

Cangoma Calling, Spirits and Rhythms of Freedom in Brazilian Jongo Slavery Songs presents the vital oral heritage of the last generation of slaves in the New World, drawing upon an extraordinary trove of previously unknown field recordings of former Brazilian slaves singing jongo work songs and signifying chants. On par with the Library of Congress archive of former slaves' testimony made during the Great Depression, these unique jongo recordings owe their existence to historian Stanley J. Stein and his wife Barbara H. Stein, who collected them in Brazil in the late 1940s. Linking past and present experience, *Cangoma Calling* draws connections between Anglo- and Latin-African American cultural histories, suggesting how Central and West African traditions have taken original shape in the Americas.

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Meira Monteiro & Stone *Cangoma Calling*



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Spirits and Rhythms of Freedom
in Brazilian Jongo Slavery Songs

Edited by
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luso-asio-afro-brazilian studies & theory 3

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Cangoma calling : spirits and rhythms of freedom in Brazilian jongo slavery songs / edited by Pedro Meira Monteiro ; Michael Stone.

pages ; cm. -- (Luso-Asio-Afro-Brazilian studies & theory ; 3)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-9814580-2-1 (alk. paper)

1. Jongos (Music)--History and criticism. 2. Blacks--Brazil--Music--History and criticism.
3. Music--Social aspects--Brazil. I. Monteiro, Pedro Meira. II. Stone, Michael.

ML3575.B7C25 2013

781.62'96981--dc23

2012012085

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Preface: A (Knotted) Stitch in Time, Weaving Connections Between Collections

Gage Averill

In reading through the various chapters of this book, I experienced many moments of connection and recognition. A decade ago, I had been asked to curate, edit, and annotate a sizeable collection of recordings (1,500 audio recordings plus films) produced by Alan Lomax in Haiti in the mid-1930s, and I finished this project in late 2009. Around the same time, I was made aware of the Stanley Stein collection of “lost” recordings of *pontos/jongos* and other music from Brazil, a small but still significant collection. I discovered that there were interesting intersections between these two projects.

Both Stein and Lomax had corresponded with the venerable anthropologist of African American culture, Melville Herskovits, and both had gone to their respective destinations (a decade apart) armed with a list of contacts and suggestions for making recordings. Like Herskovits, both were amply assisted by their partners. For both Stein and Lomax, these were early formative encounters in what were to become brilliant careers: for Lomax as a musical folklorist, analyst, and popularizer of vernacular music, and for Stein as a renowned scholar and founder of the Program in Latin American Studies at Princeton. Most importantly for this project, both men made recordings that remained out of the public eye for many decades and only much later came back into circulation.

The disappearance of these collections resulted from two very different sets of circumstances. For Stein, the wire recordings he had made were used to transcribe *jongo* lyrics for a chapter of his book and were otherwise thought to be of little interest, and they sat in a cabinet in his office for decades. Alan Lomax came back to the US from Haiti to assume

the pressing duties of Director of the Archive of American Folk Song; he continued his work recording and popularizing American folk music, and donated his Haitian collection to the Library of Congress, where it sat for sixty years. A book on Haitian music soon came out by the folklorist and novelist Harold Courlander (who had been in Haiti during some of Lomax's five months there), which included transcriptions of songs and song lyrics (*Haiti Singing*). Perhaps Lomax felt that his collection had been superseded? In any case, he eventually came to think that the recordings, which had been made on 10" and 12" aluminum disks, were too flawed from the perspective of acoustics to find a ready public. Courlander, meanwhile, published a set of four LP recordings of Haitian music in the 1950s on Moses Asch's Folkways Records (Folkways Ethnic Library) (*Music of Haiti* and *Haitian Piano*).

As Kenneth Bilby points out in this volume, there are also some striking similarities between some of the rhetorical strategies of the *jongo pontos* and those in certain genres of Haitian song that Alan Lomax recorded, notably in the use of allusive, critical language that has to be "untied" ... language that is "masked" or hidden. To *voye pwen* (throw a point) is one of the most powerful musical gestures available to a Haitian singer, and it can be used to provoke a deity or a human target. In his intricate linguistic analysis in this volume, Robert W. Slenes characterizes the Central African metaphors of binding and untying that result in the use of the term "pontos" ("knotted stitches" or "points") for this form of challenge song. As I once phrased it, "it is in possessing the semiotic power ('the key') to unlock the meanings of the pwen that the audience takes such delight" (Averill 16). To find the same allusive language in song—categorized by a similar terminology—in the slave songs of Brazil is to come face to face with the shared Central African cultural inheritance mobilized by similar histories of oppression.

For Alan Lomax, of course, the recording was the principal object of his work. He wanted to preserve the voices of those at the margins in order to create an alternative oral history of mankind and to empower the powerless through access to the means to be heard, especially through media. Although he documented his recordings and sometimes wrote about them, his focus was always on the recordings themselves. For Stanley Stein and his wife, Barbara Hadley Stein—even though they were aware of the work of Alan Lomax and his father, John, and had, as Jorge L. Giovannetti points out in this volume, read John Lomax's *Adventures of a Ballad*

Hunter—the recordings were afterthoughts and ancillary to the core work of understanding the history, economics and social structure of plantation life in Vassouras, Brazil. Nevertheless, Stein's interest in ethnography and in audio documentation flowed from his desire to understand the human drama that underlay the slave system: the roles played by, and the experiences of, both slaves and masters. And so he was remarkably open to contributions from oral history and oral documentary evidence. In fact, when Stein expresses his desire to use the “magic of technology and memory” to “capture ... the voices of the oppressed, and their memory,” he sounds very much like Alan Lomax and his project of “cultural equity.”

And it is the voices recorded, not just the transcriptions of lyrics on the page, that resonate with such power after all these years. Of course, these voices were physically produced by vibrations of the vocal folds of the singers (or in the vibrations of instruments articulated by human movement) and their traces carry the emotional content of the singer, something to which we can react with empathy and with recognition. Preserved as electromagnetic variations on a wire, they come back to us sixty years later to vibrate our eardrums, connecting us physically, and reminding us of our shared humanity. Slavery was built upon a denial of the humanity of both its victims and its perpetrators, but those who sang slave songs for Stanley Stein's wire recorder (at least one of whom was a former slave) reach out to touch contemporary audiences with the profound humanity and the layered and complex reflections on a predicament unique to a people who had had so much denied. And in them we hear the expressive strategies of those living as slaves, as they coped, criticized, and celebrated.

Finally, both collections have arrived in the present moment to be disseminated, interpreted, compared to other repertoires, debated, dissected, and to flow back into community musical practice as artists continue to perform or seek to revive historical expressive practices. And here, my own work and that of my team parallels the work of Gustavo Pacheco and the editors and contributors to this volume. Coming to understand deeply the context (people, locations, culture, language, politics, etc.) of the recordings requires patient and disciplined detective work, sensitive translation, lots of historical cross-checking, and, indeed, some imagination.

We are living in what certainly should be an archival golden era. The digital revolution allows us to make impeccable copies of documents and recordings and to disseminate them instantly all over the world. The Library

of Congress, which has a separate campus to hold original media (all perfectly climate controlled), uses over four petabytes (quadrillions of bytes) of storage just for the oral history archives of the Archive of Folk Culture. In the twenty-first century we can read information off of wax cylinders with lasers and do no harm to the original. And yet, as Kenneth Bilby points out, many of the world's great archival treasures sit on people's shelves, in their basements, forgotten and subject to loss and damage. In the wake of colonialism, the impulse toward cultural documentation and preservation has moved from the "resource-extraction" model to one characterized by global partnerships and collaboration.

The interest in Stein's recordings of *jongos* that has given rise to this volume should remind us that those of us who care about understanding human culture have an obligation to seek out, preserve, interpret, digitalize, repatriate, and make available these kinds of resources. This obligation is at its heart an exercise in reclaiming our past, honoring our ancestors, and preserving our humanity.

Introduction: *Jongos*, the Creativity of the Enslaved and Beyond

Pedro Meira Monteiro

Michael Stone

Not long ago, to advocate the existence of an “African-American Culture” would have elicited strong reactions from those who thought that Afro-Americanist scholarship should focus on African cultural “retentions,” as against those emphasizing the “cultural creativity of enslaved Africans in the New World.” This observation comes from Richard Price’s essay on the “miracle of creolization,” wherein he reflects upon the debates that animated the field of African American Studies in the 1970s and 1980s (116).

This book is not immediately identifiable with the field of African American Studies as it has evolved in the United States. However, we should not overlook Brazil’s prominence in the Americas, past and present, and how much we can learn from Brazilian history within the wider scope of the diaspora. In fact, *Cangoma Calling* concentrates on former slaves and their descendants and the evolution of slavery era *jongo* songs in Brazil. The matter of how “African” an African American heritage is, poses a question that has vexed our own time, both in the United States and far beyond, even as academics abjure essentialist conceptualizations, and acknowledge the absurdity of postulating an “Africa” that precedes and informs the cultural creativity of the enslaved and their descendants in the New World.

Moreover, terms such as “creole,” “hybrid,” and “miscegenation” all reference a theoretical puzzle beyond academic interest, which again necessarily extends outside the North American territory. Thus, *Cangoma Calling* introduces English-speaking audiences—both academic and general, and whether interested in Latin America or not—to an extraordinary trove

of field recordings that convey the richness of the *jongo* work songs and signifying chants of former Brazilian slaves and their cultural heirs. In so doing, this book reflects upon the cultural creativity of New World Africans, tracing the history and marking the contemporary resonance of a profound, if largely unknown, oral tradition that broadens our comprehension of the vital heritage of the last generation of enslaved peoples in the Americas.

The unique *jongo* recordings at the heart of this book owe their existence to historian Stanley Stein, who made them in the late 1940s in Brazil. Then a young Harvard graduate student, Stein and his wife, Barbara Hadley Stein, spent two years in the Paraíba Valley, between Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, where coffee cultivation had dominated during much of the nineteenth century. Inspired by the community studies of Robert Redfield and Ralph Beals, Stein traced the region's economic history, elucidating the mechanisms that sustained plantation society under slavery and led to coffee's decline thereafter. The result was a classic of Latin American historiography, *Vassouras: A Brazilian Coffee County, 1850-1900 (The Roles of Planter and Slave in a Plantation Society)*, first published by Harvard in 1957, with numerous subsequent US and Brazilian editions.

Reflecting the holistic perspective emergent in the discipline of anthropology, among other things, Stein was influenced by the Library of Congress archive of former slaves' testimonies made during the Great Depression in the United States. Plainly, *Vassouras* took shape at a foundational moment of African American Studies. Indeed, before departing for Brazil, Stanley Stein visited Melville and Frances Herskovits at Northwestern University to discuss field research strategies and techniques that could enhance his core objective, namely, to produce a work of economic and social history based on primary documents. While Stein would never claim any ethnomusicological credentials, his appreciation of the auxiliary value of using ethnographic methods led him to make the field recordings whose rediscovery has inspired the present work.

As Stein relates in the opening essay, one day he inquired about how slaves had received the news of emancipation in 1888. One man, a former slave, responded unexpectedly with a song that the historian would learn was a *jongo*, the genre that figures most prominently in the recordings. Stein's transcriptions of the *jongo* lyrics served as supporting material in "Religion and Festivities on the Plantation," a key chapter in *Vassouras*. But it would take fifty years for the recordings to reveal their fundamental

ethnomusicological value, after Brazilian scholar Gustavo Pacheco visited Stein at Princeton in 1999. Digitally restored, the rediscovered wire recordings inspired the book *Memória do jongo: as gravações históricas de Stanley J. Stein, Vassouras 1949*, by Pacheco and Silvia Hunold Lara, another of the Brazilian contributors to the present volume. As a telling measure of the national resurgence of *jongo* lore and practice, their scholarship has generated keen academic and popular interest in Brazil.

By extension, *Cangoma Calling* seeks to redress the paucity of English-language scholarship on *jongos*, extending the primarily Brazilian focus to date. By fostering a dialogue among scholars throughout the Americas, and resituating *jongo* in a hemispheric context, we hope to better comprehend how the *jongo* legacy resonates within the wider scope of the African diaspora. From different fields and diverse intellectual traditions, our contributors offer a fresh comparative perspective on conceptualizing New World African expressivity at large.

Linking past and present experience, *Cangoma Calling* also draws connections between Anglo- and Latin-African American cultural histories, suggesting how Central and West African traditions have assumed original shape in the Americas. In so doing, it reframes *jongos* as anything but antiquarian folklore; indeed, the genre has taken new form as an intergenerational movement among black cultural activists and artists in Brazil—where *jongo* festivals now attract young people, and where new *jongos* are being composed and sung daily.

The Contributions

Stanley Stein's "A Marvelous Journey" reflects upon the "serendipity" that made his long-forgotten wire recordings useful to a younger generation of scholars fifty years after the fact. A personal retrospective on his late-1940s fieldwork, the essay relates the circumstances that gave rise to the recordings at the heart of this volume, and thus to the intergenerational, interdisciplinary dialogue they have stimulated. Stein identifies the Brazilian, North American, and European influences contemporary of his own formation as a scholar. And, as he observes, a major methodological challenge would be "to access the voices of plantation slaves, to recreate their world and, in particular, to find forms or expressions of resistance and accommodation." In the end, his concern about how to recover "voices" from slavery's past led him to document the actual voices of those who

endured bondage and its aftermath. The past imagined by the historian thus takes concrete form as a compelling and immediate testimony, one whose pointed critique he found to be very much alive six decades after juridical abolition in 1888.

With “*Vassouras* and the Sounds of Captivity in Southeast Brazil,” Silvia Hunold Lara considers how Stein’s original research, drawing upon salient North American intellectual and political debates, as well as key Brazilian works of the time, would decisively influence the Brazilian historiography of slavery. In Brazil, *Vassouras* was read first as a work of economic history, and subsequently as a work of social and cultural history, when readers began to focus on *jongos* as an index of black expressivity in everyday plantation life. In assessing the editorial trajectory of Stein’s monograph over time, Lara thus traces a methodological shift from an economic to a social perspective in Brazilian historiography, much influenced by the work of E.P. Thompson and his New Left contemporaries. Accordingly, later debate in Brazil came to highlight the agency of the enslaved, something Stein’s work gave testimony to in a pioneering way.

In “Memory Hanging by a Wire: Stanley J. Stein’s Historical Recordings,” Gustavo Pacheco presents *jongo* within an overarching category of Afro-Brazilian dances known as *sambas de umbigada*, whose features recall Bantu cultural elements of Central Africa, where many of those enslaved in southeast Brazil originated. He relates his own quest to find and restore Stein’s recordings, in relation to the work of *Rede de Memória do Jongo* (“*Jongo* Memory Network”), and the Ministry of Culture’s declaration to include *jongo* as part of Brazil’s intangible cultural patrimony. Pacheco also offers a technical evaluation of the various genres documented in the recordings, assessing their relevance to ethnomusicological debates beginning with the establishment of the Archive of American Folk Song at the Library of Congress, the related Federal Writers’ Project, and the field recordings of Melville and Frances Herskovits that inspired Stein’s own initiative.

In “Like Forest Hardwoods: *Jongueiros Cumba* in the Central-African Slave Quarters,” Brazil-based North American historian Robert W. Slenes uses recent scholarship on West-Central Africa to reveal *jongo*’s deeper meanings to the enslaved themselves. He traces *jongo* to slave quarters dominated by West-Central Africans, who comprised the majority in coffee plantations of Brazil’s Southeast during the industry’s formative period. He shows

that the otherworldly powers attributed to the *cumba* (*jongo* master singer) correspond with what he calls the “*kumba* constellation,” a set of interlocking clusters of sacred words in the Kikongo language, as manifest in *jongo* lyrics.

Slenes further develops these ideas in “‘I Come from Afar, I Come Digging’: Kongo and Near-Kongo Metaphors in *Jongo* Lyrics,” arguing that the complex interlocking metaphors in the lyrics Stein collected in the late 1940s suggest that the *kumba* constellation animated the semantic world of nineteenth-century *jongo* singers. He examines tropes that associate the singers with the herding of animals and the digging, making, and traveling of roads, all recurrent *kumba* figures of speech. These insights connect *jongo* to the practice of the Afro-Brazilian religion of Macumba, while also suggesting linguistic parallels with Cuba.

With “*Jongo*, Recalling History,” Hebe Mattos and Martha Abreu problematize the idea—prevalent when Stein wrote *Vassouras*—that *jongo* was a vanishing form. Tracing *jongo*’s endurance and transformation, they analyze how folklorists, sociologists, anthropologists, and *jongueiros* themselves have cast *jongo* as a uniquely Afro-Brazilian form of cultural expression. The authors also discuss how the Afro-Brazilian movements of the 1970s and thereafter, influenced by global trends affirming African identity, drew inspiration from and gave new life to *jongo* practices. In so doing, they explain the rationale behind the recent official incorporation of *jongo* within Brazil’s intangible cultural patrimony while also shedding light on contemporary *jongo* production.

Drawing on Northwestern University’s Herskovits archive, in “‘As Rewarding as it Will be Fun’: Mapping the History and Legacy of Barbara and Stanley Stein’s Journey” Jorge Giovannetti traces how the exchange that developed between the two couples grew out of Barbara Hadley Stein’s prior meeting with Melville and Frances Herskovits during her own solo field sojourn in Bahia. Hence, Barbara was instrumental in fostering her husband’s encounter with Melville Herskovits, sparking a mentorship and correspondence that would theoretically shape the Steins’ innovative collaboration in *Vassouras*. The essay likewise casts light on the postwar North American academic milieu that underwrote the Steins’ Brazilian fieldwork at a critical juncture in the intellectual formulation of both Latin American area studies and African American Studies.

With “‘Sonorous Vestiges’: Stanley Stein’s Brazilian Recordings in Hemispheric Perspective,” Kenneth Bilby considers the challenge of recovering

the voices of the enslaved, as most of the available sources were produced by literate others. Building upon Slenes's contributions to this volume, he identifies parallels with *jongo* in Jamaica, Haiti, and elsewhere in the Caribbean, noting how certain shared cultural tropes point to the tying and untying of words that are "thrown" by the singer, who provokes the audience and incites close interpretation. He also considers the process of secularization that marks the evolution of those cultural manifestations, concluding that *jongo*'s broader reassessment can and should catalyze analogous research elsewhere in the African diaspora, thus enabling scholars to discover new possibilities in the realm of sonic archaeology.

In "*Jongos: Bodies and Spirits*," Arcadio Díaz Quiñones finds striking parallels between the work of Stanley Stein and Caribbean writers of the 1920s and 1930s, particularly Puerto Rican poet Luis Palés Matos and Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz. Contemporaneous with the Harlem Renaissance, and well before the *négritude* movement, the Caribbean avant garde was the first to recognize the contributions of enslaved Africans and their descendants to New World life and culture. This parallel reveals that *jongo*—formulated in Portuguese and replete with key African-origin terms and concepts—represents a new, hybrid linguistic form, one that raises critical questions about the nature of language, memory, and the colonial experience.

In "Resisting the Siren Song: The Shift from Folklore to Cultural History in Brazil," Pedro Meira Monteiro draws parallels between Stein's fieldwork and that of Mário de Andrade, as two researchers who, hearing similar aural material, developed contrasting approaches to popular culture. While Stein portrays a historical subject invested with agency, Andrade saw "the people" as bearers of a collective consciousness and a national spirit in the Brazilian setting of nationalistic modernism. Thus, Meira Monteiro shows how Stein's work entered into an effective, if indirect, dialogue with the Brazilian modernist literary tradition.

With "Sounds Like *Jongos* (New World Music) and the Changing Same," Michael Stone argues that, in a comparative diasporic context, *jongo* poetics and symbolism feature fundamental religious and ethical precepts that diverse New World African audiences would have recognized widely and readily. While Central African elements have persisted, *jongo* appears subsequently to have assimilated West African Yoruba characteristics associated with *Candomblé* (likewise as in Cuban *Santería*),

introduced via economic and demographic shifts in southeast Brazil from the mid-nineteenth century onward, in a dynamic process of contingent cultural adaptation, expressing the “changing same” of New World African music noted by Amiri Baraka and Paul Gilroy after him.

Finally, *Cangoma Calling* goes beyond what has been to date a primarily Anglophone framing of the so-called Black Atlantic. Built upon what may be the only extant recordings of signifying songs sung by former slaves anywhere in Latin America and the Caribbean, may this work, and the voices it invokes, speak to and reveal a new dimension of the actual cultural, linguistic and historical diversity of New World African experience. We hope it will inspire new studies and debates—to comprehend the experiences of people of New World African-descent in the broadest possible cultural, historical, sociological, geographic, linguistic, and disciplinary context—as Stanley and Barbara Stein so presciently intended.

Acknowledgments

Numerous people have helped to make this work possible. First, in the late 1990s, Gustavo Pacheco visited Stanley J. Stein at Princeton and inquired about the recordings that the historian and his wife Barbara Hadley Stein had made in Brazil in the late 1940s. Had it not been for this fortunate encounter, Pacheco and Silvia Hunold Lara would not have produced *Memória do Jongo* (2007), which informed some of the core contributions to the present volume. Pacheco took the initiative to digitize and restore the original wire recordings, and we thank him for sharing the results of that work. Silvia Lara has shared the breadth of her archival research in Brazil and at Princeton’s Firestone Library with all the contributors. Thanks are due as well to Robert Slenes for contributing the maps that accompany this work. In addition to thanking our Brazilian contributors, we express our appreciation to those who joined the team later, and whose diverse contributions have broadened our comprehension of *jongo* as a diasporic phenomenon.

We also thank those who participated in the 2004 round table at Princeton, “Chattering Songs: Slave Chants Collected by Stanley Stein in Brazil in the Late 1940s,” particularly Colin Palmer, whose remarks informed some of the present contributions. Dylon Robbins, Edgardo Dieleke, Muhammad Rumi Oodally, and José Juan Pérez Meléndez put all their efforts in helping to make the round table a success; the Department of Spanish and Portuguese and the Program in Latin American Studies co-sponsored the event.

Kenneth Mills expressed his enthusiasm for this project at a critical moment, when in 2009 he invited us, together with Stanley Stein and Silvia Lara, to a round-table discussion at the University of Toronto's Latin American Studies program. Phillip Wigan and Julia Felmanas translated the Portuguese texts, thanks to a grant from Princeton's Program in Latin American Studies.

Finally, and most importantly, the very meaning of this volume springs from the exceptional moment when Stanley and Barbara Stein lent their ears to the singers whose generous creativity continue to move and inform us, more than sixty years later.

The Recordings

Stanley Stein's field recordings are available for free download at the website of the luso-asio-afro-brazilian studies and theory series (www.laabst.net). The transcribed lyrics, with English-language translations, can be found at the end of this volume.

A Marvelous Journey

Stanley Stein

I would like to be considered here in the role of technician, no more and no less, simply because some sixty years ago I just happened to record, on an early, very heavy General Electric wire recorder, what I thought were essentially work songs (so-called “chattering songs,” *jongos*) once hummed by former slaves, still sung by their descendants, in an old coffee-growing *município* in the Paraíba Valley of the State of Rio de Janeiro. On reflection, that happening was pure serendipity—or was it?

But before I launch into what is best described as the formation or trajectory of a fledgling student of the history of modern Brazil, I must record my pleasure on finding how my serendipitous wire recordings have proven useful to another generation of social historians represented by Silvia Lara and Robert Slenes.

Let me elaborate my comment on my presence as a technician who collected *jongos* in no way cognizant of their full utility, as Robert Slenes’s research reveals. My dissertation project, worked out with Barbara Hadley Stein—she had gone to Brazil in 1940 for research on the abolitionist movement of the 1880s, as a State Department fellow and emblem of Roosevelt’s Good Neighbor Policy—was designed in late 1947 to examine a theme constant in the history of Brazil since the early sixteenth century, the repeated cycle of export-oriented growth, first sugar, tobacco, gold, and, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, coffee, which was initially cultivated on the hills of the city of Rio, then spread north over the coastal range into the Paraíba Valley and westward into the State of São Paulo. The unit of agricultural production was the plantation, which depended

upon the forced immigration of millions enslaved in Africa, sold on the South Atlantic coast, shipped to Brazil's ports of Recife, Bahia, and Rio de Janeiro—more than nine million over four hundred years, most to produce valuable exports. Slavery was basic to the operations of the plantation.

However, in 1947 I was focused on plantation society and economy, not slavery per se and certainly neither on comparative slavery nor plantation agriculture in the New World. Put another way, I had zeroed in on a small segment of what the cultural anthropologist Charles Wagley once fittingly called “plantation America.” Let me confess that I entertained a certain idealistic hope that a study of the rise and decline of coffee plantations and their legacy in the Paraíba Valley might somehow contribute to Brazil's passage from underdevelopment toward lessened external dependence. The hope reflected having read Monteiro Lobato, Paulo Prado, and Allan K. Manchester.

Barbara and I reviewed my dissertation options, and I resolved to examine plantation society in one geographical area of Brazil, and to analyze it, to the extent possible, always with the hope I would succeed in viewing it from within rather than without. I shunned entrapment in comparative slavery, what Frank Tannenbaum did in his controversial *Slave and Citizen*. And in the same line of confession, I did not read Ulrich Phillips's *Life and Labor in the Old South*, or his *Plantation and Frontier*. On the other hand, before sailing to Brazil in May 1948 with Barbara Stein and our first child, I did hunt down a reprint of Lewis Gray's classic two-volume *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*—this I carried to Brazil.

On going back almost sixty years (I do recognize that memory is slippery, often inaccurate, and certainly not impartial), I think I can discern two main currents that shaped my conception of the dissertation and its limits, currents that would by accident lead to the recording of *jongos*.

The first current consisted of the community studies of Mexico in the 1930s and 1940s, those by US anthropologists whose research interests had spilled over from the Amerindians of the Great Plains, the Southwest, and Northwest into Mexico, and ultimately even further south. After two decades of the Revolution, rural Mexico was receptive territory to empathetic anthropologists among the “cousins” to the North. There come to mind the pioneer community studies by Robert Redfield—*Tepoztlán, a Mexican Village*, followed by *Chan Kom, a Maya Village*—which inspired many others.

Pure coincidence, in spring 1948, when we sailed to Brazil, Julian Steward sent two graduate students to study plantation communities in Puerto

Rico, Eric Wolf and Sidney Mintz, who later recalled Herskovits's stimulus to Caribbean Studies. Redfield was a student of Franz Boas, as was his contemporary, Melville Herskovits. The latter went off on a different, very original track, to what became a vision of the African diaspora, as he and Frances Herskovits moved their focus from the United States to Haiti, then to Dahomey, Trinidad, Brazil, and Cuba. Fascinated by Herskovits's *The Myth of the Negro Past*, I went on first to his *Dahomey* and, second, to *Life in a Haitian Valley*, where I found methodological signposts, for example, syncretism, in the process of acculturation, and ethnomusicology.

What I learned from these fundamental micro-studies of culture were principles that would shape my field work: first and foremost, the necessity of explicit empathy for the community studied, or, to put it another way, no condescension; and second, the equal need to weave together material culture, social relations, and patterns of change to form a kind of cosmovision—the effort to achieve comprehension of a culture in microcosm, perhaps a kind of *histoire totale avant la lettre*.

The second current shaping my approach in 1948 was essentially Brazilian in nature, as it should have been. There was, magisterial at that time, Gilberto Freyre's *Casa-grande & senzala* (subtitled "The Formation of the Brazilian Family in a Patriarchal Economy,") which brought front and center to Brazilians the persistent influence of the relations between master class and slaves on the secular sugar plantations of Brazil's *Nordeste*, a relationship Freyre tintured with intimations of the presumed paternalism (and humanitarianism) of the patriarch. This, Silvia Lara has questioned in *Campos da violência*, her study of sugar plantations in the easternmost tip of the State of Rio, the area around Campos. In addition were the five remarkable novels of what became known as the sugar cane cycle, by Freyre's close friend and novelist, José Lins do Rego, from his *Bangüê to Fogo morto*.

And for the neophyte to Brazil's economic cycles there were the two substantive volumes on Brazil's economic history by industrialist, autodidact historian, and nationalist Roberto Simonsen, plus the impressionistic yet stimulating (today, much outdated) *Brazil, A Study of Economic Types*, by João Normano, and Sergio Milliet's *Roteiro do café*. Last and most useful was the fourteen-volume history of coffee in Brazil by Affonso Taunay, not so much rigorous history as collection of printed materials, culled from an extraordinary variety of sources on coffee agriculture in three major areas of south-central Brazil, the states of Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais,

and São Paulo. It was and remains a remarkable guide to the then bibliography of coffee in Brazil.

This brings me at last to the theme of this volume, the *jongos*. In planning the Vassouras project, a major problem would be access to the voices of plantation slaves, to recreate their world and, in particular, to find forms or expressions of resistance and accommodation. Informants had been a major source in the Herskovits's fieldwork, especially so in Africa and the Caribbean, in Dahomey, and Haiti.

In addition, there were the remarkable narratives of slave and post-abolition times in the US South, gathered during the Great Depression by the Federal Writers' Project, and tapped by Botkin in his classic *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery*, sensitively dedicated "to the narrators," with its memorable epigraph: "No more sickness, no more sorrow, when I lay my burden down."

Barbara, in the course of her fieldwork on abolition in Brazil, had met Melville and Frances Herskovits in Bahia in 1941. At Barbara's suggestion, shortly before we sailed to Brazil, I contacted them at Northwestern University about the approach to informants in my fieldwork, and they agreed to advise me. Just before I left Evanston, Melville Herskovits took me to his recording lab, where he played some of his field recordings, including one in particular, of Afro-Trinidadians at church singing Moody and Sankey hymns.

My collection and recording of *jongos* in 1948 and early 1949 in and around Vassouras, their recent conversion from wire to CD, and their diffusion in Brazil, strike me as matters of pure serendipity. Brief exposure to Herskovits's recordings had sensitized me to the magic of technology and memory, just as Botkin's *Lay My Burden Down* sensitized me to the significance and rewards of going beyond the available documentation to capture the unwritten, the voices of the oppressed, and their memory.

Naturally, the experience of Herskovits and Botkin came to mind when I began interviewing two elderly Afro-Brazilians whom Barbara chanced to encounter at the Vassouras Saturday market. At last I could put to use the careful instructions of Frances Herskovits on how to dialogue with informants.

The sequence that followed I cannot now recall with precision—I fault the fog of memory. I believe that one day when I questioned an informant on how news of emancipation in May 1888 had been received by slaves, he hummed two *jongos*. The first concerned how slaves had reacted to the news of emancipation: "I was sleeping, *Ngoma* called me / Arise people,

captivity is over.” The second offered an equally succinct voice, a memory of bitterness about freedom without access to land: “Ay, she did not give us a chair to sit on; the Queen gave us a bed, but no chair to sit on.”

This providential opening quickly led to more songs by two informants, later by others. Here was a way to enter the world of the field hand, to find in *jongos*—often a form of “sarcastic improvisation”—his or her reaction to the coffee plantation society of slave and master at Vassouras. As Robert Slenes has put it well in his recent historical sleuthing, “Malungu, ngoma vem! África coberta e descoberta do Brasil,” many such songs should be interpreted as “part of a secret code in the struggle against the master class... symbol of resistance to their power” (59).

But now comes the regrettable coda to my experience of collecting *jongos* with a large, heavy wire recorder (courtesy of the US Embassy in Rio). I have to recall that my research focus was on the plantation society and economy of a micro-region, the county of Vassouras, from its origin in virgin forest to its decline in eroded hillsides over the course of the nineteenth century. I wrote down the songs hummed to me, and recorded others on wire when occasion allowed, but the real importance of what I had captured escaped me. The songs thus recorded remained entombed on wire, awaiting resurrection almost six decades later.

My lamentable graduate student’s tunnel vision reflected the short-sightedness of a scholar-in-the-making in a hurry. But a few years ago, a member of Brazil’s Museu Folclórico in Rio, Gustavo Pacheco, visited Princeton University. In a brief conversation, I happened to mention the wire recording, but was unable to recall where I had squirreled away its container. But Pacheco was a persistent correspondent, and one day I happened to open the bottom drawer of a filing cabinet, recognized the container, and dispatched it to Rio.

Fortunately, it has fallen to the current generation of social historians in Brazil with a broad, nuanced vision of the elements of the country’s past, to diffuse these rather unprofessionally recorded *jongos* and discern in their endurance continuities of culture linking Brazil to Africa. It is a source of personal satisfaction that social historians like Silvia Lara and Robert Slenes are turning my dross into gold.

I would conclude on two notes—of satisfaction and of reflection. The essays of this volume remind me of the importance of comprehensiveness in research, on the assumption that research details—seemingly interesting,

even novel, but at the moment peripheral—may assume unimagined utility for later scholars. Perhaps some genius is in the details. As for reflection: the *jongos* resurrected by Gustavo Pacheco and the contributors to this volume have led me to review the process of the fieldwork that Barbara and I undertook long ago and far away, in and around the Vassouras community more than a half-century ago, and to realize—paraphrasing the literary historian Samuel Putnam—that our months in that *município* were really our marvelous journey.

***Vassouras* and the Sounds of Captivity in Southeast Brazil¹**

Silvia Hunold Lara

Books can very well be compared to trees. Some remind us of the *manacás*, which flower in February, when it is possible to identify so many of them on the mountainsides of Serra do Mar: so many that the forest is awash with brushstrokes of pink and lilac. Like *manacás*, there are books that color everything around them. But, once the flowering season is over, they no longer stand out, blending into the background, giving density to the woodland. Others are more like the stately and beautiful *canelas*.² They are rarer, and grow slowly, and as time passes, they become taller and taller, distinguishing themselves from all others: important markers, with high-quality wood, they are a sign of ancient forests and serve as reference to many generations. Stanley Stein's *Vassouras* is like a tall and beautiful *canela* tree.

The research upon which it was based was rooted in fertile ground, inspired by important trends present in the post-war period of North American academic life. As part of an education characterized by openness to interdisciplinary studies, Stein capitalized upon the intellectual ferment in anthropology, taking inspiration from community studies of Mexican villages, particularly those by Ralph L. Beals, Robert L. Redfield, and George M. Foster. Interested in studying the changes that had taken place in societies that had been implicated in the process of Western cultural expansion, these anthropologists had produced detailed ethnographic descriptions focusing on different aspects of social life, and the interactive character of those varied domains.

When Stein chose to study a coffee-growing district in the Paraíba Valley, he sought to understand questions central to the history of Brazilian

economic development, but he also wanted to understand how the establishment of coffee cultivation had altered the way of life of the people of that region. His proposal therefore linked an interest in material culture and everyday customs to more wide-ranging analyses intended to explain economic, demographic, and social changes. By focusing on a specific region and concentrating on local relationships, he also aimed to elaborate a new way of understanding the wider historical processes implicated in economic and social change.

There was, however, much more going on during the post-war years. The 1945 publication of Botkin's *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery* had given wide visibility to the Federal Writers' Project interviews undertaken in the 1930s. The results of that prior work came to fruition at a time of great change in the social sciences and humanities, with the emergence of a new area of studies dedicated to African American culture and history.

Before that, establishing the existence of an African American past and a history of black people in the United States had been almost exclusively a concern of black intellectuals such as W. E. B. Du Bois. Moreover, the work of Franz Boas conferred scientific status and academic legitimacy to the possibility of calling racism into question, and the publication of Melville Herskovits's *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941) would consolidate this change in perspective.

Stanley Stein's research strategy would also take these elements into account. He focused on a district in the Paraíba Valley as representative of the coffee-growing economy at large, and intended to study its different dimensions through time. As a historian, his choice also entailed a careful preliminary review of available sources. In the municipal archives in Vassouras, and in the town's public notary offices, it was possible to consult inventories, wills, and civil and criminal proceedings. In addition, libraries held local newspapers, and it was also possible to find diaries and private correspondence. Stein complemented the general picture by consulting widely circulated newspapers from Rio de Janeiro, and other documents, such as travelers' accounts and farmers' almanacs found in the archives of the Biblioteca Nacional and the Arquivo Nacional in Rio de Janeiro.

Having planned his work and obtained the necessary funds, Stein and his family established themselves in a pension in Vassouras, where they remained from September 1948 to November 1949. His stay allowed him not only to consult the local documentation, but also to gain *entrée* in local

community life. As he related years later in an interview, the choice made it possible “to find some people who could still remember the times of slavery, to reconstruct the life, and identify political events, important festivities, and facts obscured by the rigidity and inflexibility of official documentation” (Bom Meihy 86).

The Steins had read the most important Brazilian historians and sociologists of the time, such as Gilberto Freyre (1933), Paulo Prado (1928), Sérgio Milliet (1939), and Caio Prado Júnior (1945). Stein had also read all of Affonso d’Escragnole Taunay’s *História do café no Brasil* (1939), as well as some important works of fiction that dealt directly with his research theme, such as Monteiro Lobato’s *Urupês* (1918) and José Lins do Rego’s *Bangüê* (1934).

Stanley and Barbara Stein had been in Brazil at the beginning of the 1940s, spoke Portuguese, and were well acquainted with the history of abolition in Brazil, which had been the object of extensive research by Barbara for her PhD dissertation. During that stay, she met Frances and Melville Herskovits, who were in Bahia. Once back in the United States, the academic couples kept in touch. Through this contact, in discussing research methods and strategies, the idea of interviewing and gathering statements from ex-slaves took shape.³

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Life in Vassouras brought all of Stein’s preparation to fruition:

I worked from morning to night, and some days I went to the fields to interview people, visiting plantations; I spoke to ex-slaves, slave drivers, mule drivers.... It was a marvelous opportunity. It was also marvelous because I was able to have access to a preserved world through the old characters who were still alive; above all [I was able to] live with the people who were there, in the same place they had spent their whole lives. (Bom Meihy 88)

The Vassouras research resulted in an ingenious book, which dealt with the economic, social and cultural life of a district in the Paraíba Valley. Throughout the nineteenth century, this region, initially covered by dense tropical forest, had gone through a process of radical change. The forest had disappeared and the hills had become covered with extensive coffee plantations, cultivated by hundreds of enslaved Africans and their descendants. Between 1850 and 1880, the Paraíba Valley was transformed into the largest coffee-producing region of the world. During the final decades of the nineteenth century, production had started to decline and, by the

1900s, it had been supplanted by the expansion of coffee cultivation in the west of São Paulo state. This is the story told by Stanley Stein.

This theme lends itself, of course, to economic analysis, and the research was able to detail the process that took a small community at the end of the eighteenth century to the height of its prosperity in the mid-nineteenth century, and from there to its decadence at the turn of the twentieth century. The climate, the soil, the initial settlement, the establishment of coffee plantations, the cultivation techniques and forms of coffee trading, communication with Rio de Janeiro, slave labor and trading dynamics—these were the themes that comprise most of the eleven chapters of a work whose four sections follow the economy's entire progression.

However, what was most interesting and innovative in this book was its treatment of those themes while taking into account the social agents. Economic forces are dealt with, of course, but the main focus of the analysis is how adventurers, plantation owners, slaves, freedmen, peddlers, and commercial traders lived and moved within this scenario. The forms of association of plantation owners, the relationships between them and their slaves, the daily and work routines within the coffee plantations, illnesses, family life, religion, and festivities—these aspects are so important that, while addressed in different places in the text, they are foregrounded in four of the eleven chapters. They are superb chapters, in which a sophisticated reading of textual sources is cross-referenced with statements and interviews to give a comprehensive description of the slave owners' practices, the lives of the slaves, and varied cultural aspects of that society.

The book circulated widely. Written in the 1950s, originally as a PhD dissertation defended in 1951 at Harvard University, it was published in 1957. Favorably reviewed by important journals, it became a success among anthropologists and historians who dealt not only with the history of Brazil, but also with the study of African American culture.⁴ Reviews highlighted its contribution to the study of institutional and economic changes in Brazil, and its innovative use of notary office sources and interviews with ex-slaves and old residents of the municipality. It was considered "far more than just a 'local history,'" since it showed how more general and national processes manifested themselves within a particular community (Wagley 420; cf. Mintz, "*Vassouras*" 557).

In historiographic terms, its importance was also due to the fact that it denounced the terrible conditions that slaves had been subject to, at the same

time that it gave a detailed analysis of master-slave relations in Brazil. During that period those conditions were better known in the United States through Gilberto Freyre's work, which tended to emphasize the role of miscegenation and reinforce a rose-tinted view of racial relations in Brazilian society.⁵ Without directly criticizing or engaging in a polemic with Freyre, *Vassouras* offered an alternative interpretation based on solid research that showed the appalling consequences of the coffee monoculture and the exploitation of slave labor.⁶

The impact of *Vassouras* can be measured by its editorial history: the 1957 edition was reprinted in 1970. That same year, another publisher released a second edition, which was reprinted in 1974 and 1976. In 1985, with another change of publisher, the book was edited once again, and it was released in digital format in 2005, accessible via an electronic database available in most university libraries in the United States. This database gives access to published works from the most important academic publishers, considered "works of major importance to the humanities, books that remain vital to both scholars and advanced students and are frequently cited in the literature" ("ACLS Humanities E-Book").

Its fortunes were a bit different in Brazil, however; its two main English editions were translated into Portuguese in 1961 (following the 1957 English-language edition) and again in 1990 (following the 1985 English-language edition). Although it was considered a "classic," it was not always read in the same way or appreciated for the same reasons.

The 1961 Brazilian edition was received by an ebullient academic audience. A group of scholars known as the "São Paulo School," headed by sociologist Florestan Fernandes, was publishing its first works on the monoculture production in the central-southern region, the Brazilian passage from slavery to wage labor, and racial relations during the post-abolition period. The works of Florestan Fernandes (1965), Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1962), Octavio Ianni (1962), and Emília Viotti da Costa (1966) marked not only the history of social sciences in Brazil (in particular, sociology and history), but also shifted the debate on the meaning of slavery in relation to Brazilian social formation. By criticizing Gilberto Freyre's theories, they emphasized the violence of slave domination and showed how capitalist development in Brazil had produced the marginalization of black people within a class society.⁷

Like *manacás*, for many decades these books left their mark on later studies on the theme. Until at least the 1980s, everyone who dedicated him or herself to the study of slavery was influenced by these works. Their

theses matched Stanley Stein's critical focus and encouraged a reading of the more economically-oriented chapters in the recently translated *Vassouras*. They not only valued the analysis of coffee plantation development and slave labor, but also the relationship between local production and the mechanisms of the export economy. Moreover, *Vassouras* was read as exemplary for its clear demonstration of how the desire for profit and the violence of slavery had exhausted the land and its people, shaping social and economic relations and a world that resisted modernization.

During the 1970s, as the Brazilian dictatorship became more oppressive, graduate programs expanded, creating an institutional space that fostered research and academic debates. In the humanities (which in Brazil include the social sciences), discussions about the mode of production in Brazil took center stage. Not by chance, this occurred on two fronts: theoretically, focusing on the nature of the development of Brazilian society; and politically, in militant debates on the path revolution should (or could) take in Brazil.

During this period, *Vassouras* was taken to be too detailed, while neither discussing Marxist theory nor seeming to be engaged in the political struggle. At the same time, it was a book devoted to the study of coffee cultivation in Paraíba Valley, rather than the west of São Paulo state, an area that had been researched in the mid-1960s in Emília Viotti da Costa's *Da senzala à colônia*, a work that had been important in the discussion about the processes of capital accumulation and capitalist development in Brazil.

Vassouras was read to confirm the schematic thesis that contrasted the decadent slave-based economy of Paraíba Valley with the dynamic agricultural entrepreneurs of the west of São Paulo, and Stein's conclusions were quickly generalized as confirmation of the regressive, conservative posture of a dominant class that had lost its power due to the inexorable advance of capitalism.⁸ Pushed to the background, Stein's book was reduced to occasional footnote status, appearing only in more detailed studies of the coffee-growing economy.

However, along with these theoretical debates, graduate programs favored the production of various monographic studies that began to question the weight given to both the coffee economy of the west of São Paulo and to immigrant labor in the theories of the so-called "São Paulo School" about capitalist development and the transformation of labor relations in Brazil. Some scholars felt it necessary to research other regions beyond São Paulo, and to explain

how the “*elemento nacional*” (free and freed workers, or former slaves, born in Brazil) had been incorporated into the production process.

Studies soon appeared about Pernambuco, Paraíba, Espírito Santo, Minas Gerais, and elsewhere. In some institutions, such as the Universidade Federal Fluminense, many researchers dedicated themselves to what was then called “agrarian history”—that is, studies about specific municipalities, exploring public notary sources—seeking to understand diverse social and economic dynamics. *Vassouras*, together with Warren Dean’s *Rio Claro: A Brazilian Plantation System* (1976), which was quickly translated into Portuguese, were compulsory reading for history students as examples of how to explore sources found in notary archives in a far-reaching and sophisticated way (Chalhoub 3).

During the 1980s, various studies adhered to the same methodological guidelines, investigating municipalities that produced coffee and sugar, and others that produced food staples, seeking to follow the example and critical spirit of Stein’s and Dean’s work. From this time on, Brazilian historians typically visited local notary offices in search of inventories, property transaction deeds, and judicial proceedings. During this period, in addition to its chapters on the coffee-growing economy, Stein’s book was also read for his use of notary documentation in tracing plantation development, plantation dependency on agents resident in Rio de Janeiro, the character of daily life, and so forth.

However, there was an even more important shift during this period, which led to new ways of perceiving the history of slavery in Brazil, and a new way of reading *Vassouras*. From the late 1980s through the 1990s, inspired in part by the theoretical and political repercussions of E. P. Thompson’s work on eighteenth-century England, some historians began to insist on the need to include the experience of slaves in the history of Brazilian slavery. This approach went beyond simply studying their way of life or their vision of slavery. The “inclusion of the excluded” came together with a new way of analyzing the master-slave relationship. Paternalism and violence were no longer considered as opposite poles, but elements that together made up a specific relationship of domination. These analyses increasingly focused on daily practices, customs, struggles, forms of resistance, accommodation, and solidarity between slaves, between masters, and between masters and slaves.

This new way of interpreting the history of slavery was quite polemical in the early 1990s.⁹ Eventually, however, it became evident that the

panorama of historical studies concerned with the black experience in Brazil had been both radically transformed and considerably expanded. If, during the 1960s and 1970s, theories about the social anomie produced through captivity impeded further investigation of the slave family, for example, today this area encompasses a vast literature including various important studies supported by extensive documentary investigation.

Subsistence farming and other informal economic activities, which made possible a certain degree of autonomy or allowed for the accumulation of savings, gained analytical importance in a variety of studies that cast new light on the slave experience. Beyond those works that focused on everyday struggles, we can add others that concentrated on large *quilombos* (runaway slave settlements) and insurrections, contributing to a conceptual shift that effectively reframed the understanding of the scope of slave resistance.

Leaving aside stereotypes of the victimized black person or the heroic rebel, researchers encountered many forms of negotiation and conflict. Such processes mediated the condition of captivity and the quest for freedom, through escape and *quilombo* resistance, the opportune use of institutional channels such as tribunals, and the role of broader social movements, whether associated or not with the progressive politicization of the late nineteenth-century abolitionist struggle.¹⁰

To answer the new questions being formulated at that time, historians sought new sources. Old judiciary documents became even more important, particularly insofar as there were no direct testimonies of slaves and ex-slaves, as was the case in the US. Criminal processes and runaway slave arrest reports were read in search of slave depositions, documentary evidence of conflict between plantation dwellers, and everyday occurrences in farmyards, taverns, and public places.

The study of judiciary proceedings related to emancipation enabled new insights regarding the magnitude of the struggle to escape from captivity, documenting previously unknown survival strategies and ways of confronting seigniorial power. These documents augmented other sources resulting from a belated effort to gather and publish interviews with ex-slaves and their descendants.¹¹ All these developments enabled Stein's book to be read in a different way, as a precursor of research practices and the recording of oral sources that for decades had simply been ignored in Brazilian slavery scholarship.

Vassouras had already become a reference vis-à-vis the historiographic use of judiciary documentation. Now Stein's book assumed new value for its use of ex-slaves' statements—and of *jongos* (or *caxambus*) themselves—serving as a critical alternative source to the information provided by travelers' accounts and farmers' almanacs. The masterly passages of *Vassouras* offer insight into the gestures and sayings of people when they were assembled to start the day's work, to pray, or to eat; they also offer a detailed analysis of how people dressed, chose marriage partners, or traded their harvest surplus, among many other things. Through these passages we can also hear them criticizing their masters, complaining about punishment, and making sardonic commentaries on daily life. The counterpoint between masters' and slaves' perspectives that structure the analysis also shapes the selection of sources and the analytical approach, offering a dynamic view of social relations.¹²

Jongos play a fundamental role in Stein's book. I believe that he was the first to use them as a source in historical analysis. Prior to *Vassouras*, *jongos* had been the object of studies by folklorists, who recorded countless verses in search of traditional elements of national culture.¹³ In *Vassouras*, *jongos* serve as evidence throughout the text, along with travelers' accounts, property inventories of the deceased, farmers' almanacs, newspaper articles, and official documents. The author devotes the same care in deciphering words and references coded in the sung verses of *jongos* as he does to clarifying old terms that appear in other sources.

With the help of the statements of elderly ex-slaves and information gathered from textual sources, that which might otherwise seem disconnected gains meaning. The enigmatic is revealed, and the phrases sung before a bulky recorder and those carefully registered in interviews, are transformed, echoing the sounds of captivity within a sophisticated historical analysis. For this reason, beyond its intrinsic merits, *Vassouras* can be read as a valuable repository of information about slave life, not least the *jongos* of Rio de Janeiro's Paraíba Valley.

Thus the book became a reference for all those interested in the voices of the enslaved, in the sounds that—like the *jongos* sung in the days of captivity—can still be heard today. Many other texts followed by historians and anthropologists who likewise made use of the traces found in travelers' accounts and testimonies from criminal proceedings. Therein, proverbs, sounds, gestures, and religious manifestations served to reveal aspects of

life in the *senzalas* and coffee plantations of the Southeast and elsewhere in nineteenth-century Brazil.¹⁴ It is not by chance that these studies echo, directly or indirectly, the strengthening of black communities in contemporary Brazil, which are increasingly interested in valorizing their past as a basis to defend and assert their claim to land and citizenship rights.¹⁵

As sonorous vestiges of a culture that flourished in the few autonomous spaces where captives were able to assert themselves, *jongo's* coded verses have helped to reinforce the presence of blacks in the terrain of history, and in the political struggle for citizenship in contemporary Brazil. These refrains constitute the vital sap that animates the leaves of *Vassouras*. For researchers interested in incorporating the experiences of the enslaved into the history of slavery, this *canela* book guides us, showing us the pathway to appreciating the perspectives of enslaved blacks in Brazil.

In the shadow of this *canela*, scholars can gather strength to follow in the same direction. And many black men and women can recognize in the traditions inherited from their grandparents, the combative words that once expressed the bitterness, the ironic resignation, and the defiance of the times of slavery, and which now can instruct the struggles of the present.

Memory Hanging by a Wire: Stanley J. Stein's Historical Recordings

Gustavo Pacheco

Papai chegou aqui pede licença, zirimão
Pede licença pra angoma,
Pede licença pra tudo,
Pra chegá no seu reiná, pra mim, angoma
(M. Ribeiro 26)

Papa, I am here, I ask permission for the brothers
I ask permission for angoma drums,
I ask permission for all
To come into your kingdom, for me, angoma

On a cold night in May 1997, I visited, for the first time, the Fazenda São José in the municipality of Santa Isabel de Rio Preto, about three hours by car from Rio de Janeiro. Watching the black community gathered that night to dance the *jongo* by gaslight on the beaten dirt ground, to the sound of centenary drums made from tree trunks, I could not escape the feeling of being taken back in time.

The scene recalled the *jongos* that took place on the coffee plantations of the Vale do Paraíba in the nineteenth century, and at the beginning of the twentieth century in the Morro da Serrinha on the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro, as described to me by Darcy Monteiro—"Mestre Darcy do Jongo"—descended from a traditional family of *jongueiros*. Among the many songs I heard that night, there was one that caught my attention with its captivating melody and enigmatic lyrics:

Ô embaúba coroné,
 Aê ô embaúba coroné
 Tanto pau no mato
 Ô embaúba coroné, aê...

Ô *embaúba* Colonel,
 Aê *embaúba* Colonel
 So many trees in the forest
 And Colonel is *Embaúba*, aê...

Some time later, I would come across the same song, transcribed word-for-word in Stanley Stein's book, *Vassouras: um município brasileiro do café, 1850–1900*. Like many others interested in Brazilian history, I had already read Stein's classic in search of information about the coffee-growing economy of the nineteenth century, and about its impact on the socio-cultural formation of southeast Brazil. But I could only vaguely remember *jongo* being mentioned throughout the book. Rereading it more carefully, I confirmed my conviction about the importance and the beauty of the *jongo* as a shared tradition, a powerful vehicle for collective expression that made it possible for a song such as the one above to be carried through time and space, maintaining its freshness and vitality.

Jongo, also known as *caxambu* or *tambu*, is a dance and a poetic-musical genre characteristic of rural and suburban black communities of southeast Brazil. It is performed mainly for enjoyment, but it also contains some ritual and religious aspects. *Jongo* originated from the dances of slaves working on the coffee plantations of Vale do Paraíba, in the states of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, and also on plantations in some regions of Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo. *Jongo* is part of a wide-ranging group of Afro-Brazilian dances (such as the *batuque* from São Paulo, the *candombe* from Minas Gerais, the *tambor de crioula* from Maranhão, and the *zambê* from Rio Grande do Norte) generically called *sambas de umbigada* by folklorist Edison Carneiro, who drew attention to a number of common elements in these dances. Among those elements, we can highlight the use of two or more drums, made from hollowed-out tree trunks, covered with leather at one end and tuned by heating over flames; the vocal style, consisting of short sentences sung by a soloist and either repeated or answered by the chorus; poetic-metaphoric language; and the presence of *umbigada*,

a characteristic dance step where two dancers touch stomachs (Carneiro, “Samba de umbigada”). These elements suggest links with the cultural practices of Bantu peoples in central and southern Africa, the region of origin of the majority of slaves working on the plantations of southeast Brazil.

Stein’s book looks at *jongo* from a historical and sociological perspective, as opposed to the impressionistic descriptions made by travelers and folklorists up to that time. Although the *jongo* only appears in a small passage in Chapter 8, “Religion and Festivities on the Plantation,” and is mentioned only a few times in the rest of the book, the information presented by Stein is precious, and it continues to be a primary reference on the theme. The importance of this work is not only due to the richness of the material collected directly from ex-slaves and their descendants, a little over a half-century after abolition, but also due to its effort to contextualize and interpret the data in light of the daily routine of slaves on the coffee plantations at the end of the nineteenth century.

In the preface of his book, Stein said that during his research in Vassouras, in 1948 and 1949, “recordings were made of work songs and slave *jongos*, rhymed commentaries closely related to work songs, for their comments on slave society” (Stein, *Vassouras* [1985] ix). This brief passage was enough to excite my imagination. Where might these recordings be, after half a century? Would it be possible to listen to them? What type of information could they provide about the formation, ruptures, and continuities of the cultural traditions of Afro-descendants in Brazil?

I spoke about these issues with Martha Abreu, who shares my interest in Brazilian popular culture. On her suggestion, I wrote to Rebecca J. Scott, Stein’s former advisee, who put me in touch with Jeremy Adelman, professor of Latin American history at Princeton University. Through Adelman, I met Stein at Princeton in September 1999. In a brief but memorable meeting, I heard many stories and reminiscences about his stay in Brazil, and we talked about the recordings. I discovered that they had been made using a wire recorder, a sound device that was very popular until the end of the 1940s. My joy in finding out that the recordings still existed was tempered by a certain disappointment. I could not listen to or copy them, due to their unusual format; moreover, Stein could not locate them. I returned to Brazil, both enthused and frustrated.

In 2002, on another trip to the United States, I thought again about the recordings. Since the time of my visit to Princeton, the *jongo* theme

had become increasingly prominent in Brazil, both in the media and within academia, in the form of books, articles, CDs, and documentaries. Also, two initiatives had come to my attention: the expansion of the Rede de Memória do Jongo, which since 1996 has organized annual meetings with different *jongo* communities in the states of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo; and the fact that *jongo* had been selected by the Coordenação Nacional de Folclore e Cultura Popular of the Ministry of Culture as a pilot project to document the intangible cultural patrimony of Brazil.

I wrote to Stein again to tell him of my intention to circulate his recordings not only among researchers and other interested people, but also among *jongueiros* and slave descendants. He replied immediately, giving his full support to the idea. However, Stein was unable to find the wire-recording reel during my stay in the United States, but he promised that he would send it to me as soon as he found it.

At the beginning of 2003, when I had already resigned myself to the fact that the recordings had been lost, having forgotten the idea, the postman arrived with a package: a round metal tin containing a reel with a wire as thin as a hair. The next step was to find institutional support to digitally restore the recordings, although, after so many decades, there was no guarantee that the recordings could be salvaged. Again, Martha Abreu was my connection. She put me in touch with Silvia Hunold Lara, professor in the History Department at the University of Campinas (UNICAMP).

Lara was very excited about the idea and, through the Centro de Pesquisa em História Social da Cultura (CECULT), mobilized the necessary institutional resources. The recordings were sent back to the United States to be digitally reproduced.¹⁶ Fortunately, the material was in a reasonable state of conservation and it was possible to recover over half an hour of recordings, including sixty *jongos* (or *pontos*), five *jongo* drumming patterns, seven songs with accordion accompaniment, one *folia de Reis*, four instrumental sambas, and one sung samba.

In view of the richness of the material, the initial idea of simply copying and disseminating the recordings expanded to become a book-CD project, in order to bring these very precious sonic documents back to life, contextualizing them and extracting from them the greatest degree of information possible. Thus, more than sixty years after they were recorded, and after more than seven years of coming and going, Stanley Stein's recordings have finally left the file cabinet to become a part of history.

The Recordings

The advent of mechanical sound recording toward the end of the nineteenth century (with the invention of the gramophone in 1877, and the phonograph in 1885) made it possible to record and widely disseminate music from the most varied regions of the planet. This process had important implications, not only for the development of the phonographic industry, but also in a number of other areas. The new ways of registering sound gave considerable impetus to folklore studies, and to a branch of musicology concerned with the study of non-western music called “comparative musicology” by Austrian musicologist Guido Adler in 1885. From the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century, the development of new, more practical, and cheaper recording technologies encouraged the use of sound recorders in support of scientific research, and made it possible to establish sound archives at institutions such as the Vienna Science Academy in 1899, and at Berlin’s Ethnology Museum in 1900. In Europe and the United States, the use of portable sound recorders became commonplace, not only among researchers and folklorists specialized in music (such as Erich Von Hornbostel, Curt Sachs, Béla Bartók, Zoltan Kodály, and Frances Densmore), but also among anthropologists and ethnologists who were interested in music as one of the many aspects of social life of the peoples they studied (including Franz Boas, Theodor Koch-Grünberg, Konrad Preuss, and Leo Frobenius).

By the end of the 1940s, when Stanley Stein made the recordings that are the subject of this book, there was already an established history of field recording experience. Two systematic initiatives must be highlighted, because of their direct and indirect relationship to Stein’s research. The first is the work developed by folklorist and musicologist John Lomax (1867-1948) and later by his son Alan Lomax (1915-2002) for the Archive of American Folk Song at the Library of Congress. Motivated by a preservationist spirit and concerned about the disappearance of musical traditions that they believed were threatened by modernization, over several decades, father and son compiled one of the most important and comprehensive sound archives in the world, comprising oral tradition of the United States, as well as other regions such as the Caribbean and Central Europe. An important component of this archive comprises a large number of songs, interviews, and personal accounts from black populations in the southern United States. In this process, John Lomax collaborated very closely with the Federal Writers’

Project, a program created by the Roosevelt administration, whose objective was to support the activities of writers, editors, photographers, historians, and other researchers during the Great Depression. Among other things, this project sought to collect the memories and folkloric traditions of former North American slaves.¹⁷ This effort, which Stein mentions in his contribution to this volume, and which decisively influenced his approach, was deeply marked by the work of John and Alan Lomax.

The second initiative that deserves to be highlighted is the recording of African and Afro-descendent musical expression undertaken by Melville J. Herskovits (1895-1963) and by his wife Frances S. Herskovits (1897-1972). Reacting to the widespread view during the first decades of the twentieth century that black people in the American continent were out of touch with their African cultural roots, Herskovits outlined, from the 1930s, an ambitious research program whose aim was to study black acculturation in the New World, pinpointing and tracing the extant cultural continuities between African peoples and their descendants in the diaspora. This program led him to carry out research in Africa (Ghana, Nigeria, and Benin), in the Caribbean (Haiti and Trinidad), and in South America (Suriname and Brazil, where the Herskovits spent time in 1941-1942). He also trained and tutored researchers who applied his approach to other regions of the Americas.¹⁸

Herskovits's emphasis on cultural continuities (or "Africanisms") made music an important focus, in that it was considered one of the domains par excellence of the cultural memory of a collectivity.¹⁹ The couple's research produced many hours of field recordings, but unlike those made by John and Alan Lomax, they did not reflect an interest in musical expression in and of itself. Rather, music served as a means to access a culture, a tradition, or a specific worldview. Hence, the field recordings were not made with the same technical precision, as they were not destined for circulation outside academic circles.²⁰ Stein's recordings were made with similar objectives in mind, and it is likely that the advice he received from the couple was more focused on the gathering of information and his approach to informants, rather than recording techniques or the ethnomusicological aspects of the research.

While using field recordings for research purposes was not new in Europe and the United States during the 1940s, it was novel in Brazil. Although the phonograph had arrived in Brazil in 1902 and an incipient phonographic market developed very quickly through pioneer enterprises

such as Casa Edison (the first commercial record producer in Brazil, founded by Fred Figner), recordings during the first decades of that century were nearly always made in the studio with professional and semi-professional musicians.²¹ This remained little changed until the second half of the twentieth century, as already noted.²²

The recordings made by Stanley Stein are, therefore, a rare example of Brazilian oral musical traditions recorded in the field in the first half of the twentieth century, which for this reason alone would already ensure their historical significance. Moreover, despite its rudimentary sound quality and relatively short duration (some forty minutes), this recording presents a notable and comprehensive corpus of a single poetic-musical genre, and we can, without exaggeration, consider it a unique and irreplaceable document.

According to information provided by Stein, recordings were made using a heavy General Electric wire recorder, lent by the Cultural Affairs Office of the United States Embassy in Rio de Janeiro, and taken to Vassouras by train and bus. The wire recorder worked by passing a steel wire through an electromagnet. Invented at the end of the 1890s, it had been in wide use during the 1920s and 1930s for dictation and telephone recording, and during the Second World War for military purposes (recording messages and intercepted enemy transmissions). After the war, the wire recorder became popular for domestic use, but the introduction of magnetic tape circa 1948 soon made this machine obsolete.

Wire recordings had a sound quality inferior to vinyl recordings, and for this reason they were used, above all, for registering conversations, interviews and statements. However, wire recorders had at least two advantages over phonographic disc recorders: the wire reels were smaller and easier to store and transport than discs, and they enabled recording for longer periods of time using a single device. While discs could only log a few minutes of sound, a wire reel could store up to an hour of recorded material (Nettl 88).

All the material recorded by Stein fit on a single reel. We can assume that the weight of the recorder restricted mobility, and therefore it is likely that recordings were made at the municipality buildings in Vassouras and not in some of the nearby plantations or settlements. Unfortunately, however, it was not possible to find diaries, notes, or other documents (apart from evidence presented in this volume) in order to reconstruct the production conditions of the recordings and to identify informants. In one of

his texts Stein mentions, as main informants, “two elderly Afro-Brazilians,” but the *jongo* recordings seem to have been made with only one person.

The recordings were copied, edited, and digitally processed to remove extraneous noise, keeping, however, certain frequencies whose absence could prevent understanding the lyrics. Listening to the recordings revealed the presence of other musical genres in addition to *jongo*. There are no references to these genres, either in *Vassouras*, or in Stein’s contribution to this volume.

We do not know if these non-*jongo* recordings were linked to his research project, as in the case of the *jongos*, or if Stein merely took the opportunity to record other musical performances. Taken together, we can identify four distinct repertoires or genres in the recordings: first come the *jongos*, comprising a total of sixty *pontos* without instrumental accompaniment and five drumming tracks; secondly, five songs played with the accordion, and a song with a similar melody but without instruments; third is a *folia de Reis* sung with a chorus and instrument accompaniment; and finally, six sambas, one of which is sung. In the recordings now available online, the eighty-one tracks were grouped in the same order that they appeared on the reel, with the exception of some *pontos de jongo* that in the original appeared separately, which would seem to indicate that they were recorded at two different sessions.

Jongos

As already mentioned, the term *jongo* does not refer only to the dance, but also to the songs that accompany it, also known as *pontos*. In *Vassouras*, of the fifteen *jongo* transcriptions, eleven can be recognized in the recordings, although sometimes in slightly different versions than those transcribed by Stein.

Jongos or *pontos* are sung in Portuguese, but they frequently include words and expressions of Bantu origin (e.g., *cangoma*, *mironga*, *cacunda*). The *pontos*, which consist of short verses, are started by one of the participants, and answered by the chorus for a few minutes, until one of those present puts his hand on the drums and cries “*machado*!” or “*cachoeira*!” (literally, “axe” and “waterfall”), thus signaling that a new *ponto* should start. Throughout an evening of *jongos*, *pontos* can have very different functions. They can be sung to liven up the dance (*pontos de visaria* or *bizarria*), to welcome or celebrate people or spiritual entities (*pontos de louvação*), to challenge another *jongueiro* by means of a riddle to be

deciphered (*pontos de demanda, gurumenta, or porfia*), or just to end the *jongo* (*pontos de despedida*) (M. Ribeiro 23).

As already highlighted by numerous scholars, including Stein himself, the *pontos* of the *jongo* have a central characteristic, the use of poetic-metaphoric language that frequently serves to transmit messages or conundrums to be deciphered or, as the *jongueiros* say, *desatados* (unraveled or solved) by the participants.

Persons were replaced by trees, birds, and animals of the forest. There was a premium on terseness; the fewer the words, the more obscure the meaning, the better the *jongo*, one not readily deciphered by contesting *jongueiros*, or one which could be repeated to depict a multitude of situations (Stein, *Vassouras* [1985] 207).

Many songs were “desatadas” by Stein with the help of his informants, and their meanings are found throughout *Vassouras*. An example of this is track 13, transcribed at the beginning of this essay.²³ Various other *pontos*, however, were not deciphered, and their meanings remain obscure.

The frequent use of metaphors, together with African words or expressions, made comprehending the *pontos* difficult for non-slaves. This allowed *jongo* to be used by slaves as a chronicle of life in captivity, as pointed out by Stein:

The caxambu was a sanctioned opportunity to indulge in sly, deft, often cynical comment on the society of which slaves were so important a segment. The system of *polícia* and constant supervision tended to break spirit and will of the African immigrant and his children; ... the caxambu with its powerful rhythms, its almost complete lack of planter supervision, the use of African words to cover too obvious allusions, and occasional swigs of warm *cachaça*, gave slaves a chance to express their feelings towards their masters and overseers, and to comment on the foibles of their fellows. In this context, *jongos* were songs of protest, subdued but enduring. (*Vassouras* [1985] 207)

Although *jongos* were frequently improvised according to the circumstances of the moment, the archive of expressions, metaphors, and other stylistic resources used by the *jongueiros* are strongly based on a collective tradition. Of course, there are also *pontos* that were disseminated geographically and passed down through generations. Thus, the *jongos* recorded by

Stein display numerous characteristics that allow us to identify them as part of a much wider poetic-musical tradition, not only with regard to *jongo* or *caxambu* as a specific genre, but also, more generally, within the cultural complex of the Afro-descendent communities in southeast Brazil (see Robert Slenes's contributions to this volume).

Within the set of sixty recorded *jongos*, one finds a series of characteristic verses, poetic images, stylistic elements, and melodic profiles that place these recordings within a wider setting of black traditions in the Southeast of Brazil. Two of the recorded *pontos* exemplify this. First, track 3:

Tava dormindo cangoma me chamou
 Levanta povo que o cativo já acabou
 Tava dormindo cangoma me chamou
 Levanta povo que o cativo já acabou.

I was sleeping when the *cangoma* drums called me
 Arise people, captivity is over
 I was sleeping when the *cangoma* drums called me
 Arise people, captivity is over.

Variants of this *jongo*, which refers to the abolition of slavery, can be found in other different Afro-Brazilian musical expressions, as in the *congado* of the Comunidade dos Arturos, in Contagem, in the metropolitan region of greater Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais (Lucas 267). This *jongo*, "Tava Dormindo," was also recorded by singer Clementina de Jesus (1901-1987).²⁴

Also deserving of note is track 4:

Eu pisei na pedra a pedra balanceou
 O mundo tava torto rainha endireitou
 Pisei na pedra a pedra balanceou
 Mundo tava torto rainha endireitou.

I stepped on a stone, the stone tilted
 The world was twisted, the queen put it right
 I stepped on a stone, the stone tilted
 The world was twisted, the queen put it right.

This *ponto*, which seems to be one of the most well-known and widely disseminated, also refers, albeit indirectly, to the freeing of the slaves by the “queen” (an allusion to Princess Isabel, who in 1888 signed abolition into law). Stein’s recordings include no less than four versions of this *ponto* (tracks 4, 59, 67, and 74). Variations were found in Areias and Caçapava, municipalities in the state of São Paulo, in Santo Antônio de Pádua, in the north of Rio de Janeiro state, in Parati on the Rio de Janeiro state coast, and in Afonso Cláudio and Marataízes, both municipalities in the state of Espírito Santo.²⁵ Also, Elói Antero Dias (1889-1970), famous *jongueiro* and *sambista* from Rio de Janeiro, recorded this *ponto* in 1930, the probable first recording of *jongo*.²⁶

Apart from the sung *jongos*, the recordings also contain five short tracks with drumming. In Stein’s description, the instruments used in *jongo* were “a drum ‘couple’ (*casal*), sometimes joined by a third drum or ‘caller’.... To the large, deep-booming drum of the ‘couple’ slaves gave the name *caxambu*; the companion drum, smaller and higher pitched (although one drummer said it ‘speaks louder than the larger drum’) was called *candongueiro*” (Vassouras [1985] 205).

In tracks 62-63 the drums are lower pitched and there is more rhythmic freedom; they seem to correspond to the beat of the *caxambu*. In track 64 there is a drum with a higher pitch, whose regular rhythmic pattern seems to correspond to the playing of the *candongueiro*. In tracks 61 and 65 one hears both drums together.

Music with Accordion

The recordings contain a group of songs accompanied by the accordion (tracks 68-73), which were probably recorded on the same occasion as they appear in sequence on the reel. Tracks 68-72 reflect the influence of music with rural roots (later known as *música caipira*), a genre created by Cornélio Pires, João Pacífico, the duo Raul Torres and Florêncio, and a number of other singers and songwriters from the 1930s onwards and made popular via broadcast radio. Track 68 is a slightly modified but easily recognizable version of the ballad “Pai João” by Almirante and Luiz Peixoto, recorded by Gastão Fomenti in 1932. Track 69, on the other hand, is the chorus of the *toada sertaneja* (backlands ballad) “Mestre Carreiro,” originally recorded by the duo Raul Torres and Florêncio in 1936 (later also recorded by the duo Tião Carreiro and Pardinho).

On tracks 71 and 73 it is possible to notice similarities with the *calango*, a characteristic cultural expression of some of the rural regions of Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, and São Paulo. *Calango* is both a musical genre and a form of poetic challenge in which two or more versifiers take turns in singing improvised lines, accompanied by the accordion. Among the formal characteristics of the *calango*, also discernible on tracks 71 and 73, we can mention acephalous melodic phrases with a range of less than an octave, and the recurring presence of scalar degrees and repeated notes; a predominance of the major mode; binary rhythm; and verses consisting of five and seven poetic syllables (minor and major *redondilhas*) making up quatrains in an ABCB or ABCA format, with the singer repeating the last verse sung by the other singer.²⁷

It is worth pointing out that both *jongo* and accordion music (including the *calango*) are musical manifestations characteristic of the Vale do Paraíba, and are often performed by the same people, sometimes played in association at the same event, such as on the Fazenda São José mentioned in this article, where people used to dance to the sound of the accordion during the intervals between *jongos*, while the drums were being warmed up by the bonfires.²⁸ The relationship between *jongo* and *calango* is particularly evident on track 67, where a poetic motif of *jongo* (quatrain *pisei na pedra / pedra balanceou / mundo tava torto / a rainha endireitou*) is sung accompanied by the accordion, as well as in track 74, where this and other poetic motifs are taken up by an informant who sings without instrumental accompaniment, using *calango*'s characteristic poetic-melodic structure (marked by the presence of major scales and alternation between the tonic and dominant, and the repetition of the final verses of the quatrain in the beginning of the subsequent quatrain).

Folias de Reis

The *folias de reis* are wandering groups that sing and play songs as a form of devotion to the Three Wise Men. Found in various regions, especially in rural areas and in the outskirts of the towns of the Southeast and the center-west of Brazil, the *folias de reis* visit devotees' homes during the period between Christmas and the Epiphany (6 January) in a pilgrimage that symbolically represents the Three Wise Men's journey to Bethlehem to adore the Christ Child. The *folia* troupe is generally made up of a *guia* or *mestre* (guide or master) who leads the group of *penitentes*

or *foliões* (penitents or revelers), who sing and play instruments (*violas* or ten-string guitars, accordions, tambourines, *caixa* or snare, and other percussion instruments).

Although there is no information regarding track 75, it presents various formal elements common in *folia de reis*: polyphonic melody; instrumental accompaniment (viola and/or accordion, tambourines, *caixas*, and other percussion instruments) with a binary or 4/4 tempo; major *redondilha* (seven poetic syllables) verses in the ABCB format, sung in twos and interwoven with a phrase or a melodic instrumental refrain; and lyrics with a characteristic *folia de reis* theme, that is, the birth of Jesus, including a reference to the “three eastern kings” (Reily, *Voices* 32-33).

Samba

The last six tracks contain five instrumental sambas and a sung samba. The accompaniment, consisting exclusively of percussion instruments, presents the characteristic format of the *escolas de samba* through the 1960s (100-110 quarter notes per minute, considerably slower than that played nowadays). Although we cannot discount the possibility that this recording was made in Vassouras, it is much more likely that it was made in Rio de Janeiro, since the *escolas de samba*, which emerged in the favelas and suburbs of Rio, particularly from the 1930s onwards, were still a relatively recent cultural phenomena, and little known in small rural towns of the state in the late 1940s. This seems likely when we consider that these tracks come at the end of the reel, perhaps having been made to fill in the remaining time.

The last of the five sambas is the only one that is sung. It was not possible to identify either the composer or the singer. The lyrics, comprising two verses sung in ABA format, refer to the song itself. This suggests that it is a *samba de terreiro* (also known as *samba de quadra* or *samba de meio de ano*), a samba composed by songwriters of a samba school that is meant to be sung during non-carnival time. The samba ends with the following lines:

Porque a bateria é quem me faz
 Relembrar o passado feliz que ficou pra trás
 Eu vou me distrair com o presente, eu vou
 Porque o passado pra mim não volta mais.

Because the drums make me
Remember the happy past that remains the past,
I will enjoy the present, I will enjoy it,
Because the past will never return.

There is a particular irony in the fact that this is the last track that Stein recorded, as it refers to “remembering a past that remains the past” and that “will never return.” Indeed, the past does not return, but the memory remains—even if only on a thin wire.

Machado!

Like Forest Hardwoods: *Jongueiros Cumba* in the Central-African Slave Quarters

Robert W. Slenes

Com tanto pau no mato
Embaúba é coronel.

With so many trees in the forest
The *embaúba* is colonel.

Jongo songs and the accompanying music and dance, said by their practitioners to be a legacy from the *senzala* (slave quarters), had been little studied when Stanley Stein turned his attention to them in the late 1940s. Indeed, *jongo* lyrics had been practically ignored, even deemed “of no importance” (Gallet qtd. in M. Ribeiro 16). Stein, however, was prepared to scrutinize these verses for evidence of how slaves had reflected on their experience. Thus, when he heard a former bondsman in Vassouras—the focus of his study on slavery and its aftermath on the coffee plantations of Rio de Janeiro—sing the lines above about the colonel and the *embaúba* (the silverleaf pumpwood or trumpet tree), he pressed for an explanation. The *embaúba*’s wood, said his informant, was soft and useless, while the large slave owner was commonly a “colonel” in the National Guard. “By combining the two elements, *embaúba* and colonel,” Stein concluded, “the slaves turned out th[is] superficially innocuous but biting[ly] cynical comment” about the character of their owners (Vassouras [1985] 208). The “punk[er]” ruled, not the “hardwoods.”

My objective is to carry Stein’s analysis of *jongos* and thus of bonded culture and identity one step further: beyond the slaves’ “situational politics,” based on local knowledge (even planters could understand the play on “*embaúba*” as outlined here), to a deeper warfare, centered on meanings peculiar to a largely Central African *senzala*. To this end, the

embaúba-colonel verse will serve as a leitmotif, as I progressively demonstrate *jongos*' "secret" meanings for bondspeople. My main sources are the two oldest and largest collections of *jongo* lyrics: Stein's, recorded in Vassouras in 1949, and that gathered by folklorist Maria de Lourdes Borges Ribeiro further up the Paraíba Valley at the confluence of the states of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Minas Gerais in the 1950s (see Map 1).²⁹

Through interviews with ex-slaves and observations of extant practices, Stein constructed a dense ethnography of *jongos* as they were performed on the plantations before abolition in 1888. Slaves sang *jongos* in the fields, in a call-and-response pattern involving a "soloist" and work-gang "chorus," to time their hoe strokes and comment "on the[ir] circumscribed world." Using cryptic verses in riddle form, they satirized "their own foibles and those of their masters, overseers and slave drivers." They also advised workers on adjacent plantations of after-hours singing and dancing, to occur Saturday nights, with the owner's permission, on the coffee-drying terrace of the "big house."

At these events, master *jongueiros*—called *cumbas*, reports M. Ribeiro—sang to a chorus of dancing couples moving in a circle, to the beat of two hollowed-out, single-faced drums, tuned (hides stretched) with the heat of a fire. Sly riddle songs were also the tonic here, but so too were spiritual practices, such as the reverence shown by the "king," the master singer who supervised the session, in "greeting" the drums. The festivities also expressed respect for slave elders, the *macota* ("people from Africa, wise persons," said Stein's informant) (Stein, *Vassouras* [1985] 163–64, 204–09; M. Ribeiro 54).

Stein's ethnography of the *jongo* poses two challenges. First, although it notes the links between *jongo* practice and slaves' ideas about the spirit world (*Vassouras* [1985] 204), it does not specify the nature or African origin of this otherworldly connection. Second, despite documenting the community character of the *jongo*, its novel portrait of slave communication networks and solidarities highlights how little we actually know about these questions even today.

We can now confront these challenges, thanks to the great advance in knowledge since *Vassouras* regarding the history and cultures of West and East Central Africa, areas that respectively accounted for about 75% and 18% of the enslaved who entered Brazil's Southeast (known in the nineteenth century as the "Center-South") during the formative period of the coffee plantations in Vassouras and its region (1811–1850).³⁰

There is no doubt today that West Central Africa (the region from Gabon to northern Namibia, the Atlantic to the Great Lakes) is a single “culture area.” The region is bound together not only by its Bantu linguistic heritage, but also by its peoples’ “common view of the universe” (for instance, a special reverence for the spirits of the “first comers” to one’s territory) and their “common political ideology” (their “assumptions about roles, statuses, symbols, values and ... the very notion of legitimate authority”) (Vansina, “Deep Down Time” 341).³¹ Beyond this, many Bantu peoples in East Central Africa (roughly Mozambique and part of the eastern savanna) share broadly similar cosmological assumptions with those in the West regarding the etiology of disease and misfortune, and thus also tend to seek “therapy” (to restore “health”) in “cults of affliction” centered on music and dance as means for cure.³²

In addition to these broad commonalities, one may also identify specific traditions that especially configured the encounters between Central Africans in the New World.³³ Even at the end of the traffic to Brazil (1850), when the “slaving frontier” extended deep into the continent’s interior, probably a majority of forced migrants to the Americas from West Central Africa were drawn from closely-related societies in the “Atlantic zone” (polities on or relatively near the coast, largely transformed into “slave societies” and slave exporters by their strategic position as suppliers of the Atlantic trade) (Miller, *Way of Death* ch. 5 and maps 10, 148).

Thus, the Ovimbundu (in the Benguela highlands), the Mbundu (in Luanda’s hinterland), the Kongo (in the lower Zaire basin and northern Angola), and neighboring groups inland, for instance the Tio-Teke, Yaka, and Mbala, accounted for a large core group in the *senzala* (see Map 2). The proportion from the Atlantic zone seems to have been particularly great among bondspeople leaving from Benguela and from “Congo North,” the mouth of the Congo-Zaire River and points up the coast (Candido; Thornton, “As guerras civis” 66-67). The latter group is especially important, because between 1811 and 1850 Congo North people constituted over 40% of slaves entering Brazil’s Southeast from West Central Africa (Florentino 222-34, Karasch 15 and Appendix A). Perhaps half of these were Kongo by birth or significant acculturation.

Once on the plantations of the Southeast, Africans encountered relatively few possibilities for full integration into the new society. Recent research suggests that the high manumission rates in Brazil compared to

those in the United States largely reflected the experience of creoles in small holdings (Slenes, “L’arbre *Nsanda* replanté” 225-27). Thus, in negotiating a new culture and identity, southeastern plantation slaves, like their counterparts in the United States, probably turned “inwards,” but in this case towards a *senzala* in which most adults were Central Africans, with people from the Atlantic zone, particularly Kongo and “near Kongo” (such as Mbundu), constituting a large, rather culturally homogeneous core group.³⁴

Indeed, recent studies show that the sources on Atlantic zone societies are powerful tools for probing the culture that Central Africans forged in Brazil and elsewhere.³⁵ My own work has documented the presence among slaves in Brazil’s Southeast of beliefs in Kongo-Mbundu earth and water genii (*bisimbi*, to use a common Kongo term) (Slenes, “The Great Porpoise-Skull Strike”), as well as of practices related to the “sacred fire” (rekindled in the royal or chiefly hearths of the Atlantic zone on every succession, then passed on to the huts of commoners) as a vehicle for communicating with these tutelary spirits, as well as those of ancestors (Slenes, *Na Senzala* ch. 4; Vansina, *How Societies Are Born* 138).

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Furthermore, in a study of three religious movements among slaves and freedpeople in Vassouras (1848), São Roque in western São Paulo (1854), and northern Espírito Santo (the *Cabula*, 1900), I demonstrated that Central-African individual and “community” cults of affliction (the latter dedicated to curing social ills) proliferated in the Southeast, were similar to those described in the Kongo, and were forerunners of the African-Brazilian religions Macumba and Umbanda. These community cults also seem to have served as a locus for bondspeople’s opposition to their condition—not surprisingly, since in Africa they functioned as institutions of governance (Slenes, “L’arbre *Nsanda* replanté” 306-09; Janzen and MacGaffey 198).

In similar fashion, the Central African sources suggest a great deal about the origins of *jongos* and their links to slave religion, in particular to beliefs centered on territorial and ancestral spirits, sacred fires and cults of affliction. We need not dwell on musical instruments or the dance. Studies since *Vassouras* have demonstrated the presence throughout the Atlantic zone and even further into the interior, of the bass *jongo* drum (*caxambu*, *angoma*) as well as its smaller treble companion; indeed, in a good part of this region the word *ngoma* (from practically the universal root for “drum” in the Bantu languages) seems to be applied primarily to the larger of these single-faced, fire-tuned drums.³⁶

A similar distribution has been noted for the forerunners of the friction drum *puíta* (a bass *cuíca*) and the *guaíá* rattle, ancillary instruments mentioned by M. Ribeiro.³⁷ Couple dances in the round in Angola and the Kongo, similar to *jongo* dances, were described by anthropologist Edison Carneiro in 1961 (*Folgedos tradicionais* 28-32), using nineteenth-century travelers' accounts. The *umbigada*—a slapping together of navels—might be absent in these dances (as Stein and M. Ribeiro observed in the Paraíba Valley *jongo*) or present (as it was in the *batuque*, a close relative of the *jongo* in central-western São Paulo).³⁸

The singing associated with these Atlantic zone dances has been little studied. Missionary Karl Laman's ethnography of Kongo groups north of the Zaire (researched from 1891 to 1919, but published only much later) is suggestive, however. Laman notes that men and women "burst into song at the slightest provocation and on any occasion," work included. Then too, "accomplished soloists, who lead the singing ... and compose new verses, are held in high esteem" (Laman, *The Kongo* 4: 83-84).

"Lead the singing" probably refers to the "overlapping call-and-response singing" between soloist and "chorus" that, according to art historian Robert Farris Thompson, "supplies the formal structure of Central African song." In Kikongo (the language of the Kongo) such singing is called *yenga ye kumba* [sic], literally "call and [respond in unison]" (Thompson, *Tango* 65-66). (Remember that the master *jongo* singer is a *cumba*.)

Laman does not mention challenge-riposte songs between two singers. He does note, however, that songs are used "in games and all sorts of pranks, or to revile ... annoy [and denounce] other people." (Again "kumba" shouts out at us, for it also means "to be known by all, be talked about by everyone" and—in the dialect of São Salvador, the capital—"to slander, vilify, calumniate.")³⁹ Finally, the singing observed by Laman in lawsuits, conveying "warnings ... and admonitions," clearly involves challenge and counter attack.

Yet, it is a Caribbean practice, parallel to that of the *jongo*, which most convincingly confirms their mutual origins in West Central Africa. On nineteenth-century Cuban sugar plantations, slaves performed call and response singing, commenting on the day's events and the actions and defects of their master, to the rhythms of angoma-type drums tuned at a fire (Ortiz, *Los negros esclavos* 144). In mid-twentieth century Cuba, sociologist Fernando Ortiz and musicologist Argeliers León described

challenge-riposte contests within the “Congo” community (descendants of Central Africans) around the same drums, between singers who traded verses called *puyas* or *pullas* (“goads, sharp, cutting phrases”) and sang in call-and-response fashion with a chorus. Just as among *jongueiros*, each of these master singers was known as a “cock” (Portuguese *galo*, Spanish *gallo*). In Cuba, this “cock” was also called *insunsu*, clearly a word related to Kikongo *nsusu*, “domestic fowl” (Ortiz, *Los bailes* 22-29; León 73-76).⁴⁰ Nineteenth-century Cuba also received many slaves from West Central Africa, proportionately more from “Congo North” than did Brazil; thus, one might expect Kongo culture to be even stronger in that island’s “Central African” community. Indeed, linguist Armin Schwegler recently demonstrated that the Cuban “*lengua conga*,” today a residual, ritual vocabulary, is derived largely from Kikongo, not, as was previously assumed, from a variety of Central-African tongues.

I turn now to *jongo* lyrics, aiming to identify Central-African metaphors and cosmological precepts.⁴¹ I begin with M. Ribeiro’s observation that *jongo* verses were called *pontos*—literally “knotted stitches”—and that contending *jongueiros* felt the need to “untie” (decipher) their opponents’ “*pontos*” lest they themselves become victims of *o ponto de encante* [sic] *que amarra* (“the stitch of enchantment that binds tightly”). The stitch metaphor, documented from 1947 and still current (M. Ribeiro 22), surely comes from Central Africa. The proof again is in the Cuban *puyas*, where the same trope—the *hechizo del “amarre”* (“spell of being bound tightly”)—is expressed by the African-Cuban verb *nkanga*, which Fernando Ortiz (spelling the word according to Africanist conventions) identifies as *kanga*, the Kikongo word for “‘to bind,’ ‘tie,’ ‘capture’ [also ‘stop,’ ‘close’]” (Ortiz, *Los bailes* 25; Laman, *Dictionnaire*). Indeed, among the Kongo this word refers to the actions of people with *ki-ndòki* (otherworldly power), whether aimed at good or evil. Thus, a witch might seek to “bind” or “stop” a client’s enemy; a doctor-priest (*nganga*) might make tightly-wrapped amulets to “close” the victim’s body against the witch’s efforts; and, in an extension of this sense, Christ himself (the Kongo Kingdom became formally Christian in 1509) could especially *kanga*—the missionaries’ translation for “save” (Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony* 42-43, 133-34; MacGaffey, *Religion and Society* 6-8, 162).

Even more relevant, in charms to “bind” a lover, the act of “folding [cloth] and sticking in a needle while calling ... [the person-target’s] name... is called [in Kikongo] *siba ye kanga*, ‘calling [insistently] and tying’”

(Interview with Fu-Kiau Bunseki-Lumanisa qtd. in Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit* 129-30). “Kanga,” I suspect also its set of metaphors, must have resonated with many non-Kongolese, since it comes from a Bantu root that has left derivatives throughout Central Africa.⁴²

A second point of entry is the name Stein’s informant gave to the quarter’s elders, “*macota*.” Historian Camilla Agostini has identified *makota* as the collective title of the counselors of a village headman among some Mbundu groups and the Kongo of São Salvador (Agostini 116-23). Indeed, *kota*, meaning “elder or eldest brother” (*makota* is a common plural), is a word of wide dispersion in the Atlantic zone, probably derived from a root that leaves its mark in much of Bantu Africa.⁴³ It also means “chief” for the Kongo and “rich, important person” for the Ovimbundu. In a detailed study of the term “*makota*” amongst the Mbundu, historian Joseph Miller shows that, in addition to “elders or ‘uncles’ of a lineage,” it has also referred, historically, “to the guardians and advisers to the title holder [headman]” of a local descent group, the latter formed by fission from a preceding group, migration to new land, and ritual re-founding of the original society (Laman, *Dictionnaire*; Alves, *Dicionário etimológico bundo*; Miller, *Kings and Kinsmen* 18, 46-49).

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These observations reinforce Agostini’s perception of the *makota* as trial judges who were expert interpreters of the proverbs, *jongo*-like in concision and allusion, that were proclaimed, even sung (if one extrapolates from Laman) by accusers and defendants appealing to social norms. The connotations of kinship, governance, migration, and community reaffirmation that were invested in the word “*macota*” are striking, in view of new research showing the presence of intergenerational slave family networks and of community cults of affliction on the plantations of the Southeast.⁴⁴ The *macota* surely played key roles in both institutions.

Indeed, we gain further insight into the respect these elders enjoyed in the quarters by untying the secret meanings of the *jongo* that compares the colonel to the *embaúba*. M. Ribeiro notes that the *embaúba* is “a very tall tree ... with its leaves opening up way on high. It is also called the ‘tree of the sloth’ [*preguiça*, with the same meanings as in English], because the sloth lives there eating its fruits” (39). “Colonel *embaúba*” (the planter) thus acquires further attributes in the slaves’ satire. His image is deceptive (he is “tall,” dominating the “forest canopy” like a hardwood tree, albeit not one), and sloth is central to his real identity.

Beyond this local knowledge, however, there were meanings in “embaúba” to which only Central Africans were privy. In the Kongo culture area, men (and ancestors) of great mettle were often identified with imposing hardwood trees (Slenes, “*Malungu*” 219; Volavkova 52-69; Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit* 138-39; MacGaffey, *Religion and Society* 127-31); by contrast, morally weak, even if powerful men could easily be likened to pulp wood. To call the slave owner an *embaúba*, therefore, was to expose him as an impostor or, worse yet, a “witch,” one who had gained wealth and prominence at the expense of others.

Indeed, in the forest of slavery the world was truly upside down. As a variation on this *jongo* put it, “With so many trees in the forest / the Pereira tree [a hardwood] is suffering.” (In another version, the singer is ordered to cut down a Pereira to make the “axle-tree” [*eixo*] of a sugar mill, and the felled tree, in an explicit humanization, bleeds.)⁴⁵ Surely the macota understood this homage (to them and their ancestors), just as they would have appreciated Silvia Lara’s comparison of the book *Vassouras* to a *canela*, another hardwood, in this volume.

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Other metaphors, this time involving banana trees, snakes, and buzzing insects, further link *jongos* to a Central African world. M. Ribeiro’s informants told her several “old stories of magic” involving competing master *jongueiros*. One *cumba* would put a stick into the ground, from which a banana tree would grow and give fruit by the end of the evening. Another, in reply, would transform his staff (*his* because in olden times *jongueiro* singers were overwhelmingly men) into a poisonous snake. In Minas Gerais in the 1920s, according to tales gathered by folklorist Aires Mata Machado, a master singer of *jongo*-like *vissungos* might send a swarm of wasps against his opponents. Given this Brazilian evidence, it is remarkable that Laman reported stories of identical feats by competing native doctor-priests (nganga) among the early twentieth century Kongo (M. Ribeiro 55-57; Machado Filho 71; Laman, *The Kongo* 3: 181-82).⁴⁶

Such stories played on key tropes amongst the Kongo and other groups. In the Kongo region “as ... throughout [West] Central Africa,” says anthropologist Wyatt MacGaffey, “the banana stands for the reproductive capacity of mankind and also for its transitory life and hence for the cycle of generations.” Because of this, stories were told about great chiefs and doctor-priests who would demonstrate their power to bring vitality, fertility, and prosperity to their people or clients by planting extraordinarily

luxuriant banana shoots (MacGaffey, *Religion and Society* 51-52; Laman, *The Kongo* 3: 182). Curiously, in Kikongo the word for “small bunch of bananas detached from a larger one from the same tree” is *nkánga*. (I use Laman’s system of annotation in which diacritical marks are approximate guides to “tonal melody,” Kikongo being a tonal language [Laman, *Dictionnaire* xix-xxxix].) Thus, for Kikongo-speaking *cumbas*, producing an “instant” banana tree and distributing its fruit could have been a visual pun for *nkànga*, “the action of tying up” (their *pontos* and their opponents).

The snake was an equally powerful and widespread symbol. “Because of its capacity to change its skin without having to move to the other world, [the snake, for the Kongo] appears (like the sun) as an image of the perdurable,” says MacGaffey. In the Kongo *Bakhimba* cult of affliction, of which the Brazilian cults were reminiscent, the banana tree and the snake were central symbols (MacGaffey, *Religion and Society* 176, 178; Laman, *The Kongo* 1: 22, 3: 253; De Heusch 259-60).

Finally, again following MacGaffey, nominalist assumptions that words revealed the ontology of things led the Kongo to associate the rapidly moving wings of birds or insects with “spirits (*mpeve*)[,] because ... wings (*maveve*) stir the air (*vevila*, ‘to fan’),” and with “divination, a matter of spiritual (*mu mpeve*) revelation” (*Religion and Society* 132-33). Yet, the buzz of bees’ wings (*kúmbu*) independently pointed to the spirit world. The verb *kúmba*, from which *kúmbu* is derived, signifies not only to “make noise” (its basic meaning), “respond in unison,” “be talked about by everyone,” and “buzz like a bee,” but also “to be astounded.”

Indeed, *kúmba* is associated with a complex of words that expresses astonishment in the face of otherworldly power: for instance, another *kúmbu* (with a different tonal melody), meaning “leopard [symbol of kingship], marvelous thing, first-born of twins [the most wondrous of the marvelous]”; *ñkúmbi*, signifying “leopard’s roar”; and *nkúmba*, “one who roars, astonishment,” a designation that Kongo *cumbas* (among them the “king”) must have delighted in. Then there is *baka kúmba*, “be astonished, say ‘ah-ah-ah’ [as a doctor-priest does upon a sign from the *bisimbi*]”; *ñkúmbi*, “miracle, astonishment”; and *ki-nkumba*, “whirlwind, whirlpool, abyss,” plus yet another *kúmbu*, “cascade, rapids, noise of waterfall,” both naming preferred *bisimbi* habitats.⁴⁷

One begins to see the reverberations of “cumba” for people of Kongo origin in the quarters—for instance, José Cabinda, the leader of the 1854

cult of affliction in São Roque, who peppered his rituals with words and at least one sentence from Kikongo.⁴⁸ Just as “mpeve” suggests an ontological link with “maveve” and “vevila,” so too, for users of a Kikongo ritual lexicon, would “cumba” lead to the “astounding words” already noted. One wonders, indeed, if *cachuera* (*cachoeira*), meaning “waterfall, rapids,” proclaimed by *cumbas* in the São Paulo *batuque* when they touch the drum to ask their turn to versify, might not originally have been a translation of kúmbu.

In any case, more mundane words from this noisy cluster would surely have been evoked. I refer to *nkùmba* (“challenger, braggart”) and *ñkúma* (“someone who strikes against [something or someone], cuts off someone’s words, has something to say on the tip of the tongue”); these designations capture the strutting of a fighting *cumba* (a galo) trying to intimidate rivals.⁴⁹ One can imagine the macota chuckling and saying “nkùmba!” or “ñkúma!,” upon hearing this verse from a “swaggering tough” (*valentão*, one of the definitions of “cumba” in dictionaries today) who wanted to assume the mystique of *nkúmba*, “one who roars [like a kingly leopard]”: “I went to the angoma / I just gave my *saravá* [greeting] / if you can’t handle conjuring / don’t carry a charm.”⁵⁰

This brings us to the competitive exchanges involving *pontos de demanda*, or challenge songs. Although normally these demonstrations of verbal prowess provoked only admiration, they could occasionally lead to conflict. M. Ribeiro retells an old “story of magic” from the São Paulo Paraíba Valley which portrays one such episode, yet also captures the awesome powers attributed to *cumbas* as a cultural ideal (55). Once five *jongueiros* met to test their skills. They “began to throw out ‘pontos’ [at each other], to untie them, to invent others that were stronger and more difficult.” Then one of them filled his mouth with *pinga* (raw white rum, also used to wet the drum face during tuning) and spat it into the eyes of a rival’s son, who instantly “went blind” (lost consciousness). Knowing that “*pinga* can’t cut the venom of *pinga*,” one of the other *jongueiros* ran to a nearby river, gathered water in a cup and, with his unprotected hand, threw into it three red-hot coals from the fire. “The water sizzled, the coals stopped glowing and only a bit of ash remained on the water’s surface.” The same man, “with good words ... took that ash and blew it into the eyes” of the lad, “who instantly woke up.” This *cumba* “brought things back into balance [*regulou*] with holy water [*água benta*] from the river.” The *pinga* had blinded the boy “because it was spiced [*temperada*]”—with “words. Only words.”

This story is easily interpreted in terms of the cosmology of the Kongo and Mbundu. For these peoples, a running stream was the habitat par excellence of the earth-water genii, whose ranks included, or were associated with, the shades of the “first comers” (Slenes, “The Great Porpoise-Skull Strike” and “L’arbre *Nsanda* replanté” 239-57). Then too, chiefs, *nganga* and commoners communicated with the Spirit World through their domestic fires, or fires lit from them; thus fire-“tuning” an *ngoma* drum was a sure way of summoning the voice of the “secret ghost” that resided within it, “an ancestral voice, who respond[ed] to the problems of the living” (Interview with Fu-Kiau kia Bunseki-Lumanisa qtd. in Thompson and Cornet 80). In this Brazilian case, the glowing coals of the fire, possibly started from someone’s hearth and surely the same in which the drums were tuned, guaranteed the full potential of the river water as “holy water.” (Note the use of the Christian term to “bottle” what must have once been a Central-African “liquid.”)

Furthermore, among the Kongo a great doctor-priest could handle or even “put glowing coals in his mouth with impunity” (something that José Cabinda of the 1854 cult also could do); then too, “he could ... conjure up the dead for his audience by putting a pinch of ash in the corners of their eyes, which cleared their sight” (Laman, *The Kongo* 3: 181). Domestic fires, and thus the healing ashes of the hearth, were preferably made from slow-burning hardwood (wood with “spiritual” qualities), which suggests another secret meaning of the planter-*embaúba jongo*, for slaves. A present-day *jongueiro* notes that the *embaúba*’s wood “burns fast, makes a cold fire and doesn’t produce charcoal. Just the opposite of hardwood.” Then too, it “doesn’t even provide shade” (Carmo Moraes qtd. in Teobaldo 72).

For Kongo sensibilities, the two observations would have had the same meaning; the *colonel-embaúba*, without sacred “warmth,” “medicine,” and “shade” (protection) for his dependants, was the very opposite of the ideal “big man” in Africa. Finally, with respect to the “magical” properties of *pinga*, even for tuning drums, it is noteworthy that José Cabinda’s cult also used this liquid to facilitate spirit possession, consonant with nominalist precepts that associate Kikongo *nsámba*, the most prized palm wine for ritual and social occasions, with another *nsámba* meaning “prayer” and related words for “pray, invoke [a spirit]” (Janzen and MacGaffey 6; Slenes, “L’arbre *Nsanda* replanté” 283-84).

This “story of magic,” emblematic of the *cumba*’s power, points to an etymology for “jongo” that is more convincing than the one usually suggested

(*jinongonongo*, “enigmas, riddles” in Kimbundu, the language of the Mbundu: M. Ribeiro 29-30). Kikongo *nsõngi* means “point, goad, something pointed”; *nzòngo*, means “shot of a gun”; *nzòngo mya`nua* signifies “shot / combat with the mouth, a quarrel, a squabble ... an imitation of the shot of a gun with the mouth.” These words resonate with expressions in Umbundu (the language of the Ovimbundu): *songo*, meaning “arrow point, bullet,” and *ondaka usongo*, “the word is an arrow / bullet.” They recall, in Kimbundu, *songo* signifying “blow with a sharp point” and *songo sese* meaning “defamatory.”⁵¹

In fact, these similarities reflect the wide dispersion in Bantu Africa of various interrelated roots meaning “point” (noun), “sharpen to a point” and “incite.”⁵² Such roots and their derivatives call to mind the *puyas* of the “Congo” challenge singers in Cuba, where the morphology of the word is of romance origin, but the meaning is similar to the Central African “sharp, provocative goad [of words].” They could also be at the source of “joning,” another name for the African-American word game of traded insults, “the dozens,” reminiscent of the abusive singing described by Laman in the Kongo (Dollard; Hannerz 129-35).⁵³

The *cumba*’s jet of *pinga*, “spiced with words,” is truly a “*nzòngo mya`nua*,” a “shot / combat with the mouth.” M. Ribeiro’s story expresses the nominalist vision of the power of words over things, recalling MacGaffey’s examples of Kongo word play. It thus gives further credence to the idea that speakers of Kikongo and related tongues in Brazil made connections between the words clustered around the noisy meanings of *kumba*. Yet, the full “whirlwind-abyss” (*ki-nkumba*) of “kumba words” extends much beyond what we have seen so far. It commands our attention, for it defines a constellation of sacred meanings that casts its light in the Atlantic zone, in Africa’s far interior, and even in Cuba.

Kikongo’s “kumba constellation” makes it possible to resolve a key question posed by M. Ribeiro to an ex-slave informant. The folklorist had been intrigued by the conceptual similarity between the *pontos* of the *jongos* and the *pontos cantados* (sung stitches) and *pontos riscados* (stitches scratched [on the ground]) in the ritual space of Macumba, which also conveyed cryptic messages needing to be “untied.” She found her suspicions of a counterpoint between these terms confirmed on hearing from her informant that “cumba was the ‘powerful man,’ macumba was the *terreiro* [the terrace for drying coffee beans, but also any ritual space of

cleared terrain] where the cumbas got together, macumba was a group of cumbas” (M. Ribeiro 54).

We move further towards understanding this connection by noting that in Brazilian Portuguese dictionaries a variant of “cumba” is *cuba*; the former means “conjurer [*feiticeiro*], swaggering tough [*valentão*]”; the latter also refers to “conjurer” and (in Pernambuco) to “a powerful, influential, wily individual” (Houaiss and Villar).⁵⁴ Thus, it is striking that in Kikongo *kúba*, “to be strong, be old, be well worn,” leads to the noun *kūkuba*, “someone developed, formed, adult,” the plural of which is *makuba*—not far, semantically or phonetically, from “macumba,” “group of powerful men.”

The connection is significant, because this *kúba*, in fact, is derived from another *kúba*, “to strike” (with a different tonal melody), which is at the center of a cluster of lexical items whose meanings overlap with those of “kumba words.” For example, two additional *kúba*, meaning “scrape, clean” and “lay foundations” share some of their significations with *kumba*, “to dig shallowly, scrape, dig foundation,” while another *kúba*, “to crow like a cock, to sound” (a word that “galos-cocks” would identify with) overlaps with *kumba*, “to cry out, hoot, sing” (in addition to meanings already noted).

Thus, it is conceivable that yet another *kúba*, “to lead or drive out; to throw outside, hurl fling, put out,” is at the origin of the metaphor that describes the *jongueiro*’s opening move: *lançar, jogar, soltar, atirar*—“launch, throw, release, shoot”—the *ponto*. Or that *kuba* (“used, worn iron tool [a sign from the bisimbi]),” is at the origin of the cry “*machado*” (“axe”), used by *jongueiros* in the Rio Paraíba Valley to request their turn to sing (MacGaffey, *Art and Healing* 58; M. Ribeiro 24).

At the same time, various “makumba words” are reached from two other Kikongo roots: an additional *kumba* (having a different tonal melody), meaning “run / flow, run fast; glide [like a snake], creep, crawl”; and *kumba*, mentioned above, signifying not just “dig shallowly, scrape, lay foundation,” but also “level, cut [a terrace].”⁵⁵ From the intertwined meanings of these roots comes a host of other words, pointing towards “running-digging-cutting the road (to otherworldly knowledge).” Among these are *kumba* (pl. *makumba*), “non-venomous snake,” deemed a sign from the ancestors (MacGaffey, *Religion and Society* 106). Others are *kumbi* (plural *makumbi*), “tattoo design,” and *kumbi*, “name of village = tattoo design.” (Cf. *cumbe*, “city, settlement” in the vocabulary of the black community Cafundó, near Sorocaba, São Paulo, in the 1980s, per Vogt and Fry

300.) In the same group are other *kúmbi*: “circumcision,” “someone initiated in a circumcision house.”⁵⁶ (Cf. the *cucumbi*, a procession in early nineteenth-century Rio in which “Congos” acted out informing their queen that she had new vassals, following the *cucumbe* circumcision feast for boys: see Moraes Filho 110.) Then there are *ñkúmbba*, “navel, umbilical cord” (a path between generations), metaphorically the “secret spiritual navel” at the top of the head, a conduit for spirit possession (Thompson, “From the Isle beneath the Sea” 109-10); *nkúmbba*, “that which runs in file (like a rat), game trail; public road; main road”; and *nzila kumba* or *nzila makumba*, “main road” (literally “cut, leveled *nzila* [road]”). This latter term recalls the first definition of *macumba* given by M. Ribeiro’s informant—“the *terreiro*” (a “leveled” space)—as well as the names (*engira* or *gira*) applied to the meetings of the 1900 “Cabula” cult and a 1930s *Macumba* in Rio (cf. Kimbundu *njila*, equivalent to Kikongo *nzila*).⁵⁷ When European vehicles appeared, running on (or digging-cutting) water or land routes, they received the name *kúmbi* (plural *makumbi*), meaning “steamship,” then also “(steam) train” then “wagon.”⁵⁸ Finally, one may cite lexical items derived from two *kúba* words seen above, with different tonalities, meaning “strike” and “scrape, clean”: *kúbu* (plural *makubu*), “track where someone has passed,” *khúbi*, “to be very frequented (said of a road),” and *kúbi*, “one who drives out, leads away (like an animal driver).”

Within this complex, centered on “run-dig-cut roads or marks on the skin and on the land,” a group of related words seems to define the cultural ideal of “great man”: *nkúmbi*, “giant Central African pouched rat” (*Cricetomys gambianus*), impressive maker of runs and burrows, metaphorically “an old person who knows other countries and customs”; *ñkulu nkumbi*, “very aged person who has known past epochs, patriarch”; and *kinkūlu-nkumbi*, “something astonishing, mysterious; very old person ... sudden silence [‘as of an angel passing,’ in the words of a missionary-ethnographer in the 1970s].”⁵⁹ (Note that *ñkulu* means “elder,” but it can also mean “ancestor.”)

An observation by MacGaffey opens the way to appreciating the full import of these definitions: “burrowing rodents [for the Kongo] ... resemble the dead by living in holes in the ground” (MacGaffey, *Religion and Society* 132). In fact, they and other excavating or swimming animals do not just resemble the dead, they actually commune with them. Thompson, citing the Bakongo scholar Fu-Kiau kia Bunseki-Lumanisa, observes that “in Northern Kongo there are specialized ritual experts ... who cut designs

on the bodies of living fish, or turtles, and then release these creatures, in their element ... sending intensive messages to the dead.” Thompson then cites a description of an African slave in the American South who cut inscriptions into a terrapin’s shell before sending the animal down its hole (Thompson and Cornet 151).

In summary, the “kumba constellation” seems to define a sacred vocabulary centered on nkũmbi, nkulu nkumbi and kinkũlu-nkumbi, in whose persons all the overlapping clusters of meaning meet: that of the noisy kũmba (“astonishment and otherworldly power”); that of kũba (“strike; grow strong, be strong, old, well-worn”); and that of the running kũmba and the digging kũmba (“run-dig-cut the road to otherworldly knowledge”).

It only remains to note that this matrix of meanings is not confined to Kikongo, but resonates widely in Central Africa, to judge from significant correspondences with Kimbundu, Umbundu and two other “test” languages spoken further inland: Mbala and Luba Katanga.⁶⁰ For instance, Kikongo nkũmbi is echoed by similar names for a large rat or rodent in the last three languages mentioned. In Luba Katanga, the animal (*n-kũmbi*) is also called *nkulu*, a name that “means *Mukulu* and refers to an old person, ‘the eldest’ or ‘the old one’” (a cognate means “ancestor”). This is an inverted variant of the Kongo trope, some 1,600 kilometers inland (“Croyances Religieuses chez les Baluba”). Similarly, anthropologist Mary Douglas notes that among the Lele a related *Cricetomys* “giant rat” (*C. dissimilis* proparator, African name not given), also a burrower, is known as a “spirit” animal, “associated with the ghosts of the dead” (Douglas 49). Then too, among the Yaka, just inland from the Kongo and Mbundu, the initiates into an ancestral healing cult would sing (c. 1930) about “the great rat *nkumbi*, who digs/burrows into *Kalunga* [the underworld].”⁶¹ (See Map 2 for the location of these peoples.) Hence, many diverse groups of Central Africans could easily have adopted the Kikongo kumba complex, even while contributing new meanings to it.

Finally, the extensive presence of the kumba constellation in today’s *lengua conga* of Cuba, the residual language based on Kikongo and associated with the Central-African derived Palo Monte religion, confirms that it could plausibly have been brought by bantuphone migrants to Brazil. The *lengua conga* includes almost all the noisy kumba definitions as well as *kumbe* names for vehicles, *kumba* meaning “navel,” *nkumbe* designating a large new-world rodent—the Cuban *jutía conga*, a species of hutia—and

even *makumba*, signifying the Palo Monte “house” or ritual center, truly the “great road” to the Other World. Given this context, the presence of “cumba” and “cuba” in Brazilian Portuguese today, as well as a few other words from local or historical sources, such as “cumbe” and “cucumbi,” could be remnants of a much larger complex in the past.⁶²

Yet, the best evidence that a kumba constellation existed in Brazil lies in the running and digging metaphors of the *jongos* collected by Stein and M. Ribeiro. The word tools sharpened here permit the “untying” of these “stitches” in the essay that follows.

**“I Come from Afar, I Come Digging”:
Kongo and Near-Kongo Metaphors in *Jongo* Lyrics**

Robert W. Slenes

I demonstrated earlier that *jongos* originated in slave quarters dominated by Atlantic zone West Central Africans, with Kongo and “near Kongo” people at its core. I then argued that the attributes of chiefly and otherworldly power attributed by *jongueiro* lore to the “*cumba*,” the master singer, resonated strongly with what I called the “kumba constellation,” a set of interlocking clusters of sacred kumba-kuba words in Kikongo, the Kongo language. I did not prove, however, that this kumba matrix or something similar was indeed in the heads of nineteenth-century *jongueiros*, at least not in the conclusive way I showed that Brazilian *cumbas* circa 1955 had the identical reputation for conjuring up banana trees, snakes, and wasps that Kongolese doctor-priests had around 1910, and thus surely enjoyed the same fame under slavery.

In this essay, I argue that the complex, interlocking metaphors in the *jongo* lyrics collected by Stanley Stein and Maria de Lourdes Borges Ribeiro in the mid-twentieth century provide this proof. I examine the tropes that associate master singers with the herding of animals and with digging, making, and traveling roads—figures of speech that are recurrent in the kumba constellation. I also follow the paths traced in these metaphors by a running and burrowing animal native to Brazil that seems to have taken the place of *nkũmbi* (“giant burrowing rat; old person who knows other countries and customs”) in *cumba* imaginations.⁶³

My point of departure is M. Ribeiro’s brief glossary of *jongo* jargon, which provides keys to much of the otherwise cryptic verses in her collection as well as in Stein’s (M. Ribeiro 30).⁶⁴ In this lexicon we find *boiada*:

literally “herd of cattle,” but here signifying *jongo* “verses” (*pontos*, literally “knotted stitches”). *Carreador* (literally, the “trail,” or “trail for carts in the fields”) is the *linha do jongo*, the “thread, or argument of the jongo” (implicitly with its string of “stitches”). *Candieiro*, the “guidesman” or worker who goes ahead of the *boiada* and keeps it on its path, is another name for the *jongueiro guia*, the “lead jongueiro.” Thus, one has this challenge song:

Eu pegô minha boiada
e botô no cariandô [carreador]
por farta de candieiro
boiada xipacomô [esparramou]. (M. Ribeiro 43)⁶⁵

I got my herd
And put in on the trail
for lack of a guidesman [lead *jongueiro*]
the herd got scattered.

66

M. Ribeiro offers this interpretation: “I came to the jongo in the mood to sing, but because of a lack of companions [my equals], everything is about to end” (43). In other words, “I got this jongo started, but nobody knew how to untie my riddles and keep it going.”

In a variation on these metaphors, a *jongo* singer is also a *carreiro* (cartman, oxcart driver) or *carreteiro* (drayman, or driver of a cart built for heavy loads). Here is a challenge *jongo* recorded by Stein in *Vassouras* (track 42):

Aê mestre carreiro
que você vai se atrapalhar
Larga de pegar boi
vou cangar meu marruá.

Listen mister cartman
You’re going to get in trouble
Give up on putting your ox in harness
I’m going to yoke up my wild, violent bull.

“My jongo,” in other words, “is far more powerful and dangerous than yours, yet I’m the [cart]man to control it.”

In the final permutation of symbols, the cart itself becomes the *jongo*, implicitly moving down the *carreador*, the *jongo* trail: “The joy of the cartman / is to see the cart singing” (*O regalo do carrero / é vê o carro cantá*) (M. Ribeiro 43).⁶⁶ If the *jongueiro* is a cartman and his song is a cart, then it becomes possible to make lyrics like “the cartman who tips over the cart [is unable to keep the verse on track] / can’t keep on carting [launching new challenge riddles] after that” (*Carrero que tomba carro / não pode mais carrea*) (M. Ribeiro 34).⁶⁷ Or to sing, like a boastful *jongueiro* in a contemporary recording,

Tinha ano e meio
eu já tinha inclinação
em vez de amansá de carro
[coro] Amansa de carretão. (*Batuques do Sudeste*)⁶⁸

I was a year and a half old
I already had the knack
instead of breaking them in [the oxen, i.e., the “verses,” or perhaps the
other *jongueiros*] with a cart
[chorus] He breaks them in with a dray.

67

(Notice the “overlapping antiphony” here and in many of the subsequent *jongos* to be cited, with the chorus anticipating the last line of the soloist, as it does in West Central Africa [Thompson, *Tango* 65-66].) One can only remark that opponents of this cumba (*nkumba*, “challenger, braggart”) must have found this man’s riddles “heavy” indeed!

Despite these elaborations, however, the starting point of these *jongos* remains the same. The herd of cattle or the oxcart is driven down the *carreador*. It is this scraped, leveled, dirt “trail for carts in the fields,” made and kept clean by the frequent passage of vehicles, animals, and people, but probably also by work with axes and hoes, that represents “the thread of the *jongo*.” By extension, the cart or dray and its driver symbolize, respectively, the *jongo* and the master *jongueiro*. In sum, these images could be derived from the interlocking metaphors of the kumba constellation, particularly those centered on “digging/cutting” and “running on”/“driving a vehicle on” the road to astonishment and otherworldly power, and those involving *kúba* words meaning “powerful person,” “leader, (animal) driver,” and “to be a very frequented road.”

Yet, alternatively, these *jongo* metaphors could simply be expressive of the rural plantation environment in which Rio's and São Paulo's black workers lived before and after abolition and where draught cattle, oxcarts, and drivers were common.⁶⁹ Such an explanation, however, has to reckon with *jongos* that combine these figures of speech with the verbs *cavar* and *cavucar* (or *cavoucar*), whose metaphorical meaning is "to search with persistence," "to make an effort," or "to struggle for subsistence," but whose literal meanings are, respectively, "to turn over earth or to produce a cavity, depression or hole in the ground," and "to turn over or dig into the earth, to prepare a ditch (for the foundations of a building)."⁷⁰ Thus, in one chant (using *cavar*) the *jongueiro* claims that:

Eu venho de muito longe
eu venho cavando terra
na porteira da fazenda
é aí que o carro [o jongo] pega [a andar]. (M. Ribeiro 44)⁷¹

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I come from afar
I come digging [a hole or turning over] the earth
at the gate of the *fazenda* [large landholding or plantation]
that's where the cart [the *jongo*] starts [to roll]

This verse could refer hyperbolically to the slaves' "digging sing" in the fields, involving workers who chanted *jongos* so as to coordinate the rhythm of their hoes. Alternatively, a post-abolition or mid-twentieth century *jongueiro* could be metaphorically presenting himself (or herself, since women had acquired some presence as singers by the 1950s) as a person who has worked long and hard with the hoe, only stopping "at the fazenda's gate"—on the way home, after the work day—to engage in *jongos*. A third possibility is that the *jongueiro* could literally be coming from afar, traveling to the *fazenda*; only when he or she gets there (there may be some braggadocio in the verses) does the *jongo* session really begin. Note that black muleteers plied the roads of the Paraíba Valley both before and after abolition, many descending to the ports from the interior province (state, after 1889) of Minas Gerais. Stopping for the night at *fazenda* rest points, the *jongueiros* among them must have frequently challenged local talent—whence, possibly, M. Ribeiro's "Here's a Mineiro come from Minas

/ with a reputation as a horse and cattle breaker” (*Mineiro veio de Mina / com fama de domadô*) and Stein’s “I’m a bad Mineiro / don’t mess with me” (*Eu sou mineiro mau / não bule comigo não*).⁷²

There is no doubt, therefore, that “I come from afar” is embedded in a local historical context. Yet, the second line of the verse is “I come digging [or turning over] the earth.” The proximity to Kongo metaphors here is striking. First, the verbs for “to dig,” used in this and similar *jongos* are remarkably close in meaning to those we have observed for *kùmba* and a related *kúba* verb. Second, *kùmba* (“dig shallowly, scrape, level, dig foundation, cut [a terrace]”) is the Kikongo verb used for carving out a road, whether real or metaphysical. Thus, it would have been quite natural for a Kikongo speaker with pretensions to esoteric knowledge to combine the phrases “I come from afar” and “I come digging the earth” if he (few *jongueiros* were women in slavery times and in the early years after abolition) wanted to say, “I have long been arduously preparing a spiritual path for myself.” Indeed, this notion of someone who “digs (over time) an otherworldly path” is exactly the meaning expressed by *nkúmbi* and raised to a higher power by *ñkulu nkumbi* and *kinkūlu-nkumbi*, in the metaphorical sense of “an aged [experienced, wise, almost ancestor-like] person who [like that Central-African master runner-burrower, the giant pouched rat, is widely traveled and] knows many countries, mores and customs [including the usages of the Other World].” (See my earlier essay, this volume.)

There is considerable reason, then, to suspect that “I come from afar, I come digging the earth” could be linked to Kongo, Atlantic zone or wider Central African sensibilities. Nonetheless, the evidence at this point in my argument is not yet robust enough to survive Ockham’s razor, which favors the simplest, most direct explanation—still, in this case, that which points to the culture of the Brazilian rural environment. It is one of M. Ribeiro’s “old stories of magic” that finally makes the connection between the “digging or turning-over the earth,” *cavar*, and the “shallowly-digging, scraping, or leveling” *kùmba* not just plausible, but probable. As she tells it, “one time some *jongueiros cumba* got together and made a really wild *jongo*, with two *tambus* [*caxambus*, *angomas*: two large *jongo* drums]. So much was let loose, so great was their ‘craft,’ that the ground sank in beneath the two *tambus*” (56).⁷³ Here, although there is no explicit reference to “digging,” it is the magic of the *jongueiros*, working with (or rather through) the drums that has caused the latter to sink into the earth. The image is

compatible with the Kongo belief that the hollowed out *ngoma*-type drums are special conduits for communication with the Spirit World—although the “old story of magic” does not state explicitly that the *cumbas* were using them for that purpose.⁷⁴

Another *jongo*, however, in a 1993 ethnographic field recording, bridges the gap. This verse is based on the same idea that inspired M. Ribeiro’s “old story,” but makes explicit the drum’s ability to “burrow” by calling it an “old *tatu*” (“armadillo”), that lives in a hole and that “just keeps digging” (or, literally, “lives to dig”):

Mestre Lico: Tatu tá véio / [coro] mai sabe negá o carreiro [jongueiro].
 Zé de Toninho: Ô, olha lá senhor jongueiro / prá mim ocê é um home fraco
 // esse tatu tá véio / [coro] mai é costumado no buraco.
 João Rumo: Eh meu Deus do céu // esse tatu pode tá veio / [coro] mais
 não cai nessa gaiola.
 Zé de Toninho: Meu senhor jongueiro / escute o que eu tô falano / esse
 tatu é veio / mai ele véve cavucano [cavucando] // [coro] aia iê, iê, ia /
 Esse tatu é véio / mai ele véve cavucano.⁷⁵ (*Batuques do Sudeste*)

Master Lico: The Armadillo’s old / [chorus] but it knows how to confound
 the cartman [jongueiro].
 Zé de Toninho: Oh, look here Mr. *Jongueiro* / in my opinion you’re a
 weakling // this armadillo’s old / [chorus] but it’s used to the hole.
 João Rumo: Oh, my God in heaven // This armadillo may be old / [cho-
 rus] But it’ll not fall into this cage [the cage-like trap used to hunt
 armadillos].
 Zé de Toninho: Dear Mr. *Jongueiro* / listen to what I’m saying / this arma-
 dillo’s old / but it just keeps digging // [chorus] aia, iê, iê, iá / this arma-
 dillo’s old, but it just keeps digging.

The armadillo is Brazil’s preeminent excavator. A Brazilian encyclopedia states that “all the armadillos are very capable diggers[;] when they sense that an enemy is near, they dig and hide themselves under the ground with incredible speed” (*Enciclopédia Barsa* 14: 478). In the *jongo* above, it is the drum, at least initially, that is the “old armadillo”; but by the end, one suspects that the rival *jongueiros* are using that image to refer to themselves. This sliding from one referent to the other, however, is quite natural.

M. Ribeiro notes that “the owner of the [big] drum is the chief of the *jongo*. In some circles, if his versifying is overcome by that of a better *jongueiro*, he loses the drum, which the winner carries away on his back” (53). The master *jongueiro* is supreme because he subordinates the drummer to his powers: “the chief of a *jongo* who values his drummer and does not wish to lose him, gives him a charmed drink [which ties him up], binding him to submission, dance where the man may, keeping him always out of the sway of other masters” (M. Ribeiro 53).⁷⁶ In sum, the drum is a powerful channel to the Other World, but it is the *jongueiro cumba* who commands the action and who is responsible for using the instrument to make the connection.

It is not surprising, therefore, that other *jongos* in the Stein and M. Ribeiro collections explicitly identify the master singer as the true “armadillo.” Indeed, the songs in which *cavar* and *cavucar* are used are mostly ones in which the *jongueiro* assumes the identity of this animal. To be sure, there may be some sexual innuendo here. Armadillos of all species have a disproportionately long penis, given their body size (Medri 7, 154-55): a fact that strutting “galos,” representing themselves as “tatus,” might well have used to spice their metaphors. (Note the verse just cited, which suggests that the old are not usually active “burrowers.”) Yet, a close look at these armadillo verses indicates that there was originally much more to the “digging” trope than this—including evocations of chiefly fecundity (cf. the discussion of the banana tree metaphors in my earlier essay), which by itself could have encouraged sexual allusions.

Sang one arrogant *cumba*, for instance, in the São Paulo Paraíba Valley:

Tatu cava terra
 pra cutia barriá [barrear/barrar]
 Se num fosse tatu-peva
 dorado passava má.⁷⁷ (M. Ribeiro 45)

The armadillo digs a hole in the earth
 for the cutia to plaster with clay
 If I weren't a golden tatupeba [six-banded or yellow armadillo]
 I'd be having a rough time.

The cutia (*Dasyprocta aguti*) is a large rodent, a species of agouti. (Despite its similar name, it is not a close relative of the Cuban *jutía conga*,

met briefly in my preceding essay.) The cutia does not dig burrows itself, but “lives in the brush and fields, finding refuge during the day in lairs made by other animals” (*Enciclopédia Barsa* 6: 149). The *jongueiro* here disqualifies his opponents, saying that they are to him as cutias are to the armadillo; while they may appear to be burrowers (cutias, after all, live in the earth and are smudged with clay), in fact they are not good excavators at all and ultimately wear their dirt courtesy of the master digger.

In the last two lines, the *jongueiro* repeats the idea. If he weren't a *tatupeba* (*Euphractus sexcinctus*), also known in Portuguese as a *tatu de mão amarela* (“yellow-footed armadillo”; cf. “golden *tatupeba*” in the *jongo*), he'd be having a difficult time; but being the master that he is, he has no trouble at all. Note that *barrear* in this *jongo*—“to plaster with clay”—could conceivably be a direct translation of Kimbundu *kúmba*, which has precisely that meaning (Matta 57); here we may have an example of a word that entered the Kikongo kumba constellation in Brazil from another (closely related) Bantu language well-represented in the slave quarters.

The *tatupeba*'s superiority to the cutia is expressed in another *jongo* that contrasts the former's robust speed to the latter's mincing walk (on long, ungainly hind legs) and, in passing, takes a swipe at the foppishness of the *doutor* (“doctor”), the university or law-school trained scion of the elite:

Tatu-peva na capoera
Corre mais do que vapô
a cutia no cipó, gente,
Passeia que nem dotô.⁷⁸ (M. Ribeiro 46)

The *tatupeba* in the tall grass
runs faster than a steam train
the cutia on the tropical vines, friends,
promenades just like a “doctor.”

A third related song—a “*vissungo*,” akin to *jongos*—was recorded by Aires Mata Machado Filho (93) in the 1920s in the old mining regions of Minas Gerais:

No [sic] cacunda de tatu,
Tamanduá quente só [sol]

No cacunda de tatu, ô gente,
 Tamanduá quenta só,
 No cacunda de tatu.

On the armadillo's protective back [under the armadillo's protection]
 The tamanduá [southern anteater] "heats up the sun" [i.e. "stirs up the
 fire" or "heats itself up"]⁷⁹
 On the armadillo's protective back, my friends,
 The southern anteater "heats up the sun,"
 On the armadillo's protective back.

This song plays on the expressions *carregar nas costas* ("to carry on one's back"), meaning "to do by oneself a group task," and *ter costas quentes* ("to have a hot back"), signifying "to be protected by someone, therefore to be able to protect".⁸⁰ *Esquentar sol* ("to heat up the sun," that is "to stir up the fire" or "heat oneself up") could be of Central African origin; in Umbundu, *e-kumbi* has the meaning of both "sun" and (metaphorically) "hearth fire" (Alves 1: 399).⁸¹ The *tamanduá* or *tamanduá-mirim* ("little tamanduá") is an anteater that has strong claws for digging into termite hills and rotten tree branches infested with insects. Yet, like the cutia, it also does not make its own lair, but hides away "in tree holes, the abandoned dens of other animals or ... other natural cavities."⁸²

Here the *cumba* contrasts his rivals—tamanduás—to himself, an armadillo. The former, inferior or even fake diggers, are not given to "heating up the fire" (perhaps originally the "sacred domestic fire," channel to the Spirit World): that is, to singing with the inspired, mysterious power of a *cumba*. They make a semblance of doing so only by hitching a ride on the armadillo's back—borrowing from his "fire," while he does the hard, usually collective work of setting and keeping a *jongo* (or *vissungu*) in motion.

These songs about armadillos, agoutis, and anteaters are highly significant. In Cuba, as we have seen, Central Africans gave the name *nkumbe* to another large rodent, the jutia conga (Díaz Fabelo 69).⁸³ In Brazil, the word *nkumbi* seems not to have left a trace; yet, its central literal and metaphorical meaning ("master digger, road-maker, runner") was transferred to the armadillo, particularly the tatupeba—not to the cutia, much less to the tamanduá. Surely this happened, in substantial part, because of the superiority of the tatu/tatupeba to other animals at digging. (In Cuba, there were

no armadillos; thus, the *jutía conga*, which had minimal excavating skills but at least looked like a *nkúmbi* and made its nest underground, albeit in largely pre-existing cavities, faced no competition from other excavators.)

Yet, other factors probably helped make armadillos astonishing to Central Africans. One is their resemblance to an old-world armored creature. In the region of Sorocaba, in southwestern São Paulo, some Africans called the armadillo *incaca*, a word that clearly stems from a Proto-Bantu root meaning “pangolin,” or “scaly anteater” (cf. Kikongo *nkaka*, “pangolin, anteater”).⁸⁴ In common, the two animals had only an unusual body protection and ate insects; but once they were associated in the imagination, other widely-perceived properties of the pangolin in Central Africa—an anomalous animal, a mammal with “fish” scales that “played a major role in symbolic thought” and was linked in ritual to “big men” (chiefs)—may have been transferred to the armadillo, making it particularly attractive to leaders who pretended to the title of “cumba” (Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests* 74, 110, 227).⁸⁵

Another likely explanation is that slaves hunted armadillos (ubiquitous in southeastern Brazil during the nineteenth century) for themselves and for their masters’ tables (Luccock 293; Tschudi 56), and thus must have come to know the animal’s characteristics and habits well. In this regard, the Kongo and many other Central Africans may have been particularly impressed upon perceiving that one common Brazilian armadillo species has only identical same-sex offspring and is subject to leprosy; for in Kongolese tradition, “twins” and lepers were considered to be “incarnations” of the *bisimbi*.⁸⁶ Similarly, *tatupebas*—known as *papa-defuntos* (eaters of the dead), because of their habit of burrowing into and presumably ingesting buried corpses—may have evoked images of evil *ndoki* (witches), who were reputed to eat human carrion.⁸⁷ What better way to intimidate rivals than to assume the identity of a *tatupeba dourado*, whose *ki-ndòki* (otherworldly power), like that of a great chief, might not necessarily contain itself within normal moral and ethical limits?

One can carry this argument further. Armadillos in general are adept at moving backwards in their tunnels to escape capture, which may have contributed to their reputation as messengers to and from the Central African Other World, conceived of as a mirror image of this one.⁸⁸ In later years, however, as cultural exchanges proceeded in Brazil, “moving backwards” became more and more a characteristic, not of spirits in general,

but of the Christian devil and his minions.⁸⁹ Thus, M. Ribeiro's *jongo*, "Oh brother, don't put me in a jam / the armadillo who digs into the earth / can still return backwards" (*ó meu irmão, não me ponha em barafunda / o tatu cavuca terra / inda vorta de cacunda*) and Stein's "The Mineiro armadillo / digs into the earth backwards" (*tatu mineiro / cavuca terra de cacunda*) probably, by the time they were recorded, had become more expressive of Christian demonology than of African concepts. Indeed, M. Ribeiro tells one old story of magic that literally equates an armadillo with the devil.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, in their origin, these *jongos* may well have expressed Central Africans' admiration for yet another sign of armadillos' *ki-ndòki*—their masterful talent for digging backwards, akin to the ability of *capoeira* fighters to kick hard from upside-down positions, which likewise drew (originally) on power from the Other World (Desch-Obi 348).

Finally, armadillos probably astounded Central Africans because Brazilians associated them with the land's ancient Indian inhabitants. As folklorist Luís da Câmara Cascudo puts it, "Tupi-Guarani myths" about the "extraordinary talents" of these animals entered Brazil's "folk traditions" (Cascudo 669). In high culture, one may note Santa Rita Durão's Indian hero *Grão-Tatu*, "Great Armadillo" (1781), Machado de Assis's indomitable Indian warrior *Tatupeba* (1875) and Gregório de Matos's use (in the seventeenth century) of the locution "descendent of armadillo blood" to mean "of Indian descent" (Durão 59; Machado de Assis 3 127-30; Matos 1 640). Matos's expression may have echoed notions about the curative and (re)generative properties of armadillo blood in popular culture. In modern sources, applications of such blood are said to reverse deafness in people and loss of the sense of smell in dogs (Megale 71; Faria 52-53). More significantly, sickly children in the rural Southeast can be guaranteed good health if they are bathed in fresh armadillo blood or suck an armadillo heart.⁹¹

Given this, when one reads that the "good land for coffee" in São Paulo, the rich "purple earth" (*terra roxa*) is "called by mestizo rural workers [*caipiras*] 'armadillo blood' [*sangue de tatu*]," one suspects that the popular point of reference is not so much the color, but the extraordinary vitality (thus, fecundity) of this ubiquitous creature's life liquid (Ribeiro, *Os brasileiros* 240-44). Here, then, from the Central African perspective, was not just a wondrous digger, but one associated in the very soil of the land with the "first comers," expressing the power of the latter to confer exuberant well-being. Just as Central Africans and their children embraced the

shades of Brazilian first comers, giving them the name “Caboclo Velho [Old, untamed Indian] spirits” in Macumba and in the later Umbanda, so too their *cumbas* may have found it fitting to honor these spirits’ emissaries.⁹²

I believe that I have caged the old nkũmbi—on the South American side of the Atlantic, where both burrowing animal and burrowing drum assume the alias “tatu.” In the Brazilian environment, Central African singers of magic, eminent “diggers to the Other World,” at some (probably early) point ceased being giant pouched rats to become armadillos: particularly tatupebas or six-banded (yellow) armadillos. For long after they had made this adaptation, however, the way they defined themselves remained grounded in Old World concepts about “ancestral” and territorial spirits, indeed about kinship and community.

Twentieth-century *jongueiros* tended to deny, when asked by middle-class interviewers, that their art was linked in some way to the African-Brazilian religion Macumba. Their reticence, given the prejudice surrounding Macumba in white society, is understandable. This and my preceding essay, however, demonstrate that “kumba” and “makumba,” in their various forms and meanings in Kikongo, were at the center of what nineteenth-century *jongueiros cumba* did and who they were. This means that these “keepers of the drums,” these respected present or future members of the *macota* (group of elders), must have had a prominent place in the quarter’s “community cults of affliction,” often called in Africa ngoma, or “drums [of affliction]”: in other words in slave leadership. When bondspeople in Vassouras in 1848 conspired within a Kongo-like drum of affliction to “seize the day” against slavery—and by so doing helped destroy the elite’s consensus in favor of the slave trade—*jongueiros cumba* surely were there, opening roads between their various communities as well as to Brazilian territorial and first-comer spirits on whom their success depended (Slenes, “L’arbre *Nsanda* replanté” 290-306).

***Jongo*, Recalling History**

Hebe Mattos and Martha Abreu

Saint Benedict invented the *jongo* in the times he was flesh and blood and in captivity.

- Luiz Café⁹³

On 15 December 2005, the Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (IPHAN) (National Institute of Historical and Artistic Patrimony) conferred the title of *Patrimônio Cultural do Brasil* (Brazilian Cultural Patrimony) on the *jongo do sudeste*, also known as *tambu*, *tambor*, or *caxambu*. This was the culmination of a research survey begun in September 2001 by specialists, mainly anthropologists from the Centro Nacional de Folclore e Cultura Popular (CNFCP) (National Center for Folklore and Popular Culture).⁹⁴ The *jongo* became the first manifestation of song, dance, and percussion performed by communities from southeast Brazil identified as Afro-Brazilian to receive this title.⁹⁵ Despite the fact that folklorists have been predicting its disappearance since at least the first decades of the twentieth century, present-day *jongo* and *jongueiros* won an important and unexpected battle in institutional and national terms.

Both in the survey and the final evaluation, among the justifications for its candidacy, *jongo* stood out as representative of the “multifaceted Brazilian cultural identity,” as called for in the documentation. Moreover, this decision considered *jongo*’s role as representative of Afro-Brazilian resistance in the southeast region, as well as its character as a point of cultural reference, a remnant of the legacy of the enslaved Bantu-speaking African peoples of Brazil. Finally, another consideration was the recognized need for the State to support communities experiencing basic economic difficulties.⁹⁶

It is evident that the importance attributed to *jongo* today—as the “*patrimony* of a group and a nation”—clearly demonstrates how far we have come from the first registers and learned evaluations regarding this type of cultural manifestation. In the nineteenth century, government authorities and foreign travelers used to consider the *batuques* of the slaves of south-east Brazil as “barbaric dances,” with “wild and primitive music,” characterized by “wild and grotesque manners” (Stewart 293-94).⁹⁷ In the 1930s and 1940s, while folklorists came to recognize the continuity of the old *batuques* in *jongo*’s perseverance—a justification at the time for the accounts—they were sure that in terms of the number of dancers, musical inspiration, and its poetry, it was condemned to decline and disappear (Raymond 20). This loss seemed inevitable even for Stanley Stein, who in a footnote noted that the “tradition of the *caxambu* has survived in Vassouras although it is fast disappearing as former slaves become fewer” (Vassouras [1985] 205).⁹⁸

New times and new struggles can help to explain how the custodians of the knowledge, songs, dances and percussion of the *jongo* drums have come to be designated as the possessors of this element of Brazilian cultural patrimony.⁹⁹ This chapter follows the path of the *jongo* from the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twenty-first century, seen through the eyes of travelers, folklorists, government authorities, and the *jongueiros* themselves, in order to understand how these parties played a part in turning it into Brazilian cultural patrimony and a symbol of the struggle for rights and identity recognition.

From *Batuques* to *Jongos* and *Caxambus*

Some foreign travelers who passed through Rio de Janeiro and its rural neighborhoods in the nineteenth century describe songs and dances with prejudice and bewilderment, despite their keenness to watch them. “Batuque” was the generic term that most of the travelers used to identify them. There is no doubt that this was the name used by those from outside the culture, and it was also used in repressive legal codes, such as the municipal legislation drawn up by various Brazilian cities throughout the nineteenth century. Urban newspapers also used this term to complain about the inconvenience and disturbance in neighborhoods and for businesses (Abreu, *Império do divino* 289; Stein, Vassouras [1985] 243-44).

Some travelers’ reports about *batuques* in areas of the Southeast described them in ways that resonate with the practice of the *jongo* as we

know it today. For instance, Rugendas, an illustrator on a scientific expedition in the 1820s in a rural area close to Rio de Janeiro, the capital at the time, identified rhythmic clapping, expressive body movements, the positioning of the performer, and the dancer at the center of a circle in which everyone repeated the chorus, all as part of a *batuque*. Many years after Rugendas, between 1865 and 1866, on an island close to the capital, Luiz Agassiz, head of a North American scientific expedition, and his wife, Elizabeth Cary Agassiz, also watched a dance in a circle, where a chorus leader began the song with a sort of couplet, which everyone repeated in chorus at regular intervals. The North American couple recognized in the lower-body movements (from the feet to the waist) the steps of the blacks of the plantations of their own country, while movements of the torso and the arms reminded them of the Spanish fandango (Abreu, *Império do divino* 83-84). Even the exchange of the dancers in the center of the circle with those on the outside is described by a French traveler, a keen observer of the movements of the “négrillons” (Assier 94-95).

In the coffee-producing county of Vassouras in the 1940s, Stanley Stein suggested that the slaves of the region used the expression “caxambu.” Although *batuque* appeared more frequently in the municipal documents consulted by the author, *caxambu* was also used. The Vassouras ordinances of 1890 state that its practice was prohibited on the city streets and in any private house within municipal limits, even after the abolition of slavery in 1888. Elsewhere in Vassouras, police permission was necessary.¹⁰⁰

Throughout the nineteenth century municipal authorities often debated policies for permitting *batuques* or not. The *batuques* were part of the slaves’ demands, and consequently, part of the ongoing political negotiations among municipal authorities, the police, landowners, and property owners. Permission was granted or not, depending on local circumstances.¹⁰¹

Beyond the political realm, *jongo* also appeared in descriptions of the time framed as a spectacle. Foreign travelers were able to watch and record *batuque* performances in the main open yards of the plantations close to the slave quarters, on festive days organized by the masters, on saints’ days, or even on Saturday nights and Sundays. And, it seems, they very much enjoyed watching them. In 1882 Burke and Staples were invited to visit Barão do Rio Bonito’s Santana Plantation in Barra do Piraí.¹⁰² On the day of the big festivity, which even an Argentinean ex-president was likely to have attended, everyone was welcomed by a troupe of slaves. They were

even allowed to visit the slave quarters, which were very tidy and well cared for, according to their description. Soon after dinner, all the guests went to the courtyard to watch “an impressive and picturesque scene” where all the slaves danced in tune to monotonous songs, hand-clapping and drumming. This lasted throughout the two days of their visit, from midday to midnight.

In other descriptions, we find this same spectacular dimension. There is that of a “good” master in the wild coffee lands; slavery justified in terms of domesticating the so-called barbaric. Likewise, there are the slaves themselves, who manifested their presence and expressed their identity and their cultural otherness through their “amusements,” as the travelers saw it. And the slaves certainly kept their deeper meanings to themselves, since travelers and masters did not see—let alone understand—all the *batuques* the slaves performed.

In the criminal proceedings consulted by Camilla Agostini, which referred to the region of Vassouras, there were indications that *batuques* were not simply spectacles which “outsiders” watched. The surroundings and the inside of slave quarters, the fields and the forests, the yards of the houses or shacks of married or elderly slaves, all served as *caxambu* meeting places. Those enslaved in other plantations could also sometimes secretly meet for dances and drumming sessions. Information circulated among the slaves of neighboring plantations, through conversations in bars, visits from slaves to other farms, or even through the “subtly disguised” verses of *jongo* itself (Stein, *Vassouras* [1985] 205), sung by groups from nearby plantations when they met during the coffee harvest (Agostini 85-86; Stein, *Vassouras* [1985] 205).

Moreover, those who recorded the *jongo* during the nineteenth century failed to grasp what these slave meetings really entailed, that is, oral histories versified in music containing the ironic criticisms of their masters, mistresses, and foremen; internal disputes; reverence for the past, and respect for Africans and their ancestors. Proverbs, metaphorical images, and coded messages were neither perceived nor mentioned by travelers.

Direct and explicit, if sometimes fleeting references to *jongo* can also be found from the end of the century onwards in writings by intellectuals concerned with the linguistic and cultural foundations of the Brazilian nation. In these works, the identification of *batuques* and *jongo* with black and slave populations is clear, as had already been registered in travelers’ accounts. In the Macedo Soares (1838-1905) dictionary, published in 1889,

jongo appears as a synonym to *batuque*, although it merited its own definitive and laconic entry, which reads: “*dança de negros da costa*” (dance of blacks from the coast of West Africa). In fact, this is an erroneous definition, since all evidence points to *jongo* being a “dance of black people” from Central Africa, as shown by Robert Slenes in his contributions to this volume.

The examples accompanying this entry indicate how well-known the expression *jongo* was in Rio de Janeiro at the end of the nineteenth century, as evident in letters of complaint to the editors of the *Jornal do Comércio*. On 8 April 1884, a dispute arose in connection with a *jongo*, identified as an “African dance” that caused considerable inconvenience to the neighbors. A 14 May 1889 report dealt with a celebration by free men who danced “*alegres jongs em regozijo pelo aniversário da abolição*” (“happy *jongos* to commemorate the anniversary of abolition”) (Soares 1: 256).¹⁰³

In the 1901 edition of *Festas e Tradições Populares*, the folklorist Mello Moraes Filho (1844-1919) also recorded in downtown Rio de Janeiro a *jongo* of “*autômatos negros*” (“black marionettes”) in one of the tents at the Feast of the Divine Holy Spirit. Probably dating from the middle of the nineteenth century, this type of *jongo*—staged within the broader spectacle of the religious feast—incited the irruption of an immoral *batuque*, according to Moraes Filho, in which the Santa Casa de Misericórdia hospital was mocked in sung verses. Cultural estrangement, politics, and spectacle are once more brought together to circumscribe the *jongueiros*’ black identity, be it as slaves or Africans.

Despite the estrangement that both authors express, and even though they mention *jongo* only in passing in their works, the traditions of the African slaves and their descendants began to be seen as Brazilian, even if they were doomed to disappearance. Like other intellectuals in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, they took on the great mission of constructing the nation in cultural, linguistic, and musical terms.¹⁰⁴ Although both authors believed that these traditions would disappear through demographic and cultural mixing, they considered it necessary to record the contribution of Africans to the formation of the Brazilian nation. Soares’s dictionary also sought to complete Brazil’s political emancipation from Portugal, by means of a literary emancipation that incorporated over 1,000 Africanisms and Brazilianisms, words and citations of afro-indo-luso origin. Moreover, Mello Moraes intended to show that Brazil itself would be built upon the musical mixture of African and Portuguese elements.

These two authors' search for a miscegenated and musical national identity would profoundly mark subsequent recordings of *jongo* in the Southeast.¹⁰⁵

Twentieth-century folklorists indicate that the first work showing greater interest in *jongo* was that of Luciano Gallet (1893-1931), in his *Estudos de folclore*, published in 1934, containing articles dating from the late 1920s. Gallet was one of the best-known popular music researchers during the period, and dedicated himself to the construction of a Brazilian music. He became known during the 1920s for harmonizations (a suggestive word) of popular songs, such as "Bumba Meu Boi" and "Xangô," and for compositions such as "Tango-Batuque" and "Suíte" for piano and woodwind quartet. "Suíte" brought together a number of "Negro-Brazilian" themes such as "Macumba," "Acalanto," and "Jongo." The revolutionary movement that brought Getúlio Vargas to power in 1930 made Gallet the Director of the Instituto Nacional de Música, where he institutionalized the study of ethnography.

Gallet's contact with *jongo* seems to have occurred almost by chance in 1927, and it reveals both the maestro's interest in black music and the manifest presence of the genre in the old coffee districts at that time. While recovering from an illness, Gallet spent some time on a plantation in the State of Rio de Janeiro, the Fazenda de São José da Boa Vista, near the River Pirai. There he gathered black songs and dances, as well as the spoken language of the servants, nursery rhymes, and colloquialisms from the region. An informant, "o velho preto Antoniozinho," a tenant farmer native to the region, provided information about black music. According to Gallet's assessment, Antoniozinho was a trustworthy source as a morally upright and respected community member, since he also performed sacerdotal functions in the absence of religious authorities. Gallet was one of the first to recognize the religious leadership of the old *jongueiros*.¹⁰⁶

According to the author, however, "the old black traditions can still be found, strictly among the old generation, far from the centers of population, in distant farms and fields, at negro-fetishist ceremonies." All this was expected to disappear, and quickly: the "negro element among us, and the Portuguese, are already a thing of the past, tradition, folklore." All the elements would mix to form a purely Brazilian entity (Gallet 54).

Gallet's description of *jongo*, subsequently repeated by various folklorists, noted the dancers' lascivious movements: "the excitement of the spectators, entranced by the drumming, the dance steps, the general singing,

and the *parati* (sugarcane spirits) that flowed for hours on end” (74). *Jongo* was akin to group dances such as the *coco de zambê* from Rio Grande do Norte and the samba from Pernambuco. According to Gallet, it was defined by large circles of men and women who sang in a chorus, clapped their hands in time, and danced, undulating without moving from the spot. In the center of the circle, a dancer, sometimes two, would perform hip-shaking moves, difficult to execute and requiring great agility, as the dance unfolded. The *cantador*, sometimes more than one, might play maracas. He would improvise stanzas and the chorus would answer. Alongside him, the musicians loudly played the characteristic *jongo* drums and a *puíta* [friction drum] (62). To produce a rhythmic roar, a bowl of water was placed next to the drummer so he could wet his hands.¹⁰⁷

From the 1930s, despite the emergence of Afro-Brazilian Studies, especially in the area of folklore, the focus did not change much. Artur Ramos, for example, the greatest authority on the subject, when publishing a chapter specifically about dance and music in *O folclore negro do Brasil*, in 1935, claimed that *jongo* and other dances of African origin were a “folkloric survival.” With regard to *batuque* and *jongo*, he followed Gallet’s description, adding details about the type of drums, the *tambu* and the *candongueiro* (Ramos 144). According to the author, black music, given its religious and magical origins, and despite having dominated everything, and absorbed folk songs from other origins, was transformed and adapted in Brazil. In music, as in other areas of folklore, it was possible to see “the creation of something new, which will be *Brazilian*” (147).

Perhaps because of this emphasis on disappearance, in the 1940s and in the early 1950s, there were a number of initiatives to record and study what were thought to be the last vestiges of *jongo*, especially in the State of São Paulo. These initiatives closely followed the efforts of folklorists such as Renato Almeida, Edison Carneiro, and Rossini Tavares de Lima, among others, in the 1947 creation of the Comissão Nacional de Folclore, following the guidelines proposed by UNESCO at the end of World War II.¹⁰⁸

In the mid-1940s, in *Música Popular Brasileira*, Oneyda Alvarenga evaluates the state of the field, emphasizing Mário de Andrade’s and Luciano Gallet’s contributions. In 1945, at the recently founded Universidade de São Paulo, Lavínia Costa Raymond defended a doctoral dissertation in sociology based on fieldwork in the small towns of Tietê and São Luiz do Paraitinga, and in Vila Santa Maria, a São Paulo neighborhood, where groups practiced *jongo*

and *batuque*, as well as *congada* and *moçambique*. In 1948, Alceu Maynard Araújo published a short article on *jongo* in São Luiz do Paraitinga, after visiting and interviewing the town's old *jongueiros*. In 1952 Afonso Dias, a music teacher from the region, described the *batuque* in Tietê; Rossini Tavares de Lima, the *tambu* in the State of São Paulo; and Maria de Lourdes Borges Ribeiro, São Benedito's feast and its *moçambique* in the town of Aparecida.¹⁰⁹ It is within this context that Stein carried out the research that resulted in his *Vassouras*, published in the United States in 1957.

Newspapers also began to take note of these manifestations as symbols of Brazilian folklore. Alceu Maynard de Araújo, for example, published between 1949 and 1950 in the *Correio Paulistano*, *Folha da Manhã* and in the *Correio de São Paulo*, articles about the *jongo* in the towns of Cunha, São Luiz do Paraitinga, Lagoinha, São José do Barreiro, and Areias. Rossini Tavares de Lima also published an account of *jongo* in the *Correio Paulistano* on 11 February 1951.¹¹⁰

In these articles, as in the texts of nineteenth-century travelers, cultural difference, politics, and spectacle were mixed, elaborating the significance of black identity in the *jongueiro* communities. Lavínia Raymond notes that in his 1944 visit to São Luiz do Paraitinga, Professor A. Muller of the Universidade de São Paulo's Department of Sociology and Politics, became the subject of a *jongo* verse at the festivities:

Nossa mesa hoje cedo
Tinha peixe e tinha arroz
Seu dotô vai pra São Paulo, oi
Vai contar como é que foi.

This morning at our table
There was fish and there was rice
Mr. Professor will go to São Paulo
He's gonna tell them how it was.¹¹¹

Lavínia Raymond's 1945 dissertation merits commentary.¹¹² Even from a folklorist's point of view, one certainty was that these dances were becoming rarer, and less rich and visible, Raymond began to reflect upon the reasons for their persistence.¹¹³ In her view, their tenacity raised sociological problems. What were the conditions that allowed for the continuity

of traits carried over from “black cultures”? Why did they persist while so many of the group’s other contemporaneous traits had disappeared? And what did this mean for the groups that persisted in their practice? (19-20).

Although Raymond was aware of these questions, she did not answer them, because she was more interested in describing the feasts. She perceived the relationship between those “inside” and those “outside,” and some of the meanings of *jongo* for a majority black population that she described as “popular,” a population seemingly intent upon maintaining its songs and dances. She highlighted how the *jongueiros* ingeniously and insistently struggled to secure official authorization to perform. She also noted that the *jongueiros* turned the *jongo* into an attractive spectacle for a broad audience as a strategy to achieve recognition.¹¹⁴ Finally, Raymond perceived the importance of family relations, and how the *jongueiros* protected the elderly *jongo* participants. She even recorded how the *jongueiros* commemorated 13 May, the day of abolition.

In a *batuque* that Raymond observed in São Paulo, in Vila Santa Maria on 13 May 1944, she recorded the role of the Departamento Estadual de Imprensa e Propaganda, Divisão de Divertimentos Públicos (DEIP) in sponsoring, if not organizing the event.¹¹⁵ The idea of the event, she was told, had come from a “young black man, working in the above-mentioned Division [DEIP], who had sung the wonders of the festivities prepared to commemorate the day of abolition.” Therein arose the Division’s interest in filming the publicized dances, and producing publications in an attempt to attract the attention of the people of São Paulo (59).

Apart from the organization of the dances, Raymond could perceive the importance the spectacles had for the families and communities of the region. The *batuque* players she talked to in Tietê told her that *batuques* were dances from the old days, the dances of slaves and old people about which the young were learning. They served as entertainment and as an opportunity to speak their minds (42). In all the presentations that she watched, it became clear to her that the link between the *batuqueiros* was based on family ties, which could persevere in the city as well, as the presence of *jongueiro* communities in the periphery of São Paulo attested.¹¹⁶

In the state of Rio de Janeiro, circumstances were similar. We know that Vovó Maria Joana (1902-1986), born on Fazenda Saudade in Valença, arrived in Madureira, a suburb of Rio de Janeiro, in the second decade of the twentieth century. And there, in the Morro da Serrinha, with her husband,

she promoted the *jongo* throughout the community. Somewhat later, she helped to found the Escola de Samba Império Serrano (Gandra). In 1975, her son Darcy Monteiro (later known as Mestre Darcy do Jongo da Serrinha), Antônio Santos (Fuleiro) of Império Serrano, and the songwriter Candeia, attracted media attention when they organized *jongo* presentations at the Teatro Opinião, in an attempt to “revive authentic black culture,” in yet another convergence of spectacle, black identity, and politics (Machado).

The interest of folklorists, sociologists, and anthropologists in *jongo* and *jongueiros* intensified during the 1960s and 1970s. Once again, however, for the majority of academics *jongo* was about to disappear, together with the old *jongueiros* that performed it. During the 1970s, there was more than one article published in the press to defend the many actions taken to save *jongo*, which was dying out, threatened by “North American mass culture” (O. Silva; Confete).

On the other hand, new black identity movements were emerging, explicitly politicizing black culture, where “Black Power” and the so-called “root” culture converged. In 1975, before the September presentation at the Teatro Opinião, Darcy da Serrinha organized in the Sociedade Carnavalesca “Vai se quiser,” in the Engenho de Dentro, dance events which—to newspaper columnist Ruben Confete’s horror—started with a cassette player “which spewed irritating American music,” and went on to a “enthusiastic if scruffy roda de samba.” To finish, Vovó Maria Tereza, Vovó Joana Rezadeira, Djanira, Mestre Rufino (one of the founders of Escola de Samba Portela), and Antonio Santos (Mestre Fuleiro, music director of Império Serrano) performed their own *roda de jongo* (Confete).

During the same decade, the Instituto de Patrimônio Cultural do Estado do Rio de Janeiro developed an extensive project with the purpose of recording cultural manifestations that were allegedly disappearing or undergoing a “process of deformation” (Vives). The ethnographers registered the strength of verses, dances in circles, the kinship communities, the sacred and profane characteristics and characters such as Dona Sebastiana II, master *jongueira* of Santo Antônio de Pádua.

During the 1980s new research would address the presence of *jongo* in the shantytowns of Rio and its role in the origins of samba, while Darcy da Serrinha continued organizing *jongo* presentations, generating a polemic around the “jongo spectacle.”¹¹⁷ His presentations at the Circo Voador (an important venue in Rio de Janeiro since the 1980s), on a stage decorated with bamboo

and candles, became famous (Bomfim). His mother, Vovó Maria Joana, noted the changes *jongo* was undergoing, without declaring its demise:

Today it has changed. Before, the old people used to make a bonfire that was almost two meters high, and would only start to dance after asking the permission of the *orixás*. Each woman would wear what they could, there were sword challenges, children would only be allowed with the permission of the elderly black people who were there to express their grief. Nowadays, it is a lot calmer, we can dance at home too, not only in the *terreiro*. (Bomfim)

If Vovó Maria Joana thought that *jongo* was changing, the significance of those changes was not something upon which all old *jongueiros* agreed. Aniceto do Império, in open conflict with Darcy, emphasized the sacred character of the old performances. For him, the uninitiated only participated in *jongo* sessions out of “petulance, presumptuousness, or ignorance” (qtd. in Vargens).

Today, the cultural map of *jongo* takes us back to the past, almost in direct line to the Bantu-speaking African groups who arrived on the southeastern Brazilian coast in the first half of the nineteenth century. But it also takes us to the future, towards an impressive movement of ethnic emergence, associated with the struggle against racial discrimination, with the goal of securing cultural recognition and title to traditional lands, which have been worked by black peasant communities organized along kinship lines.

Article 68 of the *Disposições Constitucionais Transitórias* of the 1988 Brazilian Constitution recognized the territorial rights of the “descendants of the quilombo communities,” guaranteeing them definitive title by the Brazilian state.¹¹⁸ Since then, nationwide, the process of emergence of new *quilombola* communities has become more vigorous.¹¹⁹ Black peasants with collective possession rights over lands they have historically occupied started to demand their rights vis-a-vis this legal provision. According to Decree 4.887, 20 November 2003, which regulated the constitutional article, “the descendants of the quilombo communities are characterised by” and must be attested to “through self-definition by the community itself.” Communities are understood as “ethnic-racial groups, according to the criteria of self-attribution, with their own history, and who have relations to a specific territory, according to the assumption of black ancestry,

reflecting their resistance to the historical oppression they suffered.” In Rio de Janeiro, the identification of descendants has taken place strictly according to Decree 3.551, 2000, which allowed for the *jongo* to be recognized as an intangible patrimony of Brazil. Taking advantage of these definitions, in this new legal context, the communities that conserve the *jongo* as cultural patrimony can politically reassert their historical trajectory and their ethnic authenticity, gaining visibility and developing new perspectives for collective survival.

The surviving *quilombo* community of São José da Serra, in Rio de Janeiro’s Vale do Paraíba—where *jongo* is still danced beside a two-meter bonfire (as Vovó Maria Joana wished)—have joined the famous community of Jongo da Serrinha (created in the 1970s by Master Darcy) in presenting a petition demanding that *jongo* be considered Brazilian cultural patrimony.¹²⁰ By doing this, both groups have asserted themselves as principal representatives of this tradition. For these groups, *jongo* testifies to the presence of the African heritage in the state of Rio de Janeiro, lending itself to reinterpretation as both a spectacle and a way of life. The memory of *jongo*, transformed into cultural patrimony, returns to the past in order to open paths towards the future.¹²¹

“As Rewarding as it Will be Fun”: Mapping the History and Legacy of Barbara and Stanley Stein’s Journey¹²²

Jorge L. Giovannetti

Introduction

In this book’s chapter entitled “A Marvelous Journey,” Stanley Stein writes that he sees his role in the book more as that of a “technician.” I, on the other hand, see my role in commenting the book as that of an “outsider,” perhaps even an “intruder.” I can claim no standing as a specialist of Brazil and my relationship with that country has only been happenstance—if indeed intense. Also, I have never had the privilege to really meet the man himself, corresponding only with those around him and involved in this book. During my semester at Princeton in 2007, I saw Stein at a distance. His presence at the Latin American seminars and activities was discreet, sitting attentively and showing a willingness to learn that some scholars of his standing have lost, often at a proportionally inverse speed to that at which they have gained accolades and endowed chairs. It seemed as if Stein occupied a peculiar—indeed, nowadays rare—place for his stature by not being the Professor that flaunts his knowledge (or Ivy League credentials) in every sentence. In fact, I think I only heard him speak once, and he was brief—as he has been in his “Marvelous Journey” introduction.¹²³ My commentary here is less a reaction to the individual contributions in *Cangoma Calling*, and more a commentary in three acts about the intellectual history behind the book and its “technician(s)” and the new research avenues that the contributors opened to us.

The Steins and the Herskovitses

If the anthropologist Melville J. Herskovits would have been able to read Stanley Stein’s introduction, he would have been pleased to learn that the

Steins' sojourn in Brazil was not only "rewarding"—as he predicted—or "fun"—as it surely was—but also "marvelous." Stein's introduction, however, reveals more than he intended in his unselfish bequest of a fraction of his legacy. Moreover, he makes explicit something that is somehow missing from the texts of the other contributors—or heirs. While the authors in this book mostly speak in the singular, about *his* recordings and book, Stanley Stein writes emphatically in the plural, about "*our* marvelous journey," and about the fieldwork he *and* Barbara Hadley Stein undertook in Brazil. "Barbara and I," Stein points out, "reviewed my dissertation options," before engaging in the research project. He thus gives Barbara her due credit here as in his other publications. In fact, Barbara Hadley Stein seems not only to have joined Stein in his work, but also to have opened important paths along that "marvelous journey."

In May 1947, Melville Herskovits at Northwestern University received a letter from Barbara Hadley Stein that read:

It has been so long—in these swift moving times—since you and Mrs. Herskovits introduced me to a slight understanding of African culture in Bahia that you may well have forgotten that one Barbara Hadley occasionally accompanied you in your visits to Bahia's candomblés.

After saying how she cherished the time spent with the Herskovitses (both Melville and Frances) and lamenting how domestic duties keep her "too busy" for academic pursuits,¹²⁴ she disclosed the reason for her writing: "It is in behalf of my husband Stan Stein ... that I write to you." After mentioning Stanley's project, she noted how "he wishes to lay a sound basis for study of the Brazilian Negro" and needed the "background necessary to utilize discriminatingly the work" of several authors. She then asked: "Could you suggest a reading list of books you think would fill this need?"¹²⁵

This letter opens the file on the Steins in the Melville Herskovits Papers at Northwestern University in Evanston. But it is also the letter with which Barbara opened the way for Stanley to start an exchange with the Herskovitses—one that would prove central to the research in Vassouras, and consequently, to the existence of the *jongo* recordings that led to this book. Melville Herskovits's response could have not been more enthusiastic. "It was awfully nice to hear from you again," he wrote, adding that "You and Stan ought to be able to do a beautiful job in the Parahyba Valley, with your

linguistic and other training.” Herskovits invited the Steins to Evanston to share his Brazilian field notes as well as contacts and sources. Contacting Herskovits was indicative that Stein’s interests and sensibilities for the history of the Afro-Americas could not be met at Harvard. Indeed, Herskovits noted that not only was there no one at Harvard to direct Stein’s reading, but also that such training could not be found “anywhere else in this country but here,” at Northwestern—a telling statement about university curricula at that time but also about Herskovits’s own sense of his standing regarding the study of the Afro-Americas.¹²⁶

Once Barbara had opened the way, Stanley wrote on 30 May 1947 to arrange a meeting at Evanston and even the possibility of entering a summer school program at Northwestern. A courteous exchange started with Herskovits “glad to help you with your reading in the Negro field” and Stein worrying about being a burden to the renowned senior scholar (“... my resultant dependence on you for frequent consultation would consume unduly the time you plan to spend on your general book on cultural anthropology”).¹²⁷ A meeting during the summer of 1947 did not materialize, but the exchanges paved the way for a later encounter. During that time, Stein sought to gain more knowledge about the “West African cultural heritage of the New World Negro” through a program of study so that he could “have specific problems to discuss” with Herskovits. It also seems that the lack of someone to work with at Harvard led Stein to explain his being there: “after the war I changed my field of concentration from Romance Languages to Latin American History.”¹²⁸ Herskovits, on his part, continued to be welcoming, as they discussed dates for Stein’s visit: “Come out whenever it is convenient and I will be glad to make available to you all the materials we have on hand.”¹²⁹ The two finally met in December 1947, in an influential encounter that Stein himself briefly refers to in the Introduction.

Herskovits then lent Stein his personal field notes from Bahia, which Stein took to Harvard and read immediately. Moreover, Herskovits put Stein in contact with Charles Wagley and the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) staff in New York, and recommended him for the SSRC grant that, along with an award from Harvard, would facilitate his research in Brazil.¹³⁰ Stein was pleased and grateful when he learned about the fellowships, and wrote back to Herskovits early in 1948 to tell him: “You may imagine how pleased I am, for the sum allotted will permit Barbara to work with me.” He thanked Herskovits for his “help and guidance” and

Herskovits replied: “I was confident you would get it.” He thanked Stein for his diligent return of the field notes and wrote: “I know you and Barbara will have a grand time.”¹³¹ Among the Herskovits papers, the exchange that Barbara had facilitated between these two men finishes on this enthusiastic note of February 1948—but that is not the end of the folder. The last letters exchanged, two months later, are between Herskovits and Barbara.

Barbara wrote to Herskovits in April 1948, highlighting the collective nature of their upcoming Brazilian enterprise in the same way Stanley Stein has done. She wrote:

Stan *and* I have been talking around the problem of how to limit *our* study. At present *we* plan to take about five municipalities, chosen for their representative character and the availability of source materials. These, particularly the fazendas within them, will be the bedrock of *our* study. Only in this way can *we* include the whole valley and not lose the value of a detailed approach (my emphasis).

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She then noted that John Lomax’s *Adventures of a Ballad Hunter* had “recently passed through [her] hands,” confirming Gustavo Pacheco’s reference to the influence of Lomax in the research that produced *Vassouras* and the *jongo* recordings. “I am fascinated,” Barbara wrote, “by the possibility of tracing Negro work songs and plantation hollers in the area of our study. It may not be feasible to pursue the idea but in case it is, have you any suggestions on ways of going at it?”¹³² Herskovits responded positively:

Your ideas about limiting your studies seem good to me. I think it is always best to approach a large problem by studying one segment of it intensively and then moving out from that base. As regards the matter of work songs and plantation music, do by all means get after it. The first thing to do is to find out whether the Negroes in the Parahyba have songs of this kind. Then I suspect that if you find them, it will not be difficult to interest the people at the Discoteca in Sao Paulo [*sic*] in coming to record them. If this is not feasible, we may be able to work out some way of getting you a recording instrument. In any event, it would be possible to get the words.

With that enthusiastic response, the Steins left for Brazil for a “marvelous journey.” Herskovits was left with envy (of the good kind), yet

comforting himself that the enterprise of the Steins would be “as rewarding as it will be fun.”¹³³

Pioneering Area Studies (with an Atlantic Mind?)

The figure of Stanley Stein, embarking on the research that would produce the *jongo* recordings, in many ways embodies some of the major transitions that were taking place in the academic world during and after the Second World War: the questioning of disciplinary boundaries within the social sciences and the emergence of area studies (Wallerstein et al. 36–48). At Harvard, he was influenced by a recent PhD graduate and teacher, Howard Cline, who was crossing the boundaries of history and anthropology (Potash).¹³⁴ Having made his transition from Romance Languages to History, Stein’s correspondence with Melville Herskovits indicates his awareness about further disciplinary and intellectual transactions needed to tackle the topic of his study in the Paraíba Valley. While the prime focus of what eventually became *Vassouras* was the socioeconomic history of the region, Stein’s move to contact Herskovits acknowledged his willingness to draw upon the anthropological discipline in order to better deal with his understanding of people of African descent in nineteenth-century Brazil—those composing the laboring backbone of the slave plantation economy he wanted to examine. It was Stein’s—and Barbara’s—cross-disciplinary sensibility that Herskovits recognized when recommending him to his friend Donald Young of the SSRC:

The important thing in my mind is that he is approaching his problem from an original cross-disciplinary view and that his work will be strengthened by collaboration with his wife—something on which Frances and I are thoroughly sold!¹³⁵

The Herskovitses’ support for the Steins was to be expected. They knew Barbara from their time together during their fieldwork in Bahia, and Stanley’s willingness to move across disciplines had been made evident in their correspondence. Moreover, Stein had written in July 1947 to Herskovits telling him that his “Problems, Method and Theory in Afroamerican Studies” was “of great value” as “an exposition of the cross-disciplinary approach in this field which I am just entering.”¹³⁶ Stanley Stein was thus a pioneer in transgressing disciplinary boundaries precisely at the early stages in which those boundaries were being put into question.

Cross-disciplinary work was at the center of the development of area studies (Wallerstein et al. 36-48), and here as well, Stein was literally at the gates waiting for them to be opened. Herskovits's recommendation for Stein was explicitly regarding the "area fellowships" that would be developed at the SSRC. After Stein and Herskovits met in December 1947, Stein carried with him a letter for the SSRC staff in New York, which included Donald Young and Charles Wagley.¹³⁷ At this point, however, the gates were not yet open, and while Wagley agreed with Herskovits that Stein's "study might fit into the category of area fellowships," the committee for that purpose was not yet functional for assigning funds. In his New York meeting with Stein, Wagley encouraged him to apply for a regular fellowship, but added that he should mention in his cover letter that they—Stein and Wagley—had talked about the possibility of an "area fellowship."¹³⁸ In the end, Stein received a regular fellowship early in 1948, but it is clear that his training and subsequent career was launched at a significant transitional moment in US social sciences.¹³⁹ It must therefore come as no surprise that once he finished his PhD, not only did Stein continue researching on Latin America, but he also became the founding director of Princeton's interdisciplinary Program in Latin American Studies (Stone 1). From that time, his consistent commitment to Latin American area studies has been unquestionable.¹⁴⁰

Stanley Stein was not only crossing disciplinary boundaries and perhaps becoming one of the early practitioners of Latin American area studies (as an officially recognized field in mainstream social sciences), but he also had something of an Atlantic mind. His correspondence with Herskovits suggests that he wanted to be well prepared for his meeting with the doyen of Afro-American anthropology, but also that he was aware of the wider Atlantic connections behind his chosen research topic. This is evident in his graduate work at Harvard where he used his Modern British History Seminar to take a tangent to examine the nineteenth-century Gold Coast and Nigeria. While tackling the formalities of his oral examinations he would also "acquire some background in the West African cultural heritage of the New World Negro."¹⁴¹ Stein would end up preparing a paper that allowed him to look at the Yoruba and Ibo in southern Nigeria, and while lamenting not being able to deal with the Hausa, he could see how the knowledge acquired would give him the "adequate background" for a discussion with Herskovits on "the problems of the Negro in Brazil, and in particular, the Negro in the Parahyba Valley."¹⁴² In other words, Stein did not think that

his understanding of people of African descent in Brazil would be done in a vacuum, or that his field site was historically and culturally isolated. He knew not only of the importance of inter-disciplinary approaches to the area of his interest, but of the African and Atlantic elements underlying his study—long before “Atlantic” became fashionable in academia.

Brazilian and Cuban Connections: A Continuing Legacy?

The new explorations of Afro-Brazilian cultural history contained in this book and its Brazilian counterpart *Memória do Jongo* (Lara and Pacheco) demonstrate clearly the major legacy of the Stein recordings that facilitated such enquiries. Questions could be raised as to why such explorations have emerged *now*, more than fifty years after the original recordings were made. Why did no one think about the recordings before? And what does their uncovering tell us about the current debates on socio-racial relations in Brazil and Afro-Brazilian heritage and history? Nonetheless, however late, Stein’s groundwork has generated an important body of new scholarship. We do not need to wait fifty years again in order to point to another set of research avenues, suggested by this book, and only possible because of the fact that the Stein recordings have been made public. One of these avenues is hinted at by Robert Slenes in his essay’s insistence in drawing comparisons and connections with Cuba.¹⁴³ Other scholars can now explore the potential for comparative studies between Afro-Brazilian cultural practices and those from Cuba (or the Caribbean). This potential, as it turns out, is embedded in the history of early twentieth century anthropology. Moreover, in the same way Herskovits influenced the Steins, it is within the “intellectual social formation” around the former that one finds the Cuban connection (Yelvington).

The Stein recordings could be located within—and indeed, were influenced by—a genealogy of scholars that were devoted to the recording of vernacular oral forms and folk music traditions in the Americas. As a sequel to the early recordings of John Alden Mason in Puerto Rico (Viera Vargas, “De-Centering Identities” and “La colección John Alden Mason”) and those of Alan Lomax around the Caribbean in the earlier part of the century (see Ferris), a generation of anthropologists and folklorists during and after the Second World War insisted on recording oral traditions and music for their research. And virtually at the same time that the Steins were warming up for their Brazilian project, some of these scholars were engaged in

recording Afro-Cuban oral, musical, and religious traditions. Among these were Richard Alan Waterman, a student and later colleague of Herskovits at Northwestern University, and Berta Montero-Sánchez, a Cuban graduate student of Herskovits.¹⁴⁴ In September 1947, Montero-Sánchez reported to Herskovits that she had recorded “two chants for Elegía, two chants for Oguún [*sic*], and one for Changó. We did not have a drum but [they] used a wooden box for the drumming, because without the drumming they did not enjoy singing.” I “already have two ‘spools’ recorded,” she wrote with excitement.¹⁴⁵ William Bascom, another Herskovits disciple and colleague, and a renowned Africanist, joined Montero-Sánchez in Cuba (they later married), and used his Yoruba language skills to communicate with Afro-Cuban informants.¹⁴⁶ In fact, Montero-Sánchez’s identification and recording of a 102-year-old Lucumí named Wenceslao Rubiallo, the son of two Africans, clearly indicates the kind of work in which she was involved in Cuba in the 1940s.¹⁴⁷

Other recordings were possibly taking place around this time. Another anthropologist, Carl Withers, who did fieldwork in rural Cuba from 1947 to 1951, wrote to Herskovits in November 1947 telling him that he was leaving to Cuba “via boat” and “with more gear than it is pleasant to contemplate (including a wire recorder).”¹⁴⁸ Even Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz is reported to have had a recording machine, but for some reason Richard Waterman had his doubts, and it is not known whether sound recording was part of Ortiz’s extensive fieldwork among black Cubans.¹⁴⁹ Waterman also did field recordings in Puerto Rico in the late 1940s in what he thought would “further the ends of the larger anthropological problem of which the Cuban field-work is a part.”¹⁵⁰ These recordings, under the auspices of the Office of Information for Puerto Rico and the US Library of Congress, included Afro-Puerto Rican materials from *bombas* to *baquinés*.

Thus—to quote Stanley Stein—there is a “task ahead for Latin American historians” (“The Task Ahead”), but also for anthropologists, ethnomusicologists, and social scientists in general. Given that the Stein recordings are readily available via this book, not only as a body of scholarship but as a primary source, and now that some of its contributors have hinted at the wider connections of his work in Cuba, it is up to a new generation of scholars to take up the challenge of comparative research with these musical productions and interconnected histories of anthropology. The sources are out there in one way or another, and hopefully, they will not have to

wait for another half-century for scholars to give them the attention they deserve. The Waterman recordings are available at the Division of Music of the Library of Congress and some materials are at the Archives of Traditional Music (ATM), Indiana University, Bloomington, providing raw material for any ethnomusicologist. The ATM at Indiana also holds some recordings under the label of “Bascom Collection”—it is not clear whether of Berta, William, or both—including “talking,” choruses and percussion.¹⁵¹

On the other hand, if Carl Withers did make some recordings in Cuba, they are not part of the collection he donated before his death in 1970 (Brown and Giovannetti), and the status of part of Ortiz’s collection at the Cuban Institute of Literature and Linguistics—and its overzealous guardians—prevents us from learning whether there are any surviving recorded materials. That being said, correspondence and papers of both Withers and Ortiz (in New York and Havana respectively) are available for consultation and the Yoruba Collection of William and Berta Bascom is held at the Bancroft Library of the University of California. Therefore, researchers have not only some of the musical materials, but also printed sources that may contain useful insights on the recordings, the people who made them, and their larger theoretical and conceptual concerns. Important groundwork has been laid by scholars such as Kevin Yelvington, Richard and Sally Price, and Olivia M. Gomes da Cunha in their critical assessments of the history of Afro-American anthropology, and this will also be useful for those examining the musical dimension of post-war Caribbean and Latin American anthropology.

Together, the authors in this book have given a multi-dimensional contribution to Afro-Brazilian Studies by locating Stanley Stein and his recordings in a proper intellectual and local context, and by explaining the particularities of *jongo* as a socio-cultural practice and its Afro-diasporic dimension. They have also highlighted the wider musical and cultural traditions of which *jongo* is a part and have—implicitly and explicitly—pointed towards the political and timely significance this book—and particularly in its version in Portuguese—has for Brazilians of African descent proud of their heritage and wishing to continue their traditions. And now, with the potential for future scholarship, still triggered by the initial work of our unassuming “technician” and his wife and life-long research partner Barbara, we can expect new melodic and rhythmic scholarship in the field to which they devoted their life and passion.

“Sonorous Vestiges”: Stanley Stein’s Brazilian Recordings in Hemispheric Perspective

Kenneth Bilby

It was with some trepidation that I agreed to contribute to the present volume. For one thing, I am not a Brazilianist, but a Caribbeanist. I can claim no expertise on Brazil—a country that, culturally and musically speaking, has always seemed to me fearfully vast. And then there was another nagging question: why should this particular collection of recordings, consisting of a mere forty minutes or so of recently rediscovered material, be singled out for such special attention? Granted, the recordings had been made by a distinguished scholar, whose pioneering work was undertaken at a particularly auspicious juncture (barely a half century after slavery’s abolition in Brazil). But past experience had left me with the understanding that Stein’s recordings, no matter how special, could not compare with any number of other important collections of ethnographic recordings languishing largely unrecognized in archives in various parts of the world.

Over the years I have had the privilege of working extensively with field recordings housed in some of the world’s great archives of traditional music, including the Archive of Folk Culture at the Library of Congress, the Smithsonian Folklife archive (now the Ralph Rinzler Folklife Archives and Collections) in Washington, DC, and the Alan Lomax Archive at Hunter College in New York. While carrying out this work, I was exposed to dozens of truly remarkable collections of field recordings, including those made in Brazil, Suriname, Haiti, and Trinidad by Melville Herskovits himself—the very scholar who had inspired Stein to try his own hand at recording. Several of these collections were many times the size of Stein’s, and some were better documented. I even had occasion to work with two major

collections of Brazilian field recordings that predated Stein's—the collection of the Folklore Research Mission (Missão de Pesquisas Folclóricas) of 1938 associated with Mário de Andrade's Discoteca Pública Municipal, and the L.H. Corrêa de Azevedo collection from the early 1940s (copies of which had been deposited in the Library of Congress as part of an exchange program).¹⁵² Both collections were much larger, and at least in some ways, richer than Stein's. Few if any of these more extensive collections, whether from Brazil or elsewhere, had inspired scholars in recent times to devote an entire book to them. Why was all this retrospective attention being lavished on Stein's relatively modest collection?

More careful reflection helped me to see that there are indeed compelling reasons to single out Stanley Stein's recently rediscovered recordings for special treatment. For these historic recordings raise a number of important questions that have relevance well beyond the borders of Brazil. Silvia Lara aptly characterizes the *jongos* recorded by Stein as “sonorous vestiges”—audible traces of “a culture that flourished in the few autonomous spaces where captives were able to assert themselves.” Preserved in these complex, orally transmitted musical and verbal traditions, as several of the contributions to this volume attest, is history of a kind largely ignored by scholars—until Stanley Stein (and a few others) decided to start paying attention. Yet, while there can be no doubt that Stein deserves credit for his pioneering use of songs recorded in the field as valid historical sources, and for his productive analyses of the specific musical materials he gathered (Vassouras [1985] 204-09), what is most striking about his rediscovered recordings, to me, is just how much they may still have to tell us. As the various chapters in this volume repeatedly reveal, the value of these recordings is greater than anyone could have imagined at the time of their making. Stein himself tells us that “the real importance of what I had captured escaped me.” Six decades on, the traces of the past still recoverable from his recordings seem not just audible, but “sonorous” in the fullest sense—deeply resonant, both sonically and culturally. In rediscovering Stein's lost field recordings, students of the Afro-Brazilian past have discovered new possibilities for sonic archaeology.

Viewed from a hemispheric perspective, these new possibilities have tremendous significance. Even though the serious study of slavery and the African presence in the Americas has a fairly long history, both in Brazil and the United States, scholarly production in this area has always been

defined in large part by the ostensibly insurmountable limitations of what can be known about the past. Where written records were not kept, as was generally the case among enslaved Africans and their descendants across the Americas, “history” was deemed impossible, or nearly so; what little might be gleaned about such persons and their experience could be found only in the writings of literate others, most of whom, coevals though they may have been, were separated by a vast social structural, cultural, and ideological gulf from those they deigned to write about. The resulting bias in the production of knowledge about the past in areas where slavery reigned has come to seem inevitable—perhaps even “natural.” Even those who have understood the need to rewrite the histories of such areas, this time consciously from the perspective of the enslaved, have most often continued to rely almost exclusively on the highly compromised documents readily available in colonial and imperial archives, merely reinterpreting—or as the case may be, reimagining—the data drawn from these to fit new ends.

That the historiography of Afro-America has been grossly one-sided because of this overwhelming dependence on sources produced by those who ruled is both a truism and a deplorable condition that continues to demand redress.¹⁵³ Stein himself reminds us that from the beginning, a major problem he hoped to address with the Vassouras project was “to access the ‘voice’ of plantation slaves, to recreate their world.” Inspired by the work of Melville J. Herskovits and Benjamin A. Botkin, he anticipated the “rewards of going beyond the available documentation to capture the unwritten, the voices of the oppressed, and their memory.” Only now, with the rediscovery of his recordings, has it become evident that these rewards might be even greater than expected.

Each of the original contributors to this volume remarks on the opportunities Stein’s recordings present to those intent on accessing a previously inaccessible history. Gustavo Pacheco waxes enthusiastically over “the richness of the material collected directly from ex-slaves and their descendants, a little over a half-century after abolition.” Silvia Lara points to the new trends in Brazilian historiography that have allowed the “inclusion of the excluded,” with the result that the *jongos* recorded by Stein may now serve as “a critical alternative source” of historical data.

Hebe Mattos and Martha Abreu go a step further, assessing the political implications of the *jongos* recorded by Stein, as these are officially transformed into a kind of legally sanctioned “cultural patrimony.” Once

again, the revelation of a previously excluded side of history is central to this process. As these authors state, “the slaves certainly kept their deeper meanings to themselves, since travelers and masters did not see—let alone understand—all the batuques the slaves performed.” Even those outsiders who witnessed and wrote about the *jongo* during the nineteenth century “failed to grasp what these slave meetings really entailed.” Attending to these hidden meanings will likely become even more urgent in the future, for as Mattos and Abreu point out, in this new legal context, where cultural patrimony has become “a symbol of the struggle for rights and identity recognition,” those who “conserve the *jongo* as cultural patrimony can politically reassert their historical trajectory and their ethnic authenticity, gaining visibility and developing new perspectives for collective survival.”¹⁵⁴

The two chapters in this volume by Robert Slenes are particularly revealing of the potential of Stein’s recordings as sources for the further investigation of cultural history. These essays provide a model for profound linguistic and cultural analysis of a kind that promises to unearth the “secret” deeper meanings buried in the layers of meaningful sound preserved on these recordings. Slenes’s analyses show that the work of seeking African cultural connections has implications that go far beyond the mere tracing of origins. In persuasively relating these musical and verbal expressions, recorded in the Paraíba Valley some six decades ago, to specific Central African (and especially Kongo, or near-Kongo) terms, concepts, and cultural practices, he sketches out certain aspects of what begins to look like a coherent world of meaning with distinctive characteristics of its own. That the slave-owning class, despite its attempts to control virtually every facet of plantation life, appears to have known next to nothing about this world of meaning is itself highly significant.

When discussing a number of Kikongo “words clustered around the noisy meanings of *kúmba*” (related to the *cumba*, or “master singer” of *jongos* in the Afro-Brazilian tradition), Slenes asserts that this Central African conceptual cluster “commands our attention, for it defines a constellation of sacred meanings that casts its light in the Atlantic zone, in Africa’s far interior, and even in Cuba.” Not just in Cuba, I might add. Indeed, many of the esoteric terms and concepts referenced by Slenes in his analyses of Stein’s recordings resonate quite clearly with what are almost certainly cognate terms and concepts in Jamaica, Haiti, and other parts of the Americas. The matrix of sacred meanings divined by Slenes in this Brazilian context,

for instance, overlaps in numerous intriguing ways with my own ethnographic findings on the Kongo-related musical and spiritual tradition in Jamaica known as Kumina (Bilby and Fu-Kiau), and those of others who have looked at Central African cultural contributions to the Americas more broadly (Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit* [1984] 103-59; Warner-Lewis). And Slenes also offers insights on less esoteric cultural meanings associated with the performance of *jongos*, some of which can be used to enlarge our perspective on African-related musical practices and concepts in other parts of the western hemisphere. I will very briefly touch on two instances here.

As Slenes points out, *jongo* verses are traditionally called *pontos* (a Portuguese term for “knotted stitches,” as well as “points”). *Jongueiros*, he states, were obliged to “untie” (decipher) the *pontos* sung by their opponents to avoid becoming victims of *o ponto de encante* [sic] *que amarra* (“the stitch of enchantment that binds tightly”). This understanding was likely shared by many, if not most, of those who engaged in competitive exchanges of *pontos de demanda*, or challenge songs. Using this idea and a number of other Afro-Brazilian concepts underlying the singing of *jongos* as his point of departure, Slenes marshals a truly remarkable panoply of interrelated Kongo (or near-Kongo) terms and concepts having to do with binding, piercing, inciting, and challenging that are clearly cognate with important components of the Brazilian cultural matrix to which *jongos* belong.

Though this exercise is aimed specifically at the Brazilian experience, it tells us just as much about certain aspects of Haitian expressive culture. Any student of Haitian music and religion will immediately be struck by the congruence of the meanings discussed by Slenes and those that cluster around the Haitian term *pwen* (from French *point*, a cognate of Portuguese *ponto* that encompasses roughly the same range of meanings). In Haiti, not only does the concept of *pwen* reference spiritual power associated with “tying,” “poking,” and “inciting,” but it is closely associated with a kind of “challenge” singing, *chan pwen*, that is frequently performed in Vodou and other ceremonial contexts (McAlister 168-78; Smith).

More important than the fact that this cluster of ideas can ultimately be traced to Central Africa is the evident vitality of these concepts in everyday life, both in Haiti and parts of Brazil, as suggested by their linguistic re-embodiment in semantically parallel European-derived lexemes (the cognates “ponto” and “pwen”) that belong to the vernaculars spoken by the general population. In the Haitian case (and possibly in the Brazilian one

as well), these distinctive cultural ideas continue to be adapted to changing circumstances, perhaps telling us something not only about cultural dynamism in this part of the world, but about how fundamental these concepts are and how firmly they remain embedded in local worldviews.

Not only does the tradition of *chan pwen* remain alive and well in contemporary Haitian popular music produced in urban recording studios (Averill 15-19), but both the larger *pwen* concept (centering on various forms of spiritual power) and its musical counterpart, *chan pwen*, continue to loom large in Vodou cosmology and practice—even as the term *pwen* itself has been semantically extended and reinterpreted to help make moral sense of the wrenching economic and social disruptions and dislocations caused by massive wage-labor migration in recent years (Richman).

Equally interesting is the particular metaphor used in the Paraíba Valley to describe the *jongueiro*'s opening move, which Slenes similarly interprets with reference to the large Central African cluster of "kumba words" with overlapping meanings mentioned above. Noting that one meaning of Kikongo *kúba* is "to throw outside, hurl-pling, put out," he points out that the *jongueiro*, or *cumba*, is said to "launch," "throw," "release," or "shoot" (*lançar, jogar, soltar, atirar*) his *ponto*.

Again, the distinctive cultural trope employed here is of at least as much interest as the specific vocabulary (African or European) in which it is couched. When we turn our attention to Jamaica, we find that ritual specialists among the Windward Maroons use the same metaphor, routinely "throwing" spiritually powerful songs both to challenge their opponents and to remove themselves from danger (for one example, see Bilby, *True-Born Maroons* 300, 462 n 13; see also McAlister 170, 177, on "throwing *pwen*" in Haiti). And in Jamaican Creole (or *Patwa* ["patois"]) more generally, the term "throw" is often used in similar ways in connection with sung commentary and other formulaic verbal exchanges. Ritualized cursing and exchanges of insults, for instance, are known throughout Jamaica as "throwing words."¹⁵⁵

Shared African-related conceptual continuities such as these are important not only because they suggest meaningful links between different diasporic locations, but because they help us to bridge past and present, providing possible points of entry into a history that remains poorly understood. In my view, this is one of the most valuable aspects of Slenes's work on the Brazilian *jongo*: it casts light on an important portion of history that was previously inaccessible—the realm of past cognition. The firm

conclusion to be drawn from his careful reexamination and interpretation of the evidence assembled by Stein and other fieldworkers is that this song tradition, which emerged among enslaved Africans, was closely associated with a distinctive Central African worldview that the enslavers and the social stratum to which they belonged failed to recognize or comprehend.

Practitioners of this Afro-Brazilian tradition, of course, had to accommodate themselves in innumerable ways, psychologically and otherwise, to the disempowering realities of the onerous condition that had been imposed upon them, and had to adapt their tradition over time to changing social and economic circumstances; but the evidence suggests, as Slenes argues, that “the way they defined themselves remained grounded in Old World concepts about ‘ancestral’ and territorial spirits, indeed about kinship and community.” From this we can deduce more generally that, even in historical settings in which one social group wielded near-absolute power over another (extending even to the legal ownership of bodies), the subjugated could nonetheless continue to inhabit a mental universe that remained profoundly autonomous.¹⁵⁶

By the twentieth century, Slenes tells us, *jongueiros*—in response to the prejudices surrounding Macumba in white society—tended to deny (at least when asked by middle-class interviewers) that their art had any (African) spiritual or religious significance.¹⁵⁷ Further complicating this picture is the fact that the social and ideological pressures that necessitated this kind of defensive posturing may have led over time to a gradual process of cultural erosion and actual secularization (or partial secularization) that continued and perhaps even intensified during the post-emancipation era, making it that much more difficult for researchers to gain access to the sacred meanings more clearly associated with these musical practices in the past.¹⁵⁸ But significant traces of this unwritten cultural history remained and could still be captured on recordings in the twentieth century, as Stanley Stein and a handful of others found. And we must ask ourselves whether more of this history than we realize lives on in Vassouras, and other places with comparable pasts, even today.

The realization that certain kinds of memory exist “off the record” is, of course, not entirely new. Neither is the contention that some of these alternate ways of processing the past might provide valuable clues to life during the slavery era. But the rediscovery of Stanley Stein’s field recordings seems to have done much to breathe new life into this premise in the

Brazilian context. Since the “memory of the jongo” presented in this volume resonates powerfully with similarly sung and danced memories in many other parts of the western hemisphere and the broader Afro-Atlantic, it could well serve as an effective catalyst for similar kinds of sonic archaeology elsewhere in this vast zone.

When one thinks of the huge store of ethnographic field recordings waiting to be rediscovered in archives scattered across the globe—many of them decades old, and a significant portion made among African descendants in the Americas—one can only feel excited at the prospect that scholars in other parts of the world will take heed and follow the lead of their Brazilianist colleagues. Those who are intent upon reclaiming pasts prematurely given up for lost may be the greatest beneficiaries of such concerted attempts to find new ways of unlocking the secrets hidden in these repositories; but the entire world stands to be enriched by the new perspectives and understandings that would surely result.

Jongos: Bodies and Spirits

Arcadio Díaz Quiñones

The voice is endowed with profundity: by not meaning anything, it appears to mean more than mere words, it becomes the bearer of some unfathomable originary meaning...

- Mladen Dolar, *A Voice and Nothing More*

For many years I have admired Stanley Stein as a wonderful historian, but now I am convinced that he is also an avant-garde poet. I say so in response to his use of *jongos* as a primary source for his book *Vassouras*. Five decades on, *Vassouras* is still revisited—and celebrated—among other things because of the late rediscovery of the *jongo* recordings made by Stein. His pioneering wire recordings lay dormant for many years but now enjoy a remarkable moment of rejuvenation, reviving the language, music, and traditions whose spirit they represent.

Considering *jongos* either in the original context in which Stein wrote, or in light of today's historical and cultural debates concerning agency, the fact is that notions of "creolization" or "hybridization" continue to shape the reception of *Vassouras*. Stein's recordings and the new studies prompted by their rediscovery call to mind the many characteristics shared among historians and poets, and this enables us to perceive the similarities between Stein's work and the avant-garde poets, who contributed to frame ideas of an "Afro-Caribbean" culture in the 1920s. Actually, this was true throughout the Americas, especially in regions characterized by significant linguistic, religious and cultural contrasts. It is revealing that various terms with the prefix "Afro" were coined in those years to refer to distinctive creole cultures, or to African

continuities in the Americas. But here I am thinking more specifically about the Caribbean.

Avant-garde poets were fascinated with the voice, with words, rhythms, music, and dance. They were also passionately interested in establishing a link between the oral and the printed word. The poets' radical questioning of conventional print culture enabled them to discover, to see and to register the grander imaginative and symbolic function of language and music. In the 1920s, Caribbean voices and dance music became popular thanks to new forms of technology such as sound recordings, radio, jukeboxes, and film. Poets grasped the new possibilities of the recorded word, attending to the richness and multiplicity of speech patterns, and slang, all of which made a remarkable appearance in their poetry.

Much was at stake in their inquiries. In the process, the experimental poets discovered a new archive and intriguing new perspectives, particularly in the realm of language, religion, and music. Their works stimulated the need to understand the sources of rhythms and religious rituals, and showed the rewards of exploring song and dance in the "sugar islands." In the Caribbean, some writers anticipated, or coincided with, what historians and Afro-Americanist anthropologists were doing, that is, they challenged the dominant descriptions of society and the silencing of the cultural history and African heritage of the enslaved and their descendants.

This is not to say that the poets had the knowledge, methodologies or training of anthropologists and historians such as Stein. Unlike historians and ethnohistorians, the avant-garde poets knowingly and ironically played with myth and history, and generally offered little account of the economic contexts or of political institutions. While emphasizing the similarities between historians and poets, we also need to insist upon the full weight of the marked difference of their approaches. Avant-garde poets were clear that any understanding of Caribbean societies made it imperative to address the richness of African and creole cultures, underscoring their unique contributions to the spiritual and political life of the modern nation. In this sense, one may say that some avant-garde poets and historians acted as cultural mediators, as they themselves were part of a rich and complex cultural history. Noting this parallel is not to suggest any straightforward linear development, but to recognize an array of shared perspectives and arguments, often overlapping and intersecting.

Silvia Lara's historiographic chronology in this volume recalls the work of Fernando Ortiz, who had already published his *Glosario de afronegrismos* in 1924, where he paid very close attention to language and meaning, and to linguistic hybridity in the Caribbean. Then, in 1940, Ortiz published a book that Stein read, *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcar*, where he coined the category *transculturación*, in early anticipation of today's debates. All this was very deeply linked to what the avant-garde poets were doing. By then Ortiz was one of Cuba's leading public intellectuals, well informed and immersed in the diversity and richness of African cultures and languages throughout Cuban history. He understood fully that there could be no probing discussion of culture without extended references to slavery and its legacies, particularly the spiritual dimension underlying social practices. "With their bodies they also brought their spirits," he wrote with incisive clarity in a 1939 essay, expressing a belief that is crucial to understanding his conception of transculturation, which implied a reconciliation of different cultures and religions within the modern nation-state (Ortiz, "La cubanidad" 11).

A new chapter was about to begin with the avant-garde poets, on whom the literature is now very extensive. This may be clarified by considering the work of Puerto Rican poet Luis Palés Matos (1898-1959), who—along with writers such as Cuba's Nicolás Guillén and Alejo Carpentier, or Haitian scholar Jean-Price Mars—took a stand against cultural prejudices. At least since 1926, during the Harlem Renaissance, and long before Aimé Césaire and the *négritude* movement, Palés Matos, who had been greatly influenced by the Dadaists and sound poems, wrote some compelling Afro-Caribbean poetry, thus helping to locate the historical significance of African cultural heritage and to bring it forward into the modern.

The onomatopoeic title of *Tuntún de pasa y grifería* (1937), wherein Palés Matos assembled many of his earlier texts, resonates (its *tun tún* is actually "sounding") in a crucial way and offers a major clue to his poetics. Once the drums kick in, and the reader "speaks" the words, drum and voice set the tone for the entire book, situating music at the very heart and soul of the community. The drums also hint at listening as an essential practice in Palés Matos's poetics and they enunciate the complex multi-vocal quality of his text. *Tuntún* is a manifesto in defense of the vibrant (and at times incomprehensible) vernacular, of words the poet could play with and repeat, frequently taking off from street language considered taboo

in poetry. Other words that unequivocally invoke African origins (often drawn from books and various printed sources) were often used simply for the power of their sound and the beauty of their rhythm. The book's special literary effects enabled readers to see and hear the archipelago and its history in a different way, thus inspiring creative performances by others. Indeed, many of these poems were known primarily through recitation and multiple performances.

Tuntún was a rarity in Puerto Rican intellectual circles. For various reasons, it could not be inserted easily into a broader cultural tradition. First, because it raised questions concerning the trauma of slavery and its legacies at a time when such topics were practically absent in historical and political discourse. Second, *Tuntún* was unique in that it refrained from an explicitly Puerto Rican nationalist narrative, rather identifying with a more diasporic, "Afro-Antillean" culture spread throughout the Caribbean. In the festive and satiric—at times lyrical and sorrowful—settings he invented, Palés Matos redefined Puerto Rican society less in terms of an exclusive Hispanic understanding and more as a constant interplay, *un sí es que no es*, a hesitating "between cultures," to which he devoted a poem aptly titled *ten con ten*. The satiric distance questioned racist exclusions and exposed the hypocrisy of social codes.

Tuntún is not only a book about the island that Palés Matos knew best, but also about the archipelago, and it is written with *ingredientes antillanos*, which allowed the poet to trace a complex web of relationships between the scattered islands. Indeed, its subtitle is *poemas afroantillanos*. Like other avant-garde poets, Palés Matos sought to escape the restrictions of what conventional practice considered proper literary dialect. Even though he possessed a rich literary culture and delved into printed sources, he relied a great deal on the speaking voice, on the fact that it carries a music of its own, a specific way of enunciating certain sounds. Provocatively, he foregrounded "unliterary" terms such as *pasa* and *grifería* with all their pejorative or ludic connotations.

This was, of course, a scandal. Not surprisingly, prominent members of the intellectual elite responded in condemnatory tones, labeling the book as "vulgar" and "false." The poet, they seemed to say, disclosed too much about the mixture of European and African elements, and plainly savored the transgression. Literature became a major site of cultural contestation. Hostility or polite indifference toward Palés Matos's book persists even today, but

despite the controversy, *Tuntún* continues to attract readers, and remains one of the most eloquent critiques of Eurocentrism in the Caribbean.

The poet's own background and earliest memories are highly relevant in this regard. Palés Matos grew up in Guayama, in southern coastal Puerto Rico, a region with a very strong African presence.¹⁵⁹ His family belonged to a provincial lettered elite, and he became a poet very early, inspired primarily by Edgar Allan Poe and Rubén Darío. In *Litoral*, a personal memoir written much later, he offers a self-portrait of the artist as young man. There, he narrates how his childhood was filled with stories told by Lupe, his black nanny, recalling tales of evil sorcerers and eventual rescue of the children. It was a different kind of listening experience. He recalls how he felt enveloped by the incantatory way Lupe sang the *adombe*, *gangá*, *mondé* from that oral tradition. Moreover, Palés Matos also recalls nocturnal wanderings to Lupe's neighborhood, a different world by the beach and the sugar mill. He relates the story of first witnessing a *baquiné*, a wake for a dead black child, a tale of bodies and spirits. The nanny's haunting voice (another "mother tongue"), for him the untranslatable "*adombe*, *gangá*, *mondé*"—which he already knew by heart—reappears precisely at the end of this intimate portrait of a *baquiné*. The heightened excitement produced by the mnemonic patterns of prayers and songs reverberates in *Litoral* and also in some of his poems, as in his early and frequently cited "Falsa canción de baquiné" as well as in "Lamento," both found in *Tuntún*:

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¡Ohé, nené!

¡Ohé, nené!

Adombe gangá mondé,

adombe.

Candombe del baquiné,

candombe

Vedlo aquí dormido,

Ju-jú.

Todo está dormido,

Ju-jú.

¿Quién lo habrá dormido?

Ju-jú.

Babilongo ha sido,

Ju-jú.
 Ya no tiene oído,
 Ju-jú.
 Ya no tiene oído... (196)

Here there are no wire recordings like those of the *jongos*, which we have thanks to Stein. Nonetheless, the poet remembers and reinterprets, setting the song down from memory. He tells us what he then saw and heard and how this spurred his imagination. Crossing ethnic and religious boundaries, Palés Matos conjures up what the descendants of slaves were doing in the closed circle of their own community. The *baquiné*, which at least structurally seems similar to the *jongos*, includes singers, a mixed language, and a call-and-response form, all encouraging participation. The repetitive lyrics and rhythmic patterns of the *baquiné* suggest a ritual atmosphere with its own kind of truth—including sexuality, death, and restoration to a new life. The elegiac quality of this passage has to do perhaps not only with the dead child, but with the loss of “home” and dispossession. In early adolescence, the poet witnessed a form of secret ritual staged in a place where few outsiders could intrude. He also discovered that his native Guayama included at least two different worlds that would come together in his poetry.

The *baquiné* is known today thanks in part to Palés Matos’s evocation. He offered an understanding that could not be gleaned from other sources. The lyrics are sometimes humorous—and this is a significant feature to which Colin Palmer referred in his remarks about *jongos*: “The lyrics, often humorous, belong also to religious traditions.” Humor allows irony, complexity, and ambiguity to stand in all their contradictions. It was the exercise of *memoria* that transformed Palés Matos’s experience into a meaningful cultural phenomenon, beyond its autobiographical matrix. It was also an act of testimony to a significant culture that shaped his poetic sensibility, and one that he found mesmerizing.

Palés Matos presents a singular example of what the avant-garde poets were discovering, what they sought to bring to light. For him, the condensation of cultural, spiritual, and historical forces created the magnificence of the songs and dances linking the members of a strong symbolic community to their ancestors. Music—and the music of words—*meant* something. This recalls Ralph Ellison’s remarks about the power of *flamenco*—its dances, songs, and use of the voice—which he came to admire

as a communal art comparable to the African-American traditions. “The gypsies, like the slaves,” wrote Ellison in his beautiful and insightful essay, “are an outcast though undefeated people who have never lost their awareness of the physical source of man’s most spiritual moments.” (95)

Stein recognized and valorized the same spiritual disposition in his approach to *jongos*. Through his recording and use of the *jongos* as a fundamental source of historical evidence, Stein has conserved an enduring treasure that offers new starting points for a deft retelling of the history—and the stories—of African slaves or freed people of African descent. *Vassouras* and Stein’s recordings now encounter different readerships and generate new narratives. Present research and conceptualizations are important, both for what scholars have to say about Stein’s work, and for their enlightening re-evaluations of the *jongos*. Finally, the rediscovery of his *jongo* recordings has allowed me this somewhat circuitous return to the parallel insights and contributions of the Caribbean avant-garde poets. At fifty, *Vassouras* remains engaged with the world that produced it, and it continues to be enormously inspiring to its readers today.

Resisting the Siren Song: The Shift from Folklore to Cultural History in Brazil

Pedro Meira Monteiro

As a reader of the Brazilian modernist tradition, I was always stunned by the fact that just a decade before the young scholar Stanley Stein recorded former slaves singing *jongos*, the poet Mário de Andrade was working to recover popular culture by collecting songs and carefully listening to the “cantadores.” It seems that those times marked an important shift from folklorism to cultural history in Brazil.

My goal here is to understand how the cultural-historical perspective evolved, and how Mário de Andrade and Stanley Stein can be seen as two researchers who, although listening to somewhat analogous aural material, developed distinct ways of approaching “culture” and its “popular” expression. In general terms, from the 1930s to the 1940s in Brazil, one sees a movement from a type of folklorism—seemingly “left over” from the nineteenth century—to a historiography closer to what today constitutes a cultural approach that is attentive to historical subjects and their strategies for material and symbolic survival. It seems, finally, that the magical, collective subject, bearer of a tradition, ceded space to a historical subject whose forms of expression do not necessarily coincide with plans for national unity.

Thinking first of Mário de Andrade, it should be noted that, in the 1930s, his vanguard poetic experimentation began giving way to the ethnomusicological studies that pressed for an opening to the field of historical studies. Andrade exerted considerable effort to distance himself from the realm of literature and frame his research in more objective, empirical terms.

But this “objectivity” must be precisely defined, and it should be recalled that literary influences persisted in Andrade’s work, and his query regarding

the Brazilian character continued to inform his oeuvre. In the 1930s Andrade continued his quest to identify a national character, even though the poetic experiments of his masterpiece *Macunaíma* (1928) had already expressed the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of defining such a character.

But Andrade never completely escaped his modernistic enchantment with people, their speech, and their songs. To a certain extent, it might even be said that *Volksgeist* is re-actualized in the Brazilian modernist fable, even in its most satirical current, wherein the Brazilian people became the messengers of a new civilization, a type of good-natured response to European solemnity. With the modernists of the 1920s and 1930s, Brazil discovers itself, or invents itself, vast and unique, and does so by discovering the wealth of its people, or what the modernists invented as the nation's "people."

From 1935 to 1938, long after writing *Macunaíma*, Andrade had the stimulating experience of directing the Cultural Department of the City of São Paulo, where he established a policy of mapping Brazilian folklore, a project in which his mark on Brazilian cultural institutions is confirmed in the present, as can be seen in the discussion of the intangible cultural patrimony offered here by Martha Abreu and Hebe Mattos. From then on, Andrade produced numerous works on Brazilian culture, even as the modernist poet ceded space to the folklorist.

But the interesting thing is that even in his most systematic and descriptive writings, Mário de Andrade always has a moment of enchantment when the "subject" observed becomes the bearer of the flame of poetry, the glistening of a truth above the here-and-now of history—the truth of art that, in turn, is taken for the truth of Brazil.

In Andrade's study on "Congos," later included in a book edited posthumously by Oneyda Alvarenga, entitled *Danças dramáticas*, the question concerned exactly the origin of these Brazilian folk dances:

The origin of the Congos is very African, as they derived from the dances to celebrate the enthroning of a new king. The festive crowning of a new king is a universal practice. It is what might be called "Elementargedanke," a spontaneous idea. Nature itself gives us impressive and unmistakable examples of this, with the festive aspect of the bright rays of sunrise and of the vegetation that is resurrected in early spring, after the cold winter. And according to studies by Frazer, it would even seem, that in many civilizations, both natural and those of the Ancient World, the enthroning and

celebration of a new king is intimately related to the magical commemoration of vegetable myths. (365)

Starting from this elementary (and many would say today essentialized) zone of African origin, Mário de Andrade begins an investigation into the permanence of the Congos in the diasporic context. Here his attention to colonial and neocolonial contexts leads one to imagine how the slave owners might have made use of these kings as instruments for dominating the slaves. But Andrade could hardly conceal his joy at the fact that, in Brazil, the blacks had given “free reign to this fetishist political practice” (369). For example, at Quilombo dos Palmares, in Serra da Barriga (a huge and famous seventeenth-century runaway slave community in northeastern Brazil), the elected monarchy showed that, deep in Brazilian territory, this “African” custom had been re-materialized, along with many of its dramatic expressions.

I call attention to the following detail: in the modernist imagination, there is something in the heart of Brazil that resists the decomposition of these African roots. Here I limit my discussion to the idea that the “music of the people,” “folk music,” exists in this space of cultural resistance whose subject, I would note, is collective. Mário de Andrade is quite clear in this respect. For him, true folk music is collective and anonymous. In folk studies, this anonymity is expressed in the resistance that “true” folk music offers to the “sentimental expansion” of classical Western music.¹⁶⁰

On the literary plane, the popular leads Mário de Andrade to compose, almost at the end of his life, the beautiful play *Vida do cantador*, a poetic biography of Chico Antônio, whom he had met on his 1928-29 trip to northeastern Brazil to observe local folklore. Published in Andrade’s column on music in the *Folha da Manhã* newspaper between August and September 1943, the story of Chico Antônio is the tragedy of the telluric voice, the bearer of folk songs. Antônio’s voice was threatened, in its power to enchant, due to his desire to move to the city. It was a voice threatened, perhaps, by the subject’s desire for individuation.

At about the same time that Mário de Andrade (1893-1945) was publishing his *Vida do cantador*, a young Stanley Stein (b. 1920) went to Brazil and began a study that culminated with living for almost two years in the town of Vassouras in the late 1940s. Based on a close study of the municipal files and countless interviews with local people, including the formerly enslaved, Stein reconstructed the social, political and economic context of

the region during the second half of the nineteenth century, marked by the decline of the coffee economy. As some of the present volume's contributions make clear, inspired by the community studies of Ralph Beals, George Foster, and Robert Redfield, Stein studied the micro-region of Vassouras in great detail. His work resulted in the classic book of historiography on Brazil, *Vassouras: A Brazilian Coffee County, 1850–1890 (The Roles of Planter and Slave in Plantation Society)*, first published in English in 1957.

I will limit my observations to the chapter entitled “Religion and Festivities on the Plantation,” where the reader can perceive a broad conception of chanting or singing, quite distinct in essence from the conception originating in Brazilian modernism. But even more fundamentally, consider Stanley Stein's attention to the need that blacks felt to always express their beliefs and religious practices in a camouflaged, “underground” way, as evident in such expressions of his as “in the woods” and “sub-rosa.” These characterizations betray, or reveal, a game of hide-and-seek whereby the slaves paradoxically become the masters of their social practices, even under the aegis of the Catholic Church.

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Going further, Stein shows that the meaning of cultural practices (singing, dancing, or simply speaking) is not relegated to some far-distant and mythical past in Africa that was somehow mythically and magically reimplanted in Brazil. Greatly simplifying things, we might say that the meaning of social practices is not something beyond the individual subjects, hovering over them as a kind of poetic, collective and essential truth. The subjects are agents of their own history, and they are all the more effective insofar as they are able to conceal the deeper meanings of their practices; Robert Slenes clearly illustrates this in his contributions to this volume. It is these meanings that are beyond the range of the folklorist's eye and grasp.

Stein was inspired by the works of Melville and Frances Herskovits, and by the profound narratives of the formerly enslaved documented by the the Federal Writers' Project in the 1930s, and as elaborated upon in Botkin's *Lay My Burden Down*. As he recounts in his opening essay, Stein was also mindful of the Brazilian historiographic and sociological productions of the period, as well as of the Brazilian regionalist literature of the 1930s and 1940s (José Lins do Rego, in particular). Stein therefore studied African cultural survival and its resignification in the local context, and his attention was drawn to the *caxambu*, or *batuque*, a dance of words and bodies to the sound of beating drums. He presents the reader with

a wealth of details in his descriptions of the dancing and singing. Other important sources include the accounts he and his wife, Barbara Hadley Stein, prepared *in loco*, along with the recording of *jongos* sung by the formerly enslaved. The following passage is illustrative:

The caxambu was a sanctioned opportunity to indulge in sly, deft, often cynical comment on the society of which slaves were so important a segment. The system of *polícia* and constant supervision tended to break the spirit and will of the African immigrant and his children; the caxambu with its powerful rhythms, its almost complete lack of planter supervision, the use of African words to cover too obvious allusions, and occasional swigs of warm cachaça, gave slaves a chance to express their feelings towards their masters and overseers and to comment upon the foibles of their fellows. In this context, *jongos* were songs of protest, subdued but enduring. Jongo form—that of the riddle—lent itself well in phrasing the slaves’ reactions, for, as with all riddles, the purpose was to conceal meaning with words, expressions, or situations of more than one possible interpretation. (Vassouras [1985] 207)

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In his essay in the present volume, Stein recounts the history of his recordings of *jongos*. Before his second trip to Brazil, in the late 1940s, the Herskovitses played for him the field recordings they had made in Trinidad, and gave him ideas on how to dialogue with the informants. This is how Stein’s study of the *jongos* began. One day he questioned an informant on how news of the abolition (1888) had been received by slaves, and the informant “hummed” two *jongos*....

I conclude with an observation, a question, and a tentative answer. My observation concerns the fact that Stanley Stein’s book was never read in Brazil as a “classic,” something representative of a certain moment in Brazilian historiography that is already a thing of the past. Rather, *Vassouras* is a thoroughly contemporary work that could have been written yesterday. The social history it proposes coincides with (or ushers in) some of the most interesting aspects of social historiography in Brazil today, insofar as it pays close attention to the historical subjects and the networks of meaning where their cultural practices are carried out and develop. The “historical subject” that emerges from this historiographic watershed (multiple and complex in itself) is not one with a mission related to Brazil’s “national

objectives.” Nor is it the unconscious agent of the upper echelons of “Brazilian culture” of which Brazilian modernist tastes are usually so fond.

My question is: How was Stanley Stein able to produce a social history in the 1940s that seems so similar today to the work of contemporary historians such as Robert Slenes and Silvia Lara? What explains the freshness of Stein’s book?

My tentative answer, which might constitute the basis of further research, is that Stein’s seeming intellectual currency may well reflect his status as a foreigner, someone from outside Brazil, and outside the Brazilian modernist tradition, and therefore immune to its siren song. He was talking about a different historical “subject,” one neither the bearer of the message of the people nor the voice of national redemption. Indeed, for Stein it was not necessary to lash himself to the mast in order to resist the sirens’ song. Standing outside the Brazilian modernist tradition, Stein was immune to its enchantments and incantations.

It would be well, finally, to recall that the Brazilian modernists’ siren song—and with it the wonderful literature of Mário de Andrade—is still alive and influential within Brazilian Studies. It is clear, however, that this song is dissonant with contemporary historiography. How resilient this contemporary historiography really is can be confirmed by any of us. All one has to do is to read Stanley Stein’s *Vassouras*.

Sounds Like *Jongos* (New World Music) and the Changing Same

Michael Stone

In those days it was either live with music or die with noise, and we chose rather desperately to live.

- Ralph Ellison

Beyond memorializing the legacy of African American enslavement and the freedom struggle, how can the historiography of a particular cultural tradition inform a more general understanding of post-emancipation societies? How might scattered historical evidence amplify *jongo's* original practice and context, and reveal something of its broader past and present articulations with other New World African expressive forms?

The enslaved sang *jongos* to accompany hard labor, and also to animate the *caxambu*, which Stanley Stein characterized as “a sanctioned opportunity to indulge in sly, deft, often cynical comment on the society of which slaves were so important a segment.” *Jongo* performance entailed simultaneous entertainment and dissent, clever, ironic, enigmatic, and ambiguous in spirit, in short, “songs of protest, subtle but enduring,” with “a premium on terseness; the fewer the words, the more obscure the meaning, the better the jongo” (*Vassouras* [1985] 207).¹⁶¹

Stein's *jongo* materials present a specific instance of the persistence of New World African aesthetic and ethical sensibilities that, forged in bondage, have reproduced themselves beyond emancipation and into the present. As Stein recognized, underlying *jongo's* creative formation was a will to human expression that defied the quotidian indignities of subordination, speaking to a deeper sense of communion with a moral universe beyond the reach of the enslaved condition.

Robert Slenes (in this volume) reveals *jongo*'s rich metaphorical character, and its patent connections to Central African traditions. Informed by close observation and knowledge of the natural world, *jongos* drew upon an organic poetic repertoire to craft *pontos* and riddles to do verbal battle, commenting on everyday life and expounding a sense of justice counter to slavery's ruthless social universe. Of course, comparable riddle or "signifying" forms are far more widely manifest in the diaspora, and stylized verbal performance is a signal element of New World African heritage. The ability to defend oneself with eloquence, verve, wit, moral authority, and winning form is highly valued, whether among Brazilian *jongueiros* and *repentistas*, singers in Jamaica and Haiti (per Bilby, this volume), *décima* masters in Cuba (Pasmanick), the "man-of-words in the West Indies" (Abrahams, *The Man-of-Words*), or plantation slaves and performers of the "dozens" in North America (Abrahams, *Singing the Master*).

The following formal description of *jongo* music and dance draws upon historical accounts from Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Espírito Santo, and Minas Gerais:

This counter-clockwise ring dance was accompanied by four (and sometimes fewer) hand-beaten conical drums [*atabaque* or *caxambu*], three of which (*tambu*, *angona* or *candonguero*, and *júnior* or *cadete*) were straddled by the players, while the fourth (*guzunga*) hung from the player's shoulder by a leather strap. The largest drum ... and the second largest were beaten with open hands. The two smallest drums were played gently, with the fingertips. The *cuíca* friction drum and a *guaiá* shaker, containing lead pellets or small stones, were also played. The dance featured a solo singer and dancer (*jongueiro*) who shook a basket rattle known as *angoia*, rather similar to the *caxixi*.... His song included African words (Fryer 104).¹⁶²

Jongo shows a patent relationship with the ring-shout form widely noted in the diaspora. As Sterling Stuckey observes, "The ring shout was the main context in which [New World] Africans recognized values common to them—the values of ancestor worship and contact, communication and teaching through storytelling and trickster expressions, and of various other symbolic devices" (Stuckey 16; cf. Courlander, *Negro Folk Music*; Epstein; Floyd; Jones and Hawes; Lomax).

Scholars from Du Bois to Lomax, Stuckey, Baraka, and Gilroy have stressed that a deeper comprehension of the music, song, and dance performances of enslaved Africans must attend to their profound sacred meanings, often veiled, yet inherent in cultural production and a given form's adaptability to shifting historical circumstances. Querying *jongo's* spiritual dimensions by re-examining Stein's materials offers an opportunity to rehearse slavery's history in Brazil, and thus broaden our understanding of the New World African expressive and religious heritage.

While Stein is the first to acknowledge that "[r]econstructing the spiritual world of the African or Brazilian-born Negro slave (*crioulo*) of the 19th century is difficult" (Vassouras [1985] 199, n. 7), provocative clues in Vassouras suggest that *jongo's* timbre may not resound in exclusively Central African tones. Indeed, Stein's work helps to bring *jongo* into suggestive focus when seen through the aesthetic, iconographic, and ethical lens of Afro-Cuban and Bahian spiritual practices traceable to the Yoruba cultural zone of West Africa.¹⁶³

In comparative diasporic context, *jongo* poetics and symbolism signal fundamental religious and ethical precepts that New World African audiences would have widely and readily recognized. While Central African elements have persisted, *jongo* appears also to have embraced West African Yoruba features associated with *Candomblé*, introduced via economic and demographic shifts in southeast Brazil from the mid-nineteenth century onward, in a dynamic process of contingent cultural adaption, expressing the "changing same" of New World African musics noted by the likes of Baraka and Gilroy.

How does this proposition square with demographic evidence? In Rio and São Paulo, the enslaved population was primarily of Central African origin until the mid-19th century. By contrast, in Bahia, Pernambuco, and Minas Gerais, enslaved peoples from West Africa's lower Guinea region outnumbered those of Central African origin. These people were known collectively as "Mina," after the Elmina slave-trading fort in present-day Ghana and Togo (where Carabari, Benin, and São Tomé captives also were traded).¹⁶⁴ They also were known as "Mina-Nagô" (from the Bight of Benin)—Nagô is the Yoruba nation of *Candomblé*, including the Ijexá and Ketu sub-nations. Collectively, Nagô peoples would come to dominate in Brazil's Northeast after 1770, as the West African trade moved south toward Lagos and the Niger Delta, where civil war in Yorubaland produced

captives from present-day Nigeria and Benin. Many of those were destined for Bahia (Sweet 18), where Yoruba cultural traditions were formative in the development of *Candomblé*.

In southern Brazil, at least until the end of the Brazilian slave trade (in 1850, when Great Britain's ban on the transatlantic slave trade was effectively enforced), West African peoples were a relative minority. Rio de Janeiro probate records for 1737-1740 show Central Africans at 66.7% of the total enslaved population. In Rio, bondsmen of West African origin did not exceed 7.5% of the total slave population before 1850. Likewise, records for Vassouras confirm that before 1860, slaves of West African origin (classified as "Mina" and "Calabar") constituted a minority (Stein, *Vassouras* [1985] 77).

In Rio de Janeiro, direct imports from West Africa were under 2%, numbers augmented by Mina-Nagô purchases from Bahia. Especially after Brazil agreed with Great Britain in principle to free new African arrivals (1830), and after Bahia's 1835 revolt by Malê slaves (Arabic-speaking Muslims, including Hausa, Fulani, and Islamic Yoruba), many Bahia owners sought to sell those seen as trouble, especially as growing internal demand for slave labor in the developing south increased the West African presence after the Atlantic slave trade's abolition.

Located centrally at the juncture of major interior trade routes connecting Bahia and Rio, Goiás played a key role in fostering ethnic diversification in the South. As early as the 1810-1824 period, people of West Africa accounted for two-thirds of slave sales in northern Goiás, and 37.6% in southern Goiás. Mine operators there particularly valued Mina workers, reputed to be expert miners, likely a reflection of their original West African occupation (Reis and Mamigonian 99-100). And just south of Goiás, slave dealers from Minas Gerais (where West African slaves predominated) were active in the Paraíba Valley as early as the 1820s and 1830s (Stein, *Vassouras* [1985] 173-74).

Stein's *jongo* lyrics would seem to reflect the Mina influx, adding literal import to the figurative dimensions revealed by Slenes: "Armadillo from Minas, digs backwards into the earth" (track 27); "I'm a mean *mineiro* [native of Minas] / Don't mess with me" (track 28); and "Oh, mineiro, mineiro, mineiro / Follow my line" (track 29). These refrains point to origin or prior residence in Minas Gerais (and perhaps also to West African ethnicity) of at least some *jongueiros* and their audiences. Slenes notes that "the Paraíba Valley in the 19th and early 20th century was literally crawling

with muleteers and animal drivers, carrying goods and herding animals to Rio, and especially supplying products from Minas to the plantations... Most of these muleteers were black and most were slaves.” Slenes goes on to observe, “Tatu [the backward-digging ‘armadillo from Minas’ noted in track 27] was a metaphor for master *jongueiro*, and a *tatu mineiro* would have been understood, first of all, as a *cumba* from Minas Gerais.”¹⁶⁵

By the early 1860s, slaves of West African origin in Rio de Janeiro had grown to 19% of the rural population and 15% of the urban, reflecting an annually estimated arrival in Rio of 5,500 slaves from the Northeast during the 1852-1859 period; drought in the Northeast during the 1870s added to this southward shift of slave labor (Stein, *Vassouras* [1985] 29, 66). Peoples of Mina-Nagô-Yoruba origin also comprised the major West African constellation in Rio Grande do Sul and other southeastern areas (Karasch 25-27, 51-53; Reis and Mamigonian 102; cf. Johnson 63-67).

Plainly, Brazil’s shifting economy and the growth of new enterprise (not least the coffee plantations of Rio de Janeiro and their extension into São Paulo) altered the African ethnic landscape of southeastern Brazil, bringing growing Mina-Nagô and Yoruba numbers starting in the 1820s, a demographic shift whose longer-term effects on diversifying the black laboring population cannot be discounted vis-à-vis *jongo*’s dynamic cultural evolution. The coffee trade also presented new opportunities for free *libertos* and male slave muleteers, drivers, and porters, as those who transported coffee, staple foods, and trade goods enjoyed a status analogous to slaves working in Rio’s harbor. Indeed, muleteers helped to facilitate coffee’s spread, bringing seedlings upon their return from the lowlands (Stein, *Vassouras* [1985] 24). Free Brazilians also viewed these mobile, semi-independent blacks as potential fomenters and agents of revolt.

Likewise, female *ganhadoras* (primarily of Mina origin) were prominently involved in the sale of foodstuffs in Rio, and exploiting popular ideology that Mina-Nagô women “bring good luck and prosperity to their masters,” Bahia owners sold growing numbers of Mina-Nagô females to the developing South (Reis and Mamigonian 100). Women’s prominence in Bahia religious life would have carried over throughout southern Brazil, enabling Yoruba cultural features to become more generalized via the dissemination of *Candomblé* belief, iconography, and practice. The mobility of such individuals enabled them to become economic and cultural brokers at the dynamic convergence of urban and rural slave life. Viewed collectively,

their relative freedom of movement and interaction with a diversity of enslaved and free individuals made them ideal agents to disseminate Yoruba spiritual practices brought south on the route linking Bahia, Goiás, Minas Gerais, and the Southeast (Reis and Mamigonian 102).

The churning of the labor force was complicated after 1850 by the mass European immigration program. Thereafter, Stein relates, labor demand in Vassouras was such that owners often leased slaves. So-called “free Africans” (those confiscated in the slave trade’s suppression) were frequently leased to public works projects and private contractors, and locally surplus labor was rented from one plantation to another (Stein, *Vassouras* [1985] 75).

As immigrant sharecroppers and salaried *colonos* left the countryside for better urban economic prospects, labor demands made former slaves more mobile as well—particularly as the coffee boom turned to decline and abolitionist sentiment grew—when plantation heirs began to sell property and slaves at public auction (Stein, *Vassouras* [1985] 59-73). With the decline of coffee in the Paraíba Valley, a new wave of settlers from Minas began to arrive as early as the 1880s, bringing cattle for meat and dairy production, even as native blacks began to leave (Stein, *Vassouras* [1985] 286-87).

The preceding trends only furthered encounters between various African-Brazilian (and European) cultural traditions. In any case, after mid-century, as the African nations ceased to represent distinct cultural and linguistic groups, their mixed cultural legacies lived on under a broader rubric of Africanness. African-Brazilian traditions that had developed under relatively segregated conditions gained broader cultural mobility and exposure. Hence, whatever *jongo*’s Central African roots, it would be more surprising if Yoruba (and other) influences had *not* infiltrated the increasingly ecumenical symbolic repertoire and practice of *jongo* after the mid-nineteenth century, whether in the Paraíba Valley or wherever an increasingly mobile black population might move.

Indeed, Stein’s *jongo* materials point to a possible Yoruba dimension to *jongo*. Ex-slave testimony told of a *jongo caxambu* whose king (*rei*), “sometimes joined by his ‘queen’,” wearing *nguízu* rattles on their wrists and ankles, and dressed in “a red flannel outfit and a hat bearing a cross ... entered the dancing circle (*roda*) and, approaching the drums reverently, knelt with bowed head and greeted them.” Male and female figures “danced around each other without physical contact,” moving in a counterclockwise circle. As king of the dance, the *rei* had the power to silence the drums by

placing his hands on them, should versifiers get into an escalating dispute (Stein, *Vassouras* [1985] 206).¹⁶⁶

Similarly, “Each new *jongueiro* stepped close to the drums placing a hand on the large drum or *caxambu* to silence it temporarily”; and “[t]he *candongueiro* sings first, to set the beat for the *caxambu*” (Stein, *Vassouras* [1985] 207, 208). This ritualized, reverential, call-and-response interplay between singer-dancer and drum is also a characteristic feature of Cuban *Santería*, and the *rei*’s costume recalls Changó’s iconography, powers, and ceremonial role.¹⁶⁷ The *rei*’s “hat” may be analogous to Changó’s crown, topped with the cross-like, double-bladed thunder axe, identifying him as the deity of thunder, lightning, fire, and moral retribution, simultaneously capable of creation or destruction. Changó’s cognate in Brazil is Xangô (commonly associated with the Catholic St. Jerome), among the most popular *Candomblé* divinities (*orixás*). Xangô is the warrior god of fire, thunder, sudden passion, and justice; his cardinal hue is red (as is Changó’s), and he is the founding transformative force in numerous *Candomblé terreiros*.

Likewise notable is Stein’s observation that slave *senzalas* often harbored well-tended figures of the Catholic saints, including St. Anthony (associated with Ogun; “Most preferred” and “always on the table of the *quimbandeiros*,” says Stein).¹⁶⁸ Other common figures included St. George (associated in *Candomblé* and Umbanda with the deities Oxóssi and Ogun); St. Benedict “with black face and hands” (St. Benedict the Moor, as known in Bahia, the protector of blacks and a miracle worker, associated with Omolu); St. Sebastian (associated with Omolu in *Candomblé* and Oxóssi in Umbanda); and St. Cosme and St. Damian (in *Santería*, the *Ibeyi* or divine twins, and Changó’s messengers; in Brazil, the *Beji*) (Stein, *Vassouras* [1985] 1202; Bastide 113, 264-67, 323-24; González-Wippler 65, 253; cf. D. Brown 305).¹⁶⁹ That Stein encountered such reports in *Vassouras* is some indication of the mobility and fluidity of spiritual belief and practice in post-emancipation Brazil, confirming the likelihood that *jongo* was influenced by traditions brought to *Vassouras* by blacks from elsewhere, just as *jongo* would have been carried to other locales by those leaving the valley.

Oral tradition in Yorubaland held Changó to be both a magician and a warrior, vested with the powers of lightning and thunder. Xangô’s ubiquitous presence in Brazil and elsewhere in the New World reflects the Oyo

kingdom's early 19th-century defeat, upon which Xangô's devotees were sold into slavery (Voeks 55). The *jongueiro's* punctuating exclamation "Machado!" (the figurative striking of an axe blow) assumes new meaning in this light.¹⁷⁰ As in *Candomblé*, *jongo* exhibits a concern with the practical here-and-now, addressing people's quotidian circumstances, which, if not materially ameliorated via the *jongo's* pointed commentary, may at least be set right in poetic and moral terms.¹⁷¹

Like the *rei de caxambu*, Changó is master of the trio of *batá* drums, whose ordered rhythms¹⁷² serve to invoke the *santos*, who approach and possess their devotees as part of their initiation and spiritual transformation. King of the dance, Changó has the transcendent power to purify, consecrate, and transform the world (D. Brown 271), casting bolts of lightning as in *jongueiro* verbal performance.

Candomblé posits a primary opposition between two classes of *orixás*: hot vs. cool, fire vs. water, volatile vs. calming, masculine vs. feminine. The hot *orixás* (including Xangô, Ogun, and the female Iansã—the latter identified with the Roman Catholic St. Barbara, Xangô's lover, and protector against lightning) are volatile figures, capricious, erratic, vengeful, and unforgiving with their enemies. Hence, they embody a sense of moral retribution against injustice, qualities that made "hot" deities such as Xangô and Ogun (*orixá* of iron, war, and revolution) instantly recognizable to enslaved Yoruba-descent peoples throughout the New World (Voeks 55-57, 60-61). When the *jongueiro* sings, "The language of these people / Is like an iron" (track 26), the avenging power of Ogun might well have come to mind for transplanted *Candomblé* devotees.

In Cuba as in Brazil, Changó's deific energy is powerful, searing, and perilous. His essential power (in Brazil *axé*, the vital energy of the *orixás*) resides in the thunder-axe and "the flaming stone that only [Changó] and his brave followers know how to balance unsupported on their heads" (Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit* 86).¹⁷³ When the *jongueiro* sings, "I stepped on the stone and the stone tottered / The world was twisted, the Queen straightened it" (track 4), this critique of emancipation's unfulfilled promise may well be read as critical reference to another, powerfully balanced and redemptive stone, an image of fiery justice that would have been evident to singer and audience alike. In true *jongo* form, the parody resides in a compressed narrative of the ideal conditions that precisely *do not* obtain in everyday life.¹⁷⁴

The royal palm (*palma real*)—the Cuban landscape’s tallest, most majestic tree—is Changó’s regal castle, a burning lookout tower, as its height makes it prone to lightning strike. Symbolized by the batá drum to which acolytes pay obeisance (and recalling the ceremonial entrance of Stein’s *rei of caxambu*), Changó’s power-saturated throne is also the royal seat upon which initiates are reborn, enthroned as king or queen.¹⁷⁵ Stein’s reference to the king and queen of *caxambu-jongo* is striking vis-à-vis the initiatory practices of *Santería*. Changó’s throne is the purifying medium of communication between earthly fire and heavenly grace, the tree of sacred sustenance that brings spiritual nourishment from the earth’s depths. As elaborated by Slenes (in this volume), *jongo*’s digging metaphors assume additional resonance given Changó’s association with the earthworm, “one of the first of God’s messengers of *ashé*, which plunges like lightning into the soil and, ventilating the earth, creates sustenance for plants” (Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit* [1983] 86).

When the *jongueiro* sings, “The Queen gave me a bed but no bench to sit on” (track 5), this may be read as a complaint that the granting of formal freedom denied former slaves a seat of honor in post-abolition Brazil. Emancipation entailed no ritual purification, transformation, rebirth, or initiation into the royal court of freedom, denying former slaves the respect and empowerment that initiates should enjoy under the ethical dictates of Xangô. Significant here is the *jongueiro*’s lament, “I want to rise to heaven / Because father held me down” (tracks 7 and 10). Or, in more pointed secular terms,

In the days of captivity
 I endured many an insult
 I got up early in the morning
 The leather whip beat me for no reason
 Now I want to see the citizen
 Who shouts at me from the hilltop
 God bless you, master
 Your Negro is now a freedman (track 14).

Similarly, the admonition “Don’t sit down, don’t sit down / Don’t sit on the stump of the *embaúba*” (track 33) may well be a declaration that the overseer’s tree—dominant in the forest but with its punky, inferior wood—is incapable of transmitting the earth’s purifying sustenance, and thus the

very antithesis of Xangô's powerful, sacred initiatory throne. The imagery of Changô's spiritually rooted, life-giving royal palm shares much with *jongo's* arboreal metaphors, as identified by Slenes and extended by Lara (in this volume).

This brief comparative discursion suggests that what observers have commonly perceived as the secular practice of *jongo* has simultaneously sustained a compelling vision of social justice in an abiding spiritual register, one accessible to initiate audiences past and present. Juxtaposing the qualities of Changô-Xangô and Stein's *rei de caxambu* presents a novel means to reframe *jongo* and analogous forms as dynamic, dialectical cultural modes within the broader sweep of New World African expressive and spiritual practices and beliefs.

Conclusion

Jongo's persistence into the present, altered though it may be with respect to pre-abolition accounts, speaks to the centrality of music and dance in New World African social, political, and religious life. Stein's materials suggest the presence and continuity of a concealed yet highly differentiated spiritual poetics, compressed and polished under the extraordinary conditions of slavery and its historical postscript. Moreover, the music's expressive power speaks to a variety of audiences, past and present, even when many listeners lack the cultural formation to apprehend the underlying aesthetic, ethical, and spiritual meanings transported from Africa, and intuitively shared by diverse New World African audiences.

Amiri Baraka (Jones) and Paul Gilroy have called attention to the "changing same" of African-Atlantic musics, their remarkable adaptability to and within new contexts. While the voices of the old *jongueiros* may echo through samba and other popular urban forms (e.g., Carvalho, *The Multiplicity* and *Afro-Brazilian Music and Rituals*; Schreiner), and while it remains important and productive to explore *jongo's* deeper transatlantic connections, the process of musical change manifest in *jongo's* history entails anything but a timeless expressive antiphony between an essential racial self and a stable social community.

There is a danger of merely replicating what Gerard Béhague calls "the old paradigm of searching for and focusing on origins of musical practices, genres, and instruments and their potential continuity over long periods of time" (932). This is not to discount the value of such work, but to suggest

the concomitant need for a social-historical analysis of *jongo's* adaptive character across time and space, to elaborate also upon its history by way of acknowledging the contemporary expressive character of African-Brazilian and allied traditional and popular forms, in dynamic relationship with antecedent cultural traditions.

Music issues its call in the moment, even as it resonates with recognizable aboriginal meanings, inspirations, and forms. As Gilroy observes, black identity represents something beyond a particular form of cultural expression, more or less useful to the degree that it may serve dedicated political and social ends. A shifting yet coherent experience of self, imbued with a patient sense of naturalized spontaneity, “[black identity] remains the outcome of practical activity: language, gesture, bodily significations, desires” (127).

Jongo's practical orientation and expressive activity have carried it forward across time and space and audience. Attending both to the specificity of Stein's *jongo* materials and to their comparative catalytic potential can take us beyond the focus of Gilroy's work on the narrower English-speaking realm of the diaspora, and reveal a more generalized aesthetic, cultural, ethical, and spiritual sensibility, rooted in West and Central Africa, but reproduced as an active “changing same” whose identifying sensibilities reach well beyond local and national communities, in an international circulation of people, ideas, images, commodities, and cultural goods. In such a framing, diaspora becomes less an essentialization of belonging or a category of analysis, and—in the contentious spirit of *jongo* itself—more an interested cultural idiom, practice, stance, or claim (Brubaker).

The imagery and social context of Stein's *jongo* fragments reference a more generally manifest political, moral, and spiritual universe—one largely invisible to slave owners and European-American observers of the time, if not to present-day scholars. Whether a Yoruba element resides within *jongo* philosophy and practice is more than an academic question—and at issue is far more than a diffusionist search for “survivals.” While important to pursue, it may be impossible to fully recover or reconstruct the expressive forms of the past.¹⁷⁶ Important today is to comprehend how such traditions have responded to the myriad influences intervening between past and present, as Abreu and Mattos (this volume) persuasively suggest. Once perceived as destined to disappear, *jongo* today constitutes anything but an antiquarian curiosity. Indeed, its contrary spirit motivates an inter-generational cultural revival among black rights activists and

artists, as new *jongos* are being composed and performed, and as *jongo* festivals draw young people from throughout Brazil.

Also at issue is a broader global-popular embrace of vernacular New World African expressive traditions—not least among audiences not identified as “black.” The contemporary appeal of genres such as *jongo* may be understood in part as an aesthetic, ethical, and spiritually embodied (if to most audiences allegorically obscure) refusal of the modern condition—in Mintz’s sense that the colonial adventure (and the encounter of indigenous, African, and European cultures) made the New World the locus of the world’s first truly modern peoples. *Jongo*’s anti-modern bearing prefigures, anticipates the appeal of *jongo* and allied contemporary popular expressive forms rooted in the diaspora.

Even where the spiritual dimensions of black expressivity were most systematically repressed, the aesthetic, philosophical, and moral values of New World African peoples have persisted, with the power to appeal compellingly, even to audiences entirely unversed in the native spiritual milieu. And while the music’s African ethical and spiritual foundations may be obscured, its visceral appeal reflects the power and adaptability of the changing same: the will to live with music or die with the noise of a restless modernity that assumed particular expression in *jongo*—with the cutting power of its searing language-like-iron—in a search, when the song is finished, simply for a place to sit down in the sanctified court of freedom.

When the *jongueiro* sang, “I was sleeping, *cangoma* [the drum] called me / Arise people, captivity is over” (track 3),¹⁷⁷ the awakening call marked not merely an end to bondage—which in any case assumed new form under the ruthless logic of post-emancipation capitalism. It constituted an invocation to an exchange in terms irrevocably altered, with a determination whose willful spirit resonates in the voices that Stanley Stein’s intuition preserved with the brilliance of a discovery in amber—Xangô’s burning, steely language, forged in lightning and hammered out upon modernity’s relentless social anvil, *jongos* then and there, here and now.

Lyrics¹⁷⁸

Track 1 (0:40)

Aê, aê

Ô bandaera [?], ê

Aê, ê

Como é bonitinha, ô

Ô rapaziada, ô

Aê, ê

Ô, já vai ela [?], ô

[...] pedra nova, ô

Aê, ê

Ela bate a canga [?], ô

Aê, ê

Ô rapaziada, ô

Aê, aê

Ô bandaera [?], ê

Aê, ê

How cute she is, oh

Hey guys, hey

Aê, ê

Oh, she's going, oh

[...] new stone, oh

Aê, ê

She beats the yoke [?], oh

Aê, ê

Hey guys, hey

Track 2¹⁷⁹ (0:27)

Diabo de bembo [?] [...]

Ô, [...]

Não deixou eu vestir calça, [...]

Ô, [...]

Não deixou vestir camisa, [...]

Ô, [...]

Não me deixou botar cueca, [...]

Aê, [...]

Não me deixou vestir chapéu, [...]

What a damned bembo [?] [...]

Oh, [...]

Didn't let me put on my pants [...]

Oh, [...]

Didn't let me put on my shirt, [...]

Oh, [...]

Didn't let me put on my underwear, [...]

Aê, [...]

Didn't let me put on my hat, [...]

Track 3¹⁸⁰ (0:20)

<i>Tava dormindo cangoma¹⁸¹ me chamou</i>	I was sleeping, <i>cangoma</i> called me
<i>Levanta povo que o cativoiro já acabou</i>	Arise people, slavery ¹⁸² is over
<i>Tava dormindo cangoma me chamou</i>	I was sleeping, <i>cangoma</i> called me
<i>Levanta povo que o cativoiro já acabou</i>	Arise people, captivity is over

Track 4¹⁸³ (0:18)

<i>Eu pisei na pedra a pedra balanceou</i>	I stepped on the stone and the stone tottered
<i>O mundo tava torto rainha endireitou</i>	The world was twisted, the Queen straightened it
<i>Pisei na pedra a pedra balanceou</i>	I stepped on the stone and the stone tottered
<i>Mundo tava torto rainha endireitou</i>	The world was twisted, the Queen straightened it

Track 5¹⁸⁴ (0:20)

<i>Não me deu banco pra mim sentar</i>	She did not give me a bench to sit on
<i>Dona Rainha me deu uma cama, não me deu banco pra me sentar</i>	The Queen gave me a bed but no bench to sit on
<i>Um banco pra mim sentar</i>	A bench to sit on
<i>Dona Rainha me deu cama não me deu banco pra me sentar, ô iaia</i>	The Queen gave me a bed but no bench to sit on, [hail, young mistress of the house]

Track 6¹⁸⁵ (0:28)

<i>Aê, [...] me deu machado, gente, [...] me deu foice</i>	Ay, [...] gave me an axe, folks, [...] gave me a scythe
--	--

*Mandou cortar pau-pereira¹⁸⁶ pra
fazer eixo de engenho*

*Quando eu [...] mato, ê, no cabo
de vinte anos*

*Achei pau no terreiro agora cheio
de mato*

Eu cortei pau-pereira, aê

[...] pau [...] cheio mato

Anjo [?] passou no pau, gente

Pau saiu sangue

Que pau não será?

Ordered me to cut tree *pereira* to make
a sugar-mill axle

When I [...] bush, oh, after twenty years

I found tree in the [coffee-drying] patio
now full of weeds

I cut tree *pereira*, ay

[...] tree [...] full of weeds

Angel [?] passed through the tree, folks

Tree bled

What sort of tree might this be?

Track 7 (0:21)

Ê, meu pai e minha mãe

Meu pai [...] minha mãe

Aê, eu quero subir no céu

Que pai pesou para mim

Eu quero subir no céu

Que pai pesou para mim

Oh, my father and mother

My father [...] my mother

Ay, I want to rise to heaven

Because father held me down

I want to rise to heaven

Because father held me down

Track 8 (0:18)

[...]

Track 9 (0:17)

Passei na ponte, ponte balanceou

*Jacaré quer me comer,
não me come não*

Passei na ponte, ponte balanceou

*Jacaré quer me comer,
não me come não*

I crossed the bridge, the bridge tottered

Alligator wants to eat me,
won't eat me, no

I crossed the bridge, the bridge tottered

Alligator wants to eat me,
won't eat me, no

Track 10 (0:11)

Eu quero subir no céu
Que pai pesou para mim
Eu quero subir no céu
Que pai pesou para mim

I want to rise to heaven
 Because father held me down
 I want to rise to heaven
 Because father held me down

Track 11 (0:11)

[...]

Track 12 (0:15)

Ê ê, com tanto pau no mato
Com tanto pau no mato, ê ê
Com tanto pau no mato
Pereira¹⁸⁷ passa má
Ê ê, com tanto pau no mato
Pereira passa má

Oh, oh, with so many trees in the forest
 With so many trees in the forest, oh, oh
 With so many trees in the forest
Pereira is having a tough time
 Oh, oh, with so many trees in the forest
Pereira is having a tough time

Track 13¹⁸⁸ (0:13)

Ô ô, com tanto pau no mato
Embaúba é coroné
Com tanto pau no mato, ê ê
Com tanto pau no mato
Embaúba coroné

Oh, oh, with so many trees in the forest
 The *embaúba* is a colonel
 With so many trees in the forest, oh, oh
 With so many trees in the forest
Embaúba colonel

Track 14¹⁸⁹ (0:23)

No tempo de cativoiro
Aturava muito desaforo
Levantava de manhã cedo
Com cara limpa levo o couro, ai

In the days of captivity
 I endured many an insult
 I got up early in the morning
 The leather whip beat me for no reason

*Agora quero ver o cidadão
Que grita no alto do morro
Vai-se Cristo, seu moço
Seu negro agora tá forro*

Now I want to see the citizen
Who shouts at me from the hilltop
God bless you, master
Your Negro is now a freedman

Track 15¹⁹⁰ (0:19)

*Óia, tem língua, leco-leco
Tem língua, leco-leco, passarinho
d'Angola
Que ele tem língua, leco-leco
Passarinho tem língua
Óia passarinho d'Angola
Que ele tem língua, leco-leco*

Look, it has a tongue, *leco-leco*
It has a tongue, *leco-leco*, the little bird
of Angola
It has a tongue, *leco-leco*
Little bird has a tongue
Look at the little bird of Angola
It has a tongue, *leco-leco*

Track 16¹⁹¹ (0:22)

*Macaco velho, macaco velho
Macaco velho já morreu, come quê
Macaco velho, macaco velho
O cafezal [...] já morreu,
come quê
Come quê, mana, come quê
Macaco velho já morreu, come quê*

Old monkey,¹⁹² old monkey
Old monkey is dead, what does he eat
Old monkey, old monkey
The coffee bushes died, what do we
eat now?
What do we eat, sister, what do we eat
Old monkey is dead, what do we eat

Track 17 (0:14)

[...]

Track 18 (0:14)

<i>Oi, soldado</i>	Hi, soldier
<i>Ai, quando é tempo de guerra</i>	Ay, when it is wartime
<i>Dia inteiro tá no campo</i>	He is in the field the whole day
<i>Ou de noite de sentinela, soldado</i>	Or at night he is a sentinel, soldier

Track 19 (0:22)

<i>Pra quê, parceiro, pra quê</i>	Why, partner, why
<i>Ôê, pra quê que me faz assim, parceiro</i>	Ay, why do you treat me so, partner
<i>Oê, pra quê que me faz assim, parceiro</i>	Ay, why do you treat me so, partner
<i>Pra quê, parceiro, pra quê</i>	Why, partner, why
<i>Ôê, pra quê que me faz assim, parceiro</i>	Ay, why do you treat me so, partner
<i>Oê, pra quê que me faz assim, parceiro</i>	Ay, why do you treat me so, partner

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Track 20 (0:10)

[...]

Track 21 (0:11)

<i>Oi, topada quebrou a unha, gente</i>	Hey, stubbed my nail and broke it, folks
<i>Topada quebrou unha</i>	Stubbed my nail and broke it
<i>Topada quebrou unha</i>	Stubbed my nail and broke it
<i>Topada quebrou unha</i>	Stubbed my nail and broke it

Track 22 (0:17)

<i>Abre essa roda, deixa a ema passear</i>	Open this circle, let the emu pass
<i>Oi no jardim, deixa a ema passear</i>	Hey, in the garden, let the emu pass
<i>Abre essa roda, deixa a ema passear</i>	Open this circle, let the emu pass
<i>No jardim de flor, deixa a ema passear</i>	In the flower garden, let the emu pass

Track 23 (0:11)

<i>Oi pingo-pingo</i>	Hey, drip-drip
[...]	[...]
<i>Pingo-pingo</i>	Drip-drip
[...]	[...]

Track 24 (0:11)

<i>Papai volta e meia tá no quarto de manhã</i>	Now and then daddy is in the bedroom in the morning
<i>Papai volta e meia tá no quarto de manhã</i>	Now and then daddy is in the bedroom in the morning

Track 25 (0:11)

<i>Pica-pau de mato tem duas modas [?] de viver</i>	Woodpecker in the wild has two ways [?] of living
<i>Pica-pau de mato [...] gente, tem duas modas [?] de viver</i>	Woodpecker in the wild [...] folks, has two ways [?] of living

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Track 26 (0:10)

<i>A língua desse povo</i>	The language of these people
<i>É como ferro de engomar</i>	Is like an iron
<i>A língua desse povo</i>	The language of these people
<i>É como ferro de engomar</i>	Is like an iron

Track 27 (0:16)

<i>Tatu mineiro,¹⁹³ cavuca terra de cacunda</i>	Armadillo from Minas, digs into the earth backwards
<i>Tatu mineiro, cavuca terra de cacunda</i>	Armadillo from Minas, digs into the earth backwards

*Cavuca terra de cacunda,
tatu mineiro*

Cavuca terra de cacunda

Digs into the earth backwards,
mining armadillo

Digs into the earth backwards

Track 28 (0:10)

Eu sou mineiro mau

Não bule comigo não

Eu sou mineiro mau

Não bule comigo não

I'm a mean *mineiro*¹⁹⁴

Don't mess with me

I'm a mean *mineiro*

Don't mess with me

Track 29 (0:12)

Oi, mineiro, mineiro, mineiro

Acompanha a minha linha

Mineiro, mineiro, mineiro

Acompanha a minha linha

Oh, *mineiro*,¹⁹⁵ *mineiro, mineiro*

Follow my line

Mineiro, mineiro, mineiro

Follow my line

Track 30 (0:11)

Ô, eu quero falar com padre

Igreja tá com padre, gente

Eu quero falar com padre

Igreja tá com padre, gente

Oh, I want to talk with a priest

Church has a priest, folks

I want to talk with a priest

Church has a priest, folks

Track 31 (0:09)

*Ô, jamba¹⁹⁶ [?] tá na corrente, jamba
[?]*

Tá na corrente, jamba [?]

Oh, *jamba* [?] is chained, *jamba*

It is chained, *jamba*

Track 32 (0:12)*Todo mundo já cantou*

Everybody has already sung

Já cantou galo carijó

The cock has already sung

Todo mundo já cantou

Everybody has already sung

Já cantou galo carijó

The cock has already sung

Track 33 (0:11)*Não senta não, não senta não*

Don't sit down, don't sit down

*No toco de embaúba tu não senta não*Don't sit on the stump of the *embaúba***Track 34 (0:08)***Donde vem meu caranguejo*

Where does my crab come from

Donde vem meu caranguejo

Where does my crab come from

Track 35¹⁹⁷ (0:18)*Que correntinha tão bonita,*

What a beautiful little chain,

Sá Dona, auê

Mistress, oh

Para que correntinha tá no pé,

Why is the little chain on the [ankle],

Sá Dona

Mistress

Que correntinha tão bonita,

What a beautiful little chain,

Sá Dona, auê

Mistress, oh

Para que correntinha tá no pé,

Why is the little chain on the [ankle],

Sá Dona, auê

Mistress, oh

Track 36 (0:11)*A saia de Blandina [?] tá no ar,*

Blandina's [?] skirt is in the air,

deixa rodar

let it spin

A saia de Blandina [?] tá no ar,

Blandina's [?] skirt is in the air,

deixa rodar

let it spin

Track 37 (0:10)*Moça da varanda*

Young lady of the veranda

Vamo varandá

Let's "veranda"

Moça da varanda

Young lady of the veranda

Vamo varandá

Let's "veranda"

Track 38¹⁹⁸ (0:11)*Não sei que tem papai*

I don't know what's with daddy

Que anda brigando com mamãe

Who has been quarreling with mommy

Ramalhete tá na canga

A bouquet [of flowers] is on the yoke

Jardim tá no curral

Garden is in the corral

Track 39 (0:15)*Ê ê, quanto [...], ê*

Oh, oh, how much [...], oh

[...] quê que tá fazendo, gente

[...] what are you doing, folks

Tá brincando, [...]

It's playing, [...]

[...] quê que tá fazendo

[...] what are you doing

Tão brincando, [...]

It's playing, [...]

Track 40 (0:22)*Ana com Maria*

Ana with Maria

Pra que demandar

Why quarrel

Pra que demandar

Why quarrel

Ana é a padeira

Ana is the baker

Pra que demandar

Why quarrel

Joaquina é cozinheira

Joaquina is a cook

Pra que demandar

Why quarrel

Pra que demandar

Why quarrel

Ana com Maria

Ana with Maria

Pra que demandar

Why quarrel

Track 41 (0:11)

<i>Monte de dia tá no colégio e nunca</i>	So many days in school every day and
<i>acaba de aprender</i>	learning never stops
<i>De aprender, nunca acaba de aprender</i>	Learning, learning never stops

Track 42 (0:11)

<i>Aê mestre carreiro, que você vai se</i>	Ay cart driver, you will get confused
<i>atrapalhar</i>	
<i>Larga de pegar boi, vou cangar</i>	Forget about rounding up oxen, I will
<i>meu marruá</i>	put the yoke on my wild bull

Track 43 (0:18)

<i>Eu planto a cana, formiga corta</i>	I plant cane, ants cut it
<i>Eu planto a mandioca, formiga</i>	I plant manioc, ants cut it, master
<i>corta, sinhô</i>	
<i>Eu planto milho, formiga corta</i>	I plant corn, ants cut it
<i>Eu guentou, num guenta mais</i>	I endured, I can't endure any longer
<i>[...] como há de ser</i>	[...] how will it be
<i>Eu guentou, num guenta mais</i>	I endured, I can't endure any longer

Track 44¹⁹⁹ (0:11)

<i>Quer ver o tamanho</i>	Do you want to see the size
<i>Dessa cidade sem fim</i>	Of this city without end
<i>Tanto jongueiro de fama</i>	So many famous <i>jongueiros</i>
<i>Tudo correram de mim</i>	They all run away from me

Track 45 (0:14)

<i>Gavião foi quem mandou</i>	Hawk was the one who ordered
<i>Pomba avoar</i>	The dove to fly
<i>Foi quem mandou</i>	It was the one who ordered

Pomba avoar

The dove to fly

Pra ele poder pegar

For [hawk] to be able to hunt

Rola no ar

Dove in the air

Track 46 (0:11)

Coitadinho de velho

Poor old man

Caminhou, caminhou, fica em pé

He walked, walked, stays standing up

Coitadinho de velho

Poor old man

Caminhou, caminhou, fica em pé

He walked, walked, stays standing up

Track 47 (0:11)

Cobra caninana me picou, na capoeira *Caninana* snake bit me, in the barnyard

[...] *mironga* me chamou [...] *mironga* [witchcraft] called me

Track 48 (0:24)

Ê ê, tava viajando, gente

Oh, oh, I was traveling, folks

Casa de meu irmão

To my brother's house

Chegou na casa do meu irmão

I arrived at my brother's house

Na casa de minha cunhada

In my sister-in-law's house

Cunhada tá dormindo

Sister-in-law is sleeping

Cunhada tava sonhando

Sister-in-law was dreaming

Eu contando saí mal

I was recounting and it ended badly

Cunhada conta sonho

Sister-in-law tells me her dream

Eu contando saí mal

I was recounting and it ended badly

Conta sonho

Recounts a dream

Eu contando saí mal

I was recounting and it ended badly

Track 49²⁰⁰ (0:22)

Ê ê, quanto [...], gente
Cacunda cheia de terra
Cabeça cheia de barro, gente
[...] quê que tá fazendo
Tão brincando, [...]
[...] quê que tá fazendo
Tão brincando, [...]

Oh, oh, how much [...], folks
 Hunchback full of earth
 Head full of mud, folks
 [...], what is it that you're doing
 They're playing, [...]
 [...], what is it that you're doing
 They're playing, [...]

Track 50 (0:12)

Paraíba tá cheio, [...]
Paraíba tá cheio, [...]

Paraíba River is full, [...]
 Paraíba River is full, [...]

Track 51 (0:11)

Moça da cidade
Que corta corda [...]
Moça da cidade
Que corta corda [...]

Young lady from the city
 Who cuts rope [...]
 Young lady from the city
 Who cuts rope [...]

Track 52 (0:11)

Ai ai ai, tá gemendo, ai ai ai
Moça que tá doente tá gemendo,
ai ai ai

Ay, ay, ay, groaning, ay, ay, ay
 Sick young lady is groaning, ay, ay, ay

Track 53 (0:22)

Adeus, adeus
Tá me dizendo adeus
[...] agora tá me abanando o lenço

Farewell, farewell
 [Someone] is saying farewell to me
 [...] now [someone] is waving the hand-
 kerchief at me

Adeus, tá me dizendo adeus

Farewell, [someone] is saying farewell
to me

Adeus, tá me dizendo adeus

Farewell, [someone] is saying farewell
to me

[...]

[...]

Agora tá me abanando o lenço

Now [someone] is waving the handker-
chief at me

Track 54 (0:09)

A moça que tá na janela

The young lady is at the window

Agora tá me abanando o lenço

Now she is waving her handkerchief at me

Track 55 (0:09)

No mata-cachorro²⁰¹

In the *mata-cachorro* [literally, “kills
dog”]

Tem mundéu

There is a hunting trap

No mata-cachorro

In the *mata-cachorro*

Tem mundéu

There is a hunting trap

Track 56 (0:10)

No mata cachorro

In the *mata-cachorro*

Tem mundéu

There is a hunting trap

No mata-cachorro

In the *mata-cachorro*

Tem mundéu

There is a hunting trap

No mata-cachorro

In the *mata-cachorro*

Tem mundéu

There is a hunting trap

Track 57 (0:16)*Óia moça da cidade*

Look, girl from the city

Não pode com carroceiro

She is no match for the cart driver

Óia moça da cidade

Look, girl from the city

Não pode com carroceiro

She is no match for the cart driver

Track 58 (0:21)*Ô ô, [...], congonha²⁰²*Oh, oh [...] *congonha**Congonha é que mata homem, é,
congonha**Congonha* is what kills men, hey,
*congonha**[...], congonha*[...] *congonha**Congonha é que mata homem, é,
congonha**Congonha* is what kills men, hey,
*congonha***Track 59²⁰³ (0:18)***Pisei na pedra a pedra balanceou*I stepped on the stone and the stone
tottered*Falou mal da rainha tá me fazendo
falsidade*Whoever spoke badly of the queen is
betraying me*Pisei na pedra a pedra balanceou*I stepped on the stone and the stone
tottered*Falou mal da rainha tá me fazendo
falsidade*Whoever spoke badly of the queen is
betraying me**Track 60 (0:16)***Com tanta fava na horta*

With so many fava beans in the garden

*Canguro²⁰⁴ tá com fome**Canguro* is starving*Oi, com tanta fava na horta*

Hey, with so many fava beans in the garden

*Canguro tá com fome**Canguro* is starving*Com tanta fava na horta*

With so many fava beans in the garden

*Canguro tá com fome, gente**Canguro* is starving

Track 61 (0:17)

[...]

Track 62 (0:18)

[...]

Track 63 (0:20)

[...]

Track 64 (0:13)

[...]

Track 65 (0:22)

[...]

Track 66 (0:15)

Tirar forro de candimba²⁰⁵
Pra fazer meu embornal
Se [...] eu passo dessa, moreninha
Candimba passava mal

To pluck the hide of a *candimba*
To make my shoulder bag
If [...] I survive this, *moreninha*
Candimba will feel badly

Track 67²⁰⁶ (0:25)

Eu pisei na pedra
Pedra balanceou
Mundo tava torto
Rainha endireitou

I stepped on the stone
The stone tottered
The world was twisted
The Queen straightened it

Track 68²⁰⁷ (1:02)

Pai João,²⁰⁸ Pai João
Preto não mente não

Father João, Father João
Black doesn't lie, no

<i>Pai João, Pai João</i>	Father João, Father João
<i>Preto não mente não</i>	Black doesn't lie, no
<i>Sou preto véio mas não sou dessa canaia</i>	I am an old black man but I'm not part of this [bad] gang
<i>Meu peito tem três medaia que eu ganhei no Paraguai</i>	My chest holds three medals that I won in Paraguay
<i>Eu quando moço fiz a guerra dos Canudo</i>	When I was young I fought in the Canudos War
<i>Pra mecê no fim de tudo me chamar de Pai João</i>	After all that, for you to call me Father João
<i>Sou preto véio mas sou um dos veterano</i>	I am an old black man but I'm one of the veterans
<i>Que ajudou seu Floriano a ganhar Vileganhão²⁰⁹</i>	Who helped Mr. Floriano win Villegaignon
<i>Pai João, Pai João</i>	Father João, Father João
<i>Preto não mente não</i>	Black doesn't lie, no
<i>Pai João, Pai João</i>	Father João, Father João
<i>Preto não mente não</i>	Black doesn't lie, no
<i>Deixe de bobagem, garotagem e malandragem</i>	Enough of that crap, childishness, and roguery
<i>Não podes contar vantagem</i>	You cannot brag [about yourself]
<i>Sou preto de opinião</i>	I'm a determined black man

Track 69 (0:24)

<i>Mestre carreiro como chama vosso boi</i>	Master cart driver, how do you call your oxen
<i>Chama saudade de um amor que já se foi</i>	Call nostalgia for a love that now is gone
<i>Mestre carreiro como chama vosso boi</i>	Master cart driver, how do you call your oxen

*Chama saudade de um amor
que já se foi*

Call nostalgia for a love that now is gone

Track 70 (0:54)

*A carreta vai gemendo pela estrada
do rincão*

The cart goes groaning along the *rincão*
route

*Vai levando uma saudade que ficou
no coração*

It goes and carries a nostalgia that stays
in the heart

Track 71 (1:24)

Quem quiser saber meu nome

Who else wants to know my name

Não precisa imaginar

Does not need to wonder

Trago verso na cabeça

I carry verses in my head

Como letra no jornal

Like print in the newspaper

Quem quiser saber meu nome

Who else wants to know my name

Não precisa perguntar

Does not need to ask

Eu me chamo limão doce

I am called sweet lime

Fruta de moça chupar

A fruit that young ladies suck

Tanto bem que eu te queria

I loved you so much

Tanto bem tô te querendo

So much I love you now

Tomara te ver morto

I wish to see you dead

E os urubu te comendo

And the vultures eating you

Tanto bem que eu te queria

I loved you so much

Meu compadre eu vou falar

My *compadre*, I will tell you

Tomara te ver morto

I wish to see you dead

Pros urubu te carregar

For the vultures to carry you away

Track 72 (0:34)

<i>Engenho velho, engenho velho</i>	Old mill, old mill
<i>Engenho velho bota a roda pra rodar</i>	Old mill, make the wheel turn around
<i>Na minha terra quando um baile é de sanfona</i>	In my home territory when there is an accordion dance party
<i>Entra um cabra já na mona²¹⁰ seu caldo vai entornar</i>	A guy comes already drunk, he will make trouble
<i>E lá vem faca lá vem foice [...]</i>	And there will be knives and sickles [...]
<i>Grita um negro lá do canto: “mete o pau no lampião!”</i>	A black man screams from the corner: “Beat up the gaslight!”
<i>Dona Quitéria, Dona Chica, Dona Antônia</i>	Dona Quitéria, Dona Chica, Dona Antônia
<i>Tudo fica sem vergonha leva a vida a reclamar</i>	Everybody is without shame, living life complaining
<i>Enquanto os home vão saindo na janela</i>	While the guys flee out the window
<i>A [...] é tagarela bate papo até rchar</i>	The [...] chatterbox speaks endlessly

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Track 73 (3:41)

<i>Com vinte e cinco janela</i>	With twenty-five windows
<i>Mandei fazer uma casa</i>	I ordered someone to make me a house
<i>Com vinte e cinco janela</i>	With twenty-five windows
<i>Com vinte e cinco janela</i>	With twenty-five windows
<i>Pra botar uma morena</i>	To put a <i>morena</i>
<i>Que eu ando de olho nela</i>	That I have been checking her out
<i>O mar a nado</i>	Swimming the sea
<i>Numa casca de cebola</i>	In the skin of an onion
<i>Travessei o mar a nado</i>	I swam across the sea
<i>Numa folha de cebola</i>	In an onion [leaf]

Oi numa folha de cebola
Arriscando a minha vida
Por causa de uma crioula

Hey, in an onion [leaf]
 Risking my life
 Because of a *crioula* [black woman]

De longe parece prata
Os olhos dessa morena
De longe parece de prata

From far away they look like silver
 The eyes of this *morena*
 From far away they look like silver

De longe parece prata
 [...] *[...]*
[...] é que me mata

From far away they look like silver
 [...] *[...]*
 [...] is what kills me

Como eu já disse que vou
Mas amanhã eu vou-me embora
Como eu já disse que vou

As I have already said that I am going
 But tomorrow I am leaving
 As I have already said that I am going

Como eu já disse que vou
Mas se eu aqui não sou querido
Na minha terra eu sou

As I have already said that I am going
 But if I am not well loved here
 In my own land I am

Me diga quanto custou
Moça da saia de chita
Me diga quanto custou

Tell me how much it cost
 Young girl [who wears] the skirt of *chita*
 [cheap fabric]
 Tell me how much it cost

Me diga quanto custou
Quero mandar fazer uma gravata
Do retalho que sobrou

Tell me how much it cost
 I want to order a necktie
 From the leftover piece of fabric

<i>Saia de chita</i>	A skirt of <i>chita</i>
<i>O paletó da mesma cor</i>	The jacket of the same color
<i>Moça da saia de chita</i>	Young girl [who wears] the skirt of <i>chita</i>
<i>O paletó da mesma cor</i>	The jacket of the same color
<i>O paletó da mesma cor</i>	The jacket of the same color
<i>Mas vai dizer ao seu pai</i>	But go tell your father
<i>Que eu quero ser o seu amor</i>	That I want to be your love
<i>A noite que serenou</i>	The night [is] serene
<i>[...]</i>	<i>[...]</i>
<i>A noite que serenou</i>	The night [is] serene
<i>A noite que serenou</i>	The night [is] serene
<i>Eu deitado no teu colo</i>	I laid across your lap
<i>Sereno não me molhou</i>	The mist of the night did not touch me
<i>Bicho do mato</i>	Wild animal
<i>Oi que bicho corredor</i>	Hey, what a fast-running animal
<i>Ai lelê veado preto,</i>	Ay, <i>lelê</i> , black deer
<i>Oi que bicho corredor</i>	Hey, what a fast-running animal
<i>Oi que bicho corredor</i>	Hey, what a fast-running animal
<i>Mas nicuri bicho do mato</i>	But <i>nicuri</i> , wild animal
<i>Urubu é voador</i>	Vulture is flying

Quanto eu te tenho amor
Morena se tu soubesse

How much love I have for you
 Morena, if you knew

Quanto eu te tenho amor

How much I love you

Quanto eu te tenho amor
Tu caía nos meus braços
Como sereno na flor

How much love I have for you
 You would fall into my arms
 Like the night mist on the flower

É pequeninha e carregada de botão
Ai laranjeira pequenina
Carregada de botão

[It] is tiny and full of buds
 Hey, little orange tree
 Full of buds

Carregada de botão
Eu também sou pequenino
Carregado de paixão

Full of buds
 I am also little
 Full of passion

Deita a rama pelo chão
Batatinha quando nasce
Deita a rama pelo chão

It spreads its tendrils
 Little potato when it grows
 It spreads its tendrils

Deita a rama pelo chão
Meu benzinho quando deita
Põe a mão no coração

It spreads its tendrils
 My little love when she lays down
 Puts its hand on her heart

Eu vou-me embora
Que aqui não posso ficar
Mas amanhã eu vou-me embora
Que aqui não posso ficar

I am going away
 Because here I cannot stay
 But tomorrow I am going away
 Because here I cannot stay

<i>Que aqui não posso ficar</i>	Because here I cannot stay
<i>Vou-me embora pra Bahia</i>	I'm going away to Bahia
<i>Eu vou mudar de lugar</i>	I'm going to move

<i>Uma branca outra amarela</i>	One white, the other yellow
<i>O ovo tem duas gemas</i>	The egg has two yolks
<i>Uma é branca outra é amarela</i>	One is white, the other is yellow

<i>Uma branca outra amarela</i>	One white, the other yellow
<i>A pinta que o galo tinha</i>	The spot that the cock had
<i>O pinto nasceu com ela</i>	The chick was born with it

Track 74 (2:04)

<i>É que sabe combinar</i>	Is one who knows how to combine
<i>[...] sinhá rainha é que soube combinar</i>	[...] Miss Queen is the one who knew how to combine
<i>Sinhá rainha é que soube combinar</i>	Miss Queen is the one who knew how to combine
<i>Pegou na pena de ouro</i>	She took up the golden quill
<i>E jogou no meio do mar</i>	And threw [it] in the middle of the sea

<i>Treze de maio a corrente rebentou</i>	Thirteenth of May, chains were broken
<i>No dia treze de maio</i>	On the thirteenth day of May
<i>A corrente rebentou</i>	Chains were broken

<i>A corrente rebentou</i>	Chains were broken
<i>Estremeceu [...]</i>	Shaken [...]
<i>No coração do senhor</i>	In the heart of the master

A pedra balanceou
Olha eu pisei na pedra
E a pedra balanceou

The stone tottered
 Look, I stepped on the stone
 And the stone tottered

Pisei na pedra
E a pedra balanceou
Pois o mundo tava torto
Sinhá rainha endireitou²¹¹

I stepped on the stone
 And the stone tottered
 Because the world was twisted
 Miss Queen straightened it

Ai ser peneira na panhação de café
Mas eu queria ser peneira
Na panhação de café

Ay, to be a sifter at coffee-picking time
 But I wanted to be a sifter
 At coffee-picking time

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Na panhação de café
Pra andar dependurado
Nas cadeiras das mulher

At coffee-picking time
 To be balanced
 On women's hips

E no tempo da escravidão
Eu queria que eu chegasse
No tempo da escravidão

And in the time of slavery
 I wanted that I arrived
 In the time of slavery

Que eu chegasse
No tempo da escravidão
Eu queria ser [...]
Que eu matava o meu patrão

That I arrived
 In the time of slavery
 I wanted to be [...]
 That I killed my boss

Liberdade foi a rainha quem me deu

Liberdade liberdade

Freedom, it was the Queen who gave it
 to me
 Freedom, freedom

Foi a rainha quem me deu

It was the Queen who gave it to me

Ai foi a rainha quem me deu

Hey, it was the Queen who gave it to me

Com sua pena de ouro

With her golden quill²¹²

Ela mesma escreveu

She herself wrote

Entre nós não há perigo

Between us there is no danger

Tu é bom eu também sou

You are good and so am I

E entre nós não há perigo

Between us there is no danger

Eu também sou

So am I

Entre nós não há perigo

Between us there is no danger

Sentimento que eu tenho

This is the feeling that I have

De não saber mais verso antigo

That I don't know old verses any longer

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Track 75 (3:23)

O Anjo São Gabriel foi quem

The Angel Saint Gabriel was the one

anunciou Maria

who announced Mary

Foi quem anunciou Maria, oi

Was the one who announced Mary, hey

Que haverá de dar à luz um verdadeiro

Who will give birth to a true messiah

Messias

[...]

[...]

[...] *Virgem Maria* [...]

[...] *Virgin Mary* [...]

[...]

[...]

*Haverá de dar à luz a seu menino
em Belém*

Will give birth to his son in Bethlehem

A Deus menino em Belém

To the Son of God in Bethlehem

[...]

[...]

[...]

[...]

Os três reis do Oriente [...]

The three kings of the Orient [...]

[...]

[...]

Track 76 (0:53)

[...]

Track 77 (0:59)

[...]

Track 78 (1:15)

[...]

Track 79 (0:49)

[...]

Track 80 (0:52)

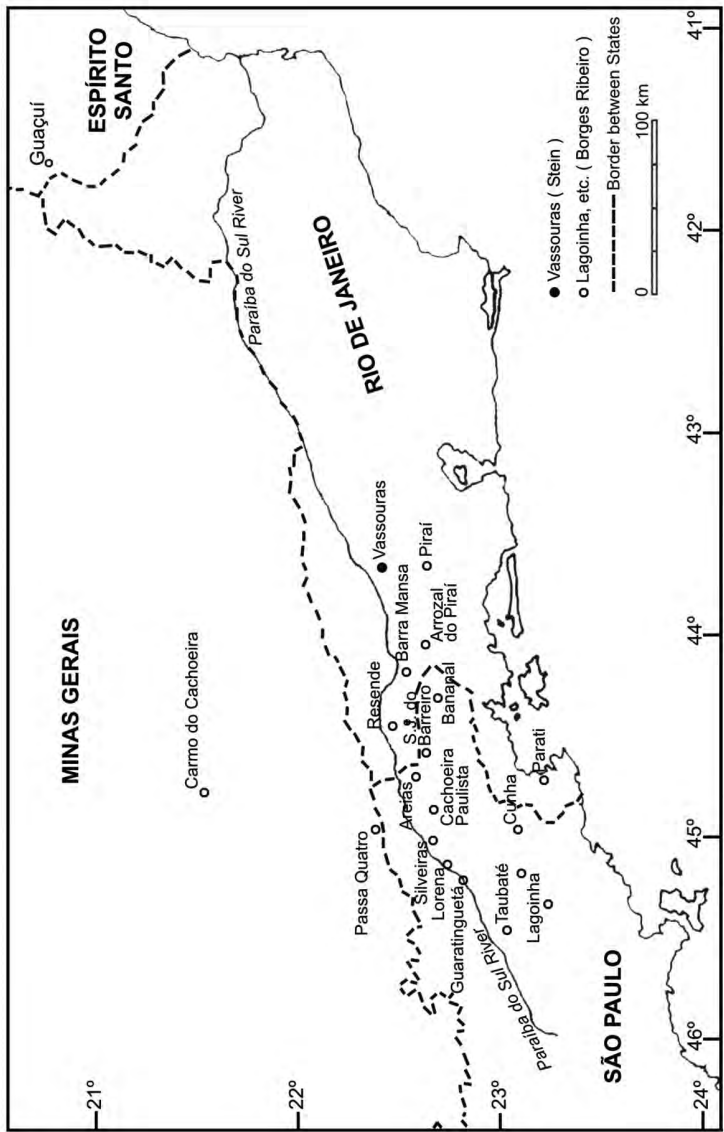
[...]

Track 81 (2:15)

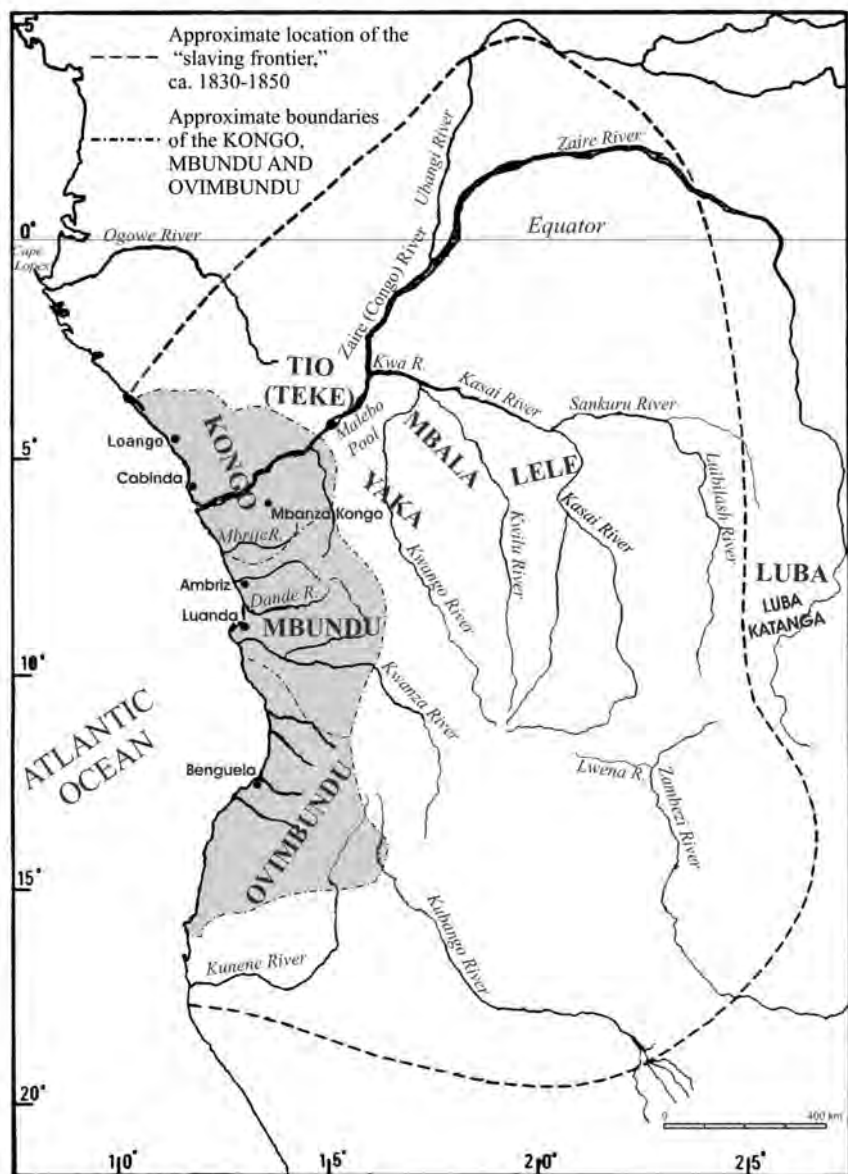
<i>É o nome do samba</i>	It's the name of samba
<i>Bateria</i>	Drums
<i>Pastora²¹³ desce cantando de alegria</i>	<i>Pastora</i> descends, singing happily
<i>Vamos</i>	Let's go
<i>Descendo e sambando</i>	Descending and [dancing] samba
<i>Sapateando e charlando</i>	Stepping and chatting
<i>Salve a bateria</i>	Save the drum
<i>Vamos</i>	Let's go
<i>Descendo e sambando</i>	Descending and [dancing] samba
<i>Sapateando e charlando</i>	Stepping and chatting
<i>Salve a bateria</i>	Save the drum
<i>Porque a bateria é quem me faz</i>	Because the drums are what make me
<i>Relembrar o passado feliz que ficou pra trás</i>	Remember the happy past that is gone
<i>Eu vou me distrair com o presente, eu vou</i>	I will enjoy the present, I will
<i>Porque o passado pra mim não volta mais</i>	Because the past for me does not come back anymore
<i>Só quem tem paixão igual a mim poderá saber</i>	Only he or she who has as much passion as I do would know
<i>A saudade que esse samba no meu peito traz</i>	The nostalgia that this samba brings to my breast
<i>Só quem tem paixão igual a mim poderá saber</i>	Only he or she who has as much passion as I do would know
<i>A saudade que esse samba no meu peito traz</i>	The nostalgia that this samba brings to my breast

Photographs are courtesy of “Coleção Stanley J. Stein,” Arquivo Edgard Leuenroth, Universidade Estadual de Campinas. The photographs were taken by Stanley and Barbara Stein in 1948-1949. Captions follow Silvia Hunold Lara and Gustavo Pacheco’s *Memória do jongo: as gravações históricas de Stanley J. Stein, Vassouras, 1949* (Rio de Janeiro: Folha Seca, 2007) and the Arquivo Edgard Leuenroth’s catalog. Photographic annotations in quotation marks are Stein’s, drawn from *Vassouras, a Plantation Society 1850-1900: A Study of Change in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Volume II: Photographic Documentation. [1951]. Firestone Library, Princeton University, Manuscripts Division.)

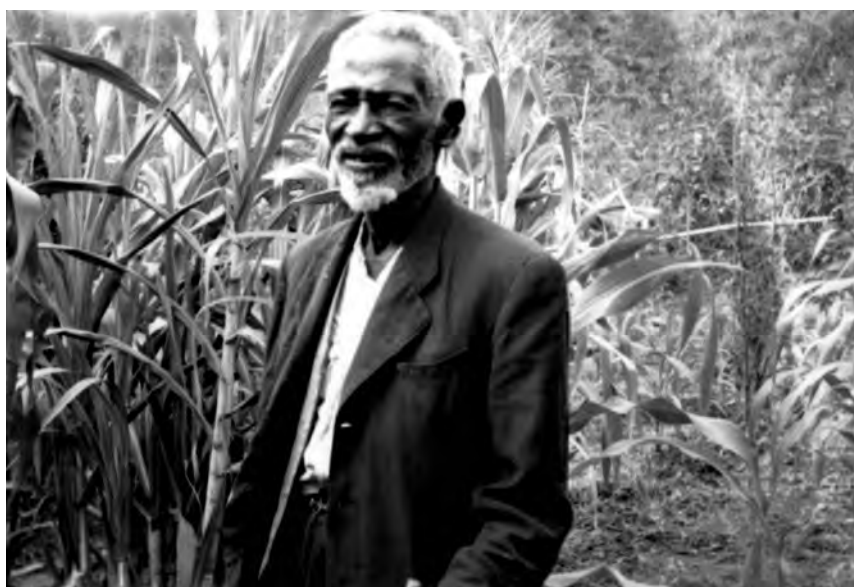
Maps and Photographs



Map 1. Paraíba Valley. Seats of townships where Stanley J. Stein and Maria de Lourdes Borges Ribeiro did their research on jongs (respectively in 1948-1949 and c. 1950-1960). Credit: Robert W. Slenes.



Map 2. West Central Africa: The "Slaving Frontier" (c. 1830-1850) and the location of cultural-linguistic groups mentioned in Robert W. Slenes's contribution to this volume. Credit: Robert W. Slenes, based on Joseph Miller's *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1988, page 10) and Harry H. Johnston's *A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages* (New York: AMS Press, 1977. Vol. 1, map at end, n.p.).



One of the people interviewed by Stanley and Barbara Stein, possibly one of the jongo singers. Vassouras, 1948-1949.



One of the people interviewed by Stanley and Barbara Stein, possibly one of the jongo singers. Vassouras, 1948-1949.



“Final sorting of coffee beans was a laborious, time-consuming task usually given to women and girls.” Fazenda Cachoeira Grande, 1948-1949.



Slave quarters. Fazenda
São Luís de Massambará,
1948-1949.

Slave quarters, frontal
view. Fazenda São
Luís de Massambará,
1948-1949.





Slave quarters. Fazenda
Cachoeira Grande,
1948-1949.



Interior of slave quarters.
Fazenda Cachoeira
Grande, 1948-1949.



“Most walls were made of mud-and-wattle (*pau a pique*). Outside senzala walls, Fazenda de Castro, Ferreiro, município of Vassouras.” 1948-1949.



“The *tronco*, a form of heavy iron stock binding hands and ankles, used on recalcitrant slaves and common on all fazendas.” Fazenda Cachoeira Grande, 1948-1949.



“Hip-roofs, classic decoration and elaborate windows produced a de-chimnied tropical Georgian style.” Fazenda São Fernando near Massambará, Vassouras, 1948-1949.



“From his shaded veranda or from a window of the main house the *fazendeiro* watched his slaves on the terreiro.” Fazenda São Luis de Massambará, 1948-1949.



Uprooting a tree. Vassouras, 1948-1949.



Clearing a maize field. Vassouras, 1948-1949.



“On well-to-do fazendas the food of *senhores* was generally prepared in a indoor kitchen, tiled in brick.” Fazenda Cananéia, 1948-1949.



Fazenda Cachoeira Grande, Engenheiro Nóbrega, 1948-1949.



By a general store. Vassouras, 1948-1949.



“A taberna might sell ‘alcoholic beverages, raw sugar, cornmeal and iron goods.’ (Interior of Grecco’s general store, now closed [closed not long after the Steins’ sojourn in Vassouras], Estrada de Mendes, Vassouras).” 1948-1949.



Group of slaves having lunch. Photograph by Victor Frond, c. 1859, collected by Stanley J. Stein.



“The stumps smouldered for days and the earth was often warm when slaves came to prepare for planting. *Derrubada* or clearing near Sacra Família. The corrugated slopes of worn-out coffee land are seen in the background.” 1948-1949.

Notes

¹ For their comments and suggestions, I would like to thank the participants of the Princeton University round table that inspired this volume. I would also like to thank Northwestern University (LACS-Rockefeller Foundation Resident Fellowships in the Humanities Program) for supporting the research necessary for the final version of this article.

² *Manacá-da-serra* is the common name of *Tibouchina mutabilis*. In Brazil there are many species of *canelas*—the popular name given to some of the *Lauraceae* family, such as the *Ocotea catharinensis*, which can typically reach 25-30 meters, and its trunk can be between 60-90 centimeters in diameter. Its wood is of excellent quality and can be used in civil and naval construction.

³ Stein reports that he made good use of the advice he received: he always preferred to talk to people in their own environment and never took notes in front of the people he interviewed (Bom Meihy 87).

⁴ See Diggs; Wagley; Mosk; and Mintz, “Vassouras.”

⁵ *Casa-grande & senzala* was translated into English a little more than ten years after it was published in Brazil. Freyre’s point of view was soon associated with other theses which emphasized the moderate nature of slavery in the southern hemisphere as argued by Frank Tannenbaum and Stanley Elkins.

⁶ Some years later, when reviewing the English edition of *Novo mundo nos trópicos*, Stein was more categorical: “in the 1920s Freyre was a *modernista*, a propagandist for presenting Brazil as she was, not the superficially Europeanized offshoot some preferred.... The perfervid regionalist who exhumed the colonial past seems now enamoured of a corpse” (Stein, “Freyre’s Brazil Revisited”).

⁷ For an assessment of the initial work of the so-called “Escola de São Paulo,” see Graham.

⁸ See Slenes, “Grandeza ou decadência?” where he argues against this generalized reading of Stein’s work and against the opposition between Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo plantation owners (103-08). He also argues that the slave economy of the Paraíba Valley was expanding between 1850 and 1881.

⁹ The debate can be followed in Ciro F. S. Cardoso, Gorender, and Lara.

¹⁰ See Lara, “‘Blowin’ in the Wind’.”

¹¹ See, for example, Maestri Filho. In the latter 1980s, Maria de Lourdes Janotti and Sueli Robles de Queiroz coordinated a large project to gather oral statements from black family members (see also Z. Rosa). More recently, Ana Maria Lugão Rios and Hebe Maria Mattos coordinated another project that recorded the statements of descendants of slaves; cf. “Memórias do cativo.”

¹² The chapters “Planter and Slave” and “Patterns of Living” best exemplify this approach. This is also apparent in passages where Stein gives precedence to an analysis of economic factors, where interviews with local elderly people reveal details about planting and gathering techniques (Stein, *Vassouras* [1985] 56-65).

¹³ The most important work about *jongo* is M. Ribeiro; regarding historians’ use of folklorist recordings, see M. Cunha.

¹⁴ See Slenes’s pioneering article “Malungu, ngoma vem!”; cf. Agostini 85-141 and Reis’s “Tambores e temores.”

¹⁵ These characteristics are present in the rebirth of the black movement in Brazil in the late 1970s, which strengthened in the 1980s, particularly through land struggles. Reporting ancestral practices and residential history became important to support rural community land claims. With the new Brazilian constitution, promulgated in 1988, this movement gained further strength as it reevaluated the concept of *quilombo* and other means to legitimize land claims. See Sundfeld, *Comunidades quilombolas* and *I Encontro nacional de lideranças*.

¹⁶ Smolians Sound Studios undertook the digitalization in August 2003, funded by the research project “Diferenças, identidades, territórios: os trabalhadores no Brasil, 1790-1930,” under the Programa Nacional de Cooperação Acadêmica (PROCAD) of the Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior (CAPES), within UNICAMP’s Centro de Pesquisa em História Social da Cultura (CECULT), between 2001 and 2004.

¹⁷ See Botkin (1969); cf. Federal Writers’ Project.

¹⁸ See Gershenhorn.

¹⁹ This emphasis derived, in his own words, “from the assumption that music, one of the elements in human civilization least exposed to conscious direction, offers a strategic point of attack for a study of the results of cultural contact” (Merriam 80).

²⁰ Recordings made by John and Alan Lomax were commercially released in a series of small recording labels and influenced generations of musicians and researchers. They also played an important role in the growing interest in the revival of North American folk music from the 1950s onwards. Herskovits’s recordings include an LP made in Bahia in 1947 (*Afro-Bahian Religious Songs from Brazil*) as well as recent CD reissues of recordings from West Africa (*The Yoruba-Dahomean Collection*) and Trinidad (*Peter Was a Fisherman*).

²¹ See Franceschi.

²² Deserving particular consideration for their breadth and pioneering character are recordings of indigenous music made by German anthropologists Wilhelm Kissenberth and Theodor Koch-Grünberg between 1908 and 1913, as well as those

by Brazilian anthropologist Edgar Roquette-Pinto. In addition, there are those by the Missão de Pesquisas Folclóricas of the Department of Culture in the Municipality of São Paulo, made on a trip to the north and northeast of Brazil in 1938 as well as those by musicologist Luiz Heitor Corrêa de Azevedo in the states of Goiás, Ceará, Minas Gerais, and Rio Grande do Sul between 1942 and 1946.

²³ Stein provides us with the following explanation: “According to one ex-slave informant, the embaúba was a common tree, useless because it was punky inside. Many planters were known as colonels because they held this rank in the National Guard. By combining the two elements, embaúba and colonel, the slaves turned out the superficially innocuous but biting cynical comment” (*Vassouras* [1985] 208). Maria de Lourdes Borges Ribeiro collected versions of this *ponto* in Silveiras, São Paulo state, and Guaçuí, in Espírito Santo, and provided the following explanation: 1) in Silveiras, it refers to a slave master, notorious for his cruelty to the slaves. He was called colonel. The slaves did not like this and played this *ponto*, that the master himself managed to unravel. It is the traditional *ponto* of the region; 2) Renato José Costa Pacheco (1950) said it refers to Emídio Faria, an old property owner in the region who was the grandfather of the informant Manoel Rodrigues Faria; 3) in a certain municipality of the Paraíba Valley, it referred to a person with no credentials who was elected to the position of mayor. Note: *embaúba* (*cecropia palmata*) is a tall tree with a smooth trunk and leaves opening at the top of the tree. It is also called “árvore da preguiça” (*sloth tree*—“preguiça” also means “laziness” in Portuguese), as the sloth likes eating its fruits. Its trunk is hollow and has little value as timber (M. Ribeiro 39).

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²⁴ Born in Valença, a coffee-growing town near Vassouras, Clementina rose to fame as an artist who could, like few others, combine rural traditions with popular urban music. This *ponto* (one of the many she recorded) is on the 1966 LP *Clementina de Jesus*.

²⁵ For Areias, see M. Ribeiro 46; for Caçapava, see Lima 80; for Santo Antônio de Pádua, see Vives 71; for Parati, see Almeida 170; for Afonso Cláudio and Marataízes, see Neves.

²⁶ Born in Engenheiro Passos, a village near the town of Resende, in Rio de Janeiro state, Mano Elói was one of the most famous *sambistas* and *jongueiros* from Rio de Janeiro during the first half of the twentieth century. He helped to found various schools of samba, including Estácio de Sá and Império Serrano. Mano Elói's recording, “Liberdade dos escravos,” was the B-side of a 78-rpm disc released by Odeon; the A-side was another *jongo*, “Galo macuco.”

²⁷ See Frade 23-26 and F. Silva.

²⁸ Francisco Pereira da Silva also registers this relationship between *jongo* and *calango*: “In the Vale do Paraíba (on the São Paulo side) our poetic argument,

generally, takes two forms: *visaria*: friendly, lyrical or simply joking verses.... *Demanda*: the verses are characterized by verbal aggression and reach a climax of violence in the jongo, through the so-called ‘*ponto de ingurumento*’” (22).

²⁹ M. Ribeiro registered 124 *jongo* songs (*pontos*) from diverse localities. Stein recorded sixty; an additional four of the fifteen reproduced in his book are not transcriptions or variants of the recorded verses. See Gustavo Pacheco’s contribution in this volume.

³⁰ Southeast refers to the states of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo. I use information from Karasch on the origins of deceased slaves in Rio de Janeiro in 1833, 1838 and 1849, since data on the Atlantic trade to Rio underestimate the presence of bondspeople from West Africa, many of them brought through the internal trade from Brazil’s Northeast (15). See also Florentino 222-34 and Karasch, Appendix A.

³¹ On “first comers,” see Klieman. See also Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforests* and *How Societies are Born*. On “caboclo velho” spirits in Brazilian Macumba and Umbanda as “first-comer spirits,” see Slenes, “L’arbre *Nsanda* replanté” 256, 271-74.

³² See Janzen.

³³ This and the next paragraph summarize Slenes’s “Eu venho de muito longe” (116-22) and “L’arbre *Nsanda* replanté” (230-39).

³⁴ Africans generally comprised 80% or more of adult slaves at any one time on the plantations of Rio and São Paulo between 1791 and 1850 (Slenes, “*Malungu, Ngoma’s Coming!*” 223).

³⁵ For instance, Heywood and also Sweet.

³⁶ Guthrie, vol. 3, c.s. (“comparative series of stems and radicals”) 844, *-gòmà, and vol. 4, c.s. 1401, *-ḡòmà, both “drum.”

³⁷ See Kazadi wa Mukuna 134-77; Redinha 85, 132, 150-72.

³⁸ In addition to the travelers mentioned by Carneiro, see Monteiro 2: 136-38, and Weeks 128-29.

³⁹ See, respectively, Laman, *Dictionnaire kikongo-français*, and Bentley. From now on, Kikongo definitions not referenced are from Laman. Translations from foreign language sources are mine unless otherwise noted.

⁴⁰ M. Ribeiro cited Ortiz and was the first to note the similarities between *jongos* and *puyas*, including “galo/gallo” (47).

⁴¹ For earlier observations on Stein’s and M. Ribeiro’s collections, not repeated here, see Slenes, “Malungu” and “Eu venho de muito longe.”

⁴² For *kanga* roots, see Guthrie, vol. 3, c.s. 1007, *-kang, “tie up; seize,” and related c.s. 785, *-gang, “tie up.”

⁴³ Guthrie 3: 301, c.s 1158 and 1160, respectively *-kòt-, “become aged,” and *-kòtam-, “become bent [with age].”

⁴⁴ See Slenes, *Na Senzala*, and bibliography cited therein; Slenes, “L’arbre *Nsanda* replanté.”

⁴⁵ “*Com tanto pau no mato / Pereira passa má*”; “*mandou cortar pau-pereira pra fazer eixo de engenho / ... Eu cortei pau-pereira, aê / ... [do] Pau saiu sangue.*” Stein’s “Recordings,” respectively tracks 12 and 6. Probably this is the *pau pereira* (*Geissospermum laeve*) or *pau pereira do campo* (*Aspidosperma tomentosum*), also called *ipê-peroba*, both with wood of good quality (Houaiss and Villar).

⁴⁶ Here, bees are mobilized, not wasps, and the snake raiser could also conjure up a frog, lizard or other animal.

⁴⁷ For reasons of space, I do not usually distinguish here between words in Laman’s standard (central) dialect of Kikongo (the majority) and words peculiar to individual dialects. Lopes derives “cumba” from two of the words listed here (meaning “to roar” and “marvelous fact, miracle [Fr. *prodige*]”), but gives them both as *kumba*.

⁴⁸ The other vocabulary from a nineteenth-century cult (the Cabula) resonates strongly with Kimbundu and Kikongo, in that order, less so with Umbundu (the Ovimbundu tongue) (Slenes, “L’arbre *Nsanda* replanté” 258-61).

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⁴⁹ In fact, *nkuma* is from another word cluster that is related to both the noisy *kúmba* items and the *kúba* cluster, discussed later.

⁵⁰ M. Ribeiro 45 (collected in Silveiras, São Paulo): “Cheguei no angoma / e já dei meu saravá / quem não pode com mandinga / não carrega patuá.” For similar boasting, see Stein, “Recordings” track 44. For “valentão”: Houaiss and Villar; Ferreira.

⁵¹ Here and in what follows, definitions from Umbundu and Kimbundu are, respectively, from Alves, and from Assis Júnior.

⁵² Guthrie, vol. 3, c.s 387, 386, 385 and 383: respectively, *-còŋge (“c” pronounced “ch”) and *-còŋgà; *-còŋg-; and (likewise) *-còŋg-.

⁵³ A joning verse is a “jone” (Hannerz 132), not far from *nzongo* or Guthrie’s roots.

⁵⁴ Lopes derives “cuba” from “cumba.”

⁵⁵ “Cut [a terrace]” is from Bentley (on the dialect of the Kongo capital), entry for *kumba lufulu*.

⁵⁶ Bentley, entries for *elongo* and *eseka*, which clarify the otherwise cryptic definition in Laman, *Dictionnaire*, for *kùmbi*.

⁵⁷ See discussion in Slenes, “L’arbre *Nsanda* replanté” 263.

⁵⁸ For the first definition, see Bentley; for the first and second, see Laman, *Dictionnaire*. The last only appears in Schwartenbroeckx.

⁵⁹ Schwartenbroeckx. The *nkumbi* in the second and particularly the third case may be derived from ñkúmbi, “pause, brusque silence” (in the “noisy” *kúmba* cluster), but from a nominalist standpoint the connection with ñkúmbi would still be clear. (The ambiguity arises because Laman usually does not put diacritical marks on the second word in a two-word expression.)

⁶⁰ This and the next paragraph summarize a long analysis completed, but not yet published. For Mbala words: Lumbwe Mudindaambi. For Luba Katanga words (I use Vansina’s name for this language in *How Societies Are Born* 288): Van Avermaet.

⁶¹ Planquaert 43, who translates *Kalunga* as “earth”; but see Ruttenberg, who defines *kalunga* as *sheol*, Hebrew for “abode of the dead.”

⁶² Others in the *jongo* record are *cumbi* and *cacumbu* (see Slenes, “Eu venho de muito longe” 130–41).

⁶³ All definitions for Kikongo words are from Laman, *Dictionnaire*, unless otherwise noted.

⁶⁴ M. Ribeiro is reporting on research done in the 1950s (see Map 1).

⁶⁵ *Jongo* collected in Cachoeira Paulista, São Paulo.

⁶⁶ *Jongo* collected in Lorena, São Paulo.

⁶⁷ *Jongo* collected in Passa-Quatro, Minas Gerais.

⁶⁸ Notes to track 12, “Samba de Da. Maria Esther de Pirapora [e] João do Pasto,” recorded in Pirapora, São Paulo, 25 June 1997.

⁶⁹ See P. Diaz for this argument.

⁷⁰ First definition: Taylor; second definition: Houaiss and Villar.

⁷¹ *Jongo* collected in Barra Mansa, Rio de Janeiro.

⁷² On muleteers in São Paulo engaging in *batuque* (a relative of the *jongo*) during a night-time stopover in 1825, see Florence 4; M. Ribeiro 48 (collected in Taubaté, São Paulo); Stein’s Recordings, track 28; note also tracks 27 and 29.

⁷³ “Uma vez uns jogadores cumbas se encontraram e fizeram jongo brabo mesmo, com dois tambus. Saiu tanta coisa, fizeram tanta ‘arte’ que o chão afundou no lugar dos dois tambus.”

⁷⁴ See preceding essay (“Like Forest Hardwoods”), quote from Fu-Kiau regarding the “secret ghost” or “ancestral voice” within the drum; interview with Fu-Kiau kia Bunseki-Lumanisa, qtd by Thompson and Cornet 80.

⁷⁵ Notes to track 7, “Jongo de Cunha: Mestre Lico Sales, Zé de Toninho e João Rumo,” recorded in Cunha, São Paulo, 18 July 1993.

⁷⁶ “Chefe de jongo que estime o seu tocador e não queira perdê-lo, dá-lhe bebida com encanto [que o amarre], prendendo-o a si, dance onde dançar e sem jamais ter outro senhor.”

⁷⁷ *Jongo* collected in Lagoinha, São Paulo.

⁷⁸ *Jongo* collected in Silveiras, São Paulo.

⁷⁹ See M. Cavalcanti Proença’s explanation of this phrase (text on back flap of Machado Filho).

⁸⁰ See, respectively, Houaiss and Villar, and Ferreira, entries for “*costas*.” Note that “o *cacunda*” (literally “the back”) means “someone who gives protection” (Houaiss and Villar 2004); thus, “*no cacunda de tatu*” means “under the protection of the armadillo.” M. Ribeiro wrongly cites Machado Filho’s *vissungo* as “*Na cacunda do tatu*,” subtly changing its meaning to simply “on [or behind] the back of the tatu” (51).

⁸¹ See entry for “*kumbi*.”

⁸² See “Tamanduá-mirim.”

⁸³ See alternative forms *nkubre* and *nkumi*.

⁸⁴ The word is part of the lexicon of the black community, Cafundó (Vogt and Fry 308); Guthrie, vol. 3, c.s. 991 for *-*kákà*, “anteater.”

⁸⁵ See also Douglas.

⁸⁶ See *Armadillo Online* for information on the nine-banded armadillo, *Dasyus novemcinctus* (*tatu galinha* and *tatu de folha*). *Portal virtual de Barcelona* (RN, Brasil), page on “animais silvestres” cites a popular saying: “[the armadillo] when male has no sister, when female has no brother” ([*o tatu*] *quando macho, não tem irmã, quando fêmea não tem irmão*). On twins, see MacGaffey, *Religion and Society* 85; on lepers, Van Wing 2: 433.

⁸⁷ *Armadillo Online*, information on “Genus *Euphractus*”; MacGaffey 133. See the *jongo* (probably a challenge song) registered in 1940 in Espírito Santo: “The armadillo is digging [into] / the grave of your father” (“O tatu está cavucando / A sepultura de seu pai”) (Braga 79).

⁸⁸ See Desch-Obi 358 on the spiritual significance of upside-down positions in Central African ritual kick-fighting; Laman, *The Kongo* 3: 86 on “returning backwards” in a certain judicial test to determine innocence or guilt; cf. Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit* [1984] 142.

⁸⁹ See Pedroso 249 for Portuguese folk expressions such as “when a person walks backward, the Devil accompanies him/her.” For similar proverbs in São Paulo, see Brandão 67, 71.

⁹⁰ M. Ribeiro 42 and 56-57; Stein's "Recordings," track 27.

⁹¹ Boas 211, recounting a cure applied in mid-twentieth century Apiacá, Espírito Santo. This case reveals the ethnographic nature of the armadillo-blood bath treatment detailed in João Guimarães Rosa's novel, *Miguelim*, set in early twentieth-century Minas Gerais (Rosa 16-17).

⁹² Note that *nkúmbi* in the southern Kikongo dialect means "governor, ambassador, representative."

⁹³ Luiz Café, 65 years old, farmer, resident of São Luiz do Paraitinga, was one of the most famous *jongueiros* of the region (Araújo).

⁹⁴ The candidacy of an intangible heritage (musical, artistic and religious manifestations, among others) to be classified as Brazilian cultural patrimony was made possible with the approval of Decree 3551, 4 August 2000, which created the Programa Nacional do Patrimônio Imaterial within the Ministry of Culture. On the approval of the decree, see Abreu, "Cultura imaterial." Today *jongo* singers gather around the Pontão de Cultura do Jongo, created as part of the policy of safeguarding *jongo* (see "Pontão de Cultura do Jongo").

⁹⁵ The "samba de roda" of the Recôncavo Baiano was also granted this title somewhat earlier in 2004. See "Samba de Roda do Recôncavo Baiano."

⁹⁶ "Jongo, patrimônio imaterial brasileiro" synthesizes the results of the inventory undertaken by the Centro Nacional de Folclore e Cultura Popular (CNFCP) as part of the *Projeto Celebrações e Saberes da Cultura Popular*, and the decision of the Departamento do Patrimônio Imaterial by IPHAN anthropologist Marcus Vinícios Carvalho Garcia. See "Jongo no Sudeste."

⁹⁷ See also Ribeyrolles.

⁹⁸ Despite this sentence, Stein registers in the same note that "Jongos composed during the caxambu are still sung throughout the Parahyba Valley" and were "still current in the municípios of Cunha and Taubaté, State of São Paulo." He based this observation on Alceu Maynard Araújo's 1948 work for the Comissão Nacional de Folclore.

⁹⁹ Until the 1980s, the Patrimônio Cultural Brasileiro policies for designating cultural patrimony were construed in terms of the accumulated cultural riches of the cultured Brazilian elite. It was the conception of patrimony made of "pedra e cal" (literally, stone and mortar). See Fonseca.

¹⁰⁰ Posturas da PMV, 1890, título 5, artigo 122 (Stein, *Vassouras* [1985] 200).

¹⁰¹ In Bahia, the proposal for the prohibition of *batuques* in private houses was debated in the Provincial Assembly in 1855. It was not approved (Reis 143).

¹⁰² Burke and Staples were in Brazil in 1882-1883. The book is made up of family letters, mostly written by Burke. Camilla Agostini also noticed the “spectacle dimension” in an account by José de Alencar, in *Tronco do Ipê*, a novel in which, in one of the scenes, the plantation owner’s guests had enjoyed a *caxambu* in the main *terreiro* of the plantation (87).

¹⁰³ M. Ribeiro also refers to a note in Rio de Janeiro’s *Diário do Comércio* on 14 May 1889 about “alegres jongs em São Paulo em comemoração pelo aniversário da Lei da Abolição” (61).

¹⁰⁴ For this effort on the part of folklorists, see Abreu and Dantas.

¹⁰⁵ Another example of the incorporation of the *jongo* in Brazilian music can be found in a musical score sold by the Casa Bevilacqua, probably at the beginning of the twentieth century, entitled “Brasilianas,” with a drawing of a *batuque* scene. They were selling *jongs* and sambas for the piano (Leme 2: 310).

¹⁰⁶ For other references about the religious authority of the old *jongueiros*, see Araújo 48; Raymond 59. Joaquim Honório was Alceu Maynard Araújo’s informant, in 1948. He was 80, the son of African-born parents from Angola. According to the author, he had a lot of prestige in São Luiz de Paraíta “por ser entendido nas artes de umbanda e quimbanda, benzedor, capelão, etc.” (“because he was knowledgeable in umbanda and quimbanda, a sorcerer and priest”). Júlio Ribeiro, in the novel *A carne*, emphasized the presence of two old Africans with *atabaques*, despite his use of prejudiced language to refer to the circle where black men and women danced (79).

¹⁰⁷ Gallet even asserted that the lyrics of the songs did not matter. This information contradicts his own earlier argument about the improvisation of stanzas.

¹⁰⁸ About this Commission, see Vilhena 94-115.

¹⁰⁹ See Raymond 8. For other references see *Revista Folclore* volume 1, numbers 4 and 1 (1952) published by the Comissão Paulista de Folclore (São Paulo Commission on Folklore) and the Centro de Pesquisas Folclóricas Mário de Andrade (Mário de Andrade Folklore Research Center).

¹¹⁰ See Araújo and Lima. In this rich bibliography, there can be found notes published in newspapers such as *Diário da noite*, 31 January 1957, which registered a *jongo* in a show at the Teatro Oxumaré in São Paulo; or in *Folha da noite*, 13 May 1958, which registered a celebration of abolition by folkloric groups of various cities in Taubaté.

¹¹¹ Raymond 95. *Ponto* sung on the night of 28 May 1944 as part of the activities for the Divine Feast.

¹¹² The authors who recorded the *jongo* formed a sort of intellectual chain, which had Luciano Gallet and Mário de Andrade as founders. The two were mentioned by

Lavínia Raymond, who cites Maria de Lourdes Borges Ribeiro's initial work, who in her turn seems to have encouraged the first works of Maria de Cásia Nascimento Frade, in the 1970s. This last author, professor at the Universidade Estadual do Rio de Janeiro and member of the Comissão Nacional de Folclore, is still one of the main specialists on this subject.

¹¹³ According to the author, these dances were “escorraçadas em alguns lugares por proibições de várias ordens” (“moved out of some places because of various types of prohibitions”) (41).

¹¹⁴ Raymond emphasized Antonio Candido de Mello e Souza among them, to whom she had given her notebook (10). “O fato de terem vindo professores e estudantes da Universidade para estudá-lo emprestava às suas habilidades um valor que eles mesmos nunca tinham dado.” (“the fact that university professors and students had come to study it, gave their performance a value that they themselves had never given it”) (54).

¹¹⁵ According to Raymond's references, the DEIP made an inventory of cultural practices of the State of São Paulo, assisted groups in reviving these practices, filmed others and took groups to other cities (66-69). The folklorist Oneyda Alvarenga, also a former student of Mário de Andrade, was a source of information for Raymond. In the program of the celebrations on 13 May 1944, in Vila Santa Maria, in the city of São Paulo, there was also a *congada*. The number of “non-black” people was small according to the author. According to Lia Calabre, “o DIP, criado em dezembro de 1939, era o órgão responsável pela elaboração da legislação referente a todas as atividades culturais, fiscalizando e supervisionando a aplicação das normas em todos os meios de comunicação” (“DIP, created in December 1939, was the body responsible for the formulation of legislation in relation to all cultural activities, monitoring and supervising the application of the norms in all the media”). Other DIP departments, like the one in São Paulo, may have behaved in the same way in other states.

¹¹⁶ Araújo also stressed that in the *jongo* of São Luiz do Paraitinga, they all seemed to be part of the same family. Elderly black men were lovingly addressed as “meu pai” (“my father”), and the elderly ladies were called “minha tia” (“my aunt”) (50).

¹¹⁷ See Silva and Maciel; Silva and Oliveira Filho; Valença and Valença; H. Costa; Vargens.

¹¹⁸ The full text of Article 68 of *Ato das Disposições Constitucionais Transitórias* states, “Aos remanescentes das comunidades dos quilombos que estejam ocupando suas terras é reconhecida a propriedade definitiva, devendo o Estado emitir-lhes os títulos respectivos” (“The State recognizes definitive possession of lands which are occupied by the survivors of the *quilombo* communities, and must issue their respective titles to them”).

¹¹⁹ A survey by the Centro de Geografia e Cartografia Aplicada (Ciga, Universidade de Brasília), under the direction of geographer Rafael Sanzio, registered 848 *quilombo* territories in 2000 and 2,228 in 2005. See Sanzio and “Segundo Cadastro Municipal.”

¹²⁰ On Quilombo São José da Serra, see Mattos and Rios.

¹²¹ We have just concluded a project, funded by Petrobrás Cultural and Universidade Federal Fluminense, to make available to researchers an archive of interviews and films about black music in the State of Rio de Janeiro. See “Jongos, calangos e folias.”

¹²² I am grateful to Kevin Leonard and Janet C. Olson for their kind assistance during my research at the Northwestern University Archives and also to the staff at the Schomburg Center for the Study of Black Culture, New York Public Library. Funding for research in Evanston, Illinois, was provided by the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Puerto Rico (UPR), and I want to thank Dr. Carlos Severino, the Dean of the Faculty for his support. The Atlantea Project of the UPR supported my research in New York. Thanks also to Pedro Meira Monteiro and Michael Stone for their efforts towards this project, and their patience and encouragement with the contributors. Hugo Viera Vargas kindly assisted with some sources and served as a good interlocutor. I also want to express my deepest gratitude to Camillia Cowling for her thorough reading of an earlier version of this essay and for our own “marvellous journey,” one that made this essay and other things possible. I benefited also from conversations and exchanges with my friend and colleague, Kevin Yelvington, and with Astrid Cubano and Antonio Gaztambide Geigel, both Princeton alumni at different stages of Stein’s career there.

¹²³ It was only after I wrote the first version of this essay that Professor Stein and I exchanged correspondence. He graciously agreed to read the essay and provided helpful comments and corrections, for which I am truly grateful.

¹²⁴ Margot Stein, daughter of Barbara and Stanley recalled her mother prioritizing family over her academic career (5).

¹²⁵ Barbara Hadley Stein to Melville J. Herskovits, 8 May 1947, Melville J. Herskovits Papers, Africana Manuscript 6 (Series 35/6), Melville J. Herskovits Library of African Studies, University Archives, Northwestern University Library, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois (hereafter MJHP), Box 41, folder 40.

¹²⁶ I appreciate Kevin Yelvington’s insight on Herskovits. With regard to Stein’s search out of the bounds of Harvard for the development of his Afro-American interests (hemispherically understood) it is also interesting to note that nearly two decades later (in the 1960s), the lack of interest in the (Afro) Caribbean at Harvard emerged again in the experience of another scholar-in-training at that institution: Richard Price. Price had to seek advice outside Harvard’s walls through his

acquaintance with anthropologist Sidney W. Mintz (then at Yale University). This was highlighted by Mintz in a February 1997 seminar in Puerto Rico. Price himself refers to the situation at Harvard and his need to seek academic nourishment elsewhere in *The Convict and the Colonel* (126, 239-40, n. 1). Mintz and Price went on to be founding members of the Department of Anthropology at Johns Hopkins University in the 1970s participating also in one of the most successful (and earlier) Atlantic Studies enterprises combining anthropology and history.

¹²⁷ Melville J. Herskovits to Stanley J. Stein, 3 June 1947; Stanley J. Stein to Melville J. Herskovits, 8 June 1947, MJHP, Box 41, Folder 40.

¹²⁸ Stanley J. Stein to Melville J. Herskovits, 8 June 1947, MJHP, Box 41, Folder 40.

¹²⁹ Melville J. Herskovits to Stanley J. Stein, 8 October 1947, MJHP, Box 41, Folder 40.

¹³⁰ Melville J. Herskovits to Donald Young, Social Science Research Council, 10 December 1947, MJHP, Box 41, Folder 40.

¹³¹ Stanley J. Stein to Melville J. Herskovits, 11 February 1948; Melville J. Herskovits to Stanley J. Stein, 16 February 1948, MJHP, Box 41, Folder 40.

¹³² Barbara H. Stein to Melville J. Herskovits, 15 April 1948, MJHP, Box 41, Folder 40.

¹³³ Melville J. Herskovits to Mrs. Stanley Stein [sic], 27 April 1948, MJHP, Box 41, Folder 40. Of course, we now know that the rewards of the collective work of the Steins eventually produced one of the most influential books in Latin American history (Stein, S. J. and Stein, B. H. 1970) and a trilogy on the Spanish Atlantic history (Stein S. J. and Stein, B. H. 2000; 2003; Stein, B. H. and Stein, S. J. 2009).

¹³⁴ Stanley J. Stein to Jorge L. Giovannetti, 19 November 2008 (Author's personal papers).

¹³⁵ Melville J. Herskovits to Donald Young, 10 December 1947, MJHP, box 41, folder 40.

¹³⁶ Stanley J. Stein (and Barbara Stein) to Melville J. Herskovits, 13 July 1947, MJHP, box 41, folder 40.

¹³⁷ According to Herskovits datebooks and memobooks, in November and December of 1947, he participated in various meetings in New York regarding area studies. He listed "NY Area Conf" for November and "Area Committee" in early December before the meeting with Stein in Evanston. See Datebooks and Memobooks, 1940s-1960s, Box 5, Melville J. and Frances S. Herskovits Papers, Schomburg Center for the Study of Black Culture, The New York Public Library, NY.

¹³⁸ Stanley J. Stein to Melville J. Herskovits, 28 December 1947, MJHP, box 41, folder 40.

¹³⁹ Stanley J. Stein to Melville J. Herskovits, 11 February 11, 1948, MJHP, box 41, folder 40.

¹⁴⁰ In particular it is worth noting Stein's consistency in the need for funding in Latin American Studies and research (Stone 10; Stein, "Charles Wagley" 407).

¹⁴¹ Stanley J. Stein to Melville J. Herskovits, 8 June 1947, MJHP, box 41, no. 40.

¹⁴² Stanley J. Stein to Melville Herskovits, 13 July 1947; Stanley J. Stein to Melville J. Herskovits, 26 September 1947, MJHP, box 41, no. 41.

¹⁴³ Such suggestive connections have been made with regard to another Afro-Brazilian practice, that of *capoeira*, but without being fully explored either ethnographically or historically (Röhrig Assunção).

¹⁴⁴ Berta Montero-Sánchez finished her MA in anthropology at Northwestern University in 1948 with the title "Patterns of Cuban Folklore" and apparently she did her PhD in Havana before in 1940 ("In Memoriam: Berta Bascom" 1).

¹⁴⁵ Berta Montero-Sánchez to Melville Herskovits, 16 September 1947, MJHP, box 39, folder 15.

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¹⁴⁶ Berta Montero-Sánchez to Melville J. Herskovits, 10 July 1948, MJHP, box 39, folder 15.

¹⁴⁷ Wire Recording No. 2, Wenceslao Rubiallo, Callejón del Chorro, Havana, Cuba, MJHP, box 39, folder 15.

¹⁴⁸ Carl Withers to Melville Herskovits, 9 November 1947, MJHP, box 42, folder 11. A collaborative research project on Carl Withers's study of Cuba in the 1940s is underway by Jorge L. Giovannetti of the University of Puerto Rico, and Hernán Venegas Delgado and Alicia Acosta from the Central University of Las Villas in Santa Clara, Cuba. On Carl Withers, see the article by Brown and Giovannetti.

¹⁴⁹ See Richard Waterman to Melville J. Herskovits, 24 June 1946, MJHP, box 36, folder 11.

¹⁵⁰ Richard Waterman to Melville J. Herskovits, 16 December 1946, Archive of Traditional Music, Indiana University, Bloomington (hereafter ATM), 72-087-F, Waterman, 1948.

¹⁵¹ See "Bascom Collection" ATM, 72-261-F. I am grateful to Hugo Viera Vargas who generously searched for and shared this information with me.

¹⁵² I worked with these collections while coordinating research for the Endangered Music Project at the Library of Congress. The resulting CDs were prepared and carefully annotated by ethnomusicologist Morton Marks ("The Discoteca

Collection” and “L.H. Corrêa de Azevedo”), who has carried out extensive research on Brazilian music since the 1970s and himself has made valuable field recordings in the state of Pará (“Music of Pará”).

¹⁵³ Pioneering attempts to find new ways of using ethnography to help correct this imbalance include Price (*First-Time* and *Alabi's World*). A more recent attempt is Bilby (*True-Born Maroons*).

¹⁵⁴ For recent ethnographically grounded discussions that give some idea of both the changing political stakes and the importance of “memory” in the negotiation of contemporary public understandings of Afro-Brazilian musical (and, more broadly, festive and ceremonial) traditions, see Reily (“To Remember Captivity”) and Metz. See also Matory (“The ‘New World’ Surrounds an Ocean”) on the role played by transatlantic (and trans-hemispheric) contact and exchanges in such negotiations—in Brazil as elsewhere, a phenomenon that is both historically deep and of increasing significance.

¹⁵⁵ The range of expressive behaviors indexed by this Jamaican phrase has not yet, to my knowledge, been well described in the scholarly literature. The entry devoted to the phrase in the *Dictionary of Jamaican English* (“throw words: to use bad language; to swear”) only partially captures its meaning (Cassidy and Le Page 442).

¹⁵⁶ Examined more carefully, archival documents also sometimes suggest that the slave-owning class and colonial officials exercised less than complete control over the lives of the enslaved, particularly in contexts revolving around music and dance; for a discussion of the concessions often made to the enslaved in nineteenth-century Bahia despite strict legislation and other repressive measures against celebrations involving African drumming and dance, see Reis (“Batuque: African Drumming and Dance”).

¹⁵⁷ See Hayes on this question.

¹⁵⁸ A similar ideologically driven process of gradual secularization is discussed, and its historiographic implications explored, with reference to the Caribbean Jankunu (Jonkonnu) festival, in Bilby (“More than Met the Eye”) and Bilby (“Surviving Secularization”).

¹⁵⁹ See the very informative study by Figueroa.

¹⁶⁰ See, for instance, his essays in *Música, doce música*.

¹⁶¹ What might thus be characterized as a performance of secrecy is very much in character with the spirit of *Candomblé*, a point taken up below vis-à-vis the question of *jongo*’s spiritual register and Yoruba resonance.

¹⁶² Reily (309) relates that *jongos* were played on three drums, the larger *tambu*, the smaller *candongueiro*, and the *puíta* friction drum; Stein also reports

that a third drum, the “caller” or *candongueiro*, might also be used (Stein, *Vassouras* [1985] 204-09).

¹⁶³ The *jongo* refrain “... if I am not well loved here / In my own land I am ... Because here I cannot stay / I’m going away to Bahia / I’m going to move” (track 73) is evidently that of a singer from Bahia.

¹⁶⁴ In early nineteenth-century Rio, the term “Mina” included people of Ashanti, Fanti, Gbe, Hausa, Nupe, and Yoruba origins. While Mina was an externally attributed rather than an internal self-identification, its popular salience did influence members of the various ethnicities to collectively self-identify as Mina (Reis and Mamigonian 99-100). By the mid-19th century, of course, “mineiro” also referred to natives of Minas Gerais (as in the *jongo* lyrics, tracks 27-29).

¹⁶⁵ Robert Slenes, personal correspondence, 1 August 2011.

¹⁶⁶ Kenneth Bilby notes that “in Afro-Caribbean sacred drum-dance traditions... persons with authority (especially mediums possessed by ancestors or other spirits) often silence the drums in this way for a variety of reasons. I saw this happen time and again, for instance, at Kromanti Play ceremonies among Jamaican Maroons. There it was almost always possessed fete-men [dancers and ritual specialists] who did this; it was considered not just inappropriate, but spiritually dangerous, for others to do this, particularly if a person or persons in possession were dancing at that moment” (Kenneth Bilby, personal correspondence, 21 October 2009).

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¹⁶⁷ It is beyond this essay’s scope, but a closer comparative study of *jongo* in the context of *Candomblé*’s dissemination across Brazil—comparing what is known of *jongo* with *Santería* (especially Changó’s résumé, iconography, luxurious thrones, robes of precious cloth, bejeweled crowns, drums, and dance accoutrements; e.g., Brown)—may place *jongo* in broader diasporic perspective.

¹⁶⁸ Stein also notes the currency of *Saci Pererê*, the trickster, whom he compares with *Legba* (*Exú-Legba* in African-Brazilian cosmology). *Legba*’s counterpart in Cuban *Santería* is *Eleguá*, associated with St. Anthony, the intermediary between the human and the divine (Stein, *Vassouras* [1985] 203-04; Bastide 264; D. Brown 305).

¹⁶⁹ These associations remain fluid, as *orixás* may be identified with different saints at different times and in different locales (Bastide 263).

¹⁷⁰ The Brazilian refrain “*Machado sagrado da justiça que não deixa ninguém nos abater*” expresses popular recognition of the redemptive, justice-wielding powers of Xangô’s fiery thunder-axe, as do such traditional, now popular Brazilian songs as “*Deus de fogo e da justiça*” (e.g., Rodrigues).

¹⁷¹ As Stein notes regarding religion’s practical orientation, slaves “clapped hands and sang as the *quimbandeiro* [diviner] ‘worked’ with certain ‘saints’ to solve

problems, physical and mental.” Moreover, “Fazendas were named after the patron saint of the founder, and ... every fazenda respected its religious sanctuary”; and, “as one aged planter’s wife phrased her religious sentiment: ‘No one can afford to joke with a saint’” (Stein, *Vassouras* [1985] 200-02). These features clearly recall Yoruba traditions, including the admonition regarding the dangerous quality of the saints, common in the lyrics of popular Afro-Cuban music: “*Con los santos no juegues.*”

¹⁷² In *Santería*, each *orisha* is ceremonially invoked in a prescribed sequence via a specific batá rhythm; an ethnomusicological analysis of *jongo* rhythms may thus yield insight vis-à-vis *Santería*’s sacred rhythms and initiatory practices. The rhythms commonly associated with Xangô in Brazil are known as *ilú* and *alujá* (Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion* 234). In Recife, Xangô’s music is played on “a trio of batá drums, such as are also played in Cuba and were formerly believed to have fallen out of use in Brazil. Played on the musician’s lap, these two-headed drums are almost goblet-shaped, with goatskin heads wrapped round hoops and fixed in place by cords or leather thongs laced tightly between the hoops. More widely used are barrel-shaped two-headed drums called *ilús*, played with wooden sticks, and single-headed hand-played drums called *ingomba* (or *ingome* or *ingone*; cf. Kimbindu *mungumba* and *ngoma*, both meaning ‘drum’, as well as the now famous stick-beaten *ingoma* drums of Burundi ...)” (Fryer 21).

¹⁷³ Notably, Vermelho Xangô is a prized Brazilian red granite.

¹⁷⁴ Regarding track 4, Stein relates, “Jongueiros turned to the events of the Thirteenth of May for inspiration, referring to the wavering attitude of the emperor [Pedro=*pedra*] (‘stone’) toward abolition, praising the action of his daughter (‘queen’)” (*Vassouras* [1985] 257, n. 6).

¹⁷⁵ The presence of the “king” and “queen” in Stein’s (*Vassouras* [1985] 206) *jongo* account hints at a possible initiatory element. Fryer relates that “the word *samba*, as well as the dance of that name, [reputedly] derives from the Kikongo word *samba*, meaning originally *the initiation group in which a person becomes competent for political, social and religious functions, and, by extension, the hierarchy of deities*” (Fryer 103, italics added). Edison Carneiro sees *jongo* as antecedent to *samba*, a central motif of contemporary Brazilian popular music; his *Samba de Umbigada* (1961) posits a family of relationships between the various vernacular dance forms enumerated in the book’s subtitle: *tambor de crioula, bambelô, coco, samba de roda, partido alto, samba-lenço, batuque*, and *jongo-caxambu*. Slenes’s work (“*L’arbe Nsanda replanté*”) on community cults of affliction (whose Central African roots he sees as preceding the Afro-Brazilian religions of Macumba and Umbanda that proliferated in the Brazilian Southeast) also seems pertinent. The possibility of West and Central African spiritual-initiatory elements in *jongo* warrants consideration.

¹⁷⁶ As Stein cautions, “The few jongs presumed to date from slave days cannot be held up as a mirror of slave society ... In the first place, they are too few; secondly, the incidents or situations that inspired them have ceased to exist” (*Vassouras* [1985] 207).

¹⁷⁷ Two decades after Stein’s Brazilian fieldwork, Clementina de Jesus (1902–1987, and “discovered” at age 60) would record the very same *jongo* text, part of her repertoire of old *jongos*, *lundus*, and *sambas do partido alto* that until then had been disseminated orally (McGowan and Pessanha 134).

¹⁷⁸ Transcription and notes by Gustavo Pacheco with the collaboration of Robert W. Slenes; lyric and endnote translations by Pedro Meira Monteiro and Michael Stone, with the collaboration of Gustavo Pacheco and Robert W. Slenes. Transcription gaps are indicated by brackets, and tentative interpretations are followed by a question mark. Quotations from Stein are transcribed as they appear in the 1985 edition of *Vassouras*. Dictionaries and other sources consulted by Pacheco and Slenes: Houaiss and Villar; Laman; Assis Júnior; Alves; Le Guennec and Valente; Guthrie (vol. II and IV) using his comparative series of stems and starred radicals, indicated here with asterisks; and Lopes. When Guthrie is the source for Bantu words, diacritical signs are reproduced following Guthrie.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Stein (*Vassouras* [1985] 162): “That devil of a *bembo* taunted me / No time to button my shirt, that devil of a *bembo*.” *Bembo*: cf. kikongo *mbembo*, “voice, proper name (man or woman) = quarrel”; kimbundu *mbembu*, “echo.” Laman’s dictionary gives Mbembo as a proper name and then equates it to “*querelle*.” This meaning comes from *mbembo*, *voix* (voice); *tumbula mbembo* means “élever la voix, parler à haute voix”, which connects with “*querelle*.” Note that *mbembo* (according to Laman from the SB—south bantu—dialect, the dialect of Mbanza Kongo, the capital) also means “tax collector” (*collecteur d’impôts*), someone indeed with whom one might have a quarrel. This is an ancient meaning, already registered in Van Geel’s c. 1652 dictionary of Kikongo compiled by the missionary George de Gheel (Joris van Geel) before his death in 1652 with entries in the original Dutch, with French translations.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Stein (*Vassouras* [1985] 257): “a jongo recounted the surprise which slaves experienced when the happy news was announced: I was sleeping, *Ngoma* called me / Arise people, captivity is over.”

¹⁸¹ *Cangoma* (n.b., *angoma*, the larger drum, carved from a tree trunk, with a single drum skin, used in *jongo-caxambu*): cf. kik./kim. *ngoma* and umb. *ongoma*, “drum,” derived from the proto-Bantu roots *-*gòmà* and *-*òmà*, “drum,” broadly dispersed in Bantu-speaking regions of Africa. In kimbundu, *ka-é* is a diminutive; hence, *kangoma* would be “small drum.” In kikongo, the word can refer to a drum

of one or two heads; in kimbundu, usually it means a (hollowed-out) drum with just one head, like the angoma in Brazil.

¹⁸² *Cativeiro* is commonly used in Brazil as a synonym for slavery.

¹⁸³ See track 67; cf. tracks 59 and 74. Also cf. Stein (*Vassouras* [1985] 257): “Jongueiros turned to the events of the Thirteenth of May for inspiration, referring to the wavering attitude of the emperor (‘stone’) toward abolition, praising the action of his daughter (‘queen’): I stepped on the stone, the stone tottered / The world was twisted, the Queen straightened it.” This is a play on “pedra” (stone) and “Pedro” (Peter) II, the Emperor; the 1888 abolition law was signed (in Pedro’s absence) by Princess Isabel, who would have become “queen” (Pedro had no male heir) if the Empire had continued, something not lost on Afro-Brazilians who for some time looked back nostalgically on the Empire as a more promising period for blacks than the Republic.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Stein (*Vassouras* [1985] 259): “In the first days after emancipation rumor was current of a distribution of small plots of land to the ex-slaves, but nothing ever materialized and the freedmen ‘kept mum,’ according to one of them. Yet this unfulfilled hope found its way into the *jongos* of the *caxambu* disguised in the embittered metaphor developed by African tradition and Brazilian Negro servitude: Ay, she did not give us a chair to sit on / The Queen gave me a bed but no chair to sit on. // *Ahí, não deu banco p’ra nos sentar / Dona Rainha me deu cama, não deu banco p’ra me sentar.*” Also see track 74.

¹⁸⁵ See tracks 12 and 13.

¹⁸⁶ *Pau-pereira*: probably “pau-pereira” (*Geissospermum laeve*) or “Pau-pereira-do-campo” (*Aspidosperma tomentosum*), both trees with wood of excellent quality. The second is also known as “*ipê-peroba*.”

¹⁸⁷ *Pereira*: “pau-pereira”; see previous note.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Stein (*Vassouras* [1985] 208): “The following jongo on the embaúba tree and the planter colonel typifies the double meaning aspect of jongs: With so many trees in the forest / The embaúba is colonel. // *Com tanto pau no mato / Embaúba é coronel.* According to one ex-slave informant, the embaubá was a common tree, useless because it was punky inside. Many planters were known as colonels because they held this rank in the National Guard. By combining the two elements, embaúba and colonel, the slaves turned out the superficially innocuous but biting cynical comment.”

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Stein (*Vassouras* [1985] 257-58): “Bitterness, resignation, and retribution appear in another verse and reflect how deeply slaves had resented the subservience imposed by the master’s authority: In the days of captivity, I endured many an insult / I got up early in the morning, the leather whip beat me for no reason. /

But now I want to see the fellow who shouts to me from the hilltop / 'Say, God bless you master'—no sir, your Negro is a freedman today. // *No tempo do cativo, aturava muito desaforo / Eu levantava de manhã cedo, com cara limpa levo o couro. / Agora quero ver o cidadão que grita no alto do morro / 'Vas Christo,' seu moço, está forro seu negro agora.*"

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Stein (Vassouras [1985] 209): "According to the explanation of an aged ex-slave, the following jongs singled out a slave for informing to his master on his fellow slaves: His tongue is loose, his tongue is loose, / That little bird has a tongue. / Look at that Angola bird with a loose tongue. // *Tem língua leco-leco, tem língua leco-leco, / Passarinho tem língua. / Vaya passarinho d'Angola qu'ê tem língua leco-leco.*"

¹⁹¹ Cf. Stein (Vassouras [1985] 208): "Before the dispute [between planter Joaquim de Souza Breves and his uncle over a piece of land] could be settled the land gave out along with its coffee trees. To which another *jongueiro*, aware of the situation, could answer: Monkey came and the coffee bushes died, / What do we eat now? // *Macaco veio, Macaco veio, cafesaes já morreu, / Comê quê?*"

¹⁹² Cf. Stein (Vassouras [1985] 209): "Many a *jongueiro* substituted the monkey (*macaco*) for the Negro slave when describing repressive measures against slaves." In current Brazilian Portuguese, "*macaco velho*" also means an old, wise fellow, who learned from experience.

¹⁹³ Here "*mineiro*" means "from the state of Minas Gerais." A remote possibility would be that it also means a "miner." The Paraíba Valley in the 19th and early 20th century was literally crawling with muleteers and animal drivers, carrying goods and animals to Rio de Janeiro and especially supplying products from Minas Gerais to the plantations. Most of these muleteers were black and most were slaves. Mining in 19th-century Brazil was largely alluvial (one panned for gold in the streams), and there was, in any case, little of that in the Paraíba Valley. There were some mostly English underground mines, but they were deep in Minas Gerais. As Robert W. Slenes shows in his contribution to this volume, "*tatu*" was a metaphor for master *jongueiro*. A "*tatu mineiro*" would have been understood, first of all, as a *cumba* from Minas Gerais.

¹⁹⁴ See previous note.

¹⁹⁵ See previous note.

¹⁹⁶ *Jamba*: cf. kik./kim. *nzamba*, umb. *onjamba*, "elephant," derived from the root **-jàmbá*, "elephant," widely diffused among western Bantu languages.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Stein (Vassouras [1985] 137): "Pretty little canary, kept in a cage / Why the little chain on your leg, please tell why? // *O canarinho tão bonitinho, que está*

preso na gaiola / P'ra quê correntinha está no pé, p'ra quê?" Stein suggests that this *jongo* could have been inspired by chain-gang work imposed as punishment (*pena de galés*) on inveterate runaways.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Stein (Vassouras [1985] 209): "I don't understand why mama / Keeps playing tricks on papa. / Ramalhete is in harness / Jardim is in the corral. // *Eu não sei que tem mamãe / Anda brincando com papae. / Ramalhete 'tá na canga / Jardim 'tá no curral.*" Stein notes here that "relations between the sexes received attention from slave *jongueiros*. An ex-slave vouchsafed that Ramalhete and Jardim ... refer to a man who leaves in the morning to work with his field gang whereupon another man enters and finds his wife there."

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Stein (Vassouras [1985] 208): "So large a terreiro / Like a big city, / So many famous *jongueiros* / Flee from me. // *Terreiro tamanho / Cidade sem fim / Tanto jongueiro de fama / Corre de mim.*"

²⁰⁰ Cf. track 39.

²⁰¹ Mata-cachorro (literally, "kills dog") is a generical term used for several genera of trees that are toxic to domestic animals, including dogs.

²⁰² *Congonha*: here, probably "aguardente de cana; cachaça [raw white rum]."

²⁰³ Cf. track 4.

²⁰⁴ *Canguro*: cf. kik./kim. *ngulu*, umb. *ongulu* "pig, hog," proto-Bantu root (*-gùdú, "pig, hog"), widely diffused among western Bantu languages; and kim. *kangulu*, "suckling pig" (*ka-*, diminutivo, + *ngulu*). This could be a variant on the *jongo* "tanto pau no mato" (track 12); there's so much food around, but the little guy is starving.

²⁰⁵ *Candimba*: cf. kim. *ndimba*, umb. *ondimba*, "(type of) hare"; and kim. *kandimba* (*ka-*, diminutivo, + *ndimba*) "small rabbit, hare (young male rabbit). In Brazil, the name "candimba" was applied to the "*tapiti*," also known as *coelho do mato* (bush rabbit) or *lebre* (hare). Again, perhaps, one man's "shoulder bag" is another (poorer) man's disgrace.

²⁰⁶ Cf. track 4.

²⁰⁷ Here are the original lyrics of the chant composed by Almirante and Luiz Peixoto and recorded by Gastão Fomenti: "*Sou preto velho / Mas não sou dessa canaia / Meu peito tem três medaia / Que ganhei no Paraguai / Comi na faca / Mais de trinta cangaceiro / E o Antônio Conselheiro / Teve quase vai-não-vai / Pai João, Pai João / Tá contando vantagem / Nego não mente não / Deixa dessas bobagem garotagem / Que eu sou preto de coragem / Sou preto de condição / Sou preto velho / Mas sou um dos veterano / Que ajudou Fuloriano / A tomar Vileganhão / Sou preto velho / Mas agora eu vou ser franco / Eu tô com os cabelo*

branco / De tanta desilusão / Quando era moço / Fiz a Guerra de Canudo / Pra mecê no fim de tudo / Me chamar de Pai João.”

²⁰⁸ “Pai João” is a character that represents the stereotype of the aged slave, somewhat like Uncle Tom in the United States.

²⁰⁹ Probably a reference to an episode of the Revolta da Armada (1894), when forces loyal to President Floriano Peixoto fought and overcame rebels entrenched at the Fortaleza de Villegaignon, at Baía de Guanabara.

²¹⁰ *Mona*: “state provoked by the excessive imbibing of alcoholic beverages; drunkenness, drinking bout.”

²¹¹ Cf. track 4.

²¹² The 13 May 1888 law that abolished slavery was known as the “Lei Áurea,” the golden law; it was signed (ratified) by Princess Isabel, representing her absent father, Emperor Pedro II, after being passed by Parliament.

²¹³ “*Pastora*” is the name given to a woman who sings in a samba school or group.

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