of the 20th century:

(1) The first films to be commercially screened in India – seen by Indians and Europeans – were all imported from Britain or the United States and dominated the market until the end of the 1920s, when the British-sponsored Indian Cinematograph Committee recommended that the indigenous film industry should be encouraged to produce more films for the domestic market. These earlier imported films were a mixture of familiar classics (to us, today) such as *Desert Song* (1929) and *Broadway Melody* (1929), as well as the rather more risqué American ‘B’ movies such as *Party Girl* (1930) and *Convention City* (1933) (neither of which I have ever seen but both of which were banned from screening on account of their “low moral tone”).

(2) An indigenous industry, however, began early on. The first commercial feature is generally reckoned to be D. G. Phalke's Bombay-produced *Raja Harishchandra* in 1913 (based on an episode from the Hindu epic, the Mahabharata), after which some 1300 films were produced over the next two decades. The vast bulk of this production was made up of what quickly came to be known as “mythological films” – that is,

3. By necessity, the survey that follows must remain brief, perhaps too brief, and the details are subordinated to the purposes of my general argument in this paper. I hope to publish more on the films discussed in their own right and in their proper historical context in the near future. Unless otherwise referenced, the material that follows is sourced from articles in Chabria (1994b), Rajadhyaksha and Willemen (1994) and my own archival research at the Indian National Film and Television Archive (Pune), the Maharashtra State Archives (Mumbai), and the Centre for South Asian Studies (Cambridge).

dramatizations of stories from the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and other Hindu epic and religious texts. On the whole, contemporary life in India – whether filmed in a realist style or not – did not form the subject of early Indian commercial filmmaking.

(3) But there was a great deal of film activity elsewhere in the Indian visual landscape, even if nowhere near the scale of commercial cinema. By the 1920s British non-governmental bodies were regularly screening imported documentary films to Indian audiences for educational purposes. In 1926, for example, the British Social Hygiene Council applied to the Bombay Government to screen several films on venereal disease to Indian medical students.⁴ By the 1930s, educational documentary production was underway by these bodies in India, and annual events such as the Bombay Presidency “Baby and Health” weeks and “Red Cross” weeks were screening imported and locally made films such as *Relentless Foe* (on tuberculosis) and *Slaves of custom* (on the evils of early marriages).

(4) Away from the commercial and educational arenas there is a final category of film objects; films created locally by British amateur filmmakers which had very restricted circulation. So far, I have been able to trace about 100 non-commercial films made by British visitors or residents of India in the period leading up to Independence, although there must have been many more. Except for some earlier travelogues made by commercial companies, amateur film production begins in the late 1920s, with the bulk being produced through the 1930s. They deal with subjects as diverse as agricultural irrigation methods, skiing holidays, railway journeys, home life, and India’s architectural heritage – the Taj Mahal, the Red Fort, and so forth.⁵ Finally, there are some more minor categories of film: missionary propaganda films, foreign newsreels and the so-called “Royal” films commissioned by the rulers of Indian independent states. At the very end of the colonial period, a final British visual incursion is seen in India, the Griersonian documentary: intended to educate, inform and build a particular type of national character as the second World War gets underway.

4. As well as three factual films on “Syphilis”, “Gonorrhoea” and “Venereal Diseases in Men”, they also wished to show two dramatised films: *The Shadow* (“a vivid presentation of evils of Quack treatment, embodied in a moving narrative”) and *Whatsoever a man soweth* (“a story of two brothers who joined the army [which] shows the disastrous effects upon the life of one who succumbed to temptation and the prosperous career of the other who kept straight”) (HPD 1926-27, File 171). The description of *Whatsoever...* sounds very similar to the wartime South African Red Cross film *Mr Wise and Mr Foolish go to town*, itself a version of another film (Vaughan 1991, Chapter 8), indicating that some spaces of visual circulation were as large as the Empire itself.

5. These films form a class by virtue of their production and by their (presumed) consumption, rather than by form, style, subject matter or any other representational quality.

But a mere typology of film forms brings us no closer to understanding the discursive spaces that film opened up or moved into in order to allow a visual conversation between the British and the Indians. To do that, we must consider the trajectories of the films as objects, both as representatives of a class of objects (common goods in their commodity phase, following Igor Kopytoff – the many prints of commercial feature films in circulation, for example) and as singular objects – unique and unexchangeable (the single prints of many amateur films, for example) (Kopytoff 1986, 69).

THE SPACES OF SEEING AND BEING SEEN

The great age for visual interaction between the British and the Indians took place in the 19th century, as each side sought to express their comprehension of the other through visual media – first through paintings, etchings and three-dimensional plastic arts and then, from the middle of the century onwards, through still photography.⁶ By the time films-as-objects in India were great enough in number and sufficiently embedded within the visual landscape to acquire agency and to begin to circulate with predictable trajectories across that landscape, the certainties of 19th century visual scrutiny had largely waned – the endless “races and types of mankind” photographic projects of the period had dwindled to almost nothing. In a sense, then, Indian film-objects in their representational mode have little to say to us today about the mutual engagement of British and Indian individuals.



FIGURE 1
Dhobi ghat Lahore,
1930, from
Banks 1, with
kind permission
from the Centre
of South Asian
Studies, University
of Cambridge.

6. This photographic gaze was not exactly reciprocal, as Chris Pinney (1997) and others have demonstrated, but nor was it one-sided. While some of the British and other European photographers were combining the new sciences of photography and anthropometry in an attempt to map the races and types of the Indian population (a project complicated by the all-too obvious yet maddeningly obscure social hierarchy of caste), Indians were seeking to understand themselves through photography, a project complicated and yet vitalized by the changes that the British presence had brought to that conception of self. By the first or second decade of the 20th century it was clear that mere visual scrutiny of the Indians by the British – or vice versa – would reveal little about their inner selves or their modes of sociality.

They are not entirely mute, however. For example, some of the amateur British films still show traces of the “races and types” typologizing that typified some 19th century photographic projects, which in the Indian context had quickly transmuted into a typology of castes and occupations. Figure 1 shows a shot from a film made by my namesake, Dick Banks, of *dhobis*, or washermen, at Lahore. Banks, an ICI (Imperial Chemical Industries) employee, was sent to India in 1929 to survey the site of a new chemical plant and, like many other travellers, took the opportunity to film the sights he saw on his trip. Photographs of washermen, together with barbers, potters, metalworkers and the like, were stock images in the 19th century photographic surveys.

But aside from these traces there is one area, one discursive space, through which all film objects travelled very distinctively and within which they exercised their agency. The rise of cinema in India from the beginning of the 20th century corresponds with the rise of a coherent and increasingly powerful set of actions and representations around the issue of Indian independence, or “home rule” as it was known. While it is possible to discuss the Indian nationalist movement in abstract terms, or to trace it through the papers and writings of politicians, a sense of nationalism as a lived project is only possible through an examination of the agents who contributed to the debates and via an examination of the objects and actions that they endowed with nationalist significance. One such class of objects – though not necessarily always the most articulate – are the films produced in India prior to independence.⁷

A standard reading of Indian photography – and therefore of later Indian film – holds that “traditional” stylistic and formal properties of pre-photographic and pre-cinematic Indian visual forms were carried through to the age of the camera (e.g., Gutman 1982). Yet such an approach overlooks a much changed and highly charged political landscape within which these later visual forms circulated (Pinney 1997, 96).

For example, D. G. Phalke, mentioned above and known today as the “father of Indian cinema”, is reported as saying when he saw an imported British film, *The Life of Christ* in late 1910 or early 1911: “while the *Life of Christ* was rolling fast before my eyes I was mentally visualizing the gods – Shri Krishna, Shri Ramachandra, their Gokul and Ayodhya [geographical sites of great significance in Hindu mythology]... Could we, the sons of India, ever be able to see Indian images on the screen?” (Chabria 1994, 8). To be sure, traditional aesthetic forms might have been deployed in the subsequent style and form of Indian cinema, but they were stimulated by a conjunction of changes in technical *and* political circumstances, not

7. Perhaps the most significant class of object endowed with nationalist significance in this period is cloth – see Bayly (1986), Tarlo (1996).

simply unproblematically transferred from one medium to another. It was not merely the technology, or the film form in the abstract, that excited Phalke and stimulated the creation of his films, but the potential trajectories he could see for the film objects he subsequently created: representations of Indian gods and heroes, certainly, but also objects that would circulate through Indian society as representatives of that loaded Gandhian term: *swadeshi* – “home industry” –, a social and political movement which sought to promote the creation and use of “home” products – most significantly cloth – over products imported from Britain. Phalke is said to have stated that: “My films are *swadeshi* in the sense that the capital, ownership, employees and stories are *swadeshi*” (Rajadhyaksha 1994, 38).

The space into which Phalke and other pioneers of Indian commercial cinema sought to insert their film-objects was a highly regulated space. The (British colonial) Government of the Bombay Presidency sought to regulate this space in two ways: firstly, by regulating the representational content of the films made and circulated, and secondly, by regulating the physical spaces where films were screened; that is to say, by regulating their materiality. Neither of these were straightforward matters, for the regulation of both content and performative context inevitably confined or blocked channels along which both foreign and indigenous films were travelling. In the area of morality, for example, there was as much objection on the part of the Bombay Board of Film Censors to perceived lewdness or indecency in imported American “B” movies as to such traits in locally-made Indian films. On this matter, the representation of partial nudity was not thought to be offensive or dangerous in a generalized abstract way; however, partial female nudity in an American film was dangerous for the perceived misrepresentation of white women, which might cause Indian audiences to lose respect for the British, whose women were supposed to represent the epitome of chaste Christian virtue; by contrast, any scenes of partial female nudity in Indian-made films would merely inflame desires and lead, ultimately, to venereal disease. Thus, the differing biographies and trajectories of the two kinds of film – American and Indian – while causing them to be subject to the same kinds of restraint in their further circulation, also brought about an implicit recognition of their contextual differences as films: the social relations and viewing practices of the United States, while distasteful to the Board, were recognised as supporting a space that allowed a certain kind of film object to exist in the United States, but the differing social relations in India did allow that same space to exist there.

But it was the space for nationalist discourse that the British sought most stringently to control, especially after 1927 when the Indian Cinematograph Committee recommended that the “solution” to the danger presented by the “immoral” films imported from the United States, was not to substitute them with more wholesome British products but to support and encourage

the indigenous industry.⁸ Indian filmmakers thus sought to send a variety of film-objects out into the Indian mediascape. Many of the more overtly political films – documentaries or actuality sequences of nationalist agitation – were stillborn, shot down in flames before they ever began to circulate and accumulate value. For example, in 1931 P. V. Rao made *Marthanda Varma*, an account of the legendary 18th century founder of Travancore State in South India, but the film was never approved for release; most likely due to its depictions of a peasant uprising, introduced with title cards such as “Freedom loving sons of the soil. Gird up your loins and fight for your birth-right. Rise up...!”. Similarly, in September 1934, Mr. M. B. Bilmoria, a filmmaker and equipment supplier of Bombay, wrote to the Secretary of the Home Department, Government of Bombay: “We desire to take a cinema film of the proceedings of Congress Meeting to be held in Bombay next month, but before we do so we would like to know whether the picture will be passed for exhibition in India, because if there is no chance of its being passed for exhibition we do not desire to undergo expenses for nothing”. He was told that the film’s suitability for exhibition could not be decided until it was made; given that there is no future reference to the film, Mr. Bilmoria presumably decided not to bother (HPD⁹ 1934, File 178).

Some nationalists were, however, occasionally able to insert their agency into film-objects. For example, in the late 1930s, nationalists sometimes interfered with prints of otherwise innocuous commercial films – altering their material aspect as objects, and sending them along new trajectories – by inserting additional material. During screenings of the apparently bland *Prem Veer* (“Heroic Love”) at the Novelty Cinema in Ahmedabad, the capital of the state of Gujarat, in December 1937, a title card was inserted, in Gujarati, inciting the audience to rise from their seats and sing the banned Hindu Nationalist anthem *Vande Mataram* (HPD 1938, File 49).

Overall though, it was the Indian-made commercial mythological films that succeeded best – both with the Board of Censors and with the audiences – and while some later writers have claimed that there are coded nationalist sentiments in these films (e.g., Rajadhyaksha 1994), there is no clear evidence that audiences of the time read these films in this way. By contrast, British amateur films followed very different trajectories from the commercial Indian-made ones and the British-made propaganda documentaries. On the one hand, as they were not intended for commercial release, they were free of the constraints of censorship and could show things otherwise thought unsuitable. For example, in the early 1930s, Charles Hunter made a four-minute amateur film about cotton

8. The stimulating recommendations included financial incentives to producers, the abolition of raw stock duty, and a reduction in the entertainment tax. While the British administration essentially ignored the report, it is obvious from the subsequent volume of Indian production that it nonetheless sent a powerful message to local producers.

9. Home (Political) Department papers, Government of Bombay; Maharashtra State Archive, Mumbai.

production and weaving, into which he jokily inserts a title card reading “Spinning yarn on Mr. Gandhi’s ‘chakra’ (‘spinning wheel’, but also a symbol of Indian or at least Hindu nationalism)¹⁰ – a reference that might have severely restricted the movement of an Indian-made film-object though its trajectory in the commercial distribution circuit. On the other hand, precisely because these British amateur films were not made for commercial release, their circulation as objects was extremely restricted. In terms of their biographies, these films have generally had very quiet lives and for the most part since their production have lain unseen in attics, basements, and archives.¹¹ Their highly visible absence in subsequent academic discussions of late Colonial India seems related to their long retirement in the archives and their lack of opportunity for performance.

CONCLUSION: FILMS AS THINGS

Both Indian commercial feature films and amateur British films of the same period circulated through the colonial Indian mediascape along trajectories that were often independent of one another, but that occasionally crossed. In terms of their production and consumption, they existed – and still exist – in isolated exchange spheres or spheres of consumption.¹² But in terms of the social relations existing between their producers, their subjects and their consumers, these various film objects went through the same discursive spaces and today continue to maintain a conversation with one another.

FIGURE 2
The infant Krishna
battles the snake
demon Kaliya,
from D. G. Phalke’s
“Kaliya Mardana”
(1919), with kind
permission from
the National Film
and Television
Archive, Pune.



10. Hunter 7 ‘Cotton’, Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge

11. In recent years, however, their biographies have acquired new chapters. While a few scholars such as myself have taken an interest in them, they have become increasingly sought after by television production companies, which have brought them, often for the first time, into a commodity phase (Kopytoff 1986) of their existence, buying up the rights to their performance from the archives that hold them to incorporate sequences into modern documentaries on the Second World War, on the British empire, on British colonial reminiscences and so forth.

12. An exception being the British-made propaganda films, which often circulated in the same spaces as locally-made feature films, especially towards the end of the period when Griersonian documentaries were compulsorily screened in Indian cinemas before the main feature.

The significance of seeing films as objects, whether circulating as commodities or otherwise, lies in seeing the paths for social action and social engagement that their performative trajectories open up. By recreating India's mythological past in their films, for example, Phalke and his successors opened up a space to consider an independent India, albeit a Hindu one, in which social action took place between known individuals (even if they were gods or demons) with known outcomes (see Figure 2) – in sharp contrast to the unpredictable trajectories and outcomes that the films themselves encountered, subject as they were to commercial pressures and British regulation. In contrast, the British amateur documentary films were often engaged with India's present, but a present that was located in a quasi-ethnological past, one that did not connect with the Imperial present of Governors' garden parties and receptions. Against a background of growing nationalist sentiment and urban political agitation, the British amateurs sought to create and circulate objects among their colonial friends in India and back in Britain that told a story of harmonious but pre-industrial agrarian relations – hence the ethnological films about different forms of irrigation.

Reading the narrative content of Indian commercial mythological features alone, or of amateur British documentaries alone, or of professional propaganda films alone, tells us something – but not very much – about visual relations in colonial India. The British amateur documentaries, while seemingly transparent as a narrative record of events, are relatively mute as subjects of sociological interest. They can really only be understood and make sense to us today when seen as objects in circulation, set in their social and visual context, a context that includes Phalke's mythological dramas, and Red Cross films on better baby care. Seeing these films as differentiated members of a single class of objects, subject to differing constraints in their circulation and contexts of performance, allows us to see that they are part of a visual conversation between all the film creators and consumers of the period. The biographies of Colonial period film-objects are revealing today not individually but collectively, as revealing a network of paths of social action along which British and Indians could move in their wake.

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EVGEN BAVCAR: SELF-PORTRAITS AND THE “IMAGES- STAIN”¹

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ABSTRACT

In this article, the reading of four self-portraits made by Evgen Bavcar, a blind photographer and philosopher, is presented with the purpose of trying to figure out how he creates the character, or *persona*, of a ‘blind photographer’. Published in his book *Memória do Brasil* (Memory from Brazil), the first of these self-portraits is analyzed leading me to put forward the hypothesis that Bavcar presents a kind of manifest in his book. I also suggest that we could think about these photographs as “*images-stain*”, meaning that, when we look at them in the hopes of finding images made by a blind man, they give us back the image of our own prevailing blindness since, by being situated on the liminal of visibility, they question and dispute our own assumptions about blindness.

KEYWORDS

Evgen Bavcar;
photography;
image; self-portrait;
blindness.

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INTRODUCTION

Born in 1946 in the small town of Lokavec (Slovenia nowadays, Yugoslavia back then), Evgen Bavcar became known as, above all, a ‘blind photographer’. He lost his vision in the left eye due to an accident with a tree branch when he was 10 years old. A few months later, he suffered another accident while wielding a land mine that injured his right eye, rendering him completely blind. His relationship with photography, as a maker of images, only began after these two accidents, when he was 16 years old.

After majoring in History and Philosophy in his home country, Bavcar migrated to France to advance his studies at Master and PhD levels in Philosophy and Aesthetic at the Sorbonne. During this time, he went on photographing as an amateur, having attained, in 1987, his first exhibition called *Carrés Noires Sur Vos Nuits Blanches* (Black Squares On Our White Nights) at the Sunset Jazz Club in Paris. Drawing attention from critics, he was, in the following year, the honored photographer of the month in Paris, gaining then international projection. His pictures were exhibited all over the world in galleries and museums, often accompanied by talks on aesthetic and his relationship with photography. Because of that, although Bavcar’s relationship with photography is not exactly a rarity² and he neither could nor sought to be a spokesperson for the blind, his work has not only become a benchmark for the theme, but it has also inspired other blind photographers and blind photographers associations. Bavcar’s projection into the international artistic scene paved the way for the emergence of these new artists and for the discussion of issues put forward by them.

To reflect on the relation between photography and the ‘blind’ might seem, at first, a paradoxical question.³ Blindness is, after all, usually seen as the antinomy of vision and images, furthermore, as a product of the eye made for the eye. On the other hand, the blind have been, at different moments, taken as a subject of representation in both visual and literary arts, obtaining a place in our collective minds. In this process,

2. To name a few blind photographers associations (or with impaired vision): João Maia, Teco Barbeiro, Alicia Meléndez, Aarón Ramos, Tanvir Bush, Pedro Rubén Reynoso, Mickel Smithen, Gerardo Nigenda, Alberto Loranca, Jashivi Osuna Aguilar, Ana Mária Fernández, Pedro Miranda, Henry Butler, Pete Eckert, Bruce Hall, Annie Hesse, Alex de Jong, Rosita Mckenzie, Michel Richard, Kurt Weston e Alice Wingwall, besides the New York Based association *Seeing with photography collective*.

3. This question ceases to be paradoxical when we remember of Benjamin’s concept of the *optical unconscious* (Benjamin 1987, 94). It breaks apart the popular analogy established between the human eye and the photographic camera. According to it, the photographic camera is able to reveal what our own eyes are unable to see. The shutter thus acts as the exact moment when we blink our eyes (Tessler 2003, Dubois 2012), bringing to light what our eyes missed; it does not show us things, but rather their “intimate, secreta relations, their correlations and analogies” (Baudelaire cited by Didi-Huberman 2012, 208). More than the the vision itself, the *photographic act* would be the one related to *blindness*, for it acts at the instant we do not see to allow us to see in a different manner.

terms were adopted and crystallized, taking on different configurations at different times, with the blind never being able to take part in these processes of building up a collective idea about blindness through the production of images.

Perhaps, then, photographs taken by the blind might impart an imaginary experience of a group of people who, given a distinct physical condition, were denied the promotion of their gaze, a promotion of what their eyes are directed at. Now, this gaze has risen and developed a way to stare at us. They are so forceful that they suspend, at least for a few moments, the definition of blindness, whilst we, as sighted people, realize that we do not have access to these images claimed⁴ by the blind. Not unless they are arbitrated, as in Bavcar's case, by photography.

Out of that, some questions are raised: What do we, as sighted people, seek for when we look at the images made by a blind photographer? Could it be that we seek for something that we cannot see past our own gaze? I wonder if we look for some kind of otherness kept concealed from and inaccessible to us. Deep into these questions, there might be one more: where does blindness reside (if it resides at all) in these images? (Montiel 2014)

To face Bavcar's pictures knowing how peculiar his trajectory is brings several questions that deeply touch us. We look for a glimpse of knowledge in this realm where we do not know anything, and we try to get closer to this unknown universe of images made by the blind. That is, ultimately, a question of recognizing (and legitimizing) a sense of otherness in these pictures.

The sight of images made by the blind awakens a radical feeling of unrest in the observer. That is because these images are situated (maybe by us) on the brink of visibility (somewhere between their limit and their beginning), placing their authors in a situation of *liminality* (Turner 2013), withholding their social position and their attributes that get to be redefined. Thinking with Jacques Rancière, these images bring to light a *disagreement* and a *distribution of the sensible* when they put into dispute the distribution of the capabilities and skills required to see and speak about what is seen and, furthermore, about taking part in the common life (Rancière 2009; 2017).

4. Adauto Novaes (2000, 32) says: "I believe the idea of a blind photographer seems astonishing to us for two reasons: because it is difficult to us to admit that there are other ways to see that are different from ours, and because is not there an atrophy of four other senses precisely because of how potent the ability to see is?"

Based on this reflection, we might be able to better understand Bavcar's own idea of what his photographic work is. For him, it is a kind of offering where he gives himself over it (following Lacan's precept): "If for some, love is giving what one doesn't have, then I don't grieve this act of love I call my conceptual photography, that is, the donation of image" (Bavcar 2003a, 145). However, Bavcar (2005) gives to others something he does not fully own, not so these others can simply seize the image to themselves, but so they can give it back to him in a verbal form, making it visible in its own manner. Here we see the outline of the principles of the Gift, that Marcel Mauss (2003) described as a system of total services where bonds of alliance and social relations between people and groups of people are put in place. Didi-Huberman (2017) perfectly explained this principle of the donation of the image as an object that, when taken from the private sphere, is restored to the public one sphere where it can find new gazes.⁵ He also underscores the issue of receiving through sight: "Is the image you see, and receive, received peacefully to the end? Is it, after all, as much mine as it is yours and everybody else's until it is disseminated as a common good?" (Didi-Huberman 2017, 220). In that sense, the issue laid out by Didi-Huberman takes us to consider the claim for the right to images made by Bavcar as an exchange of gazes (or images) that reconfigure spaces and social bonds.

In this manner, I understand that when Evgen Bavcar puts himself in his pictures, directly or indirectly, including a glimpse of his body or of its motion, he not only takes a picture, he also creates a character, or a *persona*, of a 'blind photographer'. This article aims to explore the development of this character through the analysis of four self-portraits published in the book *Memória do Brasil* (Memory of Brazil) (Bavcar 2003a). From the analysis of the first of these self-portraits I put forward the hypothesis that Bavcar presents a kind of manifest in his book, and he also invites us to think about these photographs as '*images-stain*' that, being situated on the liminal of visibility, question and dispute our own assumptions about blindness.

"QUERO-VER" AND THE IMAGE-STAIN

The portrait that opens the book⁶ was taken when Bavcar visited the town of Pelotas, in southern Brazil. Strolling through the streets of this town, he heard the gallop of a horse approaching. He then decided to stop so he could better observe the animal and talk with its owner. He and the ones walking with him soon learned that the horse was called *Quero-ver*, Portuguese for "I want to see".

5. Didi-Huberman (2017) introduces us to this issue based on the work from the filmmaker Harun Farocki, who "rescued" images from private archives that are no longer accessible to the public precisely in order to give them back to the public.

6. This photograph is not part of the self-portrait series along with the other three I am going to analyze here. It is simply under the title "*Memória do Brasil*"

IMAGE 1
Evgen Bavcar –
Untitled. From the
series: “Memória
Do Brasil”
(Bavcar 2003a).



Describing the photograph born out of this encounter, Bavcar (2003a, 126) accounts: “since I had felt and heard the horse, I wanted to get closer. So I kindly asked its owner if I could take a picture of the animal. It wasn’t about, of course, an artistic picture, but simply an identity”. Such account gives room for an array of questions. If, on the one hand, he at first sets this picture apart from his artistic oeuvre, on the other hand, this same picture is reincorporated under the title of the series *Memória do Brasil*. Not only that, this picture also opens the series. Also, maybe we should pay attention to how he employs the verb “to be” in the past tense, which generates an enlightening ambiguity. In this context, the verb “to be” refers to *the life of the image* on its own, and not simply to the moment the picture is taken: “it wasn’t about [...] an artistic picture”, but it came to be. But what could have happened to alter this picture’s destiny?

This issue gets even more complicated when we find out in a text by the psychoanalyst Edson Sousa (2006), who accompanied Bavcar in his visit to Pelotas, that it was he, and not Bavcar, who took the picture:

At the moment we said goodbye: the essential question that sets the picture about to happen. Without this question, that moment would not have acquired its magic, its surprising effect, its impressive outcome. Bavcar asks: What is the horse’s name? The incredible answer: *Quero-ver* (I want to see)... Bavcar, surprised, gets closer to the horse and hugs it saying: That is me! In a surprising manner, he finds his doppelgänger, his name galloping unrecalled on a gloomy street of a town in southern Brazil. He asks me to take a picture, a picture that, by the way, gets out-of-focus. That may be why it was published right at the opening of his beautiful book *Memória do Brasil*. (Souza 2006, 84)

What was meant to be simply a record of an event, a picture to be kept as memory, becomes, by chance, just like the encounter between Bavcar and the horse, part of his oeuvre: an “artistic picture”. Despite Sousa being the one who pressed the shutter, the picture remains, in a sense, authored by Bavcar. Not because his body is seen in the picture, nor because he was the one who asked to take it, but because he was the one who arranged the situation and gave life to the image by re-signifying it by incorporating it into his oeuvre, and in a certain way looking at the world.⁷ In the words of Fontcuberta (2018, 40): “Nowadays we are aware that the importance does not rely on who presses the button, but on who does all the rest: who brings the concept and manages the life of the image”.

Therefore, instead of focusing on who took the picture, we should try to understand why it was selected to open the series *Memória do Brasil*. Seeking to understand this might help us to raise some questions about this particular image and about the series of self-portraits itself. Let us start with the following questions: What do we mean when we describe a picture as a “simple identity”? In what manner is this kind of picture different from an “artistic picture”?

When we think of a picture as a “simple identity”, we usually regard it as a document or registration of a past event. That is, a confirmation, a witness of a given time and space. It is a return to the *it has been* from Barthes (2015). The registration of an event is different from the initial impulse that propels Bavcar to create artistic pictures. While artistic pictures are conceived to express his “existential condition”⁸ and the way he looks at the world, the registration is simply a proof or witness of an encounter. In that sense, this first portrait’s destiny (or destination) could have been to be simply kept as a memento or to be sent to someone else as correspondence. Nevertheless, it was not meant to be included in his oeuvre.

As a document or registration, it is widely expected that photographs follow some criteria that allows the registered event to be recognized in the future: the framing has to highlight what is intended to show, placing the main subject in contrast to its background and the things related to it; and, traditionally, focus and distinctness are expected from photographs so the depicted event becomes accessible to the eyes

7. Something similar happened to me when I attended a talk by a photographer with impaired vision (João Maia, who supports the Project “Fotografia Cega”, Blind Photography). At this event, I was invited to take photographs using Bavcar’s technique (lightpainting). I took photos and was the subject of photos, but I was also in charge of setting the camera (shutter speed, ISO, aperture) and framing the pictures, that all following the photographer’s instructions. Although I was the one taking the pictures, the image created out of the light traces done by Maia and others’ flashlights kept me from designating the image as of my authorship.

8. It is up to the photographer to consider his/her own work as a possibility of express his/her existential condition (Bavcar 1994).

of their beholder. As a document, in a more trivial and profane sense, it is expected that photographs proof what happened in the past, that they serve as witnesses and that they make events clear. It is important to note, however, that clarity and details are not [...], at all, characteristics of the document, the same way as soft-focus is not a mandatory requirement of art” (Rouillé 2009, 84).

If the notion of the image as a document leads us back to the *it has been* notion of Barthes, by revisiting it, a contradiction between terms can be found. According to the author, when we look at a photograph, we see the referent and not the object (*medium*) to which we direct our eyes at. The object vanishes in relation to the image it supports and boasts, becoming a transparent/translucid material which allows the lights from the past to reach us in the present as an emanation of the referent. That is not far from the notion of photography as a “window to the world”.

Barthes also lays another issue before us. As time goes by whilst he gazes a photograph, Barthes (2015, 84) says he dispenses time to try to dissect it; in other words: “turn to the other side of the photograph, get into the thick paper and reach the other side”. He follows: “Whatever is concealed, it is for us Westerners, more truthful than what can be seen” (Barthes 2015, 84). That might seem paradoxical, but it refers right back at a discussion between Janouch and Kafka, cited by Barthes (2015), where Kafka declares: “by closing your eyes, you make images speak in the silence” (Kafka cited by Barthes 2015, 52).

If it is fruitless to try to expand an image to dive in its depth in order to dissect it, on the other hand, closing your eyes is a requirement to let it reach the wound it itself opened in us. That is what Barthes (2015) calls *punctum*: the poignancy sparked by photography at moments like, when he gazes a now famous photograph of his mother in a winter garden – the only photograph he does not exhibit for considering others would be indifferent to it. That means that what he recognizes in the photograph is not actually in the photograph, but in himself, or in the affective relationship he maintains with it. Through this photograph, Barthes revitalizes the imaginary images – from dreams and memories – he has from his mother. Images he is unable to show us through image (Rouillé 2009, 213-214).

He, then, adopts a different strategy by rendering his readers ‘blind’ in relation to this photograph. He opts for describing it, instead of showing it, resorting to our imagination rather than our perception. It is almost as if the content shown in the image, visually accessible, is no more than one of several layers of meaning (Edwards 2012), becoming a hindrance to interpretation given its overly concrete and referential character. The descriptive exercise proposed by Barthes (2015) consists of, above all, creating

and mobilizing in the reader the desire to see without being offered the means to a possible satisfaction (or frustration) of this same desire.

Based on that, André Rouillé (2009) designates *Camera Lucida* (2015) by Barthes as the emblem of the beginning of the end of the *photography-document* regime. A regime characterized by having a fiduciary value related to the physical reality (bodies, objects, concrete nouns...) shown by photography. In its place, the *photography-expression* regime arises, where representation gives room for the *expression* of events, the “incorporeal”. The act of photography, from then on, requires more than the technical device. It also considers authorship and the photographer’s subjectivity, writing and dialogue. The photographic image, no longer isolated from the contexts and actions that enfold it, is now thought about in connection to the devices and discourses to which it is intertwined.

Back to the portrait Bavcar took with the horse (*Quero-ver*), our gaze faces an out-of-focus photography, helping us realize that this “identity”, as conceived by him, is anything but “simple”. Even though it is perfectly possible to recognize a *face* in the image, outlined by a white surface circling the two dark holes of his eyes (Deleuze and Guattari 2012, 36), and the shape of a horse, the blur, although light, turns the image lightly opaque, and not fully transparent as Barthes (2015) wanted when he pointed out the materiality of the image support and its haptic dimension. Thus, the image is put forward to its observer with a sort of resistance to reveal itself, allowing the shapes in the photograph to be recognized only in an indirect or allusive manner, requiring effort, a *desire to see*⁹ (Novaes 2003, 107). As pointed out by the photographer himself when talking about the horse’s blinkers: “my identification with the horse wasn’t due to any eventuality. I’d also brought with myself, in some part, curtains that prevented me from seeing” (Bavcar 2003a, 126). Acting like the horse’s blinkers, the blur in the image brings about a third element of identification: the beholder of the photograph who, blocked from the access to a transparent image, is compelled to face an *image-stain*,¹⁰ becoming, like the horse and Bavcar, a “*Quero-ver*” (I want to see). The accidental blur in the image becomes a conceptual device in the photographer’s work, inscribing the passage from “simple registration” to its artistic use as a form of expression.

9. Aduato Novaes agrees when he states that Bavcar’s work provokes this “wish to uncover allusive existences” (Novaes 2003, 107).

10. Sousa (2006, 84) writes about the idea of stain that will be worked on in this chapter: “The psychic monochromes work as stains that try to cover the holes opened by the sexual ones. Symptoms uniting the fringes of our despair resulted from the desire for the Other. Monochromes that follow the rhythm of repetition and the inscribed in our bodies a certain blindness”.

It is true that the triangle formed by the artist, the horse and the beholder under the sign of a *wish to see* is not only present in the photograph. It is also part of its inclusion in a device, of its part in the photographer's work, and a factor of the materiality of the book as an exhibition space. The image is completed by Bavcar's account, and that shows us that we also recognize it by the 'blind act' of inference and by projecting on the image what we already know about it. The artist's own words, when narrating his adventure in Pelotas, arise in his surprise to learn the horse's name, which, ultimately, also provides more elements to (re)interpret the photograph. The image that opens Bavcar's book, as well as his accounts at the end of it, can be seen as a way to show us that the more we forego its assumed transparency, the more we see in it, that is: the more we forego the description, overly literal or direct, of its referent.

Here we can bring an example, described by Gottfried Boehm (2017), about a peculiar exercise related to the stain (*macchia*) that Leonardo da Vinci used to use with his students: "it was a structure containing a random set of stains over a battered wall, and da Vinci would advise the aspiring painters to keenly observe it, so they could learn to see distinctions, features, bodies, monsters or even landscapes" (Boehm 2017, 26). Through a projective imagination effort (with memories, remembrance and words), these stains, like the one on the Shroud of Turin,¹¹ give way to the formation of figures or shapes that are not recognizable beforehand (Dubois 2012). It is true that both the Shroud of Turin and the wall used by da Vinci are quite distinct from the slight blur in Bavcar's portrait with the horse. That stain, however, is not meant to be thought of in the literal sense, but as an element of indetermination in the image that gives way for a projective memory or imagination to bring foreign elements into the image.

This also refers to identifying in the photograph a resistance in being read directly according to its referent, which implies in the observer taking part in this recognition process. A process that is, simultaneously, a recognition of the image (the inference of what it expresses) and a recognition in the image (what is interpellated in it).

The idea of *stain* can be found in one of Bavcar accounts in *Memória do Brasil*. In it, he describes the omnipresence of red dots in his "sight"

11. The Turin Shroud is, for Dubois (2012), an image consisting of a mortuary drape that would have covered Jesus' face, preserving the mark of this divine encounter. This sacred image, about which a lot has been written, presents fundamental aspects for, according to Dubois (2012), the comprehension of photography as a *medium* of perception. About the relation between to see, to think, and to believe, Dubois (2012) explains that the first reaction of Christians when seeing the shroud was that of an effort to see what could not be seen. That was until 1989, when a member of the Catholic Church who was in charge of taking photographs of the shroud saw appear, on what had been until then a stain, on photographic film, the image of the face of Christ. Just like the stories of fishermen who found sculptures of saint at the bottom of rivers and sees, the photograph operated the "miracle" of apparition.

when flying out of Brazil:

When the airplane had reached its cruising altitude, I imagined, under the clouds, the landscape down there as the early dreams watched over my gaze; I saw, then, Brazil as a green rug sown by red dots. Unable to figure out what those red dots were, I thought of poppy fields erstwhile described to me. Sprang to my mind the words of a poem evoked by them. Stronger than the eyesight [...] it is long since this color made itself so pervasive. It showed itself with such astonishingly accuracy, it felt like I was getting closer to new red objects from my past: rummaging in my own memory, I rediscovered red stars on car number plates, the red flag with the gold hammer and sickle, the fabric that covered the official tribune on the first of May; and also the blood stain of our cat Tucuman, run over by a car. [...] Afterwards, suddenly, when I'd almost forgone my excursions through my erstwhile color palette, I saw it again: what used to get stuck in my mind, the lady in a scarlet skirt [...] from a few little stains, very pale at first, it made itself present all night. Certainly, I'll need, still, a lot of images, and many returns to the 'ambar color' country to make sure it never leaves me, and so the fragments of this revived colours from my memory help me find, under my fingers, other dreams. (Bavcar 2003a, 109-112)

The red stain that resonates to Bavcar's memories and imagination, can be linked to Merleau-Ponty (2014) writing about how the color takes part in a constellation that is part of the crystallization of imaginary worlds. The red stain would be, thus, a contraction between "always opened external and internal horizons" (Merleau-Ponty 2014, 219) that sets apart colors and things. Sousa also writes about this theme, saying that "The hidden constellations that we always create work [...] as stains that blot over orderly surfaces" (Sousa 2006, 79).

The stain is this element that snatches the possibility of seeing things as they are right away, breaking up the illusion of pure transparency of the *medium*, taking us to resort to words and other images from our own memories so we can see what the image reveals and conceals. Therefore, the stain takes the place of "the Other" that looks at and inquires us without us knowing exactly from where.

That all takes us back to the triangulation made by Phillippe Dubois (2012) between "*stain, plot, drama*": the *stain*: to see something where, at first, there is nothing to see – only "stains or clouds" – and, taken by desire to form a shape from these stains, as a way to establish a *drama* supported by different imagetic and discursive operations that are defined by a *plot* (Dubois 2012, 232). But would not every photograph be, no matter how clear, a kind of stain? Would not the image be, as a trace, "nothing but a residue or fissure, an accident in time that renders it, temporarily, visible or readable?" (Didi-Huberman 2011, 87).

The portrait-stain of Bavcar with the horse *Quero-ver* evokes a particular notion of the indictable Sign that Rosalind Krauss (2002) claims to be its pinnacle: the syncategorema, a level where “the Sign remains empty until it is filled by a referent. It, however, only remains filled for a certain amount of time, thus the referent is nothing more than a constellation of scattered interconnections randomly arranged” (Krauss 2002, 149-150).¹² The hypothesis I intend to explore here, based on the readings of the self-portraits I am about to show, is that Bavcar’s photograph with *Quero-ver*, when in the book, is imbued with a manifest character: if we expect to find images made by a blind person in it, the stain gives us back the image of our own blindness.

SELF-PORTRAITS AND THEIR SHADOWS

PHOTOGRAPHY WAS BORN BLIND



IMAGE 2
Evgen Bavcar,
untitled. From the
“Self-portraits”
series (Bavcar
2003a).

12. The syncategoremata is used by Krauss (2002) to reflect on the movements of André Breton who, after a night of walkabouts in Paris, decides to recite fragments of the poem *Tournesol*, written ten years before. He realized that the poem not only described the same path he had taken, but that it also had several analogies between what had been written years before and the meeting that happens at the night. The poet then goes further in his analyses and puts himself as the subject and the poem as a manifestation of his unconscious mind. He then designates a movement that goes in two directions, towards both past and future, where he places himself as the field where associations between the poem, the path and the events become meaningful.

In all three photographs that are part of the “Self-portraits” series, the only thing to allow us to interpret something is its own title. Based on that, when we see (just like the first self-portrait showed above) a human standing next to the wall, we infer, right away, that that is Bavcar. However, the overexposed face disappears under light, suppressing his physiognomy whilst his body seems to emerge from the shadows projected onto the wall without never completely untangling itself from it. At the background, the incidence of light with concentric focus designs moons with huge craters over the wall texture. At the foreground, neither figure, nor face or moon, but a plant that grows in darkness but in direction to light, as if it was revealing itself.

The motif staged here by Bavcar, a motif adopted in the other two portraits, is the “fable”, or the imagination, of the origin of painting. As explained by Dubois (2012), based on Pliny the Elder, painting was born out of the “event” when the shape of human shadow was first delineated” (Dubois 2012, 117). According to the story, the daughter of a potter in Sicyon, having to say farewell to the man she loved who was embarking on a long voyage, decided to draw on the wall of a room lit up by fire the contour projected by his shadow so that she could preserve a fragment of his presence. This scene, combining elements of light projection with the shadow on the wall that serves as a canvas, reminds Dubois (2012) of the notion of photography as a product *written by light*, but also, inversely, as *skiagraphia: written by shadows*.

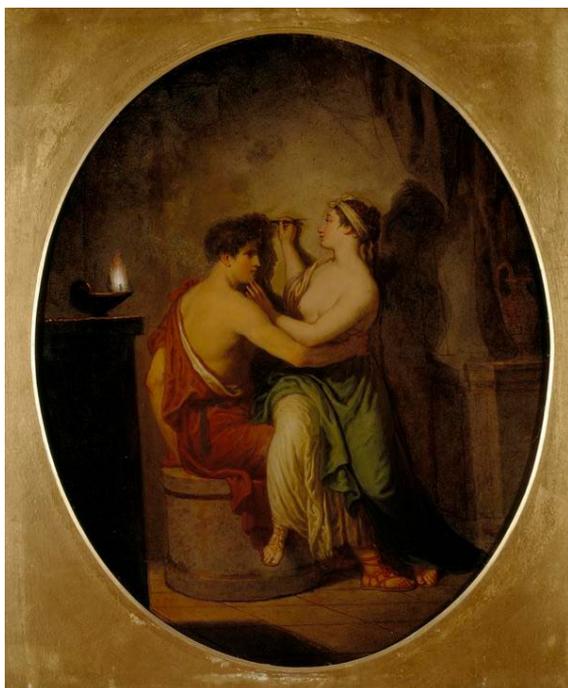


IMAGE 3
David Allan
Scottish – The
origin of painting
(The maid of
Corinth) 1775.¹³

13. Available on: <https://bit.ly/2A05OFi>.

In another version of this same fable, the painting would have been first “introduced in Egypt by Giges, the Lydian who, admiring his own shadow projected on the wall by the fire, suddenly draw his own contour [...] with a piece of coal” (Vasari cited by Dubois 2012, 123). Considering this second story, the origin of painting would go from the portrait to the self-portrait made by shadows. Bavcar’s choice for this motif seems quite provocative considering that, although there are pictorial representations of the story told by Pliny (like the painting above by David Allan), these stories got to us through *Ekprasis*. That way, Bavcar finds a motif where the “origin” of image tangles with its own verbal description. However, unlike the depiction such as the one made by David Allan where the maid paints the one she loves, and unlike the description of Giges’ self-portrait, in Bavcar’s photograph, there is an imperceptible gesture: a hand arising from darkness, reaching to the illuminated body.



IMAGE 4
Detail of the
photograph.
From the “Self-
portraits” series
(Bavcar 2003a).

This gesture causes a reversal: we no longer draw or paint on the shadow, but the shadow itself rises from the body and outline its own contour. It seems that Bavcar has fun with putting the photograph *en abyme*, playing with the indexical paradigm by photographing the shadow of a shadow. That is because if we consider the photograph as

a doppelgänger of the one who posed for it, as result, the shadow of this double becomes a triple. The hand arising from the shadows and extending itself over the shoulder divides the image from the body that created it, as well as the difference between that shape and its model breaking up with any trace of a speculative illusion or a direct relation between the *index* and its referent. This leads us to question the idea of associating identity with this image by using the term *self-portrait*.

In a commentary about Bavcar's photographic work, Benjamin Mayer Foulkes (2014) highlights that:

The blind photographer's self-portrait brings to light the rule of self-portrait, which is the disjunction between the icon and its maker: the self-portrait is only recognized by conjecture, there is nothing to secure the identity of either the portrayed or the portraitist. Far from being an exception, the blind self-portrait is an enactment, a kind of phase one of the self-portrait. (Foulkes 2014, 35)¹⁴

Foulkes statement is not far from the considerations made by Derrida (1993) related to two hypotheses put forward on a book about his exhibition: *Memories of the blind: the self-portrait and other ruins*.¹⁵ The first hypothesis states that: every drawing is blind, if not the designer himself. That is because the act of drawing implicates to lose sight of the model or the trace, which implies, simultaneously, both an anticipation and an act of memory. The second hypothesis states that: every drawing of a blind person is a drawing made by a blind person, that means, the draftsman (or draftswoman) who depicts a blind person is someone who lets oneself get fascinated and who recognizes oneself in his/her own figure.

Concerning the self-portrait, Derrida (1993) also states that the portraitist, in order to depict him/herself, should only face a focal point in the mirror placed where the viewer will look at the image. That way, the self-portrait mainly designates a place for the viewer who, at the moment of taking the place of the mirror, will not be able to see the portraitist as such. According to Derrida (1993), the portraitist who wishes to show him/herself should gaze in the mirror nothing but his/her own eyes and then replace them for different ones staring back. About the portraitist who depicts him/herself facing some other thing, then a third object should be added, *with no eyes*, staring

14. In the original: "El autorretrato del fotógrafo ciego saca a plena luz la ley del autorretrato, que es la disyunción entre el icono y su creador: el autorretrato se reconoce sólo por conjetura, nada hay en la o que garantice la identidad del retratado y el retratador. Lejos de construir una excepción de género, el autorretrato del ciego es su instauración, una especie de grado cero del autorretrato" (Foulkes 2014, 35).

15. The exhibition curated by Derrida, gathers a series of drawing used by the philosopher to explore the phenomenon of vision, electing the blindness as the origin of images.

back in a way that makes us “the condition for his sight [...] and of his own image” (Derrida 1993, 62).

For Derrida (1993), the effect of the self-portrait will always require a foreign referent, not visible, being always able to dissociate the observer from the theme or the depicted subject. Its identification, thus, will always remain on the level of conjecture, being only feasible or uncertain, and free from any internal reading to the work: “an object of inference and not of perception” (Derrida 1993, 64).

If what is called a self-portrait depends on the fact that is called ‘self-portrait’, an act of naming should allow or *entitle* me to call just about anything a self-portrait, not only any drawing (‘portrait’ or not) but anything that happens to me, anything by which I can be affected or let myself be affected. (Derrida 1993, 65)

The projective effect of inference would be, hence, what allows us to recognize ourselves in both our own image and in any other object, or thing, that relates to us. Meaning, anything that gives us back a gaze that involves us with it. Thus, every self-portrait is, essentially, an image-stain and an artist’s body of work could, at best, be considered a great self-portrait, since it is related to this artist, and it carries his/her signature. That is what happens to Bavcar when he is affected by the name and blinkers of the horse *Quero-ver*, recognizing it as his double and asking for a photograph that is, ultimately, a self-portrait with his own double – with his own shadow. In that sense, Derrida (1993) asserts that self-portraits are like memories or ruins that keep getting made by the structure of the work, with no promise of restoration. He also declares that “The performative fiction that engages the spectator in the structure of the work is given to be seen only through the blindness that it produces as truth. As if glimpsed through a blind” (Derrida 1993, 65).

Therefore, when Bavcar puts himself in the motif that stages the origin of painting (which is analogous to the origin of photography by virtue of being the imprint of a trace projected by light over a body), he meets the Derridian thought and reaffirms the notion of blindness as the origin of all representation: to represent something is to lose sight of it. The artist, however, goes beyond that by erasing the physiognomy of his face in the portraits, breaking up with the benchmark found in identity portraits. Benchmark that forges a link of similitude with the portrayed, making it simply an allusive figure. Also, the portrayed motif itself embodies a portrait, eroding the notion of “oneness”, or of an authentic model, acting as referent for the creation of image.

THE PRINCIPLE OF REALITY AND THE IMMOBILITY OF THE EYE



IMAGE 5
Evgen Bavcar,
untitled. From the
“Self-portraits”
series (Bavcar
2003a).

In this self-portrait, we can see Bavcar wearing a hat, glasses, a jacket, pants and shoes. On his face, we can only see a few traits, like his ear and the silhouette of his nose; we also glimpse his mouth and eyes, that seem to be closed. Bavcar carries a bicycle that we can see better than his face. The camera angle is slightly inclined. That can be perceived when we take the house in the background as a reference, as well as its fence. Up in the left, we can also notice a source of light that we cannot identify as either a lightening post (or something of the kind), or if it is the source of light that went through the image during its long exposure, since we can see the bright light, but not its support or actual source.

On the tarmac street the shadows of both the bicycle and its carrier (Bavcar) are projected, encircled by a bright contour that delimits and enhances their shapes. This gesture takes us back, again, to the “origin of painting”, but instead of coal, it is light itself that is used to outline the contours of the shadow. The axis inclination in the photograph,

whether it is intentional or not, might provoke a feeling of motion and of descent from left to right. If we cover, as an exercise, the superior part of the image, and only concentrate on the shadows projected on the street, we can see that its design in such a manner that makes us think that Bavcar is riding on it, and in motion, which belies the motionless feeling provoked by the whole portrait.



IMAGE 6
Detail of Evgen
Bavcar's self-
portrait. From the
"Self-portraits"
series (Bavcar
2003a).

Here we can think of the portrait of the poet León-Paul Fargue, made by Brassai in 1933, and studied by Rosalind Krauss (2002). According to her, Fargue, who was Brassai's partner and guide in his wanderings in Paris, let himself be portrayed sat on a bank of a public garden in the city, and the result was an image that, for Krauss (2002), raises an issue that permeates most of Brassai's work as a photographer. Our first thought in front of it is: "That is what León-Paul Fargue was like [...] it is with this figure that he actually looks alike – because we have always been led to believe in the objectivity of a photographic witness" (Krauss 2002, 144). However, when we consider a whole set of relations that are foreign to the image, like Fargue's role in the surrealist nocturnal life, reason why he called himself the "walker of Paris", Krauss (2002) disputes the alleged frankness of the photograph when designating its referent. She entices us to look not only to the body illuminated by the light, but also to the shadow projected by it:

The ghostly elongated shadow of the poet [...] projects itself on the floor on its left. In stark contrast to the massive density of the sat body, the shadow with flat legs leads us to note that the photograph of the body activates a kind of double vision. The upper half of the character [...] is the exact image of a immobile solidity. But the low half, its legs,

belongs to a different order, like the projected shadow: drowned in darkness, becoming almost fluid and disembodied. According to this second interpretation, the image is, thus, a solid body, immobile and heavy, betrayed by its legs that, surrounded in darkness, portends the possibility of a kind of air slide. This photograph, this portrait, is an image of Fargue as a night owl and of Fargue as a surrealist, the shadow being a silent index that allows similar reading. (Krauss 2002, 145)



IMAGE 7
Brassai – León-
Paul Fargue,
1933 (Krauss
2002, 145).

León-Paul Fargue's portrait, then, contains a double connotation: its shadow is a second representation added to the first one's interior, which demonstrates the process of creation of image, and questions any interpretation of photographs that happen to be too realistic. The shadow that attests the body solidity also contains it in a space of representation, in a world set apart from the real one, impossible to represent or contain in its totality. Becoming an image, the body turns into a shadow because it loses its solidity (Belting 2014, 239-266), because the shadow can be applied as a way of giving life to the depicted body, as a witness of its solidity, or, like in the photographs of Bavcar and the portrait of Fargue made by Brassai, as a way of questioning the character of reality often given to the photographic representation.

The image's *mise en abyme* flattens the different layers of representation, leading us to recognize that in it supposedly real bodies have the same character as their shadows and reflections. Photography itself does nothing more than "give us back images of the real world" through virtual images (Krauss 2002, 154).

In Bavcar's self-portrait with the bicycle case, the image works in a way like the *mise en abyme* used by Brassai but reaching an even more poignant level. While in Fargue's portrait is the realistic interpretation that comes first to mind, causing the impression of being an instant or fortuitous photo thanks to its composition, in Bavcar's self-portrait the manipulation of light highlights its fabricated character, stripping the image of any interpretation that might be too literal. By not casting light on a portion of his own body, a portion of which is only possible to get a glimpse of, and by highlighting the shadow with the contours created with flashlights, it is important to note the photographers aim in placing both figures in the photo as equivalents. Hence, although the *syncategoremata* can be found in both images, Bavcar's one tries to bring it to the foreground by turning its figures and motifs in nothing more than allusive presence: in shadows or stains.

The picture with the bicycle also questions a certain notion about blindness. A notion that, like the photographer's own identity, is not given by the image itself, but by an external inference. Because of that, the self-portrait frustrates the observer, since there is nothing in it that associates Bavcar with the standard, canonical representations of blindness, such as representations from photographic portrait style,¹⁶ or from Western art in which eyes covered by bands, closed or opaque, walking sticks, among other elements are often employed as a way to express the blindness (temporary or not) of its subjects.

By putting a bicycle in his self-portrait, Bavcar teases with these notions, since riding a bike is an activity generally thought to be impossible for a blind person, just like taking photographs and handling images. The top half of the photograph seems to embrace this notion, considering the impression of immobility given by the pose. However, the bottom half of it directly challenges this immobility feeling. Therefore, the shadowy portion of the picture precludes the notion of an immediate understanding through the image, that, in this case, is nothing more than making use of a previous knowledge on a subject that we expect to identify in the image that supposedly represents it. The shadow, acting as a stain, offers both the possibility of challenging

16. A few "canonical" examples of the depiction of blindness in the history of photography are: portraits of blind people taken by August Sander, the famous *Blind Woman* by Paul Strand. In both cases the posture, the gestures and the subtitles act as social boundary.

this previous knowledge, and of opening up to the unknown that demands an imaginative effort able to interfere with our common sense and galvanize its reordering under new terms.

Therefore, although Bavcar tells us in his book *Le Voyer Absolu* (1992) that his life became stagnant after he had become blind, moving ever more slowly and relying on familiar paths to walk around cities, he also talks about succeeding in horse riding, skiing and even riding someone on a motorcycle in first gear, everything after some preparation. He also mentions some friends that learned how to do things usually thought of as impossible to be done by blind people, just to make a point, like using a firearm. As follows, Bavcar's self-portrait with the bicycle also challenges people's expectations on what a blind person is and what this person can do. There are other sources of tension in this portrait, like the glasses: "At the beginning, after I'd become blind, I used to wear very dark glasses to highlight what I was; now, I wear lighter glasses, to suggest a sort of intellectual flair" (Bavcar 1992, 10).¹⁷ As an answer to the common sense that relates glasses to an image of intellectuality and sunglasses to blindness, he expresses the necessity to, even lacking the physical capability of sight, answer to the demands of a world that is organized and oriented by a perception (and conception) that does not correspond to his own, at the same time that he teases with this same worldview. The chosen objects used to present him, both in his daily life and in this self-portrait, denotes their importance for the creation of a self-image. A self-image that is always understood as a continuous process of creation and affirmation to others.

The self-portrait with the bicycle confronts the immobility, or stiffness, of the gaze that seeks to identify in the image something that is already expected to be found, as if the image were nothing more than a direct channel to the materiality of the world.

The shadow taken as a stain or allusive presence, acts just like other figurative elements, inserting in the image a rearticulated structure of ordinary references that engages our categories of identification of the Other, from which a certain notion of reality is fixated through stable categories. The image-stain becomes refractory to the projection of pre-conceived notions and demands an imaginative effort that goes beyond the simple act of identifying elements depicted in the image. Thus, a whole array of possible interpretations takes shape with the insertion of the image in other constellations built not only of visual images, but also of verbal images and of other kinds.

17. From the original: "Au debut de ma cécité, lorsque je la pranais trop au sérieux, je portais des lunettes très foncées pour accentuer ce que j'étais; à presente j'utilize des lunettes plus claires, pour avoir l'air d'un intellectuel" (Bavcar 1992, 10).

Bringing the syncategorematic level to the foreground of the image, Bavcar's self-portrait is a refusal to reduce the image to an unequivocal meaning provided by the visual resemblance between an icon and its referent. Photography, thus, when understood as an index or trace of contact, should not be taken as a window to reality, but rather as its vestige in suspension, that is: in latency, waiting for new gazes and interpretations. Beyond offering access to reality, ungraspable in its totality, photography rather disputes it by crisscrossing different possibilities of interpretation, namely, different "perspectives" directed at it. Perspectives that generate dissent and consensus over what the image allows us to see beyond what is visible on its surface.

Although the possibilities described above can be found in every photographic image, it seems that what Bavcar tries to do in his photographs, specially the self-portraits described here, is to bring to the foreground its character of latent indetermination, its capability to create and articulate with other *endogenous images* (Belting 2014) existing in our imagination. Also, it brings forward the faculty of imagination as an essential activity to interpret images, that is: an exercise of assembly of vestiges, of ruins of memory.

FACING THE IMAGE: CLOSE YOUR EYES TO SEE FURTHER

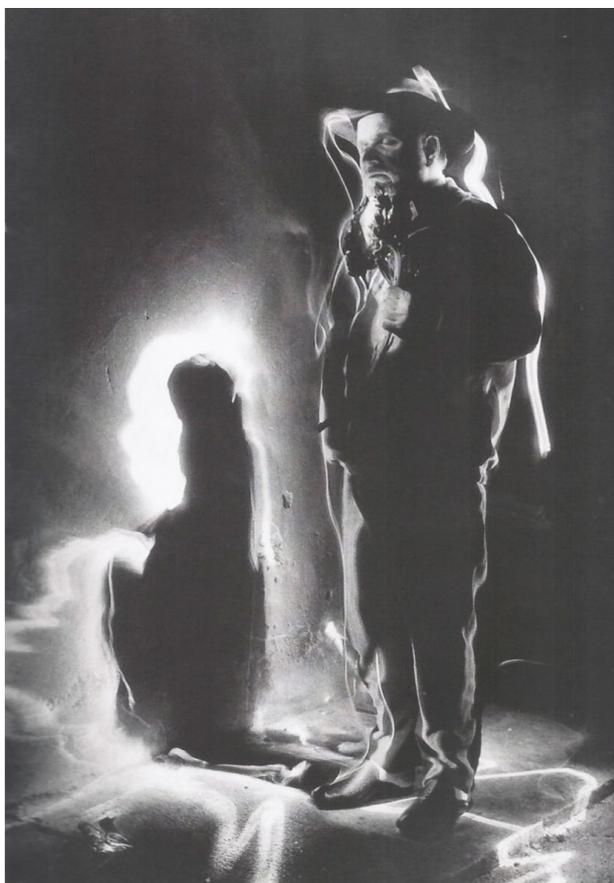


IMAGE 8
Evgen Bavcar,
untitled. From the
"Self-portraits"
series (Bavcar
2003a).

The fourth self-portrait brings Bavcar holding a flower close to his chest. With his eyes closed, he stands still next to a wall to his right side, where his shadow is projected. By closing his eyes, Bavcar diverts attention from his face to other elements in the photograph. Eyes sealed, we give more attention to other elements composing the image, like the shadow projected on the photograph. A shadow with contours that could reference Christian iconography being a Pietà or a Madonna highlighted by a halo produced by light. The shadow, then, is an image-stain containing a latent form, inconclusive (or virtual), that can be revised when it refers to other images.



IMAGE 9
Giovanni Bellini –
Wily's Madonna,
1480 – 1490.¹⁸

It is often said that closing your eyes in face of an event is a way to ignore it, if not a demonstration of horror. In front of an image, however, when he closes his eyes, Bavcar's act gains a double meaning. It can be both an association with the representation of blindness, and an association with the shadow in the shape of Pietà. That gives the image a transcendent meaning that goes beyond what can be seen. Standing still in front of the image, Bavcar signals an in-between place that gives access

¹⁸. Available on: <https://bit.ly/2WPrtcg>.

to the transcendental. That shape is only associated with Pietà after an imagination effort since, according to Bavcar himself, this Christian icon operates as a way of seeing what is invisible, something whose referent is beyond the image itself (Bavcar 2005). This same quality is highlighted by Didi-Huberman (2010): Christian icons are able to present, whether distant and invisible, the potency of the image (painting or sculpture) to stare at the believer, making this person close his/her eyes believing to be gazed at and touched by it. It is a manifestation of the power of memory that charges the object with the virtual images connected with its cult and sacred character. According to the author, then, it is the manifestation of a desire to see that is brought to light by the icon:

So, it is indeed the *strength of desire* that manages to incite the paradoxical performance of this object: because the frustration of visibility – demonstrated by Dante in renowned verses about the “ancient insatiable hunger” to see God face to face –, this same frustration is “replaced” for a visual desire for excellence. Not for a simple curiosity, but for a hyperbolic desire to *see further*, an eschatological desire for a visibility that goes beyond the ordinary space and time. (Didi-Huberman 2010, 152)

However, I believe that we fool ourselves by limiting Bavcar’s act of closing his eyes to a *mise en scène* of a transcendental gaze taken as above reality. This is rather, like the shadows found in Duchamp’s work, an expression of the intractable reality that, as such, always remains invisible. Bavcar’s gesture invites us to do the same. To close our eyes against his own image and letting it reclaim our virtual images to develop with them new ways to see the world. The closed eyes, therefore, set in motion an Imaginary about the different ways to face an image. This gesture reappears in other photograph present in the book *Memórias do Brasil* under the title of the *portraits* series.



IMAGE 10
Evgen Bavcar,
untitled. From the
“Portraits” Series
(Bavcar 2003a).

In the portrait above, the model closes her eyes to let the hand touch her face (“to be seen up close”) by the photographer. It is a gesture that alludes to representations of Christian iconography of blind people being cured.



IMAGE 11
Nicolas Poussin
– The Healing
of the Blind of
Jericho, 1650.¹⁹

According to Moshe Barasch (2001), who studied representation of blindness in western art history, the healing of the blind is a motif depicted in the Old Testament as one of the greatest miracles, far surpassing what was conceived as belonging to the earthly world. Back in this period, pictorial representations of this motif were found, usually, in places and objects related to funeral rites like catacombs and frontal panels of sarcophagi. For this researcher, when found in this context, the “healing of the blind” does not represent a physical cure, but personal salvation, making this motif a representation of the transition from earthly to eternal life. Besides, according to him, during this period, terms like “blindness” and “darkness” were considered synonyms and used metaphorically to describe people before their conversion to Christianity (Barasch 2001, 47-55).

In this central gesture found in representations of cure of the blind – Jesus extending his hands and touching the (usually) closed eyes of the blind – Borsch (2001) identifies reverberations of a representation of Oedipus being punished (present on the surface of an Etruscan urn), which he defines as a “energetic inversion” (Barasch 2001, 38) that denotes the polarization of the gesture: from the knife about to blind Oedipus to Jesus’ hand about to restore the ability to see, both leading the observers to focus on the depicted eyes, a detail that, otherwise, might have been overlooked.

¹⁹. Available on: <https://bit.ly/3e4Y43G>.



IMAGE 12
Etruscan
Urn, Oedipus
Punishment
(Barash 2001).



IMAGE 13
"The healing of the
blind", Catacombs
of Domitilla
(Barash 2001).

In Bavcar's portrait, we see neither a sacred figure giving back a blind man his vision, which would not be a witness to a divine power, nor a violent act afflicted in someone's eyes. We rather see a blind man himself using his "palpable gaze" to "cure" the "non-blind" blindness, closing their eyes to the immediate vision and eliciting them to see the potency of what remains invisible.²⁰

20. In an interview to Eduardo Veras, Edson Sousa and Elida Tessler, Bavcar (2003b, 116) shares his desire to "make the blind be seen. An impossible mission, almost unbearable".

Close your eyes to see, close your eyes to be seen. This is not about ignoring images; but rather, this is about giving them life, fostering them in their pulsating movements and feeling them touch us, and connecting with the beats of our hearts. It is exactly when images hit us deep, mobilizing our passions and sources of unrest, that they provoke *apparitions*. They are saved from the limiting scope of imitation that “shows no more than what can be seen, whilst imagination is capable of representing even what has never been seen [...] in the shape of an image, of an apparition” (Didi-Huberman 2015, 25).

The wish to see beyond images is the impulse to pursue its oscillating motion of apparitions and disappearances, following them in their transformations and freeing them from the bland copy or imitation through work of imagination. Therefore, facing images with “closed eyes” is a way of getting to know them in their own lives, acting in the interstice and fissures of the unknown provoked by them. The image-stain in the form of shadows described in Bavcar’s self-portraits are connected to the history of art and to the representations that came to be part of our common sense about blindness, all that in a game in which the elements of indetermination found in images confront this very same common sense by placing all visibility in liminality.

Here I write liminality because the stain is refractory to the illusion of pure transparency in photography and it puts forward every image’s projective and evocative character. The stain gives a glimpse precisely where it seems to be lost to sight. Its vulnerability and potency reside on the fact that by foregoing any supposed objectivity and the ability of direct designation of a referent, it gets open to a polysemy where to see an image gives no guarantee of possession or right to its meaning.

As a result, through his photographs, Bavcar manages to challenge the common sense about blindness. A common sense that understands blindness as privation of images. That way, Bavcar enjoys his freedom, since he says that: “to be free is to be able to look at a different way and to have, above all, independent imagination built by your own visions” (Bavcar 2005, 157).

That is why I am sure Bavcar would agree with Jacques Rancière (2017) when he says that: “an emancipated community is a community of narrators and translators” (Rancière 2017, 29). according to this French philosopher, the strength of an observer does not reside in his/her belonging to a group, but in this person’s ability to “translate on his/her own terms what is perceived, and to tie that to a unique intellectual adventure that makes him/her akin to anyone [...] who is equally able to utilize this common strength to trace their own path” (Rancière 2017, 21).

In agreement with this interpretation, the portrait showing Bavcar's hand touching the face of the model whose eyes are shut expresses reciprocity and the wish for communion based on the exchange of experiences. By closing her eyes in order to be seen by the blind artist, the model's gesture evokes the recognition of several possible ways of seeing. That also invites us to, when facing an image, repeat the same gesture of recognizing the bias, and need for completion, of our visions. That is how we recognize different types of blindness in our shared experience of the world, blindness that both unite and divide us. Based on that, it is worth bringing Bavcar's own words: "So, what is a gaze? It may be the sum of all our dreams of which we forget the nightmares by looking at them in a different way" (Bavcar 1992, 16). The blind photographer character is, thus, the one that takes us to foreign lands, in a thought done through images on which borders between the possible and the impossible are redefined, allowing us to dream with a world where the distinction between blind and non-blind is done to highlight the uniqueness and plurality of our ways of being and seeing. Ways that are the result of the crisscrossing of gazes that reconfigure the terms required to participate in and share a life in community.

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THE ANTHROPOLOGIST FILMMAKER AND THE NATIVE ACTOR/AUTHOR: TRANSFORMATIONS OF OUMAROU GANDA AND PETIT TOURÉ IN *MOI, UN NOIR*, BY JEAN ROUCH¹

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ABSTRACT

This article presents an analysis of the performatic and bodily dimension of Oumarou Ganda's and Petit Touré's characters in *Moi, un noir*, by Jean Rouch (1958). More than analyzing camera angles, character speeches and editing, it is proposed to emphasize the interpretation of the performatic dimension, looking at bodily gestures and facial expressions, as well as at Oumarou Ganda's and Petit Touré's voice-off impostation. On the one hand, understanding how performatic and bodily dimensions of Ganda and Touré create a particular *mise-en-scène* enables us to view them as native actors/authors. On the other

KEYWORDS

Jean Rouch;
performance; body;
native actor-author

1. This article is a longer version of my presentation at the forum termed *The Anthropology on Jean Rouch's Cinema: a Tribute*, convened by the Visual Anthropology Commission and held during the 31th Brazilian Anthropology Meeting. I thank Izabela Tamaso and Ana Lúcia Ferraz for inviting me to join that centennial tribute to Jean Rouch. I am also grateful to Tatiana Lotierzo for the translation of this article to English.

hand, analyzing the spaces available for Ganda's and Touré's creative interventions in the filmmaking will bring new aspects to the considerations on the construction of anthropological knowledge, through the relation between Rouch and his interlocutors.

THE GESTURES AND LINES OF THE CINEMA ACTOR

This article proposes to discuss the possibilities of examining the performatic construction of Oumarou Ganda's and Petit Touré's characters in the film *Moi, un noir*, by Jean Rouch (1958). More than analyzing camera angles, character speeches and editing, it is proposed to emphasize the interpretation of the performatic dimension, looking at bodily gestures and facial expressions used by Omarou Ganda and Petit Touré to create their respective characters, Edward G. Robinson and Eddie Constantine, as well as at their voice-off impostation. In that sense, it is expected to understand how the dialogue between Jean Rouch, Ganda and Touré produces not only new forms of interpretation to cinema actors, but also a singular way of construction of anthropological knowledge.

By giving attention to performatic and bodily dimensions, I intend to show that Jean Rouch, insofar as he “subverted borders”² between the genres of documentary and fiction in his films, also diluted the borders between the native and the actor. Besides, he blurred the distinction between fictional and documentary actors, as well as that between cinema and theater. In other words, Jean Rouch not only provides a new dimension to the anthropologist/native relation in his films, making a sort of “*avant la lettre* symmetrical anthropology”, as pointed out by Marco Antonio Gonçalves (2008, 20-21), but he also, by doing that, gives a different importance to cinema characters and actors. We could refer to this new importance as an *actor-author* status, since these actors are as capable of producing their own *mise-en-scène* within the film as the filmmaker-author is.

To go on with this hypothesis, we need to remember that, from the beginning of the 20th century to the 1940s, cinema theories would not consider the role of actors in determining the filmic narrative³. Examples are found in Lev Kuleshov's⁴ experiments, as well as in

2. In that sense, nothing would be more appropriate than the title of the film by Ana Lúcia Ferraz, Edgar Teodoro da Cunha, Paula Morgado e Renato Stutzman – *Jean Rouch: Subverting borders* (2000).

3. A rare exception from that period is Sergei Eisenstein (1979), who profoundly discusses the modes of acting in cinema and theater, as well as the interpretation of Japanese Kabuki theater actors. In fact, his analysis is worthy of another article, since a further look is beyond the limits of the present text. I thank Sylvia Caiuby Novaes for having presented me Eisenstein's discussion on the cinema actor.

4. Lev Kuleshov himself would recognize that actors played a fundamental role to cinematographic

Luigi Pirandello's (1924), Rudolf Arnheim's (1957)⁵ and Walter Benjamin's (1987) writings – which argued on the alienation of the actor in regards to his/her own image –, and they were based on the fact that takes shot in completely different contexts from one another could be edited as part of the same cohesive narrative film sequence. In sum, the cinema actor would always represent him or herself, differently from the theater actor, requested to play different roles, showing a greater versatility.

There are more recent discussions on this topic. In cinema, as defined by Barry King (1985), there is a process of *personification* approximating the actor to his character, whereas in theater what takes place is a process of *impersonation*⁶. The former refers to the use of bodily and gestural characteristics of an actor to constitute his/her idiosyncratic type, to be shown in different characters. In contrast, *impersonation* refers to the actor who avoids his/her most evident characteristics to play his/her roles, to the point of not being recognized in his characters.

Finally, different kinds of attention are mobilized in each case: cinema edition would privilege the spectator's point of view (including close-up takes on details) on the characters, whereas in theater, voice impersonation becomes more important than the points of view, many times distant, of whoever sits in the audience.

These differentiations, in spite of being fundamental at a time in which questions were made on the singularity of the seventh art in relation to other arts, are somewhat limiting. Actually, they should be seen as more gradative than hermetic. What I intend to show, through the analysis of *Moi, un noir*, is how Jean Rouch's films open an authorial space for the native actor's creative interventions, giving a new reach to considerations on the actor in cinema and on the native in anthropology, which will resonate in both *Nouvelle Vague* and contemporary anthropology, as I briefly mention in the end of this article.

language. In a little-known experience carried out between 1916 and 1917 with two actors, one more experienced than the other, and alternating their scenes in the same image sequence, the semantic result was different. Kuleshov concluded that, through classical montage, it is not always possible to modify the semantic work of an actor (KULESHOV 1974, 192).

5. Pirandello and Arnheim are authors cited by Walter Benjamin (1955) in his argument on the alienation of the film actor.

6. The notion of *impersonation*, according to Barry King, comes from the theater and establishes that: "in playing any character, the 'real' personality of the actor should disappear into the part or, conversely, that if the range of the actor is limited to parts consonant with his or her personality then this constitutes 'poor' acting. This latter, negatively value converse, I shall refer to, hereafter, as personification" (1985, 30). King does not intend to endorse such a hierarchy of modes of acting, but precisely to show, in his article, that personification in film and television does not necessarily mean poor acting, on the contrary it refers to these media typical feature of demanding that male and female actors use their physical and personal characteristics as constitutive elements in their roles.

Some questions may help us see certain difficulties to accept those definitions not only in regard to *Moi, un noir*, but also to *Jaguar* and *Cronique d'un été* [*Chronicle of a Summer*], among other films by the same director. Would Oumarou Ganda, in his performance as Edward G. Robinson in *Moi, un noir*, be representing himself? And what about Petit Touré, whose character named Eddie Constantine plays the role of the American Federal Agent Lemmy Caution? Would this be a process of impersonation in a character, or of personification? Would their ways of being shown be more important in the construction of these characters than their “post-synchronized” voices? Of course these are rhetorical questions serving to illustrate how certain formulations, once canonical in cinema studies, are left with no simple answer in view of Jean Rouch’s cinema production.

It is interesting to notice how the discussion on the role of actors in cinema gained importance by the time Rouch was filming. The possibility of shooting long takes, as perceived by the renowned critic from *Cahiers du Cinéma* André Bazin (2006; 2018), opened a space in which actors felt looser when performing their interpretations, without cuts to interrupt them. Examples, according to Bazin, would be found in Orson Welles’ films, since this filmmaker shaped his directing instructions on the actors’ interpretations. Rouch and the actors in his films also made use of this strategy.

If currently the contribution of actors to filmmaking is more recognized within film studies, there are not many analysis treating the performers bodily uses and techniques as being fundamental to cinematic narrative yet. Baron and Carnick (2008) provide an interesting methodology to analyze the performances of actors in films. They argue that the verisimilitude of an interpretation is constituted by the uses of body muscles and the voice according to a determined rhythm, frequency, flux and strenght that enables them to embody the conflicts on the script, even within the limits of the cinematic apparatus. In that sense, it is important to assess: 1) the use of the space by the actor within the scene; 2) the time: velocity and rhythm of gestures in a film sequence and 3) the weight and strenght in the uses of the body, in the contraction and relaxation of the muscles. Such bodily procedures adopted to manage time and space indicate the ways through which the actors embody their scripts, revealing the personal conflicts of the character through gesturing details, range and variations.

For an anthropologist, it is difficult to leave unnoticed, in Baron and Carnick’s proposal, a possible dialogue with Marcel Mauss’ classical essay *The Body Techniques* (1934/2003). The means of using the body, as taught by Mauss, are culturally acquired, and cinema would be a mean

of transmitting body techniques, as he explains through his famous example on how women actors in American films influenced the ways of walking of French young women at the beginning of the twentieth century. On his analysis, Baron and Carnick show how acting techniques are modified through time, as attested by the different cinema versions of *Romeo and Juliet*, or the visible differences that show in a comparison between Akira Kurosawa's *Seven Samurai* (1954) and its American western version, *The Magnificent Seven* (John Sturges, 1960). The cultural differences between the Japanese and the American versions in regards to knowledge and meaning of expressions are noticeable – Kurosawa, for instance, works on the *Noh* theater expressions and on stage movements from the Kabuki, which is missing in the American western.

Gestures, ways of walking and body skills, as proposed by Tim Ingold, trace lines (2007 and 2015)⁷. In that sense, I consider possible to analyze films by looking at the lines the actors draw on each scene. Thus, classical Hollywood cinema would have prioritized a way of generating narrative continuity in which, from one shot to another, a continuous line was drawn, leading to an end⁸, whereas cinema movements such as *Nouvelle Vague* and *Cinema Novo* would search for a narrative based on discontinuous lines, leading to different directions. Since, as Ingold states, lines tell stories, I consider that the lines drawn between takes in cinema mesh together in a plot, that is, the story inhabiting the ways in which the lines are woven. If lines that are sketched by the actors' movements are central elements for the edition of film sequences, in each sequence, the lines express the characters' feelings, drawn on their faces, hands, arms and legs, using an amount of body strength, fluidity and contraction in close or distant shots.

I propose to focus on that dimension of *Moi, un noir*, in addition to the camera angles, the edition and the voice, in order to show how, in this film, Jean Rouch, Oumarou Ganda and Petit Touré create a new mode

7. According to Ingold, lines “[...] give us life. Life began when lines began to emerge and to escape the monopoly of blobs. Where the blob attests to the principle of territorialisation, the lines bear out the contrary principle of deterritorialisation” (2015, p. 4). That is, in his view lines allow beings to mesh together with other beings, giving us life and creating life. Lines are traced in the movement of beings, whether their gestures, their wayfaring, their inscriptions, their sounds or other kinds of movement that leave traces: “ever since people have been speaking and gesturing, they have also been making and following lines” (2007, 3).

8. As Ismail Xavier teaches: in classical cinema “[i]t is necessary that this world is presented as being ‘full of sense’ and unified; it is necessary that representation offers to conscience the illusion that its synthesis operations, which establish a continuity and a purpose to things, are essentially objective. And narrative continuity in classical cinema is the great monument that was erected to satisfy these needs” (2005, p. 153). In this passage, Xavier comments Jean Louis Baudry's reading on classical cinema, featured on *Cinémathique* review, with which he disagrees, arguing that the idea of a transparency of the image vis-à-vis reality would be part of a bourgeois ideology. Baudry's and that review's proposal is that of a deconstruction cinema to counter classical cinema.

of acting in cinema, and then to make further notes on how these dialogues relate to knowledge production in anthropology.

FILMING CONDITIONS AND ROUCH'S ANTI-DIRECTION OF ACTORS

It must be remembered that *Moi, un noir* was filmed with a 16mm Bell&Howell camera, so the shots would last no more than 25 seconds (Gonçalves 2008). This restricted the duration of the long takes showing Oumarou Ganda's and Petit Touré's movements. Nevertheless, faced with such a limitation and also in light of the impossibility of synchronized sound recording, Rouch transformed technical difficulties into strengths, by giving Ganda and Touré the microphone, so they could interpret their own actings. In addition, he tried to shoot images with greater depth of focus and extended the long shots through editing.

According to Rose Hikiji, Sylvia Caiuby Novaes and Alexandrine Boudreault-Founier, Rouch teaches us that the director does not have total authority over the documentary, which “necessarily implies a space of acting freedom for those who are filmed and more: it implies the collaboration between who films and who is filmed” (2016, 40).

In Rouch's case, this statement could not be more accurate. According to Paul Henley (2009), that filmmaker had a more general idea of the film script, but it was never written down. This was a “script in the oral tradition”, as it was called by Philo Bergstein (Bergstein *apud* Henley, 2009, 261), one of Rouch's collaborators. The orality of the script allowed the actors to improvise and re-create the general idea proposed by Rouch. In *Petit à Petit*, for example, Safi Faye remembers that Rouch refused to direct her in scene, even when she asked him to. Also according to Henley, the golden rule of ethnofiction was the chronological shooting of the scenes, one take and one angle per scene. Before the take, what actors did was to experiment the space and its possibilities. This was not properly a rehearsal and it was happening in order to allow of improvisation and the unexpected to eclose. In *Moi, un noir*, as Rouch explains at the beginning of the film, the script was restricted to instructions saying they should perform their own selves, it was a space “where they could do all sorts of things and say all sorts of things”. Maybe this is the foundation of the ways through which Rouch intends to achieve something Ana Lúcia Ferraz (2013) identified as a pathetic dimension in his films: using improvisation and the unexpected as parts of a dramatization process to reach a different condition.

This filming method developed by Rouch shows, on the one hand, his adherence to the ethnographic fieldwork method of following what the natives do and say – and maybe this is why he insists on not directing the native actors. On the other hand, the anthropologist filmmaker

accepts the idea that ethnography is founded on a narrative, envisaging a chronological shooting, scene by scene, in which improvisation could make the unexpected eclose and adding drama to the narrative.

In *Moi, un noir*, collaboration and improvisation started with the choice of who would participate in the filming, mediated by Oumarou Ganda himself – who introduced Abidjan dwellers to Rouch – and they continued throughout the shootings and sound recordings. As remembered by Rouch: “We put together the narration in two days – for a film that was two hours long at that point. [Ganda] was enchanted and so was able to play so much in his narration” (Rouch *apud* Gonçalves, 120).

In his films, Rouch was trying to achieve a narrative based on improvisation and the unexpected, starting from a script in the oral tradition and avoiding assuming a position of authority as a filmmaker. This resulted in greater freedom for the actors, who could intervene in both the oral script and the audio post-production. In that sense, it is possible to consider these films as shared productions and to acknowledge the native-actors as authors as well. Nevertheless, this does not appear so explicitly in the opening credits of the film, it is rather shown in other ways: before the opening letterings starting with “A film by Jean Rouch” are shown, this filmmaker’s voice-off is heard, presenting Oumarou Ganda and Petit Touré and saying, in plural form, “this is how we improvised this film”. Omarou Ganda and Petit Touré are thus embodied in the making of *Moi, un noir*.

This shared authorship, as we will see, also shows in the splitted voice off space between Rouch, Oumarou Ganda and Petit Touré, as well as in their ways of narrating and interpreting the film sequences. It is interesting to notice that, from a strict anthropological point of view, Ganda’s and Touré’s narration of the images would be equivalent to adding the native’s interpretation to an ethnographic text – something that only started to happen more systematically from the 1980s onwards, resulting from the post-modern and contemporary ethnographies search for a shared authorship, in which the idea of “giving voice” to the native appeared (Marcus, 1991)⁹. In that sense, the image, in Rouch’s view, had the power of enabling the participation of natives who would not speak or read the academic language in which modern ethnographic monographies were written. Before entering this discussion on the making of anthropological knowledge, let us see more closely how the shared creation of *Moi, un noir* gains expression in their voices, gestures and bodies.

9. I will get back to this complex discussion by the end of this article.

OUMAROU GANDA'S AND PETIT TOURÉ'S LINES

In short, *Moi, un noir* narrates the daily life of young Nigerien immigrants, such as Edward Robinson and Eddie Constantine, who are looking for a job in Abidjan, on the Ivory Coast. During their hard labor routine as dockers and walking vendors and their weekend recreational moments, Ganda's and Touré's voices off introduce their subjective dimensions, that is, their frustrations and dreams: the desire of having cars, women and money, like Hollywood stars do.

Oumarou Ganda, by the time of his participation in this movie, was working as Rouch's research assistant. In *Moi, un noir*, he performs the role of himself – an immigrant who does side gigs and then starts to work for the anthropologist filmmaker. But that role as an immigrant, within the context of this film, is not similar to the life he had. Oumarou Ganda adds an oniric dimension to it, by impersonating Edward G. Robinson – the character of a successful Hollywood actor.

In turn, Eddie Constantine was himself an actor and singer who – according to Gonçalves (2008) – participated in more than 30 police comedy films in the 1950s, playing the role of the detective Lemmy Caution. In *Moi, un noir*, he plays Petit Touré, an immigrant: a walking vendor who, paradoxically, wants to be himself, that is, the actor who performs detective Caution. In sum, this is a sort of reversed dream of himself.

It is interesting to notice that Oumarou Ganda – the amateur actor who was supposed to provide a greater documental reality coefficient to this film (since he was an immigrant himself) – gained more space in the edited version than Petit Touré, since the two of them are performers of themselves (immigrants, actors) and of others (actors, immigrants) in this production. Both are indexes of documental and fictional value. Their situation reveals a sense of composition that overcomes the strictest classifications of each type of film. Another important aspect of this configuration is that it brings the figures of the actor and the immigrant closer to each other. An image of the actor as an immigrant within the film is then created – the actor/immigrant being somebody who travels many ways, goes to many places, crosses borders. Would the actor, in a movie, be always a foreigner in another person's (a director's) territory, which he tries to shape in his own way – intervening, as the immigrant does, in his new homeland? And vice-versa: would not immigrants be – the film invites us to ask – performers of themselves in different contexts, foreigners looking for rock fissures or cracks they can pass through in order to increase their existences reach?¹⁰

10. I thank Tatiana Lotierzo for these reflections, which also dialogue with questions from her thesis, *Erosion on a piece of paper* (Lotierzo, 2019). As suggested by her, that configuration may be implicated in another issue, that is, colonization: actually, the

A sense of verossimilitude is strongly expressed by Ganda's voice off narration, modulating his smile and joy for participating in a film, at the beginning of *Moi, un noir* (Fig. 1), as well as his sadness and anger, gaining more space in the course of the narrative (Fig. 2). Touré's Eddie Constantine, in spite of sharing Ganda's Edward Robinson's love for women and desire to have money, materializes his dreams differently from his friend: he lives a better daily life due to his walking vendor steady job and, thus, he gets to spend the night with Nathalie, to eat at a restaurant and to have a professional haircut (Fig. 3). However, as announced at the beginning of the film, he takes his role as an American Federal Agent so seriously that he ends up being arrested for three months.



FIGURE 1
Oumarou Ganda's
first appearance
in the film.

white director is himself an outsider in Ivory Coast, stepping on one or many territories that are not his own (that country, the lives that are presentified there) and of which he claims his fair share through that film. If the land does not belong to him, he still can be in possession of "his own creation" of it – the film. In parallel, the actors are exhibited as immigrants, outcast from their homeland and, nevertheless, they reclaim their property over this new territory by intervening on the film plot. This analysis comes under the inspiration of the inga artist Benjamín Jacanamijoy, who also intervenes in territories from a *Time of Stolen Thoughts*, as he translates the word "colonization".

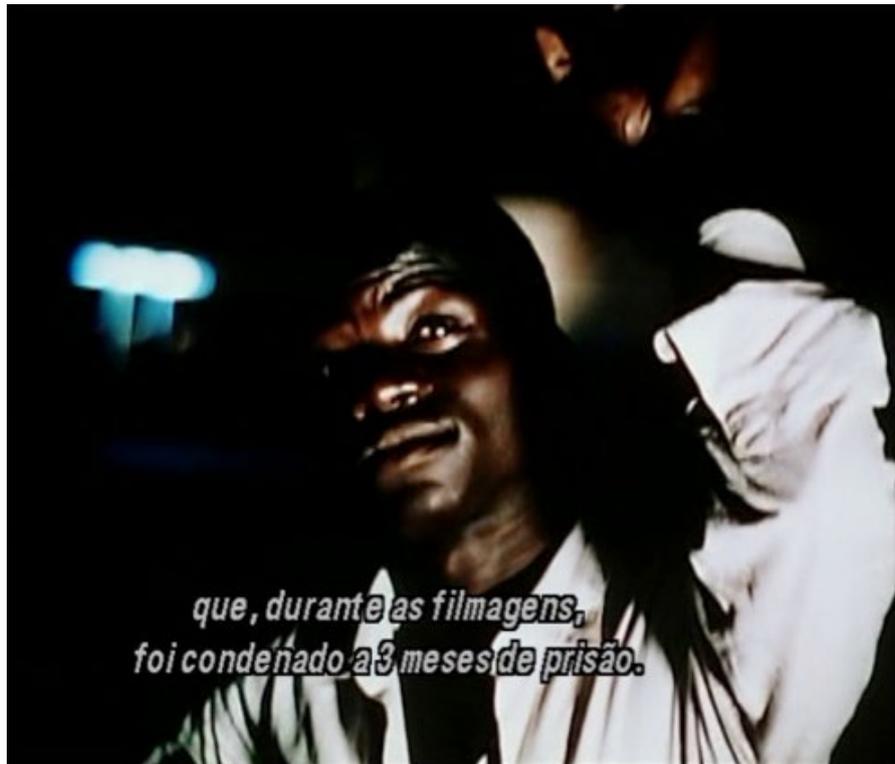


FIGURE 2
Eddie
Constantine's
presentation.



FIGURE 3
Eddie Constantine
goes to a
restaurant.

Eddie Constantine's misfortune is not central to the narrative; he builds his character as a calm vendor-cum-agent, whose facial expressions do not show wrinkles of pain. His face musculature is usually relaxed and he always keeps a sincere *bon vivant* smile (Fig. 4). His posture is also erect, forming a straight line and he strolls at a leisurely pace. His voice impostation, when speaking French with an American accent, is soft and almost unmodulated. Petit Touré builds, in Eddie Constantine, the figure of a seductive man who never loses his pose – or at least this is what is possible to see in the filmed sequences and what is expressed by his manner of speaking. The news on his incarceration, at the beginning and at the end of the film, is breaking expectations to some degree and thus the character Touré builds himself is kept at a certain distance from the public.

It is possible to say Edward G. Robinson is a symmetrical reverse of Eddie Constantine. To the former, everything goes wrong in the course of the narrative, his job does not bring satisfaction to his desires, women do not care about him and leisure moments remind him how fleeting happiness is. It is only at the level of daydreaming, when he becomes the boxing fighter Edward Ray Sugar Robinson and when he goes back to some fabled memories from the Indochina war that we see genuine smiles in Robinson's face. For him, daily life is tedious and dreaming does not allow him to become another person; for Constantine, daily life is like a dream and becoming so truly another person turns out to be a nightmare.



FIGURE 4
Eddie Constantine
dancing, with
serenity.

It is important to mention within brackets an understanding of Rouch's conception of dreams, for it allows of getting to grips with the character composition of this film. According to Gonçalves (2008), Rouch considers dreaming from the perspective of his own experience as an anthropologist and through his dialogue with the artistic *avant-garde*. Among the Dogon, Rouch learned that “‘Make-believe’ what we say is true... to make-believe puts us closer to reality” (Rouch *apud* Gonçalves, 2008, p. 111) – this is something he understood as a way of fabling stories, which was present in his films.

In addition, there is a surrealistic inspiration to this filmmaker, “[...] Rouch's idea on dreaming is even combined to the definition of a ‘surrealistic philosophy’ in which, as Éluard writes down, ‘...it is the hope or hopelessness that will determine, on the dreamer, (...) the action of his imagination’ (Éluard, 1939:81 *apud* Gonçalves, 2008 p. 122). Luis Buñuel's film *Los Olvidados* [*The Young and the Damned*] (1950) would become a reference to Rouch, who saw the surrealist filmmaker as someone who knew “how to cross the borders between dream and reality... the dream is just as real, maybe more so than reality. This is what I tried to do in *Moi, un noir*, ... jumping between the two” (Rouch *apud* Gonçalves, 2008, 122).

Modulation between dream and reality is visible in the expressive construction of Robinson. Oumarou Ganda and Rouch create a complex character who expresses, most of the film, a shade of sadness and anger against the surrounding world. The first image of *Moi, un noir* is a medium shot in which he appears smiling and welcoming the spectators. His second appearance, in close-up, shows him with a hardened expression on his face, with a wrinkled forehead and disgusted eyebrows (Fig. 5, 6 e 7). We get to follow his hesitant steps through the town while he looks for work, in his curved way of walking with the knees slightly turned inwards. His arms move awkwardly sometimes, as well as his head, occasionally turning in both directions, impatiently. These movements are emphasized by the edition, exploring sequences of takes showing him going from the left to the right of the screen, from the bottom to the top and taking the opposite directions as well. His expressions and body movements are not a contrast to what we hear from his *voice off*: “Life is complicated! Life is sad! Some live well, eat well... But I... I live on the other side; I live in Treichville. Our houses are cabins... Our lives are different...”, he says. This speech is modulated from maximized to minimized vocal intensity, with hesitations and exclamations. Many times, Robinson lets out an ironic laugh, when he tells how expensive things are for him.

Differences in the composition of Oumarou Ganda's character, that is, Robinson, and Petit Touré's character, that is, Constantine, created by themselves and by Rouch, result in a diversified portrait of Nigerien migrants,

what is extremely innovative in what refers to the construction of black characters in Brazilian, European and the American cinemas (Hall, 1997; Stam and Shohat, 2006; Hirano, 2013 and 2019). By showing immigrants with different desires and occupations, Rouch, Ganda and Touré individualize their characters, providing them complex subjectivities. It is true that other portraits are possible – and filmmakers from the the African continent currently demand this from Rouch’s films (Sztutman, 2004). As Bhabha (2007) discusses, there will be no point of complete identification between the black spectatorship and their representations, rather, signification process is unstable, ambivalent and variable, opening a gap between the new and infinite forms of representation given to white people and the forms given to racial or ethnically stigmatized groups. The problem of the stereotype is precisely to set a limited number of representations of race and ethnic groups in constant transformation. Rouch, Ganda, Touré and their other selves express a multiplicity through the modulation of desires, dreams and temperaments and explore the contraposition of different subjects. The name of the film is interesting, in such regard: on the one hand, it highlights the race marker, on the other hand, it singularizes it. Ganda and Touré are “*un noir* [a black man]” among many possible ways of being black¹¹.



FIGURE 5
Close-up at
Oumarou
Ganda’s face.

11. The impact of colonization in Rouch’s films is as a complex issue to be addressed and it still deserves another article. Rouch searched to go beyond boundaries, through the relation between anthropologist and native, as well as through the relation between filmmaker and actor, but it is still necessary to note he is the one being credited as the author of that film, even though its construction process was shared. If crediting himself the authorship of the film reveals how power relations might have taken place, it is important to notice that, by attributing the authorship to himself, he also would be taking responsibility for its consequences, either the positive or the negative ones.



FIGURE 6
The hesitant
walking of
Oumarou Ganda.



FIGURE 7
Buying lunch.

On his way home after a day of work, rigidity opens space for a more relaxed side of Robinson's. Instead of going to the ball, he practices boxing. The dimension of seriousness of this character is seen at that moment, when he focuses on warming up and again on each punch. Against the dark background, the glowing sweat on Robinson's black skin becomes the stage for a play of the flashing light, shining in the darkness. This sequence, acclaimed by Jean-Luc Godard for its aesthetic beauty, expresses the Rouchian romantic project in regards to the acquisition of knowledge. As stated by Anna Grinshaw, Rouch's project "is inspired by the notion of happiness, [and the filmmaker] thrives in the shadows between darkness and light [...]" (2001, p. 122). No wonder Robinson, in that sequence, talks about his dreams, and not his misfortunes (fig. 8).

Under the blazing Saturday sun, Rouch presents the Nigerien immigrants weekend. Robinson is having fun in the sea, but when he gets out to rest he says: "everybody is happy, but I am sad" (fig. 9). Straight after, a subjective camera takes us to a boxing fight. Robinson punches his opponent and, after a few rounds, he wins. This is the sequence in which Robinson appears smiling for the longest time in the film (fig. 10). His smile, however, brings an air of sadness, either because of what we heard from him before, or because he says, superimposing his voice to the image: "Unhappy! I am not a boxer fighter. This is just a dream". His expression works as an added tone to that explanation. The wrinkle of tension on his forehead and the depth of his gaze contradict his open smile, revealing the presence of ambivalent feelings in both image and voice, what summarizes the tension in the plot. According to Rouch, the documentary should express the heaven and the hell of these youths who were at once capable of facing hard labor and dreaming happily (Gonçalves, 2008).

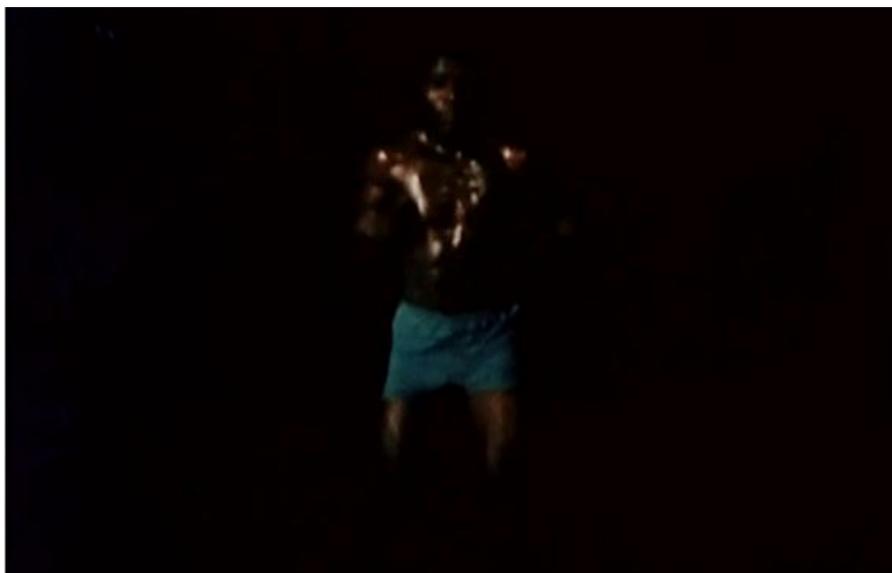


FIGURE 8
Oumarou Ganda
training boxe.
The play of light
and shadow.



FIGURE 9
On the beach,
feeling sad.



FIGURE 10
Through the
subjective camera,
dreaming he
wins at boxing.

Saturday night comes. Differently from Constantine, who seduces Nathalie, Robinson ends up alone (fig. 11). On Sunday morning both of them go to the church: Constantine, to the Catholic; Robinson, to the Mosque. In the afternoon, they both go to Goubé, to see young people dancing and singing. At night, Robinson tries his luck with Dorothy Lamour,

but he is ignored while she feels attracted to an Italian man (fig. 12). He goes to a different bar, gets drunk and is finally expelled without paying the bill. On Monday, at dawn, he knocks on Dorothy Lamour's door and is surprised to see the same Italian man. They fight each other and Robinson is given a beating. In real life, he is far from being a champion fighter. He then gets back to work and meets his friends Elite and Facteur, who tell him Constantine was arrested. Elite and Facteur go look for help in order to get Constantine out of jail. Robinson meets Petit Jules – a younger friend – and they look at a group of kids playing on the beach, while they remember their childhood in Nigeria.



FIGURE 11
In the ballroom,
Saturday night.



FIGURE 12
Seducing Dorothy
Lamour..

The final sequences of this film are a series of long takes in which Robinson tells Petit Jules some fabled memories of his war experience in Indochina. With arm gestures, he throws himself on the ground and says he killed many enemies in that war. A smile comes back to his face. His enthusiasm shows again in the voice off, ending the film (Figs. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 e 18).



FIGURES 14-18
Oumarou Ganda
staging his
memories from
the Indochina war.

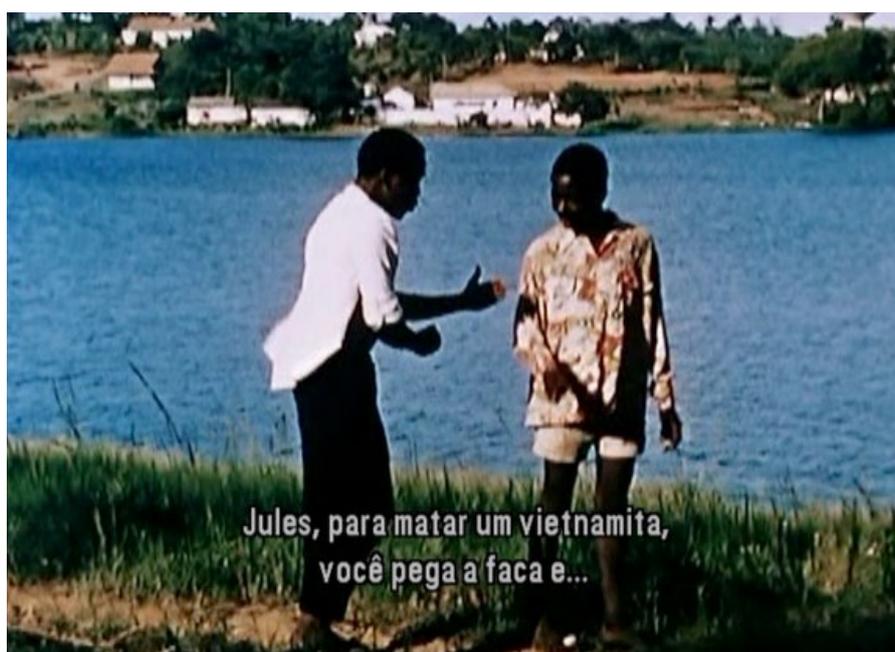


FIGURE 14
Oumarou Ganda
encenando sua
rememoração
da Guerra da
Indochina. Fonte:
Eu, um negro,
de Jean Rouch
(1958/2006).





CODA: THE NATIVE ACTOR/AUTHOR

It is possible to say Oumarou Ganda plays three kinds of interpretation in his construction of Edward G. Robinson: firstly, there is everyday life; secondly, the dream, mediated by the subjective camera, of being the boxing champion Edward Ray Sugar Robinson and of being with Dorothy Lamour. In both cases, we find ourselves seeing the actor's imagination of his role. The last dimension is that of the fabled memory, when he plays the Indochina war soldier, within the context of daily life. There is no subjective camera, we just see him jumping around, wondering what he might be imagining by looking at his body movements.

Amidst these three kinds of interpretation, in a tension between reality and fiction, daily life and dream, memory and daydreaming, being himself and being other, Oumarou Ganda modulates his expressions. In turn, the professional actor Petit Touré/Constantine spends most of the film in the daily life dimension, to end up in an extra-daily dimension, in which his character is arrested. He goes from one extreme to the other, without preserving an unstable balance between them, as Oumarou Ganda/Edward Robinson does. Both actors, given their differences, re-create characters in search of themselves. *Moi, un noir* performs a transition from the classical documentary character illustrating a social situation to the modern character, a figure in crisis, in search for him/herself. In that sense, Oumarou Ganda's performance, between a smile full of tension and an ironic kind of sadness, expresses this transition as well as the camera that provides images with greater depth of focus and longer takes.

Moi, un noir had strong impacts on Nouvelle Vague. The series of long takes in which Ganda remembers the Indochina war inspired François Truffaut's composition of the final take of *Les quatre cents coups* [*The four hundred blows*] (1959), in which Antoine Doinel runs away from the orphanage (Cf. Henley, 2009). Jean-Luc Godard dedicates no less than three pages of his critique of *Moi, un noir*, featured in *Cahiers du Cinema*, to exalt Rouch's mastership in using the camera, but also his direction of actors. Rouch, through improvisation and amateur actors would have achieved, according to Godard, a similar result as the Italian Neorealism, Pirandello and Stanislavsky had after dedicating a long time to planning (Henley, 2009).

As mentioned at the beginning, André Bazin, in *The Evolution of the Language of Cinema* (2018), analyzes how the advent of sound in cinema opened space for disseminating the use of long takes and depth of focus, reintroducing "ambiguity into the structure of the image, if not as a necessity, at least as a possibility" (Bazin, 2018, 117), but it also opened a greater space for the actors to move within the take, so that they could intervene with

greater ownership in film direction. These would be the manners used by Nouvelle Vague to narrate the crises of the modern character¹².

It does not sound exaggerated to say that, in terms of the development of the language of the cinema, the ethnographic experience and the proposal of a shared anthropology made by Rouch were no less important, resulting in a method of filming that was capable of embodying knowledge from his interlocutors, either on the script, written in the oral tradition, or in the manner of adopting the Dogon way of fabling stories to shooting, or even through the act of giving the actors a space of free improvisation and creation. In other words, the epistemological proposal of a shared anthropology through the cinema might have made possible a shared cinema through the anthropology.

In terms of anthropological innovation, the question about Oumarou Ganda's and Petit Touré's spaces of creation on the film is equally fruitful. Marc Piault analyses that, within the social context of Nigerien immigration to Ivory Coast in search of a job, *Moi, un noir* shows a kind of existence that is "little by little perceived as a possible choice, as an autonomous and original construction, a field of invention, of creation, not only as a simple stage on the order of a general determinism" (1997, 191). Oumarou Ganda, according to Piault, "assumes the status of the subject" (1997, 191) who lead the spectator him/herself, breaking cinema's invisible fourth wall. In that sense, Rouch's shared anthropology

is not a simple method of effective participation, it addresses the unsurmountable paradox of alterity that anthropology has, precisely, to assume as a function: how to show and understand difference without neither turning it irreducible, nor reducing it to the identical. The question is equally that of making what is strange to one and the Other accesible and even that of making accesible to one, as well to the Other what is still incomprehensible (Piault, 1997, 190).

The status of subject assumed by Oumarou Ganda and Petit Touré is made possible precisely because of their narration of film sequences, but also because of their performances as Robinson and Constantine. They are not only immigrants, a sociological category, but subjects with their dreams and crises in the face of a tedious daily life. In that sense, their acting is neither a personalization, nor an impersonation but rather, following Gonçalves (2008) Deleuze-inspired interpretation, they both are becoming-other:

12. The points of connection between Jean Rouch's cinema and the Nouvelle Vague would deserve to be treated in a new article. Here I bring these informations in order to suggest how the relation he built with his interlocutors, coming from an epistemological basis from anthropology, may have introduced a new kind of relation between director and actor, especially in French cinema.

Becoming is never imitating, acting like or conforming to a model, whether of fairness or truth. There is no term from which one departs, nor one to which one arrives or should arrive. Nor are there two terms which are interchangeable. The question “what’s become of you” is particularly stupid. For as someone transforms him/herself, what he transforms changes as much as he/she does (Deleuze, 1998, 3, free translation).

Ethnographic becomings, the constant processes of transformation of subjects and beings combined with an egalitarian dialogue between the anthropologist and the native have been challenging to contemporary anthropology. As Renato Sztutman (2004) noticed, Jean Rouch was already a well-known figure to 2000’s cinema Brazilian investigative documentary filmmakers. In turn, his contributions to Brazilian anthropology were yet to be revealed. If currently that director became a reference for anthropologists from Brazil as well, it is possible that it happened because – as shown by Sztutman –, Rouchian project for anthropology envisaged “the possibility of creation of a dialogue with the researched society, now enhanced by cinema” (2004, 52) – something that is increasingly more present. It is interesting, from the point of view of anthropology, that theory, for Rouch, is “included in the praxis of cinema, which is the real condition of producing a kind of knowledge that is possible to share, one that is built as a two-way process between observers and the observed” (p. 52).

More than conclusions to be drawn, however, what remains are questions. To what extent would it be possible to say the film *Moi, un noir* is a manner of betraying our own language in favor of other language, or of evidencing moments when “the form intrinsic to the content of the first [native] modifies the content implicit in the form of the second [anthropologist] (...)”, in Eduardo Viveiros de Castro’s (2015, 44) words?

Even if these proposals from anthropology may at times sound distant from Rouch, bringing them close to his work seems possible, considering *Moi, un noir* actually meant to “betray” the canons of what cinema defined back then as documentary and fiction, and anthropology, as science and art¹³. This translation/betrayal, by the way, while pursuing a way of accessing what really mattered for the actors and not only something the director chose as an ethnographic problem¹⁴, also put in

13. According to Renato Sztutman, to Rouch “it would be possible to consider the convergence of interests between the scientist and the artist, and, from their engagement, a new anthropology might reveal itself”. In regards to art, Sztutman highlights: “With Rouch [...] art can find satisfaction in chance, *mise-en-scène* opens itself to the contingent and turns itself into something between fiction and documentary film” (2004, p. 52).

14. “The ‘art of anthropology’ (Gell, 1999), I think, is the art of determining the problems of each culture, not of finding solutions for the problems posed by our own” (Viveiros de

jeopardy the anthropological project itself: neither the modernist premise that it is possible to know the other scientifically (or artistically), nor the post-modern one, proposing to “give voice to the native” without necessarily asking about the natives’ own ways of knowing (Strathern 1982; 2013) and fabling fit properly in that kind of cinema. Still, this is a bewildering co-creation that questions both formally and conceptually its own condition of existence. Rouch’s *voice off* is aimed at contextualizing, to the European spectatorship, these immigrants’ situation, with no intention of surpassing Oumarou Ganda’s and Petit Touré’s performances and narrations.

Documentary truth – an issue that is always present in the discussions about non-fiction motion pictures – becomes, through Rouch’s encounter with Ganda, Touré and others, a fabled concept in itself. As proposed by Sztutman, it is not about “the naked truth, but about filmic truth, the truth in cinema. It is not about the visible truth, but about the truth to be unveiled, inaccessible to the eye, except when it is mediated by the camera. That truth is reached, it is worthy to stress, through the imaginary and the imagination” (2005, 122).

If it is possible to consider *Moi, un noir* truth as being collectively authored by Rouch, Oumarou Ganda and Petit Touré – a truth tailored by each of them to fit their own views –, and if it is possible that Ganda and Touré are considered actors-authors in that film, a last question remains: would it be equally possible to transform the formula “native-actor/author”, referred in the title of this article, into “native-anthropologist”? If in fact Rouch, Oumarou Ganda and Petit Touré twist our language and the cinema language in *Moi, un noir*, it seems that this ethnofiction reaches, both ethnographically and cinematographically, such a transformation – what would be impossible if all three of them were not present.

TRANSLATION
Tatiana Lotierzo

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ANTHROPOLOGY AND PHOTOGRAPHY IN BRAZIL: THE BEGINNING OF THEIR HISTORY (1840-1970)¹

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the outset of the relationship between anthropology and photography in Brazil, aiming to systematize, for educational purposes, a history of the photographic production of an ethnographic character produced in the country from mid-19th to mid-20th century. That is, a timeframe prior the institutionalization of the discipline in Brazil, and the creation of the first research centers for Visual Anthropology, in the 1980s. Simultaneously to organizing such productions, we point gaps in the traced history that indicate important future developments. Thus, this paper addresses a story to be reconstructed that, even so, is worth telling.

KEYWORDS

Photography; Visual anthropology; Authorship; History; Brazil.

1. A previous version of this text was drafted for a training course in photographic production offered by IPHAN as part of a training for Cultural Heritage management between 2017 and 2018. I would like to thank the DPI/IPHAN's team, especially Ivana Medeiros Pacheco Cavalcante, who assisted me throughout the research and the development of this article. I would also like to thank the whole team at the research project "Antropologia, Fotografia e Patrimônio Imaterial no Brasil: uma perspectiva de gênero", which is currently being carried out at NAVISUAL/UFRGS: Marielen Baldissera, Debora Wobeto, Karen Käercher, Luisa Pitanga, Thayanne Freitas, Dienifer Medinger, Fernanda Zepka, Priscilla Ceolin and João Ribeiro.

A depiction is never just an illustration. It is the material representation, the apparently stabilised product of a process of work. And it is the site for the construction and depiction of social difference. To understand a visualisation is thus to inquire into its provenance and into the social work that it does. It is to note its principles of exclusion and inclusion, to detect the roles that it makes available, to understand the way in which they are distributed, and to decode the hierarchies and differences that it naturalises. And it is also to analyse the ways in which authorship is constructed or concealed... (Fyfe and Law 1988, 1)

INTRODUCTION

According to Barbosa and Cunha (2006), the formation of Visual Anthropology as a field of study has been debated since the 1950's, and no consensus on the term used to designate it exists. Some call it "Visual Anthropology", others "Anthropology of image", "audio-Visual Anthropology", "Anthropology of image and sound", etc. These different terminologies carry within themselves different debates about image—thought of as either a cultural artifact, a language, a tool or research method. In this article, Visual Anthropology refers to a worldview where knowledge is produced by images that raise questions related to ethics, methodologies, interpersonal relations, and social representations.



The history of Visual Anthropology has already been written and analyzed by several authors, both Brazilian and foreign (Heider 1995, Banks and Morphy 1997, Costa 2005, Samain 2005a; 2005b, Barbosa and Cunha 2006, Pink 2007a; 2007b). Some have analyzed paintings, others have used films and videos (Crawford and Simonsen 1992, Henley 1999, Caiuby Novaes et. Al 2017), photography (Kossoy, 1980; 2002, Becker 1996a, Edwards 1996; 2016, Pinney 1996, Guran 2012), drawing (Kuschnir 2016) etc. Some have used images on anthropologic research as a document (Barros and Strozenberg 1992), as a method (Collier Junior 1973, Menezes 1987, Becker 1996b, Kossoy 1999, Caiuby Novaes 2008; 2012), and as a language in itself (Guran 2002). Regarding its subject of study, the Western production has been the main focus of some scholars (Hockings 1975), while others focused on the Indian production (Pinney 1998), or the Brazilian one (Kossoy e Carneiro 1994, Monte-Mór 1995). All in all, there are as many studies as there are perspectives.

Studies conducted in Brazil have been aimed at both the national and foreign audio-visual production. Several books, articles, theses and dissertations in the field of Visual Anthropology have already been written, and most focus on the development of this field in an international context (Peixoto 1999), on the history of its institutionalization in Brazil (Eckert and Rocha 2016) or on the audio-visual production made by anthropologists (Gonçalves 2008). Fewer texts discuss the work of a specific photographer (Samain 1995; 2004, Tacca 2001, 2011, Segala 2005, Mauad 2009, Angotti-Salgueiro 2014, Espada 2014) or institution (Costa 2016a; 2016b), while some others focus on the relation between Anthropology and Photography (Samain 2005a; 2005b, Caiuby Novaes 2015).

Despite the growing number of academic publications dedicated to photographic essays², there is little knowledge among non-specialized researchers on how to build anthropological photographic narratives. Several authors have systematized theories on how to use it in research (Godolphim 1995, Guran 2000, Achutti 2004, Koury 2006), but so far, there is no publication dedicated to organizing the history of photographic production in Brazilian Visual Anthropology. This has great influence on understanding how this practice developed in the country, and on establishing concrete examples that show the possibilities of using photography in anthropological research.

Although pictures are easily taken nowadays thanks to photographic cameras and smartphones, and an anthropologist who does not produce images in the field is rare sight, usually these images are limited to personal blog posts or as mementos used, alongside journals and notebooks, after the fieldwork ends. Systematizing and publishing images produced during anthropological research remains something rarely done. Most researchers lack the knowledge to do so, or how to produce “efficient photographs”, as Guran (2000) puts it. That is, they are unable to make “good use of photographic language” (idem) to clearly demonstrate the intended anthropological content.

Even anthropologists who can photograph often feel insecure as to an image’s power to show ethnographic content or narratives, thus relying on verbal explanations. A complementary use of languages, as mentioned by Mitchell (2002), is still limited to a handful of professionals who sought, by themselves, complementary training in the field of photography (Peixoto 2019). This urges investing in systematizing the anthropological images that have already been produced and the ways in which these images are currently being produced in Brazil.

2. To name a few national examples, we have *Anuário Antropológico*, *PROA: Revista de Antropologia e Arte*, *Cadernos de Campo*, *Mindaú*, *Iluminuras* and *Fotocronografias*.

THE BEGINNING OF THIS HISTORY: RECORDS IN THE 19TH CENTURY

This article focuses on the relation between Anthropology and Photography in Brazil, aiming to construct a history of photography of an ethnographic character in the country. This is because, considering that since the first ethnographic expeditions anthropologists have brought photographic equipment to the field to record peoples seen as exotic, many of these images remain unknown to wider audiences.

In 1840, only a year after the daguerreotype had been invented, the first ever photograph in Latin America was taken. Made by Louis Comte, this image documented the *Paço Imperial*, in Rio de Janeiro, which had been the seat of the colonial government and, at the time of the picture, the seat of the Empire (Martins and Figueiredo 2017).



FIGURE 1
Paço Imperial.
Photo: Louis
Comte, 1840.³

D. Pedro II was the first Brazilian to ever have a photograph taken, and was also an important supporter of the practice in the country. Figure 2, a portrait taken by Marc Ferrez in 1885, reveals some of the strategies used in the period to create an imagined reality: behind the subject we see a fake backdrop placed there to neutralize the surroundings and enhance the character. The emperor is seated on a chair that offers support to remain still during the long exposure time required to make the image.

3. The images presented in this article were found in several collections and websites of the Internet, such as those of the Biblioteca Nacional, the Museu do Índio (RJ), the Itaú Cultural, Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros/USP, Museu de Astronomia e Ciências Afins (MAST / MCTIC) and Instituto Moreira Salles (IMS).

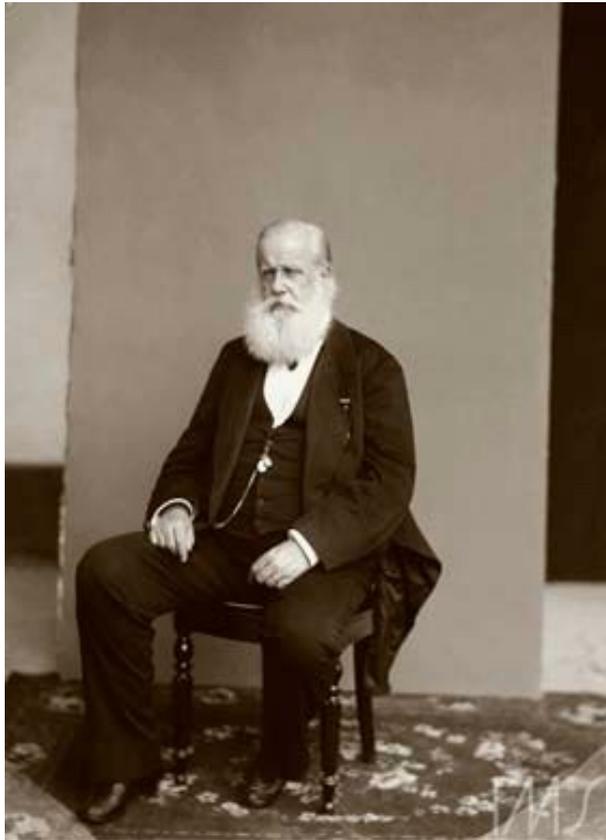


FIGURE 2
D. Pedro II. Photo:
Marc Ferrez,
1885. Collection:
Instituto Moreira
Salles.

In 1839, shortly before the first photograph was taken in Brazil, it took around fifteen minutes of exposure under strong natural light to obtain a photographic image. Reason why it was impossible to make portraits of people in movement. But only a few years later, in the 1840's, image stability and plate sensitivity were improved, lowering the required exposure time to about one minute. Later, larger, and brighter lenses were developed, which improved the process; to produce portraits, however, people still remained seated or bolstered by a support that enabled them to remain still for long periods of time. Images like the one of D. Pedro II, therefore, were quite common. And depending on the photographed subject, some people used to end up being decontextualized or even exoticized.

One of the first photographs with ethnographic features to be made in Brazil was taken by Arsênio da Silva, a photographer and painter from the state of Pernambuco. His image of a *Congado*⁴ performance was taken in Rio de Janeiro in 1865, presenting a staged scene with a well-organized composition.

4. The Congado, or Congada, is a traditional ritual celebration that dates to the 17th century which combines African and Catholic elements.

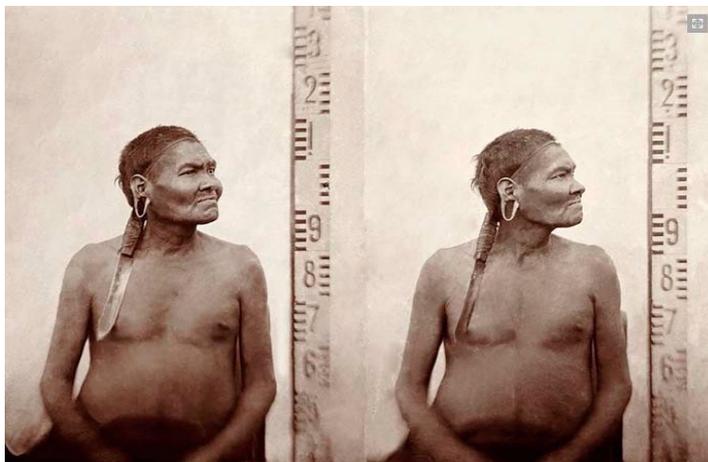
FIGURE 3
Congada. Photo:
Arsênio da Silva,
1865. Collection:
Biblioteca
Nacional.



Several photographers, Brazilian and foreign, registered scenes of 19th century everyday life in the big cities of Brazil. Enslaved Africans and indigenous peoples in their “natural habitat” were also registered. These images of slavery and of indigenous peoples in the forest – made in photography studios, as well as *in loco* – sparked great curiosity abroad and were sold as “*cartes de visite*”.

Several expeditions were conducted to better know the countryside and its peoples – mainly indigenous ones. In 1875, for example, Marc Ferrez acted as photographer of the Empire Geographic and Geologic Commission. In that position, he traveled and documented several different regions of the country, crossing great part of the São Francisco river, the coast and bay of Bahia, Pernambuco and some regions of the Amazon. On this journey, Ferrez photographed some Botocudo people, using tools of anthropometric measure.

FIGURE 4
Botocudo group
from Southern
Bahia. Photo:
Marc Ferrez,
1875. Collection:
Instituto Moreira
Salles.



In his photography studio, and on the streets, Ferrez registered portraits and scenes of turn of the century Brazilian everyday life. He photographed the imperial family and Rio's urban renewal project carried out by mayor Pereira Passos. During that same time, Militão de Azevedo opened a studio in São Paulo and photographed personalities like Castro Alves, Joaquim Nabuco, D. Pedro II and the empress Teresa Cristina. He also came to be known as a photographer who documented São Paulo's black population – not as slaves, but as regular citizens. Augusto Malta, another photographer of the period, was named official photographer of the Federal District (Rio de Janeiro at the time) in 1903⁵. He made several images of Rio's urban life, its architecture, cultural practices and of the transformations the city was undergoing. He documented the demolition of Morro do Castelo⁶, the Vaccine Rebellion⁷, the inauguration of Avenida Central (now Rio Branco Avenue), and of Christ the Redeemer statue, among others.

A few years before, between 1867 and 1868, German photographer Christoph Albert Frisch, on an expedition to the province of Amazonas, took around a hundred photographs – the first ever taken in the region. To take these, Frisch brought his studio to the forest so he could document the indigenous peoples in their environment. To overcome the technical limitations of the time, especially the long exposure time, he photographed the background separated from the portrait subjects, which were taken with a neutral background. Later, he would bring the pictures together and 'correct' them to present credible scenes.

The strategies adopted by Frisch, like photo staging, the use of multiple exposures and photomontage can be seen in many of present-day visual artists' works. Photographer Claudia Andujar, for instance, has produced several staged portraits of the Yanomami people for her work "Marcados". Sebastião Salgado, on a recent project in the Amazon, photographed the Korubos people against a black backdrop in a studio assembled in the forest, where he directed and used light to detach them from their surroundings. Highly edited portraits – with paintings inscribed over the images – were also frequently made by popular photographers in the Northeast region of Brazil.

During 1889 and 1900, Germans Herman Meyer and Theodor Koch-Grünberg went to the Xingu region and extensively documented their expedition. Their photographs showed objects of everyday use and special artifacts, all photographed against a white backdrop from different angles.

5. Brazil became a republic in 1889.

6. Morro do Castelo was a hill in the central region of Rio de Janeiro. Its demolition caused some controversy because it was one of the places where the city was founded.

7. Available from: <<https://library.brown.edu/create/fivecenturiesofchange/chapters/chapter-5/modernization-in-rio/>>.



FIGURES 5-7
Photos by
Christoph Albert
Frisch, 1867-
1868. Collection:
Instituto Moreira
Salles.

Some indigenous people were depicted in daily scenes or in group photographs taken to show their village. Koch-Grüntenberg's images were published as a typological atlas in *Indianertypen aus dem Amazonasgebiet* (*Types of Indian in the Amazon region*), in 1906, and in the fifth volume of *Vom Roraima Zum Orinoco*, in 1923. Some of his narratives about indigenous myths ended up being referenced by Mário de Andrade in his *Magnum Opus* "Macunaíma" (1928).

The most important expeditions organized in the country, though, were the ones commanded by Marshal Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon. Starting in 1890, they became iconic for the amount of ethnographic and iconographic material amassed, besides establishing the first indigenist policy initiatives in Brazil, such as the inauguration of the *Serviço de Proteção aos Índios* (Service for the protection of Indigenous peoples – SPI), in 1910.



FIGURE 8
Self-portrait with
the Paresi. Photo:
Major Thomaz
Reis. Collection:
Museu do Índio.

THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY

The leading photographer and filmmaker in the Rondon Commission was Major Luiz Thomaz Reis, who coordinated SPI's film and photography sector (Tacca 2001). On an expedition to Serra do Norte, along Marshal Rondon and anthropologist Edgard Roquette-Pinto, in 1912, he made a series of photographs about indigenous peoples that ended up inspiring the work of important anthropologists, like Luiz de Castro Faria and Claude Lévi-Strauss (Faria 2001).

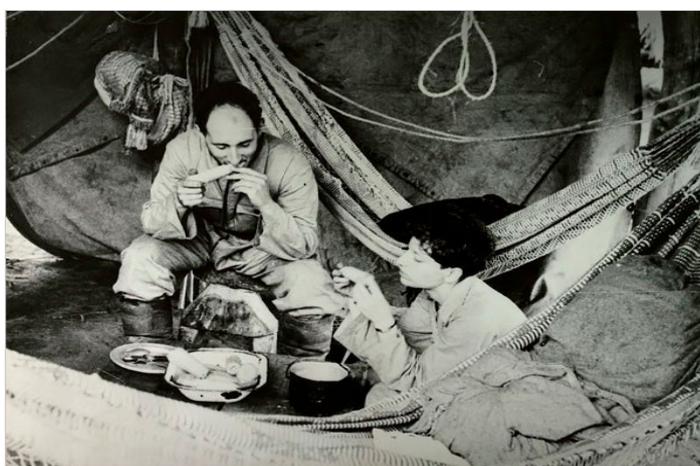


FIGURE 9
Claude and Dina
Lévi-Strauss, in
Mato Grosso,
1935-1936.
Collection: Musée
du Quai Branly.

Two years after Thomaz Reis, Castro Faria and Lévi-Strauss went on an expedition to Serra do Norte in 1938, a journey that became known as Expedition Lévi-Strauss. The expedition was extensively photographed by the couple Claude Lévi-Strauss and Dina Dreyfus, besides Castro Faria himself. From Lévi-Strauss, we came to know few photographs, some of them published in *Tristes trópicos* (1955). His theoretical work was completely separated from his visual production.



FIGURE 10
Kadiwéu Woman.
Photo: Claude
Lévi-Strauss,
1935. Published
in Lévi-Strauss,
Claude. *Tristes
Trópicos*. São
Paulo: Companhia
das Letras,
1996 [1955].

Castro Faria's photographs were recently published in the book *Um outro olhar: diário da Expedição à Serra do Norte* (Another look: journal of the expedition to Serra do Norte) (2001). In it, we discover that on journeying to Serra do Norte, Faria sought to follow in Roquette-Pinto's footsteps, who had documented the region decades before.

Castro Faria was, at the time, an intern at the National Museum in Rio de Janeiro, of which he would become the director decades later. It was thanks to Heloísa Alberto Torres, director of the museum, that he joined the expedition. She had introduced him to Rodrigo de Melo Franco and Mário de Andrade, who was director of the Department of Culture of the State of São Paulo. Close to the Lévi-Strauss couple⁸, Andrade acquired the government's approval for their expedition and negotiated Castro Faria's participation in it. His relationship with Mário de Andrade and Rodrigo de Melo Franco would, in the following decades, have great influence on Brazil's cultural heritage policy (Simão 2009).

8. Dina Dreyfus worked with Mário de Andrade at the Society of Ethnography and Folklore, as described later on.



FIGURES 11-12
Photos by
Castro Faria na
Expedição à Serra
do Norte, 1938.
Collection: Museu
de Astronomia e
Ciências Afins -
MAST/MCTIC.



FIGURE 13
Claude Lévi-
Strauss taking
pictures at Serra
do Norte. Photo:
Castro Faria, 1938.
Collection: Museu
de Astronomia e
Ciências Afins -
MAST/MCTIC.

Faria's photographs taken on this expedition showed objects and how they were made, their everyday and ritual uses, life in nature, etc. As photography was still seen as a documentation of reality, discussions about language, perspective or camera angles were nonexistent. The images were, themselves, museum artifacts.

The photographs taken by Castro Faria, Roquette-Pinto and Major Reis influenced the representation of indigenous peoples in Brazil, who were documented to preserve their memory and vestiges on the condition of endangered groups. These images, and those produced by Darcy Ribeiro, Heinz Forthmann and Harald Schultz between 1949 and 1951 for the SPI, shaped Brazil's idea of indigenous groups and anthropological photography (Costa 2016a).

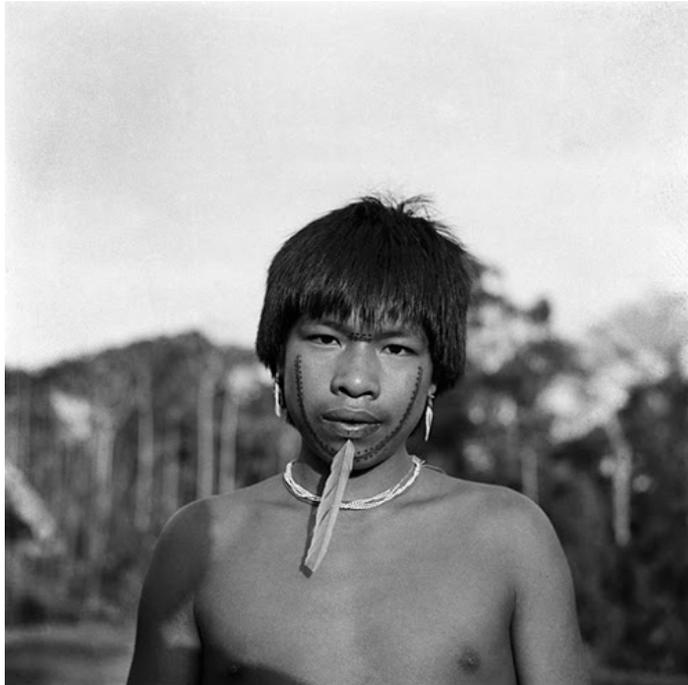


FIGURE 14
Urubu-Kaapor
group, Maranhão.
Photo: Darcy
Ribeiro, 1957.

In 1948, ten years after the Lévi-Strauss expedition, Darcy Ribeiro joined the SPI and married Berta Gleizer. That same year, both embarked on an eight-month fieldwork journey among the Kadiwéu, Kaiwá, Terena and OfaiéXavantes of southern Mato Grosso. According to Gleizer, on top of her university training, she learned Anthropology from Darcy Ribeiro in this trip and from typewriting his manuscripts from 1948 to 1974. (Fundação Darcy Ribeiro, 2009).



FIGURE 15
Berta Ribeiro.
Photo: Darcy
Ribeiro. Collection:
Museu do Índio, RJ.

Besides typewriting Ribeiro's manuscripts, according to anthropologist Roque Laraia,⁹ Berta Gleizer also photographed a lot, even more than Darcy himself. Most of her photographs, however, remains closed to the public, stored in the Darcy Ribeiro Memorial, at the University of Brasília. Some pictures from the trip integrate the collection of the *Museu do Índio*, in Rio, but their authorship is questionable. A picture of Darcy Ribeiro that is clearly not a self-portrait, for instance, is shown as being of his authorship.

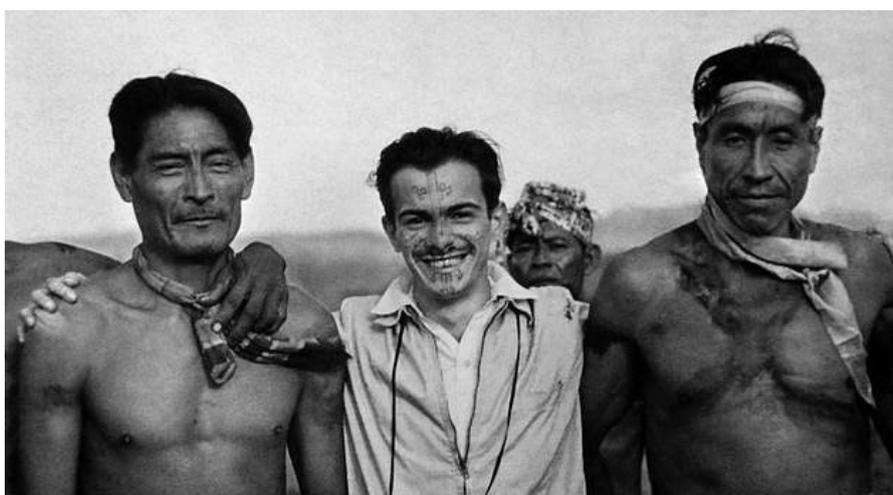


FIGURE 16
Darcy Ribeiro
with Kadiwéu
indigenous.
Photo: unknown
authorship.
Collection: Museu
do Índio, RJ.

Berta Ribeiro's books – filled with images of varied types and authors – present only a few of her photographs, but they clearly support the importance of using images in research.

The absence of references to authorship in photographs taken by women who traveled with their husbands, as with Dina Dreyfus and Berta Ribeiro, seems reflect the lack of references to works made by women anthropologists in general, as pointed out by Corrêa in "*A natureza imaginária do gênero na história da antropologia*" (1995):

Having the history of Anthropology in Brazil as background, this text suggests that the trajectory of some female characters of this story cast doubt on the inflexibility of the categories masculine/feminine in the system of gender classification. When someone who is socially defined as belonging to the private sphere is found marking presence in the public one, the ambiguity of this position puts this someone in an anomalous category, as a member of a certain "imagined nature". (Corrêa 1995, 109)

9. From an interviewed given to me on November 10, 2017.

The text begins with Dina Dreyfus' case, who photographed, filmed¹⁰ and offered a course on using images for research in Brazil:

For four years we looked for Dina Lévi-Strauss who was, if not a celebrity in the history of Anthropology, far from being a stranger. I think the first to mention her was Egon Schaden, and we later found references to her in the book by Lélia Gontijo Soares and Suzana Luz about the Society of Ethnography and Folklore, created by Mário de Andrade, and of which she was a secretary. In this book are reproduced in facsimile the bulletins of the Society, and there is a mention to Dina's arrival to the Society and to one of her books - *Instruções práticas para pesquisas de antropologia física e cultural* (1936): "Dina Lévi-Strauss, *professeur agrégée* of the University of Paris and formerly part of the Museum of Man team. She accompanies her husband, Claude Lévi-Strauss, in Brazil, who was hired as professor of sociology at the University of São Paulo" (cit., p.7). In Mário de Andrade's correspondence, she is rarely mentioned, being referred by some of his correspondents as simply part of the "Lévi-Strauss couple", when not as "Lévi-Strauss' wife". That is how she is also mentioned by the French philosopher Jean Maugué in his biography "Lévi-Strauss et sa femme". (Ibid.)

This same issue is addressed by Portela (2019) in a recent article:

Dina Dreyfus is known in Brazil – when that happens – for having been the wife of Lévi-Strauss and – even more rarely – for being a member of the Mission for Folklore Research and for creating, with Mário de Andrade, the Society of Ethnography and Folklore in Brazil, in the 1930's. Little is known about her trajectory after she had returned to France. At the beginning of my research about Dreyfus, I had access to information about her time in Brazil. Information gathered by researchers who, like Mariza Côrrea, Luísa Valentini, Mariana Sombrio and Luis Donisete Grupioni, contributed to inform us about the relevance of her work and about her paradoxical invisibility, forged by the historiography of social sciences. (Portela 2019, 331)

This barrier is even greater regarding women who assumed their husbands' last names due to marriage:

Last name changes are peculiar to women scientists, and this tradition was responsible for their invisibility and for the devaluation of their professional trajectories. A new name made these women, first and foremost, wives and that is how they were viewed by their contemporaries. In the 1930's, there was a great influx of foreign researchers arriving in Brazil accompanied by their wives, when before it was more common for them to travel alone (Sombrio 2018, 91).

10. Some of the films made by the Lévi-Strauss couple are available online, in platforms like Youtube.

Dina Dreyfus taught, in 1936, an Ethnography course at the Department of Culture of the State of São Paulo, whose purpose was training folklorists for future missions. Aimed at “initiating folklorists in field research” (Lima 2004), the course was “organized as practical training” (Shimabukuro, Botani and Azevedo 2004, 6) and Dreyfus taught, in addition to ethnographic techniques, photography. About the course, Mário de Andrade said in its inaugural class:

We have not chosen Ethnography by chance. Rather, it imposed itself on us. Whoever decides to, even amateurishly, dedicate oneself to ethnographic studies and use the Brazilian bibliography to look for the knowledge about the cultural formation of our people will often be discouraged when faced with the hateful levity and lack of scientific guidance present in Brazilian pseudo ethnography [...]. And it is precisely at the gathering of folk documentation that most of our ethnographic books are false [...]. To gather, to scientifically gather our customs, popular traditions, our racial features. That must be the watchword of our ethnographic studies; and on a chiefly practical path the works of this Ethnography Course will follow. (Andrade 1936 *apud* Shimabukuro, Botani and Azevedo 2004, 6)

The course aimed at offering resources to “scientifically gather” Brazilian intangible cultural heritage, that is, gather data with as much objectivity as possible. These instructions follow the standard of what Andrade would propose to the SPHAN (National Service of Historical and Artistic Heritage) a few years later. Dreyfus also published monthly, between 1937 and 1938, the “Instructions of Folklore” in six issues of the Bulletin of the Society of Ethnography and Folklore. They were organized for “teaching the gathering of information process and of calling attention of new researchers to material culture and social life” (Ibid., 8).

I will later return to this subject. For now, I would like to underline that, despite her efforts to train new researchers to produce images about the culture, folklore and artifacts in Brazil, the images made by Dina Dreyfus, as the ones made by Berta Gleizer and many other female anthropologists, remain obscure.

FIRST EDUCATIONAL INITIATIVES, FOLKLORE, CULTURAL HERITAGE, AND CULTURAL PRACTICES

Regarding the subjects of folklore and intangible cultural heritage, Mário de Andrade was an important researcher who “dynamized” the field. A prominent figure in the Brazilian modernist movement, beginning in 1927 he realized two ethnographic expeditions to the country’s north and northeast. He went first to the Amazon and then to the northeast region, photographing local dances and music.

On these journeys, he developed a kind of “journal of images” where he would register data for every picture – date, place, people, situations, time, and aperture. This data was later complemented by information written on the back of the pictures when they were processed in São Paulo. Andrade took 902 photographs, 529 on his first trip and 373 on the second. These are images of historical and artistic heritage, both tangible and intangible, besides physical features, and modes of work; with some of them forming a sequence.



FIGURES 17-18
 “O tapuio de Santarém/31 de maio, 1927” e “Salinas/Macau, 1929”. Photos: Mário de Andrade. Collection: Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, Universidade de São Paulo (IEB-USP) [Available at CD-Rom Mário de Andrade “Os Diários do Fotógrafo”. Published in: Andrade, Mário de. *O turista aprendiz*. Brasília, DF: Iphan, 2015.

Thanks to Brazilian modernism, folklore was heralded as the essence of “Brazilianness”, and it became a subject of interest to the country’s fledgling social sciences. In 1936, the year he helped to write the draft for creating the National Service of Historical and Artistic Heritage – SPHAN, Mário de Andrade invited Dina Dreyfus to teach the ethnography course at the Department of Culture of the State of São Paulo (1936-1939). Following that, they established the Society of Ethnography and Folklore (1936-1939), which would send researchers to the north and northeast of Brazil in 1938, the same year the Lévi-Strauss couple went on their expedition to Serra do Norte, on a five-month mission that would later be dubbed Mission of Folkloric Researches.

Directed by Luís Sala, a former student of Dreyfus, the mission aimed at gathering documents and clothing, recording traditional celebrations, sacred rites like *coco* and *bumba-meu-boi*, their music and dances, in addition to indigenous ceremonies. Between February and July 1938, the expedition stopped by over thirty places in the states of Pernambuco, Paraíba, Piauí, Ceará, Maranhão and Pará.

From that mission emerged a pioneering documentation of Brazilian cultural practices: 33 hours of audio recordings, 853 objects (musical instruments, clothing, statues etc.), around 100 pages of fieldnotes on music, dances, architecture and local traditions, and over 600 pictures and 15 movies.

FIGURES 19-22
 Images from the
 Mission of Folkloric
 Researches.
 Unknown author,
 1938. Collection:
 Instituto de Estudos
 Brasileiros (IEB-
 USP) [Available at
 CD-Rom Mário de
 Andrade "Os Diários
 do Fotógrafo".
 Published in:
 Andrade, Mário
 de. O turista
 aprendiz. Brasília,
 DF: Iphan, 2015.5



The mission was born out of other travels where Mário de Andrade traveled the country searching for a national identity. Looking for a genuine Brazilian art and with that in mind, Andrade studied Ouro Preto's architecture and Aleijadinho's works in the state of Minas Gerais, a place he first visited in 1919 and was especially interested in.

Like Aleijadinho (Minas Gerais), Andrade considered Mestre Valentim (Rio de Janeiro) and the sculptors Chagas and Domingos Pereira (Bahia) to be examples of an art that was original and unbowed to Portuguese influence.

Sharing the same interests as Mário de Andrade, a group of modernists traveled to Minas Gerais, in 1924, to watch the celebrations of the Holy Week and investigate the "fundamentals of Brazilianness". As part of this mission, which became known as Travel of Discovery of Brazil, were Oswald de Andrade and Tarsila do Amaral, prominent figures of the influential Modern Art Week of 1922. On this trip, Mário de Andrade took as many pictures as he did before on his travels to Minas Gerais, and on his Ethnographic Travels between 1927 and 1929. On the latter, he documented his impressions on the landscape, the people and the culture of the regions he visited.

FIGURE 23
Ver-o-Peso
Market, Belém
(Pará). Photo:
Mário de Andrade.
Collection:
Instituto de
Estudos
Brasileiros,
Universidade
de São Paulo
(IEB-USP), 1927.



These travels and the modernist movement deeply influenced Brazilian photography and the ideal representation of the national heritage. We see this influence, for instance, in the work of photographer Marcel Gautherot. According to Turazzi, it was Mário de Andrade who established at SPHAN “what could be called ‘a policy of photographic documentation’ of cultural, historical, and artistic practices, popular and erudite, tangible and intangible, all of which edifying Brazil’s identity and, therefore, forming an iconographic view of its heritage” (Turazzi 1998, 14).

According to Segala (2005, 78),

In letters to Rodrigo Mello Franco (1936-1945), Mário de Andrade underlines, many times, the importance of photography as evidentiary documentation on the processes of heritage inventory and of classification and restoration of “artistic heritage”. He points out the necessity of the institution being able to rely on a “intensive service of photography”, a professional, well-trained work that could offer accurate information for comparative studies that seek to “restore the nation’s monuments”. He insists upon the idea of a cumulative collection – “a single, central archive of photographic negatives” – that substantiates, by operations of selection and transcriptions, the valued repertory of the country’s cultural heritage.

In 1940, after working in projects linked to the Ethnographic Museum of the Trocadéro and at establishing the Museum of Man, Marcel Gautherot settled in Rio de Janeiro where he met Rodrigo Mello Franco de Andrade, director of the recently created SPHAN, became acquainted with the modernist intellectual society and started to work for that institution.

Between the 1940's and 1950's, he was hired by SPHAN, and the Campaign for the Defense of Brazilian Folklore, to establish the documentation of their research, preservation, and propaganda projects (Segala 2005). With a background in architecture and influenced by the modernists, as a photographer, he

looks to the landscape, to celebrations and the everyday life, to stories that gain life on the streets, in search of a careful balance of forms, of a play between movement and depth of field and looks for a calculated capture of lights. He previews the precise moment when the disposition of the frame synthesizes the event in the forms of a graphic device and of representation. (Segala 2005, 74).

Gautherot's photographic education, however, was forged at the Museum of Man, under Paul Rivet's direction (1937-1938), where he was part of the project to reorganize ethnographic exhibitions. Motivated by the debates that happened at the museum on the relations between art and ethnography, Gautherot traveled to Mexico in 1936 to develop a photographic project. In the same year, Pierre Verger also photographed the country, and both published their photographs in France. In 1939, back in Brazil, Gautherot sought to explore features of the people and the landscape to send images to the collection of the French museum: "He defines his own work as 'scientific photojournalism', given his attention to details of the observed social life, and to the guidelines of ethnographic research" (Segala 2005, 77).

With Verger, who arrived in the country in 1946, Gautherot photographed Brazil's diverse regions, depicting its architecture, its "social types" and the works of Aleijadinho, like *The Twelve Prophets*, *the Passion of Christ*, and the votive chapels.



FIGURE 24
Prophet Isaías.
Sculpture by
Aleijadinho.
Congonhas (MG).
Photo: Marcel
Gautherot,
1942. Collection:
Instituto Moreira
Salles.

FIGURE 25
Way of the
cross. Passion
Steps. Sculpture
by Aleijadinho.
Diocesan do
Bom Jesus de
Matosinhos
Sanctuary.
Congonhas (MG).
Photo: Marcel
Gautherot,
1947. Collection:
Instituto Moreira
Salles.



FIGURE 26
Profeta Habacuc.
Sculpture by
Aleijadinho,
Bom Jesus de
Matosinhos
Sanctuary,
Congonhas (MG).
Photo: Marcel
Gautherot,
1947. Collection:
Instituto Moreira
Salles.



To produce an inventory of the visible world, photographs ordered by SPHAN were thoroughly coordinated by its direction: they prescribed exactly what, and how, should be photographed. According to Segala (2005, 79),

Gautherot used to travel across the country building, in addition to records of colonial and modern architecture, a collection of images that, according to Human Geography back then, could be known as “types and aspects” of the country, where social features were linked to the landscape, and the spaces were redefined as cultural borders (Figure 1).

A highlight in these compilations were the “human overviews” – ethnographic metonymies – that showed, exclusively, work related scenes, as shown by Heliana Salgueiro. This consecrated perspective that epitomizes social groups was broadened by Gautherot with the inclusion of new “types” from the streets, arts and popular festivities, either holy or profane (Figures 2 and 3).

Here are the pictures referred by the author:



Figura 1 – Vaqueiro, Ilha Mexiana/PA, c. 1943. Colheita de carnaúba, Messejana/CE, 1950-1952. Limpeza de café, Itaquera, São Paulo/SP, c. 1943-1948. Garimpeiro, Tocantins/PA, c. 1944-1948. Vaqueiro, Ilha Mexiana/PA, c. 1943. Processamento de látex, Ilha de Marajó/PA, c. 1967-1970. Fotografias de Marcel Gautherot. Acervo do Instituto Moreira Salles.

FIGURES 27-29
 Photos: Marcel Gautherot
 [Published: Segala, Ligia. A coleção fotográfica de Marcel Gautherot. *Anais do Museu Paulista: História e Cultura Material*, vol. 13, no. 2: 73-134.



Figura 2 – Procissão de Nossa Senhora dos Navegantes, Salvador/BA, c. 1940-1945. Fotografia de Marcel Gautherot. Acervo Instituto do Moreira Salles.



Figura 3 – Carnaval, Salvador/BA, c. 1965-67. Fotografia de Marcel Gautherot. Acervo do Instituto Moreira Salles.

A selection of these images was published in 1950 in Paris, in a book titled *Brésil*, to which Gautherot and Verger contributed. The series about folklore were particularly important to Gautherot, especially the ones about *bumba-meu-boi* in the state of Maranhão and the *Reisado* and *Guerreiros*¹¹ in Alagoas, according to Segala (2005). Thanks to these series, and to Edison Carneiro, a sociologist and folklorist who directed the Campaign for the Protection of Brazilian Folklore in 1958, Gautherot got close to the folklorist movement and to studies on this subject.

11. *Bumba-meu-boi*, *Reisado* and *Guerreiros* are all, with their respective characteristics, folkloric celebrations that date back to colonial times, being developed and influenced by elements from Catholicism on local contexts.

Carneiro created the *Revista Brasileira de Folclore* and sponsored technical courses in universities where he encouraged the production of phonographic and photographic documents in the country (Segala 2005):

Edison Carneiro himself, in his recommendations for folklore research, insists upon the importance of these “mechanical registers” for ethnographic construction, for they “constitute a living document of the observation. [...] The illustrative photography showing aspects of folklore should be dynamic – a movement, an action, and not a pose”. Asserting on this argument about image – already stated by Mauss –, Carneiro defends an idea of folklore that opposes to dull compilations, and to the reaffirmation of what is archaic and traditional. (Segala 2005, 85)

On his travels, Gautherot also photographed the *Cavalhadas*, the *Carnival* and the *Círio de Nazaré*. His pictures of figureheads fixed to the bows of boats in the São Francisco river were published in *O Cruzeiro* magazine, decisively contributing to the dissemination and appreciation of the work done by those boatmen. From then on, these figureheads came to be known as *carrancas*.



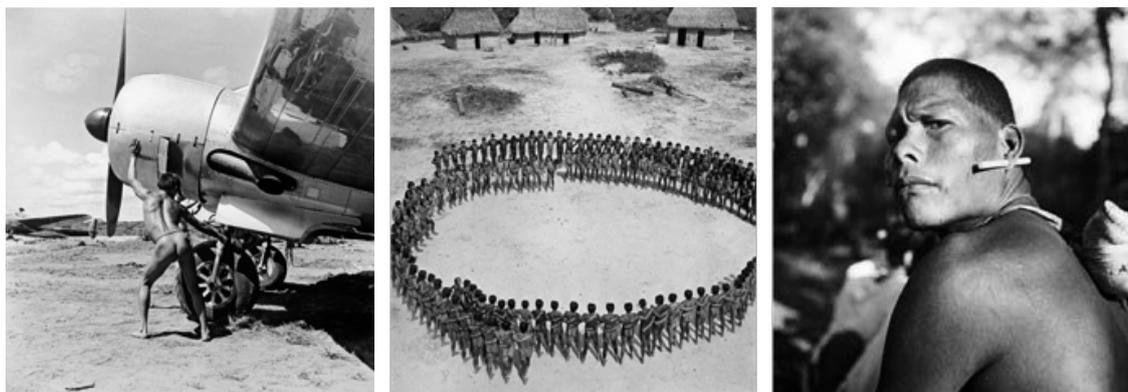
FIGURES 30-33
Photos: Marcel
Gautherot.
Collection:
Instituto Moreira
Salles.

These pictures about Brazil in the 1930's and 1940's, taken by Gautherot and other photographers with the support of public institutions, “re-created and consolidated representations that had been chosen and normalized since the 19th century in textual and iconographic descriptions” (Segala 2005, 92). The “regional types”, popular festivities, and relations between man and landscape were inspired by representations found in emblematical works like *Os Sertões*, by Euclides da Cunha (1902), and *Rondônia*, by Roquette-Pinto (1917). In addition to expositions from the National Museum (Segala 2005).

Although Pierre Verger had only sporadically worked with SPHAN, he had a unique influence on the photography, and visual identity of the institution. Hired by them to register the cultural heritage, Verger photographed mainly in Bahia during the 1940's and 1950's. His images, along with ones taken by Erich Hess, Marcel Gautherot, Herman Graeser and Harald Schultz comprise most of the photographic collection of IPHAN's Central Archive, in Rio de Janeiro.

O Cruzeiro magazine was an icon of photojournalism for introducing a new photographic language in Brazil by mixing textual and visual narratives. And just like Gautherot, Verger published in it, with his pictures about the Candomblé in Bahia, and the Xangô in Recife (1946-1951), becoming very influential. The magazine had in its team figures like José Medeiros, who documented the Expedition Roncador-Xingu in 1949, which originated a report that would influence the formation of several anthropologists, like Roque Laraia.¹²

FIGURES 34-36
Images of
Roncador-Xingu
Expedition. Photo:
José Medeiros.
Collection:
Instituto Moreira
Salles, 1949.



12. In an interview given to me on November 10, 2017.

The expedition Roncador–Xingu sought to officially identify the areas occupied by indigenous peoples, map Brazil’s central region and open new roads to connect it to the rest of the country. It was headed by Orlando, Cláudio and Leonardo Villas Bôas, with Rondon’s support who, at the time, presided the National Council for the Protection of Indigenous Peoples (1939). Its most important accomplishment was the creation of the Xingu Indigenous Park in 1961.

THE 1970’S AS A TURNING POINT AND THE FEMALE PHOTOGRAPHIC GAZE

Beginning in the 1970’s, there is an expansion in the use of photography in ethnographic research in Brazil. Anthropologist Sylvia Caiuby Novaes (Laboratório de Imagem e Som em Antropologia da Universidade de São Paulo – Lisa/USP) registered the Bororo; anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (Museu Nacional da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro – MN/UFRJ) and photographer Milton Guran¹³ took a series of photographs in the recently founded Xingu Park.

FIGURE 37
Velho Mario and his son, Meruri village.
Photo: Sylvia Caiuby Novaes, 1972.



FIGURE 38
Children playing with tires, Meruri village.
Photo: Sylvia Caiuby Novaes, 1972.

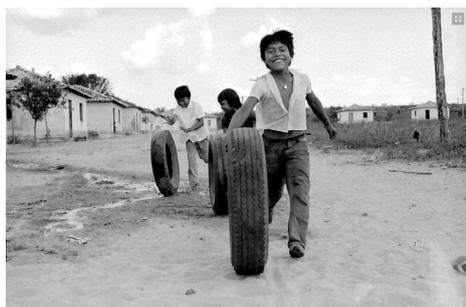


FIGURE 39
Bokojeba, character of the funerary rites, private of the *Kie* clan and represented by the men of the *Aroroe* clan. Córrego Grande village. Photo: Sylvia Caiuby Novaes, 1973. [Published in *Women, Men and Heroes*, 1986, 188]



Caiuby Novaes became one of the most influential figures in this area. A rare case of a female anthropologist/photographer who achieved recognition before the institutionalization of Visual Anthropology in Brazil. She ended up creating the largest research and education center for Visual Anthropology in the country, Lisa, linked to the Department of Anthropology at USP. As pointed out in an interview (March 2012) to Peixoto (2019, 138), she is an exception:

13. Some decades later, in 1996, Milton Guran earned a PhD in Anthropology from the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), in France.

I got my first photographic camera when I was five or six years old. All my life I've taken pictures, and I've always liked cinema. I've always liked photography more. [...] I took a master's degree in 1980 and a PhD in 1990. Both my master's and PhD have a lot of pictures. And since I started to research the Bororo, in 1970, I've always photographed during research. A lot! I quickly realized that photography was a fundamental element to connect and talk with the Bororo about the themes that were not in discussion. That is, I would bring them a picture containing, in a way, what I wanted to talk about, and the picture itself would bring up that theme for discussion. In field research you can't abstractly discuss something that's not happening. But photography creates the context for the theme you want to discuss. [...] In September 1993 I went to Manchester to take my postdoc. I took this master's in Visual Anthropology at the Granada Center, even though I already had a PhD, because they didn't offer PhD courses there.

Her work reveals a transformation in the relation between Anthropology and Photography in Brazil, and in the position held by women in this field: by incorporating images into her academic research, Caiuby Novaes brings to the Brazilian Social Sciences reflections about the use of image in anthropological research. Along other female anthropologists and sociologists, she would take part, in the following decades, in creating several image education and research centers (Eckert and Rocha 2016).

A few years prior, in the 1950's, two foreign photographers settled in Brazil: Claudia Andujar and Maureen Bisilliat extensively documented indigenous population. In the Arts field, Andujar registered the Yanomami. Sponsored by the Guggenheim Foundation, she lived among them between 1971 and 1974, returning in 1976 with a Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo (Fapesp) scholarship.



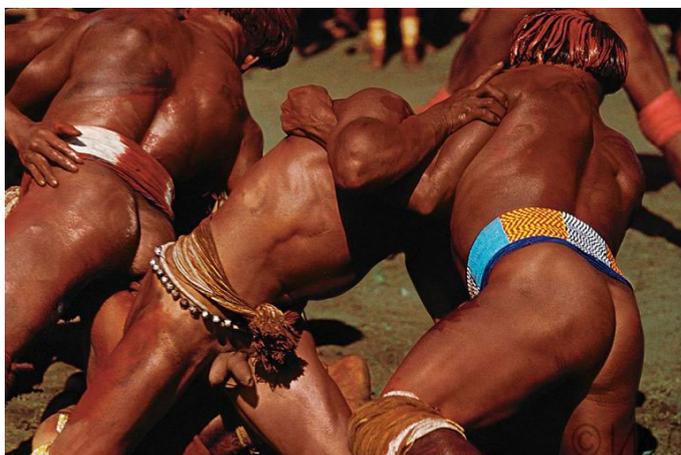
FIGURE 40
Desabamento
do Céu/Fim do
Mundo (Sonhos
Yanomami Series).
Photo: Claudia
Andujar.¹⁴

14. Published in *A vulnerabilidade do ser*, 2005. Itaú Cultural de Arte e Cultura Brasileiras Enciclopédia, 2017. Available: <<https://bit.ly/37pM8Ye>>. Access: 12 nov. 2017

Inspired by her time living with the Yanomami, Andujar took a series of photographs of their dreamlike, symbolic world, by creating images with strong contrasts and visual effects (Andujar 2005). Andujar also integrated, alongside anthropologist Alcida Ramos and Davi Kopenawa Yanomami, the NGO Commission for the Creation of the Yanomami Park (CCPY), known nowadays as Commission Pro-Yanomami.

An important figure who galvanized ethnographic photography in the country was Darcy Ribeiro. He inspired photographers like Claudia Andujar and Maureen Bisilliat, who photographed the people of Xingu, to engage in the documentation of indigenous populations and popular art. Encouraged by their encounter in 1958, Andujar first documented the Karajá from central Brazil, where she stayed for a month – a work that was well-received by both the Anthropology community and the international photography market.

As for Bisilliat, she visited the Xingu Park for the first time in 1973, invited by Orlando Villas Bôas, and produced a photographic series called “Cenas do dia-a-dia” (1975).



FIGURES 41-42
Photos by
Maureen Bisilliat.
Collection:
Instituto Moreira
Salles.

Alongside her husband, Jacques Bisilliat, and the architect Antônio Marcos Silva, Maureen Bisilliat founded O Bode¹⁵ Gallery of Popular Art in 1970, and then traveled across the country searching for works that could be added to the gallery collection. In 1988, Darcy Ribeiro invited the trio to create the collection of Latin-American art of the Latin American Memorial Foundation, in São Paulo. Maureen Bisilliat became the curator of the Memorial's Creativity Pavilion.

Bisilliat, Caiuby Novaes and Andujar are rare examples of women whose pictures of ethnographic features gained recognition in the country in the mid-20th century. From the 1980's onwards, cameras became cheaper and several laboratories of image research and education were created, changing and diversifying the profile of ethnographic photography in the country.

CONCLUSION

Several articles on the formal institution of Visual Anthropology in Brazil and its different centers of research and education have been published (Costa 2005, Samain 2005b, Eckert e Rocha 2016, Peixoto 2019). An analysis of the photographic production of these centers, however, remains to be made. Although a task that poses some difficulties given the quantity, quality, and diversity of their production, a systematization of this works could help those who venture into Visual Anthropology to better understand how photography is used in Anthropology.

That is not, however, the aim of this article. Here we sought to systematize the history of the relation between Photography and Anthropology in Brazil from the early registers up to the 1970's. The production mentioned here does not encompass the whole history but are rather representative of the practice. Given our focus on the most relevant works, requiring short mentions of each work as to establish an ample perspective of all these productions, a lot has been left out.

The historical perspective focused on the period prior to the establishment of this area in universities, in the 1980's, when production in Visual Anthropology was entrenched. The analyzed period was chosen with the intention of organizing a history that, so far, has been told in a disjointed manner, by different authors (Ferrez 1953, Azevedo and Lissovsky 1988, Faria 2001, Tacca 2001, Angotti-Salgueiro 2014, Espada 2014, Segala 2005, Costa 2016b, Grieco 2016, Portela 2019). My aim, therefore, was to outline the history of the consolidation of Visual Anthropology in the country to help those interested in this field understand its development. What might also help them imagine new possibilities on the use of Photography in Anthropology.

15. Portuguese for The Goat.

This effort, however, revealed a limitation that had not been anticipated: the shortage of references to works made by women during this period. This is not due to a lack of image production by women Photographers and/or Anthropologists, but rather to the difficulty in accessing these images, or even in knowing they exist.

Some evidence suggests that when these women traveled accompanied by their husbands, their authorship was ignored, or their photographs were credited to their partners. Although they took part in important expeditions, for instance, I found almost no photographs taken by Charlotte Rosenbaum, Dina Dreyfus or Berta Gleizer.

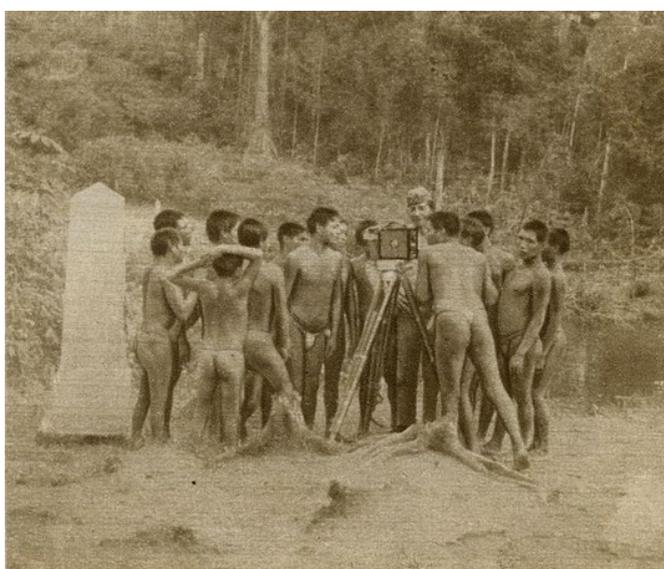


FIGURE 43
Major Reis/
Rondon
Committee.
Photo: Charlotte
Rosenbaum.

Apparently, during the early ethnographic expeditions there was no incentive to credit authorship to the work done by women. Photography, seen back then as a technical, secondary job was not always recognized as an ethnographic product. Consequently, a lot of photographs were stored under the names of the research coordinators, all men, or under no name at all.

Another relevant fact of this period refers to the “reality” depicted in these images. Although the lack of technology in the turn of the century might lead us to believe that photographs taken during this period were authentic representations of that reality, their analysis show that depictions seen in documental photography have always been staged. That was not, however, a peculiarity of image, since ethnographies were also constructions, but photography usually raises certain expectations.

By exhibiting visible indications of reality, photographs tend to mislead audiences who are not used to reading and analyzing them. How people are set in frame, what is shown or left out of it, what is focused etc. have always been the result of choices made by the people holding the camera. People who were often directed by the institution they worked for (museums, public institutions dedicated to cultural heritage conservation or to the protection of indigenous peoples). Institutions that sought to portrait their policies through images of Brazilian “social types”, their celebrations and folklore.

These images not only present an idea about who those portraited people are, but also about what their social groups and regions are. These photographs served frequently as a reference to imagine other groups and to elaborate policies aimed at assisting them, whether by recognizing and preserving their cultural practices, or by demarcating their territories (Costa, 2016b). Therefore, the study of these iconographic endeavors allows us to comprehend not only the aesthetics applied, but also their political contexts. They also certainly inform us about Anthropology itself – both academic and practice.

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Lindolfo Sancho

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WHAT KIND OF SAMBA IS THAT? SAMBA AND BATUCADA IN BARCELONA

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ABSTRACT

This is a study about music scenes and transnationalization. I analyzed how the internationalization of Brazilian music and the arrival of Brazilian immigrants led to the creation of new sound spaces to experience music in Barcelona. Also, mapping was performed to search for music scenes of samba, samba-reggae and batucada. The research involved methodical procedures based on participant observation, interviews, audiovisual record, and radio listening. Theoretical analysis followed the principles and tools of urban, visual and media anthropology. This study is the result of an intense ethnographic work carried out between June 2017 and July 2018.

KEYWORDS

Visual and media anthropology; transnationalization; batucada; samba reggae; Barcelona.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS

To move, to know, and to describe are not separate operations that follow each other in series, but rather parallel facets of the same process – that of life itself.

(Tim Ingold)

Since my first contact with Barcelona, I noticed the presence of street musicians, but I did not see any Brazilian among them. Is the rhythm of samba not appropriate for public spaces, subway stations, and streets? I started questioning myself if there was samba in Barcelona¹.

Since 2012, I have been trying to understand the multicultural universe of Rocas neighborhood (Natal, Rio Grande do Norte, Brazil), especially samba. During this period, I was guided by Mestre Zorro, a samba dancer, composer, and resident of this neighborhood. Zorro showed perfectly well the samba roots of Rio Grande do Norte. Therefore, by sharing, we built an archive of memories and interviews about the history of samba in Rocas.

This study made me reflect on the role visual and media arts play in social anthropology. How do we build something in visual and media arts with immersion? One way is to dive deeply with commitment, care, and determination to show the others a little of a person's life or culture.

This is the most appropriate methodology to build something human. If we have time to understand the time of others and their choices, we show interest in hearing their stories. This becomes a commitment to record the constructed images.

We must move ourselves and get interesting people to move us as well. Entering this imaginary world of the other, without judgments, is to modify our own perception. This commitment aims to expand the dialogues on critical methodologies by strengthening the academic field in urban, visual, and media arts anthropology (Coradini and Pavan 2018).

1. In 2014, during my first ethnographic exploration in Barcelona, I had access to important information from the immigration investigations carried out by the research groups Migracom and Grafo from UAB. These investigations took place in 1996, 2000 and 2002, and provided a starting point for reflection on sound practices in that city. The university extension program "Narratives, Memories and Itineraries" is coordinated by me and Prof. Maria Angela Pavan (Decom/UFRN). In this program, we make audiovisual productions, we started to investigate the everyday life of individuals and urban groups in the city of Natal-RN, based on their actions, gestures and voices. Voices are not expressed in unison, but reveal interactions, tensions and expressions about the city. Some of the productions are: *No mato das Mangabeiras* (2014), *Seu Pernambuco* (2014), *Mestre Zorro* (2016) and *As mulheres das Rocas são as vozes do samba* (2016).

From this perspective, I started the research, walked through the historic center of Barcelona, and discovered Brazilian bars, restaurants, and sociable places. The aim was to map Brazilian music scenes. According to Straw's approach, the initial mapping would not be the resulting map, but a way to access the scene: "the role of affinities and interconnections which, as they unfold through *time*, *mark* and *regularize* the *spatial itineraries* of *people*, *things* and *ideas*" (2006, 10). I assume the mapping reveals the scene in city spaces. Authors such as De Certeau (1994), Ingold (2015), Martín-Barbero (2004) and Careri (2017) contribute to the drifting experience (or theory of the *dérive*).

As Careri reiterates in the book *Walkscapes: el andar como práctica estética* (2017,79), walking around the city is resorting to the territory by raising non-conventional maps. Here I insist on the relevance of the drift theory, conceptualized by Guy Debord (1958, 1):

Entre los diversos procedimientos situacionistas, la deriva se presenta como una técnica de paso ininterrumpido a través de ambientes diversos. El concepto de deriva está ligado indisolublemente al reconocimiento de efectos de naturaleza psicogeográfica, y a la afirmación de un comportamiento lúdico-constructivo, lo que la opone en todos los aspectos a las nociones clásicas de viaje y de paseo.

Thus, I started drawing a map, locating places and itineraries where Brazilian music circulated in the city. They are the following ones: Jamboree, Guzzo, Bendita Salsa, Marula Café, El Monaterio, El Rouge, Gryzzly, Ovella Negra, Diobar, Cantinho Brasileiro, Spirit Barcelona, Berimbau, Panela de Barro, and El foro Club. Most of these bars are in the central area, such as the Gothic Quarter, El Born, and Gracia. Before their shows, bars like Diobar and Bendita Salsa offer samba or forró classes with Brazilian instructors. I realized that the intention, besides teaching samba to bargoers, is inviting interested parties, Brazilians or not, to dance classes in gyms or dance studios. Hence, contacts are established and become more frequent, especially with WhatsApp groups, where learners can share news, images, and videos about dance classes.

Facebook is another social and digital tool that can revolve around music. Facebook groups are another example of deterritorialization (Castells 1996). In this case, groups such as "Brazilians in BCN," "Brazilian musicians in BCN," "Brazilian women in BCN," allow for a closer relationship and information about the events, courses, and shows of Brazilian immigrant musicians in the Catalan capital.



FIGURE 1
Photograph:
Grizzly Bar Poster.

At some point, I started listening to Caipirinha Libre to get more specific data about the Brazilian music scene. Caipirinha Libre is a radio show with interviews and chats broadcast live every Wednesday from 6:00 pm to 8:00 pm on *contrabanda.org* and on the radio station 91.4 FM. It is a radio show with DJs from Barcelona, guests, musicians, and artists who live or are visiting the city. According to the announcer, “it is a way to keep updated on Brazilian music.”

The research in Barcelona was strongly impelled by the workshop I participated with the instructor Vania Bastos. The workshop “Afro-Brazilian dance: legacy and resistance” occurred at the Civic Center Pere Vila, in October 2017. At that time, I met different professionals related to music, such as ballroom dance (gafieira and samba) instructors, capoeira dance fighters, dancers, musicians, and people interested in learning about the Brazilian culture. I was the only Brazilian student; the others were Spanish or from other countries².

2. On that occasion, I was able to participate in two workshops that provided a closer approach to the world of music in Barcelona. They were: *Escuchar voces, tejer networks:*

Will Straw has introduced the concept of “scene” (which is also applied to “music scene”), that refers to: (a) the recurring congregation of people in a particular place; (b) the movement of these people between this place and other spaces of congregation; (c) the streets/strips along which this movement occurs; (d) all places and activities that surround and nourish a particular cultural preference; (e) the broader and more geographically dispersed phenomena of which this movement or these preferences are local examples; or (f) the webs of microeconomy activity that foster sociability and link it to the city’s ongoing self-reproduction (Straw 2006, 6).

It is fascinating to think how the everyday sociability is built. The author Will Straw (1991, 373) makes an interesting reflection on the sociability networks formed through alternative rock and dance music in cities like Detroit, Montreal, Toronto, Los Angeles and London. For him, a “music scene” is the cultural space in which a range of musical practices coexist, interacting with each other within processes of differentiation. His approach suggests understanding the “musical scene” as a much broader and more solid being.

This study is part of an ethnographic research that focused on participant observation, identification of meeting places and the audiovisual record of groups attending samba and samba-reggae classes, and presentations at events, such as carnival, popular festivals and *festas mayores* (Catalan expression meaning “big party”), like *Festa Major de la Mercè*, *Festa Major de Gràcia*, *Correfocs*, and *Festa de Santa Eulàlia*. I also recorded in-depth interviews with four black women residing in Barcelona, two of them were samba instructors (gafieira and samba rock), the other was member of the samba school *Unidos de Barcelona*. These strategies provided a unique material for reflection, due to the possibility of entering the universe of body techniques and instructors/colleagues’ techniques³. However, for the purposes of this study, I will focus on photographs taken at different stages of the research. What I present is the partial result of the research carried out during my post-doctoral time at Grafo (*Grup de Recerca em Antropologia Fonamental i Orientada*), at Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB), between July 2017 and July 2018.

apuntes on feminism and popular music, with Prof. Silvia Martínez (Esmuc – UAB), in December 2017, and *Salsa en Barcelona: escenas, representaciones y personajes*, with Alba Marina González (UB), in November 2017.

3. The recorded material is still being edited. In another study, I intend to reflect on the methodical strategies approached by visual and media arts anthropologists, filmmakers, and documentary filmmakers in their interviews, as well as studies on the length of documentaries (video and sound recording).

Throughout the research, several relevant questions emerged. One of them was dedicated to understanding how the internationalization of Brazilian music and the arrival of Brazilian immigrants led to the creation of new sound spaces and ways of experiencing music in Barcelona. In this study, I only describe my first contact with this “music scene” and the complex transnationalization process of samba in Barcelona, hitherto completely unknown to me.

SAMBA AND SAMBA-REGGAE

Before discussing transnationalization, it is necessary to note some aspects of samba and samba-reggae to understand the identity dimension of African origin in these musical genres and why it was brought up several times by my interlocutors.

Several studies in the fields of anthropology and sociology indicate the difficulty of specifying its origin, but everyone agrees that since the beginning, samba has remained linked to the poorest segments of society. Some authors indicate that this rhythm originates from Bahia, a region of large African descent, and expanded to Rio de Janeiro. To avoid *simplistic or reductionist views, it is noteworthy that samba is seen as a typical Brazilian expression, and that several authors have already researched this theme and its multiplicity of meanings, productions, spaces, and ways of relating it to the recording industry, such as Cavalcanti (1995), Goldwasser (1975), Lopes (1981), Tramonte (2001), Muniz Sodré (1988), Hermano Vianna (2004), Carlos Sandroni (2005), among others.*

According to *Matrizes do Samba Dossier (2014)* from Rio de Janeiro, *partido-alto, samba de terreiro, and samba-enredo* (variations of samba) appeared at the beginning of the 20th century with industrialization and growth of cities (urbanization). Black people used samba to fight against oppression and segregation. Samba schools, sociable spaces, exchanges of experience, solidarity networks, and artistic creations have also emerged over the years.

However, it was in Bahia during the 1970s that a musical phenomenon occurred with the return of *afoxé* and the creation of the first Afro-Brazilian block. According to Sigilião (2009), the Re-Africanization movement begins with *afoxés* and the emergence of Afro-Brazilian blocks in Salvador. In 1974, the pioneer Afro-Brazilian *Ilê Aiyê* block is founded, featuring a new kind of carnival music in Bahia. This block gathers themes from global black cultures and history, and it celebrates the aesthetic beauty of black people in its lyrics. It was also during this period that the musical group *Novos Baianos* was created, which, alongside the

Afro-Brazilian blocks *Ilê Aiyê* and *Filhos de Gandhi*, emphasized racial conflicts and protested against prejudice⁴.

The biggest innovation of Bahia's carnival was the electric trio of Dodô e Osmar, which appeared in 1950 and represents the beginning of street carnival. In their first performance, they used electric guitars and trucks equipped with a high-power sound system.

Samba-reggae dates to the 1970s, and it incorporates many elements from other music genres like samba, Jamaican reggae, and Candomblé rhythms. The Olodum block provides visibility to samba-reggae and Afro-Bahian percussion rhythms, which still dominate carnival to this day. It is a fusion of certain Afro-Caribbean rhythms (merengue, salsa) with a strong influence of Jamaican reggae.

SAMBA IN BARCELONA

I could not find any academic research on the dispersion of Brazilian music in Barcelona in the initial bibliographic survey. Still, I found research on salsa and Cuban music.

Alba Marinha Smeja, in her doctoral dissertation "*Salsa Nómada: Musical, available and itinerant scene of la salsa brava en Barcelona*" (2016), starts with a historical contextualization about the origin of salsa to identify the popularization of *salsa brava* in Barcelona and why it differs from other styles of salsa.

Camacho (2015) is another researcher who seeks to understand the spread of salsa to Barcelona. She says that for Spaniards there is a difference between dancing and listening to salsa music, while for Latinos these experiences coexist. Salsa dance for Latinos is *something therapeutic that heals everything emotionally*; for Spaniards, *it makes them feel good* (2015, 188). Spaniards learn how to dance salsa as an exercise, that is, the practice translates into a well-being activity. Furthermore, according to the author, couples participate in pairs, performing choreography, considering that acrobatics and partner lifting require a good physical condition of the dancers. Salsa dance is more related to feelings and emotions.

Later, I had access to ethnographies about forró and capoeira abroad. The authors Nascimento and Ortega (2018, 51), for example, seek to understand the transnationalization process of forró dancers. This is carried out by a multi-sited ethnography of forró in the cities of Lisbon,

4. For a detailed analysis of the Re-Africanization movement that took place in the 1970s and the intense musical relation between the cities Rio de Janeiro and Salvador, see: Sigilião (2009).

Portugal and Valencia, Spain. They say that:

The circulation of this musical genre in the Iberian peninsula gains contours and particularities, given the connection of forró with Latinity cultural contexts, which brings it closer to the imaginary of the tropics and musical genres whose transnational processes were prior to forró, such as salsa, merengue and Afro-Cuban rhythms.

Therefore, we can say there are a variety of situations that show the transnational circuit of people, objects and material and immaterial cultural goods between Brazil, the United States, Japan, Portugal, Spain, among others. Capoeira, frevo, maracatu, forró, soccer and some aspects of Afro-Brazilian religions illustrate this.

Nevertheless, as said by José Ribeiro (2011) in his study on sonorities, hybridity, and miscegenation, sonorities travel with people. He also highlights the importance of perceiving this combination of sounds: the voice, speech, singing, repertoire, the prayers, the shout, protest, and silence. Within this frame of reference, they continually merge with each other or remain tense.

LEARNING SAMBA STEPS

From participating observer, I became an observing participant, both in samba and batucada classes and in parades. I was fully aware that I could only understand samba if I knew how to dance it. Thus, I dedicated myself to learning something I really wanted: samba. On Wednesday evenings I attended samba classes with the instructor Sara Palhares and on Thursdays with the instructor Rita Stylus, both from Rio de Janeiro and residents in Barcelona. On Mondays I learned to play the drum with *Batalá Batucada*. Those were intense days, and the weight of the drums bothered me a little (*surdo* – the specific name for this Brazilian instrument): my knees hurt, I realized that I had a locked hip, and I had to wear ear protection, because the sound was too loud. Gradually, I learned the choreography and how to twirl with the drumsticks. My body was finally moving to the music and my heart beat was guiding the drumming.

Nevertheless, what was taught in samba classes followed a more popular choreography. This choreography would be presented at the winter carnival celebrations (February), summer carnival (June), carnival in Sitges, Brazilian Day celebrations (September 7th) or at other local events. These parades are greatly expected, especially the costume-making and makeup part.



FIGURE 2
Photograph:
Sara Palhares.

During my dance classes, I remembered Marcel Mauss's body techniques. I knew that it was necessary to internalize the dance steps, exercise the body before class and listen to the chosen music several times to really dive into the rhythm. After so much dedication, I learned to dance samba and ended up parading at the winter carnival in Barcelona. It was an interesting experience: to observe and be observed, to photograph and be photographed, to dance samba and to teach others how to do it. As Sara Palhares said in an interview, "dance is not in our blood. We carry it in our hearts. Everything can be learned. Everyone can try a corporeal experience."

Sara Palhares affirms (2017): "dance was always part of my life. My father was the artistic director of a big disco and organized parties, it was the time of *lambada*. And when I got home, after the dance performances, I repeated like a mantra: 'I don't want to live here, I don't want to live here, I don't want to live here.'" Sara followed the path of many artists who choose to live abroad. She lived in Sweden and Japan, participated in different shows in more than 30 countries, with performances of

salsa, samba, and carnival samba. Currently, her specialty is carnival samba or *samba en los pies* (something like samba footwork)⁵.

Usually, samba dance classes are designed to three different levels: beginner, intermediate, and advanced. At the beginning of the class, the instructor used to talk a little about the music, asking us to focus on the movements and steps. All of this requires motor skills and a lot of training. Most students are foreigners: Cubans, Venezuelans, Romanians, Ukrainians who got to know Brazilian music through a Brazilian friend or partner, or because they already danced salsa and wanted to learn another rhythm. It was common to hear them say: “you can dance samba by yourself,” “you don’t need a partner do dance samba,” or “you need a partner to dance salsa.”

Surely, samba allows the student to dance alone – it is not necessary to create a bond with another person or be concerned with physical contact, whether he or she is dancing well or not. During the class, exercises are performed to improve the connection with the body, showing the importance of self-esteem. Generally, after classes or bar meetings, conversations about samba, lyrics and some aspects of the Brazilian culture take place, revisiting the black struggle, the relevance of ethnic reaffirmation and the African musical heritage in Brazil.

This situation illustrates what is meant by “music scene,” a movement based on activities that surround a cultural preference. Another example is what we will see next: Brazilian Day celebrations in Barcelona.



FIGURE 3
Photograph:
Author’s personal
collection.

5. Sara Palhares was one of my interviewees and, during the recording, I realized that visual and media arts provide an intense relationship, a deep look at people’s life. We need extended lens to recognize people. Hereof, I will remain committed, thoughtful and determined to tell people’s life.

Brazilian Day is a long-awaited event, in which instructors and students finally present their choreography. In fact, Brazilian Day is one of the most important events for the Brazilian Community, and it also has the presence of foreigners. Brazilian Day is an annual celebration that occurs in Poble Espanyol and other cities around the world. It is held on September 7th to celebrate Brazil's Independence Day. This festival is in its ninth edition, which since 2014 has had the "Brazilian Day Film Exhibition," at the Girona cinema in Barcelona.

Every year, festival organizers bring artists from Brazil and Brazilian artists who live in Barcelona. The lineup encompasses two rhythms: samba and forró, because they are more accepted abroad. The 2017 edition included artists such as Mariene de Castro, *Barbados Samba*, *Sapato Branco*, and the DJs *MDC Suingue* and *Massafera Soundsystem*. There were also capoeira and maculelê presentations with *Cordão de Ouro*, samba school *Unidos de Barcelona*, *Ketubara Batucada*, and *Batalá Batucada*.



FIGURE 4
Photograph:
Author's personal
collection.

In this photograph, note that the male cortsy (*mestre-sala*) and the female flag bearer (*porta-bandeira*), wearing colorful costumes, open the samba school *Unidos de Barcelona's* parade. They are very proud to promote samba abroad. Nega Luxo, the female flag bearer, affirms: "I do my best, it is a lot of responsibility to represent Brazil abroad."

This is a common practice in samba schools' parades in Rio de Janeiro: the cortsy kneels and the flag bearer dances around him. The male cortsy "protects" the lady and the flag, representing the feeling of "pride" of the school. This movement happens until others are created, innovated, and improvised.

The following photograph shows the appropriation of Brazilian culture and its legitimation supported by the *baianas*' (women from Bahia) section using the national flag. In addition, costumes, sonority, and gestures are resignified in this parade.



FIGURE 5
Photograph:
Author's personal
collection.

The names of samba schools are another *resignification* example. *Unidos de Montjuica* is a mixed name: *Montjuic* is a hill to the southwest of Barcelona, looking over the harbor; and *Barra da Tijuca* is a neighborhood in the city of Rio de Janeiro. This samba school consists of members from different nationalities. Members of *Bateria Confusa* and *Unidos de Montjuic* compose the drumming section, of which Ravi, who is Catalan, is the leader. The dancers are from different places: Venezuela, Colombia, Romania, Russia, Spain, mostly students of the Brazilian samba instructor.

In the photograph below, we see the *Unidos de Barcelona*'s drumming section with its colors, red and white. The samba school *Unidos de Barcelona* is an illustrative example of how transnational connections and musical exchange are built. The image shows the result of the relationship between Brazilians and non-Brazilians who want to experience samba.



FIGURE 6
Photograph:
Author's personal
collection.

Batucada is another musical phenomenon. What we know as samba-reggae is called batucada in Barcelona. Batucadas are percussion groups composed of 15 to 50 people who occupy and walk the city streets during the European festivals.

The *Ketubara* batucada was founded by the Brazilian and Bahian musician Alex Rosa, who promotes the event “Samba Reggae Barcelona” every year. This event gathers Batucadas from different European countries and promotes concerts, dance, and percussion workshops. The *Batalá Barcelona* batucada, on the other hand, was launched in late 2011 by Sergi Cerezo. Today it has more than 30 percussionists from different countries: Colombia, Brazil, France, Italy, United Kingdom, Chile, Mexico, Argentina, Paraguay, Finland, and Spain.

Batucada has a close relationship with samba-reggae from Bahia. After all, as the lyrics say, *Salvador não inerte/guerrilheiros da Jamaica/ Alfabeto do negão: “Bob Marley semeou/ E o reggae se espalhou/ Muzenza/ Difundiu em Salvador/ se tocou/ Jamaicado está”* (literal translation: “Bob Marley sow/ And reggae was spread / Muzenza/ Spread it in Salvador/ if it is played/ it is ‘Jamaicanized’”).



FIGURE 7
Photographs:
Alex Rosa
and Batucada
Ketubara
(Facebook page
@ketubara).

Ariza (2006) says that *Olodum* and *Muzenza* blocks developed an Afro-Bahian rhythmic fusion with reggae, known as samba-reggae. However, there is no consensus regarding its origin and rhythmic structure. Neguinho do Samba (member of *Ilê Aiyê*, who joined *Olodum* in 1983) is mentioned as the man who invented this rhythm.

This innovation is also attributed to *Muzenza* block, for being the first to assert direct relations with Bob Marley. *Muzenza* emerges in 1987, after the success they had with the song “Faraó” in the carnival parade. Thus, as claimed by Ariza (2006, 307), this block remained linked to the rhythm of the large percussive blocks, unlike axé-music and others, which reached the large musical market.

The *Olodum* block was one of the first blocks in the 1980s, and it is also the most successful. *Olodum* introduced different rhythmic structures, which are basically a rhythmic variation of *samba de roda*. In 1990, this block performed a song with Paul Simon, achieving worldwide fame. The group participated in Michael Jackson’s song “They Don’t Care About Us.” In 1996, the video clip of the song was filmed and directed by Spike Lee.

Nevertheless, Goli Guerreiro (2000) points out in her book “A trama dos tambores, a cena afro-pop de Salvador,” that samba-reggae

practice, a local musical practice, is part of a globalization that favors an ethnic musicality. To simplify, this practice fits perfectly, as it has several African sounds and a blending of Brazilian and Caribbean rhythms. According to Guerreiro (2000), samba-reggae is not a worldwide success, as artists hardly support themselves in foreign markets continually, and, in most cases, perform for audiences composed of Brazilians living abroad.

I partially agree with the author, when she says that the spread of samba-reggae abroad is due to major international concert tours since the 1990s. However, this musical phenomenon had strong impact abroad and blended with other Brazilian, Caribbean, and Spanish rhythms, placing black music in a prominent position.

Within this context, the dispersion of samba and samba-reggae is developed by the immigration of artists who decide to live abroad. It emerges from the complex cultural networks that have been established between Brazilians and non-Brazilians. This suggests that the expansion of these practices is associated with a system of affection, sociability and lifestyles, in addition to the market and consumer dynamic processes.

As Will Straw (1991) often reiterated, musical scenes are not restricted to geographical locations. My observations suggest there is a social interaction between rehearsals, classes, and participation in events. Being part of the scene means not only developing knowledge about music, but also building emotional relationships. In other words, these social practices influence the transnationalization processes of social life. Samba, samba-reggae, and batucada support our reflection on the connections between identities, migration, local and global, inclusion and exclusion.

Another point to be considered is the variety of batucada styles widespread. They are diversified according to the rhythms played and the use of instruments (drum, tambourine, *surdo*, *agogô*, *tamborim*). Most of its members are neither professional nor have a musical education, but they see an opportunity of musical learning, associated with the possibility of expanding their bonds of friendship. Batucada allows all professionals and students to participate in festivals and events throughout Europe, and even in Brazil. Their visit to Brazil, especially Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, and Recife is greatly expected.

Batucada became important in local celebrations, such as *festas maiores*, *Fiesta de Santa Eulália*, *Correfocs*, and carnival. We can observe the presence of batucada groups at *Festa de La Mercè* in the

photographs below. This celebration lasts about five days and is a festival honoring Our Lady of Grace (*Mare de Déu de la Mercè*), patron saint of the archdiocese of Barcelona. It was officially introduced in 1902, celebrating the end of summer and welcoming the cooler autumn months. As we may note in the following photographs, the drumming sections *Unidos de Montijuca* and *Batucada Ketubara* participate in the *Festa Major de La Mercè*.



FIGURE 8
Photograph:
Author's personal
collection.



FIGURE 9
Photograph:
Author's personal
collection.

Popular festivals in Barcelona maintain a sense of community; usually occurring on the streets and other public spaces. Batucadas participate in these local cultural practices. There is a particularly strong presence of Brazilian music elements – samba, samba-reggae, samba schools – that blend with the local culture and neighborhood festivals.

Furthermore, I acknowledge that Brazilian and Spanish groups are transforming the music consumption practices that characterized them previously. Some Brazilians are “Spanishizing,” appropriating the local festivals (*Sant Joan*, *La Mercè*); while some Spaniards are “Brazilianizing” (with samba-reggae and batucadas). This blending of rhythms creates new sound spaces and new ways of experiencing Brazilian music abroad, as it is illustrated in the poster below.



FIGURE 10
Photograph: *Festa La Mercè's* poster⁶.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

As Hannerz (1996, 6) indicates, the term transnational is “more humble, and often a more adequate label for phenomena that can be of quite variable scale and distribution” than the term global, which sounds too all-inclusive and decontextualized.

In the late 1990s, this author already reflected on transnational cultural flows, and how people, products, and materials could challenge the traditional concepts of space and time. Brazilian immigrants are inserted in this context of searching for alternative destinations, and new manners of experiencing music and dance.

6. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3eeuCsd>

Moreover, Brazilian singers and musicians began to spread their musical production in European international festivals from the 1990s, mainly in France, Spain, Portugal, and Germany.

When samba-reggae and batucada are mentioned, the international concert tours and the increase in the recording industry favored the Brazilian music internationalization at a certain point⁷.

The concert tours were largely responsible for disclosing Brazilian music in Barcelona, along with promoting a musical dialogue with other genres, such as jazz, rock, Latin, and Caribbean music.

I have noticed that Brazilian immigrants in Barcelona who participate in festivals in public (Carnival, Brazilian Day) or private (bars and restaurants) places are interested in the Brazilian culture dispersion. Most of my interviewees had already had some contact with Brazilian cultural elements (capoeira, music, dance, Afro-Brazilian religion) before residing abroad.

Unfortunately, I could not find additional data on Brazilian immigrants to complement my observations. Even so, interviews and informal conversations with my interlocutors show three migration flows of Brazilians to Barcelona.

In the late 1980s, in the 1990s, and as of 2005, immigrants arrived looking for work and quality of life, including musicians, artists, capoeira dance fighters, handypersons, house cleaners, hairdressers, lawyers, and so forth. They were seeking legal status to have a regular income. Hence, they created different types of network. When migrating, you have to connect yourself with the destination country and feel welcomed.

Thus, this approach made me wonder: how do samba and Brazilians connected with their music in Barcelona circulate around the city creating sociable spaces and cooperation between Brazilians and non-Brazilians?

Fernando Ruiz Morales (2014, 317), when analyzing the flamenco heritage in Belgium, says that:

Cualquier expresión musical “local” (asociada a un grupo o territorio específicos que son referentes inexcusables de tal música) está allí donde hay aficionados, artistas, eventos, público y demás usuarios. Y ello ocurre en lugares del mundo donde los emigrantes la han llevado o donde personas en principio ajenas a esta cultura local, que han conocido por diversos canales, han decidido sumarse.

7. It is important to think about the recording industry to understand how music transnationalization occurs and how the culture industry operates in this process. More information about this subject may be found in Canclini (1990) and Ortiz (1989).

The author continues the reflection:

El flamenco constituye un código que otorga un marco de referencia para los artistas que intervienen en él. Pero esto no implica que compartan significados ni pautas de acción. Los artistas allí residentes se posicionan de diferente manera ante ese código, y articulan diversidad de trayectorias y respuestas. Sus posicionamientos no derivan solo de las estrategias individuales, sino que están mediatizados por factores estructurales.

Thereby, Brazilian musicians, samba and batucada players develop dialogues, sociable places, new sound spaces and new ways of experiencing Brazilian music abroad (dance classes, rehearsals, carnival, Brazilian Day, workshops, festivals, informal meetings). In other words, these are networks that are built and encourage affection and commitment among people. The transnationalization of samba, samba-reggae, and batucada, coupled with other Brazilian culture practices, emerge in the 1990s, when Brazilian immigrants began to arrive in the country. Moreover, for these rhythms to spread, they also contributed to the dispersion of forró, capoeira, maracatu, frevo, and Afro-Brazilian religions in Europe.

This music dispersion occurs due to the existence of a complex social connectedness that have been established over the years between Brazilians and non-Brazilians. Therefore, the dispersion of these practices is associated with a tight market and a culture industry in which Brazilians participate in a competitive way, as well as with an intense system of affections, sociability, and lifestyles.

According to Born (2011), music can be traversed by wider social identity formations, from the most concrete and intimate to the most abstract of collectivities, and it may reproduce or generate extant identity formations, purely fantasized identifications or emergent identity formations.

TRANSLATION

Maria Alice Sabino



FIGURE 11
Photograph:
Author's personal
collection.

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THERAPEUTICS OF INSISTENCE: THE EXPERIMENTAL MUSIC SCENE AND THE USE OF TRANCE MEDIATED BY MUSIC AS THERAPY AGAINST MALADY CAUSED BY THE SÃO PAULO *ETHOS*

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ABSTRACT

This article addresses how participants of the experimental music scene in São Paulo perform therapeutic practices through the performances that occur there. The therapy consists in using music as a form of mediation in search of trance, to treat states such as anxiety or urban blasé demeanor, which can become a problem. These “maladies” are caused by the city *ethos*, a vector that imposes the need to adapt to a way of life they disagree with. Finally, the degree of proximity between the performer and the public affects the degree of efficacy of the intended therapy, inferring that treatments like these can be recurrent among marginalized groups, allowing them to insist on a way of life parallel to the predominant *ethos*.

KEYWORDS

Ethnomusicology;
experimental music;
trance; therapeutic
practices; urban
pathologies.

THE PUNKS WHO MEDITATE

“Shhhhh”: a spectator asks for silence. In the bar – on the opposite side of the small stage, separated by less than 10 meters – two people were talking aloud. The loudness was necessary for the dialogue to happen, since a musician was performing on stage, in a relatively high volume. They drank beer, they laughed, they had fun. We were not at Sala São Paulo or the Municipal Theatre¹. We were not in an environment where silence is, more than a rule of etiquette, an obligatory behavior for spectators when watching a musical performance. We were at an event made by and for people involved with the developments and variations of punk (counter-)culture.

This request for silence instantly astonished some of the audience. I think about the ways in which punks usually express themselves in shows of bands connected to that scene; about the energetic way I have seen some punks from São Paulo and its metropolitan area behave in the concerts of their favorite bands: they mosh, they stage dive,² they sing their hearts out, in anger and in chorus, they scream slogans, they bump into each other, they sweat, they laugh, they have fun. Because of the energy and violence contained in their movements, they hurt themselves sometimes. Since the punk movement took shape,³ this kind of behavior – energetic and noisy – is common practice for people involved in this scene. Even if some do not act like that, they would at least agree with those who do so during musical performances. It is a consolidated behavior, commonplace in the many existing variations and ramifications of the punk movement, be it the Japanese crust-core scene of the late 1980s, the power-violence scene of Vila Velha in the 2000s, or the English anarcho-punk scene of the early 1980s. A request for silence is not something most people would expect to hear in a punk event.

The event I am describing is called Vela Preta, a festival organized by Meia-Vida – a record label from the city of Curitiba, specialized in *punk*, *industrial* and *noise* music –, in which six performances by solo artists or bands took place. It happened at Espaço Zé Presidente, in Cardeal Arcoverde Street, Vila Madalena, São Paulo. I went with some friends, and when the request for silence happened we were standing between the bar and the stage. The request caught everyone’s attention except Yantra’s, the performer, who simply continued to play, staring at his instruments in a kind of meditative state. At first, we did not really understand what happened.

1. Famous venues to listen to classical music in São Paulo.

2. Mosh and stage dive are steps in the collective punk dance. Mosh is to move the body in a frantic way, leaning and pushing on those who dance together. Stage dive is a jump made from the stage with the intention of being carried by the crowd, above their heads.

3. The punk narrative places its genesis in 1977, release year of the albums *Rocket to Russia* by the Ramones and *Never Mind the Bollocks, Here’s the Sex Pistols*, bands considered demiurges in the punk cosmogony.

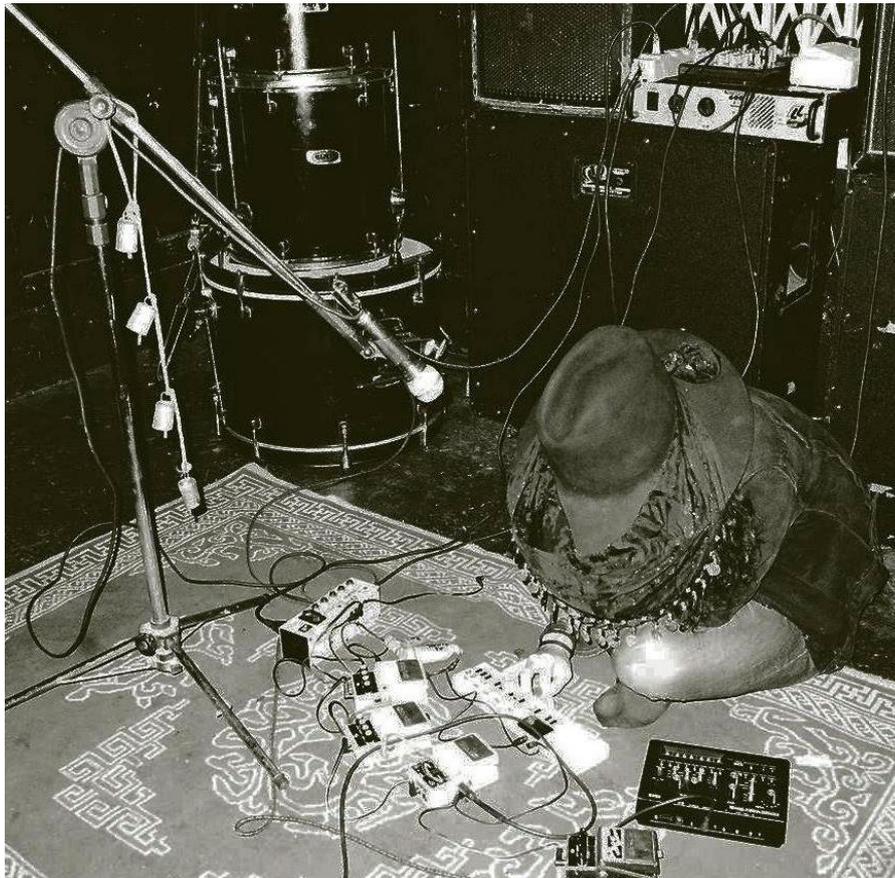


FIGURE 1
Yantra performing
at Hotel
Bar. Source:
Carlos Issa.

We briefly commented on this strange event and had similar opinions: the boys at the bar knew they were disturbing the performance but did not expect to be reprimanded, since noise is not something considered offensive in the punk movement. Despite the tension, the conflict was resolved very quickly. Even though the request was unusual, the boys who spoke and laughed loudly, sensing they were bothering the audience, soon left the venue. I think they saw the public's attitude as strange: their facial expressions showed their confusion.

In a way, the music Yantra performed provided the climate that nourished the aforementioned scene. He used two instruments: an electric guitar and a *monotribe* – a synthesizer and sequencer –, with which he used for looping sounds between the mantra “Om” and the didgeridoo. It was a repetitive mantra-like sound that resonated a pleasant and magnetic frequency to hold our attention – its repetitive and mantra-like character did not bother us –, and acted as a sound layer to sustain the other part of the music, which consisted of electric guitar improvisations metamorphosed into a sitar via the timbre chosen and the scales used. The Indian influence was also in his body: Yantra played sitting on the floor with his legs crossed, as if in the yoga position *sukhasana*.

We also smelled masala, which came from the incense he had lit. The atmosphere of that performance wanted to convey a message that, I think, was decoded by the public: in the one hand, their desire to be silent so the music playing was the only sound heard, and on the other, most of the crowd sat on the floor in *sukhasana*, as in a meditation session.

THE TRANCE AND THE MUSIC: A FORM OF PARALLEL INSISTENCE TO THE *ETHOS* OF SÃO PAULO

The musicians of this scene came from experiences in the punk movement, which sees life in a disenchanted way, in the Max Weber sense of the term. That is what makes me and others feel at odds with the Vela Preta Festival. What led these punks to seek some form of spirituality? Or rather, what do they want with this spirituality? Although getting drenched in spiritual practices, they still carry the antiestablishment punk ideology, but different from the commonplace punk. They use music for varied purposes; here music is a way to clash with the São Paulo *ethos*, understood, broadly, as living in a city that demands speed in all activities because of the extreme control of time imposed by capitalism, associated to the blasé attitude, typical of the big cities that emerged with modernity, as Simmel puts it⁵.

More than a resistance, this struggle would be a form of insistence⁶ on searching for a different life experience from that imposed by the city's *ethos*. This form of agency by insistence implies that, instead of being on the defensive against the affections directed at them by São Paulo, they act in a positive way by proposing a different lifestyle, not necessarily contrary to the São Paulo *ethos*, but in parallel; it would be impossible to alienate themselves from the *ethos* since they are part of it. Felinto, one of the musicians in that scene, commented:

I don't know if I'm resisting the rhythm of São Paulo, because I'm in it too, right? But within this crazy rhythm of São Paulo I'm looking for other rhythms. I'm leaving this

4. I use the concept of *ethos* as defined by Gregory Bateson: "*ethos*, [would be] the expression of a culturally standardized system of organization of the instincts and emotions of individuals. The *ethos* of a given culture is [...] an abstraction of the entire mass of its institutions and formulations, and so one can expect *ethos* to be infinitely varied from culture to culture – as varied as the institutions themselves. In reality, however, it is possible that in this infinite variety is the *content* of affective life that changes from culture to culture, while the underlying systems or *ethos* are continuously repeating themselves" (Bateson, 2006, 169; our translation).

5. "The psychological foundation on which the type of individuality of the big city rises is the *intensification of the nervous life*", result of the enormous amount of human affections possible there if compared to rural life (Simmel, 1903/2005, 577; our translation). This stimulates an "external reserve" of city dwellers, the blasé, which stimulates them to "a slight aversion, a mutual strangeness and repulsion which, at the moment of a close contact, caused by some reason, could immediately burst into hatred and struggle" (Idem, 583; our translation). Finally, Simmel states that this "reserve, with its harmony of hidden aversion, however, appears again as the form or clothing of a much more general spiritual being of the great city" (Idem; our translation).

6. I thank Clarissa Reche for indicating this possibility of agency form.

thing that we're understanding as the thing to resist... I'm leaving it to whoever wants to stay in this whole paranoia.⁷

We might think that insisting on it, then, would be an act of autonomy regarding an environment that at any given moment tries to impose its massive influence on those who participate in it. Insistence would not be a maintenance in existence, as recommended by resistance, but something closer to creating a space or invasion that would make a different life possible, simultaneously to the oppressive environment. Among its many uses, music functions here as a tool to develop a *trance*, as I will call it, to treat some maladies these musicians say are created by the *ethos* of São Paulo. As such, this practice is a therapeutic one. Felinto is one of the proponents of music-therapy – as we will see in one of his speeches.

Before developing the idea of therapy it contains, we must address what they understand by *trance*. Although this term is used by the scene's participants, I will make a synthesis that will guide the general definition of *trance* used in this article. To address this particularity, I have built a model that allows for looking at this moment of consciousness in more detail. To think of *trance* as *movement* would facilitate its understanding, since it would not be a *state*, but a *search for a state*. Its full realization would always be groped, never completed. Namely: *trance* would be a moment in which the individual would isolate himself from himself.

Losing the notion of existence is an interesting image to illustrate what that moment would be like. The many *trance* techniques I observed tended to put the individual in introspection from the control of the perception of external and internal stimuli. We could then understand *trance* as the search some individuals carry out to block their perception of external affection and their internal drives. *Trance*, then, would be a search for the suspension of the perception of existence:

How does this relate to anthropology and performance? If the brain is endowed with plasticity, if it is shaped by the environment and can be trained, we can then glimpse new ways of understanding how culture actually “inhabits” the brain. Many traditional rituals – especially those that use *trance* – operate performatively through repetition and rhythm (percussion, singing, dancing). The psychotropic effects of the *trance* are well known. The paradox of the *trance* is that, for those who know or have already learned to enter a *trance*, it is desired and controlled, but when a person is “in”

7. All of Felinto's words cited in this article come from the short-film *Eu sou* (Albuquerque de Oliveira, 2018). Among other things, the making of this film intended to follow Feld's advice: “In short, making ethnomusicology with film is an integral part of making ethnomusicology better. Using the film in planned research programs, we can take advantage of more elaborate forms of data, better elicitation methodologies, and more test-sensitive modes of analysis. By publishing films and writing about them, we can share aspects of the field experience – both data and interpretations – on a new level of communication” (2016, 256; our translation).

trance, the expected or normative behavior of the trance is in the foreground. The entrance doors to the trance – turning, singing, meditating: there are numerous ways to induce the trance – are consciously controlled, but once in trance, a mental-cerebral state similar to that of a oneiric state is in the foreground. Trance can be thought of as a kind of “day-dream”, a dream in which the dreamer, to some extent, controls its trajectory (Schechner, 2013, 55; our translation).

In these musicians’ search for trance, music would have agency on the external and internal stimuli, which puts it in a privileged place: music would provide the effect of isolating the individual from the environment and guide him not to get lost in his mind’s emanations. Environment and mind, then, are the places the trance proponent must pay attention to; because they would act as impediments to reach the search for trance. This movement is strongly attached to the individual’s notion of existence – perception. We could understand the constitution of this notion of existence, broadly, as the synthesis produced by the dialectic movement between environment and mind.⁸ The search for the trance would be a search for the balance between the mutual nourishment made by the affections of the environment and the emanations of the mind; a search for the place where this nourishment does not happen. I believe that finding this place is impossible, but not finding a place where this signal is weaker; thus, I understand trance as a search. However, music can be understood as a link between the individual and their feeling of existence, a link with the environment and the mind: music is always heard by the musicians who are seeking the trance. This characteristic of always being heard, encloses music in a contradiction within this search for the trance: although it acts to isolate the environment and direct the mind, it simultaneously stimulates the auditory perception and abstract emanations in the individual. Trance, then, would be better thought of as a becoming, it would be a becoming-trance.

THE THERAPEUTICS OF INSISTENCE AS AN INTENTION OF AFFECTION

Although producer of physical affections – it awakens our hearing or makes us feel our body in a certain way, for example –, music apparently closes its paradox of guiding the listener to the trance by making it impossible for them to reach it, because of its unique characteristic of *closed language in itself*, as suggested by Lévi-Strauss. Music would be a language that does not speak of anything other than itself, making its action carry the contradiction of being simultaneously intelligible – because we understand it – and untranslatable – for it is impossible to transpose it to another language (Lévi-Strauss, 2004, 37-8). In other words, we may understand music, but only in its musical value.

8. Although I use environment and mind as distinct entities, I do not treat them as isolated monads that, when in contact would create a third entity, the individual. Two things must be emphasized: the environment is nourished by the emanations of the mind, since the individual interacts with the world around him, transforming it; the mind is nourished by the affections of the environment, since the world interacts with the individuals, transforming them.

It is not because music expresses itself that it is devoid of message. Lévi-Strauss suggests that this type of message is linked to two factors, the same ones individuals must observe when searching for the trance: their emotions (internal drives, of the biological order) and their education (internalized external drives, of the symbolic and imaginary order). During a musical performance, listeners would be subject to the performer's intentions of affection:

Musical emotion comes precisely from the fact that at each instant the composer withdraws or adds more or less than the listener predicts, convinced of being able to guess the project, although he is in fact incapable of revealing it due to his subjection to a double periodicity: that of his ribcage, which is linked to his individual nature, and that of scale, linked to his education (Idem, 36; our translation).

Thus, Felinto's commentary on how he could manipulate his music to direct it towards producing certain affections is very interesting. He talked about how some people said to had been affected by his music: through one of his performances, some said they had come into contact with a deceased relative and resolved past issues, others said to have come into contact with their African roots, or that they had felt their vulva pulsing... He explains that these feelings and all the others awakened by his music occur because mankind shares amongst itself life experiences common to all humans, or at least to humans who belong to a given society. After he told me those stories, he elaborated on why he could affect the listeners:

I think those facets I find in myself reverberate in other people. And besides reverberating, I have experiences, no matter how unspoken, that other people also have. We deal with death, we deal with love, we deal with scarcity, sometimes... With the need for abundance, with the need for affection.

If this type of reflection relates to the "education factor", as Lévi-Strauss puts it, when Felinto talks specifically about physical affections, he completes the "double periodicity of music" suggested by the anthropologist, by considering, among other things, that music has the potential to be something like an affection machine, and that the different forms of affection possible are associated with the aesthetic forms of sound frequencies manipulated in a performance. He states that:

Today I have executed, created, thought with a more defined aesthetic purpose. I worry about what I can create aesthetically, "synesthetically"... What a sensory experience I'm gonna bring, huh?

I can start with a high frequency that goes to the roof of your head or a low one that will mess with your stomach.



FIGURE 2
Felinto in his
home-studio.
Source: Renato
Albuquerque
de Oliveira.

Anthropological considerations on the relationship between music, trance and therapy are not new. A classic on this approach are Roger Bastide's studies on how in some religions of African matrix the state of trance is guided by music and the controlled trance – opposite to possession, which would be an involuntary trance – would be eminently used as therapy. Thus, the trance would be considered as a “social adjustment function for a disinherited population, poorly integrated into the global society, and that, consequently, they constituted a factor of psychic balance, therefore mental health” (Bastide, 2016, 107; our translation). If we agree with Bastide, trance can be understood as a therapeutic practice that strengthens the insistence on a lifestyle other than the hegemonic one imposed on certain groups. It is interesting that his approach arises from the inversion of a psychiatric vogue. Before, the trance of Afro-religions was seen as stimulating a cult of the pathological,⁹ due to its association with typical Western psychological diseases – e.g., hysteria, schizophrenia etc. – and how they manifest. In a second moment, psychiatry began thinking of trance as a search for the cure¹⁰ of problems caused by the position practitioners of Afro-religions find themselves in their societies (Idem, 109). Music, in this context, would be the trigger for the trance, which would take place respecting its proper liturgical moment: “the trance starts only when one hears the

9. We use pathological, in a generic way, to what denotes disease.

10. We define cure, in this article, as the re-establishment of a person's normalized state of body and/or mind sanity. Note that this state is socially constructed.

music of their god. The moment and form of the trance are liturgically determined” (Idem, 144; our translation). Musicians of the experimental scene in São Paulo would then function like shamans, doctors, healers and liturgy masters: guides on a journey towards the unknown emptiness of the mind, so that individuals can find in themselves the cure for psychic maladies through music. These performer’s form of action is seen by their mastery of the intentions of affection their music may effect. Lévi-Strauss’s comment on this possibility of control, which reinforces Felinto’s speech, is quite illustrative:

If the composer withdraws more, we experience a delicious sensation of falling; we feel torn from a stable point in the solfège and thrown into the void, but only because the point of support offered to us is not in the place provided. When the composer takes less, the opposite happens: he forces us to exercise more skillfully than we do. Now we are moved, now we are forced to move, and always beyond what we alone would feel capable of accomplishing. The aesthetic pleasure is made of this infinity of ennui and truce, useless waits and waits rewarded beyond what is expected, the result of the challenges brought by the work; and the contradictory sensation it provokes, that the trials to which it submits us are insurmountable, when it prepares to provide us with wonderfully unforeseen means that will allow us to overcome them (Lévi-Strauss, 2004, 36; our translation).

The intention of affection meant by Felinto is indicative of the importance in observing the ethological context in constructing a path in the search for the trance. He intends to use his music as a therapeutic tool to treat what he calls anxiety, one of the main mental illnesses caused by the *ethos* of a city like São Paulo, where *urgency* is the categorical imperative that mediates living in the megalopolis. Reciprocity in urgency, present in those who share this *ethos*, would feed a desire to deny the wait, considering it undesirable and, to a certain extent, unthinkable, triggering a chronic feeling of anxiety, the intermittent desire to always be doing something. This need for urgency would institute waiting as a waste to be avoided, an empty space that always must be filled. More broadly, it is a consequence of the capitalist *modus operandi*, which presupposes the control of time to a faster and maximized production. To Felinto, this would propel people to try and make up for the wait in some way, such as the need to smoke a cigarette while waiting for the bus or eat something, even without hunger, while waiting for someone in a bar.

Felinto directs his intention of affection to sensitize those who participate in his performances that waiting happens and is inescapable and should not be blamed, as the city’s *ethos* suggests. Commenting on this particularity, he states:

Here in São Paulo everyone has issues with time. I think our people die early and our year goes by faster. Everybody’s in

a hurry here. I don't know, I think this is the only place in the country that's kind of an emergency bid... That's insane!

With that in mind, he comments on his therapeutic proposal:

I am looking for spaces with therapeutic proposals, in which people are willing to slow down, to pause a little, to experience silence, to reduce anxiety or to talk to anxiety and understand that it is there.

We are trying to create a circuit of people who enjoy experimental music and somehow find a way to enter introspection, into something transcendental, from this exercise of listening.

Felinto's musical aesthetic choice is also important. He prefers to compose songs that can be defined as *ambient*, since the aesthetics of this type of music reflects what Felinto wants to awaken in his listeners. Ambient music would be characterized by a slow and fluid sound with plenty of space between the musical actions, besides being performed in the repetitive idea of a mantra. The time it awakens, then, would oppose the productivity eagerness, typical of the São Paulo *ethos*.

But there are other problems these experimental musicians want to deal with. Another way to perform therapy with trance mediated by music is using the musical frenzy – different diseases require different treatments. The musicians of DeafKids, for example, try to unload the blasé attitude typical of big cities. For them, this type of attitude, typical of metropolitan populations, builds intense levels of individualism, which facilitates the many forms of control by different oppressive social forces, be they the State, the market etc. Isolated individuals have weaker possibilities for political action, since they would not be or willing to be in contact with others. DeafKids's intention of affection would, then, break the controlling blasé attitude has on the individuals' bodies through the trance mediated by the frenzy of the dances proposed by their music.

DeafKids's music, something between *d-beat*, *noise*, *drone* and *industrial*, would be a commentary on the dystopia that surrounds our bodies today. This aesthetic choice would be a diagnosis of the vectors creating this blasé malady. Besides showing how the contemporary lament is configured by these oppressive forces, their music also stimulates the listeners to seek freedom for their bodies. Many are the restraints that oppress individuals, but they specifically deal with the problem caused by the blasé attitude. The therapy is given through the repetitive – and mantric – character of their music; a stimulus for bodies to break the bonds of blasé control. It is by dance, frenetic dance, free dance, that this control is undone. The search for the trance, the intention of fundamental affection for the treatment they propose, is also on the performers. Mariano, drummer of DeafKids, comments that the way he plays his instrument, repetitively and using polyrhythmic techniques, which come

from certain African musical styles, becomes, at a certain moment of his performance, a search for the trance; he forgets about himself and the body acts automatically. This highlights the necessary practice to intend the trance affection. Finally, for the trance affection directed at the listeners be possible, these musicians must master the trance, something that permeates their control of the musical language that makes it possible. Schechner synthesizes this relationship between the control of trance and the practice of some specific performance technique:

The trance, of course, is performance; it is a physical action, a powerful way to introduce cultural practices deeply into the structure of the brain, effectively changing it. Obviously – even though sometimes the most powerful truths are right in front of our nose – the performance of the trance is both a cause and a consequence of *retrained brains*. Trance masters – shamans, Candomblé practitioners and other traditional performers, as well as some artists – have trained their *bodybrain* using traditional methods. They are an embodied knowledge (Schechner, 2013, 56; our translation).

The body, thought in conjunction with the mind, is the vehicle for achieving the trance. It is the body that mediates the healing affections intended for healing other bodies that want healing.



FIGURE 3
Mariano,
DeafKids's
drummer. Source:
Victor Balde.



FIGURE 4
DeafKids Live.
Source: Nubia Abe.

The body that needs healing, the one built from the maladies generated by the city's *ethos*, would need, then, to be recomposed, remade. The body's reconstruction intended by these musicians, mediated by the trance, is a means of deactivating the vectors that previously configured its pathological state. This spirit that permeates every moment of people's lives in São Paulo and acts in a hegemonic way, creates impediments for undoing the problems they cause in the bodies of city dwellers.

DeafKids is an interesting archetype of these punks' current choice for a spiritual approach to the world, seen in the aesthetic changes they present throughout their career. Many are its factors, but some are crucial when talking about this *mélange* of music, trance and the treatment intended. DeafKids's first album, released in 2011, was still pretty much stuck in the rock music convention, with songs following compositional choices limited to the solutions found in the *d-beat* format, a punk sub-genre. But more and more they started adding exogenous elements to their compositions. Its apex, from the transformation of a strictly punk band into a band that does something so *sui generis* that escapes definition,¹¹ is the album *Configuração do Lamento*. There is a progressive variation in the band's aesthetic choice between the first and last albums, which may be parallel to their spiritualization. Mariano, for example, changed from a strong atheist to someone who prefers to, as he likes to say, "accept the mystery", since some things in existence go beyond the possibility of understanding. They started going to Umbanda – Angu, their bassist, was going for longer; they also started listening to different African and Indian music. These are factors that influenced the compositions seen in *Configuração do Lamento*. This album uses a lot of percussion – something not very common for punk bands apart from the drum kit – such as the djembe, bongos and *water noise* (water falling into a container covered in metal objects). These "unusual" elements – for punks, of course – were used in this recording referencing their knowledge of African and Indian music. It is interesting that this movement of aesthetic change happens simultaneously with a the recent increase in the circulation of African music in Brazil, with the New African Diaspora. They also used a type of percussion inspired by composition techniques typical of *industrial music*, built on a "microfonized" malleable metal plate – the elasticity of a saw would be an example of this type of metal.

The *therapeutics of insistence* is not an exclusive phenomenon of this scene. It could be something broader, like a technology of affection and body care that acts to restore the subjects' sanity. It is built and practiced by people who, in some way, are not aligned with the *ethos* of the

11. Examples are found in these articles: "DeafKids defy the rational on 'Configuração do Lamento'" (Cory, 2017), "Resenha do disco 'Configuração do Lamento'" (Justini 2016), "Why DeafKids are one of Brazil's most important bands!" (Reveron 2017).

social environment in which they live, such as the practitioners of Afro-Brazilian religions, as discussed by Bastide. Further research on this type of healing process should be conducted in other marginalized social groups, since it seems to be a common trait among these populations.

So far, at least superficially, the *therapeutics of insistence* practice has been outlined. But let us ask ourselves: what would enable this technology to be effective? Before trying to answer this question, we need to take a step back and understand the meanders of the *therapeutics of insistence* as a cultural manifestation. We must think about the social parameters of its reproduction, by specific social relations. Thus, we will be able to think how the existence of the *therapeutics of insistence* acts in the individuals' bodies, from an intersubjective perspective and in a recurring way. Therefore, the following topic will discuss some characteristics of the *therapeutics of insistence* in its relationship with *socius*.

THE SOCIAL RELATIONS THAT REPRODUCE THE THERAPEUTICS OF INSISTENCE

How, then, should we analyze the implications of social relations in the *therapeutics of insistence*? I will now talk about some concepts that might help us build a framework.

Musicking is a concept put forward to solve a musicology vogue – and, thus, a certain part of ethnomusicology –, which, broadly, focused on discussing music-social problems from an European, logocentric and individualizing musical reference. Generally, this musicology approach used compositional or biographical analysis to build its explanations and had in the music-textual registers its source of data. This precludes solving issues that involve the Other's meanings of his own musical making or other social aspects enhanced by music. In a rather ludicrous way, we see this vogue in the classic example of an Eurocentric musicological approach: the notes between the semi-tones, typical of certain Arabic music, for example, would be considered as played by out-of-tune instruments and not as a choice of a smaller frequency range for defining the notes within this music system. Finally, the vogue that the concept of music evokes makes it possible to include, if in a limited way, other conceptions of music, besides socio-musical phenomena that were previously excluded.

Coined by Small, *Musicking* is, in general lines, an epistemological approach used by ethnomusicology to account for the practices that enable the reproduction – in the sense of perpetuating its existence – of music. This concept then categorizes *music* as an action that intends to enable music to be performed. The phenomena this approach encompasses are not only of the mechanical execution or of the compositional forms, but a network of other vectors that sustain musical making. Musical

relations would be, then, the relationship between any *musicking one* who acts for the event of the music: the person who works at the box office of a musical presentation, the person who manages the Facebook page of a band, the person who shares pirated music, the person who works in the administrative sector of São Paulo's Symphony Orchestra (Osesp), the musical performer etc. (Small, 1998, 9).

Musicking, then, enlarges, apparently indefinitely, the scope that surrounds music. But if the musical scope does not end, everything becomes music. If everything is music, then nothing is music; since it is the differentiation between an entity/phenomenon and the rest of the cosmos – the singularity of an object – that enables something to exist, music, for being an undifferentiated phenomenon from the rest of the cosmos, would not exist or would be its totality. How to overcome this difficulty? What would music be? We must take a step back.

Music, as treated by Blacking, would be a set of humanly organized sounds (2007, 213). So, whenever we notice some culturally constructed order for a contingency of different sounds, we have a musical manifestation. However, for these organized sounds to happen in the world, they must manifest themselves: the music would be performed during a musical action, a performance. This movement suggests that the musical phenomenon structure is composed of a synchronic entity (ordering of sounds) and a diachronic entity (performance of this ordering). Music, in its diachronic sense, would be the moment of convergence of all vectors moved by musicians so that music can happen. In other words, music would be an *act*, not an object. A similar definition is proposed by Seeger, who puts the need for ethnomusicological analysis to reflect on the performative elements of music, because it is the moment where audience and performer affect each other through music (2008, 244). Furthermore, we must understand this idea of music, which happens in action, as a performance, as defined by Schechner. For the author, performance are “marked behaviors, framed or accentuated, separated from simple living” (2003, 34; our translation). Having outlined this epistemological basis, how could this tool be used to discuss the experiences in the experimental music scene that I followed?

Many approaches could be used to interpret this ethnographic experience, even from the *musical* perspective. For example, we could construe this scene from the relationship the performers have with the space Yoga For All –a yoga school that houses some performances of this musical scene. Maintained by Vanessa Joda, the space works in the lines of *Yoga Punx*.¹² As such, we may examine how these performances

12. A yogic philosophy that associates, as the name implies, ideas from yoga and ideas from the punk movement. On its official website, it is said that “Yoga Punx combines

and Yoga for All built a relationship, from the social relationship between Vanessa Joda and the artists. We can further complicate this relationship and see how this first relationship would influence the yoga students, who would be looking, at first, strictly for a yoga practice and who, being affected by the association between yoga and music intended by the school, begin to like experimental music.

Besides the music aspects, other phenomena act in establishing connections between the individuals of this scene. We could even suggest that these are the phenomena that enable the reproduction of the *therapeutics of insistence* (would be the structure of this movement?). We shall use Small's idea as the trigger for that discussion:

The fundamental nature and meaning of music lie not in objects, not in musical works at all, but in action, in what people do. It is only by understanding what people do, as they take part in a musical act, that we can hope to understand its nature and the function it fulfills in human life. (1998, 8)

Here we see the importance of thinking that music is carried out by people's actions: these acts give agency, signify and attribute new meanings to musical making. What, then, would make such acts possible? Or more: what would make it possible for these acts to reproduce?

It would be interesting to examine the topological development of that scene. Its cartography could give us a panoramic view – broader but less detailed – of the processes taking place. Thus, we could glimpse the mechanisms that enable the *therapeutics of insistence*. Such topography would be a detailed description of a locality. Considering that our analysis deals with social relations, its topography, the physical-spatial issues involved in the practices of this experimental scene, is of little importance. More important is to examine the *geographical position of social relations in the action of individuals*. Appadurai defines well how the locality formed by the unfolding social structure conceptualizes itself:

I view locality as primarily relational and contextual rather than as scalar or spatial. I see it as a complex phenomenological quality, constituted by a series of links between the sense of social immediacy, the technologies of interactivity, and the relativity of contexts (1996, 178).

As such, we can consider that locality would be not the space itself, but the practices that endow the space with shared meanings among the agents. The same meaning can repeat the same location without having to repeat itself in the same physical space. A location does not necessarily repeat itself, but it may repeat itself. It is precisely from this

yoga and punk philosophy to offer alternative donation-based yoga classes for all student levels. Come and be as you are. We play kick-ass music!"

power of repetition that a scene could be constructed and endure. It is also this repetition that would strengthen the ties between the agents of this scene and magnify the efficacy of the *therapeutics of insistence* practiced by them – we will examine this later on.

The idea of *community of practice* helps us deal with this recurrence, since “[t]hese practices are thus the property of a kind of community created over time by the sustained pursuit of a shared enterprise” (Wenger, 1998, 45). Thus, the experimental scene would be a community of practices with shared common ends, the *therapeutics of insistence* being one of them. This scene is composed, then, by people who come together to carry out shared projects.

But one could ask: why differentiate between *locality* and *community of practice*, if this concept can include people who are carrying out joint ventures? To this I answer: the differentiation between *locality* and *community of practices* is necessary because not everyone in the *locality* where the music takes place participates in this *community of practices*. The events are public, so it may happen that people not necessarily connected to that scene are there during the performances. In other words, *locality* would be the global context of the events of this scene, while the *community of practices* would be a contingency, internal to the *locality*, formed by people who have common initiatives.

From this group external to the *community of practices*, but internal to that *locality*, we could reflect on the limits of the *therapeutics of insistence* agency. For this purpose, I conducted an ethnographic experiment to observe if, in fact, the closer the listeners and performers were in otherness, the easier it would be, for the listeners, to decode with more precision the message contained in the performers’ music. To do so, I invited someone outside this scene to see how he would react to the message conveyed through the music and/or the degree of difficulty in understanding the performer’s message. To make this experiment less biased, the subject had no previous knowledge of my research –so as not to influence him with the reflections I had already come to. I deliberately invited the subject to watch a DeafKids performance, because I intuited that the message they conveyed through their music was relatively easier to understand than the ones made by other performers. The subject was chosen for his experience with experimental music and no prior knowledge of DeafKids until the invitation was made. Despite this methodological choice, this draft experiment might serve to some future research project that needs a tool to measure the quality of intersemiotic translations taking place in musical performances. I will talk about the outcome of that experiment later. First, we must examine the introjection of the message in the songs performed by the participants of this scene.

THE TRANCE AS A MESSAGE THAT USES MUSIC AS A MEDIUM

What happens in the interactional process of the performances of this scene can be seen as communication: here, the musicians intend to affect the listeners with their message, which, among other things, could be the cure for some evil caused by the *ethos* of São Paulo. Even though small, not everyone who came to the performances was a scene goer: some were regulars, while others were sporadic listeners. These regulars were very close to the performers, not restricted to interacting with them only as spectators.

The regulars easily understand the performers' message. One person commented that in a Felinto performance, they felt a connection with his recently deceased grandfather, which helped her relieve herself from the trauma that was his death. Other talks about how the music he heard had connections with Africa, awakening and strengthening a certain sense of empowerment because of his African roots. Two examples that stray from Felinto's main proposal, which is to treat anxiety. About this divergence, he explains that, although he imbues his music with questions that speak to possible human affections, it is impossible for the connection made by his music and pathological processes be entirely complete, given the complexity of the subjectivities constitution. But in another Felinto performance two listeners told me they had accessed something like a moment of nonexistence – maybe a form of trance. In fact, they said that after the performance they felt an unusual peace. They were participating in the performance, meditating, for about 50 minutes. One of the participants said he felt as if only a few minutes had passed in this practice. In the performances of DeafKids, there is a regular who, every time I have seen him – there have been many –, he was dancing in an unusual frenzy. In performances by Afrohooligans – a band formed by Felinto and members of DeafKids – I always see the majority of listeners in *sukhasana*, as in Yantra's performances. A practice I have seen repeated in other performances by Yantra and also by Acavernus.

Although I only discuss here the issue of the trance mediated by music, other messages can also be conveyed by this means. Let us take as example another message transmitted by DeafKids.

On a Saturday night, me and a friend – let us call her K. – went to Hotel Bar, on a alley of Augusta Street, where the musicians of the experimental scene perform almost daily. We were there to see a DeafKids performance, a band that, as said before, K. did not know. This field work was to examine this communicational aspect, specifically this band's music. K. knew she was helping with my research, but I did not explain what this ethnography was about, so as not to influence her observations. For the same reason, I asked her not to research the band before the experiment occurred.

After the performance, K. described her experience in a few topics. First, she liked the music. She felt that DeafKids's music aesthetics conveyed a message of nihilistic destruction, defining their sound like a "noise that did not want to get anywhere." The message of destruction she understood would be a delight, a pleasurable destruction. For her, what she witnessed was very reminiscent of the film *The Seventh Continent* (*Der siebente kontinent*), which tells the story of a family that moves to an isolated place and starts destroying objects valued by our society – they throw money into a toilet, break a clock with axes, smash a television. She also said that the music was very inviting to dance, but she did not because almost nobody danced, making her feel out of place – I suggest it was because she did not participate in this *community of practices*.

We see two particularities in K.'s experience that relate to the message that DeafKids transmitted. One of them, which shows the performance of blasé attitudes, is that she felt compelled not to dance by being in a context that surrounded her with blasé, even though the music was very inviting to dance. Another is the image of destruction narrated by K. We notice that the narrative intended by DeafKids, among other things, is loaded with this content. Although DeafKids's songs have lyrics, all of them are unintelligible during their performances due to being covered by layers of audio processing with the use of reverb, delay and distortion in the audio signal of the vocalist's microphone. The interesting thing is that, even without understanding what was said verbally, K. managed to grasp what was said musically. She was able to perform, even if rudimentarily, an intersemiotic translation of a message contained in DeafKids's performance. Evidently, we must consider that the message is not understood in its totality, either in its verbal or musical aspect, by the structural particularities of each of these forms of human interaction – what Lévi-Strauss calls "a closed language in itself". One of the main messages proposed by DeafKids, verbally and musically, is that we live in a "permanent dystopia." K., at least in part, was able to understand that.

These were some examples of how music can transmit messages, a necessary mechanism for the *therapeutics of insistence* to happen. Now, we shall return to our first question: what would make this treatment effective?

THE SYMBOLIC EFFICACY, THE PROXIMITY BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS OF A COMMUNITY OF PRACTICES AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH COMPREHENSION IN THE MUSIC-COMMUNICATIONAL PROCESS

In this scene the trance can be a form of healing, having music as a privileged means of execution. In this *location*, this system would form a version of the *therapeutics of insistence*, a treatment that may show us another possibility for restoring sanity. But for the performers' intentions of affection to be effective, the entities involved in this contingency

must share similar intersubjective values, as the examples above suggest. How the relationship between these people is built, then, would be what enables the insistence agency – in this scene, the parallel experience of the city's *ethos*. For this, they must have a shared knowledge of a language so that a dialogue through music can happen.

It is precisely this common language that guarantees the reproduction of the *therapeutics of insistence*. The idea of *symbolic efficacy* is quite elucidative in this regard. Lévi-Strauss proposes this concept to account for possible efficacy in therapeutic processes that use *meanings*, since they could “make a situation initially given in affective terms thinkable, and acceptable to the spirit the pains that the body refuses to tolerate” (1985, 228). To discuss this idea, he compares a shamanistic cure narrated between the Cuna with forms of psychoanalytic treatment. Lévi-Strauss shows that, in a way, the patient needs to subjectivize the functioning idea of certain maladies to dominate them or at least live together minimizing their effects, if it is something inescapable. The process that takes place in the experimental scene is similar, with the exception of the type of language being used to intentionally cure: in our case, experimental music; in Lévi-Strauss' is a mythical narrative, sung by a shaman, or the creation of an individual metaphor to explain existence, done by the psychoanalyst. If we consider that “it is the symbolic efficacy that guarantees the harmony of parallelism between myth and operations; myth and operations form a pair, where the duality of the patient and the doctor is always found” (Lévi-Strauss, 1985, 232), the therapy that takes place on the experimental scene concerns the possibility of the performers and the listener that is being treated share world meanings. Just as myth and operations form a pair in the cure described by Lévi-Strauss, music and meditation are in a similar parallelistic relationship.

I believe that the *therapeutics of insistence* could be enhanced by closer ties between participants of a given group; the closer the subjects, the easier and more accurate becomes the symbolic understanding between them. The constitution of these groups as a *community of practices* must be observed if this type of healing process is to be improved.

It is the place that an individual occupies in a *location* that enables him to use the *therapeutics of insistence* for practices that restore the healthy state of the body with greater or lesser healing power. Such medical care may, in fact, be actions used to treat some form of illness. In other words, a musical process can be used to treat our bodies from problems caused by the most diverse agents, such as the *ethos* of São Paulo. Not only scientific medicine can cure us. Other forms of healing are possible.

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THE “CAMPEIRO” CONCEPT IN THE GAUCHO REGIONAL MUSIC: A RECONFIGURATION OF THE ARTISTIC/ CULTURAL ORDER

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ABSTRACT

Since 1971, with the festival *1ª Califórnia da Canção Nativa*, music has established itself as a field of disputes between innovative and traditionalist tendencies in the *Movimento Tradicionalista Gaúcho*, and in the last four decades it has assumed a central role, constituting a language that causes transformations in the discourses and in the cultural order of *gauchismo*. Here, the concept of “campeiro” is presented as a reconfiguration of the idea of nativism established after the festival *1ª Califórnia da Canção Nativa*, a kind of ontological transformation that approximates and intensifies the musical language directed towards life forms present in the region of campaign in South Brazil. This paper is supported by interviews and conversations with musicians, poets and composers, and artists that participate in regional *gaucho* music events.

KEYWORDS

Campeiro;
transformations;
aesthetics;
ideology; culture.

BRIEF CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT REGIONAL MUSIC IN RIO GRANDE DO SUL, BRAZIL

Before the emergence of festivals in the country in the 1960s, the repertoire of the gaucho¹ regional music was summarized to the works that represented this regional expression, sung and performed by interpreters such as Pedro Raymundo, Teixeira, Gildo de Freitas and José Mendes. These artists achieved great audience in rural areas, but were stigmatized with the term “grossura”² (grossness). At that time, this regional artistic expression was reduced to some musical genres inherited from European ballroom music, such as waltz, mazurka, schottische, *habanera*, transformed in southern Brazil, giving rise to other genres such as *rancheira*, *toadas*, *arrasta-pé*, or remaining with some regional particularities, such as the waltz. The musical festivals and the expansion of the repertoire would also contribute to a new style in the songs and to the search for sounds different from those of the 1940s and 1950s, based on a differentiated melodic and harmonious construction, which would be the musical elements of this new conception, together with the characteristic instruments. The so-called “Brazilian gaucho music” (also known in the state of Rio Grande do Sul as “música nativista” – “nativist music”) emerged as one of the free expressions in the gaucho music scene after the festival named *1ª Califórnia da Canção Nativa*. In my field research, the creative and transformative potential of this new style has always been evident, without, however, losing the thematic axes of the rural context and the figure of the gaucho. The combination of music and poetry in the compositions of musical nativism in the search for a new aesthetic³ brought a transformative discourse to the regional artistic scene, diversifying the proposals of gaucho traditionalism towards a modernizing expansion. Through this intention of renewal, musical discourse takes a place of privilege in the cultural manifestations of traditionalism. In this musical discourse, life situations and scenes, desires and feelings are expressed and portrayed as an ideological set. Therefore, it was evident in my fieldwork that music would occupy a central place in the movement as the most intense form of communication and expression.

1. In the original text in Portuguese, music located in southern Brazil is characterized as “*música regional gaúcha*”. In the translation I chose to respect the term “gaucho music” according to the rules of the English language.

2. Grossness (*grossura*) refers to a simplicity, without refinement, in the aspect of social behavior, portrayed in musical works.

3. I refer to the concept of aesthetics in the sense of the specificity of this field in the study of art and as a category of analysis for understanding transformations. Aesthetics would serve as one of the parameters for understanding gaucho music concerning musical construction and performance, in the sense of the beautiful, in contrast to the old aesthetics of “grossness”. For a more in-depth look at aesthetics, a Kantian approach to this concept is possible, either through the proposal of other authors such as Heidegger, Lukács, or from the Frankfurt School, as Herbert Marcuse (2007) in *The aesthetic dimension*.

CENTRAL ROLL OF MUSIC IN THE GAUCHO TRADITIONALIST MOVEMENT

It is important to note the central role of music, especially in the publications of the Traditionalist Gaucho Movement (MTG) that emerged in the mid-1950s. The bibliographic records of the ideologists of the traditionalist movement show an intention to control these artistic activities by establishing patterns that gaucho music should follow. Much of the preparation of these books and documents was in charge of Paixão Côrtes and Barbosa Lessa since the founding of the first Center of Gaucho Traditions (CTG)⁴ in 1948, who dictated through their bibliographic records the parameters that governed gaucho music in all its segments (Côrtes 1985). This type of hegemony would persist for several years, until the moment of the creation of the festival *1ª California Festival of Canção Nativa*, in the city of Uruguaiana, state of Rio Grande do Sul, in which three lines for gaucho music were proposed: a traditionalist line, who would follow the MTG⁵ standards, a regionalist line, more committed to the market or cultural industry and a nativist line, renovating the regional music in an esthetic sense.

Since the emergence of nativism⁶ in 1971, considered as a renewing trend in *gaucho* music, new paths have been opened in the musical sense, in addition to the political and social expansion of themes related to the traditionalist gaucho context. This was essential for a change in social criticism and intellectual discourse, which brought both dynamism to the culture⁷ of traditionalism and a reformulation of the posture and relation with the current world. With the regional music festivals in Southern Brazil, a significant change was manifested in the way of composing and executing the new works. Authorial music, in a new

4. The 35 Centro de Tradições Gaúchas was the first CTG, founded on April 24, 1948 by the ideologist of the Traditionalist Movement Gaucho Paixão Côrtes and a group of students from Colégio Júlio de Castilhos (Grupo dos Oito), in Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul. Available from: <https://bitly.com/>

5. The Traditionalist Gaucho Movement (MTG) was officially constituted at the 12th Traditionalist Gaucho Congress, in the city of Tramandaí, on October 28, 1966. Available from: <http://bitly.com/>

6. Nativism as a social and cultural movement is characterized by Anthony Wallace (1956, 267) in his study published in the *American Anthropologist* magazine as a revitalization movement formulated based on Ralph Linton's concept: "Nativist movements, for example, are movements of revitalization characterized by a strong emphasis on the elimination of foreign people, customs, values, and/or materials". The definition of nativism expressed by Linton says that it is about: "any conscious and organized attempt by members of a society to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture" (Ibid., 267). The nativist tendency was soon appropriated by some MTG ideologists such as sociologist Luís Carlos Barbosa Lessa (1985), Glaucus Saraiva and Paixão Cortês (Lessa and Côrtes, 1975). The first mention of the term "nativist" in the Brazilian gaucho context appears in the MTG *Charter of Principles* of 1961, approved in the edition of the VIII Traditionalist Congress (Santi 2004, 49), still in force. Regardless of theoretical formulations, the nativist movement emerges within traditionalism. Soon after, in 1971, in the 1st California da Canção Nativa it would become a line of musical artistic creation.

7. In this case, I refer to the culture as the set of symbols, legends, narratives, metaphors, and mainly the way of life experienced and described in the gaucho universe through the literature and music mentioned here.

guise, becomes one of the centers of attention, for what it expresses in the aesthetic sense and the message of its lyrics. Thus, musical nativism and festivals become vehicles for a different way of thinking and representing the gaucho and his way of living.

AESTHETIC, IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL TRANSFORMATIONS THROUGH MUSIC

There have been several signs of a musical transformation since the appearance of gaucho nativism. The main sign might be the creation of compositions that configure a new repertoire, which would transmit more clearly the contemporary ideas and posture of the movement, mentioning political and social issues. Festivals that came after the 1st *California* became arenas of esthetic and ideological disputes in *gauchesca* music. These events are based on regulations that determine some guidelines for compositions. These regulations characterize different festivals, that is, they both provide opportunities for more innovative musical lines and maintain more traditionalist lines.⁸

Thus, esthetic, ideological and cultural issues underwent important changes driven by the musical activity and artists' discourse. Gauchos' music as a dynamic artistic expression has undergone substantial transformations in several aspects; then, we observe that issues related to musical gender, style, form and performance function as classificatory categories (Guerrero 2012, 3-4) that generate differences in the interpretive postures of the artists. In the forms, there are changes with mixtures of musical genres and instrumentation. In the thematic content, the central role of the figure of the gaucho and the campaign environment was maintained; however, with changes in the poetic and discursive proposal in the songs, that is, in what the lyrics express. This form of speech present in the lyrics shows a new representation of the countryside, changing the esthetic, and somehow, its ideological sense.

In the field of *gauchesca* musical esthetic, the most important changes are seen in the performance of the musicians, in the mixes and in the new configurations of the musical genres, and the thematic content of the songs. The esthetic transformation changed the type of narratives. Since the middle of the 20th century, the literary form of the 19th century has been replaced by a musical discursive form for these representations; and this change in musical aesthetic allowed showing and formulating a new ideological panorama. Aesthetics and ideology intertwine in a dialogical way in the discussions of the *gauchesco* world.

8. I cite as an example the regulations of the festivals *Sapecada da Canção Nativa*, in Lages, or *Coxilha Nativista*, in the city of Cruz Alta, in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, observed and recorded in my field research. The regulation serves to establish conditions of participation, judging commission, allowance for participating musicians, musical lines to be followed and their characteristics, and cash prizes for each category.

The proposal of the new musical esthetic is directly related to the way of representing the countryside universe. Thinking esthetic as the study of the nature of the beautiful and artistic foundations, it is important to observe the native construction of this concept, which is based on the perception of what is considered beautiful. The question is the combination of a representation of emotions and an aesthetic ideal, as well as different ways of understanding the work of art and creation, relating new materials and ways of making music. In several interviews with musicians, composers and poets, the importance of the ideal of a beautiful work in the musical and poetic order was notorious; however, these musical, aesthetic and ideological transformations are always permeated by tensions, as described in the following paragraphs.

BRIEF ETHNOGRAPHIC REFERENCES: ON TRANSFORMATIONS AND TENSIONS

I have participated as a researcher and musician in several events⁹ related to the *gaucho* music since 2006. My entry into this universe was in the *Corredor de Canto e poesia* festival, in the region of Lages, in the state of Santa Catarina. I have been in contact with several nativist musical groups and artists ever since, with whom I have observed the ways of making music and the transformations that I mention in the text. In these investigations, I have registered the circulation of musical genres, their appropriation in regional contexts, and the transformations in the *gaucho* cultural context through music. My participation in several editions of the *Corredor* showed how the use of genres and their mixtures promoted transformations, and the musicians participating in this festival pointed out important information on these issues.

In the dialogues with these artists, I noticed that the *Corredor* festival is also crossed by tensions that seem to permeate the relations of the *gaucho* musical context as a whole. These tensions were basically those between conservative and renewing trends in music, putting generations in conflict either to keep traditions in the old ways or to let them change naturally, since the movement adapts to the current world. I observed that the tensions mentioned were due to what was played, interpreted and composed in matters of musical genre. Fabrício, one of my main interlocutors and a participant in the festival, stated that the pioneers of the *Corredor de Canto e Poesia*, organizers of the first editions, complained that some musicians played very modern “things” that came out of the traditional molds. Thus, it became clear that music has become a field of conflict, in the sense of how old or traditional genres compete for place with new genres that come from innovations and mixtures with other types of music, such as jazz and other Brazilians musical genres.

9. In this section I describe some events and research situations that I have developed continuously since 2006, both at festivals and with the musicians with whom I have frequent contact. Here are some examples to show the idea of transformations and tensions in this music scene.

Outside the context of the festivals, I spoke at different times with nativist musicians from the city of Lages. These interviewees mentioned the sophistication of the lyrics in the new songs, implying that this would be like an improvement that gradually emerges in the literary constructions of poets and lyricists. These musicians also mentioned the current theme of giving life to inanimate objects that are part of the reality of the campaign and that come to life in stories, especially in the poems, which, in turn, are transformed into music. Many examples of these objects were given, such as knives, horsehair, ropes for dealing with cattle, among others. The vast majority of these interlocutors pointed out that the elements of transformation appear through music in the context of festivals, and in free or thought production for the consumer market. Music was also mentioned as the center of the disputes and the fundamental mark of the transformations in the *gaúcho* cultural scene.

At another point of my investigations, I went to the city of Pelotas, state of Rio Grande do Sul, where there is a very important nucleus of nativist musicians and renowned artists. The first musician I managed to interview was the percussionist Vitor, who worked in music groups in the state and was a music educator. He participated in the group of composer Fabiano Bacchieri and in several projects that showed Argentine folk music, especially the genre *chacarera*. One of the issues mentioned in the interview was the dispute between tradition and innovation. He noted that the music scene in the Pelotas region was divided: many people defended conservative ideas, and there were rare cases that pointed to some stylistic diversification. Regarding the changes in musical genres, he had no doubt that the use of Argentine or Uruguayan folk genres contributed to the changes.

After the interview with the percussionist, I made an appointment with three well-known nativist artists from the city: the composer and interpreter Fabiano Bacchieri, the poet and songwriter Xirú Antunes and the singer Rui Ávila. I talked with the three in a very relaxed environment, addressing topics of importance both for my research and for them. These artists observed a series of problems that led me to other views on transformation. Concretely, the three interviewees pointed out a serious problem with poetic issues in music and composition. They claimed the new composers do not know poets like Aureliano de Figueiredo, João da Cunha Vargas and Simões Lopes Neto, or Jayme Caetano Braun, considered as the basis¹⁰ of poetry and *gaúchesca* literature. Consequently, there was no continuity for these poetic lines, with which

10. This was a definition given to these three generations of poets by the interviewees, configured as if they were the basis of the poetic construction of *gaúchismo*, which would come after and remain until today.

they justified the existence of a crisis in the poetic and compositional production. The artists affirm that there is no need for the exaggerated use of literary resources, or excessive sophistication, justifying that the basic poets had a direct and beautiful language at the same time. All three coincidentally mentioned the tension and complexity of the music scene, a tension between what they called “foundation”¹¹ and commercial music. The discussion established by these two trends is pointed out as an uncomfortable relationship, as a type of wear and tear in the cultural context. The commercial aspect appears in a negative way, contradicting the positivity of the festivals and their transforming effect in the discourse of the *gaucho* social movement.

I also consider my participation as a guest instrumentalist in a song that competed for the regional phase in the festival *21ª Sapecada da Canção Nativa*, an important experience. The composition was one of those selected during the selection phase in April of that year, before the festival. I played the soprano saxophone, with a musical group of varied instruments, which included violin, quena,¹² electric bass, accordion, guitar, saxophone and two voices (one male and one female). The particularity of this band’s composition was its musical genre, the *candombe*, very popular in Uruguay. These new genres in *gaucho* music mix and give a new meaning in the regional context, being also appropriated and thought by artists as transforming elements of *gaucho* music. Participating in the festival allowed me to observe the structures of the event in all sectors, such as the organization part, the judges, the interaction among local musicians and those coming from other states, and the aforementioned tensions as part of an artistic scenario that would become a field of dispute between the traditional and the new.

My research work continued with the observation of the *Coxilha Nativista* festival, which has been held since 1981 in the city of Cruz Alta, Rio Grande do Sul. I met one of the judges on the occasion, Beto Barcellos, who is a musician, composer and music producer from the city of Cruz Alta. We talked a lot with Beto and his wife, people very involved in the activities and organization of *Coxilha Nativista*. Beto was a judge in this edition of the festival, along with important names of the nativist music such as Luiz Carlos Borges, Marcelo Caminha, Erlon Péricles and Tadeu Martins. In these conversations came out some interesting information that helped me to compare my participation and observation at *Sapecada da Canção Nativa* in Lages and also to get a closer look at how one competes musically in an important festival like *Coxilha Nativista*.

11. These interlocutors used the word “foundation” several times. It appears with a sense of maintaining bases, of not leaving tradition.

12. Andean instrument of indigenous origin. It is a peculiar type of flute that is played in vertical position, has a bevel where the wind is directed and a series of holes over which the fingers are placed to make the variation of musical notes.

The interviewees told me that there is a decree that establishes the festival, and there are several side events that are also competitive, such as *Coxilha Piá*, a show of competitive *gaucho* music for children and youth held since 1985, also a *trova*¹³ contest called *1º E major de Gavetão*, in addition to the festival itself, which has a local phase for artists in the city and a general phase for competitors from other cities in Brazil. There are four days of uninterrupted activities, in parks and places of the city of Cruz Alta, and the main events are held at the Municipal Gymnasium. In the first observation made on Friday night, songs classified in the general category competed, this being the second group of classified. On Thursday, a group the general category had already passed the phase and the regional phase had taken place on Wednesday. This type of organization is similar to that of the festival *Sapecada da Canção Nativa* in Lages, with a regional phase for artists in the city and a general phase for those from other states in the country. I watched all the songs from that round, and there was no evidence of innovation or notorious transformation in the set of compositions. The works have always been within the well-known genres of *gaucho* music, and the arrangements and instrumentation also responded to the pattern observed in almost all festivals. On Saturday, all songs classified for the final competed, both those from the regional and general phases. In this final phase I managed to observe some differences in terms of interpretation and musical genres. Among all these musical types, two differences appeared: a *rasguido doble*, an Argentinian genre from the Corrientes region, and a *mazurka*, a European genre that was played in the Rio Grande campaign. The latter brought a differentiated arrangement and instrumentation, with symphonic eardrum, violin, acoustic double bass, guitar and a male voice. However, the winner of this edition was a *milonga*, a rhythm that has been consecrated in the *gaucho* music scene. An interesting question was to see again a group of renowned musicians and composers competing for the best awards.

Making a comparative analysis, I realized that *Coxilha Nativista* festival has a more traditional or conservative character than *Sapecada da Canção Nativa*, as seen in the works, although the performers and musicians that compete for the best awards were basically the same, usually renowned figures in this artistic milieu. In both events, I noticed the traditional and new trends in dispute, with some kind of tension that traced the path to not only musical, but also ideological and cultural changes and transformations in the *gaucho* social movement.

13. The *trova* is a form of reclamation widely used in the Campaign. It is accompanied by an accordion and there is always a challenge among two or more troubadours. In this case, the accompaniment of the accordion was in E major and there was always a challenge between two troubadours evaluated by five jurors. The theme was proposed by the judging panel. The *trova* is very similar to the Rio-Platenses *payadas*.

The ideological and sociocultural perspective in the context of *gauchismo* has always been conditioned to the reproduction of hierarchies and permeated by tensions, both in CTG, as in nativist and artistic festivals (Golin 1983). It is important to point out what this category of ideology would be for the people of *gauchismo*, how they build it, the objective, and how they use this concept. Such as aesthetics, these subjects do not explicitly express neither an ideology, nor the power relations that it implies, but deal with a set of ideas and values, often grouped under the name of “culture”. Both in the definition of authors from sociology or anthropology such as Žižek (1996, 9) and Dumont (2000, 201),¹⁴ the proximity between the theoretical formulation of the concept of ideology and what would be considered as culture is observed. Likewise, most of the interlocutors understand that these concepts are intertwined in their manifestations, in this case the “culture”¹⁵ appropriate for them, as the author Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (2009, 313) points out.

Based on the aforementioned concepts of ideology and culture, associated with the idea of tradition, I am interested in expanding these ideas on what would be the country life form, referred to the regions in southern Brazil. Therefore, I will describe this way of life that will serve as inspiration for a new trend in the *gaúcho* music.

THE “CAMPEIRO” AS A WAY OF LIFE

The subject’s life is spent entirely in the Campaign, or in the transit between the rural and urban world, being marked by different levels of “being more or less *campeiro*” (countryman). These subjects can be referenced in different categories, such as artists, traditionalists, cattle producers, rural workers and that of other professions associated with the universe of the campaign. The categories in which they belong are partly the product of historical processes, as well as the processes of geopolitical and economic transformation. The subjects are also characterized in terms according to knowledge, work functions, artistic knowledge and economic status.

14. For Žižek (1996, 9), Ideology can mean anything “from a contemplative attitude that ignores its dependence on social reality, to a set of beliefs focused on action; from the essential means that individuals experience their relations with a social structure to the false ideas that legitimize a dominant power. It seems to arise exactly when we try to avoid it and stops appearing where it would clearly be expected to exist”. For Dumont (2000), ideology designates the entire system of ideas and values, in a stricter or broader sense, or in the North American way, as culture, or even as society.

15. Here I refer to the concept of culture as expressed by Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (2009). The author comments: “In the Marxist language, it is as if they [the ‘natives’] already have ‘culture in themselves’ even though they may not have ‘culture for themselves’. In any case, there is no doubt that most of them have acquired this last kind of ‘culture’, ‘culture for themselves’, and can now show it off to the world. However, [...] this is a double-edged sword, since it forces its owners to demonstrate ‘their culture’ performatively” (Ibid., 313).

The current field workers, called *peões* or *paisanos* are reminiscent of the category named by the history as *gaúcho* or *gaucho*.¹⁶ In these subjects, the basic knowledge of the *campeiro* (countryman) is condensed, acquired mainly through experience and contact with other subjects of the same social context. The acquisition of knowledge is directly related to the work with different animal species, which is one of the main components of the subjectivity of the *campeiro* from the Pampa, and from southern Brazil. The degree of knowledge of the environment¹⁷ categorizes the subjects; being “more” or “less” *campeiro* is shown in the nativist discourse by the knowledge and proximity to these animals, by the integration with the landscape,¹⁸ and by the knowledge developed in the experience.

The subjects of traditionalist institutions and those that manifest themselves through artistic expressions have common concepts of country life, especially regarding its representations. Perhaps the most prominent difference from the previous categories is the representation and the creation of a way of life, materialized in the reality of the Campaign and in the subjects that inhabit it. Traditionalist subjects move between the urban and the rural, but this community has mostly country experiences. *Gaucho* traditionalism as a social movement¹⁹ has an artistic

16. In this case, I refer to the Spanish term *gaucho*, homonymous with the Portuguese *gaúcho*, as a historical category that refers to the *campeiro* subject of the 17th and 18th centuries, inhabitant of the Argentine, Uruguayan and Brazilian Pampa.

17. I will use the concept of environment in this text based on the concept of Tim Ingold (2000, 20), when he says that the environment “is the world as it exists and takes on meaning in relation to me, and in that sense, emerged and underwent development with me and around me. Second, the environment is never complete. If environments are forged through the activities of living things, then as long as life goes on, they are continually under construction. So, of course, are the organisms themselves. Thus, when I spoke of ‘organism plus environment’ as an indivisible totality, I should have said that this totality is not a limited entity, but a process in real time: a process, that is, of growth or development”.

18. I adopt as a theoretical reference the concept of “landscape” by the anthropologist Philippe Descola (2013). He points out that we access the landscape through a series of material and cognitive mediations that allow us to see it as such. The landscape, in this perspective, does not materialize as a set of objective properties before an observer that contemplates it. It is the result of interactions that combine an individual and a place that makes that place, for that individual and not for others in the same place, be a landscape. The notion of landscape, therefore, implies the existence of perceptual models that work and integrate the properties that emanate from the object and the culturally established representation schemes of that object (Ibid.). It is worth clarifying that both the concepts of environment and landscape are used analytically to understand how the *campeiro* subject integrates and interacts with the world around him. Native concepts are expressed through other terms like “land”, “place”, “nature”, and also in the term “culture”. Thus, both the analytical theoretical concepts and those expressed by the natives point out the problem of diluting the binomial nature / culture. I further explore the theme in my work *Ser ou não ser gaúcho? A perspectiva do sujeito campeiro contemporâneo no Pampa latino americano* (Ferraro 2018).

19. I have observed that, in the traditionalism of the three countries of the Pampa, the subject chooses the type of activity he develops for reasons that are convenient or for his taste, configuring a very particular diversity within the movement. Within the traditionalist groupings, we can also see groups exclusively dedicated to rural or artistic activities, whereas other groupings have both aspects, so I refer to the diversity of the subject within groups and movement.

and a country line, in which the subjects are grouped by preferences, manifesting themselves through music festivals, dance competitions and rodeos organized by the traditionalist associations. The subject of traditionalism is diverse within the context of the cultural movement, but also configured based on rules and conventions dictated by institutions for all its sectors. Obviously, there must be knowledge about what they agree on to establish the rules. Traditionalists express their concepts based on these conventions and conceptions. Traditional dances, their choreographies and specific songs, or country events in rodeos, are based on historical matters, as well as in the real experiences of the Campaign activities. Therefore, traditionalists must know this knowledge and use it in pre-established formats for their activities.

Gauchesca art mediates rural and urban contexts, creating a relationship between both places at festivals, shows or exhibitions, through poetry, songs and the landscape represented in paintings or sculptures. We noticed it in several areas of *gauchesca* art, such as literature, plastic arts and music, all representing the countryside world. The *gauchesco* artist and his manifestations place him as another specific and distinct subject in this universe. Thus, sculptors, painters and musicians observe the life of the Campaign and represent it through their works. This representation is based on observation, perceptions, as well as experiences. In paintings, sculptures, or in the poetry used in music, expressions require a kind of knowledge that results from the artist's involvement with the environment. Most of these artists travel and live in the rural area, no matter how much they express themselves or take their production to the urban area.

We note that music in particular has always been present in the countryside context, in the socialization in the sheds, at parties and dances, since remote times when there were no recreations of symbolic figures, nor definitions or formulations about the *gaucho* tradition. Music consolidated itself as a path to the discursive, aesthetic and ideological transformations of the *gaucho* cultural movement, using the experiences and the campaign as a source of inspiration in their works.²⁰ In this musical discourse, artists create, express and portray scenes of life, desires and feelings in a set of representations, so music takes on a place of importance, being one of the most intense forms of communication and expression in this universe.

This way of life would appear portrayed after 1970 and with more intensity in the music of festivals and in the phonographic works of several *gaucho* artists since 1980. Later, in the 1990s, a different movement

20. I approach this theme in my master's thesis: *Transformações culturais no gauchismo através da música* (Ferraro 2013).

to musical nativism emerged. In this movement or reconfiguration of musical art, the Campaign becomes again a creative inspiration, that is, artists compose and make their music in places this way of life is found. The reference of this reconfiguration is noted in composers and artists that return to farms and rural properties to live and create music. Likewise, several music creation festivals based in Campaign locations bring together artists in search of new compositions inspired by their own environment.

THE "CAMPEIRO" CONCEPT FOR MAKING MUSIC

As previously mentioned, there are particular characteristics in the regional *gaucho* music, also called regionalist music, and later, nativist music. By researching, some musical genres common between *Rio-Platense* music and Brazilian *gaucho* music, such as *milonga* and *chamamé*, emerge. I consider these expressions as genres of dialogue between these regional musicalities (Ferraro 2006). With the aesthetic changes in music, transformations is seen in the traditionalism of the state through musical discourse, that is, music is the transforming element of the cultural order. These transformations, driven by musical poetics, gave a unique dynamism to the *gaucho* traditionalist movement in social terms, in artistic aesthetics, in ideology and political thought.

The transformations referred here emerges from art as the representation of the world and life forms in the Campaign. Particularly, music has become one of the main forms of representation, and in the same way, of creating this world. Music historically replaces literature and *gauchesca* poetry, also including a renewing discourse in its complete expression of melody, harmony and lyrics. In the *gaucho* musical context, there are also important changes in the aesthetic order. The aesthetic reasons in these regional expressions conditioned the order of the discourse, in terms of poetic refinement and content. The discursive poetic refinement will be the main element of these changes, together with a type of opening and fusion with other styles and musical genres. The convergence of different musical forms to that of the *gaucho* music that will be present in new compositions, in the production of different festivals and in new phonographic works would bring a feeling of the lack of characterization of what traditional regional music "should" be. For this reason, and within the nucleus of nativist artists, a turning point or a return to the countryside environment would begin to take shape, another transformation instrumentalized in aesthetic terms, in poetics and musicality.

According to musicologist Clarissa Figueiró Ferreira (2014), there was a movement in the 1990s within the *gaucho* musical nativism that aimed at recovering the themes referred to the Campaign in a simpler way,

opposing a vanguard current in nativism that used a mixture of musical elements, some of them external to the *gaucho* universe. This return stream that the musicologist mentions is called musical *campeirismo*. She points out that festivals have lines that emphasize this idea of the *campeiro* in music as a style that refers to the telluric, to the lyrics that exposes the Campaign experience. In particular, it is important to emphasize the existence of a fluid dialogue between avant-garde and more traditional musicians in the very frequent use of different mixed artistic proposals (Ibid.). However, for the purposes of analyzing music and musician subjects, we are interested in reflecting upon the concept of *campeiro* or *campeirismo* based on Ferreira's assertion, pointing out the tendency campaign experience of several composers and singers of the genre. Clarissa Ferreira states, in a part of her study, that:

Based on the reports and experiences acquired in the field, it is noted that most of the festival participants corroborate the information of Rosangela Araújo. With the new understanding of country music in the mid-1990s and the need of a countryside experience to be able to describe it in music, a larger space was opened up for professionals from different areas connected to the countryside, due to the initial interest of writing lyrics for festivals and also to the consolidation of these events after some decades. (Ibid., 62)²¹

The artists' knowledge of the Campaign, which is their environment, makes them subjects of this universe. All categories of *campeiro* subjects express a perspective of life based on the knowledge and specific knowledge of their universe, such as the interaction between animals and humans, and on the knowledge of the land, configuring and acting together in the campaign landscape. The categories of rural workers, or *paisanos*, that of breeders or ranchers, as well as those that work in the science applied to the Campaign, are related by experiences and knowledge, and based on that, they create the concepts and perspectives of life. Other subjects, such as artisans, traditionalists and different artists observe and create this universe based on the representations shown in the works, but we must not forget that the basis of these representations is largely the knowledge and actual Campaign experiences.

Ferreira (Ibid.) raises a very important issue: the construction of an identity based on an affirmation originated in the musical representations

21. Original: "A partir dos relatos e das experiências adquiridas em campo, nota-se que grande parte dos participantes dos festivais afirmam e atualizam a informação de Rosangela Araújo. Com o novo entendimento da música campeira em meados da década de 1990 e a compreendida necessidade da vivência com o campo para poder descrever em música, abriu-se um espaço maior para profissionais de diversas áreas, porém ligados ao campo, devido ao interesse que se criou em começar a escrever letras para festivais e também à consolidação destes eventos após algumas décadas de realização".

of the Campaign world. This statement raises another issue: the legitimacy of musical interpreters and composers, in the sense of experiences and a relationship with the environment, which is why the author states that:

As I could perceive in some recurring conversations at festivals, the composers of this segment need knowledge and practice in the experiences and ways of working in the countryside to tell in songs to obtain legitimacy through what they portrayed and still portray. Thus, the argument that they really know what they are describing is noticeable in their speeches. (Ibid., 60)²²

Likewise, Ferreira expresses in her work what the composer Gujo Teixeira, also a veterinarian, says about the works and the *campeiros*' expected relationship with the country experiences:

The *campeiro* is in what is told, we don't need to tame it, *pealar*, to be *campeiros*, I believe much more in a feeling that holds us to what we like than in labels, I think that the *campeira* poetry is in what we feel and in the originality of what we write, I see a lot of people say that they write *campeiro* just because they use *campeiro* terms, that is an invention. (Teixeira, apud Ibid., 61)²³

In these excerpts, we note two important issues: on the one hand the need for experience, pointed out by some artists, and on the other the issue of feeling and taste, mentioned by Teixeira, as impellers and inspiration for poetic creation. Involvement with the campaign environment is notorious in both cases.

Based on Ferreira's statements, I believe it is important to note that there is something beyond the idea of identity. When we mention identity, legitimacy, tastes and feelings, these concepts can be understood as a process in continuous construction. When I mention that there is something beyond these concepts, I affirm the constitution of subjectivity from experience, as a life process, in short, as a type of ontology.²⁴ The

22. Original: "Nota-se que para os compositores desse segmento obterem legitimidade através do que retrataram e ainda retratam, como pude perceber em algumas conversas recorrentes nos festivais, há a necessidade do conhecimento e prática nas vivências e meios de trabalho *campeiro*, para poderem relatar em canções. Assim, é perceptível em seus discursos o argumento de que conhecem de fato o que estão descrevendo".

23. Original: "O *campeiro* está naquilo que se conta, não precisamos domar, *pealar*, para sermos *campeiros*, acredito muito mais num sentimento que nos prende àquilo que gostamos, do que rótulos, acho que a poesia *campeira* está naquilo que sentimos e na originalidade daquilo que escrevemos, vejo muita gente dizer que escreve *campeiro* só por usar termos *campeiros*, aí já é invenção".

24. According to Feuchtwang (2014, 383-387): "The most basic starting point, which will also be my end point, is the rhetorical – that is, persuasive – role played by 'ontology'. I understand that it is a superior substitute for both 'culture' and 'ideology'. Superior to culture because it goes beyond values, even the widely expanded theory of values in economic and moral anthropology, to include values with a type or mode of knowledge of the world. Superior to ideology, for the same reason and because it includes not only

difference between the aforementioned concepts and ontology lies in the absorption of knowledge through experience, and consequently, in the constitution of subjectivity, in this case, a construction that goes through being (existing) and being (belonging) in that Campaign environment.

Thus, musical creation within the aspect of *campeirismo* would have a close relationship with the ontology of the Campaign, with the way of life based on experiences, perception, the creation of the environment, as well as being part of it, leaving aside the theorization coined in the music festivals called “nativism”. Therefore, it is possible to emphasize a type of transformation that would occur in the transition from nativism to *campeirismo*. I understand that it would not be just the fact of changing the labels of the same strand, but a replacement of concepts: the concept of nativism, of a purely theoretical tone, by another that represents more concretely what is the way of life in the Campaign, the *campeirismo*. Making *campeira* music would then be a condition for composers and performers to have experiences, to know the environment, to be part of it, – in short, to be a country musician. As already mentioned, in the transformation or replacement of nativism by *campeirismo* the movement is observed, or better, the return of the artists to the Campaign environment, that is, the search for inspiration in field locations, farms and sites, seeking contact with animals, constituting and being part of this landscape in the sense of experience.

Another situation that favors this return and the emphasis of this musical aspect are the composition festivals held on farms or Campaign places. The characteristic of these events is the gathering of poets, composers, instrumentalists and performers in these Campaign locations, where they will concentrate for a few days to compose music, write poetry, tell stories, legends and country narratives. These festivals are organized by traditionalist associations, and their guests are usually members of these groups, as well as being closed to the public, that is, the works are done and evaluated by the participants themselves. The themes of musical compositions always have an intense relationship with the festival itself, the place where they are held, and obviously, with the Campaign environment. The most well-known and active

institutions, such as state devices and fertility rituals, but also a way, or way of experiencing the world that tests the cognition of the world in practice”. Ontology can also be defined as in the text “The politics of ontology: anthropological positions” (Holbraad, Pedersen and Viveiros de Castro 2014, our translation), in which the authors address: “the anthropological concept of ontology as the multiplicity of the enacted forms of existence in concrete practices, in which politics becomes the non-skeptical elicitation of this multiple of potentials about *how things could be* – what Elizabeth Povinelli [...], as we understand her, calls ‘the different’. [...] Ontology, as far as anthropology is concerned in our understanding, is the comparative transcendental deduction, ethnographically based on Being (the oxymoron is deliberate) as one that differs from itself [...] – being-as-another as immanent to being-as-such. The anthropology of ontology is anthropology as ontology; not the comparison of ontologies, but the comparison as ontology” (Ibid.).

events that are held annually with these characteristics are the *Festival da Barranca*, the *Paradouro Minuano*, the *Rinconada da Arte Nativa*, the *Renascer da Arte Nativa*, and the *Corredor de Canto e Poesia*, an event in which I participate since 2006. Therefore, the concept of *campeiro* in the regional music in southern Brazil or musical *campeirismo* has become the main aspect of these artistic expressions, both in festivals and in the regional phonographic industry.

AT THE END OF THE *CAMPEIRADA* (SOME FINAL REMARKS)

The Campaign's creations and representations are consolidated with art, through literature, painting and sculpture, and with regional music. This music is directly related to the *campeiro* discourse through folkloric genres, and the lyrics that tell about the life of the countryside subjects. Music has established itself as one of the strongest expressions in the representation of the Campaign, becoming a discursive vehicle for all situations. The musical artists of the *campeiro* segment are the agents in these innovative discursive transformations and of resumption in the *campeirismo*.

It should be noted that both the subjects that live in the Campaign and those that move between rural and urban contexts manifest themselves or imply that the Campaign is more important in its subjectivities. These subjects integrate the environment, and based on the contact with that particular place, they think and create concepts for life. Based on the possession of the land, some cattle, horses and dogs (and other domestic animals), these subjects configure a different perspective of life that is present and is continually recreated in musical works. Therefore, *campeiro* subjects articulate their concepts and life perspectives in a notoriously different way when compared with other contexts. The interaction and reciprocity between living beings in the countryside become crucial in the matter of "to be or not to be" in the countryside, as a form of identification. It is important to emphasize the complexity of the countryside universe, manifested in a multiple and heterogeneous way in the relationship between beings and objects, finally represented in music.

This is what is portrayed in the compositions of *campeirismo*, a particular universe that is articulated in an ontological way, that is, a form of existence that manifests itself in concrete practices, creating a different image. Thus, the *campeiro* concept in *gaucho* regional music would be a type of musical transformation that not only points to artistic, style or aesthetic issues, but also reconfigure cultural concepts. Artists have a profound intention to replace a theoretical concept, such as nativism, with another concept of ontological order, such as *campeirismo*, as a concept of experience, of life – essential both to pep the culture, as to recreate it in musical works.



PHOTO 1
Performing the
candombe "Duda?",
21th *Sapecada* of
the Native Song
(*Sapecada da*
Canção Nativa),
Lages (Author's
collection).



PHOTO 2
Participants of the
15th *Corredor* of
Song and Poetry
(*Corredor de*
Canto e Poesia),
Lages (Author's
collection).

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AMULETS AND CHARMS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE PITT RIVERS MUSEUM: THE ANTHROPOLOGY WE MAKE AND THE CRITICISM OF CONTEMPORARY HEGEMONIES

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ABSTRACT

This article presents reflections from an ethnographic research on amulets and charms at the Pitt Rivers Museum and criticizes the production of knowledge. I describe the challenges and practices of contemporary anthropologists in the management, study and display of amulets and charms from other societies. I highlight the constant notion of transformation in the history of the museum. Following, I record reflections on unexpected research experiences: i. recent research result by the museum staff ii. movements of an ethnography in groups of songs; which suggest investigation around contemporary amulets and charms. I conclude by briefly calling for the potential of ethnography performed in the practice of singing collectively. I stress the importance of a critical attitude towards analytical categories and assumptions reproduced by anthropology that are allowed by the position occupied by the discipline and its alliances - often silenced - with the hegemonic practices of knowledge production.

KEYWORDS

Ethnography;
amulets; charms;
song; criticism.

1. INTRODUCTION: THE CHARMING PITT RIVERS MUSEUM

The depiction of the Pitt Rivers Museum (hereinafter PRM) as ‘fabulous’ sustains itself both by its history—which is part of the history of anthropology—, and by its collection composed of Achuar’s shrunken heads from Peruvian and Ecuadorian Amazon, Benin’s bronze plates and accoutrements of ex-colonized societies, alongside witch bottles and other amulets and charms of the ex-colonial metropolises. The collection was formed by the general and collector Pitt Rivers between the 50s and 80s of the 19th century.

Pitt Rivers—who, not accidentally, had begun his collection motivated by his military experience and influenced by the Universal Exposition of 1851—delivered to Oxford University (hereinafter OU), in 1884, about twenty thousand objects. Upon the delivery he requested: 1) that a position of collection researcher be created; 2) that the collection be kept as he had organized, by function and type; and 3) that a museum be built under his name.

Today the PRM has a collection of almost 500 thousand items, divided into: objects, photography, manuscripts, audio, and movies. The museum also integrates a course in the Visual, Material and Museum Anthropology graduate program of the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology, that is part of the School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography (Same), inside the Social Sciences Division of OU.

Despite its constant transformations of spaces and meanings, registered in O’Hanlon (2014), most of the collection exhibition remained designed by function and type; all of the exhibition space continues into the Museum of Natural History, where it was inaugurated, and the entrance still carries Pitt Rivers’ name¹ (Figure 1).

Considering the PRM, side by side with the Parisian *Musée du quai Branly* and the Berliner Humboldt Forum, its appearance (name changes, architecture and exhibition layout) may indicate that the PRM, unlike other European ethnographic museums, remains unchanged. Research on the collection of amulets and charms from other societies made clear that the museum is the result of the modern English society, and its history is full of changes and ambiguities. Also, it is now responding to the challenges of contemporary criticism that explicit, to all ethnographic museums, the inconvenient colonial past.

1. Here we have an interesting chapter of the donation story of this collection to the museum. According to historians of the collection (Chapman 1985, O’Halon 2014), Pitt Rivers could build this significant collection, besides a second one that isn’t unified, due to an inheritance. This inheritance not only changed General Augustus Henry-Lanne Fox’s destiny, but also his name. The parent who recognized Fox as heir, leaving him a significant amount of land and income, had no sons and demanded that his heir adopt the name Pitt Rivers. The then General Augustus Henry-Lanne Fox Pitt Rivers left nine sons, heirs who bear his name until today.



FIGURE 1
Inside of the
Natural History
Museum building
that gives access
to the Pitt Rivers
Collection Portal.

Recently, the museum's research team discovered that the PRM maintains a significant collection of English amulets and charms, stimulating a series of relevant researches.

Regarding my research, this discovery suggested a review on a debate about notions of reality,² truth and knowledge production in 1940s England, and provided organization hypotheses to practices and relationships I had been experiencing with choirs and singing groups outside the university. This experience, associated with an old literature review and the systematic visit to the museum, helped compose a first approach to an old debate, between the university and the non-university town (*town and gown*) in Oxford. A first approach based on dispersed data that includes the everyday of the research and studies on conflicting versions about amulets and charms, inside and outside the charming PRM.

These conflicting versions contribute to an agenda, inspired by Asad (1993), which investigates the particular conditions of how the difference between the secular and religious organizes the contemporary knowledge production in the academic field. This article represents an effort in this direction, intending to reveal the significant role of the ethnography with singing groups. A group's effort to sing in unison creates the opportunity for relating ideas and practices, including those often silenced in conversations.

2. Understood according to Overing (1995).

Organized in two central parts, the article discusses the inside and the outside of the PRM, although both spaces intermingled during the research. The first part focuses on my research on amulets and charms of ex-colonial societies and how the museum's anthropology deals with the enchantment of its collections and the museum itself, suggesting an analysis of the ambiguous character of modern science in its relation with Christianity. Whether in its modern or contemporary period, the museum curatorship had to answer to the enchantment of some of its objects. In the second part, I present the research *The other within*, where the museum analysed its relevant collection of English objects, among which amulets and charms that came to the museum between the end of the 19th century and the 50s of the 20th century. Then, I present an initial organization of research data collected outside the academic space in its relation with the PRM research. Reflections based on the relationships I have established with choir groups on the outskirts of town suggests ways to inquire on one of the contemporary aspects of the *town and gown* tension. The article concludes with appointments about the relation between knowledge production and the naturalization of category analysis.

2. AMULETS AND CHARMS OF OTHERS IN THE PRM

Amulets and charms belong to the collection *Magic, ritual, religions and belief*, almost all of them gathered at the museum first floor.³ The collection comprises six thousand amulets and charms, defined on catalogues and visitor guides as: "The underlying theme that unites all amulets and charms is that the people who created and used them believed in them; almost any object may become a charm or an amulet, so long as someone believes it has the power to affect or alter the world around them."⁴

My investigation in the PRM centred on how anthropological research in ethnographic museums—since the latest epistemological criticisms—is related to the power attributed to amulets and charms. My intention was to observe the PRM daily routine, observing the relationships both visitors and museum workers established with the collection, in addition to studying the documentation of some of those objects and reviewing their respective literature.

3. The museum's amulets and charms are exhibited inside the collection *Magic, ritual, religions and beliefs*, divided on eleven glass sections: 1. Magic and witchcraft; 2. Religious figures; 3. Religious figures and artefacts; 4. Amulets, charms, and divinations; 5. Amulets and charms; 6. Sympathetic magic; 7. Magic and trial by ordeal; 8. Votive offerings; 9. Amulets, cures, and charms; 10. Charms against the evil eye; 11. Divination. On the website, the collection on amulets and charms is the *Small Blessings*. On the search menu you can find English amulets and charms by searching for "The other within".

4. Available at: <https://bit.ly/2zd9tjl>.

Initially, I intended to identify records inside the museum (displays organization, specific care for its maintenance) and situations related to objects (curious, specific, alarming or risible stories) that recognize and deal with the agency assigned to them.

The research started by a literature review on amulets and charms in the two formative moments in the history of ethnographic collections: 1) the armchair anthropologists; 2) the creation of modern scientific anthropology. My intention was to investigate the current moment, post-1980s, when anthropological theory was challenged to reflect on the problems that the cosmology of societies not fully modernized brought to contemporary thought.

2.1. RELATIONS WITH CRITICISM ABOUT THE OTHER'S COLLECTION

Based on the assumption that organized modern anthropology (as a scientific production) was strongly shaken by critical observations from multiple places produced since the 1980s, my own reflection was particularly nourished by the intriguing research projects of contemporary ethnography about Amazonian (Viveiros de Castro 1992, Overing 1995, Fausto 2001), Melanesians (Strathern 1992), and African (Fabian 1986, Comaroff and Comaroff 1992, Sarró 2008) societies and other groups resistant to the modern logic (Fonseca 2004, Sáez 2009). These studies fuel anthropological criticism and underline the naturalization of scientific thought on knowledge production, revealing the links between knowledge production and statements of established powers.

Overing (1995), for example, discuss the political reasons that have ensured, since the end of the 16th century, the gradual constitution of a unique conception of truth, supposedly devoid of temporal, practical, local and moral interests. The author states that confronting the question “how should we interpret statements by those who manifest a strong belief that gods and demons not only exist, but are effective beings?” requires considering the limits of the modern rational perspective, shaped by the restricted opposition between nature and culture, magic and rationality.

John and Jean Comaroff (1992), in turn, compare the enchanted organization of modernized life, based on the fetishism of money and fair price, with the notions of immortal soldiers in South African civil wars, highlighting the silenced limits of Western production of truths and their links with the establishment of capital violence.

My research question, inspired by these anthropological criticisms, was how these theoretical reflections influenced the relation that the discipline establishes with objects ascribed with the power to affect or change the world around them, when they are inside the museum.

Specifically, how these reflections impacted the belief that, once inside museums, these objects are subjected to the cosmology of their collectors.

I even extended this general question to encompass the European objects which, as will be discussed later, are a significant part of the PRM collection. Regarding objects from other societies, the museum's answers overcome the post-980s period. From the literature review and the museum's daily routine, I observed contemporary practices and modern records on the relationship with amulets and charms.

The literature read during the research showed a number of complexities about the formation processes of anthropological collections worldwide, between the late-19th and early-20th century (Bouquet and Branco 1988, Karp and Lavine 1990, Price 2000, O'Hanlon and Welsch 2001, l'Estoile 2007, Broekhoven, Buijs and Hovens 2010).⁵ As Kaarp and Lavine (1990) write in their inventory, the PRM has been avant-garde in its responses to the challenges of postcolonial criticism. O'Hanlon (2014), its penultimate curator¹⁴, registered some important challenges faced by the museum research team.

Besides this more general literature, I found research by the museum staff and documentation on contemporary challenges in dealing with objects imbued with power. These studies contain information about the history of the collection, the history of its main curators and collectors, general characteristics of the collection (such as statistics of its origins), particular characteristics of some specific collections (such as the biography of objects before they arrived at the museum) and specific analyses of some collections and objects.⁶ Below I present two examples illustrating practices employed by the PRM when dealing with amulets and charms. Although challenges concerning the agency of the objects seem restricted to the contemporary period—specially based on claims from ex-colonized societies—the museum had already responded to the enchantment of objects in the collection in the modern period.

2.1.1. The Burmese guardian-figures: modern relations

Although modern anthropology conceives that objects have magic efficacy only in their context of origin, some records recognized the agency of certain objects inside the museum already in the modern period.

The arrangement of two pieces of the guardian-figures of Burmese Buddhism, opening the collection since the first curators—Balfour

5. Preparing the research, I had already reviewed: Sansi-Roca (2007), Goldstein (2008), Demarchi (2012), Brulon (2013) and Poussamai (2010).

6. Information on the finished studies and the ones in progress at the PRM are available at: <https://bit.ly/2TuWiB7>.

(1863-1939)—organization, is an example. I found no historical study about this display, but its documentation shows that its placement has remained the same throughout the museum's history. The 2016 audio tour explains its location in the museum by referring to its agency, which would be homologous to its original context: "This figure comes from Burma, whose actual name is Union of Myanmar. It was acquired by General Pitt Rivers, probably at an auction, at some moment before 1884. It is carved in wood teak and the two pieces are in opposite positions at the platform. Together they guard the entrance of the PRM, as they used to do in its original context."⁷

This apparent lapse of modern anthropology, that despite its scientific pretension preserves here an enchantment, is not an isolated practice. Other academic museums have exhibited ambiguous relations, since the modern period, with the protective power of such objects. A Brazilian example concerns the history of the collection of African objects at the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology of the University of São Paulo (MAE/USP). When Marianno Carneiro da Cunha organized, in 1980, what was the first African Art Exhibition of MAE/USP, he positioned two *Exús* at the entrance, establishing a connection with the *orixás'* place in the Afro-Brazilian cosmology. Marta Salum⁸ registered this choice when describing the history of the collection layout at MAE:

At the entrance of the exhibition, Marianno determined the placement of a pair of iron *Exú*, in which one of these binary oppositions would be identified, considering the role that *Exú* plays in the opening of ceremonies in Afro-Brazilian cults (in *candomblés*), that is, of a deity, among men, who "opens the way" to the spiritual world.

7. The sources of these texts work only in the internal environment of access to the collection. In such a way that they are not public. That is, to have access to the original text you must be inside the museum or with access to its collection.

8. Marta Salum "holds a bachelor's degree in Artistic Education by Armando Álvares Penteado Foundation (1975-1979), and a postgraduate degree from the Faculty of Philosophy, Languages and Human Sciences of University of São Paulo, having obtained a master's degree (1990) and a PhD degree (1997) in Science (Social Anthropology)." She was "professor [...] at MAE/USP, related to the African Ethnology area, since 1998. Is professor of the Postgraduate Program in Archaeology (USP) since 2002" (information available at: <https://bit.ly/2WZWGd3>)—comments on researchers/professors Marianno Carneiro da Cunha and Kabengele Munanga, her predecessors in the organization of the MAE/USP collection.

As posthumous publication of Marianno Carneiro da Cunha (1985): "Marianno Carneiro da Cunha (1926-1980) studied philosophy at the University of São Paulo and held his PhD on the religious tough of Babylon at the *École des Hautes Études* of Paris. Developed his studies on Africa at the Archaeology and Ethnology Museum of USP. He also taught at the University of Ifé, Nigeria."

The Peoples Museum informs that: "Kabengele Munanga was born in the Democratic Republic of Congo [...] on November 19, 1942. He was the first anthropologist of his country, leaving for the first time to acquire a master's degree in Belgium. He arrived in Brazil by a friend's invitation, finished his PhD degree and returned to Congo. In 1980 he returned to Brazil to take up the chair of Anthropology at the University of Rio Grande do Norte. After one year he moved permanently to São Paulo, having as home the University de São Paulo." (available at: <https://bit.ly/2WUtMLh>)

That is the widespread explanation for the Exú pair at the entrance of the exhibition, since its inauguration in 1980. Such was the importance Marianno attributed to it, that they remained in the same position in Kabengele's installation. (Salum and Ceravolo 1993, 174)

The *Exús* continued welcoming visitors of the MAE/USP collection until its closing for renovation in 2010. If they return to occupy the same place at the new MAE/USP, just as the Burmese guardian-figures, they can be understood as examples of the contemporary response anthropologists and other researchers of ethnographic museums find themselves compelled to provide.

However, the *Exús* display at MAE and the Burmese guardians, from the first PRM exhibition to the present date, can also serve to criticize the reductionist opposition science x religion, evidencing one possible articulation of these domains in the modern public space of ethnographic museums. This anthropological ambiguity when dealing with these objects also provides clues about conflicting practices and discourses about reality, truth, and knowledge production.

Modern attitudes and practices towards objects imbued with the power to affect or change the world around them, took place at a time when European ethnographic museums were unchallenged by the societies from which such objects were removed. Distinct problems and solutions started to arise when these societies were recognized as having the right to claim their pieces.

2.1.2. The Zuni god of war: contemporary relations

The contemporary literature I found explicitly discusses issues related to objects imbued with power from others societies, such as the publication of PRM last former curator, Michael O'Hanlon.⁹

O'Hanlon (2014)¹⁰ reported that the museum staff reallocated the Zuni god of war Ahayu:da from the display to the technical reserve following the claiming process initiated by the Zuni people of New Mexico/USA, in 1999. For the Zuni, this object—even though it is a copy made by an

9. Laura van Broekhoven replaced O'Hanlon as the PRM director in 2016, while I was living in Oxford. Previously she led the curatorial department of the National Museum of World Cultures (Amsterdam, Leiden and Berg en Dal) and was a lecturer in archaeology, museum studies and indigenous heritage at the Faculty of Archaeology at Leiden University. Her regional academic research has focused on collaborative collection research with Amazon (Suriname and Brazil) indigenous peoples, Yokot'an (Maya) oral history, Mixtec indigenous market systems and Nicaraguan indigenous resistance in colonial times (available at: <https://bit.ly/3e4LLnY>).

10. Michael O'Hanlon was director of the PRM from 1998 until 2015 and is now emeritus curator. A historian and later anthropologist by training, he undertook long-term fieldwork with the Wahgi people in highland Papua New Guinea. Following his appointment as assistant keeper at the British Museum, his interests expanded to include museology and the history of collecting (available at: <https://bit.ly/3cWm8Rs>).

anthropologist—should be in their temple to be prayed for. Left in an inappropriate place, it can cause earthquakes, fires, storms, and wars. As the object was a reproduction made by Frank H. Cushing of the Washington's Smithsonian Institution, donated to Taylor in 1911, the request for it to be sent to New Mexico was denied by the University.¹¹ However, respecting the considerations brought forth, the museum curatorship understood that the object should remain in the reserve.

Jeremy Coote and Isaac (2011)—in an unpublished text of restricted circulation at PRM Balfour Library—detailed the situation involving this request. What is interesting here are the conflicting understandings: O'Hallon and the University (owner of the objects) denied the Zuni's request based on the object being considered a replica made by one anthropologist who would have donated it to another, who in turn donated to the PRM; however, Coote (2011) and Isaac (2011) point out, the Zuni delegates argued that, in their culture, the possession of an object is not related to the hands that carved it, but to the knowledge involved in its production.

Letters from the Zuni delegates stated that the anthropologist Frank H. Cushing made the god of war from the knowledge he obtained from the Zuni people, using parts of another object exposed in a Zuni temple. Since the object was made from Zuni knowledge, they explain, it is a Zuni object. Coote also declares that, as the piece is a god of war, it needs to receive proper prayers in Zuni temples and cannot be exhibited in a museum:

An Ahayu:da that is not in its proper shrine at Zuni will cause the world harm. We pray on a daily basis for order and prosperity for the whole world. The Ahayu:da in your collection can do harm to you and to world order by being outside of its proper place. It should not be there. It should not be seen by the public. It is not a museum artefact. It is a religious being and it belongs here. (Coote 1997)

Removing the object from the display is, first, an attitude of respect for the society that conceives it as part of its cosmology. But more than recognizing a compensation from the museum, it is interesting to underline that the debate around the object within the collection arises some relevant questions for a research trying to reflect on how anthropology is affected by beliefs that refuse the modern science assumptions.

11. "Frank Hamilton Cushing, (born July 22, 1857, North East, Pa., U.S. – died April 10, 1900, Washington, D.C.), early American ethnographer of the Zuni people. Cushing studied the Zuni culture while making a five-year stay with the tribe, during which he was initiated into the Bow Priest Society. Many of his findings are summarized in *Zuñi Folk Tales* (1901), *Zuñi Creation Myths* (1896), and *My Adventures in Zuñi* (1941), as well as in his treatises on native technologies, such as *Zuñi Breadstuff*. He was an authority on the processes by which artifacts are made, having practiced the aboriginal arts until he mastered them. Cushing studied natural science at Cornell University. He was employed by the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology from the age of 18 until his death" (available at: <https://bit.ly/3e9jgW9>).

This example illustrates multiple questions and answers, all complex, that have been given by the anthropologists and curators of the PRM, when dealing with the agency of certain objects. At the beginning of the research, I observed practical measures, related to the museum's daily routines, as well as conceptual and methodological elaborations with several repercussions in the displays and in the advances of anthropological literature.

This brief first discussion highlights the abundant contemporary literature focused on the diverse answers that teams of anthropologists from museums, as the PRM, have been giving to the challenges of managing collections of objects with agency. So much so, that, were it not for the continuous flow of perceptions, relations, and concerns, typical of ethnographic research, my first research question would have been answered at the end of the second month of field.

However, the relations I had been establishing with three choir groups in the city of Oxford, showed me signs of existing contemporary relations with objects imbued with power in the ex-colonial metropolis. These signs were gradually valued when I realized that, in the PRM, the collection *Magic, religion, Belief and Ritual* encompassed several English objects, including some from the city itself.

3. ENGLISH AMULETS AND CHARMS IN THE PITT RIVERS MUSEUM: THE OTHER WITHIN

I was surprised and intrigued to discover that the PRM keeps an important collection of English objects. Unknown by the museum's anthropologists, this information resulted initially from the research *The relational museum*—completed in 2006—which continued in *The other within* (2006-2009). Both concluded that the PRM is not limited to a large collection of exotic objects from ex-colonized societies. Such characterization populates the literary imagination on the subject, including George Stocking Jr (1985, 12), who affirms that in the 1980s “characteristically, these objects of material culture are the objects of the others—of human beings whose similarity or difference is experienced by alien observers as in some profound way problematic.” Recent research, however, indicates that:

The PRM at the UO is one of the foremost ethnographic museums in the world. It is known for having many thousands of objects on display from all corners of the globe, and from all periods of history. However, it does have surprisingly large collections of artefacts, photographs, and manuscripts from England. During the Relational Museum project, that team discovered that there were many more English objects in the PR Museum than one might expect given the public perception of the Museum as a place for exotic specimens, specimens brought to England from abroad.¹²

12. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3ebsyB2>.

The museum, which crossed its first century of existence as a museum of the others, enters the first decade of the 21st century knowing itself and announcing itself as an important museum of oneself. “The public reputation of the Pitt Rivers Museum (founded in 1884) is perhaps as a home for the exotic. However, the Museum has some 44,015 objects and 6,593 photographs (and an unknown quantity of manuscript collections) from England and this collection is part of the broader concern for what it meant to be English.”¹³

The project provided publications on the gathering of various objects in use in Oxford until the first half of the 20th century, now part of the collection *Magic, ritual, religion, and belief*. A specific literature was and is being produced and published on the research website, focusing on some specific pieces. As soon as I discovered their existence, I focused on Oxford’s collection of amulets and charms.

Presented as belonging to the English past, such pieces are described and analysed in their entry records, in the first half of the 21st century, as practices already meaningless to the, by that time, modern Oxford. Similarly, contemporary studies on English amulets and charms do not expect to hear appeals from users of such objects, as it occurs with artifacts from ex-colonized societies. I found no reflections about the inappropriate display of English pieces and/or indications of treatment changes with a specific piece due to the demands of English users. Different from what has been happening with artifacts from ex-colonial societies, whose contemporary leaders demand new curatorship behaviours, the English objects remain unclaimed by contemporary people due to their agency. Everything suggests that the other from within is an inanimate object inside the PRM.

However, a master’s thesis on one of the museum’s most popular objects—the witch in a bottle—led me to suspect the consensus on the practices, religious and secular, that constituted modern Oxford in the 40s. The hypothesis of this debate, involving Evans-Pritchard in the 40s, offered meaning to some of the challenges I was facing in the research-field, with people who were not regulars of the PRM or other academic spaces.

3.1. EVANS-PRITCHARD, ELLEN ETTLINGER AND MARGARET MURRAY: A DEBATE ON “A COUNTRY AS FULL OF STRANGE UNRECORDED FACTS, BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS”

Barnes’ master’s thesis, defended in 2000, analyses the life of the witch in the bottle before it arrived at the museum. The study also cites the

13. The sources of these texts work only in the internal environment of access to the collection. In such a way that they are not public. That is, to have access to the original text you must be inside the museum or with access to its collection.

emergency of folklore studies in the early 20th century as important to understand the efforts of collecting and guarding objects like this. The works of Ellen Ettlinger and Margaret Murray, about folklore and anthropology, exemplify these efforts.¹⁴

Ellen Ettlinger (Germany, 1902 – England, 1995; journalist) and Margaret Murray (India, 1863 – England 1963; egyptologist) were contemporary and colleagues of Evans-Pritchard (England, 1902 – 1973; anthropologist) at Oxford. They did not occupy university positions but circulated in these spaces and interacted with the PRM and the anthropology course at the UO, where, between 1941 and 1950, Evans-Pritchard (hereinafter, EP) was professor of Anthropology.

Margaret Murray appears in the PRM research material as a “controversial folklorist”.¹⁵ It was her who donated, in 1926, the “witch in a bottle”: “it is not recorded how she obtained the artefact or why the old lady from near Hove was so willing to get rid of such a dangerous artefact. It is implied (but not confirmed) that Murray obtained the bottle at first hand”.

The museum’s documentation suggests that Murray’s classification as controversial concerns not only her interest in objects that have agency, but also her criticism of the dominant interest and funding for studies outside England. In her 1954 speech—*Presidential Address to the Folklore Society about “England as a field for folklore research”*—Murray complained about the lack of interest in English folklore, denouncing English government’s spending on research on other societies in detriment of local research:

Many men and women, trained at great expense, go abroad to look for folklore, and when they come back they write large volumes of peculiar rituals, of marriage customs, of curious beliefs, of folk tales and folk medicine, with tabulated lists of kinship systems, of agricultural systems, of trade systems, and so on. Yet here, under our very noses, is a country as full of strange unrecorded facts, beliefs, and customs as any land overseas. England is in many ways the great Undiscovered Country (Murray, 1954).

Murray’s work had a strong impact, especially for the lay public. According to Barnes’ research (2000), Murray became popular for her work on witchcraft, in which she re-evaluated the witch hunt trials of the early modern period. She defended that witches could be understood less as satanic agents and more as pre-Christian fertility worshipers, arguing

14. To think on the repercussions of Murray’s research for the debate on sorcery in English History and Anthropology, cf. Ginzburg (1991).

15. In *Analysing the English Collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum England: The Other Within: Margaret Murray* by Alison Petch, Researcher ‘The Other Within’ project (available at: <https://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/englishness.html>).

that the practice of witchcraft belonged to a long-standing tradition that persisted in the modern society.

Murray's argument led me to consider that characterizing witchcraft as a pre-Christian practice could be alternatively understood as anti-Christian, to the extent that the process of consolidating a single truth—mentioned in Overing (1995)—is taken as still open.

In Ellen Ettlenger's biography, PRM researcher Alison Pecht presents Ettlenger's activities as member of the Folklore Society and reveals her links with the OU. Pecht indicates that, on November 2, 1939, two years after EP's *Witchcraft, oracles and magic among the Azande* (2005), Ettlenger made a speech in the Anthropological Society.¹⁶

Her text *Documents of British superstition in Oxford*, published in *Folklore* (1943, vol. 54, no. 1: 227-249), described and classified preserved objects in the PRM (1884) and Ashmolean Museum (1683), and in the OU colleges collections, among which: witch in a bottle, stones for animals protection, objects of sympathetic magic, ex-votos and evil eyes. Ettlenger asks which magical properties directed to good and evil were attributed to these objects in medieval times and in an even more recent past, the last world war. The document tries to describe the dynamics of the relationships established between people and objects considered powerful.

The synchronicity between *England as a field for folklore research*, by Margaret Murray, *Documents of British superstition in Oxford*, by Ellen Ettlenger, and *Witchcraft, oracles and magic among the Azande*, by EP, suggests a debate around English witchcraft at a time when, according to the most important modern anthropologists, there were no more witches in England.

EP's book is a mark in the history of anthropology, showing that witchcraft refer to a system of rational and coherent thought. Through contrasting comparisons, EP equals the witchcraft rationality of colonized societies to the metropolitan rationality, more specifically to English rationality. For the propose of this article, however, EP's understanding of English rationality takes precedence over the impact of this homology between English rationality and Zande rationality to understand the Azande.

16. "Founded in 1909, the Anthropological Society works to promote an interest in anthropology and to support students and researchers in anthropology at Oxford University. We are run by and for both students and staff of the School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography. For the past century, the Society has formed a central part of Oxford anthropology" (available at: <https://bit.ly/3ghx6HS>).

In the text “Some reminiscences and reflections on fieldwork”,¹⁷ EP discuss the problem he was facing, “as an anthropologist, a religious and rational man of science, and a believer of God” (2005, 244), when dealing with Azande witchcraft. The reflection concerned the complications related to participant-observation—an activity which, according to EP, puts the researcher to “live the life of the people he is studying” (2005, 243).

After describing the practices and materialities that attested his intense coexistence with the Azande (hunting, fishing, consulting oracles, building houses and stables), EP considered the limits of attempting to “live like the natives”, affirming that: “One must recognize that there is a certain pretence in such efforts of participation[...] It is impossible for the anthropologist to truly become a zande[...] Perhaps it is better to say that the anthropologist lives simultaneously in two different mental worlds, built according to categories and values often difficult to reconcile” (2005, 246).

Witchcraft appears as such an instance of difficult conciliation, as ideas and practices about witchcraft—different from ideas and practices about god or soul—, says EP, would be unfamiliar to his contemporaries. He, who introduced himself as a Christian, observing that his contemporary anthropologists were either Christians or atheists, emphasized: “Witchcraft is, nowadays, inexistent in our culture” (2005, 247).

This statement about witchcraft “in our current culture” suggests that western culture understood witchcraft in other periods. After all, the modern and contemporary memory of Western English society recognises the pagan beliefs of the old continent. However, these are ancient beliefs: the brumes of Avalon, the legend of King Arthur, the thaumaturge kings and objects associated would be kept inside museums for the English to remember their past.

This modern understanding of English science is therefore linked to producing objective knowledge about a single reality, supposedly disconnected from time, place, and practices. The modern English anthropology that emerged, among other practices, 1) in the disputes over its name, made by EP for example, as well as 2) in the organization, classification and interpretation of the collection of material culture of non-modernized societies, in institutions such as the PRM, was linked to the objective and single rationality that was being superimposed on other rationalities, among them, that of witchcraft.

17. This text was published as “Algumas reminiscências e reflexões sobre o trabalho de campo” in the 4th appendix of the Portuguese edition of 2005. The text would have been based on lectures given at the Universities of Cambridge and Cardiff, in the 1940s, when EP was a professor at Oxford.

It is curious that EP's statement, presented in the name of modern science, suffered no embarrassment when describing himself as a Christian, while refusing to recognize any reality to the English witchcraft of the 1940s.

3.2. THE CHRISTIAN RATIONALITY OF THE ENGLISH WITCHCRAFT

The naturality with which EP presented himself as a Christian in the text that refused any reality to the English witchcraft (in opposition to the Zande witchcraft), despite having colleagues who researched its signs, finds a similar behavior in the Brazilian human sciences. From its conception, the field of African studies in Brazilian anthropology broaches the relation between scientific production on Afro-Brazilian religion and the fact of the researcher being or not initiated—while the Christian bonds of many Brazilian intellectuals remain unquestioned.

We must consider, then, that the tacit acceptance of Christian intellectuals as neutral—when compared with those identified with Afro-Brazilian religions, or witchcraft, regarding contemporary EP researchers, considered controversial—illustrate how modern universities separate the religious from the secular.

This separation in the OU is particularly interesting, and specialized literature on this theme—also contrasting European and non-European examples—is easily accessible. Although describing the conditions under which the English Christian Church and the OU have separated is outside the scope of this article, comparing the Brazilian and English experiences indicates some contemporary bonds, objectified in everyday practices common to the reproduction of the OU and the Oxford Anglican Church, which accommodate the University's worldview in the dominant Christian cosmology.

This brief discussion on some aspects of the relation between the religious and secular in the daily routine of OU is a first effort to systemize the data collected during field work and reserved because of their contrast with university experiences I had in Brazil, Mozambique, and South Africa. Observations that could have stayed scattered in the field notebooks, were it not for me discovering the English amulets and charms collection and, as a result, having revisited the polemic about witchcraft in the 1940s. From this first organization, I intend to raise initial questions about biased silences in knowledge production.

From the point of view of a Brazilian researcher, graduated in secular, public and gratuity universities, attending OU, secular but private, was an everyday experience of strangeness.

OU increasing privatization, since Margaret Thatcher's government, is shocking. Different from Brazil, where any visitor interested in reading documents or books—or simply visiting the library environment—can access the building and its digital databases, library consultation in the impressive and rich libraries of the OU is paid for.

However, the greatest point of contrast is in the forms of separation between the secular and the religious. Christian signs, images, sounds, practices, and concepts are mixed with the day-by-day of the OU and the city surrounding it.

First, we must recognize that a considerable part of the buildings that constitute the OU are inherited from the first Christian colleges—at least since the 13th century—, origin of the English higher education.

In the modern period, when the university was implementing a secular curriculum in existing courses or creating new ones—such as Anthropology—, a bible-selling campaign was carried out to raise funds to finish constructing the buildings that, articulated, guard the collections of the Natural History Museum and the PRM—still presented, respectively, as a collection of objects made by God and a collection of objects made by man.

Classrooms, academic seminars, and university life operate today in many pre-modern buildings. Images and hagiography occupy, with pomp, classrooms, corridors, halls, bedrooms, dining rooms, refectories, and other living spaces.

In 2016, the prestigious *Evans-Pritchard lecture* took place in the noble hall of All Souls College, built in 1430. OU, as other medieval colleges, have one among the many chapels that offer daily religious services and receives frequent visits from students, the local Christian population, and tourists.

The bells of different churches of the group of colleges ring day after day, also the organs regulating students' routines and guiding the city surrounding the university¹⁸. Sport practices and healthcare take place in church halls; charity stores are spread throughout the city; healthy and education agents (doctors, psychologists, educators, musicians, social workers, art educators) are employed by Christian associations.

The city's streets, bridges, and buildings hold names of patron-saints of academic and non-academic institutions. Many people know the saints' biography and tell them without any embarrassment.

18. The call to religious services in Oxford often led me to the sound of the organ that called for religious services, just when Virginia Woolf (1985) cursed the "famous library" in those two days in 1928 that preceded the preparation of *A room of one's own*.

For a Brazilian, visiting an Anglican church is strange in many aspects. All of them keep saints' images and other devotion objects—rosaries, paintings, furniture, etc.—that, at a first glance, give the impression of being in a Catholic church. The vicars explain that the catholic saints were appropriated in the 16th century, when the Anglican church occupied the buildings, lands and other possessions of the Roman church. Other saints from other churches represent Anglican history, between the 14th and 19th centuries.

These aspects, observed in 2016, reminded me of Murray's appeal for registering and studying the "strange facts, beliefs and costumes" that comprised the *Undiscovered England* in the 1940s. To the point where practices I observed while conducting my field-research outside the PRM, at first disconnected fragments, began to take shape inside a Christian cosmology, even though they seemed to remain unnoticed in the daily life of the OU and its surrounding city.

4. OTHER AMULETS AND CHARMS: ON CRITICISMS OF THE COLLECTION OF WHAT IS INSIDE

In Brazil, Mozambique, India, and South Africa, where I studied and researched before Oxford, people often allude to the different beliefs about the communication and interaction between the living and the dead—such as the presence of spirits haunting places where violent deaths occurred.

But I was surprised when I began to find, as illustrated in the following photo (*Figure 2*), objects related to communicating with the dead in the city of Oxford, in 2016.



FIGURE 2
Tribute Flower
on the sidewalk
tree in front
of the Natural
History Museum
building that
holds the PRM.

Flowers deposited in a tree before the OU Museum of Natural History, which houses the PRM collection, are among the many testimonials of an Oxfordian popular practice. *Tribute flowers*, as it is called, is the practice of putting flowers, teddy bears, letters, drinks, candies, candles, clothes of victims of violent death (car accidents or murders). It is a form of communicating—hopping to, through these objects, tell the dead to rest in peace.

The picture illustrates the unusual situation I found myself in. After all, it exhibits amulets and charms living inside and outside the PRM currently. Other pictures show flowers, letters, teddy bears, t-shirts, football hats, drinks, and sweets on streets where car accidents with death occurred; others show tributes on the banks of the River Thames for drowning victims, or even on the railing of the city's police stations. I found similar objects before two residences where murder crimes occurred, during the period I lived in the city.

In May 2016, when I presented the partial results of my research at the Same/OU research seminar, professor David Zeitlyn commented that the *tribute flowers* became popular when Lady Di died. Nevertheless, this practice suggests that in present Oxford—as in Maputo, São Paulo, Diu, Durban—beliefs and practices of communicating with dead exist. I imagined myself in the 1940s, while EP decreed the inexistence of witchcraft in England to explain his difficulty of being like a Zande.



FIGURE 3i
Tribute Flower
on Park Road,
between the
PRM and the
University Parks.



FIGURES 3ii and 3iii
Detail of Tribute
Flower on
Iffley Road.

For some researchers, whether in Oxford or São Paulo, this finding on the contemporaneity of practices and designs of amulets and charms in Oxford may seem naive. Indeed, as Comaroff and Comaroff (1992, 25) state:

in our essays as we follow colonizers of different kinds from the metropole to Africa and back, it became clear that the culture of capitalism has always been shot through with its own magicalities and forms of enchantment, all of which repay analysis. Like the nineteenth century evangelists who accused the London poor of strange and savage customs [...] Marx insisted on understanding commodities as objects of primitive worship, as fetishes.

As such, neither the astonishment nor ingenuity interest more than investigate such relations. For this ongoing research, two aspects are in focus: first, identifying traces of the relation between Christianity and knowledge production inside the University; second, investigating present practices and conceptions about amulets and charms in the city of Oxford, to access evidence of different versions of reality, truth, and knowledge production.

It was by Raymond Williams's novel *Second generation* (1965), that I accessed one of the terms that expresses conflicts over reality in Oxford. Williams described aspects of this difference situating the relation between the world of the University and the world of Oxford migrant workers: "If you stand, today, in Between Towns Road, you can see either way: west to the spires and towers of the cathedral and colleges; east to the yards and sheds of the motor works. You see different worlds, but there is no frontier between them, there is only the movement and traffic of a single city."

It was the relationships I established in choir groups on the east side of Between Towns Road that enabled me to investigate aspects of popular Christianity in the city; that linked contemporary amulets and charms spread throughout the city with those kept in the PRM, providing important clues about the present use of amulets and charms in Oxford. As I detailed the experiences from my systematic participation in these singing groups in a previous article¹⁹, here I highlight some of its aspects related to ethnography with singing groups—which I had already experienced studying Gujarati with Hindus in Mozambique—, which understands musical performance as a tool that assists in the use of language, brings people together and provides opportunities for carrying out an event that relies on common efforts.

Attending singing practices allowed me to know and live with workers from low-income sectors of the city²⁰—people who had never visited the PRM, generally confirming George Stocking Jr's observation (1985, 10), in the 1980s, about the frequency of such museums:²¹ "Museum audience are today predominantly white, upper-middle class and above average in education."

19. During the six months I stayed in the city, I sang in two community choirs and in a community group of singers: The Oxford City Singers in the Anglican church of St Michel of North's Gate; the Blackbird choir at Blackbird Leys Community Centre; and The Singing Group at Ark T, in the Baptist church John Bunyan Baptiste. The last two groups used to meet beyond the city limits, after Between Road, in the Black Bird Leys worker's district.

20. In 2019, Leys News Paper published a debate around the data that shows that life expectancy in Black Bird Leys is 15 years lower than the life expectancy of the region around the University. Leys News, Issue158. Oct-Nov, 2019 (<http://www.communitymediagroup.org.uk/publication-info.asp?id=5>).

21. All PRM staff are Oxford graduates—three of them PhD's in Anthropology—except those in the cleaning sector and general services (including a Brazilian worker with an Italian passport who lives in Oxford for 16 years).

In the singing groups I made acquaintance with men and women, white and black, who are descended from: 1) English migrants, whose trajectory relates to the history of Oxford's automotive industry—specially between the 1930s and 1960s—and came from poor regions of the United Kingdom, such as Ireland and northern England; 2) Caribbean migrants who arrived in the same period (Williams 1965, Harrell-Bond 1967, Newbigging 2000, Harvey 2001, Attlee 2009).

Today they work as cooks and cleaners in the colleges, as well as in primary and secondary schools; many are retired or unemployed from the remaining automotive sector, with some working at BMW, the only company still in the region. There are also supermarket cashiers, clothing, and shoe store vendors, among other unskilled workers.

From the residents of Black Bird Leys I learned about contemporary charms and charms. Provoked by their unfamiliarity with the PRM, I organized a presentation for one of the singing groups at the museum; after, we visited the collection of English amulets and charms and discussed their contemporary uses and meanings.

Mediators between good and evil, peacemakers, protectors, producers of harm and benefits, intermediaries between the living and the dead—the amulets and charms of the PRM's English collection commented by Oxford residents, who ignored their existence, refer to a contemporary debate on different versions of reality, truth and knowledge production.

Interacting with the east side of Between Towns Road showed me tensions of this unique city, while indicating contemporary tensions in knowledge production. One of the tensions refer to a debate raised by Fonseca (2004) and Fabian (1986), authors who broached the anthropologists' disinterest in studying popular groups in urban contexts. The social practices of residents from the outskirts of Porto Alegre, in southern Brazil, were rarely analysed as part of a tradition of the subaltern experience they inherited from slave society. Similarly, Fabian points out that the social practices of miners in Kinshasa, capital of the Democratic Republic of Congo, were taken with disinterest by anthropologists who saw them as detribalized Africans or Africans not yet fully modernized.

It occurs, suggested Fabian and Fonseca, that these groups' social practices are not simply responses to emergency needs; they have a history that, when investigated, disrupts the explanations produced about these practices and about the practices and practitioners who study them. Following this discussion, my research—which began looking for answers in the anthropological research of ethnographic museums on the agency of objects from ex-colonial societies displayed there—ended

up with a new question: how anthropology, as a field of knowledge, allows itself to be affected by ideas and practices that challenge its understanding? How anthropology deals with what Overing (1985) called “diversity of right and conflicting versions”?

5. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS: ON ETHNOMUSICOLOGY AND THE CRITICISM OF HEGEMONIES

This article aimed to show that the PRM research team has been offering complex answers when dealing with their collection of amulets and charms from ex-colonized societies. These societies, organized in instances now recognized by ex-colonial European metropolises, present other narratives about these objects and require appropriate practices for their safeguard and display.

In contrast, the article suggest that another relation is established regarding the amulets and charms of English society itself: discovered only recently, the PRM team recognizes the significant presence of these objects in the collection, producing relevant research and debates, but prioritizing their past life.

English amulets and charms, different from those of ex-colonized societies, are considered dead since their arrival at the PRM in the first half of the last century. Since their users are also presumed dead, there is no institution, practice or person presenting these amulets and charms—and their contemporary counterparts, scattered throughout the city streets—with a different narrative. It were experiences on the work field, beyond museum and university walls, that allowed me to observe and live with a practice and a narrative about the life of contemporary amulets and charms.

Naturally, different research procedures—in this case literature review, observation of the museum’s routine, study of pieces, etc.—contributed to the reflections presented here; but my initiation into ethnographic research with Claudia Fonseca at UFRGS led me to value the crucial role of sharing ordinary routine activities. Choir singing—which requires a collective effort to sing, correctly and in unison, all the words and notes—offers touching opportunities for the research. The communities of singers and choirs were spaces to sing and enchant with people who allowed me to experience other versions of truth, reality, and knowledge production in the city of Oxford.

The data and reflections presented here do not intend to detail the relationship between the singing groups and the research as a whole, but rather to show how this ethnography with singing groups in the city of Oxford constructs its argument, allowing me to access a recent

reflection about the museum and an update of an old debate (*gown and town*), evidencing conflicting views on reality, objectivity and knowledge production. I started from this experience not to examine it in its various aspects but to broach the articulation between the secular and religious domains in knowledge production.

Recover knowledge production in Brazil brings relevant critical issues to close the text. Claudia Fonseca (2004), in her article “Alteridade e sociedade de classes” published in *Família, fofoca e honra*, suggests that among the reasons which lead Brazilian anthropology to prioritize the categories of race and gender—in detriment of class—is the position occupied by the country’s intellectual elites, which inequality rates place alongside South Africa, Mozambique and India, in opposition to United Kingdom. According to the author, the Brazilian intellectual elites avoid confrontation and criticism about their class position—an issue that has worried me, especially since I started teaching in the neighbourhood of Pimentas, on the outskirts of greater São Paulo.

In São Paulo, my university colleagues and I know that the fate of our children is different from those who increase the death statistics in the peripheries. Every day, hundreds of young people between the ages of 15 and 25 are murdered on the outskirts of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Salvador (Feltran 2004), but they are not directly related to me or my university colleagues. In Oxford, although the children of east Between Towns Road no longer frequent the OU—as with the character of William’s novel, belonging to the second generation of poor migrants of the United Kingdom that came to Oxford between the 1930s and 1950s—, they are not targeted by traffic and police.

As such, English professors and researchers seem to live more similarly to east Between Towns Road residents than most Brazilian professors and researchers of public universities in relation to residents of the Brazilian peripheries. However, such intellectual elites in Oxford, as intellectual elites in Brazil—to which we belong—often take their cosmology, life experience and ideas and practices about the world as objectively given. There as well as here—insofar as we assume the knowledge we produce as neutral, devoid of morality, ideologies, beliefs and value judgments—, we take as enchanted those knowledges and perceptions of the world different from our own parameters.

Our attitude towards the enchantment of the other loses sight of the enchantment involved in constructing and reproducing the world of goods of which we participate in and of which we occupy a privileged position. By naturalizing this position, we get used to defining understandings different from ours as fetishists, uninformed, not objective, preventing research and experimenting alternative ways of producing meaning and knowledge.

In this article, I aimed to organize my research data to reflect on problems I faced in the research field with interlocutors from inside and outside the university walls, having them both as contemporaries in research and data publication. To what extent can we produce knowledge that describes and analyses objects, practices and cosmologies that remain alive—and not museum objects—, practices and cosmologies of the illustrated dominant strata of our ex-colonial and ex-metropolitan societies?

The research carried out in Oxford expanded beyond the boundaries of the museum and reinserted the question into a broader reflection on the relations between the production of anthropological knowledge and the silences that support the political position of knowledge production and hegemonic discourses. The literature, still to be reviewed, and the systematization of data, still to be done, will assist in constructing a more refined reflection.

TRANSLATION
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RELIGIOUS MONUMENTS AS A NEW TYPE OF OBJECT: GENEALOGY AND ACTUALITY OF A FORM OF CATHOLIC PRESENCE IN PUBLIC SPACES

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ABSTRACT

Based on an ethnographic scenario involving the recent construction of a statue of large proportions representing a catholic saint, this paper attempts to answer the following question: What constitutes a monument? This study articulates inspirations to guide the anthropology of objects with references that build a material approach of religion. The original role of Christ the Redeemer is taken into account as a prototype for a new kind of religious object. The presence of such objects denoting realist and colossal representations of religious figures is persistent given the crisis affecting monumental paradigms until the beginning of the twentieth century. The results imply these recent religious monuments of the sort function less as a memorial and more as a means to establish certain forms of catholic presence in public space.

KEYWORDS

Monuments;
Catholicism; Memory;
Anthropology of
Objects; Materiality.

1. This text divulges the result of the project “*Arquiteturas Monumentais: religião e espaço público*” (Monumental Architectures: Religion and Public Spaces), financed by *Bolsa de Produtividade* (Productivity Grant) from CNPq. A first version was presented at Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia (Brazilian Anthropology Meeting) in 2018, to a round table (“Arts, religion and memory: exploring the transversalities”) as proposed by MARES (Religion, Art, Materialities and Public Spaces: Anthropological group). This version was further discussed in a session of the *Núcleo de Religiões no Mundo Contemporâneo* (Nucleus of World Religions in the Contemporary World) (CEBRAP) in 2019, coordinated by Paula Montero. I would like to thank all those who made comments on these occasions, as well as the reviewers from GIS.

INTRODUCTION

In 2017, construction began on a monument in a city in the south of Brazil, in the State of Santa Catarina. The monument, with its works currently suspended, is intended to portray Saint Paulina, canonized by the Catholic Church in 2002, whose sanctuary is located in another city within the same state². Designed to be almost 50 meters tall, the statue, if concluded, will crown the top of a 300 meter high hill, having a significant impact over the surrounding local landscape. Several conversations I have had, since 2015, with Camilo Damázio – one of the instigators and greatest enthusiasts for the monument – have made it possible to understand the constellation of elements that surround it. Devotee of Saint Paulina, he led a group of pilgrim walkers. For him, the sheer monumental size of the statue was not disconnected to two other points; firstly, the presence within the monument of the very attributes necessary for its representation, having as its model the previous image of the saint - this was a point of negotiation with the author of the project, who opted to portray the Saint in a stylized form; secondly, the inclusion of the image in the circuit of pilgrimages, to which the group led by Camilo dedicated themselves. Such usage dovetailed perfectly with the plans of the Local Council, the financiers of the project, which presented it as an endeavor of “Religious Tourism” with much wider feelings and benefits than those associated with a strictly Catholic image. (Figures 1 and 2).



FIGURE 1
Billboard divulging
the construction
of the statue of
Santa Paulina,
Imbituba, 2015
(photo by the
author).

2. Paulina is the religious name for Amábile Lucia Visintainer (1865-1942). Born in Italy, she spent the greater part of her life in Brazil, where she founded the congregation that would later strive for her canonization, which took place in 2002. The sanctuary is located in Nova Trento (SC), where Amábile began her religious life. The place for the statue, in homage to her, is Imbituba (SC); the city where what would have been the first miracle attributed to Paulina took place.

FIGURE 2
Camilo Damázio
next to moulds
for the statue of
Santa Paulina,
Imbituba, 2015
(photo by the
author).



Few people perhaps know, but the monument to Saint Paulina is far from being an isolated case of such articulations between religious devotion, artistic project and touristic endeavor. Based upon a study which is far from being exhaustive, adopting the year 2000 as a marker, I counted 11 Brazilian statues portraying Christian characters, measuring more than 30 meters in height.³ These monuments were constructed in cities from distinct regions of the country, with several of them being sited on top of hills, which provide them with an even greater and special visibility. I found much more news about projects for monuments with similar characteristics. Some of these monuments are copies or variations of “*Cristo Redentor*” (*Christ the Redeemer*), the statue that was erected in 1931 on top of Corcovado (Hunchback mountain), in the city of Rio de Janeiro, the then Federal Capital. Even though, as is the case of Saint Pauline, *Christ the Redeemer* does not serve as a model, the famous image has established one specific parameter, in that being “taller” than the *Christ the Redeemer* is always something that is highlighted in the projects, constructions, or repercussions of these more recent statues.

3. The tallest of these statues is a representation of Santa Rita de Cássia, in city of Santa Cruz (RN), with a height of 56m, inaugurated in 2010.

I will take this specific condition of the *Christ the Redeemer* as a prototype for religious monuments that are multiplying throughout Brazil (and even further)⁴ in order to argue that their appearance has constituted a new object. In other words, the incorporation of the monumental form by Catholicism is not in line with other devotional images, but rather engenders objects that acquire a distinct nature, which I shall characterize by means of their trump card: visibility. As a second step, I shall take advantage of the fact that the composition between model and copies, parameter and variations, makes it possible to shed light upon two historical situations. The moment of the conception of the *Christ the Redeemer* corresponds to the peak of a certain type of monument, such that the most recent images belong to an age in which we have felt the effects of the crisis of that previous paradigm of monumental representation. One of the paths for us to perceive and pose this question is the matter of memory. I shall argue that, if the *Christ the Redeemer* lends itself to demonstrating the constitution of a new object, the more recent monuments that take it as a prototype serve for us to ponder the persistence of a certain form of representation and its relationship with memory. The most recent situation further allows us to raise points regarding the modes of the public presence of Catholicism in contrast to those of Evangelicals, focusing on debates dedicated to the understanding of recent religious dynamics in Brazil (Almeida 2010).

Methodologically speaking, this paper is based upon incursions stimulated by the effort to follow the endeavor related to Santa Paulina.⁵ Despite the fact that there is currently little chance of the Santa Catarina monument being concluded, the characteristics of the work boost the reflection that I judge to be pertinent and worth sharing. Indeed, the Saint Paulina monument leads me to pick up on previous studies, focused precisely on the statue of *Christ the Redeemer* (the results of which were collected together in Giumbelli 2014). The story of its conception and construction receive a new perspective, in this essay, with counterpoints brought from other equally iconic monuments – The *Eiffel Tower* and The *Statue of Liberty*– and by monuments inspired by distinct conceptions – to such point where they might even be called counter-monuments – from those which guided the *Christ the Redeemer*. What is also new is the general framework which I place on the discussion, with references that refer back to recent discussions in anthropology about images and objects, their forms of representation and their agency. These references articulate some more widely shared inspirations

4. One example is the *Christ the Redeemer* known as “Cristo do Pacífico” (The Christ of the Pacific), located in the Peruvian Capital, and inaugurated in 2011.

5. I made four visits between 2015 and 2018, the latter being the year in which the works were interrupted. In these visits, apart from observations, I conversed with Camilo and other pilgrims, with the local parson, journalists and the civil authorities. I further followed the media controversy regarding the statue of Saint Paulina and the construction of a further monument, in Imbituba, in homage to the Bible.

(Appadurai 2009, Gonçalves 2005, Henare et al 2007) with others that are more specifically aligned to the field of religious studies (especially, Meyer 2019). For the reasons presented, this essay brings together information regarding a wide set of realities, but does so based upon the questions that arose from ethnographic encounters surrounding the construction of the Saint Paulina monument– to which I shall return at the end of this essay.

It is important to make it quite clear right from the start that the focus of this essay is not the Saint Paulina monument per se, or even the monument's project as such. For its proposition, several articulations took place between agents of different natures (religious representatives, Catholic laypersons, and civil authorities, in particular). The idea of the construction was surrounded in controversy on certain questions such as the secularism of the State, the use of public money and State treatment towards different religions. The very configuration of the image and the place of its setting were also a question of debate, as was the positioning of the monument within "religious tourism". On these aspects, I have dedicated other texts (Giumbelli 2018a, 2018b, 2019). However, in this essay, my aim is to reflect upon religious objects and their transformations, taking the Saint Paulina monument as a starting point and further taking it as a representative of a certain type of object. It is this understanding, of what this object modality is, with which I shall drive the analysis for other monuments, which, in turn, will enact the function of memory. In any case, thinking about religion implies, within the perspective that I assume, posing the question regarding its relationship with the non-religious.

There is a specific bibliography about monuments, produced above all in the field of History (Levinson 1998; Nelson e Olin 2003). Although there is an intersection of the discussion which I propose here with the questions raised by this bibliography, what interests me here, and it is worth underlining, is to consider certain monumental expressions, considering them as objects, in the sense incorporated by the proposal of an anthropology of the objects and/or of things. In function with this, I find myself in the same arena of debate in which, for example, the essays of Novaes (2016) are circling - regarding objects in indigenous funeral rituals - and of Pinheiro (2016), regarding discursive representations of Iracema (an Amerindian woman) as an iconic figure. In my analysis, the images play a fundamental role, given that the monuments are objects that inspire and engender symbolic and material representations. With these frameworks in mind, what I seek to do is to introduce the monuments, above all some of those that relate to religious references, as part of the discussion around objects and their representation and agency. As we shall see, the resource of a bibliography that proposes a material approach from religion can produce this effect, drawing the analysis of religious monuments closer to debates with an interest in the anthropology of objects. Indeed, the fundamental

questions in this *démarche* are: What do these objects do (or try to do)? On what material and symbolic forces do they support themselves?

THE GENEALOGY OF A NEW OBJECT

The *Christ the Redeemer* that we can visit at Corcovado is the result of an elaboration over a long period of time, and in which factors, such as the conventions of representation, choice of materials, and the relationship to the landscape all come into play (Giumbelli 2014). The final form that the statue acquired presents significant differences from the initial project (Figure 3). This project was announced as the winner in a competition carried out in 1921 in Rio de Janeiro. Regarding this, it is worth highlighting two points. The first point is in regards to the treatment of the “redeemer” – the risen Christ destined to save the world – with his attributes (the cross and the orb) guided by a realist aesthetic. Such aesthetic does not clash with that of the religious images that can be found in Catholic places of worship from the same period, and, as we shall see in the following, it is reminiscent of the predominant paradigm of contemporary monuments. The second point is that the project for the *Christ the Redeemer* was conceived by taking into consideration certain other monuments. In a list found in a text which presents the aforementioned project, which was published in the journal *O Paiz* in September, 1923, those with great stature are highlighted. There are several ancient monuments; however, among those that come after the Renaissance, three are mentioned, all European and all religious. The one exception is the *Statue of Liberty*. Based on this list, and regarding the image of Christ, the text declares: “it shall be, not only the largest statue in the world, but very probably the largest of any that have ever been raised”.

We shall explore each of these points. Salgueiro (2008) compiled an extensive bibliography to state that the 19th century in Europe – above all in France and in England – constituted the peak of endeavors that erected statues in public spaces, referring to a “real monument fever”. This is associated with a series of factors, such as nationalistic symbology and the consolidation of liberal or post-monarchy values. From then on, there was a proliferation of images and marks, to remember deeds and pay homage to people (from the political universe, and from science and culture). From the aesthetic point of view, it is worth mentioning the synthesis of Salgueiro (2008, 56): “When it comes to the formula for the architectonic composition of the commemorative monument of the 19th century, it could be said that, essentially, what occurred is yet another diversity of combinations of traditional elements (statue, pedestal, corner figures and figures in the ornamentation), in which the realistic treatment of the statue predominates, whether it be allegorical or a rendering portrait, rather than really any revolution in the manner of materially remembering and commemorating”.



FIGURE 3
Model based upon
the original project
for the monument
of the *Christ the
Redeemer*. Source:
Figueiredo et
al (1981).

The original project for the *Christ the Redeemer* applies the proposal and predominant aesthetic in the monuments of the 19th century to the religious figure. It is basically composed of a pedestal and a full figure. In the pedestal, foreseen as being built in reinforced concrete covered in stonework or marble and bronze - again, according to the newspaper piece from 1923, "the exterior decoration is of Syrian style, in order to characterize Judaism, the ancient religion, the Old Testament, upon which The New Testament is supported in the figure of Jesus". Portrayed in line with western representations, Christ widely appears as looking upwards, his hands holding the orb and the cross. His clothing is

formed by what appears to be a tunic and cloak, with volumes and folds as realistic as the features of his face. The pedestal should be of 12 meters; the body, a further 35 meters. Thus, it is possible to state that the *Christ the Redeemer* was presented as an amplified version of devotional images, a plan made viable through an aesthetic convergence between civil monuments and the religious statuary – both in discord with the artistic vanguard, which appeared in successive waves ever since the second half of the 19th century.

The *Statue of Liberty* is cited several times in the text of 1923 as a model to be followed, because of its plans to use the same material and techniques – “hammered copper plates” – to create the external form of the image. Although Salgueiro (2008) does not mention the proposed statue in France in 1865, later inaugurated in 1886 in Nova York, its aesthetic and its purpose do not clash with the preeminent standards in the “modern worship of monuments”. Using motifs from the ancient classics, much used in public sculpture from the 19th century, the statue is an allegorical representation of freedom (Khan 2010). Apart from the techniques and materials, there are other similarities with the plans for the *Christ the Redeemer*: the format and ornamentation of the pedestal, the relationship between the trunk, head and limbs, the draping of the robes; especially, the realism applied to the figure. Apart from that, one can assert that the *Christ the Redeemer* receives the legacy of the *Statue of Liberty* by means of its dimensions: as such, the monuments assume a completely different scale, reaching previously unseen enlargements. Including its pedestal, the *Statue of Liberty* reaches a height of 93 meters. Inspired by European models, monuments in the Americas gained the possibility of exploring new senses and grandeur in their very idea of monumentality.

In fact, in terms of scale, there was precedence from the exact same place from where the *Statue of Liberty* originated: the *Eiffel Tower*, almost 300 meters in height, concluded in Paris in 1889. There is a thought-provoking essay from Roland Barthes (1979) regarding the Parisian symbol that allows us the opportunity of continuing the commentary about modern monuments. In it we find clues in order for us to make a counterpoint between the *Eiffel Tower* and the *Statue of Liberty*, based upon the opposition of form and symbol. For Barthes, one of the reasons that explains the fascination caused by the iron structure situated on the banks of the River Seine is its condition of being “a pure significance, in other words, a form to which one can incessantly attribute sense (Barthes 1979, 2). Its “simple and primary shape”, explains the semiologist, “confers upon it the vocation of an infinite cipher: in turn and according to the appeals of our imagination, the symbol of Paris, of modernity, of communication, of science or of the nineteenth century, rocket, stem,

derrick, phallus, lightning rod or insect (...)" (Barthes 1979, 1). This is in contrast with the *Statue of Liberty* and its allegorical human form. Although both monuments are penetrable, the spaces of the *Eiffel Tower* continue to counterpose the solidity of "Liberty"; and when you enter the tower, you find shops and a restaurant, whereas the Statue offers only an observation point beneath its crown. Indeed, the tower makes it clearer that the verticality of "Liberty" is reminiscent of a beacon, an idea that the held-high torch merely reiterates and reinforces.

From this counterpoint, it is possible to present the *Christ the Redeemer* as a kind of synthesis between the characteristics developed by the *Eiffel Tower* and those of the *Statue of Liberty*. I refer now not to the original project, but rather to the modified version that points to the features that the monument started acquiring, until attaining its final format, of 30 meters above an 8 meter pedestal. To the material attributes of the redeemer, a symbolic solution was conferred: the cross merged with the very body of the image and, in turn, the orb was converted into the figurative pedestal of the statue. There were further important changes in the lines and features of the image, which adopted a simplification and stylization that permits a certain association of the monument to *Art Déco*. Finally, the material was also substituted: instead of metal, reinforced concrete covered with a mosaic of soapstone.⁶ In a text from 1931, on the occasion of the inauguration of the monument, its engineer had the opportunity of making reference once more to the *Statue of Liberty*, this time as more of a counterpoint: the *Christ the Redeemer* benefits not only from more convenient materials, but also from a location that accentuates its visibility (Costa 1931).

Barthes considers the *Eiffel Tower* as a unique monument, because, wrought into it, are things that normally remain separate: a place that is seen and from whence one sees. Well, the *Christ the Redeemer* has the very same characteristics. Although it is not penetrable as with the *Statue of Liberty*, its location transforms it into a viewing point for all the surrounding landscape. Equally, the ability for it to be seen from many places was an essential condition for its construction. The illumination of the monument was also part of its characteristics, right from the outset, which conferred upon it the possibility of being described as a beacon in the port city. Added to this, the constructive technique draws it closer to the contemporary sky-scrapers. As Koolhaas (2008) suggests, one of the components of the sky-scrapers is the assimilation of a tower, something that the *Christ the Redeemer* fulfills when seen as the extension of Corcovado. Finally, without sacrificing a figurative aesthetic, the final version of the monument consecrates such a simple

6. For details about these changes, I refer to chapters 2 and 3 in Giumbelli (2014).

but primary form as that of the *Eiffel Tower*. With this form and the simplified features of the image, the *Christ the Redeemer* opened itself up to many significations, the majority of which cannot simply be embraced by purely religious connotations.

I believe, then, that with all this said, we have a better framework with which to comprehend in what way the *Christ the Redeemer* may be characterized as a new object. Let us remember that the intention of its creators – authorities and laypersons linked to Catholicism – was to produce a colossal religious image. One should note, within this, that the reference to “redeemer” mixes itself with others, especially that of the “Sacred Heart of Jesus” (*Sagrado Coração de Jesus*) and of “Christ the King” (*Cristo Rei*). It is possible to argue, along this line, how the statue of *Christ the Redeemer* in Rio de Janeiro belongs to a lineage of images, which correspond to the transformations through which certain devotions pass in their material expression. In the case of the devotion to the *Sagrado Coração de Jesus*, this becomes more evident. Born in Europe in the 17th century, such devotion was originally taken up by an expiatory sense, with an imagery linked to suffering. In its expansion it acquired political and triumphalistic overtones – of which the main example is the famous Basilica in the Parisian neighborhood of Montmartre (Jonas 2000). But it is in the Americas, specifically in Brazil, that these political and triumphalistic overtones gain monumental expression, in *duple-entendre*: both as monument and colossal in dimension.

Nevertheless, on gaining scale, the image transforms its very devotion. A way for us to capture this is through the reference to the concept of “gaze” proposed by David Morgan (2012). Morgan is an important reference from *religious studies* and one of his contributions has to do with the notion of visual culture, which imposes attention not only upon the images and objects that make up devotions, but further upon the very conception of visibility. In this case, we can approximate Morgan’s elaboration to the concept, put forth by Rancière (2005), of the politics of aesthetics. We have valuable references here, which over recent years have served towards “the materializing of religion” (Meyer 2015). My interest in integrating myself into such a perspective is related to the possibility of expanding it, or rather, stop applying it to religion as a previously demarcated territory, but rather employing it in order to perceive the historical situations in which religion itself gained a determined definition through social and cultural processes. To understand them materially is the advantage of using certain concepts such as “gaze” and “visual regime”.

The reference to the work of Morgan is further an opportune one, because he himself was dedicated to studying the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Morgan 1999). Turning his attention to the popularization of images of the Sacred Heart in the United States, in the 19th century, Morgan notes a kind of personalization of the relationship between devotees and images. The Sacred Heart found its way into American homes in the form of drawings. Placed in and amongst personal or family objects, these drawings allowed and provided incentives for what Morgan calls the “reciprocal gaze”: at the same moment in which it is seen, the image itself sees; the image reveals itself as one devotes attention to its semblance (2012, 73). To the Catholic sensibility, this translates into the touch that brings both statue and devotee closer together: just as Christ points with his hands to his wounds or his heart, the person uses touch to establish the relationship with the image. It is this economy of imagery and its corresponding visual regime that is going to be displaced with a monument such as that of the *Christ the Redeemer*.

Indeed, the configuration of *a place to look at - place to look out from* that is established in a location such as the top of Corcovado is quite different from the “reciprocal gaze” described by Morgan. The statue’s gaze and the devotee’s gaze no longer meet. On the one hand, the look from the image may assume, from its monumental vantage point on high, panoptical tones, or, in the opposite situation, suffer from incurable blindness.⁷ On the other hand, it is as a spectacle that the statue shows itself to the onlooker (visitor), or even of people that glimpse the monument from afar. The impossibility of being able to touch translates this new regime, becoming a corresponding triumph for vision. It is in this sense that the *Christ the Redeemer*, seeking to extend a religious image, constitutes a new object, to which new senses are linked. As we well know, objects are always subjects. In such a configuration, the agency contained in the image-monument is no less powerful. Yet its power derives precisely from this “non-meeting” with the devotee and starts to serve for other things. We shall see which things a little later, but before we get there, it is interesting to shift some focus towards the relationship between religious representations and other forms of artistic elaborations.

THE CRISES OF THE MONUMENTS

The mismatch between the aesthetic of commemorative monuments and the artistic vanguards of the early 20th century anticipate the critique that will target the dominant representational conventions in the case of the former. Yet figurative and realist sculptures would still find

7. It is worth noting that the eyes of the *Christ the Redeemer* do not have pupils.

sufficient output within the Fascist period in Italy, in the Nazi regime of Germany and in the Soviet Socialist experience. It is easy, in this sense, to perceive the affinity between the aesthetic of the *Christ the Redeemer* and the architecture of the Estado Novo, commanded by Vargas (1930-1945). Ironically, the updating produced by the features of the image in its definitive version converses with the solidity of modernist forms adopted by regimes of exception in the 1930s. It is only after WWII that the model of the monument, consecrated over the 19th century, falls into discredit, undermined, in the words of Huyssen (2000: 50), by suspicion based on political, social and ethical reasons. It is possible to indicate certain factors that contributed to this crisis.

On the representational plain, it is the human figure that undergoes a revision (Moraes 2010). The very history of monuments points to this transformation. As the 20th century draws near, the number of sculptures of men of science and culture multiplies, to which the conventions of grand pedestals and equestrian statues are applied less and less (Salgueiro 2008). For these figures, other configurations construct a greater proximity with the pedestrian. Around them is where the “modern worship” takes place, aimed at new heroes and values, often in a more-or-less planned substitution of religious references. In this sense, the monuments seem more appropriate to civil devotions rather than religious ones. In any case, the criticism of representation also comes back to the selfsame idea of the human figure. If, up until then, allegories had tended to receive an anthropomorphic representation, with the new aesthetic currents, there arose the possibility of imagining the human with other appearances; or, indeed, even of abandoning the human as model. The result gave rise to experimentation with new forms for the construction of monuments.

There was further the arrival of new materials, which added options to the stone and traditional metals. Concrete, glass and steel started to be considered in architectonic solutions that would further have an impact on the life of monuments. (Salgueiro 2008). The preference for copper and bronze in the erection of many monuments in the 19th century proved ironic during the wars of the 20th century. The original reason for such choice was to do with their resistance and durability. Nevertheless, copper and bronze proved themselves useful in the production of artifacts of war; the result being that many statues, conceived to endure for much time, were melted down to serve, for example, as the raw material in the production of ammunition for weapons. The text from 1931, regarding the *Christ the Redeemer*, cites this motive as one of the factors that determined the choice of other materials for the erection of the image.

It is further necessary to consider the framework into which monuments produced throughout the 19th century and the start of the 20th century insert themselves. Constructed in order to be appreciated by pedestrians, many of them failed in their mission. Their relocation and the lack of care and attention ended up, not infrequently, affecting them. Suffering from urban transformations, some of them were uprooted and replanted in new locations, losing their relationship with their original surroundings. Others were simply abandoned, or started to suffer from a lack of comprehension, either lacking the same appeal they once had, or due to a veritable evaporation of the key references needed to read their original intentions. Others, it seems, became the object of a paradox, alluded to by Robert Musil (1987, 61 apud Taussig 1999, 51 e 52): “The most striking feature of monuments is that you do not notice them. There is nothing in the world as invisible as monuments. Doubtless they have been erected to be seen – even to attract attention; yet at the same time something has impregnated them against attention”.

In the light of all this, turning once more to the list of religious monuments with which this essay began, the question cannot be any other than: how is it that realist and figurative images insist on occupying public spaces? – My hypothesis is that, by reflecting upon the subject of memory, we may be able to risk an answer to this question. Yet before doing so, I shall briefly mention two further examples of religious works that assimilate the critique of the representation directed to traditional monuments, in order to make it quite clear that there is no reason for us to suppose any essential incompatibility between religious images and the non-traditional artistic languages. Both are presented by Cottin (2007, 200 e 211) in his discussion about the mutations of relationships between art and Christianity over the 20th century. The first, entitled *Cross of Hope*, occupies the altar of a church in France: it does not exist as an object, rather it is merely suggested through the architecture of the temple (Figure 4). The other is a work by Anish Kapoor, who was part of an exhibition on the margins of a Swiss lake, accompanied by other works with religious themes. Baptized as *Beyond*, the piece is a metallic mirror – circular and convex in shape – which shows a deconstructed and inverted image of the very visitor-viewer (Figure 5). The two works invite the spectator to participate in the formation of the images; but what happens when these images insist upon coming not only ready-made, but in colossal proportions?

FIGURE 4
Nicolas Alquin,
Croix d'espérance,
2002 (Source:
Cottin 2007,
2000).



FIGURE 5
Anish Kapoor,
Au-delà, 2002
(Source: Cottin
2007, 211).



OBJECTS THAT SERVE NOT TO REMEMBER, BUT RATHER TO GO BEYOND THE RELIGIOUS

It is unlikely that any essay on monuments would not indeed relate itself to the subject of memory. One of the first reflections about these works– the book by an Austrian art historian, published in 1903– defined them by their purpose: “always keep the deeds or individual destinies (or a mix of them) alive and present in the minds of generations to come” (Riegl 1999, 23 *apud* Salgueiro 2008, 11). Salgueiro follows the tradition of references that proposes considering monuments as part

of a complex of situations that Pierre Nora calls “places of memory”, emphasizing the processes and political choices involved in their erection. “[a] Monument is, thus, as much a place of memory as it is of forgetting – the forgetting of the other, of the diverse point of view, of the contrary interest” (Salgueiro 2008, 20). The happenings in 2018 in the United States proved this all too well. The contesting of images related to confederate symbols and heroes seems to want to undo all that the monument was made for: to eternalise its memory.⁸

The protest against monuments in the United States – which in 2018 even affected a statue of Christopher Columbus in the center of Los Angeles – can be included in a lineage of attacks against realist representations in moments of political transformation. That is what happened to the statues of Lenin in the former Soviet Union, or what we watched, on television, happening to the statue of Saddam Hussein in Iraq. Thus, it is exactly the realism of these representations, originally presumed adequate as to their memorial function, which turns them into special targets for politically motivated and iconoclastic attacks. Nevertheless, this iconoclast exists alongside another recent trend; that of the proliferation of monuments. Such a trend is associated, as noted by Salgueiro (2008, 12), with the extension of the concept of the monument; which is now apt to be applied to entire cities and even landscapes. I prefer, nevertheless, to highlight another possibility exactly because it paradoxically highlights the role of memory: the constitution of monuments as anti-monuments, or counter-monuments.

No other place carries out this idea of the anti-monument better than Germany, from the 1980’s. The endeavor of national reconstruction came alongside an effort to reflect upon the Nazi period. Such reflection is forced to deal with many paradoxes, as synthesized in the formulation from Huyssen: “unimaginable, unspeakable and unactable terror” (2000, 85). Instead of commemoration and celebration, artist and architects were invited to find material forms capable of evoking the absence of millions of victims, and of remembering what should not have happened– the atrocities of a genocide regime. The memory, therefore, is urged to work not in the key of contemplation of objects they themselves are charged with remembering, but rather in the logic of interaction, given that the observers are an active part of these new monuments. For this reason, it seems to me that Huysen’s comment is misguided in terms of the memorialist outbreak in Germany and in its main city: “Taking up once more the observation of Robert Musil in which there is nothing as invisible as a monument, Berlin (...) is opting for invisibility. The greater the number of monuments, the more the

8. And we are seeing this more and more in 2020, especially with monuments of people connected to slavery and protestors from Black Lives Matter.

past becomes invisible, and the easier it becomes to forget: redemption, therefore, through forgetfulness” (2000, 45).

If we take three examples, commented upon by Young (1992), we find elements with which to contest Huysen’s suggestion. The professor of Jewish Studies emphasizes that the three cases of counter-monuments— as proposed by German artists in the 1980’s – serve to maintain a “debate surrounding what types of memory to preserve, how to do it, in name of whom, and to what end” (Young 1992, 52). In one of the examples, a fountain, destroyed by the Nazis – due to its association with the Jews, has been recreated; however, in its reverse (negative) form: as a well. The observers are obliged to bend over the well for them to reencounter what had been destroyed. In the second example, a memorial project in Berlin, nothing will be built. The passerby will activate the projection of a text that will make them remember what that place was during the war; a factory that relied upon forced labor in its production. Once again, it asks the observers to actively participate, with their bodies.

The third example, in Hamburg, deserves a more detailed presentation. A kind of totem was installed in order to receive inscriptions from the public, who could thereby add their names to those of people killed by Nazism; after the lower part of the totem has been filled, a mechanism allows that part to be submerged, leaving more free space for further inscriptions and subsequent submerging; and so on, until such point where the column completely disappears under the floor, leaving just a mark and a plaque presenting the project. Young notes that the monument was situated within the dependencies of a shopping center to provide greater visibility. At the same time, its counter-monumentality is expressed exactly in its dynamic of dematerialization, which plays with one of the typical forms of traditional monumentality, the column. Making the column disappear through the participation of the pedestrian is a way in which the project instigates the memory of Nazism— or at least maintains the debate active in regards to its history and agency.

Before returning to my main focus of religious monuments, I should like to mention yet another case, precisely because it places a myriad of objects and structures, distributed across a large area, back into the scene. In other words, an alternative to minimalism has arisen and to the (de)materialism of the German examples. Apart from this, it takes us beyond Europe and involves certain religious elements. I am talking about Freedom Park, on the outskirts of Pretoria, the capital of South Africa – as presented by Jethro (2013), who analyzes it as a “colossal heritage project”. The author goes on: “the site was purposefully built to reframe South African history for the purpose of calling into being a post-apartheid national subjectivity using an indigenous southern

African cultural and religious idiom.” (Jethro 2013, 374). One can note, then, how the park puts into play the reconstruction of a nation seeking to articulate its rupture with apartheid and the recourse to a Pan-Africanism. Jethro highlights the three main components of the project: the production of a center of nationality, the composition of which received the support and participation of religious leaderships; the presentation of a mural of names as heroes of a post-apartheid nation and as transcendent ancestors; the museum, which reconstructs the national cosmogony, juxta positioning natural and cultural dimensions based on references to and ways of African storytelling. Under a very distinct material form from that of the German cases, it is also the memory which is challenged to work in an endeavor that simultaneously seeks to both engage and break with the past.

Indeed, it is this work, with memory, that seems exactly not to be part of the configurations that define the religious monuments that take the *Christ the Redeemer* as a prototype. Once again, the *Statue of Liberty* and the *Eiffel Tower* present interesting clues for us to apprehend such configurations. Regarding the first, Khan (2010, 118) states: “Rather than dwell on the burden of past oppression the statue points to the new life of the nation”. This is reflected in certain elements of its composition, for example, the absence of the shield and sword and the preference for the torch and the “tablet” of the Constitution. More than just breaking from or returning to the past, it is about marking a new beginning. In another way, Barthes (1979) further emphasizes the “originality” of the *Eiffel Tower*. Expressing the idea that the tower is an empty and open form, there is no museum that can be visited in its interior. More radically, the tower presents itself both as a spectacle and as a viewing point, negating itself from being apprehended as a place of memory in itself: “To visit the Tower, then, is to enter into contact not with a historical Sacred, as is the case for the majority of monuments, but rather with a new nature, that of human space.” (Barthes 1979, 5).

The *Christ the Redeemer* can be characterized in a similar key. Not that the ideas that erected it disregarded the past. Indeed, that was an important element, as the monument sought to connect itself with the endeavor of colonization and the reason for the inauguration occurring on the 12th of October – the date attributed to the discovery of America. Another factor is the relationship with the monument of the notion of “Christendom”, something which referred to the past in which the State and the Catholic Church were united both in the Portuguese colony and the new nation. Yet it is possible to affirm that the most important aspect of the story surrounding the *Christ the Redeemer* lies in its bet for the future. Its aesthetic and materials give it the credentials to represent Catholicism in a dispute for the narrative of a nation. In a country that

has experienced other possibilities – for example, those brought by the modernists of 1922 –, the *Christ the Redeemer* did not exactly encapsulate a place of memory, rather, and primarily, as a project of *becoming*. The absence of a museum alongside the monument is also significant. This could be related to the plans for the place to be an open sanctuary for pilgrimages. With the failure of such a plan, the connection to a specifically religious past started to reveal its fragility.⁹

My hypothesis may be formulated in counterpoint to the way in which two authors define religion. For Danièle Hervieu-Léger, French sociologist with important contributions on the subject since the 1990's, "religion is defined by means of the transmission and perpetuation of the memory of an original founding event by means of a 'religious lineage' or 'line of belief'" (Camurça 2003, 251). In 2002, Bruno Latour published a book dedicated to religion which also mobilizes the subject of memory. As I previously presented it in another text (Giumbelli 2011, 332), "Latour proposes that we should call religion a certain mode of enunciation, with its corresponding requirements for the production of truth. As such, the information, in the referential sense, is already given and does not constitute the focus of religious communication; what is necessary is to update it, make it relevant to the present-day context, through such an inventive yet faithful translation of a message so known and revealed". For the philosopher, the images develop an important role in this mode of enunciation, given that it is exactly up to them to make such a clearly revealed message relevant today, submitting it to the different languages of understanding and expression.

Considering what these two authors state, it seems to me that the dominant features of the *Christ the Redeemer* indicate other possibilities. The monument lends itself badly as a harbinger of an authorized memory, in the terms of Hervieu-Léger. On producing a colossal image, the Catholic Church intended to construct an ally in its missionary project. Yet, ironically, the object became too big to be controlled, thus losing for its religious institution the monopoly – and even the hegemony – over its very representation.¹⁰ This defeat has been compensated somewhat by a parallel aspect, which the formulations of Latour allow us to apprehend; and not just because the image is particularly an appropriate one to modernize such a message – as was, once again, the proposal of the

9. The decision to consider the *Christ the Redeemer* as a sanctuary was taken up recently, with a decree from the Archdiocese of the city of Rio de Janeiro in 2006 (Giumbelli 2014, 59). Even so, it is not about a sanctuary in the traditional sense; a site of miracles that become the very reason for the pilgrimages. This was never a characteristic of the *Christ the Redeemer*.

10. The Archdiocese of the city of Rio de Janeiro claimed the intellectual property rights to the monument. Nonetheless, the claim in itself, ever subject to contestations and very often denied by the various appropriations of the image of the *Christ the Redeemer*, is the demonstration why we are seeing such disputes. On this point, see chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 from Giumbelli (2014).

Catholic Church on patronizing the monument – but to the contrary, for having been capable, instead, of assimilating new significations; for example, when the *Christ the Redeemer* is the spirit of Rio de Janeiro or even Brazil – in the sense that it is enabled to represent them. And thus, the statue remains in place, in the terms of Latour, ever modernizing itself; exactly because it managed to go beyond its religious attributes.

It remains to be seen whether the more recent monuments that are proliferating within Brazil will maintain the characteristics of their prototype. In the case of the project of Saint Paulina, there is an attempt at composition. It is likely that its existence would serve to boost the devotion that pays homage to her, serving as a cog for her memory. In the same vein, it is worth noting that the project includes a kind of memorial: on entering into the base of the statue, the visitor will come face to face with panels that narrate the biography of the Saint, including her miracles, one of which has a relationship with the city that houses her monument. However, other characteristics of the monument remove it from the memorial function. As an endeavor of “religious tourism”, it is aimed at attracting visitors who are not necessarily devotees. In line with that, it is proclaimed as an “ecological complex” and as a viewing point over an amazing landscape. In short, its viability, paid for with public funds, depends on the articulation of the religion with other aspects and dimensions. This seems to be the price to be paid – and the profits to be earned – in order for it to be maintained as a religious monument.

The question is not – as the references to the works of Hervieu-Léger and Latour might suggest – whether the monuments that portray catholic figures are religious or not. Once they evolve religious elements, references and agents, what enters into play are the forms through which the religion undergoes transformations as it continues to operate. In other terms, the question is one of religious politics. In this sense, a counterpoint with the Evangelicals might be productive. Indeed, in Brazil, the Evangelicals in their more dynamic and influential facets confer little importance to either past or memory (Mafra 2011), which puts them on a similar plan to that which the monuments focused upon here operate. In the case of Evangelicals, however, the monumentality appears in their temples– and it is by no means unusual to find denominations following the example of the *Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus* (the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God) in constructing buildings with the capacity of uniting thousands of people.¹¹ Thus, competing projects of monumentalization are being established.

However, if monumentality is present in both catholic and evangelical universes, its expression and implications are quite different. For the

11. Regarding the project of the *Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus* being aimed at the construction of “cathedrals”, see Gomes (2011).

Evangelicals, monumentality is expressed in spaces directed specifically at the religious practice; fueling the suspicion that we are dealing with “over-sized” churches – and producing the impression of a “out-of-place” religion. For the Catholics, monumentality expresses itself in huge object images, placed in public spaces, to which, nevertheless, they need to admit or understand that it represents something “more than religious”. It is here that the relationship with “religious tourism” gains plausibility and strength. As such, it is important not to take “religious tourism” as a recent expression that would serve to name more ancient phenomena. This expression innovatively claims non-religious (i.e., “economical” or “cultural”) meanings or gains to be associated with “religious attractions”. It is not by chance that “religious tourism” relates to a type of object, the monument, which itself provokes a shift in its relationship to other types of religious objects.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Returning to the argument developed in this essay, it could be summarized in the following order. In the first historical situation covered, religion is seen as part of the wave of monuments that are developed from certain motifs and of a certain aesthetic, since the beginning of the 19th century. Nevertheless, the erection of religious monuments goes beyond the mere enlargement of previously existing images. It is a new object that is being created, one that has more to do with monumentalization than with religion (such as it existed prior to the monuments). It is precisely this which I intended to show on suggesting that the *Christ the Redeemer* be understood as a synthesis of the characteristics of paradigms represented by the *Statue of Liberty* and by the *Eiffel Tower*. The focus on the *Christ the Redeemer* further served to indicate the prototype of more recent monuments, which together configure a second historical situation which serves as a reference for analysis. The subject of memory arose as a relevant way of tracing certain transformations. Experiments with the memory led to the production of a new type of monument—the anti or counter-monument. The persistence of realist and figurative aesthetics in the scope of more recent religious monuments can be apprehended as a bet in the opposite direction, which points less to the past and to memory, and more to the future and the imagination, which includes new forms of public religion.

To conclude this essay, I would like to return to the case with which I started and with the help of two further comments. The first resorts to Lévi-Strauss (1983), who in the first chapter of *The Savage Mind* evokes the “religious monuments”. Although he is not being specific, the mention serves to demonstrate the general argument that the small-scale model constitutes “the universal type of the work of art” (Lévi-Strauss 1983, 44). Therefore, even something monumental for its scale doesn’t stop being a miniature of something even bigger— such as the frescos of the Sistine Chapel that depict, according to Lévi-Strauss, the theme of the “End of Time”. The essay

goes on to show how the construction of small-scale models manages to produce an intellectual apprehension of what is represented. From this passage, which deserves many other observations, it reminded me of the conversations with Camilo, of how he had visualized the image of Saint Paulina on top of the hill even before its construction had begun. For him, in an analogous fashion to the photographic tricks that miniaturize objects of grand proportion, the monument would certainly be an expression and part of the ties that linked him to Saint Paulina. Thus, for however monumental something might seem, this object, when placed closer to its devotees, can always be inserted into even larger frames.

The second comment equally helps us to investigate the relativity of the monumentality that characterizes these colossal objects. The fabulous essay by North (1992) explores the idea of the public being part of the sculpture, based upon aesthetic experiments which, as with the (counter) monuments created in Germany, depend upon the participation of their observers. The author resorts to many references to demonstrate that this idea presents developments in opposite directions: the world as a collective construction or as totalitarian domination. One example of the first type is the recreation, in Austria, of a Nazi monument as a kind of social provocation to raise the debate and reactivate memories. One example of the second type would be the very Nazi rituals, whose scenarios were large spaces built to receive crowds. In short, the essay makes us consider monuments within necessary relationships with different publics. For Camilo, the colossal image of Saint Paulina would be part of a devotion that articulated other people and other objects. Yet what is to guarantee that she might not also be the pivotal point of an experiment that perpetuates the material presence of an image?

We must wait for new studies that are capable of indicating the clues in order to respond to these and other questions. What is important to highlight, however, is that the questions raised by this essay depend on one perspective that is interested in the objects and their own forms of agency. No less important is to remember that one investigation into forms of agency is not disconnected from the attention to representations and to people, in other words, on the one side, the conceptions and symbolic operations that accompany the things in their production; and on the other side, the rest of the agents that are related to the objects, in their personal and institutional formation. The references, however brief, to my conversations with Camilo serve to reinforce these points. They further serve to indicate the necessity for us to understand the production of objects as much from their projects, as from considering their effective use. It is along such lines that a further inspiring essay is developed (Gieryn 2002), who follows the conception and utilization of a university building, with laboratories, classrooms, offices, etc. Its title evokes the same question that has guided this article: what do buildings – or monuments – do?

TRANSLATION
Chris Tunwell

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BETWEEN SEA, MOUNTAIN AND IRIS FROM AROUND THE WORLD: AN APPROACH TO THE USHUAIA PRISON MUSEUM

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ABSTRACT

“Los invitamos a caminar por los pasillos estrechos, asomarse a las celdas para imaginar cómo habría sido la vida en la cárcel”. This is an invitation to Ushuaia Museo Prison (Argentina) on its website. Inaugurated in 1902 and transferred from San Juan del Salvamento’s military prison, Ushuaia’s prison has a long trajectory. It is currently part of a historical, cultural, and tourist arena in the city just for being a museum. Documentaries and books in Argentina as well as their characteristics imply a certain correlation between tourism and this place. Coming from an old trial prison to become a museological and tourist place, it revitalizes memory. What were the necessary arrangements for such change? This article presents a correlation between two main events: the deactivation of the prison and the new function as a museum.

KEYWORDS

Prison; memory;
museum; culture; art.

1. Article written during the scholarship granted by the Red de Macro Universidades de América Latina y el Caribe (REDMACRO), 2019.

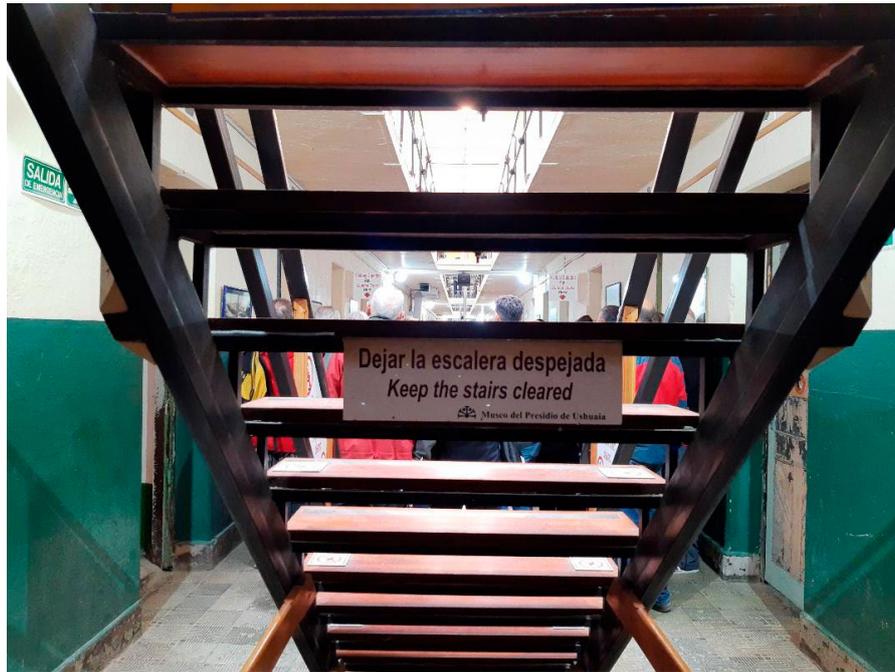


FIGURE 1
Guided Tour at the
Ushuaia Prison
Museo. Photo:
Natalia Negretti.

*Yo también Ushuaia, soy poeta y te canto
Em labradas estrofas, com la voz de mi hacha,
Desde el fondo más triste de tu selva, desierta,
De Dolores fecundos y de música de alas*
(Lazzaroni 2011, p. 55)

In August 2019, I included a new activity on my schedule² for my research paper. Months after, I was taken to The End of the World because of that. Between planning my visit and arriving at Ushuaia, the last city in Argentina, also known as the southernmost city, on 15 of October of 2019, it was turning a hundred and thirty-five years old. On the same day, the city's website had announced: "Ushuaia was born between the ocean and the mountains, and today the world recognizes it as one of the most beautiful cities"(our translation)³.

2. This schedule referred to one of the activities of the doctoral internship at the University of Buenos Aires, under the tutelage of Cora Gamarnik and with the help of a scholarship from REDMACRO. The aforementioned research focused on the articulation of image, development and aging in publications by the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLAC) and the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) in Argentina. The bibliographic collection belonging to the ECLAC headquarters in Argentina, located in the city of Buenos Aires, was transferred to the Río Grande campus of the National University of Tierra del Fuego.

3. Available at: <<https://bit.ly/37QJNpq>>.

This paper serves to share an analysis of the correlation between the Museo, memory, and tourism, based on an ethnography that contemplates my visits to the Museo Penitenciário de Ushuaia⁴, as well as my experiences while I was in the city; it aims to indicate the perspective of this relation and to situate my view as a tourist on such an occurrence/event: Unlike my research on the campus of Río Grande at the National University of Terra do Fogo⁵, I did not visit the Museo nor stayed in Ushuaia as a researcher.

Taken by my curiosity and trying to understand how The End of the World's Prison was deactivated and turned into a museum, my memory took me to a period that preceded my visit to Ushuaia: my only idea of a similar prison deactivation was Carandiru⁶, in São Paulo. All my memories and inquiries of Carandiru were related to events published in the newspapers, such as the massacre, the implosion, the creation/build of Parque da Juventude and judgments—and memory (Nassif 2016). With specific memories and forgetting policies presented by several authors such as Maira Machado and Marta Machado (2015), Carandiru was my first case seeing such a process. Carandiru's operation revealed the efficiency of memory and forgetting. This process made me think about memory and forgetting policies related to prisons. And that was what got me interested in investigating how the concept of memory functions in the case of Ushuaia.

A while before going to Ushuaia, I bought a book at the Argentine National History Museum, in Buenos Aires⁷, “Celdas: Textos de Presos y Confinados em Ushuaia” (1896-1947), by Alícia Lazzaroni. After that, I decided to watch a documentary on Encuentro channel⁸, as suggested by my Argentine friend. A storyteller and police chronicler, Ricardo Ragendorfer, inquires at the beginning of the three episodes if the trial prison of Ushuaia was truly used to punish criminals and to confine political enemies, or just as a tool to discipline the people of this city.

4. I use “museum” to refer to this type of institution and “Museo” for specific reference to the Museo Penitenciário de Ushuaia

5. The National University of Tierra del Fuego has two campuses: Río Grande and Ushuaia.

6. São Paulo Prison (1920-2002)

7. During my visit to the Argentine Antonio Ballvé Penitentiary Museum in Buenos Aires, the institution was closed. The occurrence of an event cannot be exposed in this article. However, it is important to note that this museum is situated next to Fundación Mercedes Sosa. The bars between the two spaces allowed to photograph some parts of the referred Penitentiary Museum.

8. The documentary is divided into three parts. The first part called “The origin” (Canal Encuentro 2018a), while the second, named “Los confinados políticos” (Canal Encuentro 2018b). The third, “El fin” (Canal Encuentro 2018c).

CITY, NATURE AND PRISON AT THE END OF THE WORLD

The tourism in Ushuaia, founded and permeated through nature and the Museo, brings to light several historical events at *the end of the world*: since the foundation of the town until the consolidation of Argentine sovereignty in southern lands after numerous geopolitical conflicts.

Ushuaia's story is almost identical to that of prison. Since 1896, there was a project of penal colonization, until in 1902 a large prison was built, in which Catello Muratgia stood out. The inauguration was on September 12. Between 1902 and 1911, there was a military prison. Obviously, none of this is a cause for happiness. There are many stories, usually very painful and other tragicomic, such as the tension, which almost ended in a shootout, between prison officers and the police, but, from the point of view of the population, it was a valuable contribution. Not only did it provide sources of work, which led to the continued establishment of a stable population, but it also had many advances, such as electricity, repairs on the streets, construction of public buildings, provision of bread and other advantages". (Canclini 1989,18, our translation).

Based on pictures and written descriptions of the Museo, the stories of the town are related to the prison, as stated by Aroldo Canclini (1989). The drawings of the Malvinas Islands⁹ and the Yámanas¹⁰ on the walls are also memories of this town. Despite all these relevant complexities and utterance relations, I will not be discussing them in this article since my main topic is related to the Museo, souvenir shops, and my observations in regards to the tourism of the town. Firstly, the fragility of the boundaries between the prison, the city, and sovereignty must be noted. Lila Caimari (2004) points out that at the end of the 19th century, when the Argentine nation was establishing its criminal justice system in Terra do Fogo, where the population faced some challenges: the delimitation of its boundaries with another nation-state, Chile¹¹.

9. For some perspective on the Malvinas Islands as disputes of meanings in addition to territorial claims and press coverage related to the Malvinas Guerrade, see Cora Garmánik (2015).

10. Regarding the Yámanas, also called Yaganes, canoe and fueguino nomads, there is information in the following museological institutions in Ushuaia: Yámana Museum, Museum of the End of the World and, as mentioned in the text, in the Maritime Museum. When portraying colonialism and the Yámanas concerning the indigenous peoples of the Fuego, Kawésqar, Sél'knam, Aoniken, Háusch and Yámanas, as well as processes of a nation-state, sovereignty and violence, see the Chilean film *El botón de nácar* (2015), by Patricio Guzmán. On colonialism, representation and Yámanas, see Jorge Pavez Ojeda (2012). In a note dialoguing with Thomas Bridges, I highlight the author's note on reducing the demographics of this population in the 1980s of the 19th century to a third as an effect of the foundation of the city of Ushuaia by the South Atlantic Expeditionary Division of the Argentine State (1884), an installation of employees in the city, and measles, smallpox and influenza epidemics.

11. Susana Bandieri, in an interview with Maria Cristina Bohn Martins (2009, 99), highlights dimensions of national politics around the territories and populations of southern Argentina, including time: "[...] a full penetration of the nation-state into Patagonia was completed in the 1930s and 1940s, when a concern to" Argentinize "these territories, hitherto closely linked to the Pacific region, became a necessity for nationalist groups who

The day before I went to the Museo, in another tourist area, I saw two children dressed in yellow and gray-striped overalls portraying prison uniforms. I had already seen those uniforms in some stores. It caught my attention, but I did not consider taking a picture of the children. The next day, after my first visit to the Museo, located at the shores, I met a heterosexual Brazilian couple. We were chatting about the town. I asked them if they had visited the Museo. They said that they did not have the desire to go there. While listening to them, I felt uneasy remembering about the two children wearing the overalls, a feeling related to my experience as a prison researcher, as a Brazilian, as a student of an exchange program, that made my imaginary, at that moment, sink in my own memory.

I shared with the couple my impression and opinion about my first day of visit to the Museo. I told them about the concept of human rights in the cells/rooms, my fascination for famous prisoners, and the fact they were separated by levels of dangerousness, “common prisoner” and “political prisoner”. When I mentioned the overalls, the husband started to laugh and said that his wife wanted one. Although I also laughed, I wasn’t sure what to say about that. Then, she mentioned she wanted a souvenir or something of the town, but she did not share the same opinion and view about that prison. I agreed to disagree. After that, we ended our small talk. I wanted to share this situation because I consider quite interesting the mixture of my moral values on how the city uses the Museo and the prison as a touristic attraction. The study of the Museo is related to the field that researches Memory and Museums (Beiguelman 2019), Dark Tourism (Rodriguez, Sizzo and Arechiga 2018) articulated with extinct prison units (Amaral 2016; Santos 2003), and the way it is applied and reframed.

THE MUSEO

In the Museo, I was listening to a thrilled and adventurous song playing on the television at the main lobby. When I starred at the TV next to the pavilion 3, I noticed how some parts of the Museo, connected to the Maritime Museum, were arranged. The official name is *Museo Marítimo y del Presidio de Ushuaia*. That area, divided by cells of the old prison and rooms of the museum, includes the Maritime Museum, Arctic Museum, Maritime Art, and Art Gallery.

then dominated national politics. Only those years were concluded or advanced against the indigenous society perpetrated in the 1880s, with other forms of State penetration, both in the material aspects - construction of bridges and highways, agreement of railway lines, limit control measures, rates of control public agencies, etc. - such as, and particularly, ideological, through education and the generalization of the patriotic and national liturgy” (our translation).

On my second day, I decided to stay in the central area, the one that connects and has access to all the aisles of the Museo, to start writing on my journal. While wandering there, I saw some old brochures and signs with old dates showing that the Museo has had different names in the past.

“The prisoners stayed here” he told me when he left a door under the numbered sign 1. Then he said that many people didn’t know that. The Museo is concentrated in wing 4 and the 1st has preserved an architecture without reforms. This includes ruins, brittle and rust. The two wings relate the architecture of a closed prison and a museum: celdas / rooms. Do the two wings differ in terms of their memory projects? While in wing 4, production is largely linked to city tourism, 1 seems to scale up as a concrete memory. (Journal, 14 nov. 2019)



FIGURE 2
Museo Prison
Maritime’s
Entrance. Photo:
Natalia Negretti.

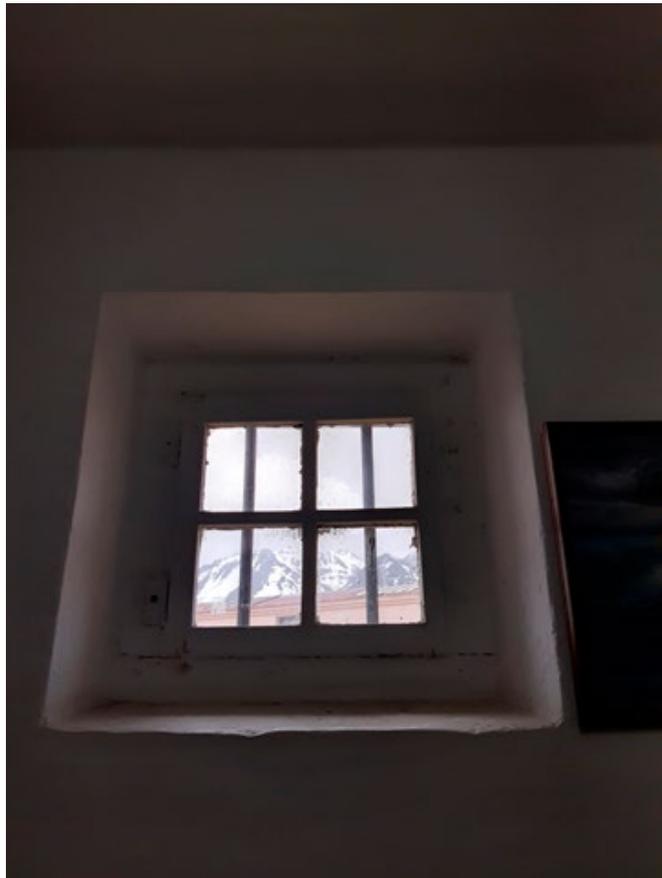


FIGURE 3
Pavilion 4 Window.
Photo: Natalia
Negretti.

Ecléa Bosi (2003, 31) reminds us that “memory operates with great freedom, with specific occurrences in space and time not picked at random but rather related to a subject by common indexes” (our translation).

In the Maritime Museum, the entrance door takes us to a room that has an exhibition about Yámana. Next to it, in pavilion 4 on the main floor, is the Museo (prison). The information about the Colonia Penal is the first thing seen when you step in. Right next to it there are two rooms for visually impaired visitors; three rooms for only authorized people and two rooms with information about the building’s construction. A guided visit sign leads us to the entrance of the Museo revolved by statues of famous prisoners. This hall has the following thematic arrangement:

BOX 1
Hall and cell.

Cell/Left Room	Cell/Right Room
Roque Sacomano	Prisoner Boliche
How they travel	Ricardo Rojas
Room without architectural renovations	Pavilions and Cells
Uniforms	Legislation
Work in the forest	Political Prisoners
Closed Cell	Paintings and Arts
Chairs made by the inmates	Raúl Ambrós
Anachism	Dr Ramiro
Sebrón e poems	Prison Newspapers/Jornal El Domingo
Alberto Andino ("the inmate who aged prematurely")	Belongs/Food/Cemetery
Works	Carlos Gardel
Punishment	Catello Muratgia
Santos	Hygiene/Health
Godino	Gratitude from a prisoner to a director
Escapes	

At the end of this pavilion, we reached a central hall that connects all the other pavilions, namely the old prison building and current Museo. There are penguins at all the pavilions' entrances, except in pavilion five, which was closed. Over pavilions 3 and 4, there is a souvenir store, and the Art Maritime Museum (closed on that day). The Art Gallery located in pavilions 1 and 2 includes a sign written "historic".

In front of the closed Pavilion 5, there are stairs and a coffee machine. To be able to buy coffee, visitors need to get coins at pavilion 3, where there is a television comparing the old walls and the inside of the obsolete prison in 1994 to the renovated building of 2003.

The penguins and paints display some of the elements of nature in Ushuaia promoted by tourism through the Museo. Near the same pavilion, there is a picture at the entrance: penguins below mountains and snow. The penguins' population is honored and portrayed at the museum. There are penguins painted in the fueguina landscape and two others (as sculptures) with no painting.

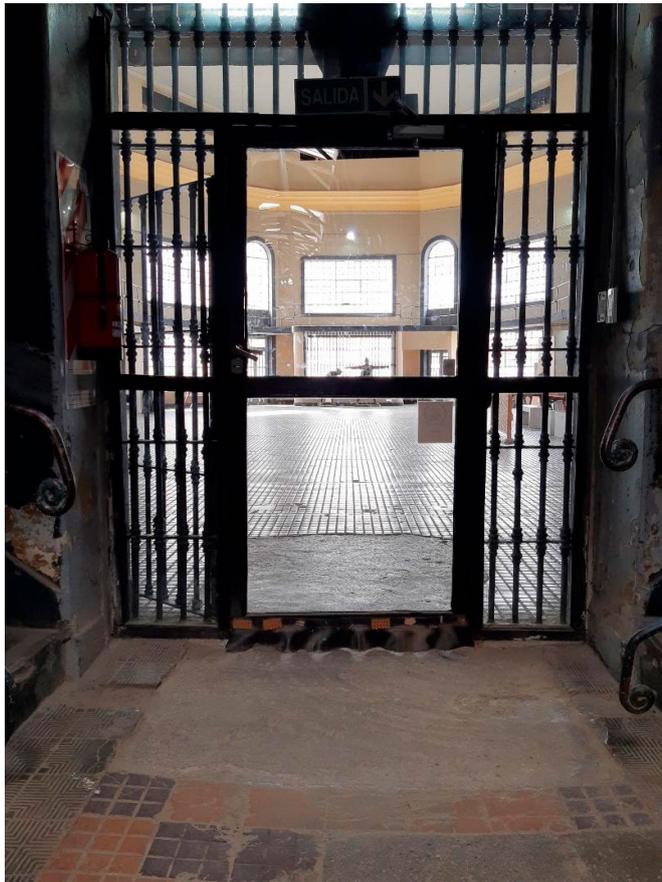


FIGURE 4
Main hall of the
historic pavilion.
Photo: Natalia
Negretti.

The penguins, remarkable figures of tourism, when portrayed in the Museo, address elements of nature that make us wonder how they promote the tourism of the city. This species, native of the fire land, entails social arrangements and everything that goes through the town. The same way penguins are painted, tourism and the Museo are simultaneously painted. While penguins painted as prison agents and convicts indicate the Museo, another one portrayed with Marilyn Monroe's face makes us wonder how popular and visited the Museo is. Noel B. Salazar (2006, 102) pointed out certain considerations about the economy and tourism policy:

A theoretical framework clearly inspired by the work of Karl Marx - offers the most systematic attempt to explain and criticize the uneven nature of tourism development. According to this view, developing countries maintain an unequal relationship with the developed world, insofar as the structure of their economies has historically been based on imperial domination over trade relations and the exercise of authority (our translation)



FIGURE 5
Paintings on the
penguins. Photo:
Natalia Negretti.

CELLS AND STAMPS IN THE LAND OF FIRE

The first group of prisoners included fourteen men in 1896¹² in Ushuaia. In the same year, the Recidivism Prison, made out of woods and sheet metal, was built. According to the Museo's brochure "The idea was to colonize with penalties and that is how 11 more men and 9 voluntary women were sent immediately. All of them ex-convicts who had committed a new crime" (our translation). It must be noted that there is little information about the living situation and how female prisoners left this prison unit. However, there is, in fact, a document evidencing convicted women marrying Ushuaia's residents.

In 1911, after a legal order, the Recidivism Prison was merged with the military prison, previously located at Isla de Los Estados, San Juan of Salvamento, and in Porto Cook. Additionally, in accordance with the Museo's brochure, the prison "was transferred for humanitarian reasons to Ushuaia" (our translation).

12. Ushuaia's website reports that: "DECREE OF JULIO A. ROCA FIXING THE REINCENT PRISON IN TIERRA DEL FUEGO. The Thetis Bay Sub-prefecture returns to Ushuaia. María Sánchez de Caballero is appointed teacher and then director. The first prisoners are sent. J.M. Beauvoir visits and baptizes 26 Indians. Swedish explorer Otto Nordenskjöld arrives. Fire in the bakery of the Interior" (Instituto Fueguino de Turismo 2020, our translation).

The construction of the national prison had begun in 1902, before the official merge of the two prisons. It was at the same place as the temporary complexes were previously. The prison was built by prisoners themselves and the construction went on until 1920. According to the Museo, in the same year, the prison had 76 cells in each of the five pavilions. They were single cells. However, more than 600 convicts stayed there in the same period.

As seen in the history of the Museo, in 1947, the president issued an order to shut down the prison. In 1950, the facility was transferred to the Marine Ministry, and a Navy headquarters was built there. As seen in a documentary, the deactivation was marked by reports of tortures and escapes, including an iconic fugitive: Radowitzky,¹³ a famous escapee mentioned in Argentinean articles. The same documentary classifies Argentinean news, in several articles, as a social actor in the controversial debate about the prison of *the end of the world*. Argentinean journalists, mainly from Porto, might have been social icons that created these famous fugitive characters of the Museo.

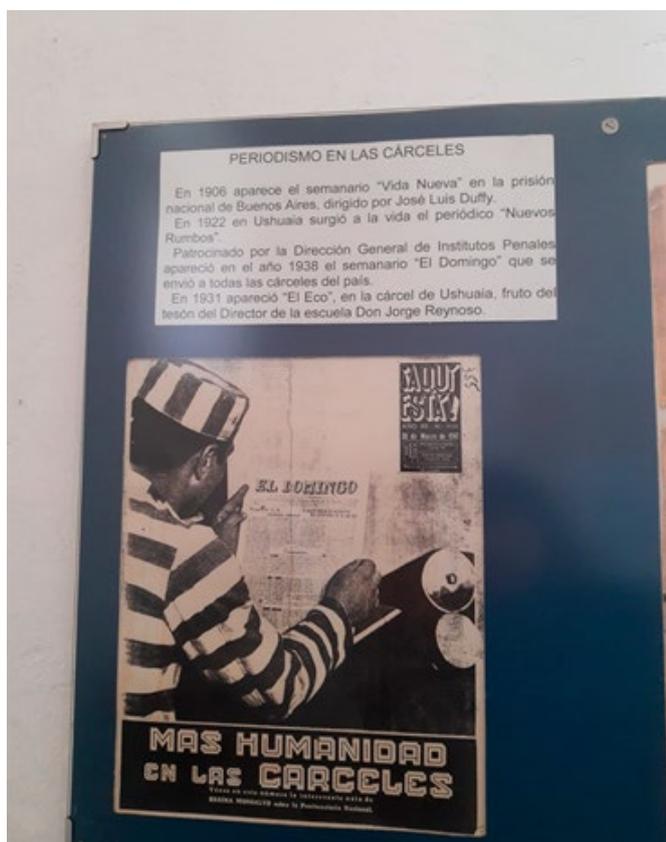


FIGURE 6
Prison
newspapers.
Photo: Natalia
Negretti.

13. Simón Radowitzky, an anarchist activist, was one of the most famous prisoners of the Ushuaia Prison. The film *Un mundo mejor* is a narrative about his trajectory (Death Rasher 2010).

There is a lack of information regarding the period between the deactivation of the prison and the opening of the Museo, which suggests not only the use of the old prison by the Navy but also a narrative and bureaucracy related to the creation of the Museo. According to the history of the Maritime Museum, this citation inflates this transitioning process of the Museo.

Carlos Pedro Vairo, trained in business administration, museologist, writer, historian, explorer and researcher, and two founders and director of the Ushuaia Maritime Museum from his childhood. Given the more conditions of the building, together with the Associação Civil do Museo, it solved several basic problems.

“Once we entered the old prison to be able to visit the facility of the Maritime Museum of Ushuaia, we found a bleak panorama, where the walls were not intact, there were no aqueducts, running water, electricity, glass or openings, encanamento em péssimas condições, etc. On the other hand, it was flooded, as it either raised or increased the level of the ground that either stopped two new buildings, or caused the drippings to infiltrate the walls and gates. A fence with a perimeter of about 70 centimeters deep allowed the elimination of a large part of two water flows and the diversion of the water flows. Gradually, it was valued and, in this way, we managed to recover or space for cultural activities. The challenge was great, but not impossible.

We understand the patrimonial importance of which is the driving force of the local economy and the population factor of the Province in the first stage of the past century. As parliamentary support and a requested presentation that we make the two chambers of the National Congress, or adjacent buildings are declared National Historical Monument in 1997. “. (Site do Museo Marítimo, our translation)¹⁴

It is quite interesting that by making pavilion 1 “historical”, pavilion 4 obtains a distinct meaning in the context of the institution. This distinction demonstrates how the city and visitors use the Museo. Related to history, it is extremely important to highlight that there are some cells in the Museo that synthesize some prison museums around the world. The relevance of these cells is similar to what Pierre Nora (2012, our griffin) called *ideologias-memorias* (ideologies-memories). Based on these cells, there is an explicit arrangement of an institutional memory policy grounded on a historical perspective, and another through the tourism: several ways to comprehend the Museo under a looser and more flexible memory.

14. Available at <http://www.museomaritimo.com/Maritimo/maritimo02B.php>. The access to this information on the site of the Museum attached to this artifact was available. In the meantime, since a reformulation of the Museum site on 06/28/2020, it is also noted that the link was no longer available.

When comparing memory and history, Nora (2012, 9) points out that there are as many memories as there are groups and that “they are inherently multiple and non-accelerated, collective, plural and individualized. Opposed to that, history belongs to everyone and nobody, which gives it a universal character. Memory is rooted in concrete, in space, in gesture, in images, in objects” (our translation).

As such, the Museo becomes not only a place of memories that resembles “when it was a prison” but also the Museo in itself, a place to be visited. With another prospect, Museo enters through a journey in other spaces and times in this town. As mentioned, it is possible to buy souvenirs of the Museo in several stores without even visiting the Museo.



FIGURE 7
Museo's outdoor.
Photo: Natalia
Negretti.

INDICATOR OF MEMORY, MUSEO AND TOURISM

Amnesia, Memory and Forgetting policies have been categories used by Giselle Beiguelman (2019) associated with the interpretation of Eclea Bosi (2003) regarding the freedom of use of memory.

Claudio do Prado Amaral (2016, 291), in his article based on a research of 17 prisons, presents one of the aspects of the Prison Museum of Ushuaia: non-erasure.

mismanagement and disinterest in society. These are traits that cannot and should not be erased. On the contrary. They must be recorded, for which errors of the past will not occur, with the implementation of public policies. One of the most efficient for effectiveness is the preservation of disabled criminals, who no longer receive convicted and accused persons. Not only the preservation, but also the structuring of memories or the attached musealization is indispensable (our translation)



FIGURE 8
Store in Ushuaia.
Photo: Natalia
Negretti.

If, on the one hand, some of these dimensions of non-erasure are raised by the Museum, the deactivated unit and the imaginary about prisons - and surroundings - are handled by tourism.

In this sense, part of the pendulum blended between and through the different pavilions as a memory index, and along with other indicators, such as famous prisoners in Argentina. The fact that the ex-convict Godino called an Argentine tourist “estrella de acá” makes us think about the visibility of the non-historic pavilion: famous prisoners. Godino or “El Petiso Orejudo” and “Radowitzky” are well known in the country since they were alive in prison, as often portrayed in the news. Godino was associated with the idea of imprisonment for his mental illness and Radowitzky for his political prison that is recalled by the most visited section of the Museo, pavilion 4, which contains statues of famous prisoners and books about the Ushuaia Prison. Amaral (2016, 292) emphasizes the reason for that to happen as a gateway of curiosity:

The prison theme arouses curiosity. Many people are interested in the imprisonment of individuals and related matters, such as details about the reason for the imprisonment (criminal or political?), The crime committed, the length of the sentence, who are the best known detainees who have been in a particular prison and, in particular, the place and routine of the prison (our translation).

In a mixed relation between memory, Museo and city, without any intention of making a rigid analysis, this article brings to light social interaction continuity. If between prison and city—considering their territorial and geographical particularities—this interaction was marked by population policy and the sovereignty process in Latin-America between Museo and Ushuaia, and the national establishment is reshaped by tourism through a movement that considers and represents all particular traits reiterating them: *the end of the world* and its features¹⁵, articulated through the prison and the Museo format, and grasped by tourism policy.

Moreover, the interpretation of the Museo depends on who is visiting it. Their background, views, and how social issues such as prisons themselves are related to their lives.

As Myrian Sepúlveda dos Santos states (2003, 273), imagination and experience, which have the past as their primary reference, is an essential perception of memory, and the Museo seems to be based on this idea.

15. Regarding the issue of prison policies, deactivation of prison units and Latin America, see Filipe Horta's dissertation (2013) wherein Ilha Anchieta Correctional Facility, located in the city of Ubatuba (SP) between the years 1942 and 1955, was analyzed.

In this case, understanding the past is constituted by a more complex network of meanings. Individuals get in contact with other individuals in specific social context that bring the past to the present. Thus, on the one hand, the concept of memory allows us to interconnect past and present, and on the other, it allows us to bypass the classical theoretical opposition between individual and society (our translation).

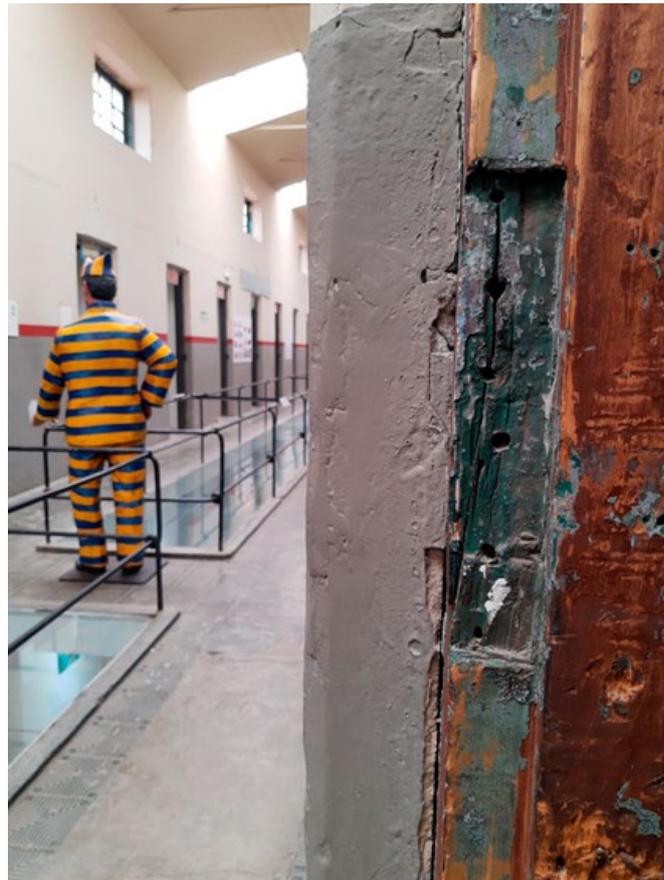


FIGURE 9
Statue of a
convict dressed
accordingly.
Photo: Natalia
Negretti.

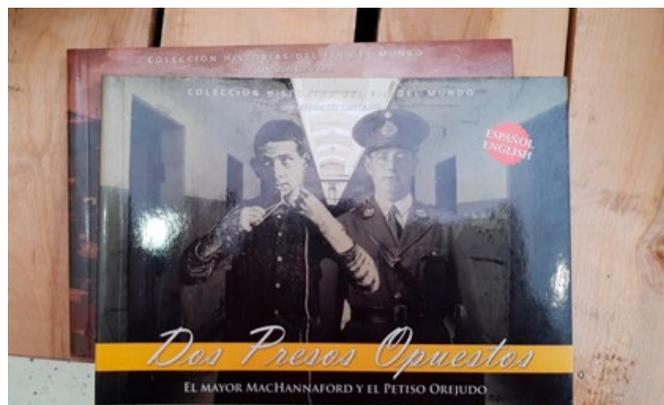


FIGURE 10
Book of famous
prisoners. Photo:
Natalia Negretti.



FIGURE 11
Room that exhibits
Radowitzky's cell.
Photo: Natalia
Negretti.

It is as important to name one pavilion as historical as well as to not name another pavilion. Hence visitors may experience several possible scenarios. In the non-nominated “historical Pavilion” we can see statues, replicas, and representations of famous cells and prisoners. It should be noted that the portrayed characters in this section revive the imaginary about mental disorder and political prison crimes. As such, a narrative that distinguishes political prisoners versus regular prisoners, political prison versus regular prison, and “political crime” versus “regular crime” remains present. This issue goes beyond the schemes of ideologies-memories (NORA, 2012), there is debate about prisons being political, as placed in perspective in this article. Considering that every prison has a political effect in society, not only political prisons, the one in Ushuaia has influenced a couple of public policies in this city, such as labor and population. The same way that inmates worked as constructors helping to build the city, many citizens worked at the prison, maintaining its operation. Moreover, several prisoners were transferred from other cities to this unit in a period when Argentina had to obtain sovereignty over this land.

CONCERNS AND THOUGHTS: ACTIVATIONS BETWEEN MEMORY, MUSEO AND TOURISM

Compounded by patrimonial and national importance, this prison unit, historically was considered “the drive of the local economy” and “a population factor” of Ushuaia since 1997. It then inaugurated as Museo, and it still boosts the local economy. However, it is not considered a population factor anymore, and the tourist factor takes place in the city.

The concept of memory resulting from the Museo, initially, inspires me to pursue further studies about this topic. This article has brought the idea that the Museo establishes a relation between memory, museum, and tourism in Ushuaia.

I presume that possibilities of memories tied to distinct interactions among Memory and Museo and, consequently, memory and prison. The city and the prison, both founded between the sea and the mountain, were transformed after the deactivation of prison, and its inauguration as a museum. When this highlighted expression used by the news on Ushuaia's website gives the city the worldwide title of Fueguina beauty, we may consider the idea of Iris. Just like a camera's diaphragm controls the absorption of light that enables viewing through a camera, the correlation between memory and tourism happens by means of the interaction between cultural elements and prison matters, relying on this view and not on the personal perspective of the viewers.

According to the history of the museological institution and meanings attributed to the museum and the old prison building, the prison unit is seen as going from the smallest detail to the splendor of "The End of the World." The iris of tourism in Ushuaia works similar to expanded photometry; it allows adjustment by the irises of those who arrive there.

TRANSLATION
Ana Luisa Pastor
dos Santos



FIGURE 12
Godino on the
post office's wall
in Ushuaia. Photo:
Natalia Negretti.

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GIS

CHUCROS OBJECTS

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The rise in glycemic indexes in my maternal family is associated with maturity. In my family's houses there have always been containers for random objects.

Interestingly sugarcane and cachepots are the main ones chosen for disuse. Not because the use of sugar was restricted but because the coffee was already sweetened and the sweets never were stored.

My daughter Aurora became diabetic at the age of 8. In the first month, I found myself carrying containers full of waste from supplies that should be disposed of in hospital waste. So, I arranged some family containers for sweets along with the remains of the medicines used for the disease of "sweet urine", reflecting on the pharmaceutical industry, sugar consumption, memory and heredity; while also proposing questions to the anthropology of health and food about objects and affections, the consumption of medicines and sugar. This is an autoethnography that tells about the reality of millions of patients who have their daily life conditioned to glycemic control by means of devices and injectable drugs. The texts are part of the works.

According to World Health Organization (WHO) there are 16 million diabetics in Brazil. The disease is considered a worldwide epidemic and Brazil ranks 4th in cases behind China, India and the United States. In 2008, the food industry signed an agreement with the Brazilian government to reduce sugar in processed foods by 2020, especially in children's food, aiming to control obesity and diabetes.



FIGURE 1
Sugar bowl,
belonging to a set
of coffee cups,
commemorating
the silver boots
of my maternal
grandparents
(he is Italian and
she is Brazilian),
in 1975, it has
never been used.
It remained for 43
years in the room'
s glass cabinet.
Source: [https://
bit.ly/2TQGI1V](https://bit.ly/2TQGI1V).



FIGURE 2
Lancets with
six needles to
perform blood
glucose tests, on
average ten daily
perforations.
Source: [https://
bit.ly/335ktJY](https://bit.ly/335ktJY).



FIGURE 3
Sugar bowl (?)
Belonging to a set of Chinese porcelain toiletries, consisting of pitcher and soap dish, my family tells that it also had a basin. Belonging to my paternal great-grandmother of Portuguese origin. With more than 100 years since the 70's, the pieces are the only family inheritance, single object saved. Source: <https://bit.ly/2vcNC9G>.



FIGURE 4
One hundred
and fifty-two
needles used for
insulin application.
On average six
needles are used
per day. Source:
[https://bit.
ly/2wE1WIG](https://bit.ly/2wE1WIG).



FIGURE 5
Sugar bowl for
a set of coffee,
my wedding
gift in 1974. The
set is only used
on birthdays.
Source: [https://
bit.ly/3cEUNj](https://bit.ly/3cEUNj).



FIGURE 6
Free. Sensors that remain installed in the arms for 15 days to control blood glucose. They cost R\$ 250,00 each and are not offered by the public health system. Source: <https://bit.ly/2W0qim3>.



FIGURE 7
My mother's
grandmother
was a thief. I
remember a single
use, on a special
occasion, to put
peaches in syrup.
Source: [https://
bit.ly/39F1MPJ](https://bit.ly/39F1MPJ).



FIGURE 8
A thousand lancets to puncture one's fingers for glycemic control. These single-use lancets are distributed by the public health system and leave the fingers purple. 200 needles are distributed per month, for six daily perforations on average. Source: <https://bit.ly/2xoEfo1>.

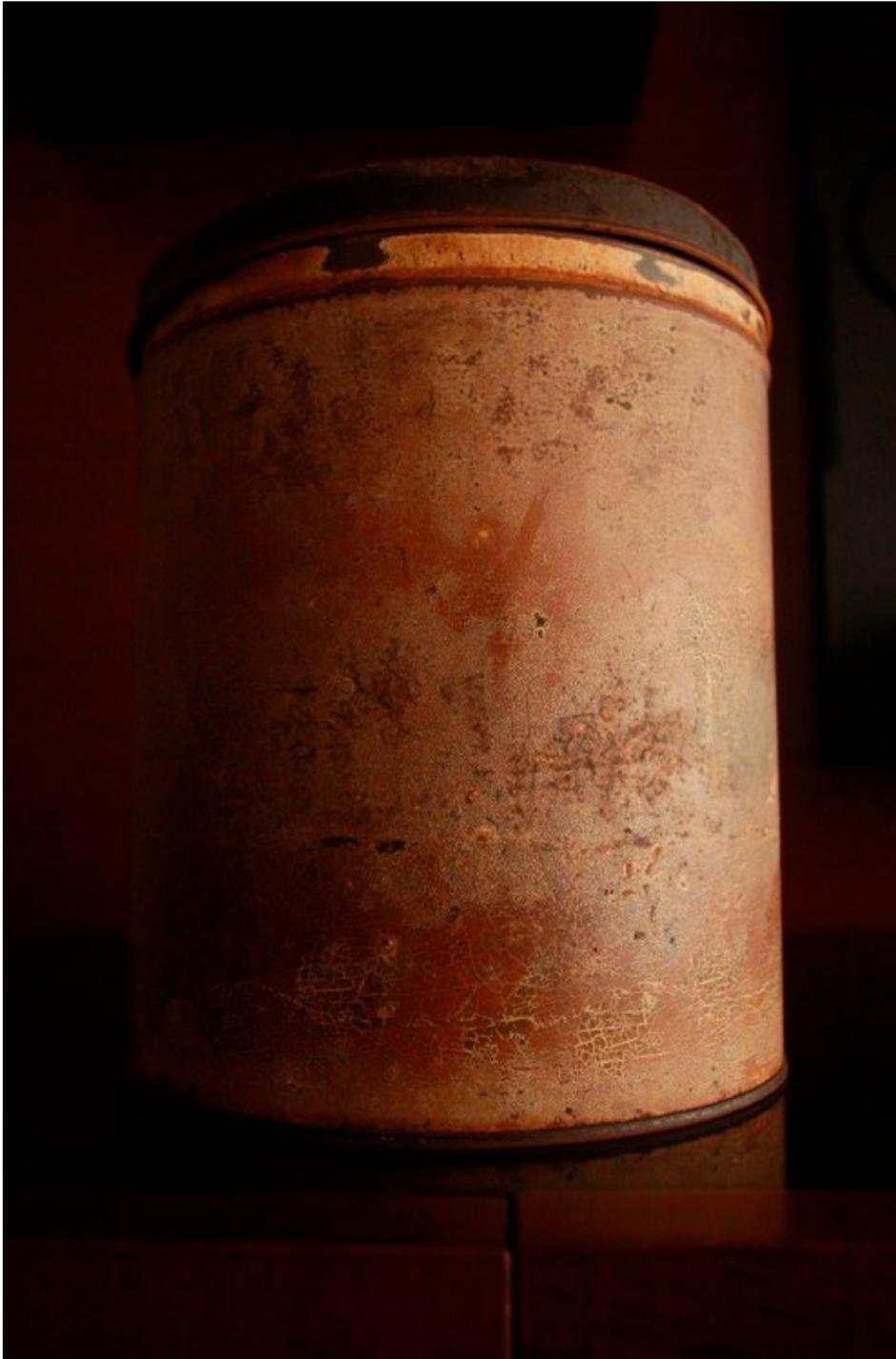


FIGURE 9
Can for storage
of five pounds
of sugar from
my paternal
grandmother's
house (of German
origin), the tin
was also used as
a lifting accent
for the children
to sit at the table.
Source: [https://
bit.ly/2TQlrUX](https://bit.ly/2TQlrUX).



FIGURE 10
Sensor applicators
that allow the
verification of blood
glucose without
finger piercing.
Source: [https://
bit.ly/2xoK0SE](https://bit.ly/2xoK0SE).



ABSTRACT

The photographic essay *Chucros Objects* gathers some remains of insulin use to control diabetes with familiar objects, proposing discussions about medicines and sugar consumption, memory and objects, and dialogues between contemporary art and anthropology.

KEYWORDS

Diabetes; objects;
consumption;
sugar; medicines.

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THE IMAGES I LACK

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The women of my Family have always had a relationship with *time*. When I was little, my maternal grandmother used to say that “time gives, time takes back, time passes and turns the pages!” My mother would tell me, Luiza: “it’s time the one that ages tobacco!” And this time, ever so present throughout my life, has always been a bit different: at home, we used to live it as if it parented us; it was a tree, an entity, an Orixá. And we used to recognize it by Irôko, the first tree, the one that connects the sky to the Earth, through which all Orixás descended to our world. Irôko was one of *the images I lacked*, one of my settlements.

In 2018, I decided to pursuit this *plot* of mine and, in my mother’s company, live this time photographically. People who are born in the Recôncavo have their lives plotted by *terreiros* and in these spaces, the *ploi* refers not only to someone’s life, but also to an *entangled* (Ingold 2012) mix of relations between humans and orixás. *Having a plot* means, in a way, being the Orixá and in the other, bearing a little of each. Therefore, seeing Irôko once again is *remembering* together some images with the narrative threads of my mother and my grandmother Dete. Thus, we followed our way through Santo Amaro da Purificação, Acupe, Saubara, Cachoeira, Santo Estevão, Suape, Madre de Deus, cities located in the Recôncavo Baiano that keep our ancestry.

For 130 years, in Santo Amaro da Purificação’s Market Square, a big tent has been lifted, where Bembé do Mercado, a typical xirê¹ manifestation, occurs. There, during three days before May 13th, the Community of the *terreiro* – one of the oldest and most important, composed of several nationalities and surroundings, as well as Salvador’s *terreiros* – plays all day long, remembering the legal extinction of slavery and reaffirming its African-based identity. In June 1958, the party took a religious dimension following floods in the city and a violent firework explosion that set the market on fire. The Santamarense tradition says that if there is no touch, the city lives catastrophic moments. Such incident burst my family into flames. Among the hundreds of dead people, my mother found my uncle, who “carried the number 99 of the unrecognizable”. This event brought depression, madness and many hardships to my relatives. As I went through the consummation of these memories in Santo Amaro’s Market, I evoked the company of Didi Huberman (2012), whose words used to comfort me when thinking of the images in their gapping and remnant condition, like ashes of everything that has ever burned me. In this essay, I bring some of the images I lacked².

TRANSLATION
Thomas Speroni

1. Public ritual of festive traits in honor to Orixás.
2. Part of an ongoing essay.











GÊNEROS ALIMENTÍCIOS



AÇOUGUE SÃO FRANCISCO

AÇOUGUE MORDOMIA
CARNES APARTIR DE
R\$ 2,50
CARNE DE 1º
CARNE S/OSSO
" " C/OSSO
FÍGADO
FATO
MOCOTÓ
PASSARINHA
BUCHO PURO
BOFE

















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ABSTRACT

KEYWORDS
Visual anthropology;
photography;
memory; ancestry;
Sankofa.

In this essay, I propose to give form to my mother's shared remembering as well as to experience my own memories with photography by putting myself into an activity of imagination during a trip to the Recôncavo Baiano, land of our ancestry.

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VISUAL ARTEFACTS IN POLITICAL DEMONSTRATIONS: AN ESSAY ABOUT MUTATIONS IN THE MODES OF SUBJECTIVATION AND POLITICAL ACTION BETWEEN 2013 AND 2018

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FIGURE 1
[São Paulo,
2013]. Fonte:
[Henrique Parra].

This essay explores a certain aesthetic-political configuration featuring in a photograph of a street rally on June 20, 2013, in Paulista avenue, São Paulo.

On the left-hand side of the photograph, people carry big banners and red flags (some are white and yellow). The image is divided in half by the avenue's median strip, on which a few people gather, observing the whole scene. On the right-hand side of the image there are many youngsters individually bearing placards with handwritten messages.

This image heralds a distribution of the sensible (Rancière 2005) in movement. The photograph establishes a dialogue with the transformations that took place in the years that followed 2013, triggering countless questions about a new geometry in the forms of political representation, and the changes in the modes of subjectivation, indicating disputes over the compositions and distributions instituted in the forms of contemporary political action.

Prompted by this single photograph, I started to prospect my personal photo archive for pictures of subsequent demonstrations (2013-2018), observing how image records of such events display and reverberate that constellation present at Paulista in the 2013 photograph.

On that 20th of June, many demonstrations took place in São Paulo and other Brazilian cities. This march celebrated the reversal of an increase in public transport fares. At the same time, the day's protests heralded an inflexion point in the so-called Journeys of June (*Jornadas de Junho*) of

2013, when new actors entered stage and the directions for the political energy unleashed in the streets became the subject of fresh disputes¹.

The images in this essay document a few visual expressions that will perhaps provide clues for the interpretation of the processes set in motion.

What can we say about the banners, flags, and placards? What can their appearance indicate? How do they distribute the presence of people and organizations, configuring regimes of visibility and legibility of the causes, forces, institutions, and subjectivities within the space of a demonstration?

There are banners delimiting blocks, signaling beginnings and borders. Both the marches' fronts and the groupings moving within the flux are instances of the production forms for strategic topographies on the flatness of the streets, they are ways of inscribing bodies inside the multitude in specific performances.

The poetics of the banners, flags and placards carry indices. Are they machine-painted? On plastic or on cloth? Were the texts written by hand or were they produced in a series of identical placards? Which and how many resources are needed to make a banner or a placard? How many people are needed to carry each one of such artefacts?

Each visual communication technology can indicate a sociopolitical, organizational or economic diagram that gives it existence, expressing and inspiring different modes of subjectivation and of political representation.

The presence of handmade placards or of banners provided by organizations in demonstrations is not new. But it is in the contrast between their presence and their distribution within the visual experience over time that we can notice previously imperceptible mutations.

The proliferation of discursive forms and demands about the problems experienced can be contrasted to forms that concentrate and give unity to the protest. Humor, irony, anger, and objective statements compose a diverse repertoire of expressive forms and, alternatively, manifest different conceptions about political modes of action.

Also visible is a deep mutation in the very experience of intervention in the public debate. Be it in the streets or in the digital social networks; in the last decade, we have seen transformations in the participation and engagement thresholds of political debate. What is needed, what are the necessary resources for me to express my opinion?

1. In other texts I analyze the political and social tensions of the June 2013 events (Parra, 2013; 2014).

Such transformations are related to the way life is experienced through existing social institutions. The way in which governments, political parties, social movements, associations, and collectivities are perceived as spaces of representation and of belonging have changed. Communication technologies and the means of enunciation and of intermediation are no longer the same. The ways of expressing “us” and “I” are now other.

Placards-bodies, banners-collectives, organizations-printworks-machines, singular-manuscripts, groups-standard-flags, all are instances of this image-driven proliferation that can help us to interpret and imagine the mutations in the regime of sensitivity, in the modes of subjectivation and of political action currently underway.

TRANSLATION
Gavin Adams

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ABSTRACT

This essay explores a certain aesthetic-political configuration in a photograph of a street rally on June 20, 2013, at Paulista avenue, São Paulo. This image heralds a distribution of the sensible (Rancière, 2005) in movement, that will be explored through a collection of photographs of street protests from 2013 to 2018. Those images trigger countless questions about a new geometry in the forms of political representation, and about the changes in the modes of subjectivation, indicating disputes over the compositions and distributions instituted in the forms of contemporary political action.

KEYWORDS

Photography;
subjectivation;
visual artifacts;
social movements;
activism.

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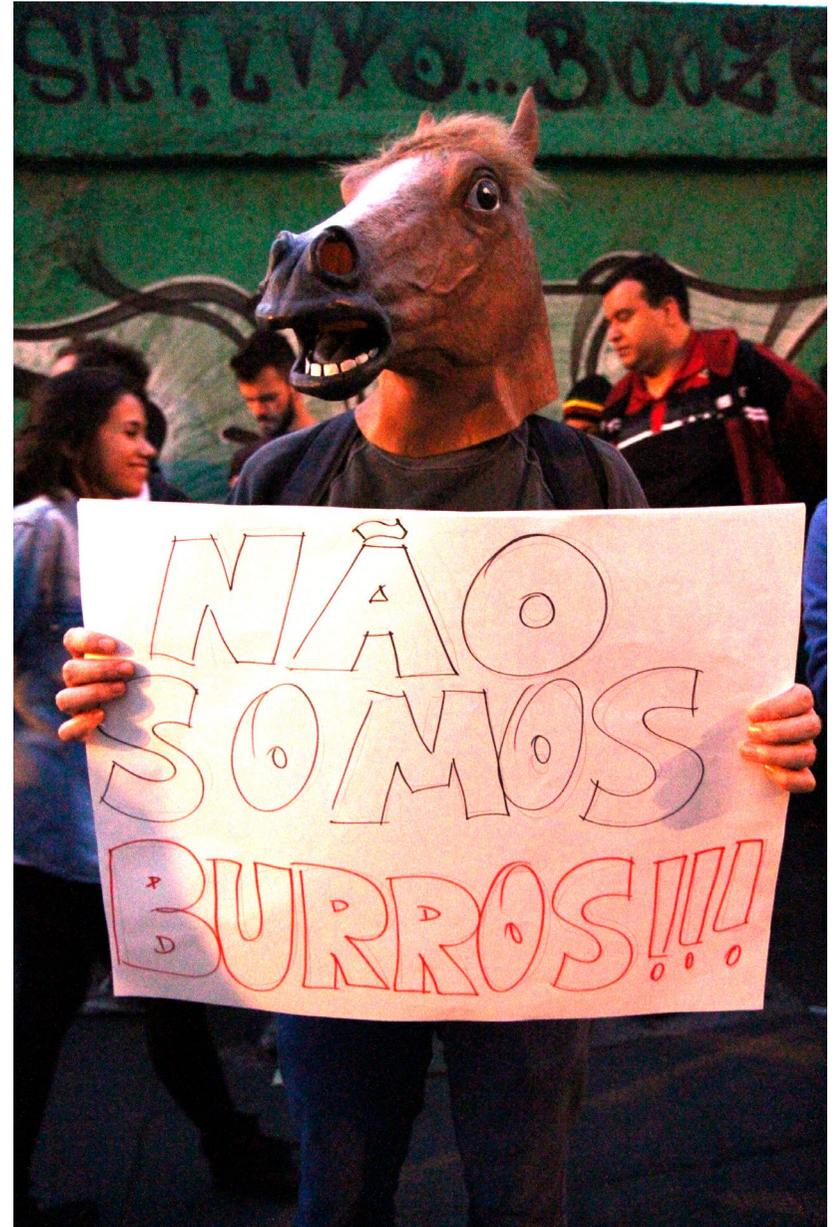
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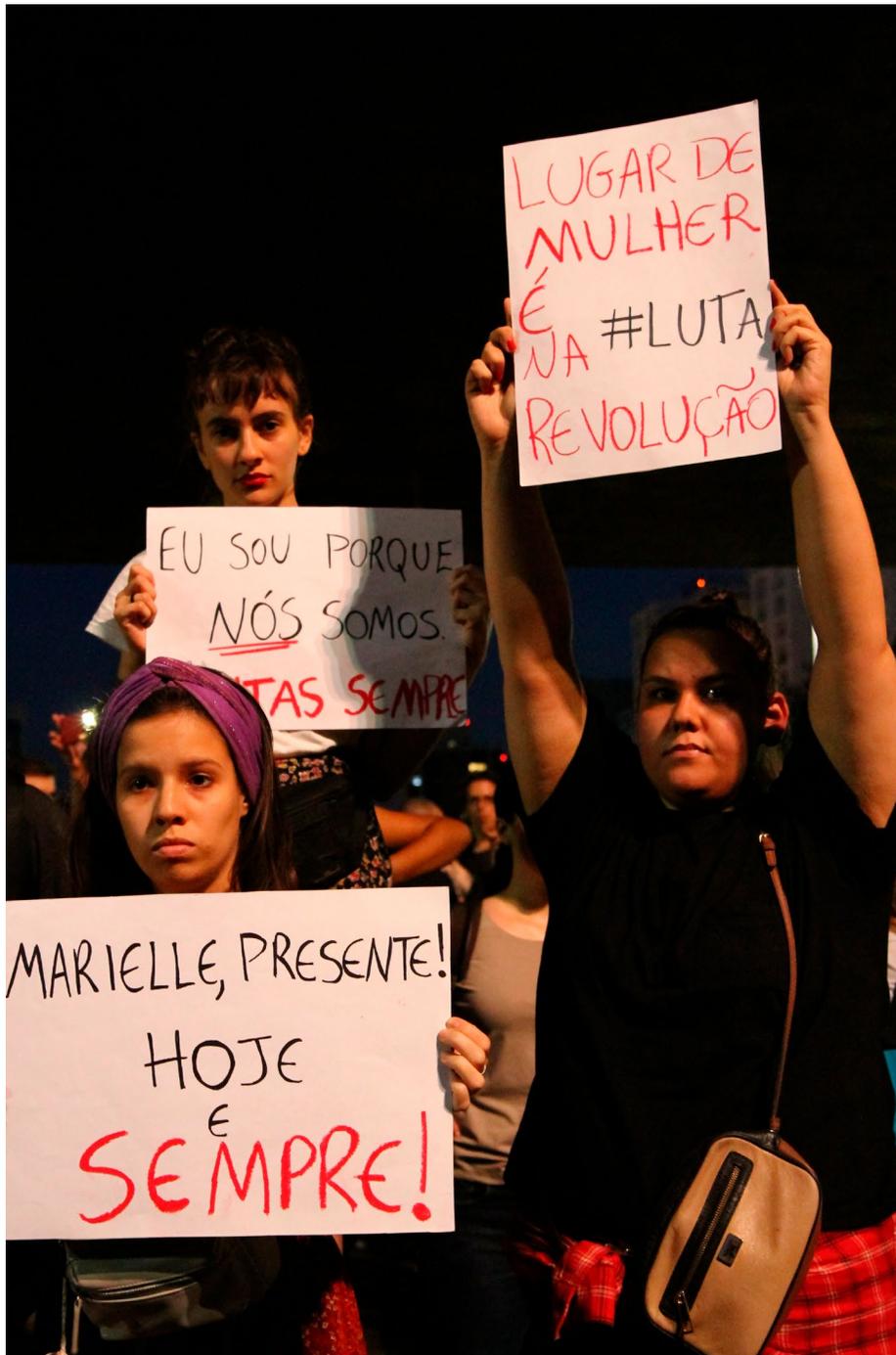
















281 Photo essay by Henrique Z. M. Parra









ABOUT *PRESENCES*

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PRESENCAS 9'39", 2019

This essay addresses questions about the process of creating the short film *Presences*, and its influence on my research on the sensory aspects and the physical presence in the free musical improvisation (FMI). To develop this study, I employed platforms of virtual communication to improvise and submit musical improvisational performances to the internet, seeking to find elements that elucidate discussions and promote new perspectives on this matter.

The musical performances found in *Presences* were recorded between June and July, 2019, mediated by the platform for virtual communication Google Hangouts, and recorded (in both audio and video) in three consecutive days by Miguel Antar¹ (a bassist resident in the neighborhood of Butantã São Paulo/Brazil) and I (Fabio Manzione, a drummer resident in the neighborhood of Vila Mariana, São Paulo/Brazil). Such performances, which will be addressed later, took place on online platforms, so that Miguel Antar and I would be in virtual environments, differently from the conditions under which we often perform our improvisations sessions². This experiment allowed us to observe situations where the physical absence of the other may interfere in the real-time processes of sound creation.

The audiovisual recordings also allowed us to verify the trends and uses of the sense of sight within artistic expressions in which sound is the materiality, and to reflect on the issues concerning this field in contrast with those of the sense of hearing.

During the course of the recordings, we noticed that problems with internet connection and its latency could impair the watching of the performances. Such adversities lead to sound trajectories that are unrealizable in a presential performance, becoming a key matter of reflection cited in the film reports.

On June 14th, we started the first recording tests in Miguel's living room and my home studio simultaneously. After connecting to the internet via Google Hangouts, we decided that both should record video and audio; thus, each of us used a digital camera and a portable audio recorder. The cameras focused on the screens of each computer, our body movements and, when possible, our faces. This frame allowed us to verify how often we used our sight during the performances.

Before starting the recordings, I suggested three things to Miguel:

- (1) Each session should last, at most, ten minutes;
- (2) During the performances, we could close our eyes whenever we wanted so that, later on, we could compare the need for the sense of sight with the need for sense of hearing during sessions;

1. Miguel Antar is a PhD student in the Music Graduate Program of the University of São Paulo, and my coworker in Duo Cóz - a duo engaged in researching free musical improvisation performed only with bass and drums.

2. We often perform free musical improvisation in theatres, squares and other cultural places. They are fundamentally composed by the presence of both of us, which entails that we are interacting and listening to each other.

(3) After the recordings, each of us should, individually, report what we felt/perceived/intuited during the performances, and what we could conclude from improvisations via internet, based on the aims of the research.

During the first recording session we realized how challenging it would be to synchronize clapperboard's sounds and, consequently, the audio and video during editing: the few kilometers that separated us revealed the issues of internet latency and the desynchronization between sound and image that would possibly occur during the subsequent sessions. We performed two sessions on this day and kept only their respective audio recordings; video recordings were not captured due to camera problems.

On June 15th, acquainted with the desynchronizations between sound and image, we also performed two sessions: one eighteen minutes long, and the other ten. By the end of each, I noticed that the amplifier connected to my computer was failing or not faithfully reproducing the sound produced by Miguel. In short, I had to improvise more with the image reproduced by the computer than with the sound coming from the amplifier. I considered completely changing my equipment - computers, amplifiers, internet network, and recording rooms. However, we chose to make a last attempt on June 20th, using the same devices and places we used on the previous days.

In this last attempt, despite the lagging and the numerous equalization tests we had to do on the amplifier before the recordings, everything went well. At the end of two ten-minute sessions, we proceeded to the individual reports, and I began planning the editing of the material we had produced in the three days.

Miguel sent me his audio and video files and started editing the film to establish an audiovisual unit, which would allow a simultaneous visualization of our two recordings on the same screen.

While scripting/editing, I suggested developing audiovisual relations that would engage spectators reflect upon *Presences* making. I added a complementary aim within the research: to build an audiovisual dialogue that would enhance the spectators experiences close to those lived by Miguel and I during the free improvisation sessions via internet. Thus, I avoid the patterns of documentary film - in which images are accompanied by *ipsis litteris* descriptions made by off-camera commentaries. I also propose moments that suggest an acousmatic³ hearing FMI sessions, and employed sudden image blackouts, representing failures on networks service.

3. Acousmatic music is a type of electro-acoustic music transmitted to the listeners only through the speakers. As these works are conceived exclusively with recorded and/or synthesized sounds, musicians are not required.

Practitioners of FMI must establish a degree of self-research as a performer and creator, exploring both the instrument (or voice) and the real-time listening of the sound environment. Following these precepts, we proposed improvising in a virtual environment in which the rules of the game were set during the process. This dynamic held us in a “urgency state” regarding the emerging fields of sound, which we could seek, reach, and freely abandon over the course of the performance.

Within this frame, I sought to understand the facets of physical presence in FMI performance, focusing on the visual and auditory motivations and stimuli that led us to perform certain physical gestures and sound that were stronger or weaker, unison, and in smooth or striated times, as well as other sound aspects elaborated during the sessions.

To this end, during editing, I placed myself as a self-observer and an articulator of free improvisation. In doing so, I did not aim to evoke a specific aesthetic or isomorphic place, but rather to highlight the experiments created from my poetic choices and at the same time, shaped by the sound contexts proposed by Miguel and the third “character” introduced during improvisations: the sound resulting from the failures in internet connection and the resonant frequency of audio feedback⁴ in speakers.

As previously mentioned, the film attempts to reproduce situations where internet service failed through the sudden inclusion of black backgrounds at times when only the instruments are heard. I suggested this approach in an effort to foster an aesthetic experience based on the dialogue between sight and hearing for both the musicians and the spectators. This approach also aims to dislocate, in random moments, the spectator’s attention - from hearing to seeing and vice-versa -, as it may occur during a presential FMI session.

I also sought to elaborate an aesthetic/ethics of the lack: the mute image of musicians simultaneously assembled with the interlocutors off-camera commentaries may inflict a feeling of strangeness and the need for hearing on the spectators. Such needs may encompass hearing instruments reverberating sounds, perceiving sounds synchronized to images, or to understand physical gestures performed by the musicians. This resource provides off-camera commentaries and instruments to be clearly heard, as they produce sound at different moments; yet, it serves only to explicit this short film’s sensorial experimentalism, rupturing

4. Term used by sound and music technicians to designate when a microphone captures not only the sounds directed at it, but also the frequencies emitted by the speaker where it is connected.

the usual pattern of documental descriptive videos, in which the researcher's off-camera commentaries are superimposed to the sound of the musical instruments or the contexts where they are inserted.

After completing film editing, I verified the trend of my aesthetic choices regarding their relevance for an analysis of audiovisual assemblage:

- (1) Lack of instrument sound + off-camera commentaries;
- (2) Presence of instruments sounds + corresponding image;
- (3) Presence of instruments sounds without image;
- (4) Multiscreen (two actions simultaneously displayed);
- (5) Sudden/random failure (blackouts) of images while sound proceeds.

I believe the audiovisual relation that I intended to establish in the film are shaped in a non-literal dialogical way: the reports present in it often comment on issues not clearly depicted by the images; but rather, they can be understood as interpretations of what one sees or as an aesthetic context in which what one sees can mirror what is being heard in countless ways.

The reports presented in the film were made individually so that we would not be influenced by the other's capture and they would not turn into a discussion - we could be more spontaneous and ground it in free associations.

Creating *Presences* allowed me to develop and play two roles: interlocutor/researcher and musician/editor, underpinning a self-ethnography. It also unfolded technical and conceptual aspects related to producing, recording and editing a work that seeks to place the researcher as both a participating observer and an active agent in the field to be analyzed. Moreover, the researcher is responsible for generating experiences and information to be examined by audiovisual material and observing himself in his relationship with the other.

The scenes in *Presences* were designed to question physical presence and sensory aspects during FMI performances other than the sense of hearing; yet, this essay and the reports in the film are inconclusive. This ethnographic audiovisual research on performances of free improvisation sought to foster aesthetic paths that corroborate scientific analysis, and to develop critical observations, provoking new artistic proposals. Thus, I will list some questions that may encourage discussions on this matter:

How do representations of the other, transmitted over the internet, operate in us? Does the asepsis of virtual communications disturb us? Do we neglect the tactile capacity of

our bodies by “believing” that the virtual will replace the real? Regarding FMI performances in particular: how much our leering sight can capture from the two-dimensional images (and movements) of the computer screen? How much of the presence of the other can be measured by our olfactory, gustatory, and tactile senses? How much of what we hear is captured through the proprioception (our inherent tool to understand spatiality and the movement of our body parts)?

This last question may be answered from observing our daily life: to listen, we do lipreading, witness and intuit gestures, feel with the body the vibration of sounds. We thus acknowledge that sounds are decoded in our brain, presenting more objective meanings or less, not solely through hearing.

The questions addressed above are not intended to fight against devices of virtual communication, let alone to enforce value judgments on the quality of presential or virtual performances. They are rather intended to stimulate debates on the production of ethnographic films, approaching the notion that the hierarchy within the stimuli induced to our sensory capacities can be flattened.

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KEYWORDS
Free musical
improvisation;
audiovisual
ethnography;
virtual interactivity;
sensorial studies;
performance.

ABSTRACT

This essay addresses questions about the creation process of the short film *Presences* and its influence on the research I develop on sensory aspects and physical presence in free musical improvisation. To develop this study, I employed virtual communication platforms to improvise and submit musical improvisation pieces to the internet, to then locate elements that clarify discussions and promote new perspectives on this matter.

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SOMA E SUB-TRAÇÃO: TERRITORIALIDADES E RECEPÇÃO TEATRAL

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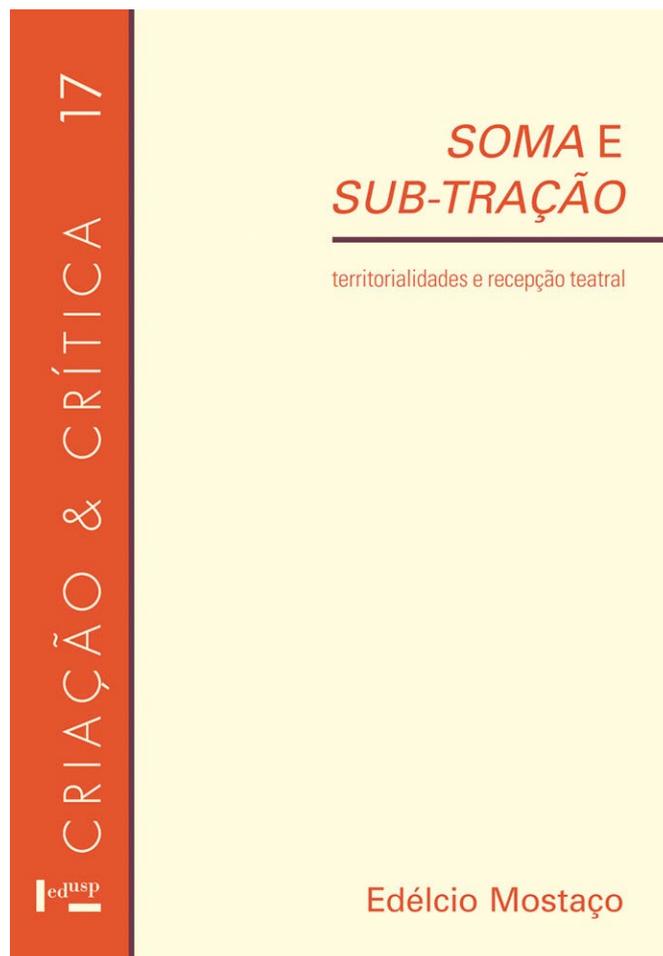
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In his book *Soma e Sub-tração: territorialidades e recepção teatral* (Sum and Sub-tractions: territorialities and theatrical reception), Edélcio Mostaço construes a delightful overview of contemporary Brazilian dramaturgy, from the 1950s to 2006, listing the main stage plays and theater groups that, with potency and boldness, defined the Brazilian theatrical scene.

The text compiles the author's writings, analyses and thoughts around, not only theater history, but above all, the social and cultural construction of theatrical languages and aesthetics, examining its directors, e.g., stage directors, playwrights, critics, theater groups and the public. Mostaço draws attention to the theatrical production of metropolises and its festivals, without forgetting about the countryside and the less visible stage productions, which also have great breath and scenic vigor.

Divided in two parts, the book first deals with the problems raised by the arrival of the reception theory. Developed in Germany and promoted by the works of Hans Robert Jauss (1978) and Wolfgang Iser (1996) in the mid-1960s, the Reception Theory is based on setting aside the author and his universe to favor the text itself, its reader and the social background that composes it. The reception aesthetic privileges the recording of experience and artistic practice, a construction where the relationship with the reader/viewer is valued.

An emphasis justified by the extensive debate about how the work of art, especially the theatrical one, exists between the false and true, the illusory and the concrete. An oscillating decoding, a synthesis that operates much more by a regime of disjunction and production than by proposing universalizing and world-planning syntheses; or, at least, theater is expected to follow that path.

The concept of *folding*, mobilized by Deleuze (2000) when discussing artwork, is retrieved in the text and helps us think about the processes by which the Western notion of person escapes from its unitary and indivisible fantasy and extrapolates itself, out of the skin, relationships of affection, power and implications with the outside world, putting such interaction between the outside and the inside into perspective. "It is a chain formed by human connections, technical artifacts, devices of action and thought" (Deleuze 2000, 64).

The arrival of reception theory in Brazil is late and occurred in the mid-1980s, primarily via Luiz Costa Lima's collection (1979).

In physics, "traction" is the force applied to a body in a perpendicular direction as to enable its rupture. "Sum and sub-traction" – the act of

adding, subtracting and pulling – reveals the contexts in which some theatrical works were created or transformed throughout the Brazilian society after the 1950s, a historical period marked by advances and backwardness that imbued the languages and artistic aesthetics, which contributed to the perpetuation of theater as we know: a force that accompanies, tenses or even accelerates social transformations and what derives from it while feeding it, its culture.

To narrate the arrival of the “Reception Theory”, Mostaço begins his analysis in the 1950s, restoring the historical-social context of a society that, on the one hand, was rapidly changing, advancing artistically, and growing in size, but on the other suffered in 1964 the brutal military coup that would offend Brazil’s the democratic regime.

In the second part of the book, called *Escritos Descolados* (Cool Writings), Mostaço surgically analyzes each work of the main discussed playwrights and their stage plays in a comprehensive and insightful way.

In *Arte, Ciência e Teatro: No Rumor de uma Epistemologia da Pesquisa* (Art, Science and Theater: Towards an Epistemology of Research), the penultimate theme that concludes the first part of the book, the author begins by evoking a Marcel’s quote: “It is not prayer or the gift that is important to understand, what counts is the Melanesian of such or such island. Against the theorist, the observer must always have the last word; and against the observer, the indigenous”, highlighting the emphasis that theatrical theory has given to the field of experience and action.

In the humanities, epistemology, interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity are concepts capable of understanding analytical and reflective thinking as a hybrid complex of intersections of distinct knowledge. Art and science are two major areas of seemingly separate knowledge; however, these areas merge mainly in their cognitive aspects, thus recovering a certain connection of thought that has been lost or hidden in Western metaphysics. Ancient civilizations, guided by mythic-religious thought, did not disassociate artistic from scientific, as well as philosophical practice. This tripod was grounded in the practice of observing, reflecting, interpreting, and experiencing the world in an intensified and flexible manner, without thereby establishing boundaries between one universe and another, since art and science belonged with the same experimental element: magic – experiences and practices that cross time and chronological space to a cosmic time/space where knowledge expands the perspective of the practitioner and observer’s look about social life and thus weaves relations that scrambles what we (Western) define as natural and supernatural.

Theater, in its complexity, configures a form of experience that comes close to scientific, sociological and anthropological knowledge (and vice-versa) as it creates and awakens scenic experiments able to analyze, tense or even transgress social values. With a theme that congregates “Art, Science and Theater”, Mostaço focuses on the approximation of this knowledge from the outset, revealing that “by taking the concepts of art and science in its great historical guidelines, we observe no opposition between them, only a marked difference in approach”, further underlining that both art and science derive from the same matrix: the knowledge theory.

For positivism, the central idea of science was related to the idea of “absolute” and “truth,” but with cultural relativism and especially with the advancement of anthropological studies, we may suspect that the notions of nature and culture are epistemological questions elaborated by us, not an universal problem that changes depending on the different perspectives of certain societies; thus, changing the idea of science as “absolute and true” to “relative, conditional, local and susceptible to changes, transformations and interpretations”, recapturing and revealing the importance of mythic and dreamlike thinking, coming from other forms of existence in the world, built and/or inherited by non-western people as knowledge production, where the *modus operandi* of making “scientific thinking” and “artistic thinking” fears their imbricated practices.

The complexity of theatrical practice was not built disassociated from the environment, be it social, cultural or political, or from the plurality and multiplicity of societies. The art of imitation is one of the main energy sources for identity construction and especially for the elaboration of social thought and its archetypes. However, the expressive arts of the body have formed kaleidoscopes to observe reality so it can serve as a social incubator for new experiences of building “people” and human relations. It is a social organism composed of interiority and otherness. In the author’s words, “art is socially instituted, not a natural product or simply made by an isolated individual. It is the public – and, of course, all the instances it represents” (Mostaço 2015, 103).

Mostaço makes a brief social and cultural overview of world theater, but keeps its focus on Brazil, retracing, in the sum of texts/fragments, the construction of the various languages of “drama” and its overcoming by re-reading posthumous authors, as exemplified by the Aristotelian and post-Aristotelian influence in some passages described throughout the work. And this without ignoring the great figure of the theatrical game, that may be the reason for everything: the spectator. Since, as the author himself states, there is no theater without the spectator.

Which leads the author to analyze and understand the construction of theatrical language and its techniques, recognizing the active participation of the public in it. In this interactive process between artist and public, stage and audience, the text is not always the conductor of the dramatic narrative, the body is, its places and its “non-places” as shelters of the paradigm of freedom and the construction of new languages and aesthetics, moving through the poles “myself – in one’s own body in this place – the other – in their body in one’s place” (Mostaço 2015, 110), creating alternative variables and endless paths of theatrical art. Mostaço also recovers tragic pieces of a perhaps today neglected Greece, where ritual is vital energy for life and human relations. Under the theme of “Aeschylus, Hematopoiesis”, which opens the second part of the book, we are directed to the tragic element of theater as the body-devoted temple and its expansions beyond what is physical or psychological – the origin of the ritual – to reconnect bodies and its symbols, engulfing us with the overly-human. The author narrates some works recovering the Greek tragedy by the poetic blood flow, identifying the bloodshed contained in the classical texts of Tragedy as a form of sacrifice in offering to the human, or even to the non-human, and their relations. Demonstrating that, in Tragedy, “whoever wants to understand the meaning of life... will have to dialogue with their blood” (Mostaço 2015, 133).

The book represents the movement that theater plays until it reaches the contemporary scene, highlighting the importance of the 1960’s and the leading actor of the Brazilian theatrical scene: the university professor and one of the most important theatrical critics, author of countless essays on the history of theater, Décio de Almeida Prado. One book section is devoted to making an exclusive and honorable mention: Décio de Almeida Prado e a Cumplicidade “Décio de Almeida Prado and Complicity”.

Décio, unsettled by the novelties of the theatrical productions of the 1960’s, which gave the figure of the director more prominence over the playwrights, who were being less and less respected. According to the book, Décio became one of the most important theater critics at the time but abandoned journalistic criticism in 1968 and devoted himself to higher education.

The Brazilian theater until the 1960’s, as a triumphant and strictly textual Christian heritage, had been surpassed by the theater of life-worship, ritualistic, breaking with Manichean and moralistic standards. The book allows us to reflect on the modernization of theater and its Brechtian heritages, such as “The Little Organ”, which Mostaço (2015, 155) exemplifies in the beautiful previous pages under the theme “Brecht, the organ of fun”, as being the piece that refutes Aristotelianism, “that

is, the scenic illusionism created since the Renaissance, that ideological mass pregnant with outdated conventions and made conformist, based on patterns of thought accumulated since medieval patristic and widely disseminated in Jesuit colleges”. Just as Brazil, by the 1950s, became the pantheon that received the influences of Artaud, Craig, Meyerhold, Stanislavski and Beckett.

In this context, Décio de Almeida Prado had immeasurable importance in recording these transformations that materialized in theater groups such as Teatro Oficina and Teatro de Arena. Several other groups emerged from there, building the modernization of Brazilian theater.

However, theater advances, treading multiple paths with the boldness of its performers and lovers. In the last theme of the book, *Sobre a Recepção de Espetáculos* “On the reception of Spectacle”, Mostaço makes his grand finale, expressing the importance of theatrical critics in his craft and, thus, the relevance of re-enchantment by theatrical criticism, as to not be doomed to a simple opinionated commentary embedded in a newspaper space. But in the effective performance of producing passions to the theater or to a specific play – the same passion that serves as raw material for the Performing Arts.

I often recommend to critic students to watch plays with one eye on the stage and one in the audience. In order to catch, thereby, the effects of the work, an attempt to construct a synthesis between its previous preparation, hardly built with studies, and the living reaction of someone other than himself – Eldécio Mostaço (2015, 160).

TRANSLATION

Bianca
Vasconcelos

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Author Contribution. Diego Gonçalves and Ruan Felipe de Azevedo: conception, manuscript elaboration, writing, discussion of results.

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TTR
REVIEW

THE FABRICATION OF BELIEF THROUGH IMAGES, SOUNDS, OBJECTS AND BODIES

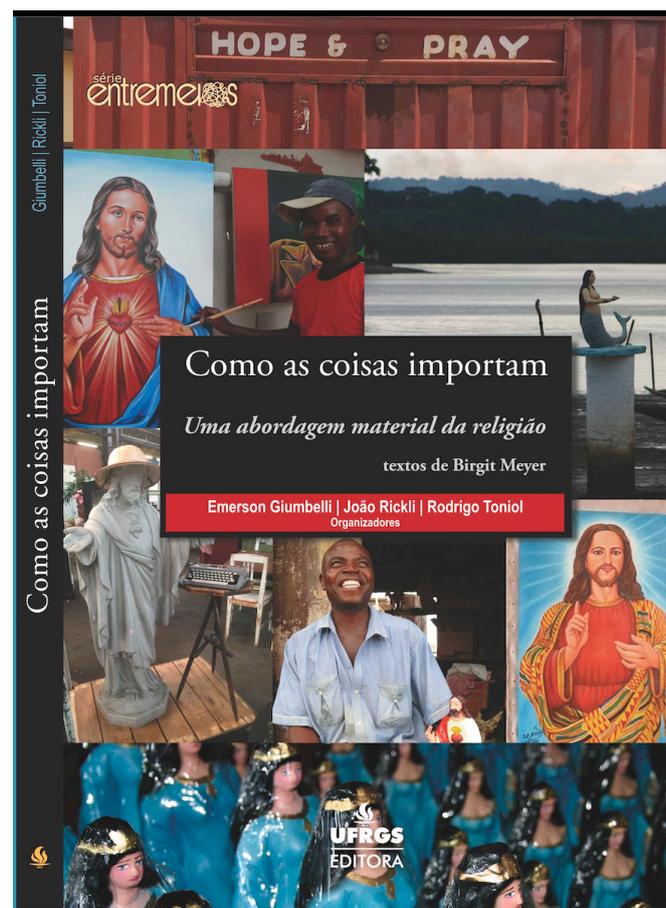
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As a historical product of the West, the universe of “religion” has been placed under scrutiny by social scientists who, for some decades now, have criticized classic binary understandings such as the contrast between the notion of magic and the religious field – the case of anthropologist Stanley Tambiah who, at the start of the 1990s, published the intriguing work *Magic, science, religion and the scope of rationality* (1990) – or the acritical reuse of this field in any and all contexts – one of the themes explored by Talal Asad, among others. Nonetheless, the analytic endeavor of these intellectuals is not an isolated case in the social sciences, and even less of an exclusive viewpoint on the religious question.

In the wake of a theoretical production that strove to interrogate the pillars erected by the project of modernity, some metanarratives collapsed following an incisive and subsumed critique of the prefix “post.” Along these lines, many scholars perceived that their research objects possess agency and the so-called “turns” – including the material turn – functioned as a kind of diagnosis of the failure of modernism or an epistemology constructed according to the logic of opposite pairs. Power, body, image and things are some of the topics that make the material turn such an important landmark in the history of the humanities, especially when we consider the undeniable reach of authors such as Michel Foucault, Judith Butler, Hans Belting, Alfred Gell and Bruno Latour.

Pursuing this line of argument and taking the theme of religion as a backdrop, I consider the translation into Portuguese of a selection of texts written by German anthropologist Birgit Meyer a good example of an intersectionality – to evoke the currently fashionable term – between audacity, method and presence. Before focusing on each suggested term, I immediately emphasize that the material dimension of religion is this work’s central analytic concern and, consequently, the author’s theoretical choices elicit an approximation with one of the premises of the material turn: the critical revision of the meaning of “things.” In Meyer’s vision, however, the critique of the sphere of religion postulated by a tradition of studies – about which I shall speak later – implies privileging precisely meaning in detriment to a method that maximizes “things” themselves. Furthermore, the analysis of the “things” that matter to Meyer or about how they matter in her audacious research project undoubtedly dialogue with the academic trajectory of this thinker.

Birgit Meyer conducted research in the area of anthropology and comparative religions, initially at the University of Bremen and subsequently at the University of Amsterdam where, in the 1990s, she completed a doctorate under the supervision of Johannes Fabian. Joining the ranks of Africanists researchers, Meyer chose southern Ghana as her field of investigation, analyzing the proliferation of Pentecostalism in the

Ghanaian public sphere over a 20-year period. The author observes that following the 1992 Democratic Constitution, the Ghanaian government popularized the means of communication and the subsequent propagation through mass media led to the omnipresence of Christian imagery, especially through the production of video films.

Field experience, and the impact of her ethnographical work, earned her an academic post at the University of Utrecht where, since 2016, she has coordinated the project *Religious matters in an entangled world* along with other researchers from various regions of the world. The relationship between religion and media, or, principally, the comprehension of religion itself as media, forms the main focus of this research project whose objective is to expose religion's presence in buildings, images, objects, food, bodies, texts and the like. Some of the most important articles written by Meyer and published in prestigious scientific journals in Europe and the United States have been collated by anthropologists Emerson Giumbelli, João Rickli and Rodrigo Toniol in what for now is the first work of the author to be published in Brazil. As a reading script for the collection of articles, I appropriate the terms audacity, method and presence as keywords that allow us to learn some of Meyer's proposals.

First, I would say that her work is audacious because it rejects the mentalist perspective from which the field of humanities – based on semantic approaches and indebted to an Enlightenment tradition that emphasizes the content and meaning of things – has both criticized the religious question, from notions like fictitious illusion and false consciousness, reflecting the theoretical input provided by Feuerbach, Marx, Nietzsche and Freud; and the religious “phenomenon” as seen more favorably, such as Durkheim and Rudolf Otto in their respective analyses of social fact and the sphere of the sacred.

Second, by critiquing the viewpoint “from inside,” Meyer proposes a method that converges with various proposals of the material turn. In other words, “how to study religion” sets the baseline for her articles and this methodological commitment, in the author's view, both implies assuming a “post-secularist” stance, which questions the supposed decline of religion in public life – according to the paradigm of secularization – and also demands an attitude of “rematerialization” in the very way researchers study the object, given that the decision to explore religion as a coherent set of meanings ends up neglecting its tangibility in bodies and images.

Third, taking as a reference point contexts of postcolonialism and religious diversity, as in the case of Ghana, the anthropologist states that religion is present in public life and that this presence is the outcome of

material forms that become visible depending on the correlation of political forces. In sum, as Giumbelli, Rickli and Toniol emphasize, Meyer has made major contributions through her perception that action in a public space is connected to a process that involves attributes, bodily skills or, more generally, media that legitimize a public voice. Here we shall examine the book text by text.

In the first article, “*De comunidades imaginadas a formações estéticas*” (“From imagined communities to aesthetic formations”), Meyer introduces the premises of her collaborative research program on media, religion and the formation of communities. At the start of the text, she proposes an interesting dialogue with Benedict Anderson, recognizing that the process of reconfiguration of postcolonial nation-states entails an emergence of communities within which the so-called religious communities are included. In Meyer’s view, however, analyzing these communities from the perspective of the imagination alone obliterates the mechanisms through which the imaginary is constructed. In other words, members of the communities not only imagine and construct identities, they produce effects of authenticity and reality. Consequently, imaginations become tangible beyond the domain of ideas.

Meyer criticizes the entire tradition that inherits the anthropology of meaning or symbols – widely disseminated in the United States – at this point. The author sustains that meanings are tangible insofar as they are shared not only through ideas but mainly through a social environment that materializes them across space, architecture, ritual performances and the inducing of bodily sensations. This materiality is what shows us the role performed by things, media and bodies in the actual processes of producing communities. However, the negotiations and range of these material forms occur amid a process that the author denominates “aesthetic formation.”

By distancing herself from a notion of “aesthetics” limited to the sphere of the arts, such as that proposed by Kant, Meyer returns to the Aristotelean sense of *aisthesis* as the perception of objects in the world through five sensory modes, highlighting the incisive power of images, sounds and texts on bodies. In so doing, the anthropologist expands the possibilities for studying religions, emphasizing style over meaning, appearance over essence and medium over message. Consequently, religion is present in many places because, as a practice of mediation, it spreads itself through and interacts with various forms of media, whether technological – cinema, radio, photography, television, computers – or not – incense, herbs, sacrificial animals, icons, sacred books, stones, rivers, the human body itself, and so on.

By returning to some of the pillars sustaining the project of modernity in the 19th century, the anthropologist, over the course of the second article, "*Religião material: como as coisas importam*" ("Material religion: how things matter"), refers to a classic binarism that even today appears deeply rooted in academic investigations of religion: the belief and meaning with which the immateriality of the spirit is imbued in contrast to questions involving power, practices and materiality. According to the author, this opposition fed the secularist idea that caused religion to be projected into the sphere of interiorization and the private. It so happens that, contrary to the wishes of a science averse to the public presence of religious aspects, some everyday occurrences like sounds, silences, smells, touches, forms, colors and affects are not exclusive to the spaces of "manifestation of the sacred," but to the very social fabric from which the public sphere is constituted. Also, in Meyer's view, the perception of the "extraordinariness of the ordinary" or the "ordinariness of the extraordinary" has been one of the major epistemic and political contributions of the material turn.

Regarding the third article, "*Há um espírito naquela imagem*" ("There is a spirit in that image"), the author explores some curious data from field research. Noting a public presence in the charismatic Pentecostal churches in southern Ghana, Meyer formulates the hypothesis that the power of Pentecostalism in the region, beyond the churches, is the outcome of the liberation of audiovisual mass media and its incorporation by religious actors. At the same time, she observes that the visual and auditory expansion of Pentecostalism on radio, television, posters and stickers occurs in a tense zone of contact with so-called "traditional African religions." Countering the idea of a "loss of aura" due to the technical reproducibility of images – one of Walter Benjamin's theses –, Meyer argues that the Christian images replicated through mass media in the Ghanaian context can be "unsettling presences that bring their beholders under their spell."

In exploring rituals of worship bearing images of Jesus, the author observes an "ambivalence" on the part of the converted: while they demonstrate adoration before the images, they slip into an attitude of fear. In the anthropologist's view, the dubious relation arises from a potential reversibility contained in these images: in other words, the images produce a radical inversion when an image that appears like Jesus has the capacity to become "demonic." As a result, Meyer concludes that social practices of action and observation operate behind these images. At the same time, the apparent dubiousness cannot be understood as an opposition but as a symbiotic dynamic of the relations between the field of Pentecostalism and some autochthonous religious traditions.

To reach these conclusions, however, the author relies on conceptually and historically situated analytic tools. In the fourth article, “*Mediação e a gênese da presença: rumo a uma abordagem material da religião*” (“Mediation and the genesis of presence: towards a material approach of religion”), she reconstructs some points of her methodology, emphasizing the importance of revising approaches, concepts and methods that model traditional research practices on religion. By having in mind this objective, the mediation processes that encompass the materiality of the religious field and the genesis of its presence, one can revise not only the methodology but the concept, role and place of religion. To substantiate the argument on the disturbing presence of Christian images in the Ghanaian context, therefore, Meyer returns to the notion of “fetish.”

Colonial frontier areas like Ghana enable the study of religion decentralized from Europe where, following the critique of religion deriving from the rise of rationalism during the Enlightenment period, the discourse of fetishism transformed the notion of fetish into a category of accusation due to its capacity to sustain, in the eyes of the rationalists, “irrational” structures that maintain the status quo of the *Ancien Régime*. Defined as a phenomenon arising from the commercial encounters between Portuguese and Africans – at the end of the 15th century – the term fetish alludes to objects that, though shaped by human hand, “possess their own life.” In other words, the capacity of agency of these objects was read as a threat to reason and progress, a fact that led rationalists to demand its destruction.

Based on the history of the fetish, Meyer formulates another hypothesis: the disturbance caused by Christian images, like those observed by herself, dialogue with dynamics inscribed in the religious practices of the peoples living in southern Ghana, like the Ewé. In other words, despite the condemnation of the gods of the autochthonous religions – understood as “idols” in Christian discourse –, the Ewé, despite their conversion to Christianity, maintained in the Pentecostal field a pragmatic posture found in the traditional religions. In counterpart, the Pentecostal field itself – which, along with the Ghanaian government and the proliferation of the mass media, enabled the replication of Christian images – offered converts “forms and patterns to act on and access the power of the Holy Spirit” (Meyer, 2019, p. 182).

Meyer concludes, therefore, that the conjunction of materiality and pragmatism can be taken as a sign of the successful presence of Pentecostalism. Following this reasoning, approaching religion materially entails a shift from mentalist orientations centered on language – what do people say? What does this mean? – to a focus on practices – what do people do? What meanings are invoked in the body? What materials are used? –, a proposal already contemplated by the series of turns:

linguistic, bodily, iconic and material. In relation to the material turn, the agency of “things” has focused the attention on the question of the concrete modes of fabricating the social – see Latour – or, we could say with Birgit Meyer, the religious modes of “fabricating belief.”

In the fifth article, “*Imagens do invisível: cultura visual e estudos da religião*” (“Picturing the invisible: visual culture and the study of religion”), Meyer discusses the capacity of images to present the invisible or the absent through performative acts. The author dialogues with art history and anthropology of the image theorists like W. J. T. Mitchell and Hans Belting. According to Meyer, the mass production of devotional images in southern Ghana – such as posters of Jesus or representations of malign spirits like ghosts, mermaids and witches – derives from a visual culture preeminent in this context and derived from both traditional African religions and Christianity. As a consequence, the author warns, a minimally rigorous study in a context such as this cannot overlook the role of “material forms in religious modes of world-making.”

In the sixth and final article, “*Como capturar o ‘Uau!’*” (“How to capture the ‘wow’”), the anthropologist uses an interjection arising from the sensation of admiration and enchantment or the effects experienced by the body in the relation with the “supernatural.” If one takes the argument of the work as a whole, such naturalness and transcendence are fabricated, Meyer, however, assumes an intermediate position between not taking the supernatural as evidence but neither discarding it as an irrational illusion. In this sense, she reinforces the critique of the anthropology of religion, which, pursuing a phenomenological approach, tends to defend the viewpoint “from inside.” Meyer believes on the contrary, a viewpoint “from outside” is indispensable since the attitude of “taking (religion) seriously” finds its limits when the religious universe is approached in an acritical way. A consideration of the clear importance of the body, sensations and emotions in the construction of worlds – as many theorists of the humanities have suggested – proves to be a transformative path for the study of religion.

The collection of articles concludes with an interesting interview conducted with Birgit Meyer by the work’s organizers, on which I shall not comment further except for the fact that readers will probably experience another type of “wow!”

I think some final remarks are pertinent. First, Meyer’s work contains very little ethnographic data. In the collection itself, the author acknowledges such absence and, in response to scholars who accumulate a large body of research and are, perhaps, keen to codify an epistemology, she justifies her preference for investing in a theoretical-methodological

approach. Indeed, as a post-secularist methodology for the study of religion – which is how I view her work –, the collection performs its role of provoking and transforming in the academic field.

Second, and here I allow myself to go slightly beyond Birgit Meyer's work itself, though not her collective project, the methodology proposed by the anthropologist and her collaborators in *Religious matters in an entangled world* had previously obtained a warm reception in Brazil with the publications of Marttijs van de Port, an anthropologist from the University of Amsterdam and interlocutor of Meyer who produced ethnographical work on candomblé based on fieldwork in the city of Salvador, Bahia. In this research project, van de Port challenged traditional methods of studying candomblé. Most ethnographies published on this universe advocate that candomblé should be studied from a triple focus: a particular temple – more commonly called *terreiro* by practitioners, a priest (*sacerdote*) who runs this temple and who acts as the “legitimate” voice to speak, and, finally, an initiation rite.

Based on these readings and observing the most common methodology, when van de Port arrived in the field he did not initially question the premises of the researchers who dedicated themselves to investigate candomblé before: at first sight, it amounted to a closed and secret universe, difficult to access. However, as he began fieldwork, the anthropologist met a hairdresser who talked about candomblé and its rituals in a very intimate manner as he cut the anthropologist's hair. Another surprise was the statue of Iemanjá – one of candomblé's divinities – seen by van de Port in a bar frequented by the LGBT community.

In sum, as a counterpoint to a viewpoint “from inside,” the anthropologist perceived candomblé's presence in Salvador's public sphere, and its tangibility not only in the words of initiates or priests, but also in the bodies of sympathizers, clothing, local mediums of communication, popular festivities, Bahia's cuisine and the agendas coordinated by three social movements: for the black population, for the LGBT population and for the environment.

The impact of van de Port's work yielded an article written by anthropologist Ordep Serra, emeritus professor of Universidade Federal da Bahia who devoted his career to researching candomblé. In the article, Serra recognizes van de Port's innovative approach, but rejects the Dutch anthropologist's criticisms of somewhat outdated and dematerialized study methods.

TRANSLATION
David Rodgers

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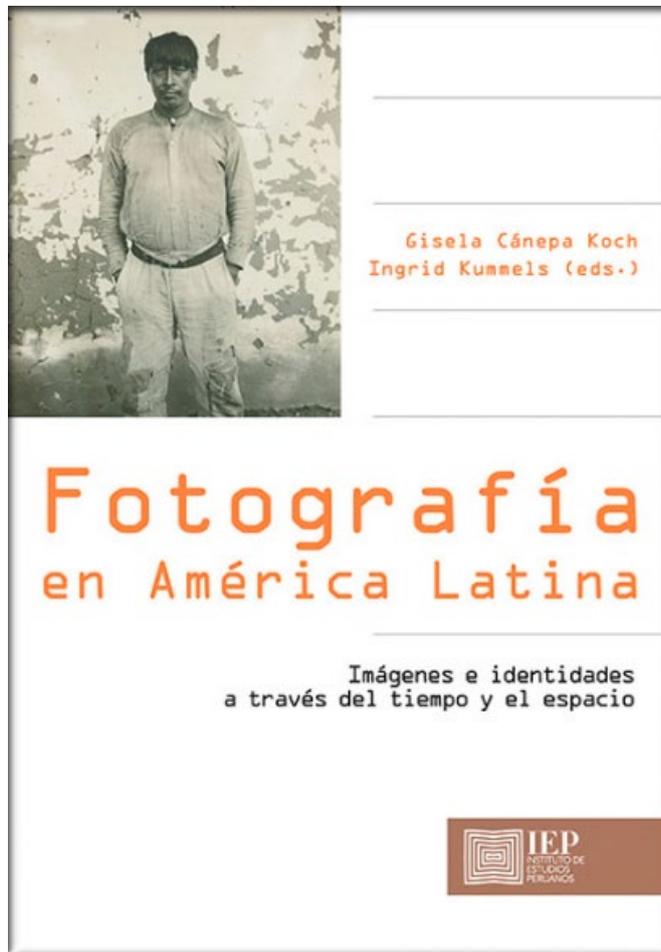
COASTING AMID SILENCES

Cánepa Koch, Gisela and Ingrid Kummels, eds. 2018. *Fotografía en América Latina: imágenes e identidades a través del tiempo y el espacio*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos. Edited in English as: *Photography in Latin America: Images and Identities Across Time and Space*. Bielefeld: transcript, 2016.

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Us anthropologists – particularly those who regularly visit documental sets provided by other anthropologists – often find several photographic records among the diverse artifacts that mediate knowledge within this discipline. Such pictures may have been taken by the researchers themselves or reached their hands from other photographers. They may have been made as scientific evidence, as a log for further examination, as preliminary models of landscapes and contexts, and as identification tools of research collaborators or fieldwork acquaintances. Without directly addressing those purposes, they may work as snippets of knowledge process done through interaction, constituting different visual idioms insofar as sets of images are assembled with other sets of records. And it is not news that a great volume of photographic collections was made in anthropological investigations in the 19th and 20th centuries. Yet, these collections require proper treatment and methodology, developed in the current critical build-up, to be adequately characterized for their custody, circulation, and extroversion.

The book *Fotografía en América Latina: Imágenes e identidades a través del tiempo y el espacio* (2018), edited in Spanish by the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, offers a rich occasion for readers to benefit from the kaleidoscopic effect propitiated by works dealing with different photographic collections in the singularity of the networks in which each of them was built. The book was organized by the professors Gisela Cánepa Koch, from Pontificia Universidad Católica del Peru, in Lima, and Ingrid Kummels, from the Institute of Latin-American Studies at the Freie Universität Berlin. The two of them gathered works, written by themselves and five other researchers, addressing the pathways of such collections from their places of accumulation and custody – mostly in museums and documental centres, as they awaited exhibition – towards what was expected (but not necessarily happened) to be the places and people among which the records were first created. Digitization projects, which may be deemed specific to our period, comprise a central condition for developing this kind of research.

To sum up the potentialities of the seven papers in the book is quite a thankless task, which also bears its own ironic epochal mark: critical tensions concerning the work done by anthropologists proliferate at the same time when collections of articles are established as the editorial genre best suited to model the meetings and exchanges of a numerous, diverse and internationalized scientific community. What the studies seem to share is a triadic approach: each researcher's perspective is connected to those provided by the discussed photographic collections – mostly created by ethnographers among indigenous peoples who inhabit Hispanic America – and to those emerging from different situations, aiming to elicit local discourses about such collections. Photographic sets

thus play the role of temporal refractors for local discourses on culture and identity, and for scientific discourses that display them as topics.

In the first article, Michael Kraus discusses the digitization and exhibition of photographs taken among Amerindian peoples by some of the first culturalist ethnographers to work in South America, such as Karl Von Den Steinen (1855-1929), Max Schmidt (1874-1950), Theodor Koch-Grünberg (1872-1924), and Erland Nordenskiöld (1877-1932); the collection is now gathered in the Ethnologisches Museum, in Berlin. The article offers an interesting perspective on the exhibition of portraiture and the possibilities and limits of the typological thinking and depersonalization often perceived in the visual genres of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In the second article, Gisela Kánepa Koch discusses the collection created by Heinrich Brüning (1885-1970), now in the Ethnologisches Museum, in Berlin, and the Museum für Völkerkunde, in Hamburg. The author describes the collection's role in characterizing the cultural identity of the Muchik people in Peru. The ageing of Brüning's work by the Muchik is presented as a key factor for projects seeking the digitization and circulation of visual records.

In the third article, Aura Lisette Reyes recovers the visual discourse of Konrad Theodor Preuss's (1869-1938) by discussing the discomfort surrounding the process of creating visual ethnographic records. For that, Reyes stresses the efforts and constraints experienced by Preuss in scientifically documenting both the archaeology and the ethnography of Kogi cultural landscape, and the silence and embarrassment she herself experienced, when Kogi collaborators read the images during a fieldwork she did in Colombia. In the fourth paper, Mariana da Costa Petroni discusses other visual collections of culturalist ethnography – with a clear integrationist approach – produced among the Zapotecs by the Mexican Julio de la Fuente (1905-1970). Here, the cultural-historical perspective, which was articulated around the concept of *acculturation* and anticipated the integration of Native peoples into a diluted national identity, is modified through Petroni's encounters with new Zapotec interpretations for Fuente's images: cultural change and cultural loss remain a matter of concern, but as an idiom of identity is articulated from local viewpoints, it entails new, different consequences.

The fifth paper, by Ingrid Kummels, describes the circulation of a collection historically and personally closer to her own trajectory than any of the previous. The pictures taken by her husband, the photographer and anthropologist Manfred Schäfer, documented the struggles of Ashaninka and Nomatsiguenga peoples in the Peruvian Amazon in the 1970s, under the so-called *action anthropology*. This collection has been used, since its creation, in different situations of indigenist and

environmentalist mobilization. When Kummels came back to Peru, a few years after Schäfer's death, the pictures were reactivated not only for the indigenous struggle, but also for a sort of recognition game, in which her Indigenous colleagues tried to recognize themselves and their acquaintances (that is, not merely as bearers of a culture and ethnic identity) in the pictures. Looking for one's kin and their relations, by the way, appears recurrently in the book, although it seems insufficiently explored as a general and informative matter. After all, we might ask – what lasts (or what should last): *culture?* or persons and the mostly familial networks they have been weaving through time?

The question of how photography may mediate presences of relatives returns in the article written by Mercedes Figueroa on family pictures of undergraduate students that were reported missing or killed by state terrorism in 1990's Peru. The recognition game is reversed: instead of looking for oneself in albums made by others, family albums appear as places for a residual presence of the lost people and for the endurance of the potential demobilization caused by bereavement. Figueroa engages with the transformation of family pictures into public images and amidst grief-stricken families, poignantly framing the matter of what a person is and how long she or he may or does persevere in time. Still regarding the visibility of traumas and political conflicts (not necessarily indigenous) in South America, María Eugenia Ulfe and Ximena Málaga Sabogal expatiate on the formation of photographic sets and the public agencement of pictures in the context of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Huancasancos, a province in Peru dramatically affected by violence and authoritarianism between the 1980s and the 2000s. Here, the elicitive potency of memories as a photographic exhibition is assembled seems to reach maximum voltage, due to the historical proximity of remembered events, and to the contrastive and comparative effects that are necessarily prompted by any assemblage: what is incorporated in, and what remains out of a selection of pictures? And what does it mean to leave something out in that moving context?

Among the most important triggers for these discussions, is the power of photographic reading. Its advantages for communication around historical themes, in contrast with the different mediations that are required when working with textual material, place photography – in these as in so many other works – as a powerful tool for research collaboration. And this is an interesting pathway for evoking the ideas of gift, return, and reunion, as well as by the silences, noises, and asymmetries surrounding each of the circuits of images, landscapes, gazes and discourses mapped here. Somehow, that entails a shared risk between the researchers and their collaborators, a risk not always recognized in discussions on the so-called “archival” research.

If that is not considered a novelty – as neither is the proliferation of confluences, narratives, and exchanges through which anthropology is deemed as a practice which implies displacement and tension – it would be difficult for someone dedicated to study the Brazilian anthropology, as is my case, to avoid a certain melancholy when reading the book and facing a series of blind spots of our respective territories of ethnographic familiarity. Except for Petroni, who is Brazilian, we are talking about the work of researchers from Hispanic America and Germany with whom, despite a few exchange efforts, the research area dedicated to Amerindian societies still speaks significantly less than with anglophone and francophone colleagues. It is ironic (not to say a bit shameful) that I have accessed the work of German-speaking colleagues through a publication in Spanish disclosed by a neighbour country, and knowing that the anthropology developed in Peru has a limited circulation in Brazil. To that sense of disjunction, we may add, from a historic perspective on the discipline of anthropology, our vague, somewhat myopic (or, in a vocabulary more akin to Amerindian thought: forgetful) consideration of ethnographic studies made in German language since the 19th century – a myopia due to the historic cooling down of relations, translations and reading, and to changes in vocabulary and work processes. These processes occur despite the importance of this work in the beginning of the so-called “tropical Americanism” and a remarkable German presence in Brazilian anthropology, particularly Curt Nimuendajú and Herbert Baldus.

Such melancholic reaction is certainly an exaggeration. We have been witnessing an increasing number of works on these and other characters of Germanophone Americanism, fostered by decades of research on the histories and historicities of Indigenous Peoples of South America, and the history of anthropology itself. Under more attentive inspection, and considering the articles of the book, this reaction may gain theoretical and methodological traction. It might tell us that, amidst the present academic multitudes and the proliferation of information, a possible anthropological work will be made through an erudite appreciation of fragmentary narratives continuously dispersed in a variety of scales and territories. The diversity of scales, reactions, and articulations surrounding the circulation of photographs makes the book edited by Cánepa and Kummels a good opportunity for wandering through the continent and face unsuspected neighbourhoods and estrangements. By collecting a set of articles of limited extension, which are deemed as insufficient for satiating the curiosity of a foreign – Brazilian – reader, the book fosters (in this preliminary contact with a different academic community) some sort of dissatisfaction. Yet, such reaction is certainly beneficial, as it engages us into searching for new references and possible interlocutions, at the same time illuminating the gaps in our local canons.

And yet, still another kind of gap and another melancholy were to be found when reading this book. These concern the encounter with the academic idioms used in clubs that are not our own. I wonder if the feeling of insufficiency that might and should move us to more exchanges is not only a consequence of the extension of the articles and the mismatch in our territories of frequentation. It may also be an indicator of the limited possibilities made available by the notion of cultural identity when we wish to speak of encounters loaded with equivocation, doubt, and mistrust, and in which joy seems to result from seeing one as a person rather than a culture. Thus returns an issue that is as unsettling nowadays as it has been for a long time for anthropologists: to what extent a characterization of difference in terms of culture, and the connection of persons, families and territories in the culturalist idiom can actually counter the diverse modalities of violence that span the history of colonization and inequalities in South America? And to which extent can it address the motivations and effects implicated in the re-encounters of these collectivities with images that are said to be *theirs*?

Fotografia en América Latina not only presents photographs and ethnographies, but also exposes a counterfield of extractivism, forest devastation, linguistic and customs coercion, guerrillas, and forced disappearances. Widening our perspective to include this field, the effect of connection between persons and moments in time and space propitiated by photographic collections may – as seems to be a strong idea in the book – articulate cultural identities and visibilities, shaping in concrete cases the widely assumed, maybe even obvious, idea of cultures as dynamic descriptors. From that angle, it is possible that such collections offer a space to reflect and react to the devastating dimension of a historicity recurrently presented as violence. The authors of the article, however, seem quite aware that power relations, tensions, suffering, and oblivion of somewhat imprecise sense – they also do persist in time.

Maybe such impasses should be taken as given, and the collections are shaped as a kind of irrefutable legacy with which each of the parts implicated in encounters mediated by photographs will have to deal with using their own tools; and maybe the ideas of culture and identity are a part of that ambiguous legacy. Facing the misencounters and silences between these different communities – the academics and their counterparts – who make and remake exchanges and contacts, mutually (but not equally, nor indifferently) get closer, question, present themselves and one another, photographic collections seem to allow the beginnings of a conversation. In this moment, the safest procedure is more similar to a coasting navigation than to a boarding, a colonization or a fulfillment of gaps and silences. That these problems are so clearly perceived in a reading is a merit of the book, and of the researchers who share the



paths they waded. Maybe new alliances may reveal themselves in the same counterfields, silences, voids and obscurities upon which a Humboldtian inspiration for the mapping and the inventory of landscapes and cultures seemed to proliferate findings, typologies, illustrations; and maybe in such a way we could properly demonstrate the due respect to the density of the forest and mountains at this side of the Atlantic, and the many *Völker* who once inhabited, and still today inhabit them.

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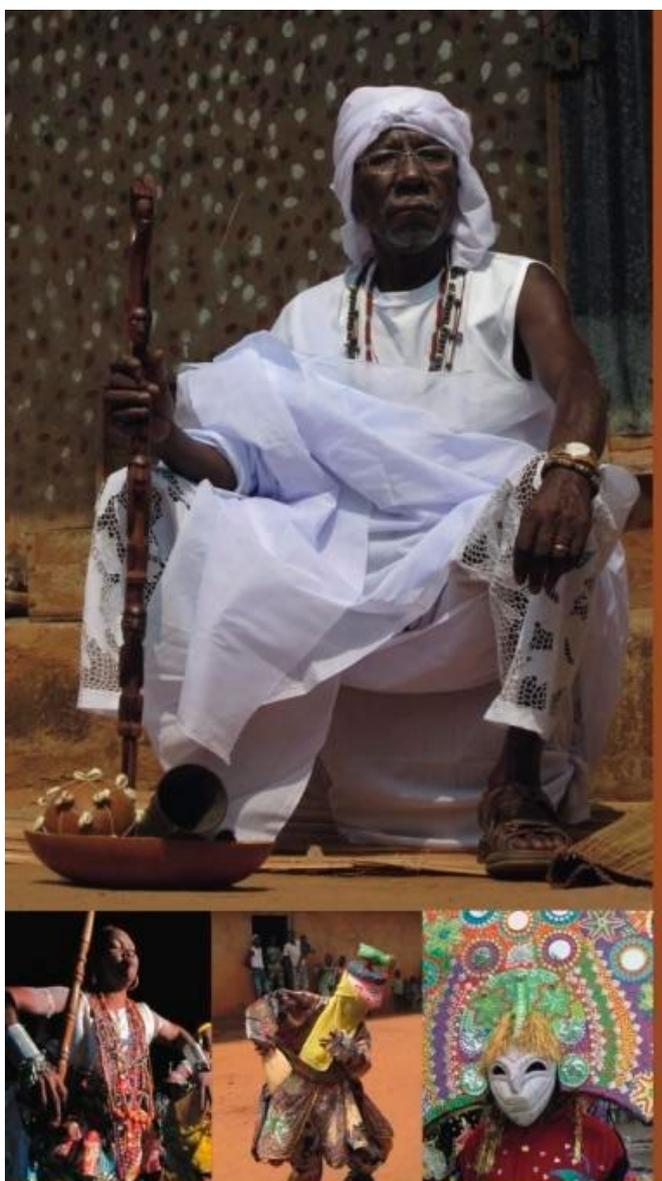
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Pedra da Memória: Euclides Talabyan, minha universidade é o tempo (*Memory's Stone: Euclides Talabyan, my university is the Time*), authored by researcher Renata Amaral, was published¹ in 2012 as part of a larger project that also encompasses a documentary film² and an exhibition that has travelled throughout several Brazilian cities. A hardcover, multilingual edition (written in Portuguese, English and French), it has a square format (29x29cm), 240 pages and high-quality printing.

The first half of the book brings us a set of introductory texts and a delightful photographic essay where images abound, conducting a narrative revealed in seductive colors and well-made portraits. It sets out a poetic investigation that seeks to identify similarities and distinctions in elements of religious and folk culture in both Benin,³ a country in Western Africa, and the state of Maranhão in Brazil.

Travelling through the pages, our eyes wander around scenes of traditional Brazilian celebrations such as bumba-boi and maracatu rural, placed beside Beninese rites such as Vodun, Geledé and the cult to Egúngún,⁴ which have been photographed across the Atlantic. The visual path offered by the book culminates in the Agudás' festivities, Agudás are descendants of former slaves who had returned to Benin and became part of the country's population. In that country, some elements of Brazilian culture were spread and can now be found in the country's architecture, cuisine, arts, among other cultural elements. The photographic essay is followed by exquisite drawings made by the artist Carybé⁵ and accompanied by some loose words and written memories by Euclides Talabyan, who died in 2015. Talabyan was Babalorishá⁶ of House Fanti Ashanti, considered one of the most important centers for Afro-Brazilian religious practices in Maranhão, as well as a reference for the jeje-nagô⁷ in Brazil.

1. The publication was sponsored by CHESF and had incentives from ProAc SP, the state government through its Secretary of Culture and the Project Ação Cultural 2011.

2. With running time of 58 minutes, the documentary was written and directed by Renata Amaral, with executive production and translation by Brice Sogobossi. It has received the award Interações Estéticas from Fundação Nacional das Artes (Funarte/MinC), and the award for best documentary at the Guarnicê Festival. It was also selected for the competitive exhibition of Festival de Cinema do Recife. Its DVD is also part of the booklet (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aSHAKiH6IXI>).

3. Ancient Daomé Kingdom, birthplace of ancestral worshipping traditions, and base of Afro-Brazilian religions.

4. Rites and ceremonies from Africa's West Coast that worship ancestry.

5. That's how Hector Júlio Páride Bernabó (1911-1999), an Argentinian established in Brazil, identified himself, as an artist. His works present strong influence from the city of Salvador, where he lived, and its cultural life.

6. Babalorixá or Babalorishá is a Yoruba language word used as a title given to this culture's priests. In Brazil, it refers to the high priest in Candomblé, Umbanda and Xangô religions. In Yourubá language, baba means father, and the contraction l'Orishá means "of Orishá". That means these priests are called father of Orishás (god-like spirits) which in Portuguese is "pai-de-santo". The male priest of these religions, therefore, are referred to as Pai (father). The equivalent title for women is Ialorixá or Iyalorishá.

7. In 19th century Bahia, different ethnic groups brought to Brazil slaves were organized into different groups/nations such as Jeje and Nagô. They ended up forging a new religious identity by blending elements of their respective cultures, giving birth to the

One of the most impressive pictures in the book can be found on page 15, a portrait of Father⁸ Euclides from the day he was consecrated as guest of honor of the Avimadjenon upon a restricted ritual in Ouidah, Benin. On the following page there is an excerpt from the book *Itan de dois terreiros*, written by Father Euclides himself, where he speaks about the dream he had been cherishing for a long time: visiting Africa. He also mentions his emotional tie to priest Dah Daagbo Avimadjenon Ahouandjinou, a man he hadn't met yet. By an artistic residency⁹ then, the project Pedra da Memória fulfilled that dream, arranging for both masters to meet.

Over the course of five weeks, Renata Amaral, Brice Sogbossi (a Beninese anthropologist established in Brazil), Father Euclides and two other members of House Fanti Ashanti – iyakekerê Isabel Onsemanwvi and ogan Carlos – visited the cities of Cotonou, Abomey, Ketou, Porto Novo, Ouidah, Allada, Pobe and Sakete. This project, from which this book is a part of, is the result of their time in Benin and six additional weeks spent at House Fanti Ashanti in Maranhão. There was also a contribution from Renata Amaral's own archive, built over the course of her experience with audio-visual studies focused on folk culture from different Brazilian states.

From page 120 onwards, the pictures give room for words. They assume a supporting role to the text narrated in first person where Euclides Talabyan's memories are revealed. His delicate memories conduct us through paths that go as far back as his first years, his childhood and initiation into Candomblé, uncovering stories from old terreiros,¹⁰ and the history of House Fanti Ashanti's formation, along with its connection to the city of São Luís and the many popular festivities in Maranhão. A few pages ahead, pictures taken by a commission organized by Mario de Andrade in 1938¹¹ to research Brazilian folklore are added for the same effect of remembrance.¹²

In this book, image and word seem to be intertwined through the pages in the pursuit of an ancestral memory. On the preface to the book, Walter Garcia, a musician and teacher, warns us: "in a religion connected

jejê-nagô Candomblé. For more information, see João Ferreira Dias (2016).

8. See note 6.

9. Prêmio Interações Estéticas award by Funarte.

10. Candomblé temples are called terreiros (yards).

11. The delegation organized for the research on folklore was organized by Mário de Andrade when he was the head of the Department of Culture of São Paulo (<http://centrocultural.sp.gov.br/site/desfrute/colecoes/missao-de-pesquisas-folcloricas/>).

12. According to Renata Amaral (2013, 221): "Father Euclides, despite being one year old by the time of this documentation, had a very direct relation with Terreiro Féem Deus, from the priest Maximiniana Silva, which was registered by the commission in 1938. His aunt, who was also a motherly figure, Isaura was a dancer from this Terreiro. Therefore, he used to visit the place when he was a baby, growing up with its people. Out of the 20 people registered by the commission, he recognized all but three".

TRANSLATION
Lindolfo Sancho

to ancestry, memory is the core of knowledge” and he adds: “the resistance of the stone is greater when its solidity, whilst remaining compact, manages to become permeable”. Therefore, at first, the way the pictures are organized suggests a more permeable path that gives rise to free and loose associations between the expressions, dances, and rites here in Brazil and there in Africa as an expression of a shared ancestry. On the other hand, the text on the second part of the book being mediated and activated by images from archives, bring about the weight of memories that carry a personal history. Individual and collective unite along these paths where words and images are intertwined, leaving a feeling that Father Euclides, by attending the university of the Time (as he used to say he did), has learned how to be like a rock.

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MORE THAN HUMAN EXPERIENCE WITH *OTHER FIRE*

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FAGUNDES, Guilherme Moura. 2017. *Outro fogo*. Brasília, DF, Brazil, color, 21 min.

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What its fear? This question opens *Other Fire* (2017), film directed by Guilherme Moura Fagundes,¹ winner of the “Prêmio Pierre Verger” at the XII edition of its ethnographic film category, in 2018. The worlds created by the film lead us to rethink many possibilities of relationships with the environment. We face some kind of anguish related with social-environment practices presented to us. What we see in *Other Fire* is literally a way of inhabiting and managing the environment that a southeastern Brazilian point of view – that is, my point of view – could interpret as a relationship of destruction of the landscape. Therefore, in this review, I start from a situated perspective of one possible sensory experience among different interpretations of the film, as well as from the author’s experience as a privileged spectator (Triana and Gómez, 2016).

We are transported to a burning environment. Under the sound of whistles and crackling, the first part of the film leads us to confront the issue of fear and the supposed dangers of fire. What appears on the screen is an instrument that drips fire into the woods, leaving a trail of flames along the path of the pickup truck that takes the person handling the tool along with the cameraman. While the whistles create a grim atmosphere, we realize that these are fire crackles in contact with the woods. The sound continues to show plans taken in the Cerrado forest, all yellowed in the incandescent sunlight. Fire in these planes is a central element: one is the product of human action, another is the one that lights the environment by the sun.

The crackle of the fire proceeds to the image of a bonfire roasting some meat on sticks. It is the fire that feeds the working men of brigade members from ICMBio, as we can see in their uniforms. We are then located in Jalapão and Chapada dos Veadeiros, in the summer of 2016, places of social-environmental relationships between brigade members and the fire but not only that. The film takes us to a burned but alive Cerrado, from the woods to the animals that live there. By confronting the film, we are transported into a world not only of images and sounds, but also of a true physical experience, which escapes an entirely rational narrative (Jameson 1995).

The true bodily relationship that brigade members have with the flames stands out in the narrative. They strike the fire so intensely and in perfect sync that it looks like a choreographed scene. Some planes divide the burned ashes on one side and the Cerrado forest on the other, separated by fire, making flames and forests, fire and Cerrado co-exist, and the brigadiers in the center as the fundamental element of

1. It is not the intention of this review to discuss issues of authorship, but it is worth mentioning that besides the director there are other people and institutions in the production of the film, including those who participate as characters.

their relationship, creating some closeness and intimacy with the fire for themselves. I emphasize not only the difficulty of the activity of the brigadiers, so close to the flames, but also of the cameraman, who placed himself bodily close to them, creating a direct confrontation of the audiovisual effects with the spectator's body experience. The images of the flames are intense, covering the whole plane near the smoke. They bring a sense of closeness, and Riobaldo's² questioning at the beginning of the film, of the fear that is produced within us, which sometimes jolts, especially from the moment when the brigade members spot another focus of the flames and rush to it when the soundtrack "emerges" through the fires.

We can cheer for the brigade members in the supposed fight against the flames. Following the film's narrative, we are faced with the following question: what is the origin of this fire? Is the fire caused by human action? Could this be an arson attack like the one that plagued the Amazon lately? Is the fire caused by the sun? What sensitive experience does the movie provoke in us? "Pirophobic" feelings can invade the viewer in what I consider the movie's biggest tension point, when even the soundtrack converges with the brigade's movements towards the flames.

However, in the second part of the film, an ambiguous experience regarding fire arises. A conversation of characters that cannot be seen appears in the night. They talk about the fear, this pirophobia that occurred in the previous scenes. Some brigade members, probably those less experienced, also share this fear. Who is talking? We can, while spectators, understand that they talk to us – "if the cap fits" as they say. In fact, fear is "produced within people", "deposited" – taking Riobaldo's speech once again –, and life is where this "fun of fear" is destroyed. In this case, life and experience of the fire brigade members, fire is used for conservationist and agropastoral purposes, in a relationship of true pirophilia. As Fagundes (2016, 60) comments, "O MIF [Manejo Integrado do Fogo], como se convencionou chamar no Jalapão, consiste em uma perspectiva ambiental presente em diversas savanas pelo mundo. Como o nome sugere, visa 'integrar' saberes e práticas científicas e locais relacionadas ao fogo..."³

The narrative form of the film puts both paradigms in question and how they affect the imaginary of fire relationships in the Cerrado. Whereas in the first part we are confronted with pirophobia, with intense scenes of fire containment by the brigade members, the second half focuses on

2. A character from *Grande sertão: veredas*, a romance by João Guimarães Rosa (1986).

3. MIF [Integrated Fire Management], as it is commonly called in Jalapão, consists of an environmental perspective present in various savannas around the world. As the name suggests, it aims to 'integrate' scientific and local knowledge and practices related to fire... (free translation).

providing an audiovisual narrative about management, showing the relationships established with human and non-human beings through fire and speech. There is an attenuation of the film's tension about the fear of fire for a "philia" relationship with it.

Thus, the narrative in *Other Fire* plays with ambiguous feelings about fire through the dichotomy (phobia and philia) placed and questioned by it. This "deposited" fear, which reflects from within, can be confronted with regional fire management practices in Jalapão, as stated in the conversation we hear in the middle of the film, to come out "with another mindset." Considering cinema as a mimetic machine, "that is, as a modern narrator capable of provoking and transmitting knowledge that significantly affects the viewer" and considering that such a machine provokes sensible experiences and ethical reflections (Triana and Gómez 2016, 118-22), *Other Fire* directs us to experience and reflect different conceptions of multispecies relationships, but also sociotechnical relationships in which fire is its central tool, and may reflect the limits of the "other" – often built within anthropological perspectives and beyond the limits from humans, towards an experience other than, or more than, human.

It is "other" because it destabilizes what we imagine (at least in the urban context of the Brazilian southeast, from where I write) to be the agency of fire in the forest, bringing the experience of relationship of brigade members with that environment. It is other because it is not that fire recently made in the Amazon for agribusiness. It is other fire because it becomes other, in its becoming-tool within the social and environmental relationships in the Cerrado. The film, the result of a scientific study in social anthropology, gives us, above all, a feeling of radical otherness towards this non-human element, fire, which invades the plans and touches even those who watch.

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DEIXA NA RÉGUA: AESTHETIC AND SOCIABILITY IN RIO DE JANEIRO'S BARBERSHOPS

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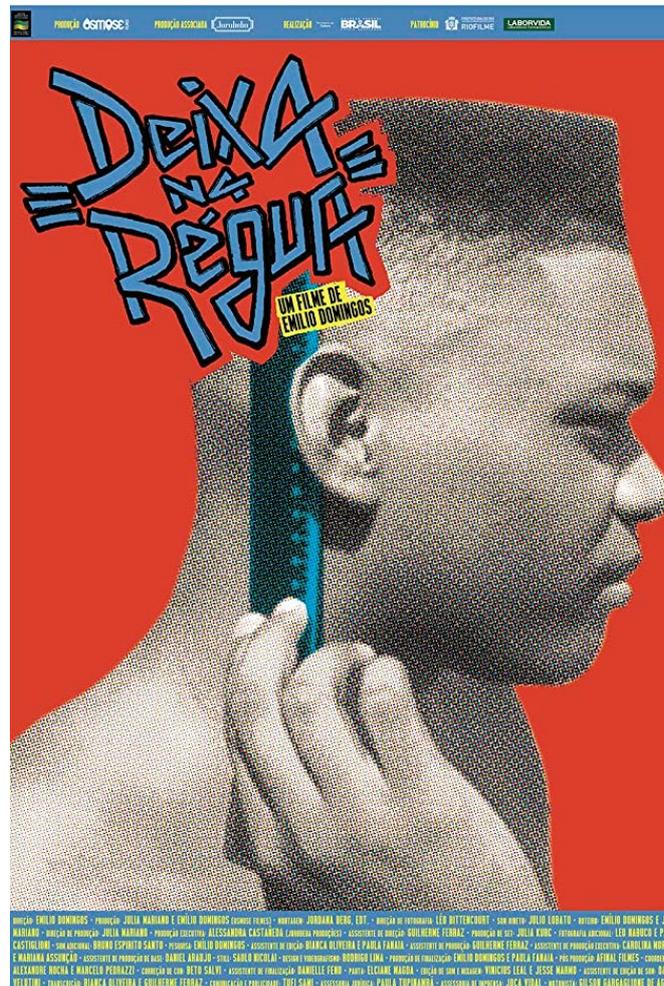
DOMINGOS, Emilio. *Deixa na régua*. 2016, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 73 min.

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To the sound of passing cars and scenes of children playing on their phones, we see a metal door being opened, unravelling the world created inside the barbershops of Rio de Janeiro's suburbs and periphery.¹ Through the camera lens, always focused on details, and also through the skillful hands of barbers and the heads and hairs shaped by them, we are invited to follow the work, the stories, and histories of three professionals: Belo, Ed, and Deivão. We also follow the relationship developed between them and their clients in their daily lives.

That is the premise of *Deixa na régua*² (2016) by Emílio Domingos, a documentary film born out of an interest encouraged in his previous work *A Batalha do passinho* (2012). While filming for this first film on *passinho*³ dancers and the events where they competed, Domingos realized how difficult it was to schedule interviews with them on weekends. Since his interviewees spent hours at barbershops on those days, waiting for their turn with the barbers who would help them develop the peculiarities of the look adopted by *passinho* dancers.⁴

However, similar to the ones watching the movie, throughout the experience provided by *Deixa na régua*, Domingos realizes that these barbershops are not simply a place where people wait for hours, without complaints, for a haircut, a perfect groom, and well-designed eyebrows. The number of clients waiting as we observe, we also see how skillful the barbers are when creating haircuts and crafts that publicize their work and sets them apart from hairdressers.

Belo is the one who opens the iron door at the beginning of the film and Nelson is the first client we meet, rolled into a barber cape depicting the Brazilian flag. Both are surrounded by symbols (formerly) associated with masculinity, such as football jerseys and boxing equipment. Nelson, the oldest of the bunch when compared to the others who appear in the film, is the one who first ponders about vanity. Although not using this word, he clearly associates his appearance to modernity, which is the reason why he goes to his trusted barber every week. Their intimacy is such that, in the name of a good work, and disregarding the motto "the customer is always right", Belo himself chooses the way his client's hair must be cut and combed.

1. In Rio de Janeiro, the suburbs are lower-middle class neighborhoods far from downtown, whereas the periphery, although equally far, refers to poor neighborhoods only. (N. T.)

2. *Deixa na régua* is a popular haircut style among young men in Rio's periphery. It is a low fade haircut with either a shaved line or geometrical drawings on the sides. (N. T.)

3. *Passinho*, or 'little step', is a popular dance move that began in Rio's poor neighborhoods. (N. T.)

4. The director himself explained this in an interview during the 40^a Mostra Internacional de São Paulo. Available on: <https://bit.ly/2WSp1BP>.

Although every once in a while the camera's gaze mimics or mixes up with the mirror, the conversation – like the ones shown later – flows with spontaneity, without a clear interference from the director. Most frames privilege the relationship between the barber and his client, especially the frames that highlight the barber's skills, or "gift", and the patience of those who wait long hours for their turn.

Those who appear in the background waiting to be called are not forgotten. They are framed by the camera when telling their stories; at times they appear when the barbers' arms and hands meet the head and shoulders of their clients, forming a single space, a frame. In that sense, one way or another, the spotlight goes to characters who engage with the context at ease. Following the "fly on the wall" style, we watch haircuts and trivial conversations unfolding unassumingly before our eyes, in a laid-back manner, without control, followed by the sound of scissors and hair clippers.

After our first contact with Belo, we are taken to another place where images of people on the street, spaghetti wires and unfinished houses, combined with the sound of dogs barking, introduce us to this new set we are about to face. Suddenly, we see a corridor and an ajar door used by a young man to enter the place. We are then introduced to Ed, a young black man standing in front of a mirror grooming his mustache. That scene is not unique in the film, in the interval between a customer and another, we also see Belo and Deivão (who will be later introduced), in their moments of self-care.

Back to the focus on Ed, the framing shows details of the following scenes, presenting some boxes of razor blades and combs on the balcony. While designing a client's eyebrow, Ed talks (with his back to the camera or the mirror) about how uncomfortable and unpleasant a *baile* could be without styling one's hair and beard, "your ego changes", agrees a young man getting a haircut, "Do you feel, like? Good in society", he goes on. The graffiti on the walls combined with the place itself and the barber's name call upon a famous Tim Burton character: Edward Scissorhands.

Regulars of the barbershop know they might have to wait a lot for their turn, but they do not give up and simply leave their names on a notebook, spending their waiting time chatting with others or taking a nap, like it happens at other barbershops.

The same happens in another neighborhood in Rio's periphery. A great tree in the background, clothes on the clothesline, and a yellow house in a backyard separated from the street by a wooden fence, everything

indicates we moved to a place where other stories are about to be told. Inside, we see a poster for hair styling pomade and pairs of pictures showing clients before and after getting their hair and beard done. Deivão, a black man with tattooed arms, has already been introduced, but now he is shown with prominence, anxiously talking on the phone about the coming birth of his child. In this film, cellphones are greatly relevant, being an instrument used to pick a look and take pictures of a new haircut. Cellphones are also an important ally in the waiting time spent at the barbershop.

From there on, the images of all three barbershops, with their clients, alternate on the screen and, through the lens of Emílio Domingos, we see how these places have become a space of sociability for their regulars, but not only the youngsters. The older ones, just like the children and adolescents, are not absent; some of them, active clients of the barbershop, seek a modern look that only a prestigious barber (as demonstrated by the waiting lines), and the right haircut, can provide. In these places, meeting points for friends and customers, the ideal of masculinity is not completely forgotten, however, the social imaginary about what being a man is as often as not, questioned without much resistance.

There is no indication that these barbers know each other, but we can infer that all three had their workplace transformed because, besides being a place of vanity (reflected throughout the film on the mirrors and aimed at the camera), self-esteem and visibility, they can also be considered places of identity affirmation. Identities of both the regulars and barbers who inscribe the sign of their work and skill on people's heads.

Once these places are seized by their regulars, they become places for exchange. The silence is rare, often replaced by discussions on several subjects such as the differences between haircuts in the south of the city and periphery; the misconceptions and dangers that the "wrong" comb might bring; the downsides of life in periphery and the occupation of barber as an alternative to life in crime; discrimination, love relationships; parties; the best pizza in the neighborhood, soup operas, favorite actors; military dictatorship and democracy, among other subjects that compose the barbershops as places where everything is talked for hours.

As described by both classical and current anthropologists and sociologists – from Simmel and the Chicago School to José Guilherme Magnani – some particularities to the sociability are forged in urban contexts that are influenced by the diverse spaces for coexisting in the city. In the film, those barbershops are surely special places for coexistence where diverse social relations and diverse dynamics are built.

In this film, we find men who, thanks to their work as barbers, find a way of living and self-expression. These men are key mediators in a place open to conversations and reflections on life, family, the periphery, and even the country. Spaces, at last, where their regulars (who are mostly black men) can reveal collectively and unassumingly trivial situations, their dreams and hopes, worldviews and imaginaries.

Thus, by focusing on these barbershops from Rio's periphery, places that, when compared to new "gentrified" spaces of masculinity, are quite simple, Emílio Domingos leads us to recognize that the suburbs and periphery of Rio at their most peculiar, at their vigor create "fashion", styles, and cultural and aesthetical innovations.

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AMONG RELATIVES, WHO?

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Over the last years, peoples marked by a long and violent context of expropriation have been experiencing the retaking of their traditional lands or engaging in struggles to remain in them, a moment that reaffirms their commitment to strengthen alliances with rural and urban groups, whose rights and forms of existence are also being attacked, in Brazil and worldwide.

The short film *Entre Parentes* directed by Tiago de Aragão, from Universidade Federal de Brasília – which placed second in the Pierre Verger Prize at the 31st Brazilian Meeting of Anthropology –, presents us with 30 minutes to breath. The paths travelled by the filmmaker provoke us with the history of an ongoing war that evokes places and positions. War has no middle ground and the context itself says so – the end of April 2017, one year after the impeachment of president Dilma Rousseff, which removed the first elected woman in the country's history. The same occasion when Brasília received the 14th *Acampamento Terra Livre*, the largest collective mobilization between the indigenous peoples of Brazil and their allies.

However, just a few meters away, the Parliamentary Inquiry Commission (CPI) organized by the agriculture and livestock landowners sector of National Congress (known as *banca ruralista*), sought to approve projects contrary to the interests of indigenous peoples. Indigenous leaders the National Indigenous Foundation (Funai) and the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (Incra), institutions that operate, respectively, in the demarcation and titling of indigenous and quilombola lands.

The tension between worlds emerge through the lens of the filmmaker, and the documentary's scenes lead us to the intersection of the two assemblies in progress, despite differences from each other. In the National Congress, the representation of the State (modern, capitalist, western) that emanates as an enemy of indigenous peoples related to agribusiness and large landowners of large monoculture properties, whose power seeks to encompass all differences in order to suppress them; such power can only be sustained by abolishing multiplicity and replacing it with the logic of unification and universalization, as taught by Clastres (2004). The author exemplifies various types of State, with the difference between being the level of ethnocidal capacity of state apparatus. The force used by the “western” State to abolish difference when it becomes opposition. In other words, ethnocidal¹ practice has

1. In the chapter entitled “Ethnocide” in the book *Archeology of Violence*, Pierre Clastres questions whether those who propagate the term are effectively aligned with the constitutive meaning of the word, extracted from a historical demand whose efforts have turned to the field of knowledge of ethnology. In this sense, the author is suspicious of whether the conceptual difference between ethnocide and genocide is, in fact, involved

never seen limits, being more ethnocidal than any other society due to its economic production regime.

In this sense, this film opens up the relations of forces that are in constant dispute, and unveils the Brazilian land issue, informed by the developmental projects of the State, whose side decides who has to die. To its enemies, the provisions of law, bureaucracy, the legal system, the ordered language, and certain regimes of truth are imposed. However, in tireless movements of constant struggle, the bodies marked by history and forcibly kept outside Congress emanate the resistance of those who agreed not to die. When using their instruments of combat through their bodies that sing and dance in the presence of their deities, celebrating the inseparability of the body and the cosmos, they continued to fight against the tragic onslaught of threats and removal of rights that were achieved by the 1988 Federal Constitution.

AMONG RELATIVES, WHO?

Alliances constitute a fundamental theme in the scenes created by Tiago Aragão – from a political context of intense socio-environmental conflicts, extermination and interdiction of non-hegemonic forms of life. The effect of the images do not evoke so much of a proposal to interpret the different thoughts there, but rather the convocation of an attempt to experiment with them, and therefore with “ours”, such as in the scenes that they ask us on which side of this war we are on. As Stengers (2008) would state about experimenting with the possible, “we learn when we effectively connect and are put in check by the connection”.

Policies of usufruct and possession of the territories are consolidated through a national, liberal, ‘appropriationist’ logic; however, there are forms of life intertwined in this arena. The way of life of the Guaraní Amerindian people, for example, constantly evokes the term *retake* and this technique meets a kind of cosmopolitics, in the meaning given by Sztutman (2012) to a policy managed by humans and non-humans,

in the manifestations that have been added to the public domain. He explains that “genocide” is a legal concept that emerged in 1946, and refers to the first manifestation registered in law of a specific type of racial-based crime, namely, the attempted extermination by the German Nazis of the European Jewish people, and that culminated in one of the greatest systematic massacres in history. The concept of “ethnocide” is formulated faced by such American experience of ethnologists, especially Robert Jaulin, referring at first to the indigenous reality of South America. In denouncing the colonial encounter as not only a meeting of bodies, but one that also establishes an unequal power relationship between cultures, marked by the otherness that pronounces the other in difference – especially a bad one. In this sense, Pierre Clastres teaches us: “If the term genocide refers to the idea of” race “and the will to exterminate a racial minority, the term ethnocide points out not to the physical destruction of men (in which case it would remain in the genocidal situation) but to the destruction of their culture. Ethnocide, therefore, is the systematic destruction of the ways of life and thinking of peoples other than those who undertake this destruction. In short, genocide kills people in their bodies, ethnocide kills them in their spirit.”

which implies a diplomacy with the different beings that populate the universe where they live, be it other peoples, animals, plants, and different domains of what we call nature. Nature is extracted from culture, just as culture is extracted from nature. There is no nature from which we make cultural constructions, so nature is not the cause of culture, states Wagner (2010).

When the cameras occupy the Brasilia's streets, they merge with the bodies wrapped in paintings, corners, bows, arrows, and cameras, whose power was forged in the sense of what Donna Haraway (1999) called powerful collectives, which are not limited to what is understood as a coherent and stable subject – associated with white, male and heterosexual beings – on which the entire agency would reside, but they comprise several individuals, materialities, and discourses. Indigenous populations resist a long history of forced “guardianship” to face powerful national and international representations, of politicians, companies, ethno-democrats, and the alliance of Peoples of the Forest does not reject technical or scientific knowledge, regardless from where it comes. What they reject is the modern political epistemology, clearly represented by the scenes of the National Congress. In contrast, these forest peoples, as the author says, have been regionally prepared for global/local interactions, or in other words, to raise new and powerful human and non-human collectives, both technological and organic, articulating a collective social entity of human beings, other organisms and other types of non-human actors. The fundamental point of Tiago Aragão's film is that, against the policy made by white men, a fearless collective entity of humans and non-humans resists. Following with the intersection between the film and Donna Haraway's thought, her ideas are stimulated: “Nature and justice, discursive objects queued up in bed, in the material world, they will become extinct or survive together”. The “defenders of the forest” are a knot in the always historical and heterogeneous nexus of the social nature from which they articulate their claims. We are all in frontier areas where new forms and new types of action and responsibility are being developed in the world. The indigenous peoples at the 14th *Acampamento Terra Livre*, also with their modern equipment, forge a practical statement that guides us, morally and epistemologically. Such statement invites a new articulation, in the terms formulated by the people of the forest. They will no longer be represented as Objects, not because they cross the line into the National Congress, to be represented in “modern” terms as Subjects, but because they form powerfully articulated collectives.

This short film thus affects us via the radical and potent showing of the different ways of doing politics. At one point, tension takes hold in one of the scenes within the Congress, which is attached to the deliberations

of the parliamentary commission of inquiry; while progressive parliamentarians try to use their little speaking time to emphatically disagree with the report produced by the commission's rapporteur. The president of the CPI and his allies restrict the speeches of others, preventing them from speaking out. At the same time – and attentive to the scenes – our ears are taken by the voices that, in resistance, echo and weave their bodies, stomping hard in the vicinity around the Congress building, fighting against violence and dissatisfied with the deliberations and the lack of representation. In tune with their allies interrupted in Congress, they hold boxes in the shape of coffins and move to the front of Congress, denouncing the State's death projects, demonstrating in favor of adequate policies for the demarcation of their lands. Within minutes, they are dispersed by the police with tear gas. The song, however, does not stop. A film to keep the flame of resistance alight, and which gives rise to the inventive ability to find paths, slide through the gaps, and not be caught, even in the face of the biggest of predators.

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BODY, BLANK, TRACE. The *body* is what disappears; the *blank*, the disappearance itself; the *trace*, what remains, the mark on the space, the trail, the scar. For seven years, I walked through different landscapes and narratives in search of the dead, photographing what I found: stones, bones, ashes, forests, ruins, houses, train tracks. Now these images compose an archive, a kind of Warburgian atlas in which they can find themselves, confront each other, invent themselves. The website **Body, blank, trace** is one of the results of my post-doctoral research at USP's Anthropology department, funded by FAPESP, which focused on a study on monuments and memorials to the dead. Through reflections on the image, the body, memory and death, I came to understand the memorial as the new body of the dead, on the basis of a possible effect of presence, since it situates the missing person in the physical and material space of a community. Faced with a vast archive of travels and memories, I try to give an order to what remains – the images. Some show the rest, the trail, the trace. Others show the erasure of the dead. How to see what the landscape shows?

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