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SUMMARY

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EDITORIAL

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Anthropology, cinema, festivals and rituals, performances, photographs, masks, music, publicity, religiosities. Such is the universe of ethnographic imagination presented in this latest issue of gis. Our project of constructing other places for the textual, visual and acoustic inscription of anthropology is continuing apace, promoting the cohabitation of forms of recording and meaningful practices in an indiscipline typical of productions difficult to fit into pre-existing labels and categories.

Our **ARTICLES** section opens with texts by Inês Ladeira, André Demarchi and Diego Dias, Ruben Caixeta de Queiroz and Renata Otto Diniz, collated in a dossier organized by Paula Morgado based on papers presented at the *Intersecting Gazes* conference. All three texts explore a particular ethnographic density found in practices linked to indigenous audio-visual productions in order to rethink narrow notions of film and cinema.

Recording and composition techniques are reappropriated by the communities studied by these researchers in ways that question and rework the kinds of traits that western societies identify with audio-visual production: the separation between raw footage and edited film, editing itself as a touchstone of cinema, the film as a product rather than a process. Instead, they emphasize its link to rituals and performances as part of the development of actions and gestures whose finality is the act of making itself, whether in the production and/or the circulation of the material recorded by the camera's eye.

In these texts, importance is placed on understanding the proactive role of contemporary indigenous filmmakers who have begun to organize and contest the set of present and future representations of their own cultures, becoming not only artists per se, but also important cultural mediators. As Renato Sztutman emphasizes in his film analysis, which opens the section **GIƵ** and also forms part of the dossier, these subjects assume the production of images and their circulation for purposes not related solely to aesthetics but umbilically connected to political dimensions of their existence. Or to a cinecosmopolitics, as conceived by Caixeta de Queiroz and Otto Diniz.

Next we have two articles that focus on questions of the social imaginary through the visual expressions of contemporary societies. The text by Riccardo Putti returns to the trope of the posthuman via an analytic work that combines the insights offered by the film *Gattaca* and the artworks *Genesis* and *Cypher* by Eduardo Kac. In their article, Camila

Ludovice and Layd Nogueira investigate advertising imagery, setting out from the material produced by the beer company Brahma for the 2014 World Cup, highlighting the potential inventiveness of parodic and dialogical appropriations, effected by diverse subjects through social networks.

The third article, written by Alice Villela, explores the question of the image as a mediatory form through a series of meanings specific to the Asuriní of the Xingu River. The complexity surrounding the conceptions and uses of this visual practice is described to us both historically, through the digression made by the author as she re-examines the pathogenic meaning that marked the first contact of this people with photography, and synchronically, present in the difference in understandings that priest-ethnologists and indigenous people have concerning this production.

Kelen Pessuto's article re-examines themes linked to the deconstruction of methods and the reconfiguration of meanings in audio-visual production through an examination of the work of Portuguese filmmaker Pedro Costa. The director's film making process is brought to light through the notion of bricolage, which, combined with a method of film conception deeply influenced by the punk aesthetic and the DIY (Do It Yourself) slogan, enables visual and acoustic tessituras that – to use the author's words – are more democratic and, through their production process, work with the ideas of the subjects themselves with whom this cinema is made.

Moving on to the next article, while Marcela Vasco discusses photography as visibility, she also problematizes the medium through the empty spaces that compose it and through the points of invisibility and refraction to representation produced by attempts to capture tragedies like the bursting of the Samarco mining company's dam in Bento Rodrigues, a district of the city of Mariana in Minas Gerais. Turning to the reflections of Didi-Huberman, the researcher produces a fertile terrain of practical experimentation with buried and surviving photographs, as she calls them, in order to compose an appraisal of these visual representations that seeks neither to hypertrophy nor to desensitize them.

The play between image and text in the production of ethnographic meanings is also a strategy used by Isabel Penoni in an analysis that, focusing on the *makixi*, ancestors manifest in the form of masked dancers, reveals highly singular relations between the mask morphology and various performative particularities, especially those related to dance styles. Taking as a setting the Luvale International Traditional Festival, the author discusses processes of objectification and commercialization of 'culture,' while at the same time engaging in an ethnographic exploration of the meanings of *makixi*, including their origin in Luvale male circumcision rituals. In so doing, she guides us both textually and visually through a

universe of complex interactions between cultural and symbolic expressions that mobilize, via a singular cosmological consistency, diverse relations between humans, non-humans and diverse expressive forms.

In the section that lends its name to the journal issue, as well as the already mentioned film analysis by Renato Sztutman of the films by the Innu director Réal J. Leblanc and the video *Indian Time* by Carl Morasse, both included as part of the *Intersecting Gazes* dossier, we present the essay by Cristina Rosal on the Portuguese genre *fado*. The author – herself a *fadista* – describes and inscribes with her voice, accompanied by musicians from the Lisbon music scene, various types of fado and their intersections with diverse expressive forms like clothing, performances, dance and music. To read, look and listen.

This section is followed by an audiovisual poetic essay by Carolina Abreu made during Richard Schechner's visit to Brazil. Talks, lectures and seminars by this leading researcher in the anthropology of performance provide the raw material for her film. Completing this series of audio-visual essays, we have the mixture of elements from diverse religious and cultural traditions as a backdrop to the audio-visual inquiry produced by Rui Mourão, an experimental two-screen video on Cuban santería. The confluence of two different framings exposes the spectator to a sensory montage, producing connections beyond the sum of its parts and suggesting alternative forms of managing the play of images obtained in the field.

Thiago Oliveira's photo-ethnographic essay also explores religious images and imaginaries, in this case those related to the Cosme and Damião festivities in the Rio de Janeiro suburbs. The syncretism between Catholicism and Afro-Brazilian religions takes us to churches and to umbanda and candomblé centres, exploring a myriad of practices surrounding the distribution and consumption of sweets, transformed here into ritual offerings, and the active participation of children typical of these festivities.

The photographic work of Alexander Hilsenbeck Filho takes us away from the sanctity of the religious to the minefield of social resistance. Presented in black and white, these photographs were taken at the *I CampArte Festival for Humanity*, held in July 2016, and reveal a series of social situations whose common denominator is the prominent use of balaclavas. Use of this headgear is simultaneously aesthetic and political, allowing an erasure of individuality and an emphasis on the collective meanings of the Zapatista struggle, and impeding the system of recognition and control of these rebels by the State, enabling their social circulation.

The photopoetic essay by Carlos Fadon Vicente concludes our gestures, images and sounds. In his work, images are constructed through details

and subtleties of the urban environment, combining an aesthetic concern and ethnographic ambivalence, a universe of visual meaning more suggested than shown, more sensed than encountered.
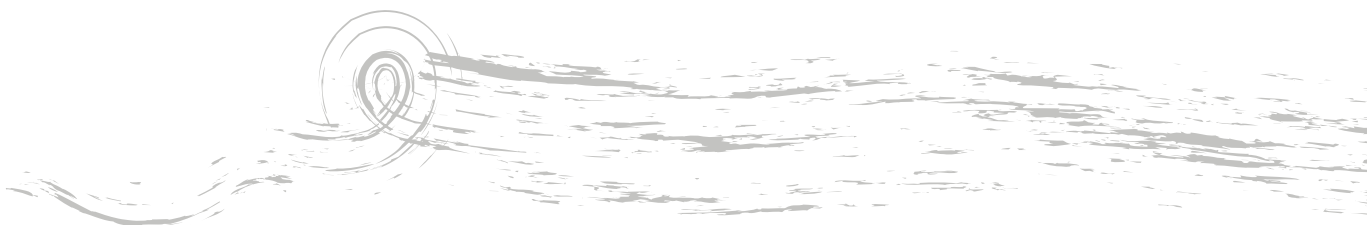
The section devoted to translations, interviews and reviews begins with the previously unpublished Portuguese version of a text by Marilyn Strathern entitled *Gênero de uma perna só* (One-legged gender). In this article, the author articulates premises from Melanesian visual systems, the "particular kinds of display" that enable the emergence of the forms that compose the world, with the gender imaginary that she has so sophisticatedly analysed throughout her work, combining two important fields of contemporary anthropological reflection.

We return to the universe of theatre and performance, this time in interview format, in an immersive dialogue between John Dawsey and Richard Schechner. The themes discussed are as varied as the indisciplinary trajectory of the authors and touch on issues ranging from ethnographic practices and anthropological discussions of ritual, theatre and experience to broader meanings of aesthetic experience and even cave art, Palaeolithic performance, ethology, biology and physics.

The book reviews analyse a diverse set of works addressing questions like the place of the image in anthropological problems (*A experiência da imagem na etnografia*), Brazilian artistic modernism through the work of Anita Malfatti (*De Anita ao museu. O modernismo, da primeira exposição de Anita Malfatti à primeira Bienal*), relations between popular and theatre dance (*Dança popular: espetáculo e devoção*), the cinematic persona of Humphrey Bogart (*Bogart duplo de Bogart: pistas da persona cinematográfica de Humphrey Bogart, 1941-1946*), photography, photographic archives and memory (*O instante incerto*), photography in nineteenth century Brazil (*Fotografia e Império: paisagens para um Brasil moderno*) and contemporaneity and social uncertainty (*O mundo inteiro como lugar estranho*).

Closing the issue, the section FOUND ON THE INTERNET, created in 2017, comprises a discussion in talk-show format between the artist Rafucko and the anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro which provides a critical and humorous reflection on disputes and problems affecting Brazil today.

As can be seen, the thematic diversity and plurality of approaches and the forms of playing with distinct methods and compositions in the creation of an ethnographic imaginary remain the parameter for our editorial work. The essays published here comprise important endeavours to combine texts, images, sounds and other expressive forms in the construction of a mosaic as broad as our aspirations and our desire to experiment.

Universidade de São Paulo,
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PAULA MORGADO DIAS LOPES

PRESENTATION OF THE DOSSIER
INTERSECTING GAZES

The dossier "Intersecting Gazes" contains four articles and a film essay, all of which dialogue with each other closely. These texts were inspired by the seminar "Intersecting Gazes: Brazil/Canada,"[1] held in October 2016 at the USP Department Anthropology and which united image professionals, filmmakers and researchers from Brazil and Quebec (Canada) to discuss collaborative audiovisual experiences in indigenous areas.[2] Joining us were Guarani, Innu, Kayapó and Kuikuro filmmakers. At this meeting we sought

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1 In Portuguese, "Olhares Cruzados: Brazil/Canadá". The partnership arose from the project "*Vers un réseautage international de recherches et de partenariats pour l'empowerment des individus et des communautés autochtones (Canada/Brésil) – 2013-2016*," proposed by the Canadian association *Boîte Rouge* Vif (BRV) of Quebec to the partners Laboratory of Image and Sound in Anthropology (LISA)/USP and the Centro de Trabalho Indigenista (CTI) of São Paulo, each with its own expertise: BRV has worked for years with the Innu indigenous people; the nongovernmental organization CTI/SP has also been dedicated for years to the Guarani cause, while LISA, based at the University of São Paulo, focuses on training and research in the field of audiovisual anthropology. The project employed an extensive team formed by anthropologists, designers, videomakers, filmmakers and young Guarani and Innu collaborators. Two films were produced from this exchange (one in Brazil and the other in Quebec, based on recordings made in two Innu indigenous communities from the North Coast of Quebec, *Ekuan-itshit*, and in the Guarani village *Koenju* in the State of Rio Grande do Sul) as well as the seminar "Intersecting Gazes." Both film and seminar had the goal of sharing intercultural reflections and the processes of cinematographic creation involved in this work.

2 The roundtables are available at: http://lisa.fflch.usp.br/node/169

to share intercultural reflections and the processes of cinematographic creation between indigenous filmmakers and researchers, who tackled contemporary issues like indigenous protagonism, shared production, art, anthropology and politics.

Inspired by the thought-provoking discussions at the seminar, we invited other colleagues from Brazil and Quebec to participate in this dossier. The themes of cultural transmission, cinema, protagonism, shared production, mediation, politics and interdisciplinarity pervade the five works in this dossier and incite us to think about the contemporary paths traced by indigenous communities and the role of anthropology.

We open the dossier with the article by **Inês Ladeira**, coordinator of the CTI and partner in the Canadian project. In her text "Images, memories and mediators: swapped gazes from North to South," the author takes us deep into the universe of contemporary Guarani cinema. She highlights the active role of the new Guarani filmmakers in an effort to evaluate the images that circulate internally (in the villages) and externally (in the cities) thanks to new technologies. More than just artists, these youths are mediators committed to the collective. As Ladeira says, images are "guardians of memories," propelling new histories and also reiterating indigenous values. As she demonstrates, in the present period with its maximum reproducibility, modifications occur in the use and circulation of images, whose importance is ratified by the elders. Beyond the expansion in the circuits of communication, aesthetic body changes are also taking place, accompanied by a new cult of physical appearance. Nevertheless, what is at stake is less the search for aesthetic visibility and more a desire to make visible the harsh realities lived by these indigenous peoples.

The article by **Andre Demarchi** and **Diego Madi** dissects the relationship between the visual elements and rituals of the Mebêngôkre (Kayapó) villages. As well as discussing the circuits of images, the authors seek to answer the question why, from the viewpoint of this group, rituals comprise the most highly valued material for filming. Their analysis is based around the "Mebêngôkre Culture Documentation Project," developed by the authors from 2009 to 2015 in collaboration with the Museu do Índio of Rio de Janeiro. In the authors' view, the film-rituals reveal an aesthetic and relational choice. At the same time they possess a synchronic dimension, at the level of circulation, of immediate consumption and also reveal a diachronic dimension, whose "visual project is turned to the future." As they show in detail, "the relationship between video, performance and culture finds is most intense expression in these kinds of filming-rituals."

The third article by **Ruben Caixeta de Queiroz** and **Renata Otto Diniz** also transits in the field of ritual and film, this time among the Max-akali. According to the author, this relation only becomes comprehensible if we understand its "logic and strategy." Differently to the analysis developed by Demarchi and Dias, here a new element is introduced: the historical dimension. The challenge is to articulate the three layers of this reflection: to understand how in Maxakali indigenous cinema the fields of history, cosmology and ritual are interwoven, how ritual can be comprehended through the cinema that they produce, and, finally, how one transforms into the other or one transforms the other.

Taking the form of a film analysis, the fourth text is presented by **Renato Sztutman** who, like André Demarchi and Inês Ladeira, participated in the encounter "Crossed Gazes" at USP.[3] At the event, Sztutman was highly impressed by the aesthetic potency of the films made by Réal Leblanc, from the Innu people, presented in the seminar *Intersecting Gazes*. Inspired by Réal's film-poems, the author provides an immersion in this cinematic universe, revealing how aesthetics and politics are indissociable. Pursuing a detailed film analysis, the author concludes that the "poetry is found not only in the text but also in the visual discourse, in the capacity of the filmmaker to compose images and lead us to aesthetics as politics."

Finally, the fifth work is the film "Indian Time," by Carl Morasse, a member of the BRV association of Quebec, the institution behind the "Crossed Gazes" project. His work closes our dossier and, at the same time, synthesizes the interdisciplinary exchanges maintained between university and indigenous institutions, taking his work with the BRV as a baseline. Through this film, the readers, especially those from South America, have the chance to explore a universe little known to this public, the indigenous universe of Quebec. In this work the author allows us to hear the voice of the native people and appreciate their artistic creation, situated on the border of what we call an auteur film and a documentary.

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3 Renato participated in the seminar "Intersecting Gazes" on the roundtable "Indigenous cinema: mediation and politics." On this occasion he discussed the political and mediating roles of the new indigenous filmmakers, exploring their cinematic productions inside and outside their community, deepening the debate on the different receptions of this production, its relation to the discourses of indigenous leaders and its mediating role between the community and the outside world.

PAULA MORGADO DIAS LOPES

has a PhD in Social Anthropology from the *Universidade de São Paulo* (2004) and a postdoctorate in visual anthropology from the *Université Laval*/QC (2009). Since 1991 she has worked at the Laboratory of Image and Sound in Anthropology (LISA) at USP as a superior-level specialist technician in the areas of documentation, production and curatorship of academic events and exchanges. Since 2006 she has developed studies on the relation between anthropology, cinema and new media, focusing on Brazilian indigenous groups, as well as investigating the audiovisual collections deposited in academic institutions. She is a member of GRA-VI (Visual Anthropology Group) at USP, CIÉRA (Centre interuniversitaire d'études et recherches autochtones, Laval University, Quebec) and the Brazilian Association of Anthropology (ABA).

ARTICLES

Centro de Trabalho Indigenista, São Paulo, Brazil.

MARIA INÊS LADEIRA

IMAGES, MEMORIES AND MEDIATORS: EXCHANGED VISIONS FROM NORTH TO SOUTH DOSSIER INTERSECTING GAZES

ABSTRACT

The access and domain of digital audio-visual technologies have enlarged the Guaranis' conceptions on the capture of their personal images, instituting the image of the indigenous movie maker, who gains an active role in the creation of their history's future. The present text tackles some senses indicated by the Guaranis concerning reproduction, utility and circulation of images and information throughout the communities and cities, concerning their own considerations on their role as mediators and their relation with the movie making process and equipment. Comments from the Guaranis and Innu movie-makers who participated in the partnership project and audio-visual exchange between the institutions La Boite Rouge vif (BRV), Centro de Trabalho Indigenista (CTI) and Laboratorio de Imagem e Som em Antropologia from the University of Sao Paulo (LISA/USP) were also included.

INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of my work and research with the Guarani, I have noticed the reactions that photography, or better, the pictures produced in the indigenous and how they circulated among houses and relatives. The arrival of audio-visual technologies, especially of digital means, determined new forms of communication that were adopted by the indigenous, enlarging the transmission of knowledge and news through communities and distant places, including the speeches and narratives with the fullest eloquence of their oral expression. The daily use of image caption and reproduction, from paper to digital media, outfits itself in new meanings and brings about reflections on the future of their memory[1].

The present text contemplates the relationship of the indigenous with audio-visual records and is constituted by the reflections and recollections derived from my professional experience at the *Centro de Trabalho Indigenista*, by means of which I had the opportunity of following, in different occasions, the photographic and movie records in Guarani villages in South and Southeast of Brazil. I intermixed in the collection of the notes some comments of the indigenous who participated in the project 'Exchanged visions: Audio-visual exchange between the Guarani and Innu nations', carried out through a partnership between La Boite Rouge vif (BRv), from Québec, Canada, *Centro de Trabalho Indigenista* (CTI), *Laboratorio de Imagem e Som em Antropologia da Universidade de Sao Paulo* (LISA/USP), from Brasil, guarani artists (Rio Grande do Sul)

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1 People of artistic tradition whose replication of forms are governed by their own canons, the Guarani seem to ascribe to the replication technologies the purpose of directly reinventing the "original": the person, his actions and his environment. Several aspects on the relationship of the indigenous with photography and the audiovisual remind me of the famous essay by Walter Benjamin "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction", released in 1936 and that, albeit conceived in another era of technologies of reproduction, remains current. Although founding the notions of authenticity, aura, originality etc under the parameters stemming from the western artistic tradition, particularly the pictorial one, the author's approach on the technical reproduction, especially the photography, "kernel of cinema", calls for new readings and reverberates in fascination and in the possibilities that it creates within the indigenous, the copy/imitation and exhibition of its image. among so many others, I quote the following excerpt from Benjamin's essay that I believe to be pertinent: "(...) In the case of photography, it is possible to highlight aspects from the original that escape from the eye and are just apprehensible by objective lens that floats freely to obtain several angles of vision; (...) Simultaneously, the technic may lead to the reproduction of situations, where the original itself will never be found". (highlights by me).

and innu artists (Quebec, Canada), from 2014 to 2016[2]. It is worth noticing that such project was the cause of the present article.

The experience I have with cinema is practically restricted to my condition of a cinema fan, keeping me away from the academic debate concerning the relationship between cinema and anthropology – which renews and recycles itself in the same proportion it deepens the indigenous audio-visual productions. As a matter of fact, more and more the indigenous with access to digital technology move themselves to behind the cameras, connecting to the role of observed the role of observer.

I would like to emphasize that many other questions with large cosmological resonance, which appear in some passages, concerning the production, reproduction and contemplation of images – more than its creation – that provide meaning and value to the art of 'imitation', will not be discussed within the limits of the present article.

WHEN THIS CONVERSATION DOES START – SOME MEMORIES

At the end of the 1970's and 1980's, in communities in São Paulo, the photographic film already intrigued the Guarani for its capacity of keeping and hiding their souls and bodies in a rolled-up fashion. In the occasion of enlarged pictures being presented, new surprises appeared when the Guarani faced themselves standing motionless on the day of the photo session; pictures were able to stop time, and for that, they came to be memory keepers, versatile witnesses on which they could add movements and freely conceive versions of movements and captioned happenings, in step with memories, volatile, fluid and renewable. And, upon showing them, they shared events and added other characters and passages.

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2 Due to the format of the project and the material conditions that did not make possible the joint participation of the team in all the phases, the perceptions on the work processes have been very diversified. In that sense, the comments presented herein come from a very partial vision derived from my very limited participation in the filming process and from the observations from the indigenous artists, mainly the ones from Brazil, which have been gathered during the joint activities. The project found an end in the "Transdisciplinarity Seminar": anthropology, art and cinema, between the 17th and the 19th of October 2016 in the University of São Paulo, upon the participation of indigenous cinema makers, researchers, professors and the team of "Crossed Visions" (*Regards Croisés*). At that time, the videos produced in Innu and Guarani territories have been shown and, in an ample debate, indigenous cinema makers from different nations have exhibited and commented about their movies.

figure 1
For this ordered photo, the father, Jose Fernandes, then chief of the Barragem community, in Sao Paulo, dressed up, and the son, posing as if they were to leave or get home from a trip, in 1980. Photo: Inês Ladeira

Even if photography needed other apparatus – revealing and enlarging labs – to come up with materialities and immaterialities hidden in film boxes, photographic and analogic video cameras assigned enchantment powers to those who operated them. It was not without reason that a *xamoi*[3] in a festive celebration, at the Palmeirinha community in 1980, in the state of Paraná, did not allow a young leader, revolted by the unauthorised recordation, to destroy the film nor the photographer's camera, which contained the footage taken. After the incident, he revealed that without disenchanting himself from the film – avoiding his own revelation – his 'soul' would be endangered.

Although the photographic camera had already been used since 1970 in some Guarani villages, its use would only become more socially widened in the following decades. The records were made, at first, almost exclusively by some men, in the occasion of journeys to visit relatives that lived in distant communities, so that they could show such records to those who had stayed behind. Despite the variety of cameras at affordable prices in the market — dispensable and non-durable, which are characteristics of things produced by the *jurua* - the non-indigenous — the development of photos, that is, their revelation/enlargement, was expensive and the stores that provided this kind of service were far distant from the communities.

As far as the ephemeral quality or the low durability of the *jurua* things, issue that permeates the elderly speeches in their analysis and prophecies about the terrestrial world[4], Ariel, a young Guarani movie maker, recently commented — during the evaluation of the 'Intersecting Gazes' project, referred to in the present article — how the elderly conformed themselves

3 *Tamõi* and *jaryi*, respectively, grandfather, elderly, wise old man and grandmother, elderly, wise old woman, or spiritual guide. The particle xe at the beginning – *xeramõi* or *xamõi* and *xejaryi* - indicates the possessive pronoun in the first person of the singular tense, but, in its ordinary daily use, it does not imply exclusivity.

4 In opposition to the divinity dwelling (Nhanderu Kuéry), Yvy marã'ey, where everything gets eternal upon the renovation of the cycles. I herein make a simplified reference to this conception, which variables have been contemplated in the ethnographic literature from Nimuendaju.

with the technological innovations. According to him, the *xamoi* and *xejaryi* know about the interest of the younger ones with 'passing things', non-durable, produced by the non-indigenous, such as electronic devices, but they also know that, in the same way as non-durable things in this world, this feeling of attachment to them is also ephemeral, inconstant. Furthermore, Ariel states that, due to the strong Guarani spirituality, the young ones that have distanced themselves from the village lifestyle, hence approaching the 'white' lifestyle, 'tend to always come back', or to reintegrate themselves, despite their new baggage, to the Guarani systems and lifestyle.

MIRROR

In Pindoty village, in the state of São Paulo, *xamoi* Luis tells that, back in 1930, 1940, the first images he saw of his face were those reflected in the river waters. At dawn, when he went to wash his face or bathe, he would enjoy looking at himself in those waters, which movements and brightness modified his complexions. He would look himself sideway and front faced, playing with the distorted images in the water movements. He was already married when he first looked at himself on a mirror and could recognise, in the first photograph taken by a photographer in a village square, the place where he sold his artisanal work. The photographer told him he thought he was handsome and said he would like to put a 3x4 photograph of him on his picture gallery to attract customers. Mr Luis said he would not pay for that, that he would only accept it if it were for free. The photographer agreed and then gave him two pictures, for which Mr Luis did not care very much, and which he lost, after putting it in his wallet. Afterwards, he had to take his photo again for a document and once again did not enjoy seeing only his face indented.

In the 1970's and 1980's, because I had a photographic camera and the trust of the community, I was asked to take 'posed' pictures of families and children, so that they could display them, whenever they had an opportunity, to their relatives from distant communities (that was how I realised how extensive the Guarani territory is). I recall how the children cried copiously when they saw a camera pointed at them (nowadays, in those same villages, they pose and play around the camera) and how the elderly covered their faces, disturbed. Definitely, they did not enjoy spontaneous photograph. In this job, I was summoned to photograph them full body, that is, with hands, feet and head, mouth closed and without laughter (in vain I tried to capture spontaneous laughter, because when detected the camera, immediately their mouths were shut down). Without these attributes, the photo had no use. Several times, when preferring the half body pictures, in which their facial expressions and looks were enlightened, I insisted in this approach with cuts and zooming, however, those remained as a memory for me, ethnographer and amateur photographer that was not subjected to the divine sanctions.

This understanding about the corporal image exposure was not exclusive to the São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro's communities, which I visited the most in those days. When encountered with one of the first video records about a well-known spiritual leader's speech, the Guarani of Boa Esperança's community, in Espirito Santo, found themselves worried and scared with their prophet's head moving by itself in black and white colours, from side to side of the screen. Fortunately, this record from the 1980's was kept[5].

Recently, in Tenonde Porã's village, in São Paulo, a *xamõi* said that, until today, he does not enjoy taking photographs of himself, because they keep their image still, imprisoning it. In what concerns videos, for my

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5 It has been kept, of course, by the camera man, Andrea Tonacci who, shortly before passing away, had realized the documentary value, and, for the indigenous, also sentimental worth, of his initial video works, and distributed copies of the material in some Guarani communities. I would dare say that, in a figurative sense, such vídeo is nowadays a *cult* among the Guarani, mainly because of its antiquity and the memory of the famous *xejaryi*.

surprise, he affirmed to like it and felt very much at ease, because, according to his reasoning, `my body moves and everybody sees my words and my body in motion, which strolls, walks together for everyone, and all of them see me and listen to me from wherever they are`. Nonetheless, he said to prefer it when he appears full body on the screen, when they do not indent his body and his words, but understands and accepts that the camera has its own dynamic of movement[6].

THE APPROPRIATION OF AUDIO VISUAL TECHNIQUES AND THE USE OF IMAGES AMONG THE GUARANI – SOME CONSIDERATIONS

The use of video equipment and movie language appropriation among the indigenous populations are relatively recent and restricted, such for its large amount of different populations[7] that live in varied socio-economic and environmental context, as for the historical colonisation process, which are still ongoing. Thus, in Brazil, the indigenous experiences with audio-visual media are deeply varied.

Amongst the Guarani population, whose traditional occupied territory is extended by a large geographical space[8], the relations and ways of commu-

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6 During a meeting in the mentioned village, when some demonstrations, speeches, chants and dancing videos were presented, I kept a parallel conversation with this sir, that appears in several of them, because I was interested in his personal evaluation and in his feelings, having noted his words.

7 In accordance with the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística - IBGE's census in 2010 there were 896.917 indigenous in Brazil (324,834 in urban areas and 572.083 in rural areas), which corresponds to around 0,47% of the total population of the country. It has been estimated by the Institute around 305 ethnic groups and 274 languages.

8 Over the territory occupied by the Guarani the boundaries of the national states have been installed - Brazil, Argentina, Paraguai, Uruguai and Bolívia. The fragmentation of this ample territory arisen out of the historical processes of colonization of South America – wars, territorial disputes, jesuit missions, pioneering, community formation, forced integration, reserve confinement etc - has provoked the annihilation of thousands of sites and Guarani clusters, thus impacting the dynamic of mobility of such people. It is possible to mention that it is about the people which territory of historical occupation there has been the larger number of political-administrative divisions corresponding to each of the national states. Nowadays, a total of approximately 1.416 communities or family clusters spread over this large portion of the Continent host around 280 thousand people. In Brazil, between the years of 2012 and 2015, according to the official data and information gathering of the team that elaborated the Continental Guarani Map journal, formed by professionals from indigenist organizations from the countries that permeate the guarani territory, a population of 85.255 people were estimated in 11 states. For the Guarani Mbya the notion of territory is associated to the concept of *Yvyrupa* (*yvy*: earth; *tupa*: bed, seat) that pressuposes a cosmologic order of the indivisible Earth in its essence where the dwelling are (*tata'ypy re* = place where to lit the fire) and communication

nication with the surrounding society is much variable between individuals and even between family clusters. Meanwhile, some, especially the current political leaderships, maintain a continuous relationship with some sectors of civil society and government institutions and express themselves without any difficulty with the national language, expressing themselves through the media and in the public space in defence of their people's rights, a considerable part, without mastering the official language, have their discursive and political expressions oriented towards their own communication and interaction media, constituting socio-political relations internally, that is, in what concerns the constitution of relatives.

The presence and expansion of new media in the villages involve questions concerning the communication between people, the diffusion of ideas, and, foremost, the emergency of production and exposition of individual images in social media. Undoubtedly, for the young indigenous, the access to these media results in the enlargement of their communication circuits through those they communicate, in many villages and cities, individualised/particularised characters (in contrast to the leadership images that are projected as 'public' people, that is, as mediators of social common interests). A brief parenthesis is due to mention the veiled critic of a *xamoi* about the exaggerated use of clothes, ornaments and hair colouring by the young ones – in other words, to dress up to the image of the *jurua* (non indigenous), and as such to represent themselves through social media. He said, furthermore, that in past days, the cult of physical appearance was not seen with good eyes. Physical appearance should not overshadow the soul, for it would become weakened. The body should be 'clean' so it would not outshine the soul, so the person – body and soul – could appear simultaneously, keeping the soul from dissociating or getting lost.

Due to the extensive use of social media mostly among the youngsters, especially *Facebook*, this form of communication and expression attains its own characteristic that has become object and source of several researches. However, what I observe is that, amongst the Guarani, the circulation of news from relatives and information in a general sense, including the

and continuity links are created with Nhanderu retã, divine regents' dwelling (...). Earth surface without national or political-administrative boundaries that contain all the species diversity, the habits and customs, models and traditions. Notwithstanding the critical agricultural estate they live in due to the minimal extensions of available land, one can consider that the Guarani preserve, in general, a peculiar standard of usage of the space that prioritizes the extension of the geographic territory, that is, an amplitude of its terrestrial world. Such a territorial conception that prioritizes the whole area, so necessary for the upkeeping of their systems and their dynamic becomes explicit when, albeit the claims to guarantee the land they occupy, the preservation of the configuration of their ample territory prevails, so necessary for the practice of their moves and their freedom (Ladeira, 2008 [2001]).

relationships with the *jurua*, has not supressed their own communication means and social and environmental interaction – which operates in visitations, dreams, rituals, and other medium – that have been interacting with new technologies in a ground-breaking manner.

The situation of indigenous people in Brazil, marked by territorial conflicts, and particularly the Guarani, who have for their own use very small portions of land for the reproduction of their way of life (and there is still a long and difficult way to go to guaranteeing the official recognition of their historical and territorial rights), is also and foremost communicated in political manifestations and by the mobilisation of their representative organisations. It comes to sight the varied range of influences and new mediations provoked and infused by the variable technological devices. In its majority, the records produced in video by the indigenous show intensively, and especially, an opposite situation to the confinement and disrespectful polices of constitutional rights, and to the stream of news, in a general way stigmatised and biased, about the indigenous populations, publicised by great media companies.

Notwhithstaning the long history of ethnographical cinema in Brazil, it was only in the 1980`s, with video and movie-making formation workshops for indigenous (then called *videomakers*) [9], that the first indigenous productions came through, multiplied by the new technologies and digital equipment, making them more accessible recording and edition wise. It has become usual in the latest decades the growing expression of the production of indigenous cinema makers within the national cinema, diffused in significant ethnographical material that have aroused researches and specialised literature[10].

The videos produced by non-indigenous movie makers, such as articles and ethnographic records, many of them already with the collaboration of indigenous, especially those about rituals, in the 1980's and 1990's, instigated the indigenous to produce the scripts, scenography, images and the editing of their own movies[11].

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9 Promoted in a more intesive manner from 2000 onwards, though projects by the pioneer Video nas Aldeias, CTI, Pontos de Cultura e IPHAN – MINC – National Institute of Historical and Artistical Patrimony/Culture Ministery, among other intiatives.

10 In "Indigenous movies in Brazil: course, narratives and vicissitudes" (2016), the authors Nadja Marin and Paula Morgado present a thorough and commented retrospective about the production and new opened paths by the movies produced by the indigenous in the past 30 years, among movies till then produced about the indigenous populations, at times idealized and distorted, at times innovating.

11 The "passing" processes of the indigenous's filming techniques were inserted in the framework of the Video nas Aldeias's project, that in the 1980s and 1990s, were integrated

In what concerns the indigenous populations that live in situations of intense territorial conflicts, the audio-visual appropriation rapidly impressed a more effective form of claim and struggle instrument for the conquest of territorial and social rights. However, according to the comment of the Guarani photographer, Vhera Poty, during a meeting of the project "Exchanged visions", the act of propagating the political struggles through audio-visual medias can go much further by giving visibility also to the "indigenous values, such as spirituality and the richness of traditional activities". And, in his understanding, it is the indigenous cineaste, as a mediator, who will translate these values. In this direction, Patricia Ferreira emphasized the importance of the indigenous being the movie makers and documentarists in their communities, because the 'knowledge of the elderly cannot be, in many occasions, properly transmitted to the non- indigenous'. As a movie maker, Patricia points out the possibility she has of taking the elderly`s messages 'without mediations and without misguided interpretations'[12]. From that point of view, it comes in hand to add that, in an ideal situation, in the selection and editing process of the raw material – ethnographical records of daily activities and rituals, for instance – the decisions about what, who and when to show, what can and must be translated, the time of the words, in which places to propagate the films must be consensual. And, foremost, the authorisation of the *xamoi*.

It is common for different movies to arise from the same sequence or ensemble of images recorded. Short montages, to avoid tiring the non-indigenous public, and, to simultaneously catch their attention, by showcasing their `culture`[13], more accordingly to traditional story telling rhythm

with CTI. In this period, anterior to the emphasis given to the *videomakers* formation's workshops, the project promoted a series of audio visual exchanges among indigenous populations. The indigenous participated actively in the realisation of the videos, among which the commented: *The lady's party*, Carelli, 1987; *The TV's spirit*, Carelli and Gallois, 1990; *Free mouth in Sararé*, Carelli, Longobardi, Valadão, 1992; *The Zo'e's Arch*, Gallois and Carelli, 1993; *I was already you brother*, Carelli,1993; *Sign doesn't speak*, Carelli and Gallois, 1996; *Yãkwá, The spirit's feast*, Virgínia Valadão, 1995.

12 Vhera Poty (photographer) and Patricia Ferreira (cineaste) are Guarani artists who participated in the "Exchanged Visions" project. This talk took place in Quebec, in a meeting to shape the lines of the movie to be produced by the audiovisual exchange project between artists from the Innu and Guarani nations. A brief compilation of impressions and reflections deriving from the visits to the innu territory are contained in the travel report to Québec. Centro de Trabalho Indigenista (CTI), 2014.

13 The conscience of an own culture constitutes a relational phenomenon, emerges from alterity relations, in which the performatic exhibition of elements imbued with new meanings, even stereotyped ones, in the indigenous behalf, compose their political instrumental as subjects with historial and territorial rights. I evoke here the referential work of

(sometimes even advertising) of conventional cinema, an impacting imitation, to circulate in festivals. In a concomitant manner, productions of movies made to circulate in different circuits thrive, as those directed especially to the audience in the communities, with longer duration, foremost without the cutting editions of the ritual speeches, introducing scenes with bigger plans where people are recognized and met, contributing to a refreshment of memories and of longing of relatives. With a strong appeal of affection, the films go way beyond their utilitarian function as depositary and transmitter of knowledge to the new generations. Nowadays, both modalities produced by the indigenous movie makers have strong repercussion in the interior of communities.

Wera Alexandre`s *Guaraka`i ja* – The otter`s owner (2012) movie goes even further on these premises. Accomplishing the task of elaborating an audio visual for a project for Comissão Guarani Yvyrupa (CGY), in Pinhal community, Paraná, Wera encountered a situation that pulled him from the project, leading him inside the cinema world. He captured in the *Opy* (ritual house) the purification ritual of a young and unadvised hunter and his hunt, ethnographing, with involvement, the practice, speech and feelings. Shortly after, in a community in São Paulo, talking to a *xeramoi*, I asked him if he had enjoyed the movie, presented in movie festivals, and if he agreed that the scenes were broadcast to the *jurua*. He said "yes!", and added how he had enjoyed the movie, but that it missed a part: a scene of the hunter taking his hunt from the trap. And, even though he knew the movie maker had not witnessed the moment, he insisted that, after filming what he had in fact witnessed, he should have reconstructed the trap scene and put it in the beginning of the movie, so that `everybody` could understand better the happening.

As the cameras are adapted and the techniques and movie language are mastered, the indigenous movie makers are seduced by the cinema potential of converting, in a circular perspective, the documentary into fiction and vice-versa, highlighting the inseparability and simultaneity proper of the cinematographic language. As there are no boundaries between fiction and documentary, so it happens in ethnographic movies, where there are no limits between the real and the imaginary[14]. With that said, by mastering the

Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, Culture with Quotation Marks (2009), by using the same typographic resource for the remission of the discussion about the terms culture and "culture" 14 In the article "Etnofiction: a bridge among frontiers", by Alexandrine Boudreault-Fournier, Sylvia Caiuby Novaes and Rose Satiko Gitirana Hikiji (2016), the authors are inspired by Jean Rouche's cinema to weave a careful approach and critic about the alluded distinctions and borders between fiction and documentary. From their experience with etnofiction and shared anthropolgy in the realisation of a short movie, *Fabrik Funk*, they deepen the fiction's specificities in literature and cinema, seeking a better understandment about the

audio visual, the indigenous movie makers inferred other intentions of their look towards the camera, putting themselves as characters and narrators of their films. At the same time, the mythical narratives occur in a privileged place in their cinema. From a cosmological perspective, attributing forms, colours, sounds and words to their mythical characters, the indigenous cineastes point out their properties of illusion, hence, becoming themselves `owners` of an illusion that the cinema propitiates. Tuned with this cinema logic, the mythical characters deceive and are deceived. Being the misdirection, the imitation and thematic illusions constitutive of mythical narratives, its persuasive power, transferred from cinema to the indigenous movie maker, transforms him, in its creative process, also into a mythical character, that transcends the worlds and the arts of the non-indigenous. Ariel, talking about his new film in progress[15], says that the `Guarani, in communities in general, enjoy fiction a lot and to tell stories that the non-indigenous consider myth, while for us is history, there are a lot of things that to show how they are, only fiction can showcase, where documentary have no value'[16].

Another aspect that calls attention on the movies the Guarani have been producing in their trips is that such movies acquire repeatedly a reporting characteristic, as they narrate the experience, comment their impressions, and show themselves in unknown places by those who will watch them on the communities, and to whom they clearly are directed. In these films, in which the Guarani place themselves as reporter-actors and messengers, it is clear the ease in which this protagonism occurs and how they perform with great aplomb such roles.

Although not deepening the analysis about these productions, I mention an example in which I participated throughout the whole process. *Jaguata Pyau – the earth on where we step* (CTI, 1998), resulted from the records of a trip made by spiritual leaderships, *xamoi* and *jaryi*, from communities of the coast of Brazil to communities located in Argentina and Paraguay, in January 1997. The script was the trip`s route, with all the unexpected situations and obstacles, and in tow went the camera. The first records embarrassed and even made silent the interviewees, by the improper questions and by their disarmed exposure in front of the jurua`s camera. During the days that followed, the guarani visitors, already with

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“possibilities of etnofiction as a narrative strategy for anthropologits to make movies”.

15 In a speech on the Seminar “Transdisciplinarity in focus: anthropology, art and cinema” 2016, USP.

16 To put oneself as an actor in the role of a mythic being is an attraction for the indigenous. One of these movies, *Manoá – The Legend of the Jaws*, from the 1990s, features Carlos Papá Miri Poty as leading figure. Guarani actors act in several films versed in mythical narratives, directed or not by guarani movie makers. Also the elaborate criation process of the awarded *Secrets of the Forest*, by Gallois and Carelli, 1998, about tales of canibal monsters involved the Wajapi in the costume and scenography areas, as well as in the narration and acting parts..

their microphone and recording devices in hand, conducted the scenes, expressed themselves with words of their sacred repertory, showed places and people they re-encountered and made public to their audience in the respective communities the "important things they saw" [17].

Recently, in the movie produced throughout the project "Intersecting Gazes" by the Brazilian movie makers team, I observed the same journalistic ton about the experience, in the visual description of the food and in the explanations about what they saw and met, concerning the Innu nation. It seemed to me, that, with this movie, they were demonstrating, proving, to their communities what they did in foreign lands. Interesting to notice that the soundtrack chosen by the Brazilian team is a beautiful Innu song that permeates all scenes in Canada and even in Brazil, in the guarani communities, where they had not recorded any known children chants. In many aspects, they chose to show what was "different", adding, more than contrasting, in the same edition, different contexts in which live these populations, what gave a particular aesthetics to this audio-visual exchange. In the other hand, in the records from the Canadian team, it seems to prevail a more testimonial, personal ton, from the innu movie maker Waubnasse, while captioning the daily life in the guarani villages. We must consider that this filming experience, as pointed out by the teams, was executed under several conditioners – time, resources, structures, weather – that show throughout the movies.

figure 5
Vhera Poty Benites photographs in Betsiamites, Quebec, Canada – Oct. 13, 2014. Photo: Inês Ladeira.

17 For them, the motivation for this journey was to participate in rituals conducted by the *xamõi* of the visited villages and to boost the philosophical discussions among their wised ones about the destiny of "this Earth", in face of the distruction of forests, promoted by the non-indigenous (*etava'ekuéry*, that are many). The emotional report of Mrs. Aurora, with recorder device in hand, walking through the Trinidad's ruins, in Paraguay, was striking. Due to the long speeches, the editing work was intense and collectively executed by two guarani travalers, to preserve its contents.

PARTNERSHIP BUILDING EXPERIENCE, PARTNERSHIP FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A PROJECT

The different ways and fields of acting and expertise of the members of BRV, CTI and LISA, in the cinema, art and anthropology areas, were articulated by the building of a partnership. To BRV, proponent of the project, the exchange of experiences and the intersection of different domains of knowledge, including guarani artists from Brazil and the innu artists from Canada, could be used in a complementary way in the creation of an artistic project, reflecting its transdisciplinary character, aiming at the transmission of knowledges and competences between universities, indigenous communities and cultural and research institutes.

It wasn't, however, without some initial concern that CTI received the proposal to participate in a partnership project between institutions that, despite their research history on knowledge, arts, interests and rights of the indigenous/autochthone populations[18], have different fields and line of actions. Likewise, there were different perspectives and expectations concerning the process and results of an exchange work involving indigenous and autochthone artists, whose territories are located in distant regions, in the extreme north and south of the American continent.

18 The terms autochthones and indigenous are used without discrimination of the historical and social processes by which each of these generical designations were diffused, respectively, in Canada and Brazil, and were adopted as a differentiation mark, by the people that reside in the territories situated in the extreme north and south of the american continent, since before the arrival of the europeans.

Even though the physical distance to put in practice an artistic exchange among the guarani and innu could be overcome by digital means, the relative contrasts of lifestyles and artistic expressions of both populations, the environment and the political and socio economical contexts in which each indigenous land were inserted in Brazil and Canada were considerable. The project`s proposal seemed somewhat formal, more relatable to the operational mechanic of mediator entities than to the indigenous own initiatives. However, to all of those involved, the project meant a challenge and a unique opportunity to observe, through the `vision exchange` and the dialogue in the artistic and shared creation process, that, even though the alterities were manifested in multiple manners, it was possible to find convergence.

During the discussions about the proposition of the project, the guarani movie makers said that, more than making visible their artistic expressions, what mattered was giving visibility to the realities of the Innu and Guarani people through their own visions[19]. This attitude, they affirmed, concerned compromise, from their audio visual training to the use of camera as a tool in service to communal interests and necessities. And it was in this sense they sought to highlight and discuss the role of the indigenous movie makers as mediators of their community on the transmission, to others, of images and sounds that reflected their expressions, knowledges and informations, according to their own criteria and vision of the world. It seemed to me that, for them, the individualised notion of the indigenous artist, detached from its mediation efforts, had no sense, or better yet, the artist condition was not associated to the member condition of a people whose constant political struggle to guarantee their basic and emergency rights and to counter prejudices has taken over several areas of social life.

Once defined that the project would have as range the audio visual exchange between guarani and innu artists for a video production (short film), the indigenous artists together elected the name 'exchanged visions' and pointed their respective perspectives, from where they could set out the laces and distances of their visions. The conscience about their mediator role in step with the environment of the community`s social life[20], led the indigenous artists to make explicit their perfor-

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19 Patricia Ferreira, Ariel Ortega and Wera Alexandre (guarani cineastes) and Vhera Poty Benites (photographer) participated in distinct steps of the project. Waubnasse Bobiwash-Simon and Mendy Bossum-Launière formed the canadian movie maker's team.

20 The sense of "continuity" in this text matches de conceptions outlined by Joanna Overing in "Production aesthetics: the sense of community among the Cubeo and the Piaroa" (1991). In this article, the author discusses notions of freedom, work and personal autonomy and its inherent relation with the social, referentiated to not conditioned aesthetics,

mance in the footage and in the contexts in which they took place. In the passage below, extracted from the text of the `Exchanged Vision` project – the mediator`s role of the Guarani artists in Brazil and Innu artists in Canada`, presented by BRV and CTI, the following orientation from the indigenous artists – the photographer, Vhera, and the movie maker, Patricia – is highlighted :

> These artists have a double duty of transmitting and the creative action has as goal an own paradoxical reality to this challenge: to be autochthone and to be an autochthone movie maker. In what concerns the exchanges, the guarani and innu cineastes emphasize the importance in analysing and expressing the inherent difficulties in the mediator`s role they play, in their nation`s similarity and differences, from north to south. From that emerges the idea of a common project, from the angle of mediation and exchanged visions. They proposed, from the start, to begin the production in three layers of reality: a) the intern reality of their communities; b) the mediator`s role of the cineaste in search of his/hers own aesthetics and at the heart of the knowledge of the medium that vehiculates it; c) the relation that connects the oeuvre to the spectators and its reception in the autochthones and allochthonous communities.

> From this common conscience emerged a form in which its not entirely about documenting social realities from a community (the territorial loss and the conflict with governments, the political struggle for human rights, the conservation and valorisation of their own language, the realisation of ritual and traditional practices, the respect to the regulatory and pedagogical norms of activities such as hunting and spirituality), but also about documenting the cineaste as cultural mediator, from an exchanged look from one observed cineaste to the other working cineaste.[21]

morality and beauty, to what is usually called as coercion and social control. Among the associated notion of "beauty", so well distinguished by the author amongst the Piaroa and that resounds in other indigenous conceptions (amongst the Guarany, certainly), she says: "In the Piaora's aesthetics of sociality, the social side of cleanliness, beauty and contention all sings of mastering the interior productive forces – was manifested by the individual capacity of keeping ones relations to others in harmony." (1991:24)".

21 Contributions to the subvention request to the project Intersecting Gazes: and audiovisual exchange between artists from the Innu and Guarani nations, 2014.

During the trip that took place in the Innu territories in Quebec, Vhera Poty observed that the similarities pointed out by Waubnasse between the Guarani and the Innu came through, mostly, in the political struggles that involved the dispute over land right. In their conception, the governments, both Brazilian and Canadian, though recognizing the territorial rights of the autochthone populations are legitimate, refuse to guarantee its execution. As he perceived similarities regarding the political struggle, he also noted differences in the traditional and present lifestyles of both people and in the practices and strategies towards `the cultural strengthening`. By visiting museums, Vhera Poty commented the richness in the traditional knowledge of the autochthone people in Canada, but, due to the dynamics of the travel, was sorry for not getting to know better the daily activities in the Innu communities. Although he found it interesting for there to be a museum in an Innu village, Vhera observed that the autochthone monitors of the exposition passed most of their daily time working, `exposing and talking about the culture without having the opportunity of experiencing it`. That`s why he found that the essential in the partnership would be the possibility of reflection over the experiences, artistic daily activities and manners of life in their communities.

In an interview with an elderly innu in Mingan (Canada), Patricia was sur-prised by the level of urbanisation of the autochthone territories, and said she was amazed by listening to him talk about his eagerness to go back and live in the traditional innu territory, so that he could fish, hunt and live as his ancestors. Patricia realised that, for him, it wasn`t about going back in the past and not living the present, but it was a matter of guaranteeing the repro-duction and transmission of those knowledges and wisdom so important for the Innu life. As Vhera, Patricia resented not having been able to experience the traditional practices of the Innu in their daily life. She observed the valo-risation of these practices only in the Cultural Centres visited and in the few interviews she witnessed. She also noticed the `different realities` of the Innu and Guarani people nowadays, because, beyond their own cosmologies and world visions connected to each environment, the varied cumulative expe-riences of each people during the colonisation process, and consequential of the present politics, north and south of the Americas, were added up.

From the similarities and differences pointed out by the guarani artists, it was possible to notice that, for them, up to this moment, the diffusion of their cultural expressions is an interest of all collectiveness, the individual has no independent 'place', does not accomplish it alone. Hence, the ques-tion of being an autochthone artist (what, in some way, would put him/she in an individualised outstanding situation) does not exist. Even if the artists could attract esteem and distinguish themselves as cultural expression dif-fusors, among the Guarani the possible roles and senses of the movie mak-er's performance slips towards an interest and orientation mediation of the communities, in special, those announced/communicated by the *xam-oi* and *xejaryi* about the contents and intentions to be transmitted. Maybe it is a peculiar way to be an artist, where the authorship is not an exclusive, particular, possession, but belongs to the collectiveness. The artist, thus, is a mediator, he is the one that seeks to express and/or shape shared ideas, conceptions, yearnings and interests, that emanate from the collective-ness. The observations and questioning about the frontiers between artistic and cultural expression's creation and authorship, which, at times, reveal the individual or the collectiveness, arose in several steps of the project.

THE CHILDREN

The video camera is not considered by the guarani artists as a particular good, although they do consider it to be their responsibility to look after it. As expressed Ariel, in the already mentioned Seminar 'Transdisciplinarity in focus: anthropology, art and cinema', the filming must respect the time of the community, and the camera, considered a person, also must be 'purified' during the footage. In some villages, some references were heard about the camera as a child, and so, as depositary of the voices in the communities. This reference is present in a scene of 'The beings of the forest and their life as people *(Nhandé va'e kue meme'...)*[22]'', in which Vhera Poty, screenwriter and narrator of the film, says:

> Only the older ones know how to transmit to us (the knowledge about the beings of the forest), and I think that this camera, at the same time, is going to be a child, because it will be listening to everything, that is said, it will work as an eye and at the same time the ear of all of those behind this camera. It is going to be a child that will be listening to the words of its grandfathers and grandmothers. (Devos, 2010)

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22 By Rafael Devos, Federal University of Santa Catarina, Brazil, 2010.

Lucas Keese (2018), in 'Image and alterity in an audio visual exchange between the Guarani and Innu', (2016), translates Wera Alexandre, guarani movie maker who has been devoted also to the editing work, when he evokes the association between camera and children and distinguishes the caption and montage audio visual domain.

> According to Wera Alexandre, the camera would be a child, that all observes and memorises, but is still capable of organising what it has experienced and reproducing to others in a manner that they can understand. To teach, demonstrate practices and make counselling speeches are the elderly's job, and the ancient men and women, those who already have a settled knowledge in their hearts and who can help others to reach it as well. This, compares Wera, is the montage's job: to organise knowledges and experiences in a manner that the circulation process among the youngsters – whose duty is to observe and listen – can go on.

In a certain sense, under the standpoint of digital means, everything resumes to the camera, which reproduces simultaneously, and to the computers and editing programs. The dissemination of their uses in the villages could compromise the caption magic, but not the fascination of the screen projections. In the same Seminar, the movie maker Takumã Kuikuru[23] made and interesting association during his presentation when saying that 'the big cinema screen becomes a people's village'; and, therefore, the indigenous producer can take to a 'bigger audience' unknown information about the indigenous populations.

This new dimension given to the projection, that what is watched in a big screen is better, as pointed out Takumã, because it gives the indigenous population and their environment more visibility to a bigger audience, also results, in a not less meaningful way, in varied repercussion among the indigenous not so familiarised with cinema. Since it provides a more extensive vision of the place where caption occurs or where you are recorded, when there is an opportunity of seeing in the screen what is seen behind the lenses, the eyes of the camera, with larger reach, reflecting images that human eyes do not see during footage, the movie projection fascinates and surprises. A *xamoi* that recorded, in a more or less put off manner, a statement in his community about his crops, when encountered with himself on the screen, with everything else around him, did not hide his satisfaction and surprise.

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23 Maker of the movie *ETE London – London as a village*, 2015.

HOW WILL IT GO ON?

Even though still recent, the mastering of the audio visual language and its material supports (the technological devices in constant obsolescence), the indigenous productions match the transmission of oral memory and invoke the already consolidated cinematographic repertoire as they do not put in discussion (there would be no reason) dogmatical questions, not even the rupture (this questions is non-existent) between technique and art, fiction and documentary, improvisation and specialisation, contemplative and instrumental. By not bowing down to dogmas, concepts and aesthetic patterns of the 'non-indigenous cinema', currently present in the big cinema circuits, the indigenous movie makers and their films will continue to propose and offer new and endless developments to the language of cinema.

Considering that indigenous arts are not detached from social life[24], not even the improvise, the selection and bricolage, concatenating symbols, artifices and exogenous materials, the indigenous cineastes re-establish a relative autonomy, extensive to new and other domains – as presented their acting space –, one of the present dilemmas with which they are faced in the communities and in the cities.

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24 Although I did not mention with due attention the debate on 'indigenous art' theme, which I consider to be essential for the comprehension of the audio-visual production of the indigenous, I report, despite the delay, to Escobar Ticio and his book "La belleza de los otros" (2012, 1ª ed.1993), as an enlightening and instigating reference about the difficulties of defining the indigenous art. By saying that for the indigenous the aesthetic is not unconnected to a complex symbolic system that merges what we distinguish as art, science, religion, politics, law, he means that indigenous art does not separate itself from the intricate social ensemble and appears inbricated in the weave of its multiple forms and functions with which it is addled. "Pero la cultura indígena al mezclar y, aun, identificar significantes y significados varios, desorienta a los estudiosos del tema (...)". The indigenous art does not follow the colonialist logical conditions that impose the requisites of modern western art, such as individual geniality, groundbreaking rupture and unicity of the ouevre. The indigenous art "ni es fruto de una creación individual absoluta (aunque cada artista reinterprete a su modo los inveterados códigos colectivos), ni se produce a través de innovaciones transgresoras (a pesar de que su desarollo suponga una constante movilización del imaginario social, ni se manifiesta en obras irrepetibles (aun cuando cada forma específica debió haber conquistado su propia capacidad expresiva y estética)" (2012:29-31).

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**ANDRÉ DEMARCHI
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VIDEO-RITUAL: IMAGERY CIRCUITS AND RITUAL FILMING AMONG THE MEBÊNGÔKRE (KAYAPÓ)
DOSSIER INTERSECTING GAZES[1]

ABSTRACT

This article presents networks of imaginal and ritual relations among Mebêngôkre villages, in addition to describe and analyse contemporary cultural (and ritual) production by this Jê-speaking, Amazon forest-dwelling, indigenous people. It builds on results obtained previously in published research on the intricate relationship between video production and ritual. Given that image reproduction technologies were appropriated by the Mebêngôkre more than thirty years ago, the intention is to reveal not only the specific features of contemporary imagery circuits,

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but also the specific characteristics of the visual product that circulates most in this vast network: filmed rituals. Thus, we aim both to demonstrate the importance of the circulation of images among Mebêngôkre villages and to answer the question of why filmed rituals are the chief imaginal artefacts circulating in this network. Lastly, the article proposes a transgenerational Mebêngôkre ethic regarding the production and circulation of filmed rituals.

My dream is to film all the festivities,
all the activities and the whole process of each celebration.
(Bepunu Kayapó)[2]

This article presents some of the relations involving imagery and ritual among Mebêngôkre villages, describing and analysing contemporary cultural (and ritual) production by this Jê-speaking, Amazon-dwelling indigenous people.[3] It builds on results obtained previously in published research (Madi 2011, Madi & Demarchi 2013, Demarchi 2014) on the intricate relationship between video production and ritual. Given that image reproduction technologies were appropriated by the Mebêngôkre more than thirty years ago, the intention is to reveal not only the specific features of the contemporary imagery circuits, but also the specific characteristics of the visual product that circulates most in this vast network: filmed rituals. We aim both to demonstrate the importance of the circulation of images among Mebêngôkre villages and to answer the question of why filmed rituals are the chief imaginal artefacts circulating in this network.

In this regard, while previous study was concerned with the relation between body and camera, trying to understand "what is done with the body through its relation with the camera" (Madi & Demarchi 2013, 150) – that is, highlighting the filmmakers' performance rather than the content of the filmed images – here, the analytical and descriptive concern is with the films themselves and how they circulate – and, more specifically, with the fact that most of the videos produced and circulated are films of rituals.

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2 In an interview to Ana Estrela and André Demarchi, in São Paulo on October 19th, 2016.

3 The Mebêngôkre (Kayapó) live in the states of Pará and Mato Grosso. Their population of around 12,000 is divided into a few subgroups living along the Xingu River and its tributaries. The Môjkaràkô village, where we spent ten months in field research between 2009 and 2013, is in southern Pará, close to the town of São Félix do Xingu, on the banks of the Riozinho, a tributary of the Fresco River, in turn a tributary of the Xingu. It has a population of approximately 700 inhabitants.

Although the descriptive and analytical goals have changed, the analysed data and the ethnographic experience continue to be based on the "Mebêngôkre Culture Documentation Project"[4] *Kukràdjà Nhipêjx* (making culture), which operated in the village of Môjkarakô from 2009 to 2015 in partnership with Museu do Índio. On a logic similar to that of previous audio-visual projects – such as the one carried out by anthropologist Terence Turner (1992) and filmmaker Mônica Frota (1996) – the *Kukràdjà Nhipêjx* project consisted in conveying audio-visual techniques and know-how to indigenous people by way of workshops in the village and at the museum, aiming to see they documenting their rituals and their knowledge. During the project, five Kayapó filmmakers were trained, in addition to a set of equipment which the museum provided the village with, including video and photographic cameras, audio recorders and computers, as well as data storage devices, such as HD, flash drives and DVD.

It is important to note how the filmmakers and inhabitants of the village of Môjkarakô understood the act of "documenting culture", as described in the words of Bepunu Kayapó in the epigraph to this article. To them, above all, it meant filming the rituals produced in the village, regardless of whether they were naming rituals[5] or the rites appropriate to the surrounding society: sports competitions, beauty contests, Independence Day ceremonies. The important was to record images of these rituals, to watch them in collective showings and to make them circulate among the various villages of their vast territory.

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4 André Demarchi coordinated the project throughout its execution (2009-2015). From 2009 to 2012 he shared coordination with Diego Madi. From 2011 onwards, with funding from UNESCO and the Banco do Brasil Foundation, the project came to be called *Kukràdjà Nhipêjx* (Making Culture) on the initiative of the Môjkarakô village filmmakers' collective. Diego Madi's MA thesis (2011) and André Demarchi's PhD dissertation (2014) were developed during the project execution period, using the fieldwork to hold audio-visual workshops.

5 Mebêngôkre naming rituals have been amply described in the ethnographic literature on this people (See, for example: Turner 1965, Vidal 1977, Lea 1986; 2012, Verswijver 1992; Gordon 2006; Cohn 2005, Demarchi 2014). The Mebêngôkre differentiate between two categories of name: common names (*idji kakrit*) and beautiful names (*idji mejx*). The latter are distinguished by being classified, for ceremonial purposes, into eight types: Bep and Takáak are exclusively used by men, while *Kokô*, *Ngrenh*, *Bekwynh*, *Iré*, *Nhàk* and *Pãnh* are mostly used by women and less frequently by men (Lea 1986). For each of these names, there is a specific naming ritual. Another constant in the literature is the ritual beautification of the person whose name is confirmed in a celebration. Both Lea (1986, 2012) and Turner (1965, 2009) state that the ceremonial confirmation of names and prerogatives divides the people of a given community into those who are considered beautiful (*merereméxj*), because their names and prerogatives were confirmed in a certain ceremony, and those considered common (*mekakrit*), because their names and prerogatives were not ceremonially confirmed.

Added to this synchronous dimension of the ritual filming, that is, the immediate way they are circulated and consumed, there is a diachronic dimension, an imagery project directed to the future. The production, circulation and consumption of these images is also aligned with a native conception of "keeping culture by means of video" (Madi 2011), as well exemplified in the reiterated declaration by Mebêngôkre that they film "for our grandchildren". That expression must be understood as an intention and a thought for the future, that is, aiming future networks for circulating these images which refer to a transgenerational ethic, as explored in the final remarks.

In any case, to understand the production and circulation of these images (intended both for the present and for the future), it must be borne in mind that the Mebêngôkre are divided into villages that are politically autonomous (Turner 1992, Gordon 2006), but connected by extensive networks of relations (Demarchi 2014, Demarchi & Morais, 2016). Among the villages, there are "far-reaching connections of all orders, indicating the necessity to think about them not in isolation, but rather as comprising a Mebêngôkre relational regime" (Gordon 2006, 40).

Relations among the villages feature mutual rivalries, often resulting from processes of splitting that are characteristic of this people. It thus must be remembered that intergroup splits have historically occurred, with attendant outbreaks of war between groups that once occupied the same village. One hypothesis of this study is that the networks of imagery-based relations established among villages point to a transformation of relations of rivalry.[6] While "in the elders' time" the process of breakup led necessarily to war (Turner 1991, Verswijver 1992, Cohn 2005, Gordon 2006), now it is conducted by other means: performance, imagery, aesthetics. Instead of warfare as a resource for attaining glory and demonstrating belligerence and bravery (Verswijver 1992, Gordon 2006), the modern Mebêngôkre also engage with each other by filmed rituals that circulate among the various villages, because they show the beauty of the village where the rituals were filmed. The moving images of the films convey the village's *kukràdjà* (knowledge) and that of the groups and individuals that make it up, amplifying one of its key components, the need to be seen and assessed on native ethical and aesthetic criteria.

WHAT CIRCULATES? RITUAL FILMING

During the 20th century, indigenous peoples' appropriation of western technological apparatus became a subject for many authors, who highlight – among other things – the importance of this process in constructing and asserting ethnic identities, in the political struggle for traditional

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6 For an analysis of these changes, see Demarchi (2014; 2017).

territories, in defence of their own ways of life, in documenting their cultures and forms of ritual and material expression (Turner 1993, Concklin 1997, Ginzburg 2002; 2003, Morgado & Marin 2016). Indigenous peoples' uses of video are certainly part of the process that Marshal Sahlins (1997a; 1997b) called the "indigenisation of modernity", with repercussions on the conception of "culture" (in quotes) as proposed by Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (2009). Both authors demonstrate that native peoples' objectification of culture – that is, their own manners of appropriating the anthropological concept of culture – depends necessarily on these peoples' differential skills in "demonstrating 'their culture' by performing it" (Ibid., 313).

Native peoples' production of video – or what in Brazil is popularly known as "indigenous cinema"[7] – may be understood as "a rich manifestation" of culture (in quotes), underscoring the dilemma "between how Indians conceive the image of their own culture and metropolitan concepts of culture" (Brasil 2013, 248). The relation between video, performance and "culture" finds its ultimate expression in the filming of rituals. It was no accident that, in Brazil, the first experiments in producing videos jointly with indigenous populations, conducted by the non-governmental organisation *Vídeo nas Aldeias* (Video in the Villages), were filmings of rituals, which were promptly shown to the people in question, triggering unprecedented experiences of reflexive thinking, as expressed in the inaugural film of the project, *Festa da moça* (The young girl's celebration) (Carelli 1987), which records the female initiation ritual of the Nambikwara and the natives' reflections after watching the images.

In this article, however, we are concern with the spread of productions that would be unlikely to circulate as products of the *Vídeo nas Aldeias* project and which, accordingly, elude the analyses of the so-called "indigenous cinema". Here we are dealing not with films in the *strict sense*,

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7 We share with André Brasil and Bernard Belisário (2016) the impossibility of defining "indigenous cinema": "it is not rare for the category 'indigenous cinema' (or others like it, such as 'native cinema', 'original or autochthonous peoples' cinema' etc.) to be targeted by criticism addressed to one or another term of the equation. On the one hand, the rubric is considered to reiterate the abstraction of "indigenous" – something that ethnography has worked to undo. On the other, it suggests a certain idealisation of that cinema which has in fact shown itself to be impure, crossbred, done in the midst of processes of formation and creation shared between Indians and non-Indian's; and on the basis of techniques, technologies and poetics in the western visual tradition (Ibid., 603)". Nor can "indigenous cinema" be defined *a priori* by its format, these authors continue, "because the forms it takes vary: from records with almost no editing shown in the villages through to emphatically edited archive films; from urgent takes in situations of conflict through to the ritual-films [...]; from films edited in partnership with non-indigenous editors through to new work edited exclusively by indigenous filmmakers (a kind of production that is still incipient)" (Ibid., 605).

but with "ritual filming", a category created to express the main product that circulates in Mebêngôkre imagery networks.

From the words of Bepunu Kayapó, one of the indigenous filmmakers who participated in the *Kukràdjà Nhipêjx* project, this production can be first defined in opposition to what reaches non-indigenous image circulation networks.[8]

> I record the video on the camera and then I put it on the computer. If I cut just a little bit out, then they [the people of the village] say: "Where is that little bit? It didn't come on". That is why I make three, four films, each one telling one part of the celebration. But for white people, I have to do something else, just the dance itself, keep the film small. Just to show my work, I have to make it small. But the indigenous people of the village will remember the festivities from beginning to end, they will remember how many days the festivities lasted. They watch the film and then they say: "Where's that little bit? That dance didn't appear in the film". That is why I do three or four films of two hours each with all the parts of the celebration (Bepunu Kayapó)

A "ritual filming" can thus be defined as a full-length video recording of a specific ceremony[9] that is practically unedited, or the editing is done directly on the camera and the images are assembled in a clearly

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8 While producing this article, we were at first tempted to describe the differences between "films made for whites to see" and the "ritual filming" that circulates in the Mebêngôkre villages about the differentiation between, respectively, culture with and without quote marks (Cunha 2009). The former, produced in an inter-ethnic context, would be a faithful example of the generalising logic of "culture", while the latter type of production, with no pretension to inter-ethnic dialogue, could be classified as belonging to the register of culture without quotes. However, following the remarks of Coelho de Souza on these notions, we preferred to shy away from this, perhaps innocuous, "schematic approach", to perceive "that to speak of culture with quotes does not mean to perpetuate a duality between inward culture and outward culture", because "culture declares itself, always and immediately, between inside and outside" (Coelho de Souza 2010, 107-108; original emphasis). Each of these productions thus occupies its own place by which it is differentiated in this *in-between*.

9 "The editing process has figured larger and larger in connection with 'projects'. Today, to an extent greater than in the scenario encountered by Terence Turner, there are people who value editing and who want to learn the technique. However, this appreciation appears to be connected with an expectation of corresponding to outside demands. These people are participants in 'projects' and, perceiving the need for a format, understand that the edited video corresponds better as a 'product' for interrelating with other networks (particularly in the world of the *kuben*)" (Madi 2011, 73).

sequential order. In addition, these films are consumed by the natives right after they are produced and are quickly put into circulation by recording them on DVDs and flash drives.

We understand that it would be a mistake to regard "ritual filming" as possibly video-making at a "rudimentary stage". On the contrary, it is an aesthetic choice required by the audience's interest in seeing the smallest details of the recorded ritual sequentially, to the point where the classic western differentiation between "raw material" and "finished product" makes no sense.

> It makes no sense to say to a Kayapó that what we filmed that afternoon still needed to be cut and edited. I would even say that they film during the day to watch at night, ignoring any possible distinction between "raw material" and "finished product". It should be said that they ignore that distinction not in the sense of being unaware of it, but of disdaining it. This seems to be extremely important in that it does not indicate a practice at a "rudimentary stage", but rather reflects a choice (Madi 2011, 50).

That choice underlines other aesthetic principles regarding the ritual, its audience and participants. Here, the technical characteristics of the audio-visual product are determined by the theme and by imposition of the native audience. "We like to see the whole celebration", say the Mebêngôkre to their filmmakers who are experimenting editing techniques. These, in turn, agree. They dream of filming "all the festivities [...] the whole process of each celebration". Filming the whole process means filming the whole ritual prelude: the hunting and fishing in the forest to gather food, the preparation of the adornments to be used in the festivities, the production of body painting used by the different male and female age groups, the rehearsals of the songs and dance steps that will be performed during the ritual – as well as the ceremony itself, which may last several days.

The elementary characteristics of this audio-visual product, from its long unbroken takes, plus the almost complete lack of any editing or the editing being done directly on the camera, through to the extremely rapid process from filming to consumption to dispersion of the images on the circuits, are features that, at the very least, call into question the preconceived idea of film in western imagining, if not imploding it, at least widening it so as to counter-invent (Wagner 2010) in this other manner of filming and watching film. To understand this in the Mebêngôkre sense, it must be seen in reverse (Ibid.), to be thought of contrariwise, as Michel Foucault would say, or "taken apart", in the words of Divino Tserewahú Xavante (Brasil & Belisário 2016).

According to André Brasil and Bernard Belisário (2016), Divino says that he has begun a process of taking apart films he made for a non-indigenous audience, to remake them "with a more and more indigenous eye".

> Tserewahú showed us a cut of a film that he is making about the ritual of initiation and progression in the world of *wai'a*, the spiritual and shamanic world of the Xavante man, 15 years after he produced his film *Wai'a Rini: the power of the dream* (2001). The piece we watched was, according to the filmmaker, "true" (*uptabi*, "notarised") indigenous cinema: "cinema that we produce for our people, without subtitles. A long version [in] which they can see everything". In the film, the speech is not translated into Portuguese and most of the takes maintain an intricate relationship with the duration of the ritual events; the editing follows the reiterative, cyclic movement of the corporal and sound performances (Brasil & Belisário 2016, 602).

These authors' description of the "film" and even the need to explicitly state the differences from the conventional notion of film, show close similarities with what here is being termed "ritual filming" in the Kayapó case. To both Divino Xavante and Bepunu Kayapó, "true" indigenous cinema produces ritual filmings, long versions where we can see the ritual in full and where many of the cast can see themselves. As Divino puts it, a diversity of eyes produce these films: "elders' eyes, women's eyes, I have to accept everything. Then I put them together. That is why I do four jobs in the editing" (Brasil & Belisario 2016, 602). As in the words of Bepunu abovementioned, the celebration *in progress* induces the final product, its characters call for their points of view and that is how reverse cinema is done.

Ritual filmings, as images contaminated by their peoples' cosmologies, also require that ethnographers "take [film] apart", along with their preconception of what, to them, a film is supposed to be. Its sense, though, is also circulation and consumption. Having defined *what* mainly circulates in Mebêngôkre imagery circuits, we now will describe *how* these filmings circulate, what points they connect, what political forces and aesthetic forms (and vice-versa) they carry from village to village.

IMAGERY CIRCUITS

By mapping contemporary Mebêngôkre imagery circuits in southern Pará, the town of Redenção would certainly be one of the hubs from which the images radiate – and this, thanks to the actions of a Catholic priest. Father Saul has a large collection of films, documentaries, videos and ritual filmings from several different Mebêngôkre villages, done by different

indigenous and non-indigenous filmmakers. As he receives contributions to his collection from indigenous people, so he feeds into the circulation of images by distributing DVD copies of the images from his collection to the residents of other villages. At Môjkarakô, we were able to watch DVDs with filmed rituals performed in villages in Mato Grosso State, such as Pykany, and in nearby villages, such as Gorotire, Kikretum, Pykararãkre and Aúkre – all coming from the priest's collection.

As soon as these DVDs arrive at the village, they are quickly copied by the filmmakers and distributed to the village people to be watched on the television sets that are present today in practically all homes, along with their attendant satellite dishes. In this connection, during the research, we accompanied the vertiginous growth of television sets. In early 2009, there was only one television in the village, belonging to the family of one of the sons of the old cacique Moté. By 2010, there were already six more televisions and by 2012 they were present in practically all homes in the village. Soap operas, romantic films (e.g., Titanic), fight films (e.g., *Rambo*) and soccer matches are among the programmes most watched by the Môjkarakô – none of which compares, however, with the audience for the filmed rituals of other villages. These DVDs are repeatedly watched, every night, by many people. They constitute a "programming" that points to the possibility of an "informal indigenous television" with "parallel programming that is distributed alternatively" (Madi 2011, 91).

This alternative distribution, with Father Saul at one of its hubs, is fed by, and receives feedback from, other networks of relations (particularly kinship networks) that make the images circulate. Relatives invited to take part in rituals by relatives in other villages take copies of these films with them; they are promptly shown during the night and draw large audiences. In Môjkarakô, a large showing was put on when a Xikrin family, invited to take part in a naming ritual, brought several DVDs of various celebrations held in Cateté River villages. On another occasion, when a Môjkarakô family was going to a ritual in the village of Aúkre, the oldest man in the family asked one of his sons-in-law (one of the project filmmakers) to record copies of all the DVDs of Môjkarakô celebrations for him to take as a gift for his relatives in the other village. On their return from the festivities, the man showed me the DVDs of filmed rituals that he had been given in return for those he had taken.

The circulation of these images attests to an inter-village network for ritual imagery that comprises all the villages in the south of Pará and Mato Grosso states.[10] That network operates and increases the spread of

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10 By "an archaeology of the concept of wealth among the Mebêngôkre", Vanessa Lea (2012, 49) examined the Kayapó matri-house as a pan-village entity that connects dwellings in

knowledge, forms of ritual, designs of ceremonial objects, body painting patterns, songs and dance steps – in short, all of what the Mebêngôkre term *kukràdjà* – among a few villages. All this circulates by way of what here is denominated "ritual filmings".

The presence of ritual filmings in this circuit seems to date from the earliest initiatives towards audio-visual documentation among the Mebêngôkre. Mônica Frota, a member of the "Mekaron Opôi D'jôi" (a project carried out in 1985 and the first audio-visual made in a Kayapó village) noted that the video cameras appropriated by the natives became powerful tools for recording rituals and enabled people of different villages to see each other after long years apart. Attentive to the use that the Kayapó were already making of the radio, Mônica suggested expanding imaginal communication networks by extending the activities of the project to other villages and encouraging them to share videos (Frota 2001, 96).

Another similar initiative was taken by the anthropologist Terence Turner in 1990. The "Kayapó video project" (1990) made it possible for people from different villages to have direct contact with video filming and editing equipment. Once again, just as emphasised by Frota, the rituals became prime contexts for recording. About the project, Turner states that "most of the Kayapó films to date are of cultural performances, such as rituals or political meetings, which form a natural narrative unit, with limits defined by the theme itself and a sequential order" (1993, 90).

In the *Kukràdjà Nhipêjx* project too, rituals were pre-eminently the material filmed and, just as in other projects, the resulting images were quickly put out to circulate. Because the project is located in Môjkarakô villages and the people have embraced it the way they did seem to have placed them at a strategic point on the imagery circuit that runs through the villages of southern Pará. The reason is that, during the project, the filmmakers trained in the workshops were invited to film ceremonies in other villages.

The news that one of these projects was ongoing in the neighbourhood – by indigenous filmmakers with cameras, computers, tapes and DVDs donated to the "community" by Museu do Índio – soon spread among

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different villages by its distinctive legacy of names and *nekrets* (ceremonial prerogatives). This perspective, based on differentiation and connection, seems to unfold on different scales, with the "distinctiveness" being expressed by the local elaboration on the "manner" of a person, an animal, the men, the women, or a collectivity (Demarchi 2014). The "manner" is an aspect that makes it possible to produce "parts" and "wholes" (Strathern 2006) according to precise relational contexts. In the case of ritual filmings, it is the "manner" of a village that "takes the stage" (literally) as the principle that differentiates and collectivises, producing otherness and identity.

the villages of the Riozinho, Fresco and Xingu rivers, and the Môjkarakô filmmakers were soon invited to film rituals in other villages. These requests did not bother the filmmakers, much less the chiefs and villagers of Môjkarakô. The former developed a strong desire to "get to know other villages" through their work and, no less important, wanted to apply the new *kukràdjà* (knowledge) they were learning to master in another context, and to enjoy the status afforded them, within and among the communities, by the position of filmmaker. For the leaders and village people, the invitations from relatives offered a dual incentive. The chiefs felt happy and strong that Môjkarakô was the only village in the vicinity with a team of properly equipped filmmakers. According to them, this was "good for the village" – but it was not the most important thing. More than demonstrating the new wealth gained by Môjkarakô to relatives, by embracing the project they enabled the community to occupy the strategic position on the imagery circuit running through the villages of southern Pará. This, once again, was thanks to the filmmakers' work. They filmed the festivities at the request of those who had invited them, but because of an elementary technical impediment in the project, the filmmakers could not leave their hosts with a copy of what they had filmed: without a deck, an editing apparatus, it was impossible to digitalise the precious Mini DV tapes and copy the images onto DVD. Often, to remedy truly tense, embarrassing situations, the filmmakers display the images by connecting the camera to one of the televisions of the village, in a public place, possibly in front of the head chief's house. This technical impediment, on the other hand, was used very well by the villagers of Môjkarakô, because the filmmakers would return to the village with the tapes and immediately be asked to publicly show the footage of relatives' celebrations in almost daily night-time sessions.

Showing the images made it possible for ceremonies performed in other villages to be immediately consumed, drawing aesthetic judgments about them. During the night-time sessions, they would remark on the innovations, on what the others had done to brighten themselves up: the colours and images of the bead ornaments, the necklace designs, down to minute details of the coloured beads, the invention of new body painting strokes, new music and dance steps. They would also comment on whether the celebration was beautiful and whether it was being performed in the proper sequence.

In addition, the night-time showings of "images of relatives" allowed them to plan their festivities in a clear spirit of contest. Their ceremony had to be done more beautifully than the others'. While preparing themselves for the ceremonies, the chiefs called for effort from the members of the community, reminding them of the images that showed clean villages, free of scrub in the central square. Using words of encouragement

over the "iron mouth" (the village loudspeaker), Akjabôro once said:

> Yesterday we saw the images of our relatives. We saw their celebration. The village was clean. Everyone was working for the festivities to take place. They are filming here too, because Môjkarakô has a project. Now we have to work properly. Everyone has to work for the community, for our celebration to be more beautiful. We have to make it right (beautiful, correct) (Akjabôro Kayapó)

We found a position similar to Akjabôro's when we were invited to hold audio-visual workshops in the village of Kôkraimôro. As soon as we arrived there, we were surprised by the chiefs and villagers wanting to watch the films of the rituals performed and filmed in Môjkarakô. One of our first activities at the village was to show this footage to a large audience on the television set up in the men's house. Mundico, the village chief, revealed after the showing that the intention in seeing the images of their relatives was for them to produce more beautiful celebrations. Accordingly, in the days that followed, the men and women of Kôkraimôro, both adults and youngsters, not only presented the camera with their versions of the ceremonies performed by the villagers of Môjkarakô, but also performed others that the latter had not. At the end of each day of filming, we were asked to show the filmed images in the men's house. These showings were accompanied by remarks from the spectators, particularly about the beauty of the festivities that they had performed or, on the contrary, about shortcomings that should be improved for the next day. After one of these sessions, we heard chief Mundico tell the young men that they should clean the village square properly, because it looked dirty to him in the film. After another showing, the same chief told the young men and women who had danced the *Kwôre Kangô*, whose performance they had just watched, that they should do it again the next day, because there was only a few people dancing and the dancers were unenthusiastic. At the end of our stay, as we were returning to Môjkarakô, Mundico asked us to show the people of that village the films recorded at Kôkraimôro for them to see that they knew how to put on beautiful celebrations.

Once back in Môjkarakô with these images, there was no need to announce Mundico's request. The villagers soon asked for night-time sessions to watch their neighbours' performances, until the stock of tapes recorded in the other village was exhausted. These showings took place while they were preparing a *Menire Bijôk* (celebration of painted women) naming ceremony. In that context, showing the images recorded at Kôkraimôro encouraged the people of Môjkarakô to prepare the festivities that were to take place in a few days. There was once again a desire

to put on a more beautiful celebration than those they had seen on the television at night, moments before the rehearsals for the ceremony.

Similar contests between Mebêngôkre villages were noted by Cohn (2004), particularly between the Xikrin of the village of Bacajá and those who had left to find another village. The latter, to celebrate the founding of the new village, held a *Kwôre Kangô* ceremony and asked the anthropologist to take the cassette tapes with the recordings of the songs they had produced for the ceremony to Bacajá. As portrayed by the author, there was "a pride to be tended to" in this attitude and a "desire to stand out" by producing "a more beautiful celebration than that of Bacajá" (Ibid., 10). The anthropologist's impressions of how the people of Bacajá received and listened to the tapes are interesting to note, particularly because she points to something similar to the agonistic spirit of ritual dispute that runs through the imagery network abovementioned. Cohn writes:

> many gathered to listen [to the tapes] and seem to have appreciated what they heard. Indeed, the discussion of the moment was about which village held more rituals or danced more, so that the question they asked me most was whether they really danced every day in the new village of Mroti Djãm (Ibid.,10).

An example that indicates the reach of these Mebêngôkre imagery circuits involves the *Yna Yna* ritual appropriated by the Kayapó from a small group of indigenous Peruvians who visited the village of Môjkarakô in 2014 during an interethnic seed exchange fair. The intensity with which the Kayapó devote themselves to this ritual was documented in a film with the same name by filmmaker Bepunu Kayapó.[11] In that film, several groups of men and women execute the Peruvian Amerindians' characteristic steps in a synchronised dance. The music, also characteristic of the Peruvian indigenous people, echoes from an enormous loudspeaker in the men's house at the centre of the circular village.

A few months after the film was finalised, a mobile phone recording of the Peruvian ceremony performed enthusiastically by dancers in the village of Gorotire, many kilometres from Môjkarakô, was posted on Facebook by a member of another indigenous village. We were impressed by the speed at which the images of this ritual were spreading when, on the same social network, we saw a video of the Panará (Krenakore) indigenous group, where male and female dancers performed the characteristic dance steps of the *Yna Yna* ritual in the village square of

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11 Title: *Yna Yna*. Director: Bepunu Kayapó. Duration: 60 min. Year: 2014. Shown in "Olhar: um ato de resistência", of the Festival ForumDoc, Belo Horizonte, 2015.

Nansepoti, but with Indian music in the background instead of the usual Peruvian indigenous songs performed among the Kayapó.

These are only some examples of the intensity of these imagery circuits, where the rituals, their images and sounds, or rather their *kukràdjà*, are the preferred goods in circulation, the seeing and hearing of what drives the production of new rituals, performed and recorded in a clearly agonistic spirit, because they will be seen by others at other points on the circuit.

VIDEO-RITUAL: BEAUTY AND *KUKRÀDJÀ*

To understand both the complexities that these imagery circuits produce and the importance of the main item circulating in them, the "ritual filmings", one apparently obvious question must be answered: why are rituals the preferred imaginal content for circulation among the villages? Or, in other words, what makes the ritual form a preferred item for recording and circulation?

To answer that question (even briefly),[12] we need to first consider an existing concept in the Mebêngôkre literature, which is required by this analysis, that is, the notion of *kukràdjà*, a word that contemporary Mebêngôkre designate by 'culture', i.e., "tradition, habits, practices, knowledge, wisdom, way of life" (Gordon 2009, 11). Highlighting a trend in the Mebêngôkre literature on this concept, Gordon defines *kukràdjà* as:

> a *flow* of knowledge, wisdom and attributions that people the cosmos and can be acquired and appropriated at various levels, from the individual to a broader collective. It can thus receive successive inputs (or losses) that is, new parts, new knowledge or attributions, that then come to form a new part of someone (the appropriator: shaman, warrior, chief) and sometimes a new part of all Mebêngôkre (Ibid., 11).

It is this continual flow of cultural elements (names, objects, songs, dance steps, patterns of decoration and body painting) appropriated from other humans and non-humans that feeds intensely into the Mebêngôkre ritual system and appears in detail in the "ritual filmings". The beautiful names and *n*êkrê*jx* which, as Lea (2012) notes, constitute the wealth of the Mebêngôkre, are captured from outside, and their beauty and potency stem precisely from their exogenous origins. Also, the visual component of the Mebêngôkre *kukràdjà* must be stressed, because, in addition to being appropriated from others, it has to be shown in the rituals.

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12 For a more detailed discussion of this concept in Mebêngôkre literature, see Demarchi (2014).

Rituals thus become a preferred form in which to circulate images, because they concentrate a series of *kukràdjà* deployed by villagers in producing the ritual. These are the *kukràdjà* that people of other villages want to see, and in turn to learn, copy and even judge. Accordingly, as abovementioned, body painting strokes, designs, decorative forms and colours, songs and dance steps are preferred items for observation and analysis by those who consume the filmings of a celebration in any village. The circulation of these images that concentrate various types of knowledge heightens an inter-village dispute, which hinges on the beauty of the rituals.

An immediate relation in fact exists between beauty and ritual. Turner, for instance, declares that when a Kayapó is asked "why he dances or really why the ceremony is being performed, he will probably answer: 'because of the beauty'" (Turner 1980, 130).[13] It is precisely beauty (*mejx*) and its connection with ritual that must be considered to answer the question posed above. Gordon (2009, 16-17) offers new clues that interrelate the characteristic visual quality of Mebêngôkre *kukràdjà* with ritual as a locus of Kayapó beauty.

> One of the features of Mebêngôkre society is what can be called its visual character. From the architectonic display of the villages to the importance of the appearance (*ami-rin*) of adornments, decorations and ceremonial roles in festivities and dances in the square – that is, in the ritual unveiling of names and *kukràdjà* – there is a visual component in the objectification of value and beauty. This is not by chance. It is in ritual that beauty is objectified and shown to its utmost sociological and cosmological extent. [...] Ritual is thus the high point in the production (or extraction or attribution) of beauty. In fact, it is the context in which all the beauty that the Mebêngôkre have been able to produce, learn or appropriate from the cosmos is objectified. Rituals are moments when Mebêngôkre society shows itself as it should be: beautiful, right, good. *Mebêngôkre kukràdjà mejx kumrenx.*

In addition to concentrate various *kukràdjà*, Mebêngôkre rituals are linked to a native conception of beauty expressed by the word *mejx*, which, like *kukràdjà*, covers a broad semantic field. As Gordon noted:

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13 Fisher (1998; 2001), on the other hand, would say that another possible answer to the question is that the ceremony is performed "because of happiness". An analytical stance in line with this proposal by Overing (1991) enables these two dimensions – happiness and beauty – to be united, as mutually constitutive aspects of everyday Amerindian life.

mejx [...] expresses not only aesthetic values, but also moral or ethical values. The semantic field of the word covers a series of attributes that can be glossed as good, proper, beautiful, handsome, correct, perfect, excellent. In addition, *mejx* can be contrasted, depending on the context in which it is enunciated, with the following antonymic terms: *punure* ('unpleasant, ugly, bad, wrong') and *kajkrit* ("common, ordinary, vulgar, trivial"), or simply *mejx kêt* (where *kêt* is a negation particle). In any case, *mejx* (beautiful, good, perfection) designates a set of values essential to the Xikrin [and to all Mebêngôkre]. Producing or obtaining *mejx* things, people and communities (in short, society) seems to be the ultimate purpose of Xikrin action in the world, which is revealed on both the individual and collective plane (Ibid., 8).

An immediate relationship can thus be traced not only between beauty and ritual, but also between beauty and *kukràdjà* – because not all *kukràdjà* is subject to appropriation; what are appropriated are particularly *kukràdjà* considered to be beautiful. These are what are brought out in the rituals and in producing beautiful people. As among the Kisêdjê (Suyá) studied by Coelho de Souza (2010, 3), the adoption of exogenous elements – particularly from the Xinguano, with whom they came to coexist at one point in their history – "depended on an appreciation of their 'beauty' [...], while this [Xinguano] cultural equipment was considered by the Kisêdjê, in a diffusionist spirit, as a set of features to be taken up or rejected separately". As she notes referring to a citation from Seeger: "[...] everything was adopted because it was 'good' or 'beautiful'" (Seeger 1980, 169, in Coelho de Souza 2012, 3).

The same can be said of the Mebêngôkre. Not everything that is seen in the filmed rituals is considered *mejx* (beautiful) and thus suitable for appropriation. A pair of sneakers used by one of the boys honoured in a *Bemp* naming ceremony in the village of Aúkre and watched on one of the village television sets, was considered by the Mebêngôkre of Môjkarakô to be *punure* (ugly), an example of what they should not use in their own rituals. Aesthetic appreciation can thus be considered an important factor causing their rituals and their images to circulate in different villages – but it is not everything.

Another more direct relationship between beauty and ritual can be drawn from remarks by other authors. In an article on the appropriation of video by the Kayapó, Turner (1993, 94) states that ritual not only creates community, but can also be understood "as expressing the supreme Kayapó value of beauty":

"beauty", in this sense, includes a principle of sequential organisation: successive repetitions of the same pattern, with each performance growing in social value, as it incorporates additional elements and acquires greater stylistic delicacy, thus approaching the ideal of wholeness and perfection that defines beauty (Ibid., 95).

In recent article, Turner (2009, 159), returning to this conception, devotes a few words to the Kayapó concept of beauty, using ritual as an example:

> As a term of value, "mêtch", which I have translated with the general term 'beautiful' [...], connotes both completeness (meaning that all the parts or aspects of a thing are present in the proper proportions) and perfection of production or performance. The word is associated with the principle of repetition, as when a ceremony becomes more fully and perfectly performed the more times it is rehearsed.

Following Turner's first definition, Lea (2012, 121) states that "to the Mebêngôkre, aesthetics is associated with the idea of totality". In another article, she takes ceremonies as an example of this native conception of aesthetics: "the ceremonies are eminently aesthetic occasions, because they materialise the most complete composition of the social body, interrelating the members of each house by way of their respective roles" (1993, 275). In other words: "Mebêngôkre ceremonies owe one of their aesthetic aspects to the fact that they require that the whole village participate (as performers or spectators) to different degrees that vary depending on the occasion" (Lea 2012, 397). In these extracts, Lea seems to be reasserting the importance of the element that Turner calls "wholeness" or that she calls "totality", emphasizing the notions of proportion and symmetry as important components of beauty.

Gordon presents similar ideas regarding artefacts when remarking on the Xikrin's aesthetic appreciation of certain objects in the collection of the Archaeology and Ethnology Museum at São Paulo University (MAE-USP): "among the immediate criteria on which Xikrin appreciate beautiful objects, I firstly noted conformity to a given, culturally established pattern (or *form*, proper to each object), as well as alignment with the senses of harmony, proportion and symmetry" (2009, 09). The Mebêngôkre notion of beauty thus seems to be based on aesthetic values such as "wholeness", "totality", "harmony", "proportion" and "symmetry". These values, as Gordon asserts, are replicated in the rituals, materialising an "aesthetic parallelism" between the production of artefacts and the production of ritual. Therefore,

the ritual performances can themselves beconsidered a temporal and spatial ordering of different *kukràdjà*. Indeed, the proper distribution of *kukràdjà* during the celebration – their appearance in the middle of the village square in the proper order and correctly disposed or positioned – indicates harmony, symmetry and beauty. In a certain sense, it is this that makes the festivities be considered beautiful or good (*metoro mejx kumrenx*). [...] The same principles or criteria, replicated on another plane, can be seen in recognition for the beauty of material objects. As with the beautiful object, so the beautiful celebration is also the harmonious outcome of alignments and separations, approximations and removes among elements – in this case, *kukràdjà* – in relation to one another (Gordon 2009, 13).

Accordingly, when one considers the rituals, certain aesthetic principles stand out. These are related with the ideas of sequence (or process) and repetition, as highlighted in the extracts from Gordon and Turner abovementioned. As they state, it is this sequential order and the repetition of these sequences in a ceremony that adds beauty to the ritual – and this is also what is present in the long filmings of rituals that circulate among the Mebêngôkre villages.

Regarding a film produced by Tamok, one of the *Kayapó video project* filmmakers, Turner says:

> [Tamok's video] shows faithfully the repetition of each performance, each with its successive addition of adornments and participants. The structure of his video reproduces the repetitive structure of the ceremony itself and so itself creates 'beauty' in the Kayapó sense of the term (1993, 95).

This seems to be a fair answer to the question posed earlier as to why the filmed rituals are a preferred item for circulation. This is not only because, as Turner says, ritual expresses "the supreme Kayapó value of beauty", but, more importantly, because the very production of the video by the filmmaker, in addition to reiterate this supreme value, produces even more beauty. By always accompanying the sequences and repetitions of the ceremonies in their continuous process of addition of beauty, the filming results in a product that objectifies both the beauty of the ritual and the "surplus-beauty" resulting from the filming, because its production is guided by the ritual sequence itself.

In addition, the filmmakers' videos objectify the networks of relations deployed to produce the rituals, making others see the inter-ethnic and

inter-village alliances that are created to materialise them. The filmed rituals display, to neighbours in other villages, the partners and partnerships established to hold the ceremonies and are faithful documentation of the chiefs' deploying resources of the surrounding society for their production. The circulation of these virtual images thus reasserts the chief's prestige, broadcasting his mastery in marshalling resources and establishing networks of relations. It also reasserts the beauty of the communities where they were produced, thus feeding and feeding back into a dispute among those villages as to who produces the most beautiful celebration.

FINAL REMARKS: A TRANSGENERATIONAL ETHIC

One of the first known film records of the Mebêngôkre was made in 1953. It is also considered one of the Mebêngôkre's first contacts with western image production and reproduction equipment. Those filmings were made by journalist and writer Jorge Ferreira along with the brothers Cláudio and Orlando Villas-Boas, during a trip to make second contact with the Txukarramãe (Metuktire), a Mebêngôkre subgroup. Although this short (approximately 15 minute) film[14] does not show the members of the newly contacted group handling the cameras, it does record the curious gazes of several indigenous people on that object that was capturing their images. Some stare deeply towards the camera, others laugh and still others look on mistrustfully, seeming not to know what that "strange" artefact is doing.

In one part of the film, men, women and children can be seen forming a large circle beside the river, dancing, singing, and holding each other by the waist, as if foreshadowing the far-reaching connections that their future relatives will establish between video and ritual. In this first record, they anticipate the evidential relationship between the production of ceremony and the filming of it. They seem to send a message to the relatives to come, that in the future there will be no ritual that is not filmed and put into circulation in a vast imagery network.

For the last time and by way of conclusion, we highlight the connections between filming and ritual. According to the pragmatic approach developed by Severi & Houseman (1994), on which ritual is to be understood as a relational device (a "*mise en relation*", to the detriment of an approach centred on the manipulation of symbols), filmings can then be understood as veritable rituals that "communicate" and "keep culture" (Madi 2011), connecting villages and also generations.

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14 The film *Os primeiros contatos com os Txucarramãe* (1953) can be seen at: https://goo.gl/4J4hNu.

By communicating and keeping culture, the ritual filmings display a pragmatic that is both synchronous and diachronic. In the latter, diachronic, it seems useful to think about Amerindian material in the light of Leach's hypothesis (1974) that, to understand a people's ethics, one should study its aesthetics.[15] The ritual filmings are situated on the register of a relational aesthetics (Lagrou 2009) able to produce points of contact in a system of (non-verbal) "analogical communication" characteristically conveying an intention or "thinking" addressed to future generations. The Mebêngôkre have been experiencing considerable renewed population growth in recent decades and they address this concern in different ways, as becomes clear from the village anthem of Môjkarakô, created by Mokuká Kayapó. The village anthem, which is performed in collective celebratory situations, highlights the fact that new people are "appearing" (*amerin*). This demographic comment seems to prepare the ground for important thinking about the future. Specialists about the "end of the world", as suggested by Eduardo Viveiros de Castro and Debora Danowski (2014) regarding the Amerindians, the Kayapó are emphatic when they assert they use video as a means of "saving our culture for our grandchildren".

Thinking about video as relating to a transgenerational ethic makes it possible to input new data to studies of Amerindian art and its devices for establishing relationships. On that perspective, the filmings are contemporary rituals that try to deal with the historical experience of symbolic and material loss and destitution. The pragmatics of ritual filmings can be related with the production of social memory, considering here the local conception of "memory" as a faculty at once cognitive and emotional (remembering how elders did things; "thinking" of responsibility and affect towards new generations). Moved by responsibility and affect, the ritual filmings are ultimately preeminent contexts for illuminating an indigenous philosophy of ethics.

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15 Leach's proposition was analysed comparatively by Els Lagrou (2009) for Amerindian material. In the same direction, Demarchi (2014) addressed Mebêngôkre sociality on the basis of a relation between ethics and aesthetics. See also Madi (2015; 2017) for an approach of the same type among the Guna (Kuna) of Panamá.

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TIKM'N-MAXAKALI: COSMOCINEPOLITICS: AN ESSAY ON THE INVENTION OF A CULTURE AND OF AN INDIGENOUS CINEMA
DOSSIER
INTERSECTING GAZES

ABSTRACT

Our aim in this work is to explore ways of making cinema and ritual among the Tikm'n – also known as the Maxakali. We argue that the 'way' of filming and making cinema of this indigenous people cannot be understood without comprehending the logic and strategy employed to perform the rituals that, generally speaking, guide the making of the films. At the same time, by recording these rituals, the rituals and the culture of a people are simultaneously recuperated and multiplied. We also suggest that in order to gain a clearer insight into this cinema, it needs to be understood alongside the concepts that inform Maxakali cosmology, without forgetting that the history narrated for the films (and beyond them) is a history of the Maxakali viewpoint concerning pacification and the harmonious coexistence sought with both the 'spirits' and the white world. It amounts to a cosmocinepolitics or, put otherwise, a type of film-ritual.

INTRODUCTION

In a previous article, we presented the idea that indigenous cinema devotes as much attention to the pre-production of the film as to the act of making the film per se, including its filming, editing and divulgation. It is as though each of these phases were longer or more extensive than the way of making cinema in western society or than the spectacle. We propose the provisional notion of 'film-ritual' to describe an indigenous way of making cinema (Caixeta de Queiroz, 2008). This implies more or less the following: 1) what is outside or anterior to the film itself (or its conditions of production) needs to be taken very seriously, whether it is the ritual or the everyday life that serves as the basis or guide for the film, or the opinion of whoever serves as a mediator to the film's existence (the elders in the case of the *xavante*-films of Divino Tserewahu; the shamans in the case of the *tikm'n* films[1] of Isael); 2) what happens during the film is an extension or a composition of what happens in everyday life or ritual; 3) what happens after the film (who sees the film, the indigenous elders or children, or the non-indigenous public?) or where the film is shown (in a cinema theatre or in the village?) is a crucial horizon for the pragmatics of indigenous cinema.[2]

Put in terms closer to the conceptual universe of the audiovisual, indigenous cinema seems to entail a very strong imbrication or dependency between field and extra-field, or, to cite André Brasil's recent theoretical propositions (2013), between field and ante-field. We take into account the fact that indigenous people make cinema for themselves and for us, deploying a technological repertoire and a language that is exterior to them and subject, therefore, to transformations when it is translated-transported to the interior of a community based on oral tradition. In other words, we are speaking here of a technology and a type of knowledge (we call all of this, both the instruments and the know-how associated with them, a 'machine' – a cinematographic machine by analogy with a shamanic machine) exterior to the people who manipulate it and, in so doing, incorporate and transform it. We evoke an 'invention'

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1 Foreign terms appear in italics except when these are nouns for a people: in these cases, the first letter is placed in capitals. For instance, we shall use '*tikm'n*' as an adjective and 'Tikm'n' as a substantive referring to the *tikm'n* people. We shall also use the terms Maxakali and Tikm'n interchangeably to refer to the same people.

2 Here we use the term 'indigenous *cinema*' solely to designate the films (audiovisual products) made by indigenous people. We are aware that this use is open to a critique (one that we do not intend to explore or respond to here) that would deconstruct one or other term of the expression: in other words, our intention is not to give a reply either to what cinema is, or to what indigenous is: instead we wish to ask what type of cinema is made by a particular indigenous person or people.

or 'reinvention' of Maxakali culture in the sense given to these terms by Roy Wagner (1975) and, by extension, an 'invention' and 'reinvention' of Maxakali cinema. As demonstrated below, we believe that to 'invent' an indigenous cinema is to counterinvent a culture. In this specific case, to invent a Maxakali cinema is to counterinvent (or reinvent) a ritual, and vice-versa, in the same way that cosmology is reinvented whenever it is actualized in ritual practice.[3]

Our aim in this work may appear somewhat presumptuous: namely, to attempt to comprehend indigenous cinema – and more specifically, Maxakali cinema – through three dimensions of their existence that we delineate as their 'extra-field': history, cosmology and ritual. Conversely, we aim to comprehend Maxakali ritual through their cinema and, ultimately, how one is transformed into the other, or one transforms the other. We know that an extensive literature exists that tends to comprehend cinema solely as a 'language' sustained and reproduced through its internal structure. However, we believe that a better understanding of the kind of indigenous cinema made today requires, as a minimum, that we venture into the history and the cosmology of the people to which it relates. More than this, we need to comprehend the type of training received by the concrete individuals who make this cinema. While it is necessary to question the idea of indigenous 'culture' in general (just as we have to speak of 'cinemas' and not 'cinema') or even in particular, along the lines of 'Maxakali culture,' we must also recognize that each of these cultures contains the trajectories of particular persons that need to be considered in order to better comprehend the type of cinema that they make. In other words, this topic necessarily slips into the 'problem of authorship,' but among indigenous (or non-western) societies, it acquires another relevance. In these contexts, the relation between collective and individual (or the dimension of collective authorship) appears in a form distinct from our own society. In the case of the Maxakali cinema analysed here, just as we cannot separate the dimension of ritual (and cosmology) from film, so we cannot separate the 'directing' of ritual and film from the particular shamans and filmmakers involved. We hope to demonstrate this hypothesis more clearly over the course of

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3 In this discussion, we follow Roy Wagner's proposal that the idea of 'invention' should not be seen as something opposite to a given 'reality' (or to the innate or an 'original culture'), but rather as a dialectical process intrinsic to the functioning of any 'culture' in which invention and convention combine (in this sense, there is no emergent or 'spurious' culture). In the author's words (1975, 52; 53 and 55, original italics): "*The necessity of invention is given by cultural convention, and the necessity of cultural convention is given by invention.* [...] Invention changes things, and convention resolves those changes into a recognizable world. [...] Invention is always a kind of 'learning,' and learning is invariably an act of invention, or reinvention."

the text and, in so doing, explain why we cannot – and do not propose to – undertake a film 'analysis' grounded in a cinematographic critique or an "anthropological literature of film analysis." Still less do we propose to discuss 'products' and processes of 'cultural projects.'

Before analysing the films themselves, then, we present a brief history of the Maxakali people and the 'training' (as filmmakers and indigenous leaders) of the couple Isael and Sueli Maxakali. In Isabelle Stengers's terms (2007), 'cosmopolitics' is a proposal (less than a concept) that serves to describe the relations that 'men' constitute not only with other men but also the relation that men and women establish with other men and women and with non-human others.[4] Hence we conclude that these indigenous filmmakers not only make cinema, but also ritual and politics through their films – that is, they make a kind of cosmocinepolitics.

Next, we also present some basic concepts from Maxakali cosmology on the pretext that these provide us with a clearer insight into the content and meaning of Maxakali films. The latter are made from images and sounds, of course, but images and sounds do not mean the same things for 'them' as they do for 'us.' Without understanding what is in play exterior and anterior to the frame (the extra-field and the ante-field, the invisible), it is less easy to perceive or be affected by what is emphasized in the (cinematographic) field itself. And, in this case, what is outside is everything: an entire world, an entire other world.

After analysing various Maxakali films in terms of their techno-practical dimension and their 'symbolic structure,' we conclude – albeit inconclusively – with some remarks on the conceptual (political and aesthetic) implications for our own 'economy of images' and on the possible worlds that emerge from the images produced by other women and men about othernesses.

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4 We stress that this involves a proposal, not a concept, in which the term politics is traversed by the cosmos. Isabelle Stengers (2007, 49) writes: "In the term cosmopolitical, cosmos refers to the unknown constituted by these multiple, divergent worlds, and to the articulations of which they could eventually be capable." If we understand the author correctly, her argument contains a critique of the idea of representation and consensus in the functioning of the dominant politics (the kind inherited from the Greek tradition – the polis – that excludes the presence of non-humans), at the same time as it radicalizes the meaning of cosmos. It is a question of expanding politics to include not only humans but all non-humans: animate and inanimate beings, technical objects and spirits, among others. In this article, by adding cinema to the term cosmopolitics, we hope to demonstrate how the Maxakali cosmos traverses their cinema and politics and imbues them with meaning.

THE MAXAKALI

The contemporary ethnographic literature describes the present-day Maxakali as the remnants of various indigenous groups that once inhabited a vast portion of Atlantic Rainforest along the coast of Brazil, on the borders of the current states of Minas Gerais, Bahia and Espírito Santo.[5] In the past, the Maxakali probably lived in numerous small villages. Fleeing the persecutions of colonization or the wars with the so-called Botocudos (whose remaining descendants today form the Krenak), they dispersed into forest areas of the region. The persecution and encircling of the Maxakali by the colonizers prompted a dramatic decline in their population. The data gathered by the ethnologist Marcos Rubinger in 1949 (cited in Berbert, 2017, 27) indicated a total population of just 59 people.

After this period, however, the Maxakali recovered their strength and their population: today they number around two thousand people, according to data from 2014 produced by the Special Secretariat of Indigenous Health (Berbert, 2017, 27), "with a large predominance of children under the age of 6" (Tugny, 2014, 157). Until the beginning of the twenty-first century, the entire population lived inside the Maxakali Indigenous Land, which, since 1993, combined the former areas of Água Boa (located in the municipality of Santa Helena de Minas Gerais, MG) and Pradinho (located in the municipality of Bertópolis, MG).[6]

The Maxakali call themselves Tikm'n.[7] Until very recently this

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5 In addition to the extensive research of Rosângela Tugny on the Maxakali, still in progress, from which various important works have already been produced, among them Tugny (2011, 2014), Tugny et al. (2009a), Tugny et al. (2009b), there are also around a dozen MA dissertations and PhD theses on this indigenous people, including the pioneering works of Álvares (1992) and Paraíso (1998), and a number of more recent works: Berbert (2017), Teodolino de Andrade (2017), Costa (2015), Vasconcelos (2015), Romero (2015), Rosse (2013), Jamal Junior (2012), Campelo (2009), Ribeiro (2008), Alvarenga (2007), and Vieira (2006).

6 Previously these two areas occupied by the indigenous population were split down the middle by a corridor of farms. The Maxakali Indigenous Land (IL) was eventually demarcated in 1993, uniting the two former indigenous areas of Água Boa and Pradinho. The Maxakali IL was homologated in 1996 with a surface area of 5,305.67 hectares. In July 1999, the farmers who had settled in the strip of land dividing the former areas were evicted by court order. As soon as the farmers left, the Pradinho groups occupied most of the area. The Água Boa groups countered by delimiting the areas of the groups in accordance with the municipal border: those from Pradinho would retain the areas lying within Bertópolis municipality; the Água Boa groups would be allocated the areas lying within Santa Helena de Minas.

7 According to Berbert (2017, 27), citing a Maxakali informant and the dissertation of Costa (2015), the term *tikm'n* is an expression formed by the contraction of the words *tihik* ['person,' 'people,' 'human'], *gmg* [we exclusive] and *hn* [woman].

self-denomination was used internally only, but today its use has expanded, becoming a category commonly employed in relations with white people and, above all, anthropologists, taking the term as a substitute for 'Maxakali': today the talk is more of the 'Tikm'n people' or '*tikm'n* cinema,' and less of the Maxakali people or Maxakali cinema. Almost the entire population speaks the maternal language, which is classified by linguists as a member of the Macro-Jê stock. Few people speak Portuguese fluently, which is noteworthy given that they have been surrounded by farmers and colonists for more than three centuries, and today visit the nearby towns and even the state capital, Belo Horizonte.[8] From the start of the twenty-first century, the presence of scholars – especially anthropologists and ethnomusicologists – increased considerably among the Tikm'n, while the latter began to become more visible in the university environment, especially at the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG). This included taking courses like the Intercultural Training for Indigenous Educators (FIEI) program, where the indigenous students invested considerable efforts in narrating their histories and myths, producing drawings to illustrate books, learning how to handle photographic-video cameras, and researching other areas of knowledge focused on translating the scientific tradition into knowledge closer to their own tradition.

At the same time as the Tikm'n increased their presence among the white population through the intermediation of the university, in 2004, inside the indigenous land, a large-scale conflict broke out that led to the 'local groups' dividing. Two distinct groups left their villages in Água Boa and Pradinho as a consequence and moved to new territories. For a long time, Dona Isabel (Noêmia's mother and Sueli Maxakali's grandmother) harboured the dream of returning to the land where she had grown up, on the border of the present-day Maxakali Indigenous Land, an area through which the Córrego do Norte (North Stream) flows (Romero, 2015, 112). The two groups moved away, therefore, and reoccupied the land of their ancestors, but after a conflict with the local farmers (see below), they were forced to leave the locality. From 2007, two new villages were established, situated in two other separate indigenous lands: Aldeia Verde (close to the town of Ladainha, MG), formed through the leadership of Noêmia and Sueli Maxakali; and Mundo Verde Cachoeirinha (close to Topázio, a district of Teófilo Otoni), formed under the leadership

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8 For this reason we can assert that while the Maxakali suffered acutely and violently from colonial invasion, they were never completely dominated and always resisted on the basis of their own cultural premises. They are not, therefore, an emergent people. This does not mean that transformation has been absent from their history. Indeed, it is precisely in this sense that we use the Wagnerian concept of 'invention' to explore such processes of change and the ways in which local groups divide and unite, as we shall see below, always keeping a given convention in mind and in action.

of Rafael Maxakali. The two thousand Maxakali people are distributed today, therefore, between these four main areas of occupation: Água Boa, Pradinho, Aldeia Verde and Cachoeirinha.

In this work, we focus on examples taken from Aldeia Verde and the development there of a unique experiment in indigenous cinema, articulated by a filmmaking couple, Sueli and Isael Maxakali.

THE (RE)INVENTION OF A CULTURE AND AN INDIGENOUS CINEMA

The emergence of a Maxakali cinematographic production is intertwined with the population's participation in various activities and articulations with the white world, notably via the Federal University of Minas Gerais. Despite the difficulty of situating this 'history' in time, we can highlight one specific event, the 'International Ethnomusicology Encounter: African and indigenous music in Brazil,' held in October 2000 in the city of Belo Horizonte. The primary aim of this meeting was to refute the absence of indigenous and African voices that, though singing profusely, were (and are) almost never heard at national level. Under the coordination of Professor Rosângela de Tugny, various researchers from the areas of music and anthropology participated in this event (such as José Jorge de Carvalho,[9] Samuel Araújo, Angela Lühning, Glaura Lucas and Rafael de Menezes Bastos) with one basic preoccupation: on the eve of the 500th anniversary of European invasion (rather than discovery) of Brazil, how to reinvent a university (a city, a society) until then self-represented as predominantly white, based not on a diatonic perspective but a more plural and open chromatic vision (both auditory and visual, both de jure and de facto)?[10] On this occasion, the Maxakali came to the university to present their music, along with many other makers of ethnic music with indigenous and African roots. This encounter reverberated widely and developed into a very strong alliance between the Maxakali-Tikm'n and Professor Rosângela de Tugny who, since then, has made both audio and audiovisual recordings of the *tikm'n* songs with her students and research partners.[11]

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9 At that time, racial quotas were still no more than a political and social demand within the Brazilian university system. José Jorge de Carvalho, from the University of Brasilia, was responsible for elaborating one of the first quota proposals, presented in 1999, but approved only in 2003, at his own university.

10 The result of the event, a compendium of texts and reflections on the subject, accompanied by a rich acoustic archive (music and dialogue), was published by Rosângela Tugny and Ruben Caixeta de Queiroz (2006).

11 Not only those studying music: many students from the MA course in Anthropology at UFMG also visited the Maxakali area, whether or not members of the team coordinated by Tugny, with the intention of 'working with' and learning more about the people (see note 5 above).

Subsequently, among many other different forms, these encounters-registers were actualized in the 'Image-Body-Truth-Project: transiting Maxakali knowledge,' also coordinated by Rosângela Tugny. More than an academic project, 'image-body-truth' was first and foremost a 'cultural action,' which was submitted as a project for funding in the name of Associação Filmes de Quintal and approved by the Ministry of Culture. This action proposed to record, transcribe and illustrate the corpus of *tikm'n* songs, and resulted in the production of various books accompanied by CDs. Audiovisual workshops were also proposed to be run in partnership with the non-governmental organisation Vídeo nas Aldeias, which would be able to initiate the Tikm'n into film technology, or improve their skills, and help them finish two films. Finally, photography workshops were proposed, which resulted in the publication of a catalogue of photos. Begun in 2005, the project was completed in 2009, culminating in the publication of a book of photos and two books of songs: *Cantos do Xnm* (Songs of the Bat) and *Cantos do Mõgmõka* (Songs of the Eagle).[12]

Additionally, two films were completed through the video workshops: *Acordar o Dia - Ãyõk Mõka òk Hãmtup* (Vila Nova-Pradinho Village, directed collectively, 2009) and *Caçando Capivara - Kuxakuk Xak* (Vila Nova-Pradinho Village, directed collectively, 2009).[13] These two films explore a thematics central to the spirit of one phase of the Vídeo nas Aldeias project, namely the declared intention to 'film nothing' as a mechanism against the kind of reified idea of culture frequently represented by 'films of ritual,' more widely found in indigenous cinema.[14] In *Acordar o*

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12 The photography and photographic editing workshops were coordinated by the researcher Ana Alvarenga. A first edition of the books was published by Editora Azougue.

13 The workshops that gave rise to the filming and editing of these two films was coordinated by Mari Correa, linked at the start of this project to Vídeo nas Aldeias and later to Instituto Catitu – Aldeia em Cena.

14 In an interesting reflection on the topic, Mari Corrêa states: "The recurrent theme [of many workshops] was that of 'filming the culture': filming the culture so as not to lose it, to show the younger generations, so that the whites would respect them more. In this conversation, and in many others held before and after, culture is very often identified exclusively as ritual; it means traditional festivals, full stop. We began by asking them [the indigenous people] about this idea: so a people who no longer perform their traditional festival no longer have a culture? The concept of culture expanded as our discussion deepened: speaking their language, their ways of looking after children, planting swiddens, preparing food, the things that people believe in, histories, values... these would all surface as elements and manifestations of culture. At a certain point, one of the participants, a Terena man, visibly relieved, said: 'In my village, traditional festivals are no longer held and only the elders speak our language. I'd been thinking that there would be nothing to film, there was no film to be made there.'" Source: http://www.videonasaldeias.org.br/2009/biblioteca.php?c=21 (consulted 04/10/2017).

dia ('Awakening the Day'), morning in the village is shown with billows of smoke and steam coming from the house fires and filtering coffee, and everything unfolding at a very slow pace, controlled by the *tikm'n* people – all of which contrasts with the truck, which leaves for the town and market, the destination for the indigenous people 'outside their world.' In *Caçando Capivara* ('Hunting Capybara'), meanwhile, the aim is to recount the challenge posed by hunting in the territory occupied by the Maxakali, a region devastated by colonization. What is at play here – beyond the search for food – is a relation, made present by the songs, between humans and those former humans who transformed into other beings (the animals, ex-humans).

Sometime before these two films were made, though, Isael Maxakali, who had already taken part in a video workshop in 2004 (see below), filmed a boys' initiation ritual called *Tatakok* (caterpillar-spirit) on his own initiative in his new village (Aldeia Verde) in 2007. This 'film-ritual' shows or expresses the spirit of the dead children, the mothers weeping from the pain of being separated from their sons. As described elsewhere (Caixeta de Queiroz, 2008, 121), these are the children who died and turned into spirits and those who momentarily remain in seclusion in the *kuxex* ('religion house') to be instructed in the ways of 'becoming a man' in the *tikm'n* world.[15]

Isael films the ritual and comments at the same time as he is filming (a procedure unparalleled in documentary history[16]), reinforcing the dimension of the visible and the 'elements of *tikm'n* culture' behind the images. We discuss this film in more detail later. For now, though, we mention it here simply to emphasize an important point of our argument: in 2007, the same year when Aldeia Verde was founded (created) following a huge conflict that provoked the dispersal of 'local groups' (see below), Isael Maxakali filmed in order to re-establish his group in the new village, reinventing his people at the same time as inventing their cinema – a kind of Maxakali cinema.[17]

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15 *Tatakox* was shown for the first time to a non-indigenous public at *Forumdoc.bh.2007*, held in the city of Belo Horizonte. The film had a big impact on the public, so much so that the Jury of the International Competition Show (composed of three women: Roberta Veiga, Stella Senra and Paula Gaitán) invented and awarded a new prize (the Glauber Rocha Award) to Isael's film in recognition of its intensity and narrative force!

16 In fact, as we shall see below, Isael Maxakali had been acquiring a set of audiovisual techniques and languages since the beginning of 2000 and, through the use of bricolage, had created his own technique and style of *tikm'n* 'writing.'

17 We emphasize once again that we use the notion of invention or reinvention here in the sense attributed by Roy Wagner (see note 3 above) and not an invention out of nothing (as though it were something artificial), nor an absolutely new or original reinvention.

As we shall also see, soon after the showing of *Tataxox* in the Aldeia Verde community and beyond, the residents of Aldeia Pradinho, under the leadership of Guigui Maxakali, held another ritual and made another film on the same theme, increasing the cinema-ritual through a process of addition and differentiation.

THE MAXAKALI FILMMAKING DUO: ISAEL-SUELI

When a conflict erupted among the Maxakali in 2004, Sueli's and Isael's families were completely immersed in its dynamic. In August 2005, two sub-groups formed by around 150 people and led by Noêmia (the couple's mother and mother-in-law, respectively) occupied an area of the Monte das Oliveiras Farm, or Córrego do Norte, on the border of the Indigenous Land. The farmers organized and threatened to kill the indigenous population, making occupation unsustainable in practice. Romero (2015, 112-113) describes the account given to him by Noêmia Maxakali ten years after the actual event:

> Despite the persecution by the farmers and the repeated death threats, the leaders kept the occupation going. Then one afternoon the same year [2005] the Indians heard the engine roar of an approaching truck. It was carrying two gunmen armed with 22 and 38 calibre revolvers. They arrived already shooting. Women and children hid and began to throw stones at the vehicle. They managed to smash the windscreen and dent the bodywork. Amid all the confusion, [the spirits] *Kotkuphi* and *Putuxop* arrived. *Kotkuphi* cried aaaax aaaax aaaax aaaax, accompanied by *Putuxop*: yap yap yap yap yap yap yap yap yap yap! ti ti ti ti ti ti ti ti ti! Armed with a small air rifle, *Kotkuphi* managed to catch one of the invaders by surprise, injuring him in the back and the belly. Wounded, the two men hurried back into the truck and left. The word was that they abandoned the 'job.'

The 'encampment' lasted just three months. After this period, the two sub-groups roamed between different 'shelters' and makeshift dwellings in the region's towns, or even in the territory of the Krenak indigenous people. Finally, in 2007, FUNAI acquired lands in the region and transferred one subgroup to what is today Aldeia Mundo Novo Cachoeirinha, and the other to Aldeia Verde. Sueli Maxakali told us the reason for accepting the latter village as their new home: "we were tired of fighting, we wanted a place to live in peace, to live and reorganize Maxakali culture." At first, they complained a lot about the location and their new territory: distant from other parents, with no forest to hunt in, or any river to swim and fish in! But very soon the native vegetation began to take over the pastures, and the trees and animals – which had never ceased to occupy a virtual place in

tikm'n thought – gradually began to form part of Aldeia Verde's landscape. A health post and school were constructed there, as well as, of course, the Kuxex (the religion 'house' or 'cabin'). The village plaza began to be frequented again regularly by the 'spirits' (*yãmiyxop*). All of this was impelled by *tikm'n* words and songs, mediated by the shamans (*payexop*), and finally, as we shall see, manipulated/inspired by the camera of Isael Maxakali. An indigenous collective type of cinema began to be invented and reinvented, a people strengthened by the cinematographic *mise-en-scène*.[18]

In fact, we need to turn back in time to obtain a clearer insight into the resurgence (through addition and multiplication, rather than fusion or synthesis) of a people and a 'resistant way of life' mediated by shamanic tradition and cinema. Sueli is a political leader from Aldeia Verde who gained her training working alongside her mother (Noêmia), resolving land issues and internal conflicts, while also attempting to translate the intentions of the elders for white people to understand. Notably Sueli is the daughter of a Guarani-Kaiowá man, who had been taken to Água Boa village as a detainee from the Krenak 'rehabilitation' home during the military dictatorship.[19] Thus her life course has been marked by the

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18 Earlier we cited the idea of the invention or reinvention of a culture, in the sense formulated by Roy Wagner. This notion can be extended to the field of documentary cinema, connecting it to the notion of reinventing a people through cinema, as proposed by the Canadian filmmaker Pierre Perrault. Commenting on Perrault's work, the French philosopher and critic Michel Marie (2012, 18) wrote that he "always fought for the survival of a community, a language and a culture. His work is traversed by a siege mentality." Another French philosopher, Jean-Louis Comolli (2008, 28-29), also inspired by Pierre Perrault (particularly his film 'Pour la suite du monde,' 1963) and writing the preface to the Brazilian edition of *Voir et Pouvoir* under the title of (in translation) "For the continuation of the world (with cinema)," remarked that "the relations of force in the world evidently transformed cinema [...]. At the same time, cinema transformed the world – and the camera transformed the human figure. The cinema-machine includes the world just as the world includes the machine. Documentary cinema is the mixing console of this reciprocity. Just as the world produces it, so the cinematographic relation annuls or suspends any stable distinction between 'inside' and 'outside,' 'true' and 'false,' 'documentary' and 'fiction,' 'objective' and 'subjective.'"

19 An important detail. As we shall see later, in 1966 Captain Manoel Pinheiro was appointed to head the operations of the Indian Protection Service (*Serviço de Proteção ao Índio*: SPI) in Minas Gerais. Linked to the National Information Service (*Serviço Nacional de Informações*: SNI) and the Military Police Reserve Service of Minas Gerais State, the captain created the Rural Indigenous Guard (*Guarda Rural Indígena*: GRIN) in the Maxakali area. This unit was made responsible for keeping order in the villages, curbing the movements of the indigenous population, imposing work and denouncing offenders to the Military Police Detachment stationed there. Minor offences were punished by prison in the area itself, while those deemed more serious led to exile at the Indigenous Agricultural Reformatory, also known as the Krenak Indigenous Reeducation Centre, located in the area demarcated for the Krenak people, in the Rio Doce

abusive presence of the colonizers, the invaders of her lands, from the time she was born. As she became older, she assumed the position of a political agent in the reverse pacification of the whites.

Isael, Sueli's husband, experienced at close hand the story told by his mother-in-law and the latter's own mother (Noêmia and Isabel, respectively). When a larger-scale conflict erupted among his people, Isael was already imbued with the spirit of making connections with the white world, especially through his participation in the workshops run by *Forumdoc* (the Belo Horizonte Documentary and Ethnographic Film Festival), held for the first time in 2004,[20] his matriculation on the Intercultural Training for Indigenous Educators (FIEI) course, and his participation in the latter's painting and video workshops from 2006 to 2011, when he stood out through his production of drawings to illustrate the book *Hitupmã`ax: Curar*, published in 2008.[21] He also attended the UFMG Winter Festival, held between 22 and 26 July 2013 in the city of Diamantina, when he participated in a video workshop coordinated by Divino Tserewahú. Prior to this, Isael, in 2008, along with a non-indigenous friend with whom he had worked in the FIEI workshops, Charles Bicalho, founded a non-governmental organisation to produce and edit videos, Pajé Filmes. The organization has been responsible for editing and divulging an important corpus of material filmed and directed by the Maxakali themselves. This partnership with Charles Bicalho added yet further impetus to the incessant production and multiplication of *tikm'n* cinema.

Almost invariably accompanied by his partner, Suely, and Maxakali shamans like Mamey and Totó, Isael thus participated in various 'artistic' training events with white allies in order to take back these ideas and knowledge to their village, applying and transforming them to invent their own 'culture.' Isael and Suely Maxakali undertook (and still undertake today) all of this in conjunction with and parallel to two other 'professional' activities, as teacher and indigenous health agent, respectively, at Aldeia Verde. In addition to all his other activities, in 2016 Isael was elected town councillor in Ladainha (MG). In sum, Isael and Sueli are figures who play various roles in Maxakali society and in the relationship between this society and the outside world.

Valley in Minas Gerais. This correctional institution was created by Pinheiro to hold members of indigenous groups who resisted the orders of their village administrators or those considered 'socially maladjusted.' As described later, the film *Grin* was based on the experiences of the Maxakali people during this period, still present in the memories of older people.

20 This workshop was coordinated by Pedro Portella and run by indigenous filmmakers from the Vídeo nas Aldeias project (Natuyu Ikpeng, Kumané Ikpeng, Karané Ikpeng and Divino Tserewahú) to train a group of Maxakali youths, Isael Maxakali among them.

21 This book is a collective publication on aspects of cosmology and practice relating to health and sickness. It includes illustrations by Rafael Maxakali, Pinheiro Maxakali, Isael Maxakali, Suely Maxakali, Mamey Maxakali and Totó Maxakali.

figure 1
Isael and Sueli Maxakali, in their house with their daughter, during the workshops that led to the film *Quando os Yãmiy vêm dançar conosco*. Source: Milene Migliano (2012).

To conclude this brief portrait of our main characters, it is worth citing their own account of themselves:

> Isael: I teach classes in Maxakali language and culture in the village school. I lived in Água Boa village until 2006. My family and I, along with other relatives, spent a year in a temporary camp called Duas Lagoas, close to Campanário in Minas Gerais, following a conflict in Água Boa, which led us to look for other land. In 2007 we were transferred to a new reserve in the municipality of Ladainha, also in Minas, where we still live today.

> Sueli: I am president of the Maxakali Association of Aldeia Verde. I am a photographer. I take *still* photographs and help direct Isael's films.

In an interview given to Andriza M. Teodolino de Andrade (2017, 41), Isael Maxakali tells the researcher how he learnt to make films by watching films made by people from other indigenous groups, in a curious and amateur fashion, driven by the desire to make films about his community and to show his 'culture':

> The reason is I saw a lot of videos of our kin, from other indigenous groups. When I arrived in Belo Horizonte, I would watch films by our Guarani and Xavante kin... In the house of Rosângela (Tugny), I would ask to play videos of our kin. Then I thought: wow, I want to do this too, show our culture. I want to show my community too, right? I'm really

interested in showing us in this way, I'm not earning [money] but I like to show my work to the community.[22]

SOME CONCEPTS OF MAXAKALI ONTOLOGY

Before turning to our analysis of the audiovisual works produced by the Maxakali, it is important to briefly examine their ontology, or some of the basic concepts. These are crucial to understanding what and why they film or show in their films.[23] These are: *Ãyuhuk, Ĩnmõxa, Koxuk, Kuxex, Mĩmãnãm, Tihik, Tikmʼn, Yãmĩyxop, Yãmĩyhex, Yãmĩy.*

One point to stress here is that definitions or translations of these concepts into another language are always provisional (or equivocal) and can only be clearly recognized and differentiated through the relations between the terms. These terms are, in turn, composed and recomposed through the act of speaking or through ritual pragmatics. As we stated earlier, *tikmʼn* means something like the 'Maxakali' indigenous group, 'us people,' a concept that refers to a people who speak the same language and share territorial or marital relations, distinguished from other nearby or more distant indigenous peoples, such as, respectively, the 'Pataxó' (who may be 'ex-Maxakali') or Krenak (with whom the Maxakali warred in the past) and the peoples of the Upper Xingu. Meanwhile the concept *tihik* refers either to humans generically, or to 'kin,' in opposition to the non-indigenous population.[24]

Conceptualized precisely in opposition to the *tihik* are the *ãyuhuk*, the strangers, visitors, enemies, but also the non-indigenous population or 'whites' – beings endowed with formidable technological powers, including the capacity to destroy other beings (the *tihik* themselves, but also other non-humans we call fauna and flora, or 'the natural environment').

Both 'non-human' persons (animals and other 'natural' beings) and 'human' persons (the *tihik*) possess a spirit or what we call 'soul.' But this spirit better corresponds to an idea widespread in the Amerindian universe known by the term 'double,' which defines a doubling of the person. Differently to our own acceptations, therefore, the idea of spirit

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22 We have modified the orthography of the original text, which, in our view, mistakenly tries to convey the interviewee's way of speaking a foreign language (Portuguese).

23 These concepts are basically taken from the works of Tugny (2011, 2014) and Tugny et al. (2009a, 2009b).

24 To add further nuance to this translation, *tihik* is a primordial Maxakali human, the kind that existed prior to the differentiation between subjects or entities, including the earth and sky. In this sense, *tihik* is 'a background molecular unity' that traverses human subjects – those recognized as such by the Tikmʼn. Put otherwise, they are the primordial Tikmʼn.

more specifically refers to the capacity for agency, as distinct from personhood, that resides in the 'body.' Thus when the Tikm'n pronounce the word that we usually translate as 'spirit,' *yãmĩy* or *yãmĩyxop*, they are referring to the body and spirit simultaneously. For example, there are the *tatakox* (which are both caterpillars and 'caterpillar-spirits'), or the *yãmĩyhex* (the women-spirits), or the *yãmĩyxop* (the spirit-peoples or the 'human-animal-peoples'). However, the concepts of *yãmĩy* and *yãmĩyxop* belong to a semantic field that extends far beyond this pure contrast with humans. According to Tugny (2014, 160-161):

> the concept of *yãmĩyxop* can be perceived as a complex, formed by the notion of: spirit, songs and the events in which they reveal themselves. [...] Some [of these 'spirit-peoples'] help men to make arrows, others assist during hunts, others order the village houses, and so on. All of them are at once virtual devices employed in shamanic journeys to rescue the spirit of someone sick in the village, and possibilities for rekindling kinship ties with people, always yearning for their dead kin, transformed into song-images.[25]

figure 2
Isael filming the *yãmĩy* on the plaza of Aldeia Verde, exchanging food with the women. Source: Renata Otto (2011).

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25 It should be emphasized that the *yãmĩy* and the *yãmiyxop* are 'beings' of nature and culture at the same time, figures of 'supernature' that still exist in the present world and time, as 'representatives' of those beings that belonged to the primordial times when the world was still undifferentiated (before any differentiation into 'species' had taken place). The *yãmĩyxop* were created from the ancestors, mõnãyxop, and are manifested today through figures of nature (animals) and simultaneously as figures of 'supernature' (spirit) and 'culture' or figures of attributed humanity (song and ritual).

When the *yãmĩyxop* come to the village, they sing, dance and exchange food. There the spirits are guided by men and by shamans. Hence they answer human solicitations through men. With women, though, they "dance, play, fight, flirt, and receive food and other items from them" (Tugny, 2014, 161).26 When the *yãmĩyxop* arrive in the village, they remain in the 'religion house' or *kuxex*: a simple cabin, covered in thatch, built on the village periphery during the ritual, with one 'wall' completely sealed to the inside or village plaza, and an opening that provides access to the 'outside' of the village, connecting to the 'forest' and the world of 'spirits' and 'others.' Women cannot 'see' the spirits when the latter are lodged inside the *kuxex*. This is why they are barred from entering and, in the Maxakali films, the 'universe' inside this house is never shown, since the women – as potential viewers – cannot 'see' what is happening there.

Ĩnmõxa is a type of 'malevolent spirit,' a dead body of a woman or man that did not move on to the celestial level. Instead, it wanders the terrestrial surface whenever it emerges from its dwelling place in the lower layers of the earth (a sign of rottenness); a devouring, cannibal monster able and willing to eat and prey on living 'humans.' The polar opposite to *ĩnmõxa* is the figure of *mõnãyxop*: an ancestor and ally of present-day humans.

When the *yãmĩyxop* arrive in the village, their eyes are usually blindfolded: they appear to have been abducted by the shamans or by the *mĩmãnãm*, a painted and shining mast (translated as 'pau de religião' in Portuguese, 'religion pole'), identified as an attribute of some of these *yãmĩyxop*.

The word for shaman in contemporary Maxakali is *payexop*, a derivation of the Tupi-Guarani term 'payé' or 'pajé,' which has entered the Brazilian Portuguese lexicon. Shamans can also be simply called *yãyãxop*, the term used to designate village elders (Romero, 2015). They occupy an important place in all Maxakali rituals and films. Neither the rituals nor the films (especially those on rituals, or the 'film-ritual') are made without the input of shamans concerning what can be 'depicted' or shown, what should be 'cut' (or left unshown) and what should be made explicit in the relation between humans and spirits, men and women. To use a cinematographic language, the shaman is the primary agent responsible for defining the composition between field and extra-field. In other words, the shaman performs a 'director' function within the ritual and the film. Or more precisely, he is a kind of cosmological diplomat (someone who invites, converses with and instructs the movements of the spirits in the ritual) at the same time as acting as a cinematographic co-director, assisting the director or camera operator in the *mise-en-scène* (or modulation) of the

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26 According to Tugny et al. (2009a, 400), today the Tikm'n enumerate various large groups of *yãmĩyxop* possessing song repertoires, "which in turn proliferate in countless subclasses."

visible and the invisible, the control of what to show and emphasize and what not to show (obfuscate) or blur, within a subjective pragmatics.[27]

This is why, in the present essay, our discussion focuses not on film in a generic sense, but on a Maxakali film-ritual in which the role of the shaman is of critical importance, since he translates what is unfolding in the scene into the device of the film. The shaman is the one who enables the visible or the invisible – whether contained within the 'field' or in the 'extra-field' – to be 'seen' and composes the *tikm'n* 'images' properly speaking. Below we provide a schematic diagram of the basic (and unstable) relationship between the *tikm'n* cosmological agents in order to demonstrate that the 'framework' of cosmological relations, even if not explicit in the *tikm'n* film narratives, certainly serves them as a guide:[28]

figure 3
The basic (and unstable) relationship between the *tikm'n* cosmological agents.

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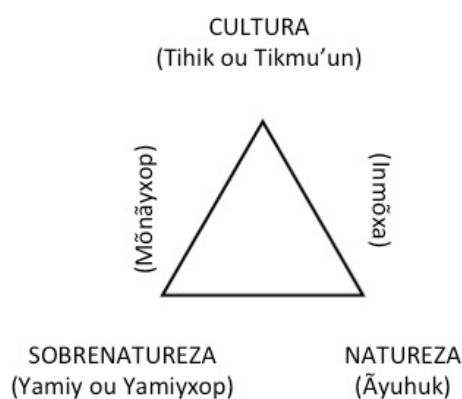
27 Here it is worth citing the contrast (image) between two 'modes of knowledge' proposed in visionary form by Viveiros de Castro (2013, 25): "Shamanism is a mode of action entailing a mode of knowledge, or, rather, a certain ideal of knowledge. In certain respects, this ideal is diametrically opposed to the objectivist epistemology encouraged by Western modernity. The latter's telos is provided by the category of the object: to know is to 'objectivize' by distinguishing between what is intrinsic to the object and what instead belongs to the knowing subject, which has been inevitably and illegitimately projected onto the object. [...] The form of the Other is the thing. [...] Amerindian shamanism is guided by the inverse ideal: to know is to personify, to take the point of view of what should be known or, rather, *the one* who should be known. The key is to know, in Guimaraes Rosa's phrase, 'the who of things,' without which there would be no way to respond intelligently to the question of 'why.' The form of the Other is the person."

28 Here we draw direct inspiration from the synthesis proposed by Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (1986, 204 passim and 612) for the structure of Tupi-Guarani cosmology, which operates in three terms and domains: "(1) gods, divinized souls, sky; (2) living humans, earth surface, village; (3) animals, spectres of the dead, forest (or subterranean world). These domains correspond to ontological categories that can be glossed as (1) Supernature, (2) Society, and (3) Nature. These three levels of being may be qualified respectively as meta-cultural, cultural, and infracultural." The author adds the proviso (an observation that also applies to the Maxakali case): "This structure is temporally and logically unstable."

As we have seen, the terms 'religion house' and 'religion pole' are used by the Maxakali themselves to translate their native terms *kuxex* and *mĩmãnãm*, respectively. This translation is made in their relationship with white people (especially anthropologists) or in the attempt to translate elements of their ritual (and their 'culture') into white culture. When it is a question of realizing not only a ritual but a film too, the Maxakali shaman and filmmaker then have to cope with a crucial concept in western ontology, specifically in cinematography, which is the concept of image. For us, the concept of 'image' typically refers to the idea of 'representation' or a 'trace of the real' (in a Bazinian ontology of the image). In her text, Tugny (2014, 166) informs us that the Maxakali translate the word *koxuk* as 'imagem' [image, in Portuguese], but also use the Portuguese terms for 'shadow' and 'soul.' She concludes that, for this people, an "image is not definitively something found in the domain of appearance, immateriality, the visible envelope or representation, supposing that something truer remains invisible."[29] In other words, the author defends the idea that we cannot find there (or in *tikm'n* cinema) the problem ('our' problem) of truth or reality, or, therefore, the problem of representation. Put otherwise, the field of cinematography (and of the image) and of *tikm'n* 'reality' is much more indiscernible or blurred than it is for 'ourselves.' However, the Maxakali – at least the shamans and the filmmaking couple Isael-Sueli – seem to have encountered in cinema a form of 'revealing' or relating to spirits in a more potent and intense form, at the same time as the images cannot be made or divulged in just any form (they are 'real' and provoke-act on humans aggressively or collaboratively). Some can and indeed should be shown, while others should be deleted or left concealed, recognizing here that the relation of the Maxakali with others (including 'whites'), like the relation of humans (including men and women) and shamans with spirits, should be based on a kind of dialogue or diplomacy.

We can illustrate this idea through a comment made by Sueli Maxakali. In our house one time, during a screening of a film made by herself and Isael called *Espírito* ('Spirit,' 2008), Sueli said about the image: "They (the *yãmĩy*) are highly impetuous, they push the women, beat the mean, I don't like confronting them, I flee from them, but my sister (Elisângela), doesn't let them off lightly, she messes with them." Afterwards, commenting on a scene in which the *yãmĩy* invade their houses, Sueli said,

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29 In the Maxakali universe, therefore, *koxuk* (image) forms part of the same semantic field as *yãmĩyxop* (spirit-people), much like other indigenous peoples, as Viveiros de Castro has already emphasized (cited in Tugny et al., 2009a, 400): "A spirit in Amazonia is less a thing than an image, less a species than an experience, less a term than a relation, less an object than an event, less a transcendent representative figure than a sign of the immanent universal background."

laughing and berating them at the same time: "they're going to take our chicken, look, they're taking it, they're merciless." What we mean is that, through the film (or the images), Sueli was able to see not only the images (our images) of what the spirits are, but also their own bodies, subject to the same affections as the humans, in a kind of cinema-ontological vision of what the Maxakali *yãmĩy* are – and the desire that, through the films, white people know it too.

Of course, in this relation-translation, there is always a semantic loss or an expansion of the context of reference, just as a transformation is taking place of the ritual itself (when *realized-actualized* in a form anterior or exterior to the film) and a transformation of the film on the ritual. A transformation exists from one to the other, but a transformation that involves a return to the starting point (the ritual when re-realized) in a multiple form. We shall come back to this point in our final remarks. For now, though, we turn to examine specific 'concrete' material through the analysis of some *tikm'n* films.

WHEN THE YÃMĨY COME TO DANCE WITH US[30]

We submitted the film project to the fourth edition of the *Filme em Minas* (Film in Minas) competition, held in 2009, where it received the prize for best film in the documentary category. It is worth pointing out that this award is an initiative of the Minas Gerais State government, financed by CEMIG but involving the Ministry of Culture in the form of a law for promoting audiovisual work and the Rouanet Law. Consequently, the prize was approved not only by the Minas Gerais State government but also by the Ministry of Culture. We underline this fact so as not to lose sight of how bureaucratic procedures, almost endless, are capable of disorienting even experienced producers during the realization of an apparently simple project. It also helps counter the idea that making an 'indigenous' film (or project) is something 'pure,' uncontaminated by a 'mode of production,' while simultaneously drawing attention to the lines of flight or even fissures that these same projects (and films) potentially imply for the mode of production of cultural projects and for 'non-indigenous' cinema.

This point aside, the film *Quando os Yãmĩy vêm dançar conosco* (When the *Yãmĩy* come to dance with us) began as a response to the demands

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30 This 52-minute film, completed in 2012, is the collective authorship of Maxakali, Sueli Maxakali and Renata Otto. Editing is by Carolina Canguçu, production by Milene Migliano. Among all the films analysed in the context of this work, this provides the strongest example since we participated directly in its production. Consequently, we can discuss the process in depth (field, extra-field or ante-field), an essential element in understanding how any film is made, even more so a Maxakali film, including which agencies were involved in its making.

for training activities and for better film recording and post-production equipment to be provided to Aldeia Verde too, as had happened in Vila Nova do Pradinho village (in the context of the *Image-Body-Truth Project*, see above) in 2008. In other words, the film project emerged from a debt we owed to Isael, Sueli, Noêmia and Aldeia Verde in general.[31]

At the same time, though, the film project was also integral to an accord made between the people of Aldeia Verde and the *yãmĩy* spirits. The film would enable the performance of the eagle ritual (*mõgmõka*), since this *yãmĩyxop* had been invited to descend, come to the village, sing and exchange with the men and women there. According to Tugny et al. (2009a, 34), the *yãmĩyxop* of the eagle-spirit (*mõgmõka*) is primarily associated with the feeling of nostalgia. The history of mõgmõka narrates that he emerged from the dead body of an ancestor-spirit. This mõñãyxop was a provider of game for his kin. He knew how to make traps: he would set one and wait up in the tree while the animals came to feed on its fruits until eventually his trap would catch a prey animal: armadillos, tapirs... While he was waiting one time, he was able to see, from his high vantage point, his wife permitting herself to be seduced by one of his kin. Distraught at being cheated on, the mõñãyxop turned into an eagle-spirit, a *mõgmõka*. This story also tells that the *mõñãyxop*, transformed into an eagle, favoured a 'brother-in-law' (a father's sister's son), allowing himself to be caught by him. Imprisoned and led to the other kin, he was plucked and killed. From his body then emerged all the qualities of present-day eagles, as well as the *yãmĩyxop mõgmõka*. The *mõgmõka* ritual is associated with a celebration of the generosity (the capacity to provide game) of the animal-spirit and, simultaneously, with the meanness (sexual and alimentary greediness) of the *tihik* kin. It provides an illustration of the etiquette of sexual relationships: brothers-in-law should be generous, not greedy. Nonetheless, despite the excessive behaviour of his kin, in the condition of ex-humans (*mõñãyxop*), *mõgmõká* feels a sad longing for the former kin of the village. People say that women miss him too and urge him to visit (Tugny et al., 2009a, 36). At the time of writing the project, though, we only took into account that the shaman had agreed the coming of mõgmõka to his village as the result of someone's dream. The project, then, proposed to focus on the realization

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31 In addition, the *Image-Body-Truth* Project planned for the purchase of video equipment for three villages, including Aldeia Verde, looking to run other workshops in the future and/or enable the production of their own films. But a serious mishap occurred. The equipment that was due to be delivered by us, a camera and a microphone, stored in the glove compartment of our car on the eve of our trip to Aldeia Verde, were stolen. Our debt increased exponentially with Aldeia Verde! First because there had not been a Vídeo nas Aldeias workshop held there and, second, because the equipment that should have been handed over was not. Hence proposing the project to continue the video workshops and make films, purchasing equipment that we had already planned, became even more necessary.

of this single ritual. At the moment of the proposal, however, we did not take into account (or take seriously enough) what the ritual would actually involve: namely, that mõgmõka was a 'commander' of various other *yãmĩyxop*, as the shaman Mamey explained afterwards: "Eagle is the commander. Eagle orders Pin-tailed Manakin[32] to hunt. He orders Pin-tailed Manakin to sing, to dance. Eagle is responsible for all of them. He is big and powerful, just like the government. Eagle is the government."

Hence, the ritual and the film, planned to welcome and record him, were taken over by the visit of the *yãmĩyxop* who form a ritual 'group' with *mõgmõká*, and are 'commanded' by him, comprising 'pin-tailed manakin' (*kepmiy*) and 'woodpecker' (*mãnmãn*). But the ritual also included the arrival of various other *yãmĩyxop* groups in the village. The *yãmĩyxop* of *tatakox*, *kumayxop* and *Yãmĩhex* all came.[33] At the start of the project, we were also unaware that a *yãmĩyxop* never travels alone: "The *yãmĩyxop* are never a singularity, they always come in packs" (Tugny et al., 2009a, 400); and they never end, just like the songs that they actualize: "the songs never end, we can never write them all, I could sleep on top of all the books that we would write and still the work would remain unfinished" (Tugny et al., 2009a, 13).

Over the period of the ritual that we would accompany to shoot the film *Quando os Yãmĩy Vêm Dançar Conosco* at the start of 2011, which lasted around 15 days, performed from early in the day until nightfall, and during the early hours of the morning, the diverse *yãmĩyxop* began to inhabit the *kuxex* (the ritual or religion house). Some would arrive, sing, play, bid farewell and depart. Later others arrived, followed by others, and so on. As the shaman Mamey comments in the film: "We don't forget our *yãmĩyxop*; here they are always rituals and everyone is filled with joy by the *yãmĩyxop*, men, women and children. Everyone is happy."

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32 TN: A species of small bird, Ilicura militaris (tangarazinho in Portuguese), endemic to lowland forest habitats in Brazil.

33 Echoing Tugny, Ribeiro (2011) states the following about the differentiation between the *yãmĩyxop* groups: "According to the data that I obtained working for my doctoral thesis (Ribeiro, 2008), the Tikm'ñ unite the *yãmĩyxop* into 10 large groups, each formed by a myriad of beings that narrate their stories through the songs. The names of these groups are taken from the entity reputed to be the 'strongest' of each of them, six of them being headed by animal spirits: *putuxox* (parrot spirit), *mõgmõka* (eagle spirit), *xũnĩm* (bat spirit), *ãmãxux* (tapir spirit), *tatakox* (the spirit of a caterpillar that inhabits bamboo), and *po'op* (monkey spirit). The other four are linked to other types of beings: *koatkuphi* (inedible manioc fibre), *yãmĩy* (male human ancestral spirits), *yãmĩy hex* (female human ancestral spirits) and *kõmãyxop* (a ritual linked to formal friendship, that is, to people who call each other by the term *komãy*)."

At the moment of filming, three cameras were used. We had already tried to establish a minimal structure during the initial phase of the project: one camera would be kept by one of the *tikm'n* women – this viewpoint would ensure the position of women in ritual circumstances was filmed, since they are the people who the *yãmĩyxop* come to visit and with whom they come to exchange songs and food. Unlike men, however, they are barred from crossing the wall of the *kuxex*. They cannot see what happens inside. Furthermore, they must not catch sight of any *yãmĩyxop*.[34] The *yãmĩyxop* themselves cannot see the *tihik* or *tikm'n*: they are 'blinded,' their faces covered. Their vision is said to be non-empirical and non-intentional, a sight guided by other sorts of 'images,' those attained through contiguity (Tugny et al., 2009a, 23). So while the *yãmĩyxop* should not exchange glances with any of the Tikm'n, whether women or men, children or adults, women are more strictly prohibited from interacting with them, although they do exchange songs, jokes and food with the *yãmĩyxop* and are, so to speak, the focus of their visit to the village. But if they do more than this, if they exchange glances, if they place themselves in close proximity (contiguity) with the *yãmĩyxop* in the same way that men do, then they risk being confused with what they had once been in mythic times, 'co-wives.' The *yãmĩhex* (women as a whole) are, even on earth in the present (*yãmĩhex* seen as *tikm'n* women: that is, *uhex*) the potential co-wives of *tikm'n* men and the *yãmĩyxop*. According to Tugny et al. (2009a, 27), "the Tikm'n have the *yãmĩyxop* as their ritual doubles, these anti-affines, and also refer to them as *kokux mutix*, joint-images." On leaving the villages, the *yãmĩyxop* usually say goodbye to the wives ceded to them.

The second camera would be handled by one of the *tikm'n men* so that he could accompany the other men, staying especially close to the shaman, who provides instruction on all the ritual events. This man-camera was also prohibited from crossing the *kuxex* to prevent him recording those scenes that women are barred from seeing. But he could film the preparations reserved to men, as well as locate himself closer to the *yãmĩyxop*.

The third camera would be used by a member of our team of whites (Carolina Canguçu and Renata Otto, there as workshop monitors), in the position assigned to the outsiders, *ãyuhux*. When it came to actual filming, however, this plan failed to function and had to be reworked. None of the women was able to accompany the entire workshop. Sueli felt unable to organize the hosting of the workshop (of the outsiders) in the village and

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34 Such restrictions on women's involvement in sacred ceremonial life are widespread in the Amerindian world. A famous example is the ban on women seeing the Jurupari flutes, which form part of the ritual life of various indigenous groups (speakers of Arawak and Tukano languages) on the Upper Rio Negro.

also participate in the activities that would demand almost all of her time. Nor were we able to keep track of all the ritual scenes: as outsiders, we were completely uninformed about the ritual structure. All the cameras thus ended up in the hands of the *tikm'n men*. One was used by Isael, another by Gilmar and another by Alessandro. They filmed non-stop, accompanying the rituals which likewise, as mentioned earlier, never ceased.

It was only when we began to process the images for editing that we realized that the film could not be about the *mõgmõká* ritual alone. As Isael narrates in the actual film, the rituals do not end (rituals constantly pervade the collective life of the village), they are not just made for the camera nor for the benefit of 'whites' present. Isael explained in one scene: "The shaman's words are good. Here in Aldeia Verde everything is very good. Here in our village there are always *yãmĩyxop*. It's not because the whites arrived that *yãmĩyxop were here*. Here it always happens."

So the project was radically transformed. The film became about the ritual sequence of the event, although *mõgmõká* still revealed his prominent position as 'governor.'

At the moment of editing, we also realized that, given the planned running time for the film (around 50 minutes for broadcasting on public TV), it would be impossible to include all the visiting *yãmĩyxop*. The *kõmãyxop* cycle (the godparent ritual, involving *compadres* and *comadres*) and the *tatakox* (caterpillar-spirit) thus remained 'outside' the edit of *Quando os Yãmĩy Vêm Dançar Conosco*. The former because it was too long and could be made into a separate film, the latter because two versions had

already been made by the Tikm'n themselves as separate films and to-day, we know, a third exists, with others possible.

While editing some scenes or narrative blocks, we also decided to dissolve the chronological or 'real' sequence of the visitations of the *yãmĩyxop* groups to the village. On this occasion, the ritual sequence began with the arrival of the *yãmĩyxop mõgmõká* (eagle) group: pin-tailed manakin (*kepmiy*) and woodpecker (*mãnmãn*). Afterwards *mõgmõká* left and the ritual action turned to welcome the other *yãmĩyxop* who had come to the village. The scene opened up to include the *yãmĩyxop yãmĩyhex* group, comprising *yãmĩy*, also known as *kup xahi* ('principal') and the *yãmĩyxop* called *xekax xekanix* ('water caboclo'),[35] along with the *yãmĩyxop* called *armon* ('spider'). This group also encompasses *yãmĩyxop yãmĩyhex*, who stays for several nights, and, in this particular case, culminated with a specific *yãmĩyhex* called *xokanitang*. After these came the *yãmĩyxop* from the *koimayxop* group and the *tatakox* group (not in the film).

In the film, however, the first ritual sequence to appear is the arrival of the *yãmĩyxop* from the *yãmĩyhex* groups: the *yãmĩy kup xahi* (descending from the hills, reaching the religion house and continuing to the village plaza to exchange food with the women). The film continues with the presentation of the other *yãmĩyxop* from the *yãmĩyhex* group: *xekak xekanix, armon* and the *yãmĩyhex* themselves, dancing collectively on the plaza around the *kuxex.* This part of the film culminates in a narrative of the shaman, Mamey, concerning the image of the *kuxex* in a nocturnal scene, explaining how the ritual does not end. He was referring to the ritual in general – he explained that the village became happy and strong with the *yãmĩyxop*: the ritual was held in the village all the time, not just when the film was being shot or when white people were there – but he also meant that the specific *yãmĩyhex* ritual had not ended: the *yãmĩyhex yãmĩyxop* had not left the village yet, which is why there would be many *yãmĩyhex* songs. After this scene, the film shifts to the second part of the narrative, which shows the ritual sequence of the *yãmĩyxop mõgmõka* group. This part seems like a restart since it opens with a second panoramic shot of the village – as though repeating the panorama that began the film – which supports the audio with the shaman's off-screen narration telling the story of *mõgmõka*. The second part of the film (which is the first part of the ritual) finishes with a scene of the *yãmĩyxop* from the *yãmĩyhex* group, more specifically, with the off-screen voice of *yãmĩyhex xokanintang*, who sings from inside the *kuxex*, demanding food. In other words, the film reverses the order of the visits of the *mõgmõka* and *yãmĩyhex* ritual groups, isolating and relocating part of the *yãmĩyhex* group in order to close its narrative. Moreover it

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35 TN: The Brazilian Portuguese term *caboclo* refers to someone of mixed European and indigenous ancestry.

omitted other ritual groups that also made themselves present in the village on the occasion. Hence the film radically altered the ritual scene.

It should be emphasized, though, that this decision to limit and cut a set of the *yãmĩyxop* and invert some of the sequences of their passages through the village, even though subject to the approval of the shaman and the filmmaking couple, as well as the village assembly, was a possibility derived from the 'cinematographic' (aesthetic and logical) point of view of outsiders – in this case, our own point of view. It is unclear whether this editing could or would have been imagined by someone Tikm'n.[36] Nevertheless, acceptance of the editing proposal, as can be seen in the film, appears to reveal another condition of the rituals themselves, namely their aversion to synthesis and refusal to submit to consensus – or we could say, their regulating by the variation or transformation between versions. As Tugny et al. (2009a, 25-26) emphasize:

> Through the work with the songs, it became clear just how much these peoples systematically rejected the consensual structures controlled by the State and how much the regime of songs is itself a function and driving force of another logic opposed to synthesis and in favour of multiplication, ontological disjunction, difference [...]. [I]t almost always proved impossible to reach a single version that would satisfy all the groups.

Hence just as the ritual dissolves the filming program, so the film dissolves the ritual program, converting the ritual into a film. But perhaps this film cannot be recognized as a 'Maxakali film,' precisely why we stressed its co-authorship. Perhaps...

In every event, in every filmed scene, whether or not these were included in the final edit, a structure resisted: a clear triangulation, analogous to the distribution of the cameras and filming positions that we had proposed during the earlier project phase – in other words, a triangulation between a *tikm'n* man, a *tikm'n* woman and an *ãyuhuk* (an outsider, one of us, non-indigenous). Analogous because it did not become concrete, of course, but resisted in the sense that the film is based on the distribution of the positions of a *tikm'n* couple (a man and a woman) and the shaman (as well as our own position, shadowing and doubling

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36 According to other examples, when it comes to editing the filming of their traditions, the shamans most frequently opt for continuity, both in the internal duration of the takes, and in the temporal chronological order of the events. Tugny et al. (2009a, 24) note that the *tikm'n* leaders "asked for the entire sequence of a *yãmĩyxop* to be recorded and not to mix songs from different repertoires. They also wanted the sequence in which they were sung to be maintained."

this initial triangle). Thus the fundamental (effectuated) triangulation of this film takes the following form: at one vertex, the command of the filming (of the images) and the explanation of the scenes were the responsibility of Isael; at another vertex, the command of the ritual performance and the transit of the *yãmĩyxop* with the others present, as well as the indication of what to film or not, were the responsibility of the shaman; at another vertex, the command of a 'domestic,' 'everyday' organization needed for the realization of the ritual and film were the responsibility of Sueli. We can say, therefore, that the cinema of Isael and Sueli is a cinema of at least three: Mamey, Isael, Sueli. And we say 'at least' because one of the vertices unfolds into other openings of third parties, including our own participation as outsiders.

figure 5
Ternary relation of the project, the cinema and the ritual.
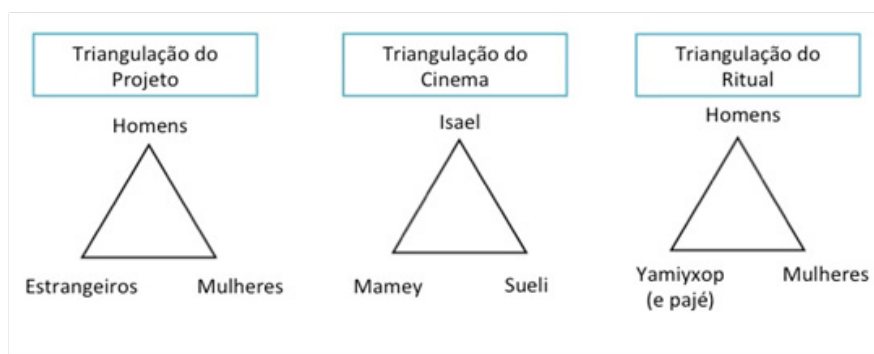
This triangulation can be schematized in transformation with the more encompassing cosmological triangulations (see above), presuming the convertibility between these and the relations involved in Maxakali cinema and ritual:

figure 6
Triangulations of project and cinema in transformation with triangulations of *tikm'n* ritual and cosmology.

1 - Cultura

2 - Tikmu'ún
3 - Yamiyxop (ritual)
4 - Homens (tihik)
5 - Isael

1 - Sobrenatureza

2 - Tihik (humanidade molecular de fundo)
3 - Yamiyxop (espíritos)
4 - Pajé
5 - Mamey

1- Natureza

2 - Ãyuhuk (estrangeio, visitante, inimigo, nãoíndio)
3 - Yamixop (animais)
4 - Mulheres (uhex)
5 - Sueli (e brancos aliados)
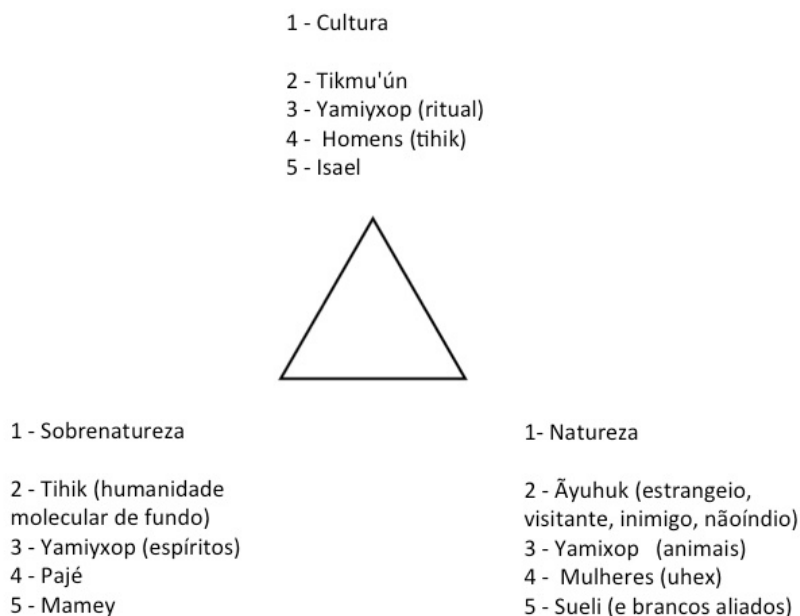
In proposing to experiment with the relation between the relations occurring in these triangular transformations, it is essential to remember that the positions (vertices) are no more than this: positions (of relative opposition) that are logically and chronologically unstable or mutable. In this sense, and under this condition, we believe that these schemas can also be configured in accordance with the transformational schema proposed by Viveiros de Castro (2002) in his theory of the actualization and contraeffectuation of the virtual in Amerindian social structure and cosmology. In sum, we argue that this relational form or 'framework' (with its positions of relative and triangular opposition) also applies to *tikm'n* cinema as a transformation of the relation between what we have called the 'field' and 'extra-field':

figure 7
Actualization of the cinema and contraeffectuation of the ritual.
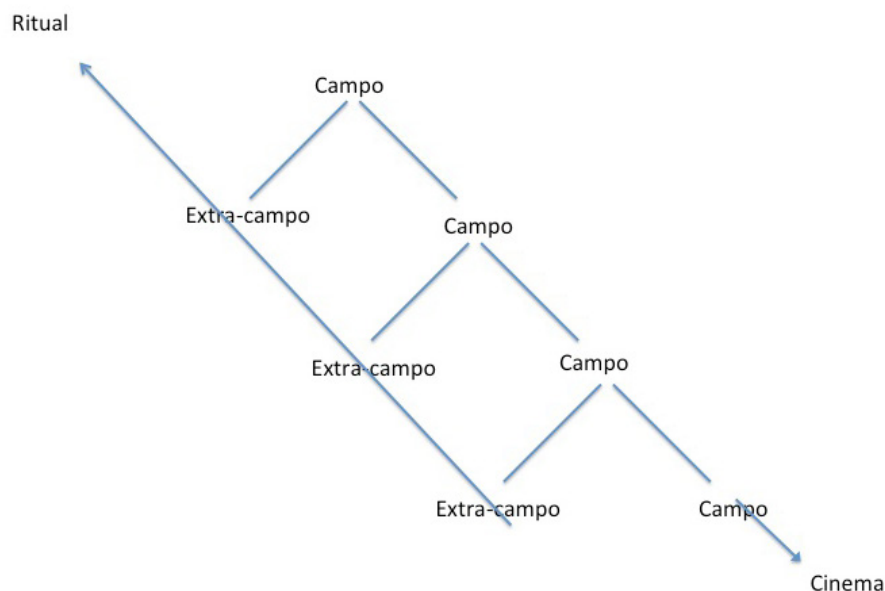
THE *TATAKOX* TRILOGY

As we stated earlier, the first *Tatakox* film was made by Isael Maxakali in Aldeia Verde in 2007. As soon as the residents of Aldeia Vila Nova (Pradinho) learnt that their 'kin' had made the *Tatakox* ritual and film in Aldeia Verde, they wanted to remake it both in their own village with the idea of correcting any errors or defects. While the first was directed by Isael Maxakali, who filmed and at the same time commented on what he was seeing and filming , the second was directed collectively, though the presence of the person filming (an indigenous camera) and another person commenting while the filming was taking place, in this case, the political leader Guigui Maxakali, are both strongly marked[37]. A

37 Here it is important to emphasize how Isael Maxakali's "commentary on the images

third episode, this time based on a more extensive ritual that took longer to realize, was made by Isael Maxakali in Aldeia Verde: this was *Kakxop pit hãmkoxuk xop te ɥ m gãhã - Iniciação dos filhos dos espíritos da terra* (Initiation of the children of the earth spirits), made in 2015.

While the first episode of this series was made almost off the cuff (while Isael was first experimenting with making 'indigenous cinema'), the other two episodes were made with the intention of 'improving,' 'correcting inaccuracies' – and, it is important to stress, not only to improve on the 'inaccuracies' found in the form and technique of filming and editing, but also to achieve a better match between the film and the ritual. An interesting point, since filming better entails 'enacting' better or even remaking the ritual more in 'accordance with' or 'proximity to' the 'traditional' culture – that is, the form that the figures (in the ritual and the film) believe to be more in line with 'tradition.' Consequently, while there exists an attempt to improve and to make the film and ritual coincide as much as possible, there is also nearly always a divergence between what is imagined as traditional, what is enacted (as performance) and what is filmed. A simultaneous movement of invention (and actualization) of ritual and film. We return to this point in our concluding remarks. For now, we focus on describing in more detail the films of the trilogy, observing that these have been subject to an extremely rich analysis (from which we draw our account) by authors like Rosângela Tugny (2014), Brasil (2017), and Brasil and Belisário (2016).

What exactly is *Tatakox*? As noted earlier, it comprises a male initiation ritual. But it is also much more than this. According to Tugny (2014, 164):

> It is when the boys are chosen by the *Tatakox* spirits to be adopted by the different *ɥãmĩɥxop*. The *Tatakox* are at once a caterpillar and a caterpillar-spirit-people. The word derives from two roots: *tata*, a derivation of *tataha*, which means 'to carry,' and *kox*, which is glossed as 'hole.' It is the *Tatakox* who organize the transitions: during the second funerals, they carry the dead children that they have removed from the earth for the mothers to see them and weep at their loss, and take

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while they are being filmed" constitute an original and fascinating invention by the indigenous filmmaker himself. From afar we can draw a comparison to the "commentary on the image" invented by Jean Rouch for his films, but with a crucial difference: Jean Rouch always advocated the use of improvised commentary (previously unscripted), but did so – after he had invented the method for *Moi, un noir* – over previously filmed images, later projected for this purpose. Isael, though, comments while he himself is filming. Guigui Maxakali comments (and provides orientation, directing the ritual) while another member of his own group does the filming.

the children from the care of their mothers in order to carry them into the adult world. This initiation of the young adults is marked by a double movement: the exposure which makes visible to the mothers their already dead and buried children, and the painful gesture in which the mothers hand over their living sons to their new adoptive parents, the *yãmĩyxop*, to be initiated into adult life. The *Tatakox* carry the dead children from the excavated hole in their arms and hand them over to the mothers, who perform the gesture of cradling them like newborns. For a few seconds, the mothers readopt the previously dead children, brought back to them by the *Tatakox*. In these gestures, they weep from the longing they feel for their dead children, now visible, close to their arms. When the *Tatakox* take the living children from their mothers to the initiation cycle, they carry them on their shoulders. The *Tatakox* adopt these young adults and the mothers weep dramatically from abandoning them. All these transitions take place on the same day and the mothers therefore cry twice: receiving and readopting their dead children and saying farewell to their living sons who will be introduced into the adult universe.

How is the *Tatakox* series filmed? Generally there are long sequential shots in which the cameras are positioned very close to the filmed action. The bodies of the person filming and those being filmed almost collide, disputing a space that allows them to 'see' better, see 'inside,' see the 'invisible,' or turn the apparently 'invisible' (the spirits: invisible at least for the non-indigenous public) into something 'visible' via the film.[38] Numerous authors have already emphasized the extent to which in indigenous cinema (but also in documentary cinema generally) the pragmatics of the body-to-body of the filmmaker, intermediated by the camera, is nearly always a constitutive element of the filmed scene. We can recall in passing that the master Jean Rouch was a fierce defender of the filmmaker as the camera of his or her films, carrying the camera in their hand, so as to be as close as possible to the people and the interior of the scene, as though grazing the world of which it was part in being filmed. Rouch was also an eternal admirer of the Vertovian camera-cine-eye-ear.[39]

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38 Briefly, the ultimate objective of Maxakali films can be said to be to render visible what remains invisible to non-indigenous society, i.e. Maxakali 'culture' or 'ontology' or 'history' itself.
39 This specific phenomenological dimension of indigenous cinema (what is inscribed concretely in the image, in its 'indexical' genesis) is emphasized in a notable article by Brasil & Belisário (2016, 604): "It comprises a body that, in filming, marks its presence in the scene, allowing itself, in turn, to be affected by what it films. The image is the index of a relation mediated by the camera. To a greater or lesser extent, this camera-corporal-artefact – camera-mask, camera-animal-skin, camera-arrow, camera-canoe, camera-trip,

What is filmed in the *Tatakox* series? Primarily it is an exercise in filming a ritual. But a ritual whose parts are lengthened or shortened in order to be filmed and to fit into a film (an edited film). The effect is the creation of a kind of film-ritual. In the ritual itself, though, we can observe 'effects' or traversings that are cosmological or mythological in kind. And here the question posed earlier is slightly modified: it is not a matter of how to film the ritual as such, but the 'spirit' or the invisible. In other words, how to film spirit?

For us westerners, we can only film bodies or matter. At most we can express or evoke the spirit, a 'whole' that is unattainable by either the human eye or the 'eye of the camera.' But were the indigenous camera to be something else, a spirit-camera, an eye-camera, a caterpillar-camera, then what would happen if we borrowed it to see what the Tikm'n are seeing? Perhaps they are seeing *kokux* (images) that are the spirits themselves or the actual bodies of the spirits. For this very reason, as we discussed in response to Sueli Maxakali's commentary about the images (of the *yãmĩy* or spirits) who "pillage the village and humans," she does not see (human) bodies that represent the (non-human) spirits in the cinema of Isael (or in the *Tataxok* series), but is touched and affected by the agency of the spirits themselves, firstly in the ritual and subsequently in the film, or when she sees what the film (the image-spirit) frames and captures through the eye of the camera. In the visible, therefore, the dimension of the invisible is present or affective (for us, it should be observed, not for the indigenous people themselves, who do not separate the dimension of the visible and invisible from this form[40]) – a moment, we could say, when the field is traversed by the outside-the-field, when cosmology invades or revitalizes the ritual.

This cosmological dimension, while it initially traverses the ritual, also pervades the film and leaves its indelible mark on it (albeit one not visibly perceived): in this sense we can say that the field is composed with the outside-the-field or with the invisible.[41] Or as Brasil & Belisário put it

camera-flute, camera-sloth (Brasil, 2013) – is incorporated into the ritualistic and quotidian practices in the villages."

40 Here we can cite a fact narrated by Tugny (2014, 166) concerning the second film from the series (*Tatakox – Aldeia Vila Nova*, 2009), which "elicited from the festival and conference audiences questions relating to the children removed from the hole: how much time do they spend inside? Were the children alive or dead? On one of these occasions, one of the shamans who was present, both in the film and at the debate, replied that they did not know and that 'the *yãmĩyxop* raised little animals there where they lived, they were their offspring.' They said that they had been thrilled to observe that these offspring moved their little hands and were therefore alive."

41 The cosmological dimension of the film, Brasil & Belisário (2016, 604) tell us, is "very

(2016, 607, our emphasis):

> The centrifugal plane, open to what comes from outside – the outside-the-field, precisely – produces an indexical relation through which the visible is traversed by the invisible, being affected and altered by it. [...] The invisible traverses bodies, like the wind traverses the sail of a boat, making itself concrete in its invisibility and *conferring on the sail and the boat something of its agency.*

Why continue to make *Tatakox*? The third episode of the *Tatakox* series is the film *Iniciação dos filhos dos espíritos da terra* (Initiation of the children of the earth spirits), made by Isael Maxakali in Aldeia Verde, in 2015. This appears even more significant than the two previous films because it was taken by Isael and Sueli Maxakali as a kind of multiplication and, at the same time, 'a return to the origins' of the *Tatakox* ritual. As we mentioned earlier, when they founded Aldeia Verde, Isael Maxakali's family wanted not only a peaceful place (a refuge from the wars and conflicts) but also a place where they could 'rebuild' or live Maxakali culture again. This meant resuming the performance of seclusion rituals of young adolescents "as was done in the past." Only it was no longer enough to hold the ritual, it also had to be filmed. This gave rise to *Iniciação dos filhos dos espíritos da terra*.

In this film, the *tikm'n* of Aldeia Verde are kept in reclusion in the kuxex for around three months (although the film does not show this 'time' inside the house, since 'this' cannot be shown to white people) when they are initiated by the earth spirits. Thereafter the boys can frequent the kuxex without danger, living, eating and learning with the *yãmĩyxop* – who frequently return to the village and lodge there temporarily. But it is remarkable that the ritual and the film have renewed practices that had disappeared, never seen or experienced by those officiating their realization. Had this ritual been made for cinema? Or is the cinema a ritual function? Any categorical response is impossible, just a partial observation: ritual and film are at the service of the invention of culture, recuperating or producing a people's tradition.[42]

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often constituted by invisible processes that affect the image but go beyond it. As in situations involving shamanism and ritual, the body is affected by agencies whose presence neither we nor the camera can see: what the latter apprehends and inscribes will be an effect of the relation not only with visible objects and phenomena, but also with these invisible agencies. The body-camera establishes connections, contiguities and vicinities between the visible and invisible dimensions, one resonating with the other: and what is inscribed in the image thus constitutes relations."

42 Here we once more draw inspiration from Comolli's idea of a "continuation of the

In a previous film, *O fim do resguardo* ('The end of reclusion,' 2010), Isael Maxakali had already filmed another ritual in Aldeia Verde with the aim of 'rescuing' aspects of Maxakali culture taken to be 'dormant' and thus in need of being revived. In this type of 'rescue' film, the parents of Juan Maxakali (a boy born in Aldeia Verde in October 2009) stayed in reclusion for thirty days after his birth, a period in which they underwent a series of restrictions, such as, for instance, avoiding red meat. The film focuses on the ritual that marks the end of reclusion: the community goes to the waterfall; the shaman Mamey goes into the forest to collect jaborandi (the *Pilocarpus microphyllus* plant) and find a stone to cut the bamboo later used to blow water towards the sunset and sunrise, (almost) exactly as the ancient ones did.

GRIN

The synopsis of the film *Grin* (2016) by Roney Freitas and Isael Maxakali is brief: "A Maxakali filmmaker recovers memories of the formation of the Rural Indigenous Guard during the military dictatorship, with accounts of the violence suffered by his kin." In fact, it seems to announce the viewpoint of the directors concerning the violence committed during the Brazilian dictatorship (1964-1985) against indigenous peoples by the Rural Indigenous Guard (see above, note 19). Since the directors are an indigenous man and a 'white' man, people ask – and this is a very frequent question posed to 'indigenous cinema' in general – who actually had the idea to make the film (who planned, filmed, edited it)? And is the resulting viewpoint indigenous or white? We believe that this kind of preoccupation makes little sense (indigenous cinema is always undertaken from a collaborative perspective), but it is worth determining whether Maxakali history and thought traverse the film. In fact, it seems that *Grin* aims to echo the outrage over the violence committed by the whites against the indigenous population and, more than this, that this violence is still present since "for us the dictatorship never ended," as Sueli Maxakali said.[43]

The history to the film *Grin* begins with the discovery by Marcelo Zelic (an activist from the group *Tortura Nunca Mais/SP*) of an old roll of film deposited at the Indian Museum.[44] This roll, filmed by Jesco von

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world" (with cinema) (Comolli, 2008, 26), itself a homage to the documentary cinema and work of Pierre Perrault.

43 This remark was recorded by Berbert (2017, 18) during the field research for his MA dissertation, based on Sueli Maxakali's presentation at the seminar "History of the indigenous viewpoint: violation of indigenous rights and the National Truth Commission," held in 2015 at the Faculty of Education of the Federal University of Minas Gerais.

44 Here we base ourselves on the account given by Romero (2016).

Puttkamer, contained scenes of eighty indigenous people formed by GRIN parading through the city of Belo Horizonte on February the 5th, 1970, showing the use of a type of torture called 'pau-de-arara' (macaw pole): the prisoners had their hands and feet tied to a pole and were hung upside-down. The young filmmaker Roney Freitas decided to meet the Tikm'n and reveal, tell and denounce the event through a film.

Grin takes as a starting point this 'old' history, then, and constructs its narrative through use of this archival footage, supplemented by interviews made with older Maxakali who participated in the period of GRIN and Colonel Pinheiro (some of the former guards), interviewed in the Maxakali language by the filmmaker Isael Maxakali. Finally the film includes a scene from the contemporary history of Daldina: an indigenous woman who had been run over and killed in the town (Ladainha) close to Aldeia Verde.

In his inspiring analysis of the history and film, Romero (2016, 240-241) writes that the Tikm'n themselves refer to this period as the 'Pinheiro Era,' when they 'became soldiers.' To illustrate what this means, the author explains:

> In Maxakali, the verb *yãy hã* refers to the transformations or metamorphoses as those of the figures from myths who, in the ancient times, 'turned into snake,' 'turned into capybara,' 'turned into eagle'… So when the Tikm'n tell us that they 'turned into soldiers,' this assertion needs to be referenced not only to the historical transformation that they traversed, but also to their history of transformations or to their history lived as transformations.

He concludes by evoking the "doctrine of animal clothing" proposed by Viveiros de Castro (cited in Romero, 2016, 241) in relation to Amerindian perspectivist multiverses: "the difference between the diverse points of view that constitute the world is inscribed in the bodies, or more precisely, in the difference between them, and not in the 'soul,' 'mind' or 'culture,' as certain cosmologies appear to presume – 'ours,' for example."

When Isael Maxakali conducts the interviews, then, the elders who lived that time recall what their bodies were like: they wore 'green clothes,' used black boots, revolvers, truncheons: in other words, they experienced a way of being a soldier. Many of the elders interviewed seem to have aroused some discomfort among both the interviewer-indigenous filmmaker (perhaps also the white filmmaker) and the audience watching the film by responding that the 'Pinheiro Era' may have had "its good side and its bad side," and that they even liked "being police officers,

because they received clothing and all the equipment."[45]

The film *Grin* is not limited to showing-speaking of the past: one of its scenes involves a demonstration held after an indigenous woman (Daldina) had been run over and killed by a motorcycle in the town of Ladainha (MG) while returning to her village carrying a sack of potatoes. The accident was seen as murder by the indigenous community, but "due to a lack of proof" the culprit was not identified by the police 'authorities' or the judiciary. The Maxakali ritual (they return to the place where Daldina was killed and where a song of hers had been heard after her death) is edited and articulated with the visit made by Isael and Sueli Maxakali to the burial place of Osmino Maxakali – Daldina's husband, killed by a farmer and abandoned on the Água Boa road in 1984. The editing of these scenes aims to show white people how much the Maxakali suffer from a systematic violence perpetrated by this same white world – or, as quoted above, how "the dictatorship never ended" for this people.

The film is clearly designed to be shown to non-indigenous spectators, since in the village, when shown for the first time to the Maxakali, there was a profound sadness, followed by intense wailing from the audience, similar to what happens when "the Tikm'n mourn their dead," Romero (2016, 245) tells us. The impact of this ritual-cinematographic event was so strong that before a screening planned for the next day, a proposal was made to cut those images of the ritual in which people wept over the death of Daldina. As the anthropologist reminds us, "the danger in watching them, there in the village, was precisely of remembering the dead relative, feeling longing for her, becoming sad, dreaming, sickening... Among the Tikm'n, images can indeed kill" (Romero, 2016, 245).

We provide a detailed account of the screening of the film *Grin* in a Maxakali village, and its anticipation, in order to emphasize four points:[46] 1) the Maxakali are making films not only about rituals but also about the historical and political events that shape their lives; 2) these political

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45 Of course the indigenous members of GRIN quickly realized that 'being' a police officer was incompatible with the indigenous free spirit: it was a bad idea to 'pursue relatives,' arrest people and follow orders. The body of a soldier (and a white person) once experimented, had to be abandoned. GRIN lasted a short time! But not without leaving its traces.

46 For the purposes of the present analysis, we have chosen just one of a large number of Maxakali films. Most of them are on rituals, but some are on history and 'songs,' while more recently an animated film was made on mythology, *Konãgxeka: O Dilúvio Maxakali* (2016). The latter has received considerable recognition from film festival audiences in Brazil and abroad. In the Maxakali language, Konãgxeka means 'big water': it concerns a myth about the selfishness and greed of men in which the *yãmĩyxop* send a deluge (the 'big water') as punishment.

films seem to be more than just a "review of their history" or a 'telling of their history"; they also tell a "history of the present" to *the whites* (for them, as for so many other indigenous peoples, the "history of the ancestors or the dead" is actually meant to be forgotten) in order for them to reveal the 'marks' (of the violence) of the past that white people imposed on them; 3) the culture of the Maxakali is not frozen in the past (something needing to be 'rescued' or 'preserved' through 'history' or 'cinema'); on the contrary, it is inserted in a transformational dimension in which experimenting or becoming 'white' (like becoming 'anything else') is one mode of existing or resisting; and finally, 4) the films never cease to also be film-rituals insofar as they necessarily deal with the passage of 'images' (*kokux*), that is, the relationship of frequently invisible beings/agencies, which are interpellated (in the case of the film, enacted and edited) in accordance with the terms of their cosmology.

On the last two points, we should remember that it is not just recently that the Maxakali of Pradinho have been endeavouring to experiment and control other modes of life external to their world. We are not talking about obvious instances of this exposure to the outside, like the indigenous schools and sporting events, but more daring experiments, such as the contemporary attempt to mount a "genuinely indigenous police force" or "carnival parades." Of course, all of this is seen as an 'exoticism' or something 'out of context' by some of the indigenous population themselves. Here, perhaps, it may be useful to recall another detail: while working with Sueli Maxakali to identify films to discuss in this article, she told us about a film-ritual that the Maxakali themselves had made: "that one I didn't help to make and don't want to see either." This was a film (apparently collectively authored and without much attention given to editing) of an event in which her kin had performed a 'ritual' on National Indian Day in which they 'enacted' the arrival of the first whites among them, including missionary priests and employees of the now extinct Indian Protection Service. For Sueli, at least, this is not her history and she is uninterested in performing the event in a ritual, much less in filming it. Although Maxakali history and culture, yesterday and today, are replete with what constitutes them from the outside – including the world of whites – there seems to exist a persistence (a resistance) of a (particular) sociocosmological field. Such at least is the conclusion reached by Tugny et al. (2009a, 11) concerning their musical universe (which cannot be dissociated from ritual):

> Over so many centuries of encounters and all kinds of coexistence with the whites, we can imagine just how much the Tikm'n have been listening to music of all styles: music of the Capuchin monks, the explorers, the military personnel who kept them in barracks, the regional population living

alongside them, the slaves, anthropologists, farmers and Evangelicals. Since I have known them, they have never ceased to display a deep curiosity and talent for learning this music, all of it. Excellent singers and dancers of forró, arrocha, pisadinha, performers of the romantic songs of Amado Batista and the Evangelical songs, aficionados of the brega genre or bands like Calipso and Calcinha Preta, celebrants of Junina festivals and more recently carnival, the Tikm'n do not lack the musical skills to adopt white music. [...] But what seems certain and what interests us here is that this white music forms part of a set of practices of another kind among the Tikm'n, which communicate nothing of their efficacy or their mode of operation to the songs brought to them still today by their *yãmĩyxop*.

FINAL REMARKS

Over the course of this article we have sought to comprehend the experience of indigenous cinema, especially the films produced by the Maxakali and by the filmmaking couple Isael-Sueli. This reflection led us to ask various questions, shared by many colleagues and scholars of the subject. These include: What is indigenous cinema? If it exists, of what and how is it made? Is Maxakali cinema similar to other indigenous films? What is specific about it? Among those authors who have invested in thinking and writing about the subject, we can highlight the works of Tugny (2011, 2014), who has dedicated herself for almost two decades now to an in-depth study of Maxakali society (including above all their songs and their cosmology), as well as the work of Brasil (2017), a scholar from the area of communication who has produced a highly perceptive and fertile reflection on indigenous cinema.

In the works of these authors from which we have drawn support here (in addition to our own fieldwork, including our involvement in the production of films alongside the Maxakali), there is a disquiet similar to the questions that we posed above: what is the *tikm'n* concept of 'spirit' and 'image'? What is the cosmological dimension of this society that slips through the cinematographic dimension of their films? What happens when the cinema machine meets the shamanic machine? How do the phenomenological and cosmological dimension of *tikm'n* cinema intersect? Is there a 'visible' *tikm'n* aesthetic in their songs, films and rituals?

Firstly, in speaking over the course of this text of an 'indigenous cinema,' or its variant, a '*tikm'n* cinema,' our intention has been to emphasize that the kind of films made by indigenous people are not to be confused with the cinema that we make: in other words, their 'audiovisual

practice' is traversed by other intensities and other lines of flight that escape our cinematographic practice.[47] This was why we strove to describe in detail the processes involved in making some of their films, almost always hybrid versions between a technique-language that we (non-indigenous filmmakers) took to the 'village' and what they themselves make of all this. And make from what they have to hand, in a kind of bricolage (Caixeta de Queiroz, 2008), without any model, by multiplying and adding material (cameras, sound recording equipment and editing tools) accessible to them. In the 'video workshops,' Isael Maxakali has learned from studying the cinema of the whites and the films of other indigenous peoples how to make a *tikm'n* cinema *à là* Isael. The alliances that he forges with non-indigenous people to edit and divulge his films do not prevent his own distinctive mark from being imprinted in the 'final version,' nor the editing (in the version for whites) being completely drained of *tikm'n* 'body and soul' – which allows these two worlds to communicate, albeit in an almost always equivocal form. 'Image' or 'cinema' or 'spirit' do not mean the same thing for the Tikm'n as they do for non-indigenous audiences.

The *tikm'n* cinema or the cinema of Isael Maxakali is very similar, or contains similar concerns, to those of other indigenous collectives. These can be summarized as: a) how to make a long, uncut version and circulate the film in the villages for one's own relatives to watch; b) how to make a film that contains the viewpoint not only of the 'author-director' but also of his or her people as a whole, including the opinion of the elders and the shamans; c) how to make a cinema or a 'version' for people outside the village as a means of communicating with the white world; d) how to make cinema into a tool that 'keeps' the culture – knowing that in this process 'keeping' is 'inventing'?

The Tikm'n never fail to make films with white people (or with their assistance), never fail to make films to 'keep' their culture, at the same time as they never fail to make films to learn more about their own history, to show their 'culture' to white people and, for all these reasons, never cease to make a multiple *tikm'n* cinema in which a cinema and a culture are simultaneously invented.

We could venture to say that *tikm'n* cinema is a composite of forms and content. It is difficult to locate within it any aesthetic essence of a proof (or illustration) of their sociocosmology. Firstly, *tikm'n* cinema itself is a way of 'conversing' with spirits, making them more present and visible

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47 We also know how inappropriate it is to speak of a western or national cinema, such are its variations from the point of view of its technical device, language, forms of consumption and divulgation!

through the filmed bodies. In other words, the camera for the Tikm'n performs a kind of shamanic function in which the mediation with spirits (taken as persons) is essential to obtaining cures for diseases and to ensuring well-being or a happy and healthy life in the village. Mediated by the shaman himself, who coordinates the realization of the films and the rituals, *tikm'n* cinema multiplies and amplifies the function of their shamanism itself: which is to place humans and non-humans in relation. This is what we suggest with the notion of *tikm'n* cosmocinepolitics, in an analogy to Stengers's notion of cosmopolitics.

There is more, though, since *tikm'n* cinema cosmopolitics is a form of dialoguing with their own history or their own form of history, in which changing or transforming comprises a way of experimenting other points of view and other bodies, of making a body. In this sense, the *tikm'n* film-ritual is a kind of resistance to the disappearance of the Maxakali people and world. A resistance that involves transformation, via a process that, inspired by the 'Body-without-Organs' of Deleuze & Guattari (1987, 160-161), signifies dismantling an organism, opening the body up to connections that "presuppose an entire assemblage, circuits, conjunctions, levels and thresholds, passages and distributions of intensity, and territories and deterritorializations," or again, living possible lines of flight, "produce flow conjunctions here and there, try out continuums of intensities segment by segment, have a small plot of new land at all times." Through their rituals and their film-rituals, through cinema and their contact with the white world, in a more or less controlled (or uncontrolled) relation, the Tikm'n transform and re-exist, as Romero (2015, 114) aptly observed, in a form that, "rather than operating through fusion, synthesis or assimilation, operates through addition, multiplication and supplementation." We should not delude ourselves, though: the Tikm'n "are continually striving to 'become *tikm'n*' (through precisely the sharing of songs, food, residence, marriages and the *yãmĩyxop*)," through their rituals, songs and cinema that invent in order to display and see themselves as 'they themselves' see themselves or allow themselves to be seen, through the 'image' and their cosmology: this amounts to an open system, one that feeds back on itself, not without, of course, a dose of entropy or transformation.

Lévi-Strauss (1958/1963, 233) wrote in "Structure and dialectics" that it was time to abandon the idea of a myth as an ideological projection of a rite, or a rite as a kind of illustration of a myth, concluding that: "we shall have to give up mechanical causality as an explanation and, instead, conceive of the relationship between myth and ritual as dialectical." Inspired by this passage, then, what we wish to say is that a *tikm'n*' film is not properly a ritual. Nor is a ritual a film. This is why we speak of a film-ritual in which the rite (and the cosmology) traverse cinema, just as cinema is traversed by the rite (and by cosmology).

We have shown how the duo Isael-Sueli makes – with the help of sha-mans and whites – films and rituals, or more precisely, film-rituals. The two are a kind of firefly of Maxakali cinema. We, the whites (and our naturalist ontology) nearly finished off not only the Maxakali physical-ly, but also their myths and songs, their spirits that populate the world, the animals and rivers (like the Doce River). Almost miraculously, all these entities still populate Maxakali cosmology in a resistant, non-re-sidual form. For this reason, there still exists a 'narrow door' or a band of light through which Maxakali cinema and song can pass, as Didi-Hu-berman (2014, 86) would say, inspired by Benjaminian messianism. This 'narrow door' opens for barely a second: "More or less the time needed for a firefly to glow – to call – its peers, just before the darkness reim-poses its dominion. The image [even more so, the other of the image] is characterized by its intermittence, its fragility, its interval of ceaseless apparitions, disappearances, reapparitions and disappearances."

Faced with all this, we can conclude that if there is an entire (indige-nous) world on the verge of vanishing, from time to time it reappears and reignites, more multiple and diverse. Perhaps it will continue blink-ing insistently until the narrow door is closed once and for all by this capitalist world and its relentless production of consumer goods (in-cluding the industry of the 'imagination') and sameness (through the devastation of other forms of life, including non-human) in place of the subtle and indispensable differences of the world and in the world. This is what the Tikm'n wish us to see in their films, in an action in favour of the 'continuity of this world,' before it ends, or to prevent it from ending. This is why they sing and make cinema, another cinema.

The Tikm'n expect their films to reach out to a non-indigenous pub-lic from the outset, even if they are not addressed to them exclusively. Made for neither the outside nor the inside: Maxakali cinema should be seen from inside, but should also be sent to other villages (as in the case of the *Tatakox* series) and even to the 'president of Brazil' (as Totó, a sha-man from Aldeia Verde, exclaimed about the film *Tatakox*, 2007) so that everyone can see what happens when people from the community (the earth) welcome visitors from other cosmic levels, the *Yãmĩy*.

Along these lines, the shaman Mamey, interviewed for one of the Maxakali films, also points to the relevance of the documentaries produced in Aldeia Verde as a way of making visible the Tikm'n *way of life*. "It's good. They don't make the films, the documents, just for the Maxakali, they are for everyone: for the non-indigenous population, chickens and also for our relatives. It's a document made to avoid being wiped out, to avoid disappearing."

figure 8
The anthropologist Roberto Romero is led by his Maxakali 'mother' in the initiation ritual. Source: Sueli Maxakali (2016).

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THE VISUAL IMAGINARY OF THE POSTHUMAN: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL READING BETWEEN CINEMA AND CONTEMPORARY ART

ABSTRACT

The first step was to define the posthuman. This study is particularly focused on some art works and movies to try to recognize what are their implications on the weaving of the collective imagination, referring to the visual dimension of a coming future. The report continues with the analyses of the film Gattaca (1997), directed by New Zealander Andrew M. Niccol, and of artworks by Cypher (2009), which contain an explicit reference to Niccol's film and GFP Bunny/Alba (2000), both created by the artist Eduardo Kac. The works of these two authors and the relations between them become the main referential axis for examination of the construction of an imaginary of transformations in the parental relationship and, more generally, in social relationships associated with artificial genetic revolution.

In this study, I propose to examine the creation of the "near future" imaginary using artworks and cinema. Particularly, I will analyze Andrew Niccol's movie "Gattaca" and Eduardo Kac's artworks called "Genesis" and "Cypher".

Before initiating actual analysis of the visual materials and of their importance in the construction of the imaginary of the near future, I will briefly explain the perspective from which I will analyze them. The two vanishing points of this perspective are, on the one hand, the posthuman paradigm and, on the other, the "cultural imaginary" applied to film production and contemporary art. I will quickly explain the two terms, "imaginary" and "posthuman", and some of the other definitions to which I will eventually refer.

Although the term and the concept of imaginary is deeply rooted in psychoanalytic theory, I will refer to the term considering its use in cultural studies and particularly in the work of Graham Dawson and the "cultural imaginary" in his text "Soldier heroes: British adventure, empire and the imagining of masculinities". As it is possible to see in "*those vast networks of interlinking discursive themes, images, motifs and narrative forms that are publicly available within a culture at any one time, and articulate its psychic and social dimensions*" (DAWSON, 1994, p. 48).

This definition is repeated several times by subsequent authors and especially by Susanne Hamscha in "The fiction of America" (HAMASCHA, 2013).

Of course, it would be impossible not to mention Stuart Hall's work "Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices" (SAGE, 1997), which owes much to the theories of Jean Baudrillard, Judith Butler, and Jacques Derrida.

POSTHUMAN

Although the term posthuman was first used in the contemporary art scene and literature a couple of decades ago, its semantic definition is still so vast that makes it easily misunderstood.

Although it will be impossible, in the time which we have today, to cover all the complex layers associated with this expression, I will try to give a brief explanation of the term (with the aid of a relevant bibliography) so as to analyze Niccol's film and Kac's artworks - even if they are not posthuman in the strictest sense, being examples of bio-art.

The term "posthuman" is also used to define an artistic movement. The Australian Stelarc and the French Orlan tend to call people's attention

(including anthropologists) and are well-integrated into the group of posthuman artists. Probably because of the "corporal" dimensions of their works, as well as of the exoskeleton technologies that they use, these artists are declared to be automatic members of the fictional Cyborg.

The creation of the expression "posthuman" can be traced back to the American gallery owner Jeffrey Deitch, who used it as the title of a series of exhibitions he had curated in 1992. In his essay for the posthuman exhibition catalog, Deitch refers to an article that appeared in the front page of the New York Times, on February 6 of 1992, to show how cosmetic surgery and mood control medicine have become front-page stories because of the growing interest of an ever growing public in the current technical capacity of mankind to remodel itself. With a few strokes of a pen, Deitch creates a picture of a new dimension of the self and the possible remodeling of the self, a world away from Freudian hypotheses, and unforeseen by Darwin's theory of evolution.

Curiously, in the first lines of his essay, when defining "post human", Deitch refers to a veritable evolutionary leap: "*This new techno-evolutionary phase will bring us beyond eugenics*"(Deitch 1992*)*. In other words, he contemplates a kind of evolutionary leap of the *Homo sapiens* from the hybridization of body and machine (here I understand "machine" as a product of technology; so, in this sense, even a drug can be considered a machine).

This is how Deitch described his notion of posthuman in an interview with Giancarlo Politi published by Flash Art:

> "I have the sense that we are beginning to experience an extraordinary revolution in the way human beings understand themselves. The convergence of rapid advances in biotechnology and computer science with society's questioning of traditional social and sexual roles may be leading to nothing less than a redefinition of human life.
>
> It sounds a little too much like bad science fiction, but in fact powerful genetic engineering technologies that will allow people to choose their children's or their own genetic recomposition are likely to be available during our own lifetimes. Computer science is perhaps a decade or more away from producing computers that will have more intellectual capacity and maybe even more creative intelligence than any human.
>
> In the essay I wrote about the end of natural evolution and the beginning of artificial evolution. These

developments will have an enormous impact on economics, politics, and on virtually every aspect of life. As we turn toward the 21st century we are likely to be experiencing a wave of new technologies and accompanying social changes that will possibly be even more important than the changes that were part of the development of the industrial revolution and of modernism. The point of 'posthuman' is to begin looking at how these new technologies and new social attitudes will intersect with art.

It fascinates me to think about how many creative and even artistic decisions will have to be made in the application of the new bio and computer technologies. I am not particularly involved with the latest developments in genetics and computer science, getting most of my information from journalists rather than from primary sources. I was therefore quite amazed when the artist Paul McCarthy and his wife gave me an article by the leading geneticist Leroy Hood entitled 'Notes on Future Humans' in which he actually uses the term 'posthuman'. Coming from the direction of art criticism, I was actually much closer to current theory in advanced genetics than I had ever realized" (Politi, Kontova 1992).

When trying to understand the semantic genealogy of the term, I find the article by Leroy Hood (Hood 1992) particularly interesting, considering the author is now one of the leading exponents of genetic (and digital) revolution and its associated technology.

It was in the early 1980s that the American biologist Leory Hood perfected an automatic DNA sequencer, a device designed to map the sequences of the nitrogenous bases of a DNA strand quickly and automatically.

Hood's automatic sequencer dramatically reduced the amount of time needed to analyze the nucleotide sequence of a DNA strand, making it possible to conduct it in a single night the equivalent of a week or more of manual sequencing work. The several models of the device, which were subsequently manufactured and marketed, were able to read 12,000 base pairs per day, and were more accurate than any form of manual sequencing. For the purposes of this study and without going into too much detail on the way an automatic DNA sequencer works, it is possible to say that a fundamental part of this instrument is constituted by a complex computer system that analyzes output and processes it very quickly.

From a philological reconstruction of the term "posthuman", I have reconstructed its essential elements and, more precisely, identified the link

between the two revolutions that occurred in the second half of the 20th century (the cybernetic revolution and the genetic revolution), and how this makes it possible to talk about an evolutionary leap. That said, it is worth looking a little closer at this basic concept and at the work of the authors who use it to discuss the social implications of posthuman theories.

Among the authors whose work are associated with this text, there is Katherine Hayles, author of "How we became posthuman" (Hayles 1999).

Hayles divides the formation of posthuman thought into three phases:

The first phase concerns the period between 1945 and 1960 and begins with the series of Macy Conferences that led to the birth of cybernetics. Norbert Wiener, Claude Shannon, John von Neumann, and Gregory Bateson played a fundamental role in this period. I would like to emphasize how, and this is my own personal addition, as an area of anthropological thought, it is included in the origins of cybernetics, despite criticism regarding the overall results.

Wiener and Shannon theorized that information was meaningless, implying that information is decontextualized (the complete contrary of embodiment). Not everyone agreed with this view. Donald MacKay, for example, defended that information should be understood as something specific and situated. This means that universalization and quantification become almost impossible. And yet the position of Weiner and Shannon, who believed that information is purely abstract, prevailed.

In the second phase, between 1960 and 1985, the main interpreters were Varela and Maturana. Information is once again something connected to a body, to the observer. Here I would like to briefly recall how, ever since the early 1920's and Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle, the observer had been forcefully inserted into the scientific world.

Finally, the third and present phase (Hayles was writing in 1999) is characterized by various developments in the field of artificial life forms. Hayles also introduces criticism of the postmodern vision that dismantles the Body. She is not surprised that theorists who write about the Body (such as Foucault) prefer to write about the universality of the Body. Hayles proposes an interesting distinction between "body" and "embodiment", in which the first is an idealized abstract form, a universal conversational construct.

Perhaps the limitation of Hayles' text is the failure at analyzing the scientific revolution of genetics and genetic manipulation technologies, which today, but also in the 1990's, have overcome the barrier separating the produced information and the biological world.

After finding its bond with the observer and being dissociated from the Body, information becomes a system of hybridization between the metabolic world and that of the electrons. Artificial information is inserted into biological matter, becoming a constituting part of it and acting at the level of the subject in its social relations – as seen in the film "Gattaca" or the artworks by Kac.

Thus, for over a decade, representations of a hypothetical society have filtered their way into the popular imaginary, a hypothetical society where the division between which is considered cultural and which is considered natural has disappeared.

Now we are going to take a closer look at these works.

In 1997, ten years after the creation of the automatic sequencer and eight years before the genome project reached its conclusion, the director Andrew Niccol, from New Zealand, produced his first film: "Gattaca, the door of the universe".

Unlike many other science fiction films, Gattaca was not a movie adaptation of a book. Instead, the director developed both the idea and the screenplay of the movie. Despite being widely categorized as "cyberpunk", more attentive observers have inserted this work in the biopunk subgenre.

Niccol's film was originally called "The eighth day", referring to the day following the divine creation, but when Jaco Van Dormael presented a work with the exact same name at the 1996's Cannes film festival, Niccol changed it to "Gattaca". The choice of the new title was not casual. It contains a cryptic reference to the DNA and, as it is possible to see later, it will be used again by a bioartist. The letters that constitute the name "Gattaca" are, in fact, the four letters used to define the four nitrogenous bases in DNA sequences: A for adenine, C for cytosine, G for guanine, T for thymine.

"Gattaca" is set in a not so distant future, when the application of genetic engineering to human beings is common and DNA plays a key role in determining social class. Before the embryo is implanted in the uterus, its genetic assets are engineered by selecting the best of the parents' genetic makeup. Those who are born naturally, the movie's so-called "invalids", are destined to perform the most menial jobs and subordinate roles. The genetically modified or "valid" members of the population occupy the dominant positions, while those who were born naturally are marginalized and have no access to the most prestigious professions.

The protagonist Vincent Freeman (Ethan Hawke) is a natural born, i.e., his conception did not come from genetic engineering. After his birth, an initial

analysis of his DNA not only shows that he is short sighted, but also that he has a high probability of developing a heart disease – a condition that considerably reduces his chances of living beyond the thirties. Consequently, Vincent's parents decide to conceive their second child, Vincent's younger brother Anthony, with the aid of genetic programming. Thus, a competition between Vincent and Anthony, the naturally-born and the programmed, the "invalid" and the "valid", begins and continues throughout the film. The race between the two brothers sums up many of the themes in "Gattaca": the birth of a new kind of genetic/transgenic family, its contradictions, and its hybrid and competitive state. The existence of these very close and yet very different worlds within the same family is the precursor of even more complex genetic interactions in the world.

Vincent's desire to become an astronaut is incompatible with his "invalid" status, as well as any hope he has of achieving a high position in a society based of genetic segregation. In the world of "Gattaca", it is impossible to escape from a subordinate status: as a no-valid, Vincent is destined to perform only the most menial jobs. Determined to follow his childhood dream of becoming an astronaut, Vincent moves to Gattaca, the city of astronauts and space missions, where he gets a job as a cleaner. To overcome the social barriers created by genetic segregation, he had to use a strategy, a disguise – Vincent becomes a "genetic pirate" and takes the identity of another person: Jerome Morrow.

The genetically programmed Morrow is an athlete and a swimming champion, who has been stuck in a wheelchair since an accident. His genetic makeup had been programmed to make him a champion swimmer, but circumstances destroyed his chances of achieving his objectives. Later the film reveals that what had appeared to be an accident had been a failed suicide attempt because of the athlete's frustration for never winning a race and always having to accept second place.

Like in every good pop movie, the plot evolves into an intricate web of "noir" and romance with vintage photography. The noir element is represented by the murder of one of the flight directors just before Vincent's first space mission. The romance element is introduced with the love story between the no-valid/genetic pirate Vincent and the valid Irene Cassini.

Using DNA analysis and information from a data base containing the genetic sequences of the entire population, an eye lash found in the scene of the crime is identified as belonging to Vincent.

As an "invalid", Vincent should not have been in that part of Gattaca, so the police start to search for him without knowing his physical appearance. To "become" Jerome, Vincent underwent an operation to lengthen his leg

bones and change his height. In addition, it is evident that a paradox similar to that described in Edgar Allan Poe's "The *purloined* letter" is at play.

In fact, nobody suspects Vincent/Jerome, who continues to roam the streets of Gattaca protected by his valid identity. A series of dramatic twists in the plot follows, including the love story between Vincent and his valid colleague Irene Cassini, and the discovery that the investigator is none other than Anthony, Vincent's programmed brother who he thought to be dead. In this whirlwind of events, Vincent's identity as an "invalid" is uncovered by Irene Cassini, who continues to love him, and the investigator/brother Antony who is once more defeated in a "remake" of the swimming race.

When it looks like Vincent is doomed, the police discovers that the flight director was murdered by the valid responsible for the space program, who had been concerned that the budget for space launches would be cut and his program eliminated, and the case is closed.

Thus, Vincent/Jerome manages to travel to Titano with the help of a doctor from Gattaca, who confirms Vincent's valid identity because his son was a fan of him. While Vincent heads to Saturn, the real Jerome commits suicide, leaving enough blood and urine with which Vincent would be able to prove his valid identity for the rest of his life.

THE BODY

Despite dealing with the social and ethical issues surrounding the relation between genetics and society, the body is the implicit object of the film.

"Gattaca" is a representation of a possible future social dystopia based on genetic discrimination. Grafted to this principal axis we find the themes of sibling rivalry, love between different social classes (the invalid Vincent and the valid Irene Cassini), and the opposing forces of chance and programming.

It is chance that establishes the genetic "imperfections" from natural conception and it is chance that disrupts the genetic programming of the athlete's body.

Apparently, the film can be read along this narrative until the explanation of the protagonist's individualistic vision that states his natural subjectivity by his own will. However, a number of Vincent's "valid" accomplices leave the social dimension wide open to overcome genetic class barriers.

The society described in "Gattaca" recalls Aldous Huxley's dystopian vision in "The brave new world" (1932). This said, in Huxley's book, on the one hand, genetic programming is compulsory, being imposed by an all-controlling and authoritarian super State. In "Gattaca", on the other hand, what we see can be defined as liberal eugenics: it is not the State, but the parents that autonomously decide their preferences concerning their child.

Besides the storyline of the film, which describes the social dimension, the images also describe another subject, a complementary and even more evident subject than that woven in the narrative: the centrality of the body as a place of transformation and contrast, as the concrete ground of genetics - of programming and chance at the same time. The body is like the crossroads of political and social relationships, in which both incarnation and contradiction occur. The location at which the no longer biopolitics of Foucault becomes a concrete place of manifestation and realization.

SYNECDOCHE

The first sequence of the film shows the details of residual parts of the body. Before the beginning of the narrative, as backdrop to the opening titles, the director inserts a sequence that powerfully draws the attention to the body and its residual components. Jackie Stacey gives an interesting interpretation of this initial sequence in his article (STACEY, 2005):

"In the opening sequence of Gattaca, an enigmatic scene of minimalist formal beauty gradually becomes a display of the shedding of abject bodily detritus for the purpose of an elaborate disguise. In the first few shots of the film, the excessive visual magnification of nail clippings, strands of hair, and flakes of skin effects a visual deception upon the audience: the nails look like large crescent-shaped pieces of frosted glass, the hair like lengths of rubber piping, the shower of skin like a beautiful snowfall. Initially unidentifiable, these gigantic bodily fragments fall in slow motion, hitting the ground with a thudding vibration as they eventually settle on a luminous blue surface that fills the screen" (STACEY, 2005, p. 1851).

It is possible to say that the director uses the rhetorical figure of Synecdoche (a part for all). Nails, skin and hair become representatives of the entire body; they embody the total identity of the individual, without having to show the totality of the body.

Using this rhetoric strategy that identifies the body using one of its segments, "Gattaca" describes the way in which genetic technologies have changed the concept of identity.

Identity is no longer provided by an image or a photograph (a passport photograph, for example), but by something that is hidden (as already happens in airports where the image of the iris is used to check identity). Even though this is not a complete novelty (fingerprinting was invented in the 19th century), in "Gattaca" it occurs at an even more infinitesimal level. We descend deep into the cells, into that irreducible biological dimension of the body, which nevertheless seems to almost escape from us.

The Panopticon, absolute optical surveillance, makes way for a sort of molecular surveillance performed by computers and genetics, which redefines the observation of the body – taking it to the world of the infinitesimal and subtracting the validity of certification.

Surveillance is conducted using new parameters of identification, which no longer depend on sight, but on biological investigation with technological instruments.

Analysis of blood and urine for DNA sequencing, an eyelash as an identity card, and other fragments work almost as incorporeal emanations of the body that seem to contain the entire identity of the subject.

In this, we can find some sort of implicit criticism of Foucault's theories on biopower, such as found in the contemporary text by Donna Haraway (HARAWAY, 1997)

According to Haraway (1997), the technological world to which Foucault refers to no longer exists. Modernity has evolved to posthuman and the domination technologies have computer and genetic systems rather than optical systems.

An image: the body, which has been increasingly sharing relationships with the machine, finds its identity through these relationships with the machine itself. This aspect conjectured by "Gattaca" is a microscopic body far beyond the optically visible. In fact, if the length of the human DNA is little more than a millimeter, its width measures from 2.2 to 2.4 nm.

By referring to the body's invisibility and its "biological" level, "Gattaca" reveals the dual aspect of technology, both as a tool for genetic manipulation and as a system of identification, by presenting it under the appearance of "nude life" (to use an expression by Giorgio Agamben, 2005), but being, in reality, a life dressed in technical appliances. The body as an expression of a biological layer becomes the stage of a techno-cultural world that acts in the deep recesses of the biological, so as to transform and give it a bioartificial or biocyborg form.

VISIBLE/INVISIBLE

In this dialogue between the visible and invisible, "Gattaca" is partially coherent with the iconic Western tradition. The body has been represented as the vehicle used to reveal the invisible; Gothic painting and sacred art generally tried to make the divine visible through the image of the body. The statute of the image in western culture was not created by a philosopher or an artistic movement.It was fixed in the year 787 by the Fathers reunited in the Second Council of Nicea, the seventh ecumenical council of the Catholic Church.

The council established the victory of the iconophiles over the iconoclasts. That ancient debate about the image and the drawn and accepted conclusions (amidst dramatic contrasts of Christianity) have shaped Western culture. (Russo L. 1997). In the initial sequence of "Gattaca", but also in the rest of the film, the visible parts of the body are a visible reference to the invisible DNA.

HYBRIDIZATION BEYOND THE BODY

Thus, in "Gattaca", on the one hand, the body is defined by its relationship with technology and, on the other hand, by the need to establish relationships with other bodies, such as the one between valids and invalids, genetically modified bodies and natural bodies. While this relationship is dominated by power, this dominion has its porosity. Allied valids Victor/Jerome represent this porosity, which is expressed in various ways: the act of falling in love, competition/alliance, and respect.

The film mainly describes porosity from the act of falling in love, which despite the aseptic and technological environment, manages to find how to escape from the totalitarian social hierarchy.

Falling in love, and love's ability to subvert the established order, becomes the reference for one of the constituent parts of the movie's plot. The love story between Vincent and Irene exposes the fragility of the encoded boundaries with the explosion of what we can describe as the subversive capacity of eroticism (BATAILLE, 1962).

In "Gattaca", the choice of partner seems to depend on the evaluation of genetic factors rather than the "correspondence of amorous feelings", described by Foscolo in his "Sepolcri" as amorous feelings that go beyond the rational and that are the indomitable human prerogative in the end.

To be more clear, I would like to make a quick reference to other science fiction films inspired by robotics, such as Alex Proyas' "I Robot" (2004)

and Chris Columbus' "Bicentennial Man" (1999) with Robin Williams, in which the Cyborg is threatened by human ability to feel.

The element of competition/alliance is represented by the relationship between the two brothers and, more specifically, by the swimming race (swimming is a recurring theme and, in fact, Vincent adopts the identity of a swimming champion).

Vincent reminds his brother of how he was able to beat him at the moment that he no longer thought of the necessity to save energy for the return journey (the race consisted in swimming as far out in the sea as one dared, and who came back first would be the loser). Thus, Vincent wins because he challenges death by adopting a less rational and, therefore, entirely human point of view. Having feelings for others is what differentiates the human who was naturally created from the one who was artificially produced according to engineering that represents the apparent success of pure rationality.

Nonetheless, the establishment of dialogue between human and genetically transformed bodies points to hybridization as a way to overcome dualism and affirm the posthuman.

In other words, this alliance (and hybridization itself) represent the overcoming of the nature/culture opposition, expressed by the overcoming of the opposition between invalid/nature and valid/artificial-culture.

This way, the transformation in machine illustrates and updates the power relations of a subject that is no longer locked in the dialectical context.

The fusion of the human and technological acquires a new transverse compound, as stated by Braidotti (BRAIDOTTI, 2013, 100). Scenes from "Gattaca" about the DNA test and scene about the love between Vincent and Irene in the swimming competition in the beach house.

THE SCENARIO

At this stage, I would like to consider a few points on the setting where these events occur. The director sets his fictional near future in a recent past, thus creating a kind of short circuit in the substantial future of the narrative. Actually, this short circuit illustrates how what has been discussed currently has already occurred or how the technological potential has achieved its end in scientific laboratories at least.

This could place "Gattaca" in the Steampun genre. Despite having many things in common with this genre, Gattaca exceeds it with its very peculiar setting.

There is a number of key elements that go beyond the photography (for which the director uses a varied repertoire of warm red and yellow tones), such as Gattaca's space center setting and the cars used in the film.

Gattaca's space center is set in the architect Frank Lloyd Wright's Marin County Civic Center, that was built in the early 1960's. The reference to Wright, well known for his romantic vision of American pioneering and his idea of architecture in harmony with the natural world, is not casual at all.

The relation between near future and recent past continues with the choice of cars used in the film –all electric versions of vehicles produced in the 1960's. Thus, the director creates an image of a future set in the 60's: a time when the seeds of posthuman technology were sown and cybernetics and genetics were born.

Finally, a last observation concerns the use of Esperanto in the official announcements displayed in Gattaca's space center.

The use of Esperanto - a language that never came into being, suspended between past and future - serves as a counterpoint to the use of the letters DNA to create the title, or better, to transform the symbolism of DNA into some sort of embryonic language.

Here I use the word "language" in its strict sense, not as a metaphoric expression, but as the relationship between a signifier and an arbitrarily defined meaning.

One could say that the genetic penetrates the sphere of language or, more precisely, that it disrupts the opposition between nature and culture, breaking down the deepest boundaries of this opposition.

The irreducible biological cell and cultural language are confused in the inscription which is, somehow, already present in the title, which uses the abbreviations of the nitrogenous basis of DNA to create a word.

There is a Brazilian artist currently based in Chicago who approaches this relationship between language and DNA at the heart of a series of works and in what he defines as "transgenic art".

In "Cypher", one of his latest works, he makes an explicit reference to "Gattaca". In this work, the artist codifies by means of the "artist's gene", the following message: "A tagged cat will attack Gattaca".

The expression "artist's gene" was created by Kac himself and refers, quite literally, to a laboratory created gene whose amino acids sequence has been defined by the artist according to his own specific linguistic logic.

In "Cypher", Eduardo Kac prepared a veritable transgenic book: a box that opens like a book and contains a kit for activation of a transgenic bacterial colony from which the artist's gene is synthesized to encode a short poem.

Codification is invariably performed using the initials of the four nitrogenous bases adenine (A), cytosine (C), guanine (G), thymine (T) (directly and without recourse to the Morse code, as in his previous work "Genesis", which I will discuss in a moment). The four letters are used to compose a sentence. However, given that they are not enough to provide the other six letters needed, he adopted the following scheme: the repetition of the four letters/bases for two or three times to correspond to a new letter. This is the scheme of the code:

E = TTT,

D = AA,

K = CC,

W = GG,

I = AAA,

L = TT

Thus the poem is: "A tagged cat will attack Gattaca"

The result of this process is that the poem and code complement each other in such a way that the code becomes an integral part of the poem. Both are included in the booklet in the kit, thus enabling the viewer to discover this when following the protocol that gives life to the poem. The title manifests an anagrammatic relation between sign and referent that is by itself also part of the work (from the artist's site).

"Cypher" is an artwork that presents itself as an invitation to engage in procedures concerning art and poetry, biological life and technology, reading/seeing, and kinesthetic participation. The relation between the sculptural object and the book is enhanced by the title of the work being engraved in the spine of the slipcase and on the "cover" , i.e, the front of the kit. The work may be placed on a bookshelf and clearly identified. When opened, the viewer discovers a complete transgenic kit. The "reading" of the poem is achieved by transforming *E. coli* with the provided synthetic DNA. The act of reading is processual. By following the specified procedure, the participant creates a new kind of life, one that is literal and poetic all at once.

I am not going to extend myself any further on the conduction and significance of this work, and the various internal references, such as those to "Gattaca", because I would like to present another work by E. Kac, from 1999.

"Genesis" was the first of Kac's transgenic artworks and was presented for the first time during September 4-19, 1999, at Ars Elettronica held at the OK Center for Contemporary Art, Linz, Austria.

The work comprises of several sequences. In the first, Kac creates (in a genetic biology laboratory) what he calls an "artist's gene", which, in the next phase, will be inserted into an *E. coli bacterium*. The "artist's gene" is a purposefully sequenced DNA strand. In the case of "Genesis", the strand was sequenced to encode, by means of a system of symbols, a passage from Genesis of the Bible.

The passage inscribed by Kac in the artist's gene states: "*Let man have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moves upon the earth*". (Bible Genesis 1:28; rewritten by Kac E)

Once created, the gene is introduced into plasmids and then inserted into the *E. coli* cells. The plasmids are circular strands of DNA in cell cytoplasm and are differentiated from the chromosomal DNA, insofar as they reproduce themselves independently. In addition, the plasmids have the ability to migrate between cells.

"Genesis is a transgenic artwork that explores the intricate relationship between biology, belief systems, information technology, dialogical interaction, ethics, and the Internet. The key element of the work is an 'artist's gene', a synthetic gene that was created by translating a sentence from the biblical book of Genesis into Morse Code, and converting the Morse Code into DNA base pairs according to a conversion principle specially developed for this work. Morse code was chosen because, as the first example of the use of radiotelegraphy, it represents the dawn of the information age – the genesis of global communication" (Perra 2000, 76-81.).

Therefore, Kac has translated the passage in "Genesis" to Morse code in such a way that only four symbols are used to encode his message. The Morse code uses five symbols: dot (•), dash (–), short gap (between each letter), medium gap (between words), and long gap (between sentences). In this case, given that he was dealing with a single sentence, Kac only used four of the five symbols.

Having obtained the text in Morse code, he associated each of the four nitrogenous bases needed to codify a strand of DNA: adenine (A), guanine

(G), thymine (T), and cytosine (C) with a Morse symbol: the dot to C, the dash to T, the gap between words to A, and the space between letters to G. Using the letters that symbolize the various chemical sequences, he associated the Morse code with a DNA structure. After the ordered sequence of nitrogenous bases was obtained, this was produced biochemically to generate a DNA molecule. This molecule was then inserted in the plasmids which were, in turn, inserted into the *E. coli cells*.
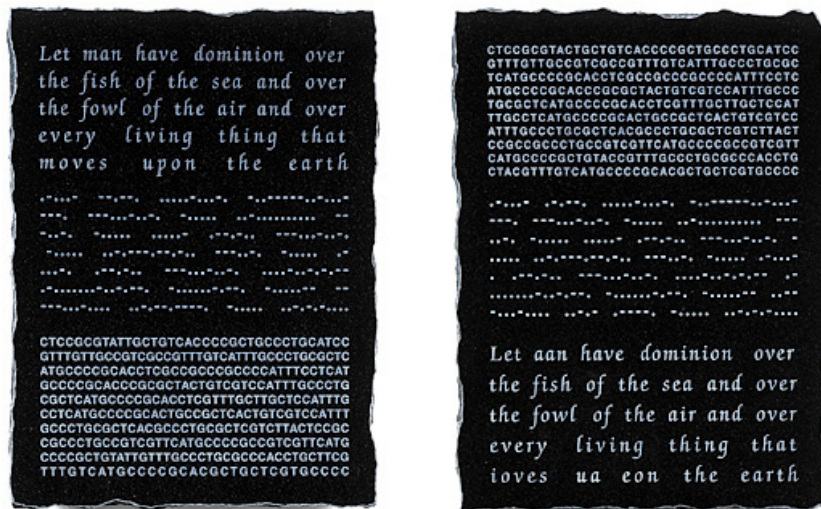
The next step was marking the cells with a technique based on the GFR gene according to two variants, ECFP and EYPC. Essentially, the cells in which the plasmids were inserted with the author's gene were marked in blue when exposed to UV radiation, while the cells without the author's gene were marked in yellow when exposed to UV. This made it possible to track the mutations and migrations between cells that exchange plasmids.

Three types of situations were generated:

1- The blue bacteria (ECFP) exchange their plasmids with the yellow ones bacteria (EYFP), producing green bacteria (EGFP).

2- No exchange, thus the bacteria maintains its original color.

3- The bacteria lose all their plasmids and become of a pale ocher color.

Once the cell culture was ready, Kac developed a displaying and interacting system with the set of evolving bacteria. The Petri dish in which the culture had been placed was observed by a camera, whose signal

was screened both in the showroom and in the internet. In addition, by using an electronic connection, any virtual visitor could directly interact with the bacteria. By turning on a UV light one could both see the different colors and mutation strategies within the colony and accelerate the exchange of plasmids.

The exhibition ended with the extraction of the strand of DNA that codified the biblical passage and the verification of eventual mutations following nitrogenous bases. The mutations were always decrypted according to the Morse code.

Here is one of the resulting variations: *"Let man have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the fowl of the air and over every living thing that moves on the earth"*.

Finally, I would like to conclude with the presentation of another work by Kac: Alba, the GFP Bunny.

Of all transgenic artworks, Alba, the transgenic bunny, was the one that aroused the most controversy, even before being "displayed". It was censured the day after its presentation and before coming out of the laboratory of genetic engineering where the process was conducted. In fact, the work failed at reaching its creator or the general public.

Alba, whose name as an artwork is "GFP Bunny", was an albino rabbit that looked very similar to any other albino rabbit: white with red eyes. What made this genetically modified creature different was the way it became phosphorescent green when exposed to a source of UV radiation.

Everything else about the animal was the same as the natural species and the fluorescent effect did not alter its vital functions in any way.

To obtain Alba's fluorescence, the gene that regulates the production of the protein associated with fluorescence in Aequorea victoria (jellyfish) was added to the animal's original genes.

For Eduardo Kac, his complex GFP Bunny art project was supposed to serve as a staring point for a much wider reflection on the widespread presence of transgenic life forms in complex societies.

Thus, Eduardo Kac expected that the social inclusion of his work would encourage discussions on genetic engineering and social criticism of genetic techniques, leading to mass awareness of these particular technologies and, above all, their widespread use in research laboratories.

"The GFP Bunny project, says Kac, includes not only the process of bringing Alba into the world and integrating her into society, but also deliberately provoking the fears, imaginations and hopes we have attached to genetics and new life forms. One small hop for Alba; one large hop for mankind" (Allmendinger *2001).*

The project had three phases. The first phase was dedicated to the creation of a transgenic rabbit in a genetic research laboratory; the second involved the presentation of the transgenic animal to the public; and the third would show Alba being introduced into the domestic life of Kac's family as a transgenic pet.

In this way, the artist wanted to create a complex social event in which the creative phase would be followed by a moment of dialogue in which the general public together with artists, writers, philosophers, and scientists would reflect on the cultural implications of the "chimerical" animal (here I use the word chimerical in the mythological rather than the biological sense).

In fact, as the artist himself states, his transgenic art does not end with the simple creation of a genetic artwork, it aims at evolving into a transgenic social subject.

The central part of the Brazilian artist's work was supposed to be the social relations developed in regard to this new domestic animal.

Alba would participate in all social relationships involving a domestic animal, with the mere addition of a transgenic nature. We might add "cultural animal" to this phrase to provoke a confrontation between animal and culture (I will address this issue later).

According to the artist's idea, the transgenic rabbit should represent an important milestone in the relationship between man and domestic animals. In fact, Kac based his artistic thought on the association which gives unity to species in a co-evolution relationship, to the extent that today's *homo sapiens* is capable, at least partially, of redesigning the biological status of other species and, evidently, his own – if not at an ethical, at least at a technical level.

In his artwork, Kac was concerned with the reconstruction of part of the relationship between the species that for thousands of years linked the *Sapiens* to the *Oryctolagus cuniculus*, using iconographic references that include Roman coins and images used in the Aztec calendar. In other words, we can say that, for Kac, the Alba/GRF Rabbit should have been a further step in a series of reports concerning the association between rabbit and man, reducing this relationship in the contemporary technological landscape.

With this work, the artist wants to provide the coordinates for a reflection on the transformations that the relationship man/other species is undergoing thanks to the adoption of techniques of genetic engineering, transformations that should acquire a social dimension, of social criticism regarding the technological modification of genomes.

The first phase of the work was carried out in the laboratories of the Institut National de la Recherche Agronomique, in collaboration with the researcher Louis-Marie Houdebine, but descriptions of this phase are contradictory.

While for Kac there was agreement regarding the entire operation, both laboratory and researcher deny this, claiming that Kac merely studied one of their many transgenic animals, and never asked them to create a GFP rabbit specifically for him. According to the laboratory and the researcher, Kac simply took one of the many GFP rabbits habitually bred for laboratory purposes and used it for his own project.

Louis-Marie Houdebine gives the following version of events:

"The GFP rabbits were prepared, as we always said, years ago, before E Kac came to visit us. My colleague JP Renard asked me to generate these rabbits because he needed cells with markers to clone rabbits. We chose to construct a gene capable of expressing the GFP gene in all cell types. This was expected to create a very versatile tool" (Boulanger et al. 2002, 88). And in: "Essentially all the cells of the rabbits are green under UV light. The newborn rabbits appear uniformly green as long as they have no hairs. In adults, only the part of the body devoid of hairs look green and of course, eyes are green instead of red (under UV light).1" The second and third phase of Kac's artistic project were never completed, at least not in the initially intended way because of the censorship that prohibited Alba's departure from the INRA laboratory.

The presentation should have occurred in the Avignon Numerique in June of 2000, but it was suspended because the Institut National de la Recherché Agronomique (France's public center of research where the transgenic variation of Alba/GFP Bunny had been produced) did not want to be at the center of a scandal involving the creation of transgenic animals for "artistic pleasure" or pure curiosity. Above all, the Institut National de la Recherché Agronomique did not want to questioned on the appropriate use of public funds.

In effect, Alba/GFP Bunny is not only experiment that has created a fluorescent transgenic mammal. In fact there is a well-consolidated

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1 https://goo.gl/iZfRB4>. Acessed in 12.8.2017.

production of transgenic GFP mammals, including mice and pigs, conceived for scientific experiments; the Alba/GFPBunny project turned into a scandal because of its artistic or even playful purpose and because of Kac's intention of including the animal in his domestic routine in the third phase of the project.

Kac summarizes his point of view when he asserts:

> "As I see it, there is no reason to believe that the interactive art of the future will look like anything we knew in the 20th century. GFP Bunny (Alba) shows an alternative oath and makes clear that a profound concept of interaction is anchored on the notion of personal responsibility (as both care and possibility to response). GFP Bunny gives a continuation to my focus, within art, on what Martin Burber called "dialogical relationship" and Mikhail Bakhtin called "dialogic sphere of existence", what Emile Benveniste called "intersubjectivity", and what Humbert Maturana called "consensual domain": shared spheres of perception, cognition and agency in which two or more sentient beings (human or otherwise) can negotiate their experience dialogically. The work is also informed by Emmanuel Lévinas' philosophy of alterity, which states that our proximity to the other demands a response, and that the interpersonal contact with others if the unique relationship of ethical responsibility. I create my works to accept and incorporate the reactions and decisions made by the participants (including bacteria and other forms of life)" (Bolognini 2006).

I would like to conclude by drawing attention to the fact that, in 2010, Craig Venter (Gibson 2010) announced that he had created the DNA of a cell thanks to the elaboration of a chromosomal sequence exclusively calculated by using computers. Indeed, without the computer, calculating all of the nucleotide bases present in the strand would have been impossible. As impossible as it would be for me to explain in this text the process of producing the million base pairs plus needed to create this genome!

An article published in *Science* Gibson explains how the *M. mycoides* bacteria genome was produced with the addition of DNA sequences to "watermark" the genome and distinguish it from a natural one (ibid, 52-56). The scientists then transplanted the *M. mycoides* genome in another type of bacteria, the *Mycoplasm capricolum*.

In addition, given that present-day computers are only able to produce small strings (and, in this case, a sequence of over one million base pairs

was needed), special assembly techniques using enzymes from DNA strings were employed. At this stage, I would like to state the aspect that interests me the most: "'*This is literally a turning point in the relationship between man and nature,' said molecular biologist Richard Ebright at Rutgers University, who wasn't involved in the project. 'For the first time, someone has generated an entire artificial cell with predetermined properties'*" (Hotz 2010).

We might ask ourselves what the cells containing the author's gene and the scientist's DNA have in common, which would be easy to answer with an oxymoron, and say that both are cultural cells. But this would surely hide the overcoming of the nature-culture opposition which, by simplifying the world, has allowed us to draw a clear line between *Homo sapiens* and his environment.

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"IMAGINE THE PARTY": BRAHMA'S ADVERTISING AND THE PARODY THAT CREATES A NEW MEANING

ABSTRACT

This work aims to analyze the discussions and dialogical relations between the parody and Brahma's advertisement, which referred to the 2014 World Cup hosted in Brazil. The dynamics that organizes society can only be understood with a close look towards the connections between advertising, media and consumption, once it is constantly impregnating the urban life's content. Therefore, inspired by the TV commercial, the parody, that achieved huge success among Internet users who access networks and social media, is able to present a new point of view regarding the same theme. Thereby, this paper aims to discuss the importance of these two resources to the constitution of meanings, since dialogism enables the inclusion of other existing ideologies and, along with the parody, it is possible to conclude that the meaning is different from the original, but the parodied content is always appreciated and perpetuated.

INITIAL CONSIDERATIONS

This paper aims to analyze and discuss the discourses, the dialogical relations and the parody, using Brahma's advertisement "imagine the party", which referred to the 2014 World Cup hosted in Brazil. The choice of portraying the dialog between Brahma's[1] TV advertisement and the video with its parody is because of the fact that the dynamics that organizes society can only be understood with a close look towards the connections between advertising, media and consumption, once it is constantly impregnating the urban life's content. This is related to the fact that the parody brought images that contrast with the text said by the campaign, which remains the same in the parody, changing only these images. Nevertheless, the parody managed to be associative, critical and, mainly, was able to dialogue and make an allusion, since it is full of a social criticism that leads the receiver to think and question if the country would be really prepared; if that would be the best moment to host the World Cup; and if that event would actually bring any relatively significant benefit to the country, considering the substantial public investment. In addition, this choice was also motivated by the huge success that the advertisement parody achieved among surfers[2], who access networks and social media.

In Bakhtin's perspective, a discourse can be produced from different points of view and, because of this, both social voices and individual styles are highly prioritized. In the act of communicating, dialogical relations are established in order to express an opinion and reproduce previous statements, since discourses are social and, although they are not completely new, they never repeat themselves. Therefore, according to Bakhtin (2000), every statement is individual, so it can reflect the individuality of the speaker. The individual voice can only be heard when integrated to the other voices that are already present, establishing, in this manner, the dialogism.

Thus, Bakhtin postulates that every statement will be noticed when it allows another person the possibility of a reply. Therefore, statements, texts and discourses should be analyzed as participants in a history, a culture and an event.

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1 Brahma is a Brazilian beer brand created in 1888, in Rio de Janeiro, by "Manufactura de Cerveja Brahma Villiger & Companhia", which later changed its name to "Companhia Cervejaria Brahma", and then was succeeded by "AmBev". Cervejas Brahma. Available at: <http://www.ambev.com.br/marcas/cervejas/brahma/ brahma-chopp/>. Accessed on: 19 Oct. 2016.

2 Surfer: a person who spends time using the Internet. English Oxford Living Dictionaries. Available at: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/surfer>. Accessed on: 01 Jun. 2017.

This study was performed using a methodology that begins with the choice of the parody of Brahma's advertisement "Imagine the Party". This video, which was widely viewed on social networks and commented on by general media, ironically portrays a recent view of Brazil, and leads to a reflection of what it would be to have a too pessimistic or too optimistic view about the sporting event that happened in this country in 2014.

As a methodology, the bibliographical research started from a review on the reflections of the Circle of Mikhail Bakhtin on dialogism and parody, as well as Linda Hutcheon's studies also on parody.

The choice of the concepts of dialogism and parody as bases of the analysis was mostly due to the critical and ironic character present. In this regard, this study will approach the manner in which these two resources were explored in the parodied video, to ensure the reflexive tone and the social criticism that so much pleased the Internet users. It is important to emphasize that the created parody will be the most widely analyzed resource, since it is known that the generated meaning will be constituted by it, in most cases.

Throughout the analysis, it is also aimed to discuss the importance of these two resources for the constitution of meanings, since it is possible to infer that, with the parody, it is created a meaning that is different from the original. This happens because the parody distorts the original meaning and creates a new one, being a two-way street, as it marks difference instead of similarity, and the dialogism allows the insertion of other existing ideologies.

As mentioned earlier, the analysis will be conducted around the discourse of Brahma's advertisement "Imagine the party" and its parody created in video. From the concepts of advertising discourse, dialogism and parody, this study aims to verify the importance that such resources have in the creation of new discourses. In order to introduce the theory, a brief presentation will be made of Bakhtin's concepts of dialogism. Then, this paper will approach theoretical studies on advertising as a means of communication, on advertising discourses according to scholars of this theory, such as Jean Baudrillard and Fred Tavares, and on the concepts of parody, since the analysis will be conducted according to the definition that the authors studied here have given to these concepts. The study on parody will be based on Mikhail Bakhtin and the circle and on Linda Hutcheon's research.

1. DIALOGISM

Every ideological product comes from a reality (natural or social), has a meaning and refers to something that is external to it, that is, it is a sign. Signs are, also, subject to ideological evaluations, since they do not

exist only as a passive item of reality: they reflect and refract other realities (Bakhtin-Volochinov 1988, 31).

One sign is understood from another one. The individual consciousness is based on the impregnated ideology. However, it only reveals itself in the process of social interaction:

> The individual consciousness is nurtured on signs; it derives its growth from them; it reflects their logic and laws. The logic of consciousness is the logic of ideological communication, of the semiotic interaction of a social group. If we deprive consciousness of its semiotic, ideological content, it would have absolutely nothing left (Bakhtin-Volochinov 1988, 35- 36).

Bakhtin values the speech, the enunciation, which, in turn, has no individual nature. Thus, it is connected to the historical-ideological conditions of classes in society. "The word is the ideological phenomenon par excellence. (...) It is the purest and most sensitive medium of social intercourse" (Bakhtin-Volochinov 1988, 36). The word is a neural sign, which fits in different spheres and follows every ideological creation.

According to Bakhtin (2000), it is through dialogism that the meaning of a discourse is constructed and a language is established. Also according to him, reported by Fiorin (2006), dialogism establishes a verbal interaction between different social classes through language, words full of meaning and ideological marks. In this manner, communication can happen.

> [...] every statement is dialogical. Therefore, dialogism is the real mode of functioning of language; it is the constitutive principle of the statement. Every statement is constituted from another statement; it is a reply to another statement (Fiorin 2006, 24).

According to Brait (1997, p. 98), "dialogism refers to the relations that are installed between the self and the other in the discursive processes historically established by subjects that, in turn, establish themselves and are established by these discourses".

Bakhtin (1997) presents two ways of thinking about dialogism: the dialogue between interlocutors and the dialogue between discourses. Facing the condition of the other in the register of subjectivity: the reaction of the word to the already spoken word, the linkage of the previous statements. The dialogical relation presupposes a creative boiling state that needs to be awakened. According to Velmezova (2005, 76), "borders exist to be surpassed". This exchange happens because the resumes of the other's discourse are disrupted and produce other unpredictable meanings.

Regarding the concept of dialogism, Bakhtin affirms that it retakes something already placed and produces meanings that are materialized in the discourse. Through alliances and ruptures, the voices alternate old and new meanings, always marked by effects of anteriority and transformation. Therefore, there are no limits to a dialogical discourse, because it always generates questions and, consequently, answers, leaving gaps to originate other discourses.

A significant enunciation proposes a reply, according to Marchezan (2006, 117), of agreement, appreciation or discrepancy. The enunciation can be understood when confronted with its own words and the words of others. Therefore, statements are understood when they awaken ideologies in an individual.

Dialoguing with the culture of others means to open questions to the other and, at the same time, to seek answers, in the other, to our own interpellations, discovering, in this manner, new possibilities of meaning (Zavala 2009, 153). A text is always dialoguing with other texts. Thus, in the Bakhtinian view, dialogue is social, because it can always be reformulated. Also according to Bakhtin, every genre is dialogical.

2. ADVERTISING AS A MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

Advertising is a strong means of communication with society, since it emits a message and there is a receiver that receives and assimilates it. Advertising has to fulfill its social responsibilities and its main purpose, which is to communicate.

Communication as an influencer of ideologies is constantly encouraging a positioning, which makes companies more and more convinced that they are imposing positive actions. "Advertising sets itself the task of supplying information about particular products and promoting their sale. In principle this 'objective' function is still its fundamental purpose" (Baudrillard 1997, 174).

According to Baudrillard (1997), advertising, although persuasive and subjected to the laws of sale and profit, is democratic, since it is offered to all. Only the merchandise is sold; advertising is offered.

As reported by Tavares (2005), advertising is a paid message that, through rational and emotional appeals, uses linguistic and stylistic resources of ordering, persuasion and seduction. Advertising promotes products, goods and services and establishes the popularity and credibility of a brand among the consuming public. However, it cannot create demand by itself and fully satisfy the customer if the product, good or service

does not meet quality requirements or the customer's expectations. The informative function of advertising has the purpose of establishing a communication relationship between potential consumers and products, goods or services capable of satisfying social needs.

The main function of advertising is to attract consumers in order to make merchandises or services more desirable. The main task of advertising is to grow in the public the desire for merchandises. According to Tavares (2005, p. 126), "advertising produces and uses values, knowledge and naturalizes the desires of consumption, making them basic needs, symbolizing them through the ideology of acceptance and belonging, shared by all as an ideal of existence".

The symbolic value is produced in people's imaginary. The merchandise only competes to achieve its exchange value and, as it becomes an image, it also becomes a sign. Baudrillard (1997) says that, in order to become an object of consumption, it is necessary that the object becomes a sign. Therefore, the consumer does not drink beer; he drinks Brahma.

Nowadays, the values, in billions of dollars, assumed by several brands are due to their products, goods and services, but manly to advertising. Many companies might lose all of their patrimony and still keep a millionaire patrimony thanks to their valuable brands. Among the eight most expensive brands in the world (Coca-Cola,[3] Microsoft,[4] IBM,[5] GE,[6] In-

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3 Coca-Cola is the best-selling brand of soda in the world. It is produced by The Coca-Cola Company, headquartered in Atlanta, USA. A história da Coca-Cola. Available at: <http://www.cocacolabrasil.com.br/ sobre-a-coca-cola-brasil/a-historia-da-coca-cola-brasil>. Accessed on: 19 Oct. 2016.

4 Microsoft is an American transnational corporation headquartered in Redmond, Washington, that develops, produces, licenses, supports and sells computer software, electronic products, computers and personal services. Microsoft – Institucional. Available at: <https://www.microsoft.com/pt-br/about/nossa-companhia.aspx>. Accessed on: 19 Oct. 2016.

5 IBM: International Business Machines (IBM) is a company in the United States focused in the field of Informatics. Sobre a IBM. Available at: <https://www.ibm.com/ibm/br/pt/?lnk=fsi-saib-brpt>. Accessed on: 19 Oct. 2016.

6 GE: General Electric Company, also known as GE, is an American multinational service and technology company. Sobre a GE. Available at: <https://www.ge.com/br/sobre>. Accessed on: 19 Oct. 2016.

tel Inside,[7] Walt Disney,[8] McDonald's[9] and Nokia,[10] in this order), in four of them, the brands are worth more than the companies themselves.

Undoubtedly, advertising has the power to add value to products, goods, services and brands. Without advertising, none of this would be what it actually is or would have the value it has. It is the art of advertising that makes the consumer see magic and enchantment (Bucci 2002, 57).

Currently, the public has various products, goods and services available; at this point, the lack of knowledge of their qualities, information or technological complexity makes the choice even more difficult. Consequently, the choice of the consumers for the best product, good or service happens through the advertising communication, mediated by its discourse.

The use of the advertising discourse as a communication tool supports an argumentation that leads the receiver to be reached by the attention of the sender in relation to the object. Therefore, advertising imposes, in the lines and between the lines, values, myths, ideals and other symbolic elaborations, using the own resources of the language, which serves as its vehicle (Tavares 2005).

Thus, the advertising discourse, through a more suggestive communication, shows an addition of values aggregated to the product, good or service that makes it superior to other brands, capturing the consumer's attention while at the same time directing him to make the ideal choice. This is a remarkable characteristic in the advertising discourse.

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7 Intel Inside is a multinational company that produces integrated circuits such as microprocessors and other chipsets. Visão geral sobre a empresa Intel Inside. Available at: <www.intel.com.br/content/www/ br/pt/company-overview/company-overview.html>. Accessed on: 19 Oct. 2016.

8 Walt Disney: The Walt Disney Company, also known as Disney, is an American multinational mass media company headquartered at Walt Disney Studios, in Burbank, California. It is one of the largest media and entertainment conglomerates in the world. Walt Disney Company - About. Available at: <https://thewalt disneycompany.com/about/>. Accessed on: 19 Oct. 2016.

9 McDonald's is the world's biggest chain of hamburger fast food restaurants, serving in 119 countries through 35,000 locations. Founded in 1955, in Illinois, USA. McDonald's – Quem somos. Available at: <http://www.mcdonalds.com.br/>. Accessed on: 19 Oct. 2016.

10 Nokia: Nokia Corporation, known as Nokia, is a Finnish multinational telecommunications and technology company, founded in 1865. Nokia Company – About us. Available at: <http://company.nokia.com/en/about-us/our-company>. Accessed on: 19 Oct. 2016.

3. THE ADVERTISING DISCOURSE IN BRAHMA'S ADVERTISEMENT "IMAGINE THE PARTY"

The optimistic campaign created by the África agency for Brahma was based on the expression "imagine in the world cup", very reverberated in Brazil. The advertisement, called "imagine the party", refers to the 2014 World Cup hosted in Brazil.

In general, the use of the expression "imagine in the world cup" was associated with security and infrastructure issues that the country was suffering and still suffers. Many Brazilians faced the event with pessimism and distrust since Brazil was announced as host country of the 2014 World Cup. People wondered if that would be the best time and if Brazil would even be ready to host the World Cup in 2014. "A discourse is always a situated message, produced by someone and addressed to someone" (Verón 1980, 77).

Throughout the advertisement "Imagine the Party", released in September 2012, the discourse was elaborated as a message to the pessimists and lists the reasons that would make the country host the so-called "best world cup ever made", a sentence that was even said by the current President, Dilma Rousseff. "The whole of the discourse on needs is based on a naive anthropology: that of the natural propensity to happiness" (Baudrillard 1995, p. 47). The advertising discourse influences the individual. It carries psychological, sociological, anthropological elements and uses its own language. All this in order to satisfy the advertisers and lead the consumers to strongly desire some product, good or service to the point of making this people work to satisfy their desire at any price, turning this desire into a real need (Bigal 1999).

> The advertising discourse is one of the instruments of social control and, in order to efficiently fulfill its function, it simulates equalitarianism and removes the indicators of authority and power from the structure of the surface, replacing them with the language of seduction with the purpose of producing consumption (Carvalho 1996, 11).

The advertising discourse of Brahma's advertisement – "Imagine the party" – uses an encouraging communication, and not direct manipulation. It is composed of stylistic and argumentative resources, designed to better transmit the ideas. According to Tavares (2005), the speech itself is a communicative resource that well illustrates the advertising model of discourse, since, through the speech, the argumentation of imposed ideas to convince the public occurs.

> The difference is in the level of awareness of the used resources and, thus, advertising is characterized by the rational

use of such instruments to convince, modify and maintain the opinion and perception of the target public relative to a particular idea, product or brand (Tavares 2005, 11)

The persuasion of the advertising discourse present in Brahma's advertisement consist in the appeal to the consumer's emotion. In order to prove what is affirmed when trying to reverse the expectation about the event, Brahma's advertisement does not make a merely proud and patriotic discourse, rather it shows a remarkably appropriateness to the positioning of a beer brand. It is all a matter of manipulation strategy to gain the public. This centuries old model proposed by Aristotle[11] is based on emotional, rational and institutional rhetoric. For Aristotle, the deliberative style is impregnated in every discourse that aims to convince, persuade or modify some opinion or idea in order to obtain a reaction from the receiver (Tavares 2005).

Regarding the advertising discourse of Brahma's advertisement, with all the effects of production well elaborated, modern and attractive, the focus is undoubtedly the interaction with its public, that is, all the discourse was produced to hold the attention. The public, as a thinking, active, critic subject and holder of opinions, ideologies and memories, consequently participates in the provocation of senses.

The image plays an important role in building the persuasive argumentation of the advertisement. Along with words, it forms a meaningful whole through the visual and textual presentation of the product.

The advertising image is overloaded with all types of cultural codes. Therefore, the advertisement will always have a common meaning that satisfy the public, without losing its essence. The advertising text is, by its very nature, a deliberative text.

The advertising discourse in Brahma's advertisement – "imagine the party" – is structured in the ludic indicative model, since this discourse is implicitly represented in the form of ideal, dream and desire of power. Thus, an ability to manipulate and influence is precisely presented by inserting the optimistic message of the brand, using cultural artifacts impregnated in the daily life of Brazilians.

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11 Aristotle: Greek philosopher, Plato's student and professor of Alexander, the Great. His writings comprehend various subjects, such as physics, metaphysics, the laws of poetry and drama, music, logic, rhetoric, government, ethics, biology, and zoology. Along with Plato and Socrates, Aristotle is seen as one of the founders of Western philosophy. Aristóteles Biografia. Available at: <http://www.pucsp.br/pos/cesima/schenberg/alunos/paulosergio/ biografia.html>. Accessed on: 19 Oct. 2016.

Advertisements magically emphasize the meaning of a power that legitimates itself by the order of a spectacle, in which the receiver plays a role and follows a script, which are to be a consumer (identity) and a consumption context as a statement of belonging, idolatry, control and social acceptance. (Tavares 2005, 21)

Therefore, Brahma's advertisement "Imagine the Party" appropriated the expression "imagine in the world cup", which was repeatedly said by Brazilians concerning the social issues that were occurring and still occur in Brazil. Thus, Brahma's advertisement discourse exhibited at all times the potential that Brazil possessed to do something that would go down in history, that is, the best world cup ever made and the biggest party ever seen on the planet. Because of this, every pessimistic view is despised, becoming too small compared to what the whole event could provide for Brazil and the Brazilians.

3.1. THE ADVERTISING IMAGES IN BRAHMA'S ADVERTISEMENT "IMAGINE THE PARTY"

The images reinforce the writing for being easy and quick to read, so that they complement while supporting the writing. The image plays an important role in building the persuasive argumentation of the advertisement. Along with words, it forms a meaningful whole through the visual and textual presentation of the product. Dondis (2003) states that the activity of looking or seeing is a process that requires little energy and that there is a strong tendency to visual information in human behavior. As a result, advertisers use many visual elements in order to make the advertisements more attractive and persuasive.

According to Martins, (1997, 12), "The correct use of words, the argument used to convince the reader, the coherent relation between image/language, the objectivity and originality of the content are special care to present the product in an attractive way".

In this advertisement, the images have the function of reinforcing what the verbal language affirms, in a relation of complementarity between image and text, since the visual elements are the main responsible for bringing the public closer to the brand, creating an immediate identification with it and with the desire to consume. This is because the advertising activity of the commercial intends to persuade the receiver and create something that can be quickly identified by the public. Therefore, the advertisement, by materializing in verbal and visual texts, generates discourse through creative strategies.

The images produced by the advertising agency in this beer brand advertisement were analyzed in order to verify the appropriation of optimistic elements of the Brazilian social imaginary, aiming to encourage the optimistic view about the event, since Brazilians are considered too much optimistic. Among a social context of inequality, suffering and political, economic and sociocultural needs, they still manage to have animation for everything, even more about soccer, parties and Carnival, which are considered the main passions of Brazilian people.

Baudrillard (1995) says that advertising has not only the task of informing the consumer about the characteristics of products to promote their sale, since this objective function of advertising is far beyond its primary function. Thus, the very existence of advertising images as a second consumer product, along with the objects advertised by them, makes everyone consume a category and its image at the same time.

Barthes (1987) says, on the character of advertising images, that they make available some functional equivalents of the myth. The author uses the term myth to designate signification deprived its historical and political meanings, which give rise to ideological meanings, just as in advertising. To the author, myths and advertising images often solve social contradictions, provide identity models and enhance the current social order.

Brahma's advertisement begins with the image of a hallway full of trophies of soccer championships, won by Brazil. In the ceiling of this place, it is possible to see illuminations that form the image of a soccer field. As it becomes brighter and closer, it is possible to see, in the center of this place, a samba player dressed for Carnival, dancing the samba and transmitting joy as if she was on the avenue in a parade with the samba school and its drums beating to the rhythm of Carnival (Figure 1).

figure 1
Initial scene
Source: Brahma's advertisement, 2014.

The raw material of advertising and the media comes from elements of the imaginary: representations, world conceptions, values, interpretations of reality, that is, a symbolic universe. This means that advertising messages are built around the association between symbolic elements and the products and brands. This is how the effectiveness of advertising is accomplished.

The dimension of the advertising message as a consumable good and image is consequence of its relation with the media, which means that both complement each other by constituting a strategy of economic and symbolic self-promotion, in which the media and advertising nourish each other.

In the next image of the advertisement, soccer is portrayed with party, excitement and much passion, as if Brazil had won a world title. Until this part of the commercial, the two greatest passions of Brazilians were highlighted: soccer and Carnival (Figures 2 and 3).

figure 2
Soccer.
Source: Brahma's advertisement, 2014.

figure 3
Carnival.
Source: Brahma's advertisement, 2014.

According to Fiorin (2006), the Bakhtinian theory prioritizes social voices as well as individual voices, and the discourse can be produced from different points of view. In the next part, the advertisement presents a criticism to the pessimistic view about the event, which many people had concerning the holding of a World Cup in Brazil in 2014.

Baudrillard explains about the construction of meanings in advertising images:

> We are certainly susceptible to the reassurance advertising offers by supplying an image that is never negative, but we are equally affected by advertising as a fantastic manifestation of a society capable of swamping the mere necessity of products in superfluous images: advertising as a show, a game, a *mise en scène*. (Baudrillard 1997, 181)

The posture adopted by Brahma gave this brand a position that totally differs from that adopted by part of the population and considered pessimistic until then. This advertisement tried to incorporate certain images that intend to associate its product with socially desirable characteristics. The advertisement was further promoted as it uses the image of an admired Brazilian soccer personality with success, social approval and fame: the former soccer player nicknamed as Ronaldo Fenômeno[12] for being a high-level athlete and worldly known in the history of soccer.

In this context, Rojek (2008, 201) points out the power that the image of a celebrity has in the perspective of convincing part of the society:

> Celebrity culture is therefore partly the expression of a cultural axis organized around abstract desire. It is an essential tool of commodification since it embodies desire. In particular, it provides consumers with compelling standards of emulation. On the other hand, the distance between celebrity and fan, and the constant innovation in celebrity culture, redouble the abstract quality in mass desire.

The fact that celebrities appear in advertisements induce the feeling of being close to the idol because, most of the time, they are personalities admired by the public.

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12 Ronaldo Luís Nazário de Lima, better known as Ronaldo Fenômeno, is a former Brazilian soccer player who played as a striker and is considered one of the best and best-known players in Brazilian and world football history. Ronaldo Fenômeno – História de vida. Available at: <http://esporte.ig.com.br/futebol/ronaldo/ l1237863664000.html>. Accessed on: 19 Oct. 2016.

figure 4
Pessimists.
Source: Brahma's
advertisement,
2014.

The advertisement portrays the main problems that may lead Brazil not to make "the best world cup", according to the pessimistic view, as it is said in the commercial (Figure 4). Later, the advertisement begins to show that the optimistic view is much more recommended in this case, since Brazil is the country of soccer and makes the best classics, and it is also the country of Carnival and makes the best parties. In a very optimistic, artistic and idealistic way, the advertisement divulges, for example, that the airports will be crowded, but of fanatical soccer fans; the stadiums will be filled with excited supporters and incredible athletes, as if violence had never been present in this place; and traffic would be chaotic, but caused by traffic jams of electric trios animating the parties. That is, at that moment, everyone will be anesthetized and with no time for pessimism, since it is the biggest party that could happen in Brazil. It is possible for the country to stop for a month to live only the world cup and forget about the problems that happen in Brazilian cities every day (Figures 5 and 6).

figure 5
Electric trios.
Source: Brahma's
advertisement,
2014.

figure 6
Supporters.
Source: Brahma's
advertisement,
2014.

According to Bouer (2006), alcoholic beverages are considered an element of socialization, justifying their consumption in moments of leisure. Thus, Pinsky (2009) points out alcoholic beverages are consumed worldwide in a large scale, since their social use is present in almost all social gatherings.

Situations that characterize the cultural interests of leisure are parties, meeting with friends in bars, familiar environments and sporting events, especially soccer games and situations involving the spectators of this sport.

Thus, when the spectator watches the images of Brahma's advertisement on television, he tends to associate the consumption of this beer with leisure whenever he is in a situation or environment similar to the scenes experienced in the commercial, also when he seeks for pleasant sensations, such as those presented in the announcement (Pinsky 2009).

In the final part of the advertisement, a request is made to the public: let everyone imagine how the beaches will be, the cities, Brazil in general, that is, it generates the suggestion that all places will be in celebration and, wherever there is a party, there is Brahma (Figures 7 and 8).

The advertisement shows that Brahma beer is part of every party. Therefore, we can imagine the celebration that Brazil, the country of the parties, will make when hosting the world cup and, in case of winning the championship for the sixth time, the country will make the biggest party ever seen on the planet, such as the advertisement highlights (Figure 9).

figure 7
Beaches. Source:
Brahma's
advertisement,
2014.

figure 8
Cities.
Source: Brahma's
advertisement,
2014.

figure 9
Soccer fans.
Source: Brahma's
advertisement,
2014.

It is also noticed a strong concern to assign a certain sense of national pride to people who uses the product, linked to values of happiness, animation, joy, victory and, at the same time, values that are in the dimension of the sensitive, the impalpable.

Thus, the advertising messages of this commercial are intensely transmitted to the public that, being a consumer or not, is surrendered to the excess of representations and ideologies manipulated by these messages.

This means that there was an intensification of what Baudrillard (1997) suggests. The character of playfulness, spectacle and staging takes place, in association with images filled with representations in which the very staging of the actors makes the advertising spectacle more intense. This scenario is widened because the form of communication suggested by the advertising agency presents an attempt to simulate a certain reality created by them, in which the actors appear in relaxed situations and with great happiness.

After the economic transformations of the late nineteenth century, the idea of an informative advertising was replaced by the conceptualization of advertisements characterized by appeals to consumers' emotions, as Ortiz (1991, 175) says: "Modern advertisement is no longer based on the utility of the presented goods, but is directed straight to the imagination, the desires".

Words and images play a fundamental role in constructing the meanings of a message. It is very common to use images to expose a thought or an idea instead of verbalizing it. Therefore, advertising uses very much this resource. Through images, it is possible to create smart, creative and persuasive advertisements, based on consumption, which is the ultimate goal of every advertiser.

Using images for advertising is a very advantageous resource, since visual perception is quick, fast and remarkable, reading is natural and the visual, sometimes, has universal character. However, the verbal content and the arrangement of the text in the scenes also contributes to the meaning of the messages conveyed by the advertisements. Thus, advertising uses much of this successful union between words and images.

Both advertising and the media use sophisticated visual and sound technologies as well as an arsenal of social representations. This makes both of them achieve their marketing effectiveness and it also makes advertising production have the characteristic of the cultural process developed in capitalism. Thus, advertising is a mirror of the culture in which it is inserted and at the same time it portrays the social values and ideals of the historical moment in which it was produced.

4. PARODY

According to Linda Hutcheon, the etymological origin of this term comes from the Greek noun "parodia", which does not only mean "counter-song", as it is claimed by most of the theorists. The element *odos* of the word means "song" or "to sing"; however, the prefix *para* has to meanings in Greek: one, more common, is "against" or "opposition" and the other, a less cited meaning, is "beside". This second meaning

suggests agreement or intimacy rather than contrast. Therefore, according to Linda Hutcheon (1989, 48):

> Even in terms of formal structure, the doubleness of the root suggests the need for more neutral terms of discussion. There is nothing in *parodia* that necessitates the inclusion of a concept of ridicule, as there is, for instance, in the joke or *burla* of burlesque. Parody, then, in its ironic "trans-contextualization" and inversion, is repetition with difference. A critical distance is implied between the backgrounded text being parodied and the new incorporating work, a distance usually signaled by irony.

It is Bakhtin's theory, if not always its practice, that allows parody to be seen as a form of "double-directed" discourse (Hutcheon 1989, 93). Parody has the function of problematizing, inverting and questioning the model on which it is established. In discourse, parody has the capacity to invert the ideological structure, thus breaking socially imposed models, promoting the questioning. Still according to Hutcheon (1989, 48):

> A critical distance is implied between the backgrounded text being parodied and the new incorporating work, a distance usually signaled by irony. But this irony can be playful as well as belittling; it can be critically constructive as well as destructive.

In the Bakhtinian view, parody constitutes one of the forms of carnivalization, so that the relation between these categories becomes evident: both challenge and subvert dogmas and official discourses, proposing different, polyphonic "cultural voices". To Fiorin (2006, 97):

> Parody is ambivalent. There is a bivocality in it: the voices of the parodist and the parodied. The serious voice is mocked and, at the same time, a joy is affirmed with another voice. With this, the discourse of authority is denied and the relativity of things is affirmed.

The moment of parody is exactly when the perception of the lack of something new reaches its limit of saturation. The parodist is the one who notices and comprehends that ideologies need to be questioned and reformulated.

It is important to notice that parody is not a discourse characterized by an empty and deconstructionist criticism. The parodist can see the gaps and suggest new ideas and convictions that confront the existing

ideology. To Hutcheon (1989, 50):

> In some ways, parody might be said to resemble metaphor. Both require that the decoder construct a second meaning through inferences about surface statements and supplement the foreground with acknowledgement and knowledge of a backgrounded context.

Since parody only has a meaning if the reader knows the parodied text, it contributes to the revaluation of the texts it parodies. Thus, parody allows the critical analysis of previous discourses and establishes a continuity. Hutcheon (1989, 96) argues that:

> This paradox of legalized though unofficial subversion is characteristic of all parodic discourse insofar as parody posits, as a prerequisite to its very existence, a certain institutionalization which entails the acknowledgement of recognizable, stable forms and conventions. These function as norms or as rules which can – and therefore, of course, shall – be broken. The parodic text is granted a special license to transgress the limits of convention, but, as in the carnival, it can do so only temporarily and only within the controlled confines authorized by the text parodied – that is, quite simply, within the confined dictated by "recognizability".

The most interesting aspect of parody is that, although questioning, it does not bring ready-made answers. In fact, it leads the reader to make a reflection, as it makes the model open.

5. THE EMERGENCE OF THE PARODY OF BRAHMA'S ADVERTISEMENT

In the beginning of February 2014, the advertisement gained a parody produced by the Bahian cineaste Livio Maynard. The original video of the advertisement builds an optimistic discourse about the 2014 World Cup. However, the version that so much reverberated in the social networks brings real images exposing the problems in Brazil, in contrast to the text said by the campaign. The narration and some scenes from the original advertisement were kept in the parody to make the comparison even more evident. The video has already had over 40 thousand

views[13] since being posted on *Vimeo*[14], in the beginning of February 2014. After the repercussion of this production, the video was eventually removed from *Vimeo*, the platform on which it was originally posted, but remains available for watching on *Youtube*[15] and reverberates on most of the social networks.

This is not the first time the public appropriates an advertisement to discuss Brazil's problems. In 2013, for example, *Fiat*'s[16] advertisement "Come to the Street" also gained a rereading of the protesters. This campaign, which convened a public mobilization to cheer for the Brazilian soccer team, ended up gaining a militant tone and became the anthem of demonstrations, especially in São Paulo, against the increase in the public transportation fare.

Every statement is social and establishes a reply. According to the Bakhtinian concept, it is the union of subject, time and space.

As reported by Fiorin (2006, 32):

> [...] a statement is constituted in relation to the statements that precede it and succeed it in the communication chain, a statement requests an answer, an answer that does not yet exist. It always expects an active responsive comprehension, it is built for an answer, be it an agreement or a refutation.

When a parody appears, especially referring to the advertising pieces, it deeply contributes, since it is an easily memorizable genre because much of what is contained in it, it is already known and, most of times, it is of public domain. Thus, it helps to establish the name of the product, its ideology and its socio-historical content.

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13 View: The ability to see something or to be seen from a particular place. Term widely used nowadays by interactive users of the international Internet network. English Oxford Living Dictionaries. Available at: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/view>. Accessed on: 21 Jun. 2017.

14 Vimeo is a digital video sharing website on the Internet. Vimeo – Sobre o Vimeo. Available at: <https://vimeo.com/about>. Accessed on: 19 Oct. 2016.

15 Youtube is a website that allows internet users to watch and share digital videos. Youtube – Sobre o Youtube. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/yt/about/pt-BR/>. Accessed on: 19 Oct. 2016.

16 Fiat is one of the brands of Fiat Chrysler Automobiles, one of the biggest automobile manufacturers in the world, headquartered in the city of Turin, northern Italy. Fiat – Institucional. Available at: <http://www.fiat.com.br/institucional.html>. Accessed on: 19 Oct. 2016.

5.1. THE PARODY CREATING A NEW DISCOURSE

The parody that pleased the public is argumentative and seeks, through the re-signification of what is common sense and public domain, to transmit a knowledge from another. In the parody analyzed in this study, although the narrator's speech remains the same as in the official Brahma's advertisement, it is used at all times different images that parody each other in several ways, presenting a different point of view. The parody of the advertisement "Imagine the Party" is ambivalent. In it, the common and critical senses emerge and are exposed through real images, taken from the most popular news programs in the country. Therefore, their recognition by the public becomes easy, since they are tragic, daily and current occurrences of Brazil.

At first, the parody begins with the same image presented in the advertisement: the image of a hallway full of trophies of soccer championships won by Brazil, with a ceiling of illuminations that form the image of a soccer field, and in the middle of the place, a samba player dressed for Carnival, dancing the samba and transmitting joy as if she was in a parade on the avenue. Thus, the parody reaffirms what the advertisement highlights: Brazil is known for its passion for soccer and Carnival. "Parody is a form of auto-referentiality, (sic) but that does not mean that it has no ideological implications" (Hutcheon 1989, 41).

In the next image of the video of the parody, the parties are portrayed as they are actually showed daily in the country's news, that is, with violence and insecurity. The parody shows filming of parties that ended in tragedies; they are powerful images, shocking because they are real. At that moment, the parody instigates the public to think about the real motives that could really interfere with the realization of the event in the country at that time, since people in Brazil usually do not have security even when they are having fun at a party, whether at Carnival, *réveillon*[17] or at a soccer stadium, watching a match of their team. Many tragedies such as fights, sexual violence, theft, robbery and deaths occur in the country during these events (Figures 10, 11 and 12). The public security does not work even in normal times, so "imagine at the world cup". This view is created and transmitted to the public, in the form of social criticism, not specifically to the event, but to the state in which the country is, with much to be achieved, solved, changed and organized. The questioning is raised: would the moment not to be to plan and organize *the house*, to later receive *the visit*?

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17 Réveillon: a night-time celebration, especially a feast traditionally held after midnight on New Year. English Oxford Living Dictionaries. Available at: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/réveillon>. Accessed on: 25 Jun. 2017.

figure 10
Violence in the
stadiums.
Source: Parody
of Brahma's
advertisement,
2014.

figure 11
Violence.
Source: Parody
of Brahma's
advertisement,
2014.

figure 12
Fights.
Source: Parody
of Brahma's
advertisement,
2014.

In its next part, the parody shows images of overcrowding faced every day by Brazilians, whether on crowded subways, on the streets with the chaotic traffic of big cities, or at the airports filled with passengers without information (Figures 13, 14, 15 and 16).

figure 13
Overcrowding.
Source: Parody
of Brahma's
advertisement,
2014.

figure 14
Chaotic traffic.
Source: Parody
of Brahma's
advertisement,
2014.
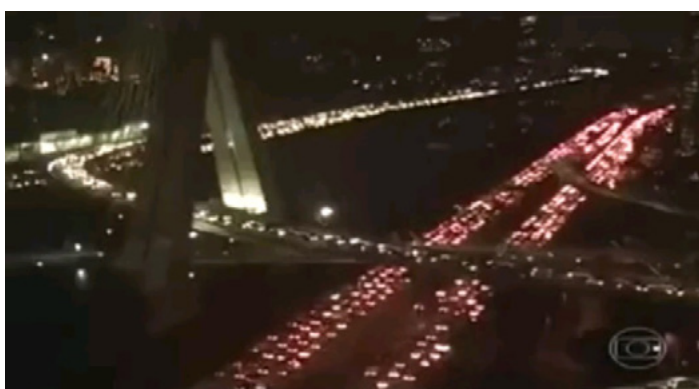
figure 15
Airports.
Source: Parody
of Brahma's
advertisement,
2014.

figure 16
Passengers.
Source: Parody
of Brahma's
advertisement,
2014.

At that moment, images of the country's beaches are also presented, showing how they are used and left by the population, with much trash, dirt and impurity on the beaches' sand and waterfront (Figures 17, 18 and 19). After this, until the end the video shows moments of conflicts with the police that have occurred in the streets, which look more like urban wars (Figure 20).

figure 17
Beaches.
Source: Parody
of Brahma's
advertisement,
2014.

figure 18
Dirt on the
beaches.
Source: Parody
of Brahma's
advertisement,
2014.

figure 19
Trash in the
cities. Source:
Parody of
Brahma's
advertisement,
2014.

figure 20
Conflicts with
the police.
Source: Parody
of Brahma's
advertisement,
2014.

During the exhibition of the images in the video of the parody, the reproduction of Brahma's advertisement narration remains the same, thereby generating an ironic discourse. While the narration makes an appeal to the spectator: "imagine the beaches; imagine the cities; imagine Brazil; imagine the party", the images seen by the spectators are frighteningly real and immediately lead the public to wonder if it would actually be the best party ever seen and if Brazil would really be ready to host and realize that event at that moment. "Irony participates in parodic discourse as a strategy, which allows the decoder to interpret and evaluate" (Hutcheon 1989, 47). Therefore, the parody creates a new discourse – with critical content – and presents a new point of view to the public.

Parody should not always be seen as a category that aims at deconstructing and ridiculing previous discourses. In fact, according to the researcher Linda Hutcheon (1989), parody is characterized by a voice that proposes to repeat critically, thus signaling a discourse that marks difference instead of similarity. Therefore, criticism does not have to be necessarily present in the form of a mocker laughter for a text to be considered a parody.

In the parody under analysis, the original and real images can be found inverted, extended or reduced, according to the intentions of the creator. Thanks to this set of images, the meaning is changed, since it presents a new possibility of reading. Thus, the parody creates a new discourse and a new view about the country and the event, since it retakes the video of Brahma's advertisement in an inverted way, destroying to build the new.

It is also noteworthy that the importance of recognizing the official advertisement is essential for the complete understanding of the parody. Brahma's advertisement has a very positive and optimistic view of the event in the country and it is also very encouraging and motivating. In fact, it denotes animation and enjoyment because the excitement about Brazil hosting the biggest football event in the world cannot be measured in the population, since Brazil is considered the country of soccer, Carnival and parties, as it is presented in the advertisement.

Regarding the created parody, the renovation and transformation of the discourse transmits a new meaning within another sphere. This leads those who watch it to think, analyze and reflect, in a rational and realistic way, about the social problems that Brazilians face every day and how far this worldly popular event could even bring some important benefit if it were held in Brazil at that time, in such a splendid form as it appears in Brahma's advertisement. "Admittedly, as a form of criticism, parody has the advantage of being both a re-creation and a creation, making criticism into a kind of active exploration of form" (Hutcheon 1989, 70).

Therefore, the parody reproduces a shock by presenting a different position on the subject. Such a shock is easily noticed by the reader, who is the central element of this type of discourse, since he activates his memory and establishes new meanings and expectations with the images presented in the video of the parody. Another interesting aspect of the parody of Brahma's advertisement is that, by containing another discourse within itself, it usually talks about what that other discourse (that of the official advertisement) left unsaid and highlights the fact that it was not said. The criticism to the too optimistic view transmitted in the official advertisement is present at all times, always showing that people should not remain alienated to this subject, to the socio-historical context, and just close their eyes to what actually happens in Brazil, without editing or fantasies. Under this approach, it leads the public to reflect about the social problems of the country. Thus, parody allows a critical review of the discourses, which promotes the maintenance and emergence of further discourses.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this analysis it was found that, according to Bakhtin, every discourse is dialogic because dialogism is constitutive of language. Since the discourse of one is inscribed in the discourse of the other, and knowing that dialogism are relations between statements, it can be affirmed that discourses are dialogic because they result from the collision of different views; however, only one point of view is presented. The analyzed videos show different perspectives that confront and collide with each other, manifesting different positions on the same subject, since each one of the videos has a dominant concept present in its discourse.

Since parody is a discourse that emits a position, an opinion, what is said must always refer to what has already been said, because the parodic discourse never diverges from the influence exerted by the parodied piece. In the analyzed parody, it was possible to verify the presence of a dominant point of view in the discourse, thus confirming the assertion that parody dialogues and emits opinion. Therefore, the presence of dialogism in the parody genre is certified.

Both artistic processes – advertisement and parody – aims at the search for new readings; new meanings; new ways of knowing and being known. When the public encounters the parody of Brahma's advertisement "Imagine the Party", not only the product becomes known, but also the ideology, both of the public and the society, of the publicizing vehicle, that is, of every subject involved in communication, as well as the entire socio-historical content.

Therefore, it is concluded that parody allows a critical review of dis-courses, consequently promoting their maintenance. The public, by comprehending the meaning of what is said or what is meant to say, is responsible for completing and applying it, that is, it has the autonomy to agree or disagree with the proposed discourse. Thus, what has been seen or heard will always reflect and respond to further discourses. In this way, the parodied text is always valued and perpetuated, even when the parodist criticizes, mocks or ridicules. Parody walks from the tortur-ing criticism to the implicit appreciation of the parodied contents.

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ALICE VILLELA

PHOTOGRAPHY AND (MIS)ENCOUNTER: A PHOTOGRAPHIC NARRATIVE OF THE OFICIAL CONTACT OF THE ASURINÍ OF XINGU[1]

ABSTRACT

This study deals with the agreements and disagreements of conceptions and understandings between the Xingu Asuriní and the ethnologist-priests who made the official contact with the group in 1971, regarding the presence of photography during the first contact. I will make a comparative analysis of the photographs included in Lukesch's documentary and scientific project published in 1976 in the book B*earded Indians of the Tropical Forest*, in contrast to its agency among the Asuriní almost forty years later. The idea is to construct a photographic narrative of the ethnologist-priests' and indigenous versions of the contact. Such versions often contradict each other, while also revealing that photographs mediate the relations between natives and non-indigenous people. Although referring to the same photographs, their use is quite different: the priests employ them as evidence that the contact was peaceful, and the Asuriní use them as artifacts of memory.

INTRODUCTION OR A BRIEF DIGRESSION ABOUT PHOTOGRAPHY AMONG THE ASURINÍ

The Xingu Asuriní are a Tupi-speaking people living on the right bank of the Xingu River in the state of Pará[2]. The official contact of this indigenous group with non-indigenous people was made by two Austrian Catholic missionaries, Anton and Karl Lukesch, and their team, in 1971. The "Lukesch brothers" were hired by the company Meridional Consórcio United States Steel CVRD (a joint adventure between United States Steel and CVRD), which was interested in expanding the Carajás iron ore region to the right bank of the Xingu River, to be achieved through a "pacification" program of the Asuriní[3].

The first time this native group saw a camera was precisely during this first encounter with non-indigenous people. The Asuriní say that the Catholic priest Anton Lukesh, the first to establish contact with the group, "took a photograph and then a man died, he could not bear it" (Müller 2000, 184). The camera sucks the *ynga* (the vital principle) out of the person photographed to reproduce his/her image, *ayngava*.

In my doctoral dissertation (Villela 2016) and in several articles[4], I reflected on the Asuriní view that the photography that took place during that first contact acted pathogenically[5], causing deaths and illnesses. It was only after considering numerous possibilities about the damaging effect of photography that I found the book, *Bearded Indians of the Tropical Forest*, written by the Austrian priest and ethnologist Anton Lukesch, published in Austria in 1976 by Akademische Druck – und Verlagsanstalt. The book contains photographs taken by Lukesch, functioning as the visual evidence for the natives: 64 color and black and white images, distributed throughout the 143 pages that the author devotes to narrating episodes of the expedition in which contact was made with the Asuriní on the banks of the Ipiaçava stream, a tributary of the Xingu River, in addition to presenting descriptions of aspects of the social life of the Asuriní, elaborated from a few weeks of coexistence with these natives.

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2 On Koatinemo Indigenous Land. They currently live in two villages, and the population is approximately 200 people.

3 In the 1970s, the presence of non-indigenous people aiming to contact indigenous groups in the region intensified, arising from the emergence of new economic activities: mining, agriculture and government projects, in particular the construction of the Trans-Amazonian Highway (BR-230).

4 See, for example, Villela (2015).

5 With reference to Alfred Gell's notion of agency (1998).

Informed by reports of the pathogenesis caused by photography at the time of contact, I leafed through the recently obtained book, curious about the photos, imagining that I would see the trauma of contact illustrated by portraits of sick, grimacing people, with suffering etched on their faces. The expectation of encountering these images was reinforced by certain testimonials that I had heard from the Asuriní in 2012 about a recent expedition to the pre- and post-contact settlement sites along the Ipiaçava stream. During the trip in 2010[6], several natives became ill and the shamans had nightmares that included the *anhynga* of the dead (ghosts liberated after death), in particular when they arrived where the priests had built their camp, at the site of the old Akapepugi village, which subsequently became the village where the Asuriní remained until 1972, at which point they were permanently relocated to the village of Old Koatinemo, on the right bank of the Ipiaçava stream. The traumatic memory of the older natives indicated that the initial moments were filled with tension, drama, deaths and illnesses. They also recalled the inefficient work of Funai[7], which took over the "Asuriní attraction" a few weeks after the departure of the priests. Thirteen deaths occurred in a little over a year following the contact, resulting from the spread of influenza and malaria.

Surprisingly, when I looked at Anton Lukesch's book, I realized that the priests" photographs showed no signs of suffering, illness, trauma or cultural and population disaster. The natives, portrayed in their activities – processing food, painting their bodies with jenipapo (a tropical fruit), returning from the field, playing the turé flute, or resting in hammocks – appeared in the images as if nothing extraordinary was happening; occasions in which the camera registered people at ease, smiling and posing for the photographer, were not uncommon. Some scenes record mundane moments and events of the encounter, for example, the distribution of presents, or when Anton Lukesch tries smoking an Asuriní cigarette. In the book, the photographic narrative reinforces and confirms what the textual construction maintains: that the contact was peaceful, that the Asuriní voluntarily accepted the presence of the priests and their team, and that the coexistence with the visitors was harmonious, friendly and cordial.

The photos, which I never got tired of looking at, were incompatible with the Asuriní account of the contact as a disaster, and also with the interpretation

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6 The purpose of the expedition was to carry out collaborative archaeological research and was made possible by the project "Território e História dos Asuriní do Xingu – Um estudo bibliográfico, documental, arqueológico e etnoarqueológico sobre a trajetória histórica dos Asurini do Xingu (século XIX aos dias atuais)", coordinated by the Ethnoarchaelogy Professor Fabíola Andrea Silva, a docent at Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (MAE) of USP. The project received support from Fapesp and was carried out between August 2009 and July 2011.
7 Fundação Nacional do Índio (National Indian Foundation), a government agency that deals with indigenous issues in Brazil.

concerning the pathogenic agent of the photography. It would be necessary to better understand the photos of the work, *Bearded Indians...* and to begin considering the hypothesis that the relationship of the Asuriní with photography was not immediately pathogenic, or rather, was not only pathogenic. How to explain that the natives were so seemingly at ease, happily posing or simply indifferent to the priests' equipment?

This text attempts to compare the photographs presented in Lukesch's documentary and scientific projectwith its agency on the Asuriní, which I was able to learn about when circulating a collection of these photos among the natives in 2015, during field work for my PhD research (See Villela 2016)[8]. Lukesch presents a chronicle of the expedition that established contact with the natives of the Ipiaçava stream, which is illustrated by the photographs; accounts about the contact were, in turn, produced by the Asuriní upon seeing the photographs. Metacommentaries regarding the photographs among the Asuriní are produced by Lukesch, when viewing and commenting on one of the images of an indigenous woman posing for the photographer, and, from the Asuriní perspective, when upon seeing the photos, they also produced reflections on the presence of photography during the contact. The same images can be used and function in many ways, depending on the context and the on project they serve.

CHRONICLES OF THE ENCOUNTER: PACIFYING THE SAVAGES OR TAMING[9] THE WHITES[10]?

The book *Bearded Indians of the Tropical Forest* by the missionary and ethnologist Anton Lukesch is an important reference because it highlights the existence of a people whose presence was only confirmed by reports of

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8 I circulated color copies of photographs from Lukesch's book.

9 Employing the term used by the Asuriní as translated into Portuguese, it was not possible to express the term used in their own language. Viveiros de Castro comments that the Araweté, as the Asuriní, sought contact with the whites and literally "pacified" them, less because they felt trapped territorially and more to escape the hostilities of enemy tribes (Viveiros de Castro 1986, 136). Albert, in the introduction to the book *Pacificando o branco*, *cosmologias do contato no Norte-Amazônico*, states that the theme "pacification/domestication of whites" aims at understanding the internal diversity of representations that are, in fact, devices of symbolic and ritualistic domestication to express the changeability of non-indigenous people and to neutralize their harmful powers. Albert comments that the theme "indians tame whites" had already been mentioned by Darcy Ribeiro and Rondon regarding several indigenous groups, among whom he cites the Kaingang, Xokleng, Parintintin, Umutina, Kayapó and Rama-Rama. See Albert (2000, 10).

10 The word "whites" is the literal translation of the term "brancos," from the word "akarai," used by the natives to refer to non-indigenous people. I chose to keep it in the instances where it seemed appropriate to emphasize the direct reference made by the Asuriní to the non-indigenous. In other instances, the translation chosen for "whites" is "non-indigenous" or "non-indigenous people."

gateiros (hunters of jaguars and wild forest cats), *ribeirinhos* (people who live along the river) and settlers who wandered in the so-called "land of the Asuriní," a region between the Xingu River and its tributary, the Bacajá.

Early in the book the author writes:

> It is the fondest dream of every ethnologist to discover and establish friendly contact with one of the few genuinely isolated and unacculturated societies that still survive in the modern world, and to study, understand, and make known their aboriginal lifestyle (Lukesch 1976, 9).

Priest-ethnologist Anton Lukesch documents the first meeting, or, as he says, the "discovery" of the "silvícolas" (indigenous forest dwellers) that were living in isolation, without contact with "civilization". The photographs are evidence that the contact was accomplished peacefully and harmoniously, and that the natives accepted the new visitors in a natural and polite manner. The text consistently makes reference to the photographs that illustrate and confirm what the author claims.

Let us turn to the chronicle of the encounter from the priest-ethnologist's perspective, and then to the Asuriní version.

April 1971. The brothers, Anton and Karl Lukesch, and six other men, among them "mateiros" (woodsmen) who knew that region of Amazon rainforest well, gathered in the small town of São Felix (Pará), at the mouth of the Fresco River in Xingu, to organize the final preparations for an expedition in search of the natives of the Ipiaçava stream. Among the equipment carried in their baggage were tools for the construction of a shed, tarpaulins, daily utensils for camp life, a first aid kit and many gifts for the natives (Figure 1).

figure 1
"Start of the land-expedition with Father Karl". Photo and caption by A. Lukesch (Ibid., 29).

Credit: ©Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt Graz

On April 28, the ranchers saw three natives in a field a two-day walk from their camp; then the Lukesch Brothers and four of their six men prepared for a large expedition; only two of the men remained in the camp.

On May 8, around 5:30 p.m., they found a trail that seemed reasonably fresh, and then followed it with a hastened pace, "excited about the discovery" and, finally, at around noon on May 9, they observed, about 50 meters away, several huts of a small village.

At the entrance, an imposing old man stood up; at his side there was a bundle with many arrows, and they could hear sounds of agitation coming from the village. The old man made frantic gestures, which, to the Lukesch Brothers, made it urgently clear that they should move forward; then only the priests advanced. Soon, a tall, strong man, about 30 years old, appeared and took the place of the old man – only later they learned that this man was one of the chiefs of the village. This indigenous man addressed the priests while pointing a threatening bow at them. Anton asked the members of his team to leave their weapons on the ground and then tried all the words he knew in the indigenous languages he had studied (classical Tupi, Suruí and even Kayapó) to make the man understand that they had come as "friends." To make his intentions more clear, he stretched out his arms and offered some gifts: machetes, axes and beads. At this point they were completely surrounded by natives, and the young man confronting them did not change his harsh tone and hostile attitude. Anton offered two machetes to him, which the native accepted, decreasing the tension. The "cacique" then took Anton to his hut, and Father Karl brought more presents. The brothers called out to the rest of their team and the natives also left to call the other Asuriní, who were nearby, in the fields or encampments in the woods (Figures 2 and 3).

figure 2
"Asuriní camp in the forest on the right bank of the Xingu River". Photo and caption by A. Lukesch (Ibid., 26). This image is on the cover of the book.

Credit: ©Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt Graz

figure 3
"Leader of the group trying father Karl's cigarette". Photo and caption by A. Lukesch (Ibid., 103).

The chronicle of the encounter with the *tapy'yia* (enemies) – the way the Asuriní referred to the non-indigenous at the time of contact – was remembered and told by Marakauá, a 60-year-old indigenous woman, more than 40 years after the incident occurred. One hot afternoon in May, looking at Lukesch's published images while quietly lying in a hammock within her home, she took the photograph reproduced above and silently stared at it for a few minutes. After gazing at the image awhile, Marakauá remembered the story of this first meeting and wanted to tell it.

According to Marakauá, then Avona's wife, her husband said that one day he was going to dream and tame the white enemies, because he was a "real shaman." The way he tamed was by dreaming (*gapuau*, he dreamed) and in dreaming he "saw in the clear" (*aripeuarave gyresak*). The ability to travel to the worlds of the spirits while sleeping and during shamanic rituals and to see the ghosts of the dead (*anhynga*) are both referred to by the verb *aesak*, to see, an ability that only the shaman possesses[11]. The emphasis on "seeing the truth" refers to this special aptitude of seeing what not everyone sees and implies the possibility of acting on what has been seen. It was thus by this dreaming and seeing (or "dreaming seeing"), that Avona "tamed" the white enemies.

Avona would have now seen, as any Asuriní, a large number of beads and machetes on the edge of the Ipiaçava stream and would have already known that these were gifts brought by the whites for them. It was only after having "dreamed and tamed the enemies" that the whites appeared in the village.

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11 For more information on Asuriní shamanism, see Müller (1993), especially Chapter 3, "*Maraká*, o ritual xamanístico," in which the author addresses both the ritualistic acts and roles, and the cosmological principles underlying shamanism.

The life of the Asuriní before May of 1971 was very difficult. Marakauá says that Avona could no longer bear to walk in the forest, retreating from *ta-py'yia* – enemy groups with whom they had tense relations, such as the Araweté and the Kayapó – and eating *maritá'ui* (babassu coconut shell flour) because they could' not work in the fields. After losing some of his relatives (an uncle and a brother) in intertribal wars with the Araweté, Avona, strong shaman that he was, decided to dream "to tame" the enemies. Marakauá says: "He was angry. He said he was going to tame *tapy'yia* [enemy, white]. He lost his relatives, got angry and dreamed of killing one of them (from the enemy group), dreamed of eating their heart, their liver, making children get sick because of his anger. Shaman spent the day like this."

CAPTIONS AND NAMES, TO DESCRIBE AND RECOGNIZE

Although the photographs in Lukesch's work are seamlessly integrated with the textual narrative that they present and illustrate, the photos are accompanied by their own explanatory captions. From my first viewing of these images, the peculiar way that the author's captions presented and described some of the photos struck me as curious. Facing the un-known object, Lukesch provided explanations in a distant and objective way, but when the referent of the photo becomes extremely exotic and a description is impossible, the author relies on his creative imagination. The captions of the photographs are a good barometer for measuring the imaginative content (and reverie) of Lukesch's scientific project, as well as his devout idealization of the "forest dwellers" that lived in isolation. The strange habit of the recently-"discovered" natives – of wearing the fabric of a net seized from the river people on the head or tied to an axe as a pendant –, produced picturesque captions to explain "primitive fashion," as shown in Figures 4 and 5 and their explanatory captions.

figure 4
"Man dressed in pirated costume". Photo and caption by A. Lukesch (Ibid., 103).

Credit: ©Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt Graz

figure 5
"Enthused youngster wearing axe as a pendant on a fiber-band on the back". Photo and caption by A. Lukesch (Ibid., 107).

Most of the captions only inform the reader about the activity performed, about the objects and the places where the action occurs, seeking a way to describe the newly-contacted people. In other captions, Lukesch's imagination and empathy take shape in adjectives that qualify the actions: the man who lies *comfortably* in his hammock, the woman that *carefully* paints her leg with geometric designs, another who prepares a *delicious* porridge with honey and corn, or even a mother who takes care of her child with *tenderness*, as is seen in the following photo (Figure 6).

figure 6
"Mother tenderly taking care of her child". Photo and caption by A. Lukesch (Ibid., 102).

The woman who tenderly takes care of her child is Patuá, and the child, a girl, Matuia, is today 50 years old; her mother died at least 15 years ago. Today, Matuia's two-year-old granddaughter is named Patuá.

The circulation of the photographs of "Father Antônio," to speak in the Asuriní manner, in field work carried out in 2015, brought back many memories of fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, cousins, fathers-in-law, mothers-in-law, wives and husbands who had already died. The usual attitude towards the photo of an "ancient" – a deceased Asuriní who is referred to by the term *bava* – consisted in identifying that person by indicating his/her own or another living person's kin relationship to the person portrayed. At first, the proper names were mentioned when the name of the dead portrayed in the images already belonged to a living child or young adult; in this case, an effort was made to explain to me the kin relationship between the child and the deceased in the picture, to show from whom the child inherited the name. Veveí asked for the photograph in which Avona, the man who tamed the whites, is portrayed (Figure 3) to give to her grandson, Itareí. Avona, who was also called Itareí, is the boy's grandfather on the maternal side and it is from him that the 15-year-old Itareí inherited his name.

The Asuriní traditionally change their names at the death of a relative; on this occasion, they substitute their names for others that belonged to the dead further back in time. It is not as if the deceased would return, since all of his/her belongings need to be destroyed, with nothing remaining in the village but their bones (*ga akynguera*, his/her bones) buried in the big house, and since the *ynga*, the vital principle, follows the path of Maíra, and the *anhynga*, the ghost of the deceased released by death, also takes its course, hidden by the shaman until it disappears. Only the proper names return from the dead, since death is responsible for the change of names. Souza (1994), who worked with this subject among the Asuriní in field work in the end of the 1980s and in the beginning of the 1990s, claims that an old man could end up with as many as fourteen names. She states that every adult begins to use another name when someone dies, but that until the age of 10, children keep their birth name. Regarding the inheritance of names, Souza observes that, although not a strict rule, it is common for women to receive names from their maternal side and for men to receive names from relatives on their paternal side (Ibid., 91).

Aware of the taboo on pronouncing the names of the dead, I was careful, at the beginning of the viewing sessions of Lukesch's photographs, not to ask for them. However, to my surprise, by seeing the photographs, and in an effort to help me recognize the person portrayed, many Asuriní uttered the names. This confused me at first. Marakauá helped me understand what was happening. After all, why, when seeing the photographs, did they pronounce the names of the dead? Marakauá, observing a photograph depicting the back of a squatting native (Figure 7), said: "It's Jakundá. An Araweté shot her in the back with an arrow. There is no child with this name, but you can say it because she is very old."

figure 7
"Old woman surrounded by her household items". Photo and caption by A. Lukesch (1976, 99).
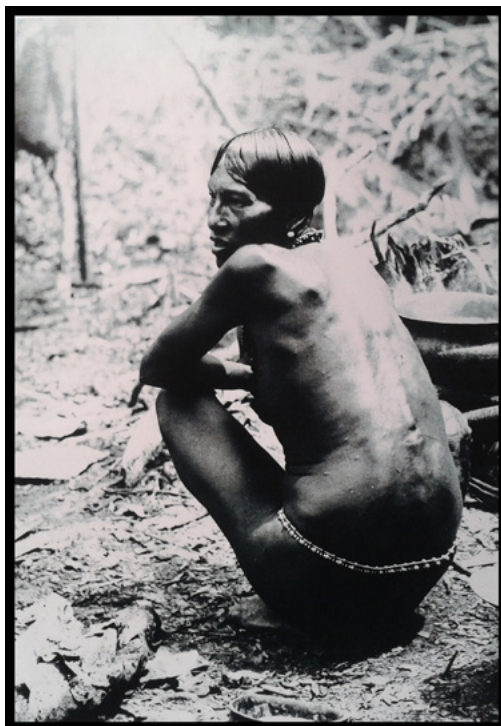
The native woman revealed to me that, having died long ago, Jakundá belonged to the group of the "ancient dead," and the memories associated with her could be remembered, as well as her name, without bad consequences. This was the case for most of the "ancients" portrayed by the priests. The taboo regarding the recently deceased still remains, and the danger exists because the disintegration of the person releases the *anhynga* (ghost). In this case, pronouncing the name of the dead, as well as seeing his/her photograph or simply remembering him/her, poses an imminent threat, because the thought, name and image can draw the *anhynga* closer to the village. In May 2015, it was confirmed that it is not desirable to see images of the recently deceased. The Ita'aka village nurse[12] told me that the natives constantly asked her to erase a baby's (Taymira's son) photo, who had died around eight months before, from her cellphone. Without anyone having explicitly stated, I believe that there was a relationship between keeping the photos and the fact that the nurse had dreamed of the dead baby night after night following his burial. An indigenous woman, Ipikiri, explained to the nurse that she was having nightmares about the child because the "spirit of the baby" was hanging around her.

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12 The Asuriní villages have a well-equipped health clinic with *Distritos Sanitários Especiais Indígenas* (Special Indigenous Health District – DSEI) nurse technician, who remains full time in the villages. Ângela, a nurse from the village of Ita'aka, observed the last days of the baby who died and, in this respect, was the one who informed me, since I avoided talking about it with the Asuriní.

Returning to the "ancient dead," I noticed that Lukesch's photographs triggered memories from the past, and although some of the memories of the contact were negatively charged, there was a positive aspect to the memory of the relatives and their names. The relationship between names and memory has already been noted by Sousa (1994), who, in her ethnographic study, observes a historical dimension to the names for the Asuriní. The researcher states that when they mentioned their names, they always told facts related to the relatives from whom those names were inherited, thus remembering events from when this or that individual died, personal anecdotes that linked the person telling the story to the deceased, among other memories that indicated "the existence of a cognitive dimension to the personal names, in the sense that the names would be one of the resources of historical perception and the recollection of the past" (Ibid., 75). We can also say that the photographs by Anton Lukesch, upon being circulated in the villages, also entered the game in which names and memory move, with difference that the images are not passed down through generations.

NOTES ON BEARD

The presence of beard among a "genuinely isolated" people attracted Anton Lukesch's attention to such an extent that he incorporated that physical trait into the title of the book as an adjective describing the natives of the tropical forest. However, although highlighting this attribute, little is dedicated to describe or explane it; the author mentions it using exactly three lines: "Many of the men have a long beard that reaches the top of the chest, covering the neck. The color of the beard is often reddish, from *urucu* (*Bixa orellano*), which they like to use as a dye" (Lukesch 1976, 24 and 33) (Figure 8).

figure 8
"Typical bearded Asuriní". Caption by A. Lukesch (Ibid., 27).
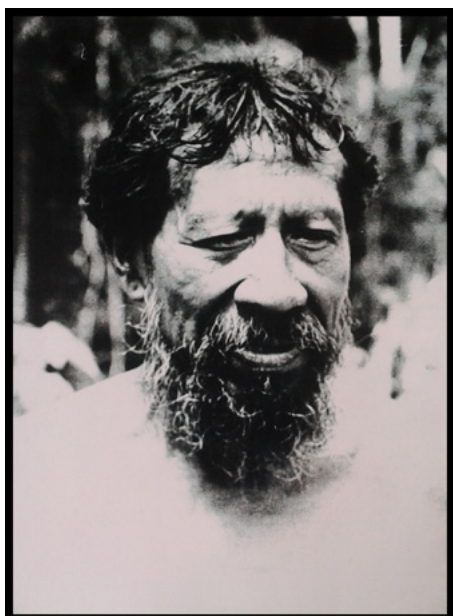
Credit: ©Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt Graz

However, contrary to Lukesch's observation, the presence of a beard was not a "typical" Asuriní trait, but reflected a particular circumstance. One afternoon when I showed the priests' photographs to a Koati domestic group, Boaiva, a 65-year-old man, explained to me that they had always used a plant called *marupá*, which, because of its sharpness, served as a razor to shave the beard (some told me it looked like "taquara" – bamboo, others, like grass). However, the constant wars against enemies forced the Asuriní to abandon villages and camps, they had lost access to the *marupá*. The presence of beards in the photographs also proved to be an exotic element for the younger natives. Koatirei, 20, said, after seeing the images: "I didn't know we were like this. I didn't know we were so bearded".

PHOTOGRAPHY AS A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NATIVES AND NON-INDIGENOUS

Returning to a question asked at the outset: if the accounts of the photographs at the time of contact point was a pathogenic agent, why were the Asuriní smiling and at ease in the photographs published by Lukesch?

Previous experience among the Kayapó[13] provided Anton Lukesch with the knowledge that indigenous people harbor a profound distrust of the activities carried out by visitors, anthropologists or field researchers, especially related to photographs. In their interactions with the Kayapó, the fathers encountered difficulties with photography from the beginning, since these natives identified the act of taking photographs with "soul theft." Lukesch stated that the term used by the Kayapó to refer to "soul" is the same that they attribute to photography, to portrait and to shadow, all of which were thought of as "mysterious things." The Kayapó women's distrust of photography remained even long after initial contact with "civilization"; Anton Lukesch reveals that he had never used the camera flash to avoid frightening them and "not to stir up their old mistrust" (Ibid., 22). Among the Asuriní, something quite different was observed.

A full contradiction to this attitude was found in the behavior of the Indians on the Ipiaçava stream. With benevolent interest they followed all our activities. When we were taking photos they even stood still and smilingly posed for us [referring to Figure 28 of the book, reproduced in this study as Figure 9]. They obviously believed that we tried to see them better through the mysterious thing with its large eye, pointed at them (our camera), being fascinated by their appearance. Whenever my brother (Father Karl) was using

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13 Lukesch published some works from his field expedition among Kayapó, which occurred years before he established contact with the Asuriní. See Lukesch (1956; 1968).

flash-light it was great fun for them and they applauded it
with loud and general laughter (Ibid., 22).

The photograph mentioned in the middle of the passage transcribed
above is of a young woman in front of a house. She holds both hands
close to her head, as if in the middle of a gesture, interrupted by the pho-
to. The left leg is in front, in what appears to be a pose; while twisting
the trunk to look at the camera, she shows a trace of a smile (Figure 9).

Credit: ©Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt Graz

It is undeniable that the Asuriní were comfortable with their visitors;
otherwise, why were there so many smiles recorded by the camera? The
natives understood well, in fact, that the Fathers were fascinated with
their appearance. Regarding the flash, I find it strange that they would
have applauded; I believe it to be possible that the flash of artificial light
could have provoked laughter, but the image of recently contacted indig-
enous people applauding the flash seems an exaggeration to me. Indeed,
the receptive attitude of the natives to the presence of the camera and
the smiles that appear in the images reinforce the Lukesch's narrative
that the contact was peaceful and that, once accepted as friends, the
non-indigenous people could partake in the community's environment
of "harmony," a harmony attributed not only to the rules and norms
of "tribal traditions," but also to the isolation of the Indigenous "for-
est people" of Ipiaçava (Ibid., 21). The following photograph captured a
small scene of coexistence and friendly exchange between Father An-
ton Lukesch and an Asuriní native. Although not credited, Karl Lukesch
must have taken the photograph (Figure 10).

Credit: ©Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt Graz

I must mention a certain naivité in Anton Lukesch's claim that the receptivity of the indigenous people was demonstrated by the "harmonious" atmosphere that he seems to believe is projected by the photographs. By talking to the Asuriní almost 45 years later, it became clear that today's view of the priests' camera at the moment of contact suggests a somewhat different interpretation.

As bitter coffee, the photography was tolerated as an inevitable and necessary practice, inherent in the contact and coexistence with the whites. It is known that for years preceding the contact, the Asuriní were cornered by enemies, the Xikrin and Araweté, on the one hand, and pressured by local people advancing on their territory on the other, thus seeing no alternative but to establish contact with the *akaraí (non-indigenous)*.

As a witness to the encounter with the priests, Marakauá stated that the photographs were initially perceived as strange and potentially dangerous, but when they realized that it was standard practice for the non-indigenous people, the Asuriní accepted and yielded to it. She said: "the *tapy'yia* [enemies] were taking a photo and the shaman was frightened by the photo. Then another said: 'It is not to fear, no, that's what the whites are going to do to us.'" Matuia, the native who translated Marakauá's account, explains, reformulating the phrase, that the native, upon seeing that the shaman was frightened by the photography, would have said: "He doesn't turn into a shaman for them [for the whites] because we are going to change our culture. It's something else now, we have to get used to it." In order to explain his comment, Matuia compared photography to the consumption of industrialized foods to which the Asuriní got "used to," such as biscuits, sugar and flour, among many others.

Accepting the contact and the production of images, photography provided the mediation between the natives and missionaries, becoming the exchange currency with the priests: the Asuriní accepted the contact and allowed themselves to be photographed in exchange for gifts (Figure 11).

figure 11
"The author distributing axes". Photo by K. Lukesch and caption by A. Lukesch (Ibid., 50).

For Lukesch, the gifts are a necessary strategy for the initial contact, and the offer of industrialized goods explicitly demonstrates the peaceful attitude of the non-indigenous people from the beginning (Ibid., 121). In Marakauá's account of the contact, after receiving many gifts, Avona shouted to the other natives who were nearby that they could call the relatives, because the whites "were not doing anything bad to them." Avona had managed to tame the whites and the gifts were proof of that. Giving and receiving goods was confirmation that the bearded Indians of the tropical forest had accepted the contact, having been "pacified," from the perspective of the priests, and that the whites had been "tamed," from the perspective of the natives.

If distrust as to what photography can cause was present at the time of the first contact, the death and illnesses resulting from the encounter with the whites only confirmed the initial assumptions that photography could act in a harmful and negative way. It is only *a posteriori* discourse, an interpretation of a past event. Had the official contact with the national society not been the disaster that it was, 'it is quite possible that they would have had less reason to be suspicious of photography, which would not imply, I believe, a total absence of suspicion, since being subjugated to non-indigenous people was sufficient reason to be skeptical.

To summarize, I hope to have provided a context for the reader regarding the agreements and disagreements of conceptions and understanding between the Asuriní of Xingu and the priest-ethnologists in terms of the presence of photography during the first contact. These versions sometimes contradict each another, while revealing that photographs mediate relations between natives and non-indigenous people. Among the Asuriní, photography has acquired different interpretations that can even help us understand their first reactions to the priests' camera – that the very first images of the book *Bearded Indians...* bear witness to (at the same time as constructing) – the discourse that is present to this day regarding its pathogenic agent as an *a posteriori* interpretation of a disastrous contact, and the positivity that it is imbued with today. Circulating the photos by Anton Lukesch in the village in 2015 reinforced the positive aspect. The photographs evoked memories of the relatives portrayed, and brought back their names, which made for a pleasant experience, especially for those Asuriní older than 60 years of age, who had a more vivid memory of the arrival of the priests. In addition, along with the photographs came memories of the contact. Although the events of that encounter were loaded with tension and were dramatically charged, they have already faded with time, thus allowing the Asuriní to look back at what happened then with new eyes.

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ARTICLES

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PEDRO COSTA, A BRICOLEUR[1]

ABSTRACT

In this article, we analyze the evolution of the filming method of the Portuguese filmmaker Pedro Costa. Costa, a great admirer of the punk movement of the 1970s, does not hide the influence that the movement exerts on his way of making movies. From the DIY - do it yourself - idea, the director becomes a *bricoleur* when using the technique of gluing in the making of his films, especially in pre-production. This is bricolage as a technique. From *O Sangue* (1989), Costa's first feature film, to *Cavalo Dinheiro* (2014), the director's production process has progressed towards a way of filming his own and increasingly approaching Anthropology. The term bricolage arises consecrated in the Anthropology by Lévi-Strauss, when referring to the mythical thought, opposing it to the scientist. In cinema, the figure of the *bricoleur* is represented, especially, by Jean-Luc Godard. It is also sought to analyze the stages in which Costa's process, his modus operandi, consists of the extra film material that permeates his work, such as his interviews, written and the course taught by the director.

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INTRODUCTION

> Its power is to emerge out of nowhere, or a pitch so deep that the darkness conceals them by the contours of the alleys. In the dim light, away from the most obvious negotiations, its appearance thus shines in a much more intense light (Caiafa 1985, 9).

The above sentence by Janice Caiafa (1985), written in the introduction to his book on the punk movement in Rio de Janeiro, can be used to refer not only to the emergence of the movement in Rio lands, but, taken out of context, we can also have transposed it to the photograph[2] of Pedro Costa's films. But the punk influence in the director's films is not restricted to the appearance, it is present, mainly, in the conception of the film.

Pedro Costa never hid his admiration for the punk movement. As a teenager, packed with the sound of Sex Pistols and Wire, accompanied by a gang of friends, which he calls gang, Costa had his first contacts with the films of Jean-Luc Godard and Jean Marie Straub.

He joined the Higher Film School in 1976, shortly after the revolution; what animated him was the anarchist ideals that hovered in that period among students. António Reis, one of the most important Portuguese filmmakers, who immersed himself in the representation of rurality and peasant life, was one of his first teachers. Costa (2016a) said he always wanted to make music but having Reis as a teacher made him continue studying film. At the university, he learned how to operate the sound equipment, filming and editing, which allowed him to work in several functions before making his first feature film, *O Sangue* (1989), screened at the Venice Film Festival.

In the context of Portuguese cinema, Pedro Costa emerges as a decisive figure in the renewal of the so-called Portuguese School, which "[...] is anchored in author's cinema where each director's film lives on its own originality" (Barroso and Ribas 2008, 146), and whose consolidation took place in the 1980s. After the New State of establishment in 1933, the Portuguese cinema was divided into three parts: the official cinema system - whose themes were apolitical and moralists - represented mainly by António Lopes Ribeiro; the commercial cinema of entertainment and the Portuguese *Cinema Novo* (New Cinema), created as opposition to the regime. In the period between the Revolution of April 25, 1974 and the beginning of the 1980s, Portuguese cinema turned to collective productions and

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2 His photograph is marked by the minimal use of artificial lighting and using shadow as a dramatic element.

documentaries, influenced by Cine clubs. It was only at the end of this decade that this cinematography was highlighted, given the emergence of a new generation of directors, featuring Pedro Costa among these names.

According to the authors:

> With a growing importance during the 1990s, there is a dilution of fiction, evident in important Portuguese cinema films such as the *Acto da primavera* (Manoel de Oliveira, 1963), Belarmino (Fernando Lopes, 1964) or *Trás-os-Montes* (António Reis and Margarida Cordeiro, 1977), where fiction and documentary coexist in the creation of something new. For this dilution, the significant help of the introduction of digital - which is a paradigmatic case for the work of Pedro Costa (Barroso and Ribas 2008, 150) contributes.

Pedro Costa's cinema blurs the boundary between documentary and fiction. Even works considered fictional by the director end up competing in documentaries festivals.

The fiction glues to the documentary, in a hybrid work, that exempts classifications. For this article, the genre in which the work results interest less than how Pedro Costa employs its methodology to achieve it. The focus here is to unveil the direction method adopted by Pedro Costa, who considers his cinema a collage cinema. I use in this article the term bricolage as a technique.

His method is not fixed; Costa is always innovating, exploring the possibilities of contact between its interlocutors, with new devices and equipment. Each movie has its own different device, steps, teams and method.

In Eduardo's words:

> Perhaps it is necessary to return not exactly to the filmography, searching in it the historical and aesthetic matrices or hunting with glasses the author's mother cell, but to return and to know each specific film, each sequence, each plane, without domesticating them or framing them in definition of a set. To know again, if necessary, but without recognizing (Eduardo 2010, 43)

Although, from *O Sangue* (1989) to *Cavalo Dinheiro* (2014), Costa has innovated in the way of making his films, they are all permeated using

collage.[3] *O Sangue* was carried out in the traditional film molds. With a great team, sophisticated equipment, script or as the director himself nominates: "a film within the system" (Costa 2016a), yet its aesthetics and content stand out from commercial films.

This article analyzes the influence of bricolage on the feature films of Pedro Costa, from DIY - do it yourself, personified in the *bricoleur* figure, using not only the films as a parameter, but mainly his interviews, his writings and the course I attended in 2016. That is, it discusses his *modus operandi*, the method of making his films.

I begin by outlining the use of the term in the punk movement - which is based on the DIY philosophy -, anthropology and cinema, to then analyze the stages of the film maker's production process, which consists of researching the theme, choosing and directing the "non-actors".[4]

PUNK AESTHETIC AND BRICOLAGE

The punk movement emerged in the early 1970s, concomitantly in England and the United States,[5] from the musical style adopted by bands like Sex Pistols and Ramones, respectively. Time when young people found themselves unhappy with the economic and political situation in which conservatism had come to power in several countries and the recession hit much of the population.

In England, punk arises as a reaction to the ultraconservative values with which Margaret Thatcher ruled the country and which grew a xenophobic and racist sentiment among the population. The young people were discontented that they did not feel represented in the arts, considered as massifs and elitists, which mirrored this retrograde feeling.

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3 This review does not consider his documentaries *Onde Jaz o Teu Sorriso?* (2001), *Ne change rien* (2005) and his short films.

4 In the analysis of Iranian cinema, I refer to non-professional actors as "non" actors, in italics, to reinforce my conviction that even if they are not professionals, in films, they act, they are fabulous and are directed by the filmmaker. It is a relationship of being that establishes itself during their performances. They act as if they were themselves or other characters. This topic was discussed by me during the master's degree studies (Pessuto 2011). The same can be said of the subjects who work on the films analyzed here by Pedro Costa. Vanda, Ventura, Vitalina, among others, are people Costa found and ended up being part of his films, sometimes acting as if they were other people, sometimes acting as if they were themselves.

5 Some writers claim that the punk came with the Sex Pistols show in London, opposite the studio of Vivienne Westwood, while others argue that it began in the United States with Ramones (Gallo 2010; Caiafa 1985; Bivar 2001).

Punk appears as a rebellious attitude from the idea of building another culture capable of representing everyone: blacks, immigrants and minorities, through music, literature, the visual arts and the adoption of a visual as an identity factor.

> In search of autonomy in the face of civilization, they refused to join the proposed channels of political participation, moving away from the left-wing parties for which they were criticized, and assuming independence in the various instances of life, expressed in the motto features Do It Yourself (Gallo 2010, 287).

The DIY motto appears on the punk movement as a political issue and soon joins the aesthetics and music, based on the idea that any individual can participate in the cultural creation process. It is conceived as a more democratic and less elitist process. As I will discuss later, Pedro Costa incorporates this democratic process in his cinema, in which anyone can be an actor, anyone can be the writer.

The punk look is distinguished by the combination of characteristic elements, fleeing trendy patterns. Fans of this look adopt an aggressive style, such as leather jackets, jeans, with brooches, pins, flaps, symbols and nails glued and sewn into their clothing, to the detriment of branded clothing and conservatism.

Punk is the breaking of conventions, it is the abdication of the norms in force in favor of a more stripped-down and democratizing style. Punk music is characterized, for the most part, by approaching the public through the simplification of its lyrics, ranging from political and social issues (anarchism, nihilism, unemployment, defense) to topics such as sex, drugs and fun. They are songs that are easy to play, with up to three chords that go into the DIY philosophy, encouraging other young people to create their own bands.

In Portugal, punk musical groups began to emerge in the late 1970s, with the Portuguese band *Aqui d'El Rock* being the first to join the punk musical style (Lemos 2011). Soon after, others emerged. In addition, Pedro Costa began his artistic career as a musician, integrating one of these bands.

In Anthropology, the use of the term *bricoleur* appears for the first time in Levi-Strauss, who uses the term bricolage to explain the characteristic patterns of mythical thought, differentiating it from the scientific thought. It distinguishes the means used in the bricolage technique and those of the scientist (in the figure of the engineer), since the former uses finite means, of what is at hand, reusing available materials, while

the engineer uses raw material, instruments created for certain purposes. *Bricolage* operates with the opportunities that present themselves. Thus, objects are defined by their instrumentality, in which "elements are collected or preserved according to the principle that 'this can always serve'" (Lévi-Strauss 1989, 33), and such elements enable an extensive set of relations.

Levi-Strauss calls bricolage the "first" science, which prevents calling it primitive because, for him, there is nothing primitive in *bricoleur* technique. "Nowadays the *bricoleur* is the one who works with his own hands, using indirect means, comparing himself with the artists" (Lévi-Strauss 1989, 32). Thus, this technique consists in using the means that are offered at the time for the realization, being able to achieve "bright and unforeseen" results (Lévi-Strauss 1989, 32).

In cinema, Jacques Aumont (2004, 156) calls "improvisational spirit" filmmakers who practice bricolage, he says they use "so much more noble material as the most stripped" and says the more literal use of bricolage among those who practice found footage, which appropriates images already made, to the detriment of the imagery. In this case, the role of the filmmaker is in the organization of this material. As an example, we present the cinema of Alain Fleischer and Yervant Gianikian and Angela Ricci-Lucchi, who carry out their works with existing material.

Also, for the author, between bricolage and Hollywood cinema, there is another level of experimentation in the cinema: crafts. The craftsman filmmaker is the one who, for each new project, seeks "intellectual and artistic material and the economic and institutional means" (Aumont 2004, 161), such as the case of Jean-Marie Straub and Danièle Huillet. Still in Aumont's view (2004, 162), "The craftsman is, by excellence, the one who invents everything alone" that in each work uses diverse means and processes.

The bricolage, in the literal sense as approached by Aumont, appears with intensity in the works of Jean-Luc Godard, one of Costa's cinema confessed inspirations.[6] Godard works with the idea of imaging bricolage, when he uses archival materials such as films, photos, colors, book covers and discs; by citing several authors and by using anagrams and intertitles, already widely explored by the author since the 1980s; and the phonetic or sound, from the collage of sounds. Collage, as a battlefield, in his films, produces intertextuality.

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6 Pedro Costa is also inspired by the work of Danièle Huillet and Jean-Marie Straub (Gallagher 2009; Gorin 2009).

Robert Stam (2013), in his essay *From text to intertext*, prefers to talk about intertextuality and non-genres when referring to cinema, since, for the author, the term gender has a passive and determining character, while intertextuality "[...] is more active, thinking the artist as an agent who dynamically orchestrates preexisting texts and discourses" (Stam 2013, 227). In addition, intertextuality relates other media and arts.

In *Histoire(s) du cinéma* (1988-98), Godard explores to the maximum the possibility of intertextual collage. Driven by video usage, which provides a greater field of experimentation than film, the filmmaker uses fragments of films, newspaper clippings, paintings, drawings, overlapping images... "[...] all combinations, all deviations or approximations proper to elicit new forms and meanings" (Rancière 2013, 40).

Thus, the meaning of the image in the film is not only that captured by the camera, but the dialectic that the confrontation between images produces. The director's method "[...] is based on the bold and irreverent redistribution of the combination of competing sign systems" (Delle Vecche 1996, 114), which is possible, for example, when the director, through collage, contrasts colors, textures and forms, to evoke what is not there, or "what simply exists in an intangible, unactable way" (Delle Vecche 1996, 111).

In Pedro Costa film, who usually refers to his method as collage, bricolage appears in the appropriation of materials, not those already filmed, but rather found by the filmmaker (2012, 2013, 2016a, 2016b). Such materials are not printed films - such as authentic *bricoleurs* - but locations, neighborhood people, improvised dialogs, among others; renouncing constructed scenarios, professional actors and elaborate scripts. That is why Costa makes a distinction between creating and finding. For the filmmaker, collage for is the union of these materials, so it is a *bricoleur*, which adapts such materials and, at the same time, an artisan, who has a method suitable for each film. Costa's bricolage is closer to the conception of the term in Anthropology, denoting the instrumentality of the presented opportunities, to the detriment of an instrument created for a specific use, than of its conception according to the theory of the cinema - of the one exposed by Aumont.

The punk movement and DIY ideals act in the Pedro Costa cinema, mainly in his films conception method. Whether by climbing "non-actors" to such films, rather than by professional actors, or by promoting a democratic method of realization, in which it does not impose a preconceived script but rather foster joint creation.

Costa does not obey the traditional rules of filming (neither documentaries nor fictions). He abdicates from the great productions, the numerous teams, the sophisticated equipment, in favor of a more intimate cinema, in which the figure of the producer does not prevail and where he can have more freedom. "All the people I like best end up producing themselves, Godard, Jean Rouch, they're all little production units. (António) Reis proposed this a lot and did it himself" (Costa 2016c).

The materials that Pedro Costa says he finds are the locations. Firstly, Cabo Verde, a country that made him change his way of making films, as I will explain later; the same happened with Fontainhas, an immigrant neighborhood in the suburbs of Lisbon. Also, the actors of its films are people found in the neighborhood, like Vanda, Ventura and Vitalina; sounds, such as the noise of the demolition of the Fontainhas neighborhood, and dialogues that are given by the actors, among others.

> I often use the term collage because, in the most literal sense, collage is, on the one hand, a way of making art very cheap... for example, in painting, are glued papers, collage of found materials, and this is applied in movies I do, which are always with very low budgets. The elements I use are found, as is often the case with collages. Collages, at least in the sense of the visual arts, plastic arts... for example, the Cubists did a lot of newspapers with a lot of colored paper [...], and I, too, work a lot with found materials. I usually say that we during the process of shooting, preparing, shooting any of the movies we found many things on the streets. Sometimes they are people. For example, Vitalina who was with me now, was a person, now an actress, that we found during the film. We were waiting for another character. The film would be one thing, then we found her literally on the street, and she was another element that sticks to the movie that already existed (Costa 2016b).[7]

The elements that Pedro Costa uses are found in the empirical world itself, of which he also takes advantage, or of what he calls "waste of reality" (Costa 2016b). He usually works with what is at the margin of society: the immigrant, the poor people, people disadvantaged by the system.

Which is not exclusive to his cinema. Italian neorealism, for example, appropriated leftovers, people found on the streets (besides professional actors), the postwar wreckage. Like Iranian cinema, in the figures of

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7 Audio from the interview held is available.

Abbas Kiarostami and Jafar Panahi, who use real locations, "non-actors" and seek themes inspired by the daily life, often of these characters themselves. What differs from Pedro Costa's cinema is that the director carries out a collaborative process. Both the Neorealists and the Iranian filmmakers mentioned use improvisation, but the plots are not usually based on the experiences of the "non-actors" themselves.

His method is also close to Kurdish cinema, especially that of Bahman Ghobadi, who denies major productions, pre-conceived scripts, professional actors, scenarios and studios, in favor of a more documentary cinema in which "non-actors" and their experiences.[8]

BRICOLAGE IN THE CONCEPTION

The first Pedro Costa's film, *O Sangue* (1989), was made conventionally, that is, from a screenplay, with a large team, 35mm camera, sophisticated equipment, film plan, professional actors and funding from Instituto Português de Cinema (IPC).

The first and main aspect of bricolage, as a technique, begins to appear in the Pedro Costa's cinema already in the conception of his films, that is, in the pre-production, from *Casa de Lava* (1994).

It was during *Casa de Lava* that Pedro Costa completely changed his way of working, influenced mainly by the field he encountered in Cabo Verde.[9]

Pedro Costa wanted to film in a traditional way but was affected by the landscape and the local people, which made him abandon the previous script of his film and boycott the filming, because he felt that it was not a movie within the mainstream that he wanted to perform. "When I arrived in Cabo Verde, I met people who behaved, who moved, acted and spoke contrary to what I had read, seen and thought at a distance" (Artecapital n. d.). Thus, the previously written script had become obsolete, which made him completely change his work plan.

The director would leave the team asleep and leave with his sound engineer to meet people and collect stories: "Go out and talk to the people on the street" (Costa 2016a). But this was not his first contact with the region. Two years before filming, the director had visited

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8 The relationship between Bahman Ghobadi's cinema and Pedro Costa' cinema is being developed in my doctoral thesis (Pessuto 2017).

9 Cabo Verde was a Portuguese colony from the 15th century until its independence in 1975. It was the main site for the slave trade and served as a commercial and provision warehouse for being on the sea route between Portugal and Brazil.

Cabo Verde as a "preparation trip" for the film, as he calls his field research.[10] (Costa 2013)

In an interview with the Artecapital portal, Costa tells how the notebook he took to notes on the film ended up having another purpose, during his second trip to the field already for filming:

> I was completely lost when I arrived at Fogo and began to glue on the checkered leaves of the women from *Chã das Caldeiras*, a village right at the foot of the volcano. I also pasted news clippings from newspapers, fait-divers, magazine photographs, postcards, small fragments of texts or images that had to do with the film, or the story I was beginning to realize in that land. They were allusive notes, nothing very direct, were more things of the order of poetic association (d. n.).

His film was building through these associative ideas, and what would become one thing became another, from the moment the director gave himself the freedom to dare, to break with the traditional cinema process and allow the notebook to replace the script.

> In a script it will always be pretentious or even offensive to quote Aeschylus or refer to a drawing by Paul Klee to describe a character. Here we can put the poet Desnos to speak Creole and this type of encounter can be affirmed and underlined unreservedly (Costa 2013,2).

The result was published in the book *Casa de Lava - Caderno* (2013), in which Costa takes to the extreme the collage by overlapping, contrasting and associating photographs, poems, paintings, postcards, colors, newspaper clippings and testimonials. A kind of Costa field notebook, scrapbook form, which the director calls "Facsimile" (Artecapital, d. n.).

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10 The work of Pedro Costa approaches visual anthropology, especially the methodology used by Jean Rouch in performing his ethnicities, a theme that will be addressed in my next article.

The original script, which was used to obtain funding and in which the entire production team had based its planning and equipment selection, was based on the film *I Walked with a Zombie* (Jacques Tourneur 1943), for which Pedro Costa has intense admiration (Costa 2013). But it turned out to be the experience of Mariana (Inês de Medeiros), in this country that is a mystery to her and where she seeks self-discovery, through contact with the locals and with the volcanic scenery. The character here represents the director himself, the discovery of his new method, the encounter with the Cabo Verdean people, the music, and, why not, his passion[12] for the country, translated by the platonic love that Mariana feels for Leão[13]

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11 Image available at <https://pierrevonkleist.wordpress.com/tag/lava> Visited on: Apr. 17, 2016.

12 In his interviews, courses and in the Pedro Costa own films, it is clear to realize that the interest for the culture and people of Cabo Verde emanates from a feeling of fascination by the topic.

13 Leão (Isaach de Bankolé), the Cabo Verdean character of *Casa de Lava*, suffers an accident when falling from the crane where he works in Lisbon. After the event, he is transferred in a coma to his home in Cabo Verde and the nurse Mariana accompanies him in his convalescence.

figure 2
Photograms
of *Casa de Lava* (Pedro Costa 1994).
Superscription: [Marina is affected by Cabo Verde and its inhabitants].

Mariana deixa-se afetar por Cabo Verde e seus habitantes

It is a film based on the encounter, in affecting and being affected by the context. He does not feel comfortable writing a script because it makes him realize that he is losing contact with the place, with people or with reality (Costa 2016b): "The principle of a film and the reason, are usually associated with a person or several people or people and places, which was my case at the beginning of the relationship with Fontainhas" (Costa 2016b). Therefore, research is essential in his method. It is only by knowing the people and their relations with the places where they inhabit that the germs of the Costa films emerge. And he also appropriates the result of the meeting of the filmmaker and his camera with these subjects.

During *Casa de Lava*, in his conversations with the residents, the director was asked to bring to Portugal gifts and letters to those who were overseas. Upon returning to Lisbon, Costa visited the Fontainhas neighborhood, where most of the letters were addressed. It was then that he discovered the place and people who were part of his later works.

Fontainhas was a community formed mainly by Cabo Verdean immigrants, located in the suburb of Lisbon, composed of humble houses and narrow alleys. The neighborhood was demolished in the early 2000s, and its inhabitants transferred to a housing complex in another neighborhood, Casal da Boba, which does not have, however, the liveliness of Fontainhas. Costa had his first contact with the neighborhood in the 1990s, when he returned from Cabo Verde with the letters. Fontainhas became his field of research since then.

figure 3
Photograms of *No Quarto de Vanda* (Pedro Costa 2000).

The messages made his entrance into the neighborhood and the contact with the people easier. The letter became a metaphor for his way of making movies. He does not know the contents, neither of the letters nor of the film he performs, but we can see the reactions.

As soon as it began filming, the neighborhood began to be demolished and its subsequent films mark this process of demolition. *Juventude em Marcha* (2006) shows this transition and the lives of some of the residents in his new home.

It was in Fontainhas that Costa met his main characters, Vanda and Ventura, who would become actors in his following films: *Ossos* (1997), *No Quarto de Vanda* (2000), *Juventude em Marcha* (2006) and *Cavalo Dinheiro* (2014).

Almost a decade of research and contact with the locals mark the work of Costa, who, after *Ossos*, leaves the preconceived script to plunge into these people life stories, dreams, anguish, and yearnings.

A DEMOCRATIC METHOD

Bricolage is also present in the texture of the plot, in the making of the film, through the work with the actors. The plot is often created from material that the "non-actors" themselves provide. Here we witness the influence of the DIY punk movement, based on the search for a more democratic, horizontal and less hierarchical art; in refusing to create a script, by appropriating the material given by "non-actors".

> When I say that the neighborhood counts, I just want to say that every day I had a reality that took me further than the mere surface that glues to the eyes and the lens. Ventura, Vanda, and Lento are prisoners of their little story and History. And, simultaneously, they are the guards of their prison, of this my prison that is the film and of which I am the director. They are the scriptwriters... (Costa 2012, 29).

In recent years, Pedro Costa has preferred not to create a script. The stories come from a collective of people who write or create their actors together and, therefore, calls its method of democratic (Costa 2016a). In turn, these "non-actors" are also found by Costa.

Vanda Duarte was found in the Fontainhas neighborhood. She had never worked as an actress, but Costa invited her to join *Ossos*. He already had the sketch of a plot in mind after reading in a newspaper about the story of a woman who had lost her baby in a bathroom. A gas atmosphere also came to his mind... "I had the gas and the baby, I had to find the faces in the neighborhood" (Costa 2012, 39). That's when he met Vanda and her sister Zita: "I come to the neighborhood and, as soon as I see her, I like her, humanly, plastically" (Costa 2012, 39). The two sisters appeared as opposing and complementary beings; which Vanda possessed as an extrovert, Zita kept within herself. Costa did not hesitate and called them to join the film. At first Vanda had refused, claiming to be very busy. Costa found it strange because he had heard that she spent all day in your room, inhaling heroin. After insisting, Vanda accepted (Costa 2012, 39-44).

Vanda's character was created in conjunction with her: "We invented a maid character, a female plot, a women's group around the lost boy with the baby" (Costa 2012, 41). Thus, *Ossos* plot appears. Costa first idea and the complement of Vanda and the other characters, as a true collage of opinions.

This film was still performed conventionally - with a written script, a big team and cinema equipment - and Costa intended Vanda to follow what he proposed, but during the filming she surprised him, and when he asked her to cry, she neither laughed nor cried, she was serious; when I

asked her to say good morning, she said good night. Costa realized that it was she who wanted to invent, propose, until she invited him to make a movie in her room (Costa 2012, 45-47) and the director accepted. Thus, *No quarto de Vanda* (2000) was born, the director's fourth feature, in which Costa follows Vanda's routine, her addiction to heroin smoking, her conversations with her sister and neighbors, his relationship with her family, her anguish, and dreams.

So, at the origin of [No quarto de] Vanda, there was also this challenge: to face a real *real*, a truly documentary game. But it was necessary that this documentary invitation be fed by a fiction. A documentary that does not begin with a fiction of this genre does not exist. They invite me to some place, I like people, they like me: this is what makes a movie (Costa 2012, 47).

figure 4
Photogram of
*No Quarto
de Vanda*

It was two years of filming *Vanda* in her bedroom. Costa spent hours, sometimes even days within Vanda's room. This was possible after Costa adopted the digital, which allowed, in addition to the proximity to Vanda and her sister, to abandon the use of artificial light that the film imposed and record many hours of materials, because the cost of digital is lower, compared to 35mm.

Vanda and Costa had the themes, since the base was to make a movie with her and her family, in the bedroom, in the house, in the neighborhood. The boys and their houses came later. The direction was as follows, as the director explains:

> They were relatively simple things, almost documentary, and then, inside this documentary we had some themes, some topics that were: how was the neighborhood many years ago, when you were little, school, father, mother, linked to her life, and so when we started any scene, for example, about childhood in the neighborhood, what was being drawn, what happened the first time was to tell the story. What I did when she finished and began to repeat, therefore a work of perfecting that history; it was me to choose what interested and what did not interest the film. It was so with Ventura or Vitalina. [...] In the second shot, in the second count of the story already has reduced a lot and already begins to have a notion of a line, where we left and where we arrived. From there it is always a kind of reduction (Costa 2016b)[14].

Pedro Costa is based on repetition. In his course, the director emphasized the influence of Charles Chaplin in his way of directing the actors and even of conceiving the film, as well as exhibiting *Unknown Chaplin* (Kevin Brownlow and David Gill 1983), a series of documentaries that present the process of direction of the filmmaker. The series shows how, despite his improvisation, Chaplin repeated the same plan hundreds of times until he was perfect, and the story unfolded. Often, he did not have a written script, he started the film by *gagues*[15] and that quid pro quo that was responsible for bringing up the scenes and the entanglements. As a trial and error game, if it did not work out, it was only to start again.

In the course taught in Bologna, Peter emphasizes: "The person enters the bar, asks for something, but he/she has no coins. I need to film before and after. I need to organize the film around that" (2016a). Just like

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14 Audio interview available.

15 Improvised joke.

Chaplin, who starts from a *gague* to compose his narrative.

> I do not know when something of creation begins to emerge. When you create a character, a thread of the story. I am not sure if it is the order of creation, if it is the order more than repetition, and the fact that when we start working, we already have a lot of data acquired. I mean, there is already a lot and it is not possible to leave some paintings that are already imposed by being filming with Ventura or Vitalina; one being the Cabo Verdeans, the other speaking one language, the other having a certain personality, that is, I never try to change, like other filmmakers, for example, time, the rhythm of people. I prefer it to be done in the assembly, in the plans (Costa 2016b).[16]

Pedro Costa respects what the person has to say, the counting and the way the person wants to do it. He corrects only small things, which have to do with light, but not with the internal time of the actors/characters (Costa 2016b).

It is in this sense that the director classifies his works as fictions, as he does not consider his films observational documentaries. He interferes with the choice of themes in the dialogues, asks them to repeat themselves several times, cut them off.

figure 5
Photogram of
Cavalo Dinheiro
(Pedro Costa
2014).

16 Audio interview available.

Ventura was the first resident from Fontainhas neighborhood. Costa met him during the filming of *Ossos*. They became friends until the director invited him to make a movie. It was *Juventude em marcha* (2006). In it, Ventura is a kind of father for residents. His immigrant condition, homesickness, and especially his wife Zulmira, who he was forced to leave behind, mark the theme of this film, which deals with two exiles: the first is when these immigrants had to leave their homeland in searching for better conditions of life, leaving Cabo Verde towards Portugal, and the second exile of these actors characters is when they have to leave the neighborhood where they established ties to another cold and distant location.

The letter that Ventura writes to his wife is told and repeated throughout the film:

> I would like to offer you a hundred thousand cigarettes / a dozen more modern dresses / a car / a lava house that you wanted so much / a bouquet of flowers of four pennies / but before all things / Drink a good bottle of wine / Think about me (*Juventude em marcha*, 2006).

Robert Desnos, a French surrealist poet, wrote in the 1940s from a concentration camp a letter[17] addressed to his wife. Costa seeks inspiration in this message and together with Ventura creates a version of the letter in Creole, that would never come to his wife, but expressing the feeling of those who have the hope of one day be reunited... "Neither Desnos nor Ventura have found their wives again. Neither Desnos nor Ventura received even a reply to these letters. Neither Desnos nor Ventura will see the women they loved with the dresses they dreamed of" (Bénard da Costa 2009, 26).

After losing his home, Ventura wanders immersed in a sense of nostalgia. He visits Fontainhas as well as his new home in Casal da Boba, going from house to house visiting his false children. One of these houses is that of Vanda, who now has a daughter and a companion and tells, among other things, that she is clear of addiction.

They are joint creations, in a collaborative process, which Costa (2016c) exemplifies with the security man that participated in *Juventude em Marcha*. He was really a supermarket security man and wrote his own

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17 "100 000 cigarettes, twelve dresses from great dressmakers, the apartment at Rue de Seine, a car, the house the Campiègne woods, that in Belle-Isle, and a five-cent flowers sprig. In my absence, buy the flowers, and I will pay them. The rest, I promise you for later. But, above all, drink a bottle of good wine and think of me" (Bénard da Costa 2009, 26).

text. Costa asked only to tell him that he has a complicated life and that in the museum he makes more money than in the supermarket, even though he does not work in the museum. And the dialog developed by the security man was given as follows:

> Watching this place is not like watching the open-air market from my land. Here you wield an iron hand with a velvet glove. There, it is just an iron hand. Nothing but misery. Blacks, whites, gypsies, old people, children... Everyone steals. So much hunger and sadness that makes you feel bad. I know what I am talking about. Here is another world. An old, unperturbed world. No one screams, runs or spits on the ground. It is elegant and easy. I can even take a nap. So, the afternoons here in Egyptian Art are sacred. It is a problem when someone like you shows up. But you do not see people like you or me here often. We are left alone (*Juventude em Marcha* 2006).

The boy, in his words, articulated elements of his memory still in Cabo Verde, his experience as supermarket security and his experience as a black immigrant, what it would be to work in a museum, what he imagines to be this work. As Costa states: "Everything he says comes from his idea" (Costa 2016c).

The dialog is an important part of the film, and the lines and actions of the actor/character were created together, in the same process that Costa played in the previous film. This process also occurred in *Cavalo Dinheiro* (2014), in which Ventura was also the protagonist.

About Ventura, Costa reveals: "What he was saying, I knew it came from him, from his life experience" (Costa 2016c). And yet: "It's a set of personal culture, his life, his experience, a little culture of the island, life there at the beginning, those years (to be a child of the 1950s)." (Costa 2016c).

The director says that the dialogs developed by Ventura could never have come from him (Costa) or from a scriptwriter, because they come from Ventura's experience and use words that are not part of the filmmaker's vocabulary, such as: *young life* or *report*, rather than remember. "Sometimes I have no ideas because it is very foreign to me" (Costa 2016c).

Cavalo Dinheiro delves into Ventura daydreams, in the shadows and ghosts that haunt him. His memories, his gift, and his imagination blend into a somewhat spooky movie about whether the characters seen by Ventura are alive or dead. Dinheiro (Money) is the name of the

horse Ventura left in Cabo Verde, which he believes has been devoured by vultures, as his dreams of a better life in the colonizing country were devoured.

Ventura's past and the past of Portugal blend, stick together, refer to each other. He says he is 19 years old, but we know he is not. It is this memory of his youth, of his past in Cabo Verde, of the arrival in Portugal, of the Revolution of 1974, that are updated in Ventura's actions and dialogs.

As time is mixed, the places do too. Cabo Verde, Portugal, asylum, Fontainhas… exist in the memory and in its update. Even though Fontainhas no longer exists, its presence continues in the film, through the imagery of Costa and Ventura.

The process of making the film is like the previous ones: *No Quarto de Vanda* and *Juventude em Marcha*, with dialogs created together, with testimonials perfected by repetition and cut, with the restricted use of equipment.

Such directing work, which prioritizes joint creation, had already appeared before in the history of cinema, as well as in Anthropology. One of the greatest representatives of this type of film is undoubtedly the anthropologist-filmmaker Jean Rouch. In Jean Rouch's anthropological cinema, this collaboration, associated with the view of interlocutors as subjects, became known as shared anthropology.

In the shared anthropology used by Rouch, the characters are not only seen as objects of study, but as subjects of the film, because there is a collaborative process between the director and the subjects in its construction. Such collaboration develops in the improvisation of these subjects, in the creation of the story together and in the comments in *off* that the "non-actors" weave in their films even after they are ready.

They are perspectives that unite themselves because the film is born from the meeting. "Rouch marks his films with the multiple voices present in the field and in the exchange relationship that occurs in ethnographic/cinematographic research, the product of the meeting is the result of the symbiosis of both perspectives" (Barbosa, Cunha and Hikiji 2006, 289).

In cinema and theater, when the text is created jointly between the director and the actors, whether they are inspired by the lives of these actors or not, it is called a collaborative process. We can see this process in Costa's cinema, mainly in the films *No Quarto de Vanda*, *Juventude em Marcha* and *Cavalo Dinheiro*.

STORYTELLER

It is in the assembly that Pedro Costa plays the role of storyteller. It is at this time of the film he interlinks all material collected. It is here that he becomes the complete *bricoleur*. "It is the most important moment of construction" (Costa 2016a), because it is the stage in which the director acts with more autonomy and authority, in which he chooses the right time of the plans, the takes that have become better. It is the union of the plans that will give the narrative of the films. Vanda, Ventura and Vitalina told their stories, now is the time for the director to tell his story.[18]

In *No Quarto de Vanda*, *Juventude em Marcha* and *Cavalo Dinheiro*, the process took place in the editing room, as they were videotaped... *In No Quarto de Vanda*, for example, the director had 100 hours of recorded material, which he took two weeks to watch.

Costa works with the idea that each scene has points of contact with the others, not necessarily then, but that a spoken phrase at some point in the film later repercussions in the narrative, for example (Costa 2016b).

His films follow the syntactic order of parataxis, which is what the phrase sequence is called in grammar without a subordinated or coordinating conjunction, that is, without dependence between terms. In the cinematographic assembly, the parataxis is configured as a juxtaposition, in which the scenes are not subordinate to each other; there are no hierarchies, and a plan, a scene, or a sequence is just as important as others.

Parataxis is a common practice in collage cinema, unlike hypotaxis, in which there is greater subordination, that is, dependence and fit between terms or blocks of meaning, to create a narrative. Hypotaxis occurs in dramatic classical decoupage, in conventional cinema, in which the assembly is made according to the conventions that allow it to become transparent.

In *O Discurso Cinematográfico*, Ismail Xavier (2005) differentiates between various types of decoupage in cinema. In the classic decoupage, which is the most common in the cinema, to show a fact, the director performs several cuts within the same scene, a change "[...] from the point of view to show from another angle or another distance from the 'same fact' that, supposedly, did not suffer a solution of continuity, nor did it move to another space" (Xavier 2005, 29); and the use plan and counter plan for example. Such a situation gives the impression that the scene was filmed at once.

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18 Besides the editing, the director's look, the choice of frames, the lighting, among others, are ways of telling the story and are options of the filmmaker.

In Costa's cinema, the scenes are longer, in most cases, uninterrupted, and the links between scenes are created from the chaining of the planes and configure themselves at the level of themes. In fact, some of these blocks may be presented separately from the rest of the film. For example, the elevator scene, in *Cavalo Dinheiro*, which became an independent block and was transformed into the short *Sweet Exorcism* (2012), to compose the film *Centro Histórico* (Pedro Costa et al. 2012), made with various filmmakers' episodes.

figure 6
Photogram of
Cavalo Dinheiro
(Costa 2014).

Pedro Costa overlaps the audio in this scene in different layers. Ventura's (live) voice is mixed with several ghostly voices in the offing (Ventura's own, the soldier's, a child's). A song also invades the soundtrack. Pedro Costa performs sound collage. In Vanda's Room, for example, the outside noise of the demolition of the neighborhood invaded the internal scenes and were incorporated into the dialogs, reinforcing the rhythm of the film.

The imagery collage is explicit in the introduction of *Cavalo Dinheiro*, for example, which begins with photographs by Jacob Riis, a Danish photographer, linked to American social movements in the late nineteenth century, which documented New York's *favelas*.

figure 7
Photogram of
Cavalo Dinheiro
(2014).

In these screenshots, you can see how Costa worked with *bricolage* in his film. In the first planes, Riis pictures are shown. They are black and white photographs, with their edges weathered, as well as their surface. There are 12 pictures shown, for about six seconds each. Soon after, there appears the framed picture of a black man, hanging on a wall, which we cannot distinguish from where it is. Follows a panoramic camera movement, and we see a man, also black, with his back, down a dark staircase; this is Ventura.

The connection that the pictures constitute with the following plan are not of the order of subordination, but the linkage. So, it is with the following sequences of Ventura delusions.

Its elliptical assembly creates an opacity effect, contrary to transparency. It uses both temporal and spatial ellipses. In *Cavalo Dinheiro*, Ventura is transposed into the past through his dialogs and the places in which he finds himself. Ellipses help to confuse present and past.

In *Juventude em Marcha*, for example, the scene in which Ventura is at Lento's house is cut by a space ellipse to a painting by Rubens at the Gulbenkian Museum, a building Ventura had helped build but never enjoyed (Martin 2009; Rancière 2009; Silveira 2015). We have both a temporal and a spatial ellipse. And so, all the following sequences are followed.

Thus, the parataxis and ellipse employed in the editing by Pedro Costa stitch his films. It is at this stage of the *bricoleur* process that work takes shape.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Pedro Costa's cinema is a rich material both for studies in the field of Anthropology and Cinema. The director uses some features of the ethnographic film, such as filming people in their own context, thereby using "non-actors" performs an extensive field research, and the subjects of his films become also the scriptwriters, because they are works that have the collaboration of their interlocutors; also uses some resources of the fictional cinema, like the direction of actors, the repetition, the sound mixing, among others. This article does not aim to define the genre of his works, but rather the contexts in which they were realized and how their realization occurred.

I sought to explore the *bricoleur* side of his modus operandi, since the methodology employed by the director takes a similar stance as the youth of the punk movement, in the search for a culture in which any individual can participate in the cultural process (DYI) - what Pedro Costa calls of democratic method - and the refusal to make a cinema within the mainstream.

For that, I interpreted his cinema, as the director himself defines it, as collages, instead of creations. Pedro Costa uses found and not created materials (locations, "non-actors", stories). The director does not use previously written script, since the dialogs come from the "non-actors" themselves, based on themes that the director proposes, just as it does not aim to create a beginning-middle-end story. The scenes and plans stick to their rhythm, with their development, not according to a story the director has previously imagined.

In this article, I did not intend to analyze scenes, plans or sequences of his films, because the focus is on the conception, its method. What interested me in the analysis was the extra film material, which explains his method of direction.

The elements with which Costa works are those given by the places where he films and by the people who inhabit them. Costa deals with the dreams, the memory and the daydreams of the people who take part in his films. In *No Quarto de Vanda*, *Juventude em Marcha* and *Cavalo Dinheiro*, this is more explicit.

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ARTICLES

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MARCELA VASCO

THE REPRESENTATION OF THE TRAGEDY IN MARIANA: BURIED PHOTOGRAPHS AND SURVIVING IMAGES

ABSTRACT

In this essay, I present an investigation process based on images produced about the tragedy of the Fundão tailings dam rupture, at the Alegria complex of the mining company Samarco (controlled by Vale and BHP Billiton), in Bento Rodrigues, city of Mariana (MG). Through the journalistic and artistic photographs that tried to reveal what had happened, I have sought to analyze the notion of disaster and the representation used to classify and portray this tragedy. Furthermore, as of questions arising from this brief analysis, I have proposed a work of deformation, montage, and restitution of those images, as a way of playing with metaphors from the remaining leftovers.

INTRODUCTION

When attending two Visual Anthropology courses during the second se-
mester of 2016[1], which aimed to encourage students into working with
images of their own research, I thought that the fact of not having start-
ed a fieldwork yet as well as not having images produced by myself
would not culminate in a problem. In a way, I was mistaken – and this
text is precisely about the unexpected challenges I have faced in this
process and how I have tried, in a practical way, to solve them through a
work of deformation, assembly, and restitution of images.

My doctoral research investigates missing photographs in the tragedy of
the Samarco mining dam (controlled by Vale and BHP Billiton) rupture
in Bento Rodrigues, a district in the city of Mariana (Minas Gerais). Al-
though the research concerned missing images and the invisible, I have
decided, as numerous images had been produced about the disaster, to
use some of them in classes to exercise the editing works proposed by
the teachers. However, while looking for such images, I realized that
none of them was able to fulfill the work proposal, thus, a fundamental
question arose from this discontent: how can a tragedy be represented?

Photographs produced by journalists or photojournalists on the trag-
edy of the Fundão dam rupture were, mostly, beautiful photographs,
but they said little or nothing about the tragedy. This issue has deep
roots. Eliane Brum (2015), in an article for the *El País*, asks: "What kind
of Guernica can be painted considering the work of Samarco, the mining
company belonging to the Vale (previously called "Do Rio Doce") and the
Anglo-Australian BHP Billiton?" Guernica, as we all know, is the panel
painted by Pablo Picasso in 1937, representing the bombing of the city of
Gernika by German planes, acting in support of General Franco. Picas-
so painted it in a Cubist style and usually referred to it as a work that
had not been made to decorate apartments. When concerning Guernica,
Eliane Brum is questioning precisely the tragedy depiction: "Perhaps it
would take another avant-garde movement in art to account for the ex-
cess of reality" (Ibid., 2015).

However, it is not a matter of assuming Claude Lanzmann's position, for example, for whom the Shoah is un-representable. We find an interesting debate on the tragedy depiction in Georges Didi-Huberman's book (2012), *Images in spite all*. In it, Didi-Huberman writes about "the four images ripped from the Auschwitz hell," in which there are four photographs taken hastily from the crematory V by a member of the *Sonderkommando* and sent out of Auschwitz inside a toothpaste tube. The photos, protagonists of the exhibition *Memoire des camps – Photographies des camps d'économie et d'extermination nazis 1933-1999*[2], held in Paris in 2001, are considered by Didi-Huberman (Ibid.) "testimonies of those who have succumbed" and they can make the hell that was Auschwitz at least imaginable. Lanzmann, however, will criticize him for this text by arguing that Didi-Huberman makes these images the *whole image* of the Shoah, which ultimately destroys all other images. For him, these four photographs are fetish images, and nothing is gained by showing them. His position is dogmatic: the Shoah is *un-representable* and *unimaginable*.

Even though this theme can be further elaborated beyond this debate, regarding the proposition to be developed in this work, it is interesting to point out that Didi-Huberman rejects Lanzmann's criticism, arguing that "the whole image of the Shoah does not exist: not because Shoah is unimaginable by law, but because the image is characterized, in fact, by not being a whole" (Ibid., 110). Such point intertwines with this work's development because when resorting to the images of Mariana's tragedy my intention was similar. Although unconsciously, I was looking for images that depicted the tragedy of Fundão as a *whole*.

However, in this same book, Didi-Huberman (Ibid., 52-55) further states that the difficulty with the images exists because we either ask too much from them, when they are inadequate and even inaccurate, or either ask very little, relegating them to the sphere of documents, illustrations of testimonies, as if they were not capable of witnessing on their own. These two ways of paying attention to images, hypertrophying them ("wanting to see everything in them", "turning them into icons") or numbing them ("seeing nothing more than a document"), are, according to the author, unable to help us.

Thus, if the images could not offer every dimension of the tragedy – and of course they could not – it was not because they were deficient, but because I demanded everything from them. I did not know how to look at them or to accept what they offered me. I have wondered, then, what do those silent and problematic images say? How could one think of tragedy with those images? And, of course, how could I, through this mute saying of the images, find the tragedy representation the research proposed?

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2 Curated by Pierre Bonhomme and Clément Chéroux.

THE DISASTER FROM AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

On November 5th, 2015, the Fundão dam at the Alegria complex, of the Samarco mining company, broke and dumped more than 60 million cubic meters of tailings from iron mining over Bento Rodrigues, in the city of Mariana (MG). These residues have followed the stream from the Gualaxo do Norte and Carmo Rivers until reaching the Doce River, where they would cross the states of Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo until debouching into the ocean, on Regência Beach (ES).

With the sediment, heavy metals were mixed along with the river water, causing the death of fish, birds and, at various points, of the Doce River itself and some of its tributaries. Fishermen, riparians, farmers, agrarian reform settlers, and the Krenak indigenous people, as well as the townspeople located alongside the affected rivers, were damaged by the disaster. Although the federal government stance that classified the catastrophe as "natural", and later claimed it was a "technological" disaster, generated controversy; and even though much of the media has characterized it as an "environmental" tragedy; the rupture of the Fundão dam has even more complex proportions.

According to Norma Valencio,

> The use of "natural" as a qualificative for catastrophic disasters, such as those related to Samarco dam rupture, becomes a symbolic aggression to those who are severely disadvantaged in these situations because the causative factor would not be some legal subject answering in court. It should be noted that its possible substitution by the qualificative "technological" could also be limiting, since its dominant use does not associate it with social relations, limiting itself purely to things – to containment dams, to the chemical substances of tailings and the like – as if they were contained in the ill-developed and the adoption of new technicalities would solve the problem. (…) The same could be said of the "environmental" qualificative that, in practical terms, emphasizes only environmental issues that can be technically managed, leaving behind in a hide and seek game the social subjects and operational logic that forge and recrudesce such tragedies (Unofficial translation) (Valencio 2016, 42).

In this sense, the concept of disaster mobilized in this work aims to address the social impact on the livelihoods of those affected by it.

Renzo Taddei (2016), when defending the approach to disaster from an anthropological perspective, states that "disaster is never in 'nature', but in relation to it" (apud Oliver-Smith 1999). For this, he offers us the example of his research, carried out in the northeastern backlands. Taddei turns first to the *caatinga*, an ecosystem formed mainly by xerophytic vegetation, able to survive extreme drought situations. The *caatinga* probably exists for thousands of years, present in the so-called "drought polygon", and it is clear that this region has been facing water shortages for a long time. For much of this period, animals and native populations faced the problem by migrating through the territory in search of water. Population in permanent nuclei would have been, according to him, responsible for exposing them to a "spatial rigidity irreconcilable with the regional flows and climatic variations" (Taddei 2016, 2). In this sense, the "disastrous element" in the case of the Northeastern drought is not exactly the scarcity of water, but the land domination form and use implanted here by the Europeans. Thus, Taddei argues that the "disaster is practically embedded in the Brazilian economic and political organization forms" (apud Taddei; Gamboggi, 2010).

In the case of dams, according to the National Department of Mineral Production (Freitas et al. 2016, 26), Brazil has 662 dams and exhausts with buses distributed in 164 cities across the country. Thus, 80% of them are classified as having low-risk of disasters by risk category – the same classification given to the Fundão dam. Another 5% are considered high-risk. Thus, "we can consider that we have a large set of serious threats and risks of disasters in mining dams scattered throughout the country."

Regarding the economic aspect, according to data provided by the research group on Politics, Economy, Mining, Environment, and Society (PoEMAs 2015), Brazil was one of the five countries responsible for two-thirds of the global mineral exports, which deepened the country's economic dependency on the mining-export sector. "The share of minerals in the country's exports increased from 5% to 14.5%, with iron ore accounting for 92.6% of this total" (Wanderley et al. 2016, 30). This comes from a development model that, stimulated by the federal government, is highly predatory and treats nature as a source of exploitation. In this context, the Fundão dam, which came into operation in 2008 (when the ore price reached its peak), had its environmental licensing "carried out by institutions that undergo an intense process of precariousness and political interference, binding approval to a series of constraints, not always effectively fulfilled" (Ibid., 34).

In the affected region around Mariana, it has been estimated that in many localities up to 95% of the economic activity is based on iron ore extraction, which has caused a collapse in the regional economy since

Samarco interrupt its activities. This issue clearly exposes the economic dependence on mining activities, as well as how the paradox of this dependence harms the area. Regarding this, Valencio (2016) warns that although altruism is initially the predominant social behavior, after a brief period the practice of the so-called slow violence against those affected in the context of disaster is observed. In Mariana, we can observe several practices towards blaming the victims, especially by the residents, many of them workers directly or indirectly linked to Samarco, who accuse the victims of being responsible for the high unemployment rate in the region[3].

In this sense, the dimensions of the tragedy are much more complex than the vague definitions the disaster has pointed out. Resuming disaster from an anthropological perspective becomes, therefore, a way of deepening the analysis:

> In the mining context, social scientists pointed out that the community of Bento Rodrigues had been afraid of a dam breakage for years and, after the disaster had materialized, the company's harassment would have become constant, constraining the community's demands. Yet in the *capixaba* context, a similar study pointed to the combination of concrete and symbolic aspects; serious problems in water supply, irrigation of crops, fishing, and tourism and leisure, as well as ecological damage, were associated with police violence against protesters and the community pain in witnessing the Doce River in agony, in opposition to their emotional memory of the place. Such breakthroughs and discontinuities in social life did not occur only in this disaster, but in innumerable others, in which social scientists would need to be supported to deal with the density of analysis (Unofficial translation) (Ibid., 43-44).

MUD PICTURES

The way the tragedy of Mariana was represented by both the press and most of the photographers venturing into the mud requires analysis. In the case of the photographs made in Bento Rodrigues, the absence of those affected in the images is symptomatic. Their presence is marked only by a trace of absence: an abandoned cap on the mud, a fork, a book, a sofa.

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3 It is estimated that approximately 13,000 people were unemployed after the interruption of Samarco's activities. See more in "Residents of Mariana Blame Victims of Disaster for Increased Unemployment" (Basso 2016).

Journalistic images aim for an immediate impact. The image most widespread by the media shows a car on the wall of a house whose roof was swept by mud. This image resumes the debate through the tragedy dimension. About 60 million cubic meters of mud dragging walls, roofs, and furniture. The mud was able to throw a car on the wall of a house, such was the blast. These dramatic and appealing images filled the news extensively until they were saturated and replaced in the following week, when terrorist attacks occurred in Paris, making the Fundão dam disaster gradually become old news.

However, the image of the car on the wall, beyond exhaustion, has always caught my attention for another factor. The angle of this image, taken from a helicopter, would be one of the most used to approach this tragedy. In the photographs Pedro Mascaro made with his father, Cristiano Mascaro, seven months later for Piauí magazine (Mascaro; Mascaro 2016), this was also the point of view chosen to speak about the tragedy: photographs from the top of the disaster epicenter, taken with the help of a drone.

In cases like these, in which dimensions reach a large geographical extent, satellite images are recurring to cover the disaster proportions. However, how effective is it, to show the size of a disaster? Here, we enter a positioning problem – not only the look, but also the theoretical field is driven to define the disaster concept. Fundão dam rupture is still today described by most of national and international press as the greatest environmental disaster in the history of Brazil. As we saw earlier, however, its roots are political, economic, and social. Concerning this, however, the sin of satellite imagery revolves around their silence on the matter.

Eduardo Sterzi (2016) writes for Zum magazine that

> Only satellite images have managed to completely cover the catastrophe – however, if we gain, thus, a vision of the whole, we lose contact with reality. Photography becomes map, abstraction. The whole seized and offered by a satellite image is a whole that has lost its concreteness, a kind of pure undisguised image of the world. The catastrophe seems to require a look capable of moving between the maximum plane (the totally modified territory, the affected populations, the rivers destroyed, the reflections in the ocean, etc.) and the minimum plan (not only the extinction of some species, but every animal killed, not only displaced communities, but every object left behind...). No matter how much one concentrates on the minimal plan – and photographing is necessarily cutting the real out – the photographer cannot, through minimum, allude to the maximum. (Unofficial translation)

Bruno Veiga, the photographer Sterzi talks about in this subject, seems to solve this problem with his essay *Deserto Vermelho*. Veiga's photographs, however, fail in another aspect: they are aesthetically impeccable. How is it possible to talk about a tragedy when facing such beautiful images? This question haunts us before every tragedy photograph. Is it possible for a photograph about a disaster of such proportions to be beautiful?

The four *Sonderkommando* photographs analyzed by Didi-Huberman (2012) are crucial. Precisely because of this, some might say that they are poorly framed. However, the technique precisely deviates in favor of the photographic act. Its urgency is part of History. In the photographs of the Samarco disaster, however, many photographers were in Bento Rodrigues looking for a tragedy that could please the eye. Perhaps the greatest example of this is Christian Cravo, who gave a statement to a newspaper in Minas Gerais (Midlej 2016) that "the greatest challenge [was] to find some beauty in an obscure situation like this. And this was only possible after he saw the episode with some 'bleakness', a time after the dam breakage."

Being able to see beauty in tragedy is undoubtedly a cultural issue. Davi Kopenawa and Bruce Albert (2015, 432) report the Yanomami shaman's journey to the city, and in front of the reddish sky, Kopenawa sees no beauty:

> Where the white men live the sky is low, and they do not stop baking large quantities of ore and oil. That is why the fumes of their factories rise steadily to the sky. This makes it very dry, brittle and flammable, like gasoline. Heat-torn, it becomes fragile and falls apart like old clothes. All of this worries the xapiri very much. (Unofficial translation)

Kopenawa also says that the eyes of the white men are spoiled by the metal smoke and the blinding dust. For him, we cannot see right because we pull the ores from the earth, crush and heat them in factories. "It then exhales a fine dust, which spreads like an invisible breeze in their cities. It is a thing of dangerous witchcraft, which enters the eyes and spoils the sight" (Kopenawa; Albert 2015, 362). The smoke plucked from the ores is, at the same time, the one that blinds us and colors the city sky. Blind, we contemplate the fiery sky.

BURIED PHOTOS AND SURVIVING IMAGES

Faced with questions posed previously, how could we, *despite everything*, think along with the images produced about the disaster of Mariana? If they did not say exactly what I wanted them to say, then I tried to manipulate and assemble them. To intervene in these images was a way to make them mine and, to mount them, to make them speak of the tragedy.

At first, I have gathered all these photos, images from the press, satellite images, photographs of Mascaros, Veiga, and Cravo, printed and then buried them in my garden. I wanted them to have at least some contact with the mud. After a week resisting rain showers and insect hunger, I dug them up, and finally assembled them.

Regarding the montage, Walter Benjamin (Didi-Huberman 2016) defends the need to brush it against the grain, that is, to try to leave the stream of images and brush backwards to discover their gaps and their discontinuities. It is through montage that images gain positionality and expose conflicts and paradoxes of History.

> Montage would be to shapes what politics is to acts: one must put together the two meanings of montage, that is, the excess of energies and the strategy of places, the madness of transgression and the wisdom of positionality. Walter Benjamin, it seems to me, never ceased to think alongside these two aspects of montage as being a political action. (Unofficial translation) (Ibid., 2).

In that sense, how does one 'brush against the grain' and assemble the images of a disaster? The notion of image thrown at them points out that they are not intrinsically "good" or "bad" but, on the other hand, they also depend on what do we do and how do we look at them. Images do not contain a single meaning on themselves. Now mute, they are reserved towards the polysemy of not saying.

Didi-Huberman (2015b), in his essay *Pensar Debruçado*, differentiates, on the one hand, those who want to see everything from above and free themselves from the sensible world and, on the other, those who lean to think and bet on a sensitive experience. He calls these two ways of looking overpowering and comprehensive views, respectively. In the first, the vision establishes a posture of retreat and the object, looked down, is separated from the eye that sees it, being unattainable. The look seeks, through it, a pure, immaculate knowledge. In the second one, on the contrary, the object rises towards the eye, which comes and goes, becoming sensitive to what it sees, offering the opportunity to touch the object of knowledge and to be carried away by its seductions, illusions, and meanders. Its knowing is a not-knowing.

Looking from above, however, always brings the risk of falling. Built on these definitions, is it necessary to choose a part amid two positions: to be taken apart or moved away? Didi-Huberman points out that they are just two ways of looking at the images, serving the interests of those who look. The satellite photographs seek precisely this pure knowledge

of the secluded gaze. My intention was, differently, to dwell on the images and let myself be struck by what I was looking at.

Thus, I put all the dug-up photos on my mounting table and leaned over them. But something was still missing. Then I went for another type of image, which I will call here *the surviving photographs*. I found in an article from *Brasil de Fato* entitled "O adeus a Bento Rodrigues" (Freire 2016), photographs of Manuel Marcos Muniz, a.k.a Marquinhos. These are some of the photographs that were not in Bento Rodrigues when the mud devastated everything. Marquinhos is today one of the few residents to own photographs of the municipality from before the mud. Many others remain buried.

Although I did not know what to do with Marquinhos's photos, I also placed them on my desk. Mounting them with the other images seemed a way of restoring people and memories to the images. The absence of the victims in them was replaced by their evidence (Figure 1).

figure 1
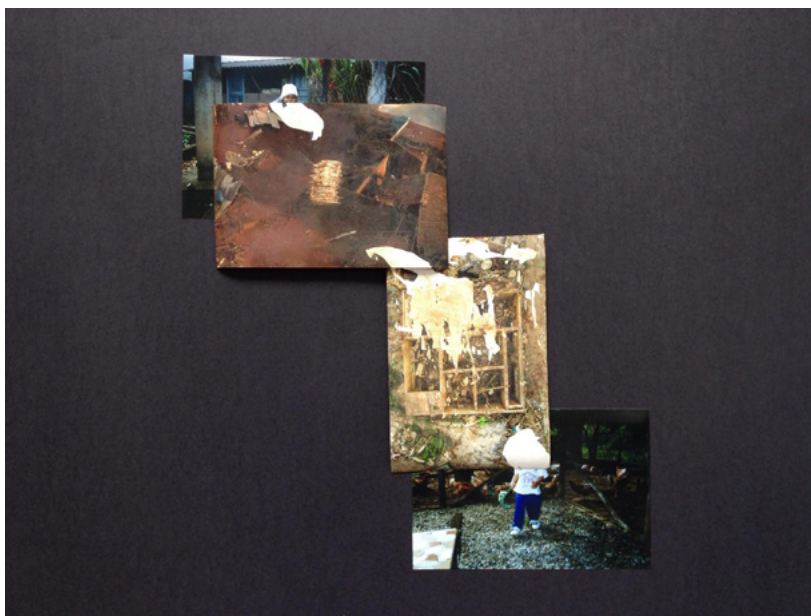
In this first montage, the whites of the dug-up photos caused by scraping and humidity guide the image appearance and disappearance. The white is at the same time what stopped appearing by the rupture of the dam, but it is also the gap that we try to fill. White also intends memory. Sometimes, when we forget, we say "it went blank". Destruction is necessarily linked to oblivion, but their relationship is not direct or simple. In Bento Rodrigues, the district most destroyed by the rupture of the dam, there are several initiatives of local people to collect memories of the place: drawings of how Bento was, stories, memories... An effort not to forget, despite the destruction.

Looking at this montage from another perspective, we can see that the white path in the chosen images still create kind of a monster. The head, at one end, is followed by two aerial images of the destroyed district and, at the other end, the body of a child. The two photographs of the destruction are its neck, what supports the head. Destruction here is a bodily mark of those afflicted, it is part of their identity and it has been incorporated.

Finally, images of destruction overlap those of how Bento was before the tragedy, the surviving images. How did the breach of the dam alter the life of this girl? (Figure 2).

figure 2
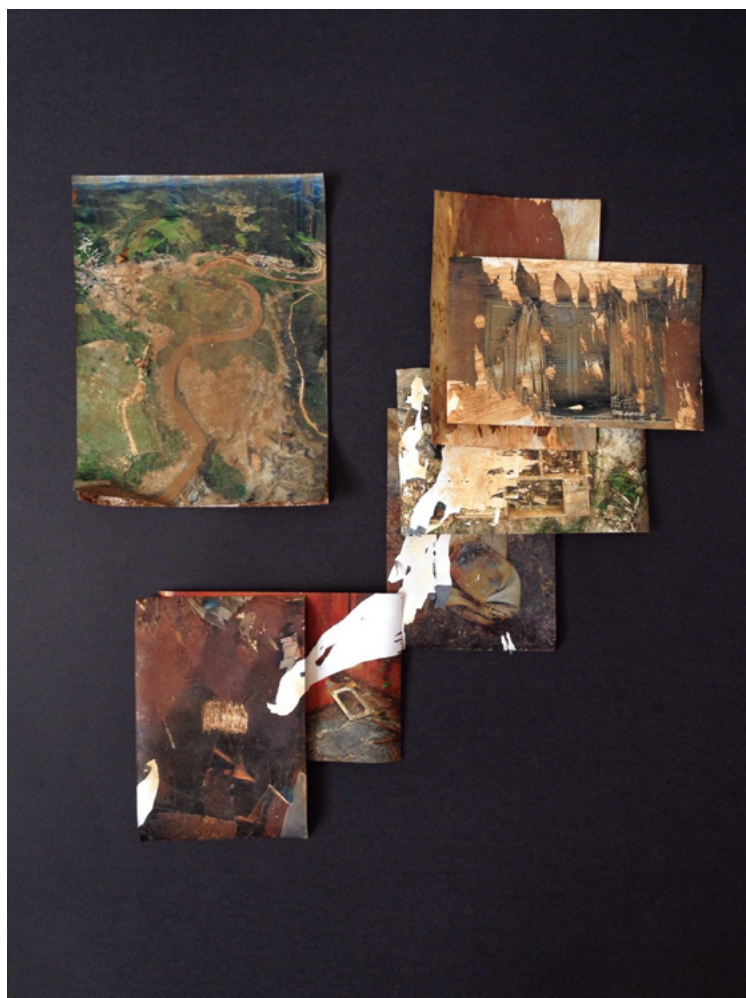
This second montage explores in another way the whites caused by scraping the photos. Here, they serve to draw another course to the river. A course permeated by many other losses. Photographs overlap, cut, merge, and mount, so they become the river itself. A river of whites, losses and abandonments, running nowhere (Figure 3).

In this third montage, we see only a surviving photograph placed on an aerial image made by a drone. At some points they seem to merge. The wall to the left merges with the sky, the piece of wood in the foreground ends on a cliff. The man and his daughter balance over the image below. They stand despite all the tragedy. This montage is a metaphor for the photos that have survived. Surviving images such as those, which resisted a shipwreck, which are left, those which will help us think through the imagery of this tragedy (Figure 4).

figure 4

In this montage, we have in the foreground a very scraped satellite photo and, below it, several layers of other images – including the surviving photographs. We see, for example, the roof of Marquinhos' house. To comprehend each of these images, one would have to dive into the montage. The movement here is vertical. There are layers of different meanings. To see them we must dig, as the archaeologists in Mariana do, searching for what remains. Alone, the satellite image offers us none of that. One must lean to see (Figure 5).

figure 5

Finally, in this last montage, we have several photos scattered over the black background. In the center, the saint with the scraped face. Looking more carefully, we noticed the girl on the left side and, on the right, her father. These family portraits, however, are suffocated by the images of destruction. Their lives are now framed by the tragedy.

FINAL NOTES

In this process of work, I have sought through the deformation and assemblage of the images of the Fundão dam rupture tragedy to propose a new way of looking at the images produced. Burying and warping the photographs was a way of taking the evidence out of the recognizable image and managing to play with metaphors from their remains. When one stops seeing the recognizable in the image, only the deformation can be seen.

Didi-Huberman (2015a), when approaching restitution, states that it is only possible to speak of remains using the remains themselves. He mentions the act of "taking a picture" but he wonders: would not be necessary to give it back at some point? Thus, restitution is, for the author,

the result of a political reflection and a knowledge positioning. Restitution "says, at the same time, about the transformation of an object and its substitution by another" (Ibid., 208).

In this sense, arising out of the remains, I have tried to make more complex the notion of disaster triggered by journalists and photographers, as well as restore the tragedy images of those affected, mobilizing a perspective that encompasses the social scope of this disaster. By erasing the disaster dimensions intended by journalistic photographs and the Mascaros, distorting the beauty of the photographs of Veiga and Cravo, and adding to them the surviving photographs of Marquinhos, I have tried to reflect on the Fundão dam tragedy representation and to propose a new way of looking at what was meant to cover the intangible of a disaster that devastated lives, memories, homes, projects, lifestyles, and much more.

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ARTICLES

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CILENDE: THE MASK DANCE AT THE LUVALE CULTURE FESTIVAL (ANGOLA)[1]

ABSTRACT

This article presents new ethnographic and visual material on the dance of the *makixi*, the ancestors manifested in the form of masked dancers, originally found in the circumcision rituals (*mukanda*) practiced by Bantu peoples from the large area of confluence between Angola, Zambia and the Democratic Republic of Congo, including the Luvale. Proclaimed Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO in 2005, the main locus of their performance today is the large Luvale 'culture' festival, held since the 1950s in Zambia and more recently in Angola. Based on an ethnography of the Angolan version of the festival, researched between 2013 and 2013, the author focuses on the *makixi* dances, which comprise the event's main attraction, showing the close relationship between the morphology of the masks and the dance styles, helping to narrow the enormous gap opened up by the lapse of almost forty years without any research being carried out in the area due to warfare.

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1 This article was presented for the first time in 2014, in the form of a scientific paper, as part of the international colloquium "Masls, Saints and Fetishes (Africa-America)" – PPGAS/MN/UFRJ, commented on by Zoe Strother (Yale University).

It is five in the morning, I hear the roar of the motorbike at the door. Muzala arrives right on time and we head off to the cemetery of the old Nyakatolo Queens, located about 20 km from the centre of Cazombo. The sun is rising above the horizon, still obscured by the *cacimbo*, the early morning mist that blankets the land all around. Various villages appear along the way and, as we pass through them, we attract the attention of the few Luvale who have ventured outside their houses to relight the fires from the night before. Finally we catch sight of our destination. A group of men has gathered close to the whitewashed tombs. Muzala asks them whether I can watch in order to document the events. They say yes, so long as I keep a certain distance. After a few minutes a huge uproar stirs the woods surrounding the cemetery. From the trees emerge innumerable masked figures. They leap on top of the tombs, paying homage to them with wild gestures and deep growls. Afterwards they move towards the people standing nearby, provoking a tumult. Many of the masked figures carry weapons or sticks. Their bodies are entirely covered by a second, multicoloured skin. Gradually they form a line and then head off to the village, trailing an ever-growing audience, especially children, in their wake. I have the intuition that they are organized in a predefined order and that some of them share certain features, leading them to form pairs or even peer groups, but, for now, this remains no more than conjecture.

figure 1
Cortege of *makixi* opening the 2012 Traditional Luvale International Festival. Alto Zambeze (Angola). Author's photo.

It is this procession of masked dancers that begins the Traditional Luvale International Festival, an event that I witnessed twice during fieldwork for my doctoral research,[2] carried out between 2012 and 2013, in the municipality of Alto Zambeze (far east of Angola, Central Africa), where the Luvale live. Held since 2010 with the goal of becoming a festival as famous as the Brazilian carnival, as my interlocutors liked to jest, the Luvale Festival fits into the broader panorama described by Comaroff & Comaroff (2009) in which a widely diffused process of objectifying and commodifying 'culture' can be observed, either as a form of survival and empowerment (2009, 15), or simply as the transmission of a message to the world: "We exist; we are different; we can do something we are proud of; we have something uniquely ours" (2009, 10). But there is more to it. Along with the intense use of 'culture' as propaganda, which has provided a tool to Luvale leaders from Angola in a multifaceted field of disputes over territory, ethnic alterity and sovereignty, there is another central aspect to the Festival: from the viewpoint of its organizers, it is not held with the sole objective to divulge 'culture,' but also to avoid their culture from being forgotten. The *Likumbi Lya Vaka Cinyama*, as the festival is conventionally called in the Luvale language, is the day of 'remembering the culture.'

The simultaneously mnemonic and political nature of the Luvale Festival is explored extensively in my doctoral thesis (Penoni 2015). In this article, however, I shall focus on ethnographic data contained in a specific chapter of the thesis, where I focus exclusively on the great dance of the *makixi* (masked dancers),[3] which comprises the festival's main attraction. Called *cilende* in the Luvale language, the great *makixi* originates from the male circumcision rituals (*mukanda*) practiced by the Luvale and other related groups who inhabit the area of confluence between Angola, Zambia and the Democratic Republic of Congo. It forms the closing event of a traditional *mukanda*, reproduced in condensed form during the festival, attracting the public's attention and interest due to

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2 My fieldwork in the east of Angola involved two trips to Alto Zambeze between 2012 and 2013, both times undertaken during the dry season (from May to September), when the region becomes accessible. Supported by funding from CAPES and FAPERJ, and by an institutional partnership with the Angola National Directorate of Museums, the work concentrated on an ethnography of the Traditional Luvale International Festival, which resulted in the thesis "The worst is yet to happen – spectacle, memory and politics among the Luvale of Alto Zambeze (Angola)," presented in June 2015, at PPGAS/MN/UFRJ. I was able to continue the research between 2015 and 2016 during a postdoctorate at Musée du quai Branly Jacques Chirac (MQB) in Paris, France.
3 Among the Luvale, the *makixi* (singular *likixi*) are conceived as ancestors who take the public form of masked dancers. Although traditional to the male circumcision rituals (*mukanda*), they may also appear in enthronement ceremonies for chiefs and other sociopolitical events. There exist more than a hundred types, or sub-types, of *makixi*, which present morphological and behavioural differences, generally associated with their ritual functions (Bastin 1982; 1984, Wele 1993, Jordán 1998; 2006).

its incredibly spectacular nature. Here I present a detailed description and analysis of this event, focusing on the performances of the masked dancers at the 2012 and 2013 editions of the festival. I look to show the intimate relationship between the dance styles and the morphology of the *makixi*, shedding light on an aspect never before discussed in the specialized bibliography that may also be of particular interest to the broader field of the anthropology of dance. First, though, it will be helpful to situate the Luvale and their Traditional Festival ethnographically.

ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTEXT

The Luvale[4] are a Bantu-speaking people, located mainly in the municipality of Alto Zambeze (Moxico Province, Angola) and the districts of Chavuma, Zambeze and Kabompo (Northwest Province, Zambia). The population numbers more than a 100,000 inhabitants, today divided by several national borders. The area in which I worked in Angola, in the municipality of Alto Zambeze, was deeply affected by the series of wars that ravaged the country from the 1960s to the start of the twenty-first century.[5] Over more than forty years of conflicts, the Luvale from the region where progressively forced to seek refuge in other areas, especially in the district of Chavuma, Zambia, where the population grew seven-fold in five decades (Silva 2004, 32). Official repatriation only began in 2003, meaning that the Luvale of Angola just very recently began to return from exile.[6]

It was in this context of rebuilding life in the post-war period that the idea emerged of the Traditional Luvale International Festival, the program of which, as we shall see later, exhibits a potpourri of excerpts from the most important Luvale rituals, many of them no longer practiced in the region. While the Angolan festival is described by my interlocutors as the first such event to be held in Angola, a similar festival has been produced in Zambia since 1950 by Luvale groups settled on the other side of the border. The *Likumbi Lya Mize*, as the Zambian Luvale festival is known,

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4 The Luvale call themselves by different names: *valuvale* (singular *kaluvale*), in reference to the *mavale* palm (*Raphia farinifera*), or also *valwena* (singular *kalwena*), when they live close to the Luena River in Angola (Silva 2004:27). In the literature, they are very often included in more encompassing terms like Mawiko, Balovale and Ganguela. On these ethnonyms, see McCulloch (1951), White (1949) and Oppen (1994).

5 Angola went through a long period of warfare, beginning with the wars of national liberation (1960-1975), followed by almost thirty years of civil war.

6 Over the more than four decades of conflicts, along with the mass exodus of the Luvale population of Alto Zambeze to Zambia, there was also a complete disintegration of social life and, concomitantly, of ritual and ceremonial practices in the region. Moreover, although official repatriation began in 2003, the municipality today still presents a scenario of a land emerging from ruins, the gradual return of refugees from Zambia and the slow rebuilding of life and sociocultural practices.

forms part of the hectic calendar of 'traditional ceremonies' that fuels the country's tourism market. Produced in tribute to 'King' Ndungo, the principal Luvale 'Traditional Authority'[7] in Zambia, the event also comprises the biggest contemporary public arena for the performance of the *makixi*, proclaimed Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO.

Although, because of the long period of wars, Angola still remains shielded to outside influences involving free circulation of visitors and increased levels of tourism, the impact of the Zambian event on the production of the Luvale Festival in the country is undeniable. Located very close to the frontier with Zambia and able to witness at close hand the impact of *Likumbi Lya Mize*, the organizers of the Angolan festival, today represented by the Traditional Luvale Festival Committee (COFETRAL),[8] are well aware of the value of 'traditional culture' in the new era of the internationalization of heritage policies. Not coincidentally, the main objective in promoting the festival, as I heard repeated on numerous occasions, is to "preserve the culture," "show that the culture has not been lost."[9]

The performing of 'culture' in play at the Luvale Festival – echoed in the many other indigenous festivals and shows that have multiplied across the world over recent years, converting ritual into spectacular shows of the 'authentic'[10] (DeVienne & Allard 2005, Graham 2005, Barcelos Neto

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7 A generic term used in Angola to identify chiefs from the many different autochthonous populations. In Zambia the corresponding term is 'Native Authority.'

8 The Comitê Festival Tradicional Luvale (COFETRAL) was created in 2002, in the city of Luena (the capital of Moxico province) by a group of Luvale 'intellectuals' exiled there due to conflicts that swept Alto Zambeze, particularly in the 1980s and 1990s. Formed basically by Luvale men holding key positions among the administrative cadres of the municipality of Alto Zambeze, the group composing the Committee has been working for more than a decade to create the necessary conditions for producing the festival, with the declared objective of preserving and divulging the 'culture' of the Luvale, as well as strengthening their 'traditional chiefs.'

9 Like most Luvale men aged under forty, my interlocutors from COFETRAL were bilingual. Hence many of the categories and notions associated with the festival were formulated in Portuguese, like the ideas of 'preservar a cultura' (preserving the culture) and 'mostrar a cultura' (showing the culture).

10 These kinds of spectacular events are now more often examined in the anthropological literature from a political and sociological perspective, which, with a few exceptions, fails to recognize in them much more than an instrumental function. This can be explained by the fact that the reflexive processes (Carneiro da Cunha 2009) implicated in them are unlikely to be captured by an analysis informed by the paradigms of acculturation and the invention of tradition, which project a "spectre of inauthenticity" (Jolly 1992) onto autochthonous peoples immersed in postmodern contexts (Fausto 2006). In my doctoral research, I present an alternative perspective by taking seriously the performative genre emergent from the Luvale Festival and showing how this results not in a degenerate copy of traditional rituals, or a mere touristic souvenir, but in something much more complex, "where a new dispositif for the transmission and production of knowledge is allied with political intervention" (Penoni 2015:06).

2006, Fiorini & Ball 2006) – today comprises perhaps the most important strategy for reinserting the Luvale of Angola in regional and national political disputes. Disputes that not only occur at different scales but also in confrontation with different agents, like the Luvale of Zambia, for example, who have grown in strength enormously over the last decades, primarily due to the success and visibility of their own festival, and other related peoples inhabiting the east of Angola, such as the Chokwe. The latter received from the Angolan government the title of 'national language,'[11] while the Luvale language continues to be seen as a variant of Chokwe – a situation unacceptable to the Luvale, who seek to assert themselves as an 'independent group' via their own festival (see Penoni 2015).

Held annually in July, the Luvale Festival leads around 3,000 people to a terrain located some distance from the centre of Cazombo (the municipal centre of Alto Zambeze). At this site, which goes by the name of *vambunda* (red earth), an enormous dirt arena is built to hold the festival each year. In the main audience area, in front of which the entire show is performed, are found the sections reserved to government officials and traditional authorities, as well as the special awning of the Nyakatolo Queen, the main Luvale 'traditional authority' in Angola (see Figure 2). Each year, in the days preceding the start of the festival, canvas tents and straw thatched cabins are erected around this large festive arena to accommodate, respectively, the 'cultural groups'[12] from Angola, Zambia and Congo taking part in the festival, and the Luvale contingents arriving from distant villages to commemorate

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11 The Angolan government, through its National Institute of Languages and with the support of UNESCO, promoted the systemization of the phonological systems of the six most widespread Bantu languages in the country: Kikongo, Kimbundu, Chokwe, Umbundo, Mbunda and Kwanyama. This was followed by elaboration of projects to implant their alphabets in the public education system – with each alphabet being implemented, obviously, only within the area where the corresponding language is used. By consolidating the alphabets to these six languages, identified as 'national languages,' the government effectively established a hierarchy between them and a series of other languages spoken in the country, which, clustered around the former, became identified as their variants. Acquiring 'national language' status meant that the ethnic groups concerned not only gained compulsory teaching of their languages in the country's public schools, but also air time on the national radio and television channels. In fact, the legitimization of the six cited languages caused revolt and incredulity among the other ethnic groups, representing, for them, a label of cultural inferiority, setting precedents for relations of subordination that are both undesirable and unfounded from their own points of view. Such is the case of the Luvale, whose language became identified as a variant of Chokwe.
12 Organized around one or two ritual specialists, the 'cultural groups' are responsible for presentation of the elements performed during the festival. Their participation, however, is not limited to the event itself but extends to other festivities organized by the government, such as those related to April 4th (Peace Day), November 11th (Independence Day), November 22nd (Educator Day) and carnival in February. During my period of fieldwork, there were five 'cultural groups' up and running in the municipality of Alto Zambeze.

the event. In this large area, a temporary fair is also set up with dozens of stands selling drinks, biscuits, sweets, snacks and regional dishes.

A day before the official opening of the festival, the event takes place that signals the beginning of the festival period. This comprises the first public appearance of the *makixi*, described in the opening paragraph of the article, when they emerge from the royal cemetery located some 20 km from Cazombo, and head off to the town to perform a first public demonstration of their typical dances. The next day, the official opening of the festival is held in the *vambunda* arena. The program of the day is extensive, beginning with the ceremonial entrance of the government authorities, followed by the traditional leaders, and finally the *makixi*. The entrance of the traditional leaders, in particular, involves a complex ceremony that expresses the segmentary structure of the Luvale chiefdom, translated in contemporary Angola by the establishment of the categories *sobeta*, *soba*, *regedor* and queen.[13] Once inside the arena, Queen Nyakatolo occupies a special area, situated precisely in the middle of the main audience. Meanwhile the *makixi* take up position on the opposite side where a space of honour is reserved to Kayipu,[14] conceived as the king of the *makixi*. The arrangement of the traditional chiefs and the *makixi* in the arena, positioned in front of each other, reveals an identificatory dispositif that recurs throughout the festival's ritualistics, reflecting the construction of the Luvale chiefs through identification with their ancestors (Penoni 2015).

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13 Today traditional power in Angola is divided into three main categories recognized by the government: *regedor*, *soba* and *sobeta*. While the *regedor* (ruler, director) is the traditional representative at commune level (Angola's third administrative units after the municipalities), the *soba* is the representative at chiefdom level (today called bairros, neighbourhoods) and the *sobeta* at small settlement level (related to specific family nucleuses). In line with the segmentary structure of Luvale chiefdomship, every sobeta is subordinated to a *soba* and both of them to the same *regedor*. The Nyakatolo Queen is the most inclusive title/post among the Luvale. *Sobas*, *sobetas*, *regedores*, 'kings' and 'queens' are included in the broader category of 'traditional authorities.' According to official data from the Administration of Alto Zambeze, in the one municipality alone there exist 464 'traditional authorities,' comprising one queen, 12 *regedores*, 105 *sobas*, 288 *sobetas*, 6 *regedor* assistants and 52 *soba* assistants. Today all Angola's 'traditional authorities,' numbering more than 40,000 people nationwide, receive government subsidies (http://novojornal.co.ao/Artigo/Default/46209, 29-04-2014).

14 Associated with the chiefdom, Kayipu appears only in funerary and enthronement ceremonies and in homages to traditional chiefs (Jordán 2006). On rare occasions, he may also appear in *mukanda* rituals organized especially for the children of chiefs (Wele 1993). At the 2012 and 2013 festivals, Kayipu appeared only on the opening day of the festival, heading directly to his private awning, where he remained protected by a group of men who prevented anyone else from approaching. See Figure 12 and further details on this specific *likixi* on page 238.

figure 2
The Nyakatolo Queen on her throne during the Luvale Festival in Cazombo. Alto Zambeze, 2013.

After the entry of the authorities present, a series of actions are executed that mark the event as typically Luvale. Almost all these actions are directed towards the Nyakatolo Queen, who comprises the centre towards which everything converges in the festival. Firstly, a hymn of praise to the ethnic group is chanted by a group of youths and repeated in chorus by the entire audience present. Next an extensive narrative on the origin and succession of Luvale chiefs (*kulifukula*) is recited by a specialized orator. Afterwards a sheep is immolated in the centre of the arena in homage to the Luvale chiefs and their ancestors, represented by the figure of Kayipu. Finally, the diverse authorities present at the festival give speeches on an improvised podium, including the Nyakatolo Queen, the directors of COFETRAL and representatives of the Angolan government.

Once the initial opening block of the festival is concluded, the 'cultural program' can begin. Starting on the first day of the festival and extending for another two or three days, the cultural program basically consists of a sequence of presentations by the diverse 'cultural groups' present at the event. This amounts to the festival's moment of 'entertainment' where a potpourri of excerpts from all kinds of different traditional Luvale rituals and ceremonies are exhibited. Considering this phase of the festival in particular, the Luvale Festival could be defined, similarly to the Xavante spectacle analysed by Laura Graham, as a scripted display of a series of decontextualized excerpts, mostly composed of the more performative and public elements of larger ritual complexes (Graham 2005, 633).

Mukanda is without doubt the ritual most present in the context of the Luvale Festival. Combining all the fragments that relate to this ritual, we could say that it is represented almost in its entirety, albeit in condensed form. The fragments of *mukanda* performed during the festival basically

relate to the initial and final of stages of the ritual, precisely the day on which the neophytes are taken into reclusion and the day when they are reintroduced into society. All the actions that make up the reclusion period of the neophytes properly speaking are thus kept hidden from view.[15]

The great *makixi* dance, called *cilende*, takes place during the final stage of a *mukanda* ritual, preceding the presentation of the neophytes to the community and their reintegration into social life, as explained in the text presenting the 'Makishi Masquerade' on the UNESCO website.

> The Makishi masquerade is performed at the end of the mukanda, an initiation ritual for boys between the ages of eight and twelve. [...] The whole village attends the Makishi dance and the audience is entertained with pantomime-like artistry until the graduates re-emerge from the camp and are reintegrated as adult men into their communities and families.
>
> [http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/RL/00140]

In the Luvale Festivals that I accompanied in Alto Zambeze (Angola) in 2012 and 2013, the *cilende* took place on two occasions: 1) on the day before the official opening of the event, soon after the large cortege of the *makixi*, which comprises their first public appearance in the festival context; and 2) as the closure to the festival's 'cultural program,' which begins on the opening day (July 22nd) and lasts for another two or three days.[16] In both cases, the *cilende* constituted a space for the exhibition of the many different *makixi* present at the festival, which, amid an enormous circle of people and in front of a fervent orchestra of drums, display their characteristic dances one after the other.

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15 The term *mukanda* (plural *mikanda*) designates, simultaneously, the male initiation ritual widespread among people inhabiting Alto Zambeze and the encampment itself set up at a spot some distance from the community, out of reach of women and non-initiates, where the neophytes (*tundandji*) are kept in reclusion under the care and protection of specialists for a period that, in the past, could last longer than a year (Jordán 1999; 2006, Turner 2005). Basically, a traditional *mukanda* presents three distinct phases, like a typical rite of passage (Gennep 1960). In the first phase, the neophytes are physically separated from their mothers and symbolically separated from their childhood through circumcision. In the second phase, they emerge from a long period of reclusion, during which they are introduced into the universe of male knowledge. Finally, in the third phase, they are reintegrated into social life. On *mukanda* rituals among peoples of Alto Zambeze, see Gluckman (1949), White (1953), Turner (2005), and among neighbouring peoples like the Holo and Pende, see, respectively, Batulukisi (1998) and Strother (1998). On the role of women in *mukanda* and also on the relation between this ritual and gender tensions among the Luvale, see Cameron (1998a, 1998b).
16 A detailed description of the entire program of the festival can be found in Penoni (2015).

THE *MAKIXI*

As I mentioned earlier, the *makixi* originate from the male circumcision rituals (*mukanda*) and, among the Luvale, are taken to be ancestors manifested in the form of masked dancers. In the Angolan portion of Alto Zambeze, where, according to my interlocutors, *mukanda* is practically never held with the presence of *makixi* any longer, the Luvale Festival has become the main locus for its performance, referring to the *mukanda* of the past.[17]

We know from the specialized literature, however, that in traditional *mukanda* (still frequently performed in Zambia), the *makixi* assume a central role, performing specific functions during all stages of the ritual. It is worth emphasizing their role as mediators between the universes inside and outside *mukanda*, that is, between men and women, and initiates and non-initiates, contributing to either augment or assuage tensions between them. Acting in this intermediary zone, they end up delimiting both fields, reinforcing their differences and complementarities. The *makixi* are also the main protectors of the neophytes, introducing them, over their reclusion, to a specialized knowledge, related above all to the spiritual world

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17 The impact of wars and the contemporary dissemination of all variety of churches in Alto Zambeze (in 2013, there existed more than 30 in the municipality, including Catholic, Protestant and Pentecostal) were identified by my Luvale interlocutors as the main reasons for the disappearance of the *mukanda* rituals with a *makixi* presence in the area, especially in densely populated urban centres like Cazombo. According to what I was told in the field, the *mukanda* most frequently held in the municipality are the so-called 'medicinal *mukanda*,' which are limited to the circumcision operation, lasting a much shorter period of time, during which no *makixi* are present.

(Jordán 2006, 21). Although they originate from the circumcision rituals, the *makixi* may also appear in enthronement ceremonies for traditional chiefs, among other sociopolitical events. According to Jordán (1996; 2006) more than one hundred types of *makixi*, or their variations, exist. Some authors have endeavoured to produce classificatory frameworks, defining different categories of *makixi*, generally based on their behaviour and the different roles that they perform in ritual contexts.

Bastin (1982; 1984) identified three basic types among the Chokwe with whom she worked. The first, *mukixi wa mwanangana*, refers specifically to Cikungu – the Chokwe equivalent of Kayipu, taken by the Luvale to be the 'king' of the *makixi* – "a powerful royal mask kept only by high-ranking chiefs and performed at enthronements, propitiatory ceremonies, or during times of ominous transition for society as a whole" (Bastin 1982, 81-92). The second, *mukishi a ku mukanda*, alludes to a series of *makixi* that perform specific roles in the *mukanda*. Their masks are traditionally burned at the end of the ritual. "They control the mukanda, keep women away from ceremony, and, when necessary, fetch food prepared by the initiate's mothers from the village (…). At the end of this rite of passage, the masks are burned with the bush camp." (Bastin 1984, 41) The third type, *mukishi a kuhangana*, includes masks mainly used for entertainment purposes. The author highlights an important detail: unlike the former group, these masks were neither part of the common domain of specific *mukandas*, or objects owned by traditional chiefs, but the private property of their dancers.

> "They are the best-known Chokwe masks, appearing in numerous museum and private collections. Several types have lost their ritual meaning (…). Even in the past, [they] were used mainly for entertainment, although they were still *akishi*, and therefore could not be approached or touched with impunity. Masks of this third type and their costumes are kept by their owners, the only ones authorized to wear or dance them." (1984, 41)

In his book *Likumbi lya Mize and other Luvale Traditional Ceremonies*, Patrick Wele presents a simpler but very similar schema to Bastin's. He suggests that just two classes of mask exist: 'circumcision masks,' which include the Kayipu masks, and 'dance masks,' equivalent to the third category identified by Bastin. Wele's classification takes into account the fact that, though infrequent in *mukanda* rituals, Kayipu may sometimes appear during the circumcision ceremonies for the sons of traditional Luvale chiefs.

Jordán (2006), for his part, based on *makixi* performances observed at sociopolitical and ritual *mukanda* events held in Zambia, subdivides them into four categories: 'sociable,' 'ambiguous,' 'aggressive' and 'royal.' Although like the previous examples this classification is informed by the differences in behaviour and function evinced by the *makixi* in ritual contexts, it is clearly more complex. In particular, the author presumes that the *mukanda* ritual is not confined solely to what happens in the encampment where the neophytes are kept in reclusion, but also includes other spheres of action and relationship involving many of the artefacts identified by Bastin as entertainment masks or by Wele as dance masks.

In the first category, 'sociable,' Jordán includes all the female *makixi*, which display an enormous variety of types, expressing differences in age, social class, style, moral values, and so on.[18] Also incorporated in this category are a considerable number of male *makixi*, the most prominent of which are those that act as guardians and instructors to the neophytes in the *mukanda*, and others that perform educational and comic roles, parodying Europeans, foreigners and neighbours (2006, 24). In the second category, 'ambiguous,' Jordán includes those *makixi* whose enigmatic presence, behaviour and appearance imply extraordinary supernatural powers. These *makixi*, the author writes, "symbolically embody principles of secrecy guarded by men in relation to their initiation practices" (2006, 25). The third class, in turn, encompasses a series of *makixi* with aggressive behaviour, whose principal ritual function is to protect the *mukanda* neophytes from any kind of outside interference. Although these masks possess supernatural powers just like the former group, their intimidating nature, also expressed in their form – notably they are biggest and most dramatic (2006, 26) – means that they are ranked higher in terms of their power. Usually these aggressive masks carry weapons with which they pursue and threaten women and non-initiates. Moreover, since they are typically made from ephemeral materials and closely linked to the ritual cycles of specific *mukanda*, they are burned after use, recalling Bastin's observation in relation to the *mukishi a ku mukanda*. Finally the last category identified by Jordán, 'royal,' "include a handful of larger-than-life characters – including Chikungu and Kayipu or Kahipu – which are restricted to chiefs' ritual or ceremonial contexts" (2006, 28).

Below I propose an alternative classification to those delineated by these authors. Mine is based exclusively on the '*makixi* dances,' or *cilende*, I was able to observe in the 2012 and 2013 editions of the Angolan Festival, as well as during the Likumbi Lya Mize of 2013 in Zambia.

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18 Here it is worth stressing that even the female *makixi* are always worn by men, leaving women the role of accompanying them in the dances (Jordán 2006, 24).

PROPS, DANCES AND THE TRANSMISSION OF KNOWLEDGE

Unlike the four categories presented by Bastin (1984), Wele (1993) and Jordán (2006), my own classificatory schema takes as its basic criterion the morphological features of the *makixi* and their connection to particularities of their performance, especially the different dance styles. By abstracting the variations in the *makixi*'s behaviour and function in ritual contexts, I hope to shed light on aspects apparently missing from the schemas proposed by the other authors. These aspects only became significant when I opted to focus on an event where all the *makixi* dance, including those identified by Jordán as 'aggressive,' or by Bastin and Wele as specific to the *mukanda*.[19] It is these differences between dance styles and their resonances in the morphology of the *makixi*, to which I now turn.

As we have seen, the *makixi* are characterized by the use of customized masks and attire. Their masks, today displayed in important museums around the world, may be anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, hybrid or semi-abstract (Jordán 1996). Some types are still carved today in wood. Most though are made from different kinds of resinous material, such as beeswax or pitch, applied to structures made from plant fibres and stems. Their attire usually comprises a kind of woven second skin, traditionally made from plant fibres and more recently from industrial cotton yarn, displaying multi-coloured striped patterns.

It is worth stressing that, among the Luvale, the masks, props and other elements that compose the *makixi* are not recognized as simple objects, but as active parts of the ancestral manifestation. As Jordán (1996; 2006) has shown, it is common for *makixi* sculptors and performers to refer to a mask as the head of a *likixi*, and to its attire as its body. Having been through *mukanda* is the only compulsory requirement for a man to be able to transform into a *likixi*, which takes place through the simple operation of wearing its attire/body and putting on its mask/head, as Jordán explains: "It is clear, then, that a likishi performer 'enters' the spirit body to articulate the likishi's persona through the transformation implied in donning the mask and costume" (Jordán 1996, 88).

A series of ornaments characterize a *likixi*. Some of these items are worn by a particular number of them, forming different groups characterized by their common use. These comprise: the *ciwamba* (a belt that widens the dancer's hips), the *jizombo* (a plant fibre skirt), a skirt made from animal hide, and the *fwi-fwi* (a phallic object worn at waist height). These props are directly related to particular dance styles and specific percussive rhythms.

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19 The only exception is Kayipu, the 'king' of the *makixi*, and Kapalu, his 'headman.' Among all the *makixi* present at the Festivals that I witnessed, both in Angola and Zambia, they were the only makixi who did not dance in the *cilende.*

figure 4
Ngulu *likixi* using the *ciwamba* (a hip-widening belt). Source: Felix & Jordán (1998).

NGULU – PIG MASKS
NGULU – SCHWEINEMASKEN
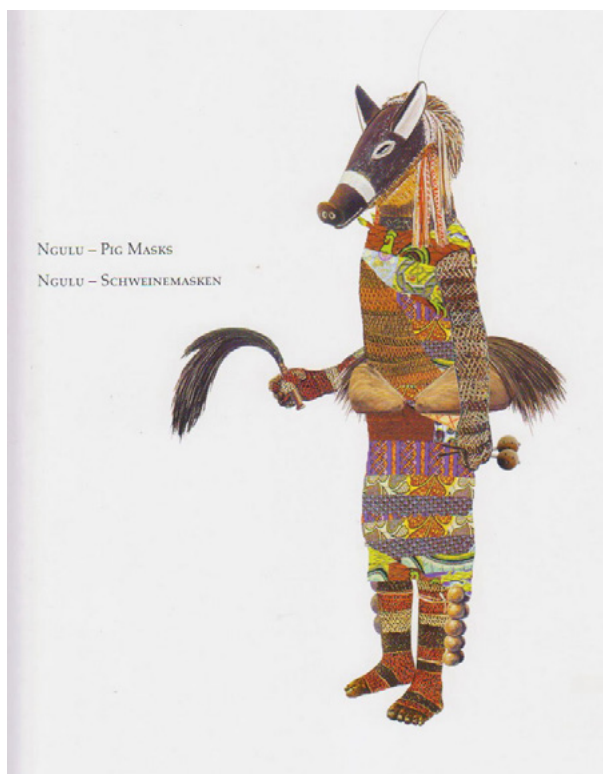
figure 5
Cikuza *Likixi* using the *jizombo* (plant fibre skirt). Source: Felix & Jordán (1998).

CHIKUNZA ODER CHIKUZA

figure 6
Mupala *likixi* using the *Iyilambu Iyakanyama* (animal hide skirt). Source: Felix & Jordán (1998).

MUPALA

figure 7
Cizaluke *likixi* using the *fwi-fwi* (penis sheath). Source: Felix & Jordán (1998).

CHISALUKE

In all the *cilende* that I observed, the *makixi* performed in a more or less standardized order, matching the presentation sequence during the parade held on the day before the Festival opening.[20] In both cases, the first in line and also the first to dance in the *cilende* were almost always those carrying the *ciwamba* (a belt that widens the dancer's hips) and all the *makixi* who wore this ornament danced the *ciyanda*, without exception.

The *ciyanda* is a dance traditionally taught to the *mwali*[21] (female puberty ritual) novices during their period of reclusion, making it an identifiably female dance. It involves sideways movements of the hips, executed at a surprising speed to a rhythm tapped by the feet, amplified by the sound of the *gisango* – a rattle tied to the dancer's ankles. This group includes all the female *makixi*, like Mwana Pwevo,[22] or Pwo, and most of those identified by Jordán (2006) as 'sociable,' or described as 'dance and entertainment masks' by Bastin (1984) and Wele (1998).

Kapalo Lisambo, perhaps the most renowned Luvale dancer active today, who I talked with during the performance of Likumbi Lya Mize in August 2013, in the Zambeze district of Zambia, explained that: "the *makixi* dance the *ciyanda* to obtain something and take it to the *mukanda*." This remark reinforced what Ninja, another dancer from Lumbala-Kakenge (Angola), had told me about the *ciyanda* a little while earlier, namely that it comprises the 'work dance' of *makixi* dancers: in other words, the dance with which they earned money in public venues. It is coincidence that among the different *makixi* that dance the *ciyanda*, Mwana Pwevo is precisely the most common in diverse sociopolitical events, in addition to the *mukanda* rituals and festivals for enthroning and honouring traditional chiefs, like the Luvale Festival. Indeed, as far as I could tell, even in the latter

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20 A complete description of the *makixi* cortege in the context of the Luvale Festival, mentioned in summarized form in this article, can be found in Penoni (2015).

21 The term *mwali* is used by the Luvale to designate simultaneously the female initiation ritual practiced by them and the neophyte from the same ritual. Like *mukanda*, *mwali* is usually described in the anthropological literature as a typical rite of passage, presenting three main phases: a separation phase, marked by the appearance of the first menstrual flow; a reclusion phase, which may last from some weeks to four months (Jordán 1999); and a final phase of reintegration into society, celebrated in a public festival. Unlike the circumcision rituals, though, when the boys are initiated as a group, the *mwali* is taken into reclusion individually. During the period in which she remains hidden, the novice basically learns lessons about menstruation, sex and marriage, although this is also the moment to learn a set of dances traditionally associated with female knowledge, such as *ciyanda*. See the works of Cameron (1998a, 1998b), White (1962) and White, Chinjavata & Mukwato (1958) on *mwali* among the Luvale; Bastin (1986), among the Cokwe; Turner (1968), among the Lunda-Ndembu; and van Koolwijk (1963), among the Ganguela.

22 See Figures 8 and 15, and further details on this *likixi* on pages 234 and 241.

rituals they are the also the *makixi* that appear most often, entertaining the public in smaller circles that form in spaces and at times separate from those allocated to the *cilende*, where they also appear.

Returning to the *cilende*, after the *makixi* who carried the *ciwamba* and danced the *ciyanda*, it was the turn of those who used the *jizombo* and danced the *kuhunga*. Traditionally associated with fertility and taught to the *mukanda* neophytes during their reclusion as soon as their circumcision wounds have healed, the *kuhunga* involves swivelling pelvic movements that make the *jizombo*'s straw hems rise to waist height. This second group includes a series of *makixi* connected by the use of the *jizombo*, mostly belonging to the categories linked to the *mukanda* of Bastin (1984) and Wele (1998) and the 'aggressive' *makixi* identified by Jordán (2006).

Next came those using animal hide skirts (*malambu*) and dancing the *unyanga*. This group also contained *makixi* directly linked to *mukanda* and classified as 'aggressive' by Jordán, although some of them are identified by the latter author as 'ambiguous.' The *unyanga* are characterized by the performance of vigorous swivelling movements with the shoulders, which generally require the dancer to raise his arms in front of himself and clench his fists. Marking a quaternary rhythm with their feet, these *makixi* kick up considerable amounts of dust.

According to my field data, the *unyanga* dance is connected to hunting. Katotola, [23] one of the *makixi* to use an animal hide skirt and dance the

23 See Figures 9 and 24, and further details about this specific mask on pages 235 and 251.

unyanga, is recognized as the first to appear in a Luvale *mukanda*, responsible for beginning the neophytes' period of reclusion by removing them from their everyday context and taking them to the encampment where the circumcision will take place. Referring to this figure, Kapalo Lizambo told me that Katotola was the one who "hunted the boys in the *quimbo* [village]" in order to take them to the 'forest' where he himself would dance the *unyanga*. Reinforcing the association between this dance and hunting, Lisambo also told me that, in the past, every hunter who arrived home bringing a lot of meat would dance the *unyanga* to express and share the joy that he felt.

figure 9
Cortege of *makixi* entering the town of Cazombo. From left to right, Cikuza, using the *jizombo* (straw skirt), Katotola and Mupala, both *lyilambu lyakanyama* (animal hide skirt). Alto Zambeze (Angola), July 2012. Author's photo.

Finally, the Cizaluke *likixi*, [24] carrying the *fwi-fwi*, performed the dance of the same name. Cizaluke was the only figure not to appear in the *cilende* in the same order as in the procession. While he would almost always appear among the first in the latter, in the *cilende* he was necessarily the last to perform. This inversion seems to be related to the fact that Cizaluke is the final *makixi* to appear in the Luvale *mukanda*. His characteristic dance, the *fwi-fwi*, executed at the end of the *cilende* marking the conclusion of the ritual, indicates that the operation was successful and that the neophytes are now ready to return home.

In all the *cilende* that I observed, Cizaluke, as well as being the last to appear, would do so in an apotheotic manner, carried by a group of men on their shoulders, while he writhed about impetuously, cheered by the spectators.

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24 See Figures 10 and 14, and further details about this mask on pages 236 and 240.

After crossing the arena, the group would set him down on the ground so he could continue his performance. As we have seen, he dances the *fwi-fwi* by swivelling his hips to display the phallic object fixed at waist height, shaking it from side to side with the help of his hands. Perhaps due to his extravagant entrance and other mischievous behaviour – like leaving the arena suddenly and reappearing at the top of a nearby tree, dancing on its branches without any protection (something I saw for myself in 2013 during the Likumbi Lya Mize, in Zambia) – Cizaluke was very often defined in the literature as 'the madman' (Cameron 1998, Turner 2005).

As I remarked earlier, with the exception of Cizaluke, the order of the *cilende* witnessed by myself almost always corresponded to the order of the parades on the day before the opening of the Festivals. Ninja, a dancer from Lumbala-Kakenge (Angola), told me that the processional order, which places Cizaluke among the first in line, immediately following those wearing the *ciwamba* like Mwana Pwo, expresses a hierarchy of *makixi*, related to the process of transmitting their dances and the entire body of knowledge associated with each of them. From this view point, the first mask that a *makixi* apprentice wears is Ndondo[25] (the idiot), the first in the line. This is followed by Mwana Pwo or any of the others sharing use of the *ciwamba*. Consequently the *ciyanda* is necessarily the first dance for an aspiring *makixi* dancer to learn. Next comes the *fwi-fwi* and finally the *kuhunga* and *unyanga*. According to Ninja, the masks associated with the latter two types of dance cannot be worn by anyone being initiated into the art of the *makixi*: on the contrary, only an experienced dance can use them.

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25 See Figure 11 and 16, and further details on this specific *likixi* on pages 236 and 242.

figure 11
Ndondo *likixi*, wearing the *ciwamba* (hip-widening prop) and heading the opening cortege of the Luvale International Festival. Alto Zambeze (Angola), July 2013. Author's photo.

Ninja was the only dancer to talk to me about the process of learning the *makixi* dances, hence this data still needs to be confirmed and deepened. However, his account reinforces the idea of the existence of dance groups clearly defined by their shared use of particular props. This classification of the *makixi* on the basis of their choreographic specialities seems to play an important role in the process of transmitting the specific knowledge involved. Below I present a table summarizing the 20 *makixi* common to the 2012 and 2013 editions of the Luvale Festival: here I look to identify the specifications of each, as well as their main morphological features and the names of their particular dances/rhythms. I think that this schematic presentation illustrates even more clearly their organization into classes defined by common dance styles and props.

figure 12

Kayipu in his special awning during *Likumbi Lya Mize*, Zambezi (Zambia), 2013. Author's photo.

1. *MAKIXI* WHO DO NOT DANCE DURING *CILENDE*.

1.1 KAYIPU (FIGURE 12)

Description: Traditionally associated with the chiefdom, Kayipu is conceived to be the 'king' of the *makixi*. Appears only in funerary and chief enthronement ceremonies (Jordán 2006), though, on rare occasions, may also occur in *mukanda* rituals organized especially for children of chiefs (Wele 1993). Kayipu is not accessible to the general public. In the context of the Luvale Festival, as we have seen, he appears only on the opening day of the festival, going directly to his private awning, where he remains protected by Kapalu and a group of male assistants who prevent anyone else from approaching. According to Jordán (2006), Kayipu (the mask) must be kept safeguarded only by the main Luvale traditional chiefs – something that I was unable to confirm during my fieldwork apropos the Kayipu utilized during the 2012 and 2013 Festivals.

Morphology: Uses a mask with anthropomorphic features, made from resin, which shows eyes, a nose and mouth, and prominent cheeks. From the upper part of the mask emerges an enormous arched headdress, decorated on the front with white, red and black patterns, and on the rear with feathers. Body completely covered by a mesh knitted from fibre or cotton, like the majority of other *makixi*. Generally wears a quilt or a blanket as a skirt.

1.2 KAPALU (FIGURE 13)

Description: Identified as Kayipu's 'headman,' 'secretary' or 'soldier.' Always standing out from the other *makixi*, Kapalu was responsible for controlling the crowd at the ceremonies and, to achieve this end, behaved in a violent and intimidating fashion, threatening the public with a weapon carried in his hands.

Morphology: Does not use a mask like the majority of other *makixi*, made from wood or resin. Instead, his face is covered with a mesh knitted from fibre or cotton, just like his body. Just two large round eyes and a nose can be seen, stuck onto the fabric. Above the head sprouts a feather headdress. Uses an animal hide skirt and normally carries a weapon, like a staff or a spear.

2. *MAKIXI* WHO DANCE THE *FWI-FWI*

2.1 CIZALUKE (FIGURES 7, 10 AND 14)

Description: Associated with the *mukanda* ritual complex, assuming a tutelary function: "Chisaluke is the only character to appear in multiples within an initiation camp. Each initiate is supposed to have his own Chisaluke as a tutelary ancestor" (Jordán 2006, 64) Tends to appear in the last weeks of reclusion, performing an important role in training the neophytes for the traditional dances. Popularly taken to be an elder *likixi*, *cizaluke* is also defined in the literature as 'the crazy one' (Cameron 1998, Turner 2005).

Morphology: Uses a masks with anthropomorphic features, generally made from resinous materials, although in the past also sculpted in wood. A beard made from fibre or white wool outlines the chin – "a symbol of the authority inherent to the chiefdom" (Turner 2005, 310). Long strips of leopard skin drape from the upper part of the mask, falling over his shoulders. Body completely covered by a mesh knitted from fibre or cotton. Frequently uses shorts and wears a *fwi-fwi* – penis sheath – tied around the waist. Although no other *makixi* used and danced with the *fwi-fwi* during the Luvale Festivals that I watched in 2012 and 2013 in Alto Zambeze, some authors suggest that neither the sheath nor the dance are exclusive to Cizaluke.

3. *MAKIXI* WHO DANCE *CIYANDA*

3.1 MWANA PWEVO (FIGURES 8 AND 15)

Description: One of the most popular female *makixi*, identified specifically with an adolescent. Though very common in the *mukanda* ritual complex, where she helps reduce tensions between initiates and non-initiates, and between men and women, it is the *likixi* that most often appears in diverse sociopolitical events, fulfilling the main function of entertainment. Famous for her magical-acrobatic abilities, she frequently presents amazing feats, such as dancing on a mat or a mattress floating in the middle of the Zambeze River, or balancing on a giant mast without any protection.

Morphology: Uses a mask with anthropomorphic features, generally carved in wood. Possesses a synthetic fibre wig fixed on top of the mask, which generally mimics a fashionable female hairstyle. Bead and/or metal elements may sometimes form part of the mask's ornamentation. Her body is completely covered by a mesh knitted from fibre or cotton. A stylized piece of fabric maybe used as a skirt or even a dress. Very often makes visible use of a bra. Wears a *ciwamba* – a kind of belt with padding, adorned with strips of cloth, plastic or other materials, which widens the dancer's hips. Rattles tied around the ankles (*gisango*) are also used to emphasize the movements of the dance.

3.2 NDONDO (SEE FIGURES 11 AND 16)

Description: Taken as a rude idiot, normally confronts the public with a small knife in order to extract some money from them. People say that the swollen abdomen is due to poisoning provoked by Ndondo's own stubbornness (Wele 1993).

Morphology: Uses a mask with anthropomorphic features. Body completely covered by a mesh knitted from fibre or cotton. Possesses a protuberance at waist height, giving the appearance of a swollen belly. Wears the *ciwamba* and the *gisango*.

3.3 NGULO (FIGURES 4 AND 17)

Description: Though more frequently identified with a domestic pig, some of the variants represent wild pigs. The most acclaimed moment of his performance is when he throws himself to the ground imitating the bestial behaviour of the animal.

Morphology: Uses a mask with zoomorphic features, normally carved from wood. Body completely covered in a mesh knitted from fibre or cotton. Generally wears shorts rather than a skirt. Wears the *ciwamba* and the *gisango*.

3.4 CIKWEKWE (SEE FIGURE 18)

Description: Identified with a species of long-beaked bird, "which eats the fruits from trees."

Morphology: Uses a mask with zoomorphic features, made from resin. Body completely covered by a mesh knitted from fibre or cotton. Wears the *ciwamba* and the *gisango*.

3.5 KAPIASA (SEE FIGURE 19)

Description: Identified as a species of black bird, common in the rainy season. In the 2012 and 2013 Luvale Festivals that I watched in Alto Zambeze, Kapiasa was one of the few *makixi* labelled as "coming from Angola." Possibly both the attire/body and the mask/head of the *likixi* were the property of an Angolan dancer and were fabricated exclusively in the country.

Morphology: Uses a mask with anthropomorphic features, made from resin. Possesses a voluminous, tangled wig of synthetic hair fixed to the mask. Body completely covered by a mesh knitted from fibre of cotton. Wears the *ciwamba* and the *gisango*.

4. *MAKIXI* WHO DANCE THE *KUHUNGA*

4.1 MBWANDA (NO PHOTO)

Description: Identified with a rabbit, included by Jordán (2006) among the 'ambiguous' *makixi*, since Mbwanda comprises, according to the author, a "trickster spirit with supernatural powers."

Morphology: Uses a mask with zoo-anthropomorphic features, made from resin, from whose sides emerge two large erect ears, one on each side. Body completely covered by a mesh knitted from fibre or cotton. Uses the *jizombo* – a plant fibre skirt also used by neophytes in the circumcision ritual.

4.2 MWENDUMBA (NO PHOTO)

Description: Identified with a lion, aggressive in nature. Differs from other *makixi* also identified with this same animal but which lack the anthropomorphic features that he possesses, having a form similar to the body of the feline instead (Jordán 2006, 69 and 75).

Morphology: Uses a mask with anthropomorphic features, made from resin. From the top of the mask emerges an arched headdress, with two parallel wings, one facing in front, the other facing behind. Body completely covered by a mesh knitted from fibre or cotton. Uses the *jizombo.*

4.3 KAPAPA (NO PHOTO)

Description: No information.

Morphology: Body completely covered by a mesh knitted from plant fibre or cotton. Uses the *jizombo.*

4.4 CIKESA (NO PHOTO)

Description: No information.

Morphology: Body completely covered by a mesh knitted from plant fibre or cotton. Uses the *jizombo.*

4.5 CIKUSA (FIGURES 5, 9 AND 20)

Description: Traditionally associated with fertility, his name refers, in the Chokwe language, to a species of grasshopper, renowned for its procreative potential. Another of his main morphological characteristics depicts the antler of an antelope, a symbol of power and virility (Bastin 1984, 42). Performs an important role in the *mukanda* ritual complex, although it may appear in other sociopolitical events. Aggressive by nature, in *mukanda* Cikuza stands out as one of the main defenders of the neophytes and the encampment where they are hidden. Furthermore, he is responsible for teaching the young men the *kuhunga*, his characteristic dance. Some authors, like White (1949) and Bastin (1984), have included Cikusa among the *makixi* to which are also attributed the *li/hamba* character – that is, an ancestor manifested through sickness, or misfortune, and appeased through specific rituals. According to Bastin, it has been known for a long time that the worship of this *likixi/lihamba* is widely found among the Chokwe outside the context of the *mukanda*, especially among hunters and infertile women. "Small amulets representing him – with his tall headdress in the shape of a ringed horn – are carried by hunters on their rifle butts and by infertile or pregnant women on their belts" (1984, 42).

Morphology: Uses a mask with zoo-anthropomorphic features, made from resin, whose most salient characteristic is the conical, pointed structure, very tall and sometimes slightly curved, that emerges from the top of the mask and represents the antler of am antelope. Body completely covered by a mesh knitted from fibre or cotton. Uses the *jizombo* and usually carries a weapon, such as a tree branch or a machete.

4.6 KALELWA (FIGURE 21)

Figure 21.

Description: Related to the *mukanda* ritual complex. Alongside Ciku-za, Kalelwa acts as a protector of the neophytes and the encampment where they are held. In addition, he may also perform a role teaching *kuhunga* to the young men.

Morphology: Uses a mask with anthropomorphic features, made from resin. From the top of his head extends a tubular structure capable of supporting two or four lateral arches. Body completely covered by a mesh knitted from fibre or cotton. Uses the *jizombo* and usually carries a weapon, such as a tree branch or a machete.

5. *MAKIXI* WHO DANCE *UNYANGA*

5.1 UTENU (FIGURE 22)

Description: Aggressive discipliner linked to the *mukanda* ritual complex. Because of his ferocity, sometimes his headdress is inscribed with expressions that assert this characteristic, or the name of public figures and organizations known for their aggressive nature (Jordán 1998; 2006).

Morphology: Uses a mask with anthropomorphic features, made from resin. From the top of his head extends a headdress in keel form. Body completely covered by a mesh knitted from fibre or cotton. Wears an animal hide skirt.

5.2 MUPALA (FIGURES 06, 09 AND 23)

Description: Taken as 'the president' or 'captain' of *mukanda*, he also appears in enthronements and homages to traditional chiefs. Among the *makixi* identified as 'aggressive' by Jordán (2006), Mupala stands out as the most intimidating due to the exaggerated size of his facial features and his headdress, a little smaller than that of Kayipu (the 'king' of the *makixi*).

Morphology: Uses a mask with anthropomorphic features, made from resin, which presents eyes, nose, mouth and prominent cheeks. From the upper part of the mask emerges an enormous arched headdress, decorated at the front with white, red and black patterns, and at the rear with feathers. Body completely covered by a mesh knitted from fibre or cotton. Wears an animal hide skirt and usually carries a weapon, such as a tree branch or a machete.

5.3 KATOTOLA (FIGURE 9 AND 24)

Description: Easily confused with Mupala since he possesses a very similar appearance to the latter, he plays an important role in the *mukanda* of the Luvale where he is the first *likixi* to appear, responsible for taking the neophytes to the encampment where they will be circumcised. In the field I was frequently told that Katotola is an ancestral head of family or even chief of a lineage.

Morphology: Normally uses a mask with anthropomorphic features, made from resin, which displays eyes, a nose, a mouth and prominent cheeks, and which supports an enormous arched headdress, decorated at the front with white, red and black patterns, like Mupala's headdress, but smaller and without the rear feathers. In the two editions of the Angolan festival that I watched, in 2012 and 2013, the mask used by Katotola was above all 'two-faced.' The body of this *likixi*, like all the others listed here, is completely covered by a mesh knitted from fibre or cotton. Wears an animal hide skirt and usually carries a weapon.

BOX 1

Name	Specification	Morphology	Rhythm/Dance
Kayipu	The 'king' of the *makixi*. Appears in funeral ceremonies, the enthronement of chiefs and in *mukanda* organized by the sons of chiefs.	Anthropomorphic mask made from resin. Possesses an arched headdress, decorated at the front with white, red and black patterns and behind with feathers. Uses a quilt or blanket with a skirt.	-
Kapalu	Kayipu's 'headman.'	Mask made from a meshwork of plant fibre or cotton, like the rest of his body. Wears a feather headdress. Uses an animal hide skirt and carries a weapon.	-
Ndondo (two examples)	The idiot. Has a swollen belly caused by poisoning.	Anthropomorphic mask made from resin. Protuberance at waist height. Carries the *ciwamba* and the *gisango*.	*Ciyanda*
Mwana Pwevo (two examples)	The adolescent. Known for his magical-acrobatic abilities. Appears in the *mukanda* and in sociopolitical events with the main function of entertaining.	Anthropomorphic mask made from wood. Possess a hair extension made from synthetic fibre imitating a female hairstyle. Uses a stylized fabric as a skirt or dress. Carries the *ciwamba* and the *gisango*.	*Ciyanda*
Ngulo	The pig.	Zoomorphic mask made from resin. Carries the *ciwamba* and the *gisango*.	*Ciyanda*
Cikwekwe	Species of long-beaked bird, "which eats tree fruits."	Zoomorphic mask made from resin. Carries the *ciwamba* and the *gisango*.	*Ciyanda*
Kapiasa	Species of black bird, Anthropomorphic mask Ciyanda. common during the rainy season.	Anthropomorphic mask made from resin. Wears a synthetic fibre wig. Carries the *ciwamba* and the *gisango*.	*Ciyanda*
Cizaluke (two examples of this figure performed)	The elder. Has a tutelary function in the *mukanda*.	Anthropomorphic mask made from resin. Possesses patches of leopard skin attached to the upper part of the mask. Carries the *fwi-fwi*.	*Fwi-fwi*
Mbwanda	The rabbit.	Zoo-anthropomorphic mask made from resin. Possesses two large ears. Uses the *jizombo*.	*Kuhunga*

Name	Specification	Morphology	Rhythm/Dance
Mwendumba	The lion.	Anthropomorphic mask made from resin. Possesses an arched headdress with two parallel flaps, one pointing forwards, the other backwards. Uses the *jizombo*.	*Kuhunga*
Kapapa	No information.	Usa o *jizombo*.	*Kuhunga*
Cikesa	No information.	Usa o *jizombo*.	*Kuhunga*
Cikusa	Species of grasshopper, known for its procreative potential. Acting aggressively, comprises the main protector of the neophytes in the *mukanda* and responsible for teaching them the *kuhunga.*	Zoo-anthropomorphic mask made from resin. Possesses a conic and pointed structure above the head. Uses the *jizombo* and carries a weapon.	*Kuhunga*
Kalelwa (two examples)	Acts in the *mukanda* as a protector of both the neophytes and the encampment where they are kept in reclusion. Helps Cikusa teach the *kuhunga*.	Anthropomorphic mask made from resin. Possesses a tube-like structure above the head with two or four side arches. Uses the *jizombo* and carries a weapon.	*Kuhunga*
Utenu	Aggressive disciplinarian, associated with the *mukanda*.	Anthropomorphic mask made from resin. Possesses a headdress in the form of a keel. Wears an animal hide skirt.	*Unyanga*
Mupala	The 'president' or 'captain' of the *mukanda*. Also appears in events for enthroning and honouring the traditional chiefs.	Anthropomorphic mask made from resin. Possesses an arched headdress, decorated to the front with white, red and black patterns and to the rear with feathers. Wears an animal hide skirt.	*Unyanga*
Katotola	Compared to the head of a family or lineage, the first *likixi* to appear in a Luvale *mukanda*, responsible for taking the neophytes to the encampment where they will be circumcised.	Two-faced anthropomorphic mask made from resin. Possesses an arched headdress, decorated to the front with white, red and black patterns. Wears an animal hide skirt and carries a weapon.	*Unyanga*

CONCLUSION

The *maxiki* have been amply documented by anthropologists and art historians who worked or have been working in the Upper Zambeze region, especially, in the east of Zambia, such as Marie-Louise Bastin, Elizabeth Cameron and Manuel Jordan, to cite just a few examples. Their dances, however, occupy a subsidiary role in the descriptions and analyses of these authors, guided by a classification of the *makixi* based on the different behaviours and roles that they assume in ritual contexts. But what happens when we examine the *makixi* through an event in which all of them dance?

In this article, I have sought precisely to present an alternative classification to those encountered in the specialized literature, basing my analysis exclusively on the '*makixi* dances,' or *cilende*, observed during my fieldwork in Alto Zambeze, Angola. This classificatory schema sheds light on a relationship, yet to be identified by other authors in the field, between the props used by the *makixi* and their dance styles – and, we could also add, the relationship between the latter and specific percussive rhythms (which still remain to be documented through rhythmic scores).

We have seen that all the *makixi* who wear the *ciwamba* (a belt that widens the dancer's waist), like Mwana Pwo, Ndondo, or Ngulo, perform a dance marked by lateral and surprisingly rapid movements of the hips, called *ciyanda*. Similarly, all those that wear the *fwi-fwi* (penis sheath), like Cisaluke, perform a homonymous dance with vigorous gyratory movements of the pelvis, displaying their phallic protuberance. Meanwhile those wearing the *jizombo* (straw skirt), like Cikuza and Kalelua, perform the *kuhunga*, a dance that recalls the American twist. And finally all those who wear the *lyilambu lyakanyama* (animal hide skin), like Katotola and Mupala, perform the *unyanga*, based on rotatory movements of the shoulders.

These dance groups, defined by use of the same props, are also arranged in a specific order, observable both in *cilende* and in the *makixi* cortege that precedes the opening of the Luvale Festival. This is, therefore, an order repeated each time the *makixi* appear in the event and that, according to something the most experienced Luvale dancer in Angola told me, corresponds to the sequence in which their dances, and all the knowledge associated with each of them, are transmitted. A kind of mnemotechnics is thus implied in the performance of the *makixi* observed during the Luvale Festival, where the props used by each constitute indices of their characteristic dances, and the order organizing them in each public appearance relates to the hierarchy of transmission of their specific knowledge.

The ethnographic and visual data presented in this article comprise new material on the Luvale living in the municipality of Alto Zambeze, in Angola. Through its exploration, I hope to have helped reduce some of the enormous gap opened up by the almost forty years without research being conducted in the area, a result of the long period of wars that ended only in 2002.

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RENATO SZTUTMAN

"THE CAMERA IS MY HUNTING WEAPON": THE POETICS OF RÉAL J. LEBLANC, INNU FILMMAKER[1]

DOSSIER
INTERSECTING GAZES

J'ai toujours vécu ici
je sais qu'après chaque tempête
le soleil éclaire la terre de mes frères
aujourd'hui, les vents ont diminué
il est temps de guérir
de panser les branches cassés
régler des compromis
comprendre les erreurs
qui ont changer nos vies

Réal Junior Leblanc

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1 I was invited to participate in a round table discussion entitled "Indigenous Cinema: Mediation and Politics", which took place on October 18, 2016. On this occasion I was able to meet Réal Junior Leblanc and watch his films for the first time. In addition to Leblanc, Tukumã Kuikuro (from the Kuikuro Cinema Collective), André Dudemaine (organizer of the Festival Présence Autochtone, in Montreal), Ariel Ortega (Guarani Mbya filmmaker) and Tatiane Klein (PPGAS / USP) also participated in the table. I would like to thank the organizers, Dennis Bellemare, Maria Inês Ladeira and Paula Morgado, for their invitation to participate in the Seminar "Olhares Cruzados Brasil/Canadá", which was the venue for this meeting, and to the editors of the GIS magazine for their kind invitation and encouragement to publish the present notes (in fact, "breaches", as suggested by the referees), which are the result of a preliminary contact – therefore not sufficiently informed – with the fantastic universe of the films made by the Indigenous peoples of Quebec.

In a debate that took place in October 2016 at the University of São Paulo, as part of "Seminário Olhares Cruzados Brasil/Canadá", young Innu filmmaker Réal Junior Leblanc exclaimed: "The camera is my hunting weapon." He certainly made use of a metaphor: the camera is an instrument of political struggle that is able to draw attention to the claims of the Innu people in relation to the wider society, as well as to become a powerful way of transmitting "culture."[2] But perhaps it is convenient to go beyond this metaphorical sense, since it is the way of life connected to the practice of hunting that Réal Junior Leblanc's films intend to restore[3]. Formerly known as Montagnais, the Innu – like most of the autochthonous peoples of Québec (Canada)[4] – are hunters, and this does not indicate a mere mode or technique of subsistence, but a whole disposition towards the so-called "natural" world, challenging the frontiers that modernity established between nature and culture, humanity and not humanity. Thus, when Réal Junior Leblanc calls his camera a "hunting weapon", he goes further than the political struggle – the fight for rights, for the land, for "culture" –, adding to it a concern to portray and *regain* another way of dealing with the environment and the beings that make it. This is where his cosmopolitical proposal lies, never ceasing to be associated with an ethics and an aesthetics.[5]

Innu of the Uashat mak Mani-Utenan community, Réal Junior Leblanc defines himself as a filmmaker and a poet. As many Québec-based Amerindian filmmakers, he produced his movies through the Wapikoni Mobile Project, which also provided his initial training. He also belongs to a generation of young Québec native poets, among whom many prefer to write in French – a white, colonial language –, to reach a wider audience[6]. Given this double transit, the main characteristic of Leblanc films

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2 The use of quotes in "culture" is a reference to Manuela Carneiro da Cunha's reflection on the objectification process of the anthropological concept of culture by the Indigenous peoples themselves. *Cultura com aspas e outros ensaios*. São Paulo: Ed. Ubu, 2017.

3 For a discussion on the relationship between ethnographic cinema and hunting, see Paulo Maia's article, "O Animal e a Câmera," about an exhibition of the same name that happened during the XV Doc Forum, in 2011. In: *Catálogo Fórum Doc 2011*. Belo Horizonte: UFMG/Humberto Mauro, 2011. For a summary on the anthropology of hunting, see Uirá Garcia's entry "Caça" In: Teoria e Cultura (UFJF), v. 11, p. s/n, 2016.

4 In Canada, the term "autochthonous" encompasses two categories that remain distinct: the Amerindians and the Inuit.

5 Leblanc's films could fit into what the organizers of the XXI Festival Fórum Doc called "images of the Anthropocene", that is, films that reflect on this interference of the "human" in the very constitution of the Earth and its usually destructive effects. See the article by Frederico Sabino, Carla Italiano and Junia Torres, "Os fins deste mundo: imagens do Antropoceno". In: Catálogo Fórum Doc 2017. Belo Horizonte: UFMG/Humberto Mauro, 2011.

6 Leblanc published poems in two anthologies. Susan Ouriou (ed.) *Langues de notre terre: poèmes et récits autochtones du Québec*. Alberta: Banff Centre Press, 2014. Maurizio Gatti.

is the link between word and image, with poetry as a fundamental part of his work. Of the seven films he has made, four have been defined on the Wapikoni Mobile website as "experimental", one as "animation" and two as "documentaries". However, Leblanc goes beyond labels, for his interest lies in the making of poetic films, even when the chosen genre approaches the documentary. His films are not interested in approaching documentaries as a reliable record of reality. Recording political or cultural events and producing a memory for future generations is certainly urgent. However, he always aims the poetic discourse. It is as if only poetry was capable of expressing the subjective dilemmas of the director, who was overcome by the anguish of inhabiting an ambiguous world, divided between the way of life of the "ancients" and the experience of modernity, in which both community and environment seem to loosen up more and more. Together, poetry and cinema announce a possible resumption of these ties.

In fact, the emphasis on the expression of subjectivity, the political content and the conciseness (none of Leblanc's films is more than seven minutes long) represent important traits of the films produced under the Wapikoni Mobile project. Created in 2003 by filmmaker Manon Barbeau, in partnership with the Atikamekw Nation Council and the First Nations Council of Québec and Labrador (of which Leblanc has been a representative since 2012), the Wapikoni Mobile project consists of mobile studios that visit several Québec Indigenous reservations, holding workshops (of six weeks, on average), during which young members of the community produce short films of different genres – documentaries, fiction, video clips and animations – and record music.[7] Leblanc refers to these mobile studios as a "tin can of dreams", encouraging young people not only to portray their realities and to speak of their "culture", but also to create stories, visual discourses and musical works. As stated on Wapikoni Mobile's website, the main objectives of the project are "[to] enrich First Nations' cultural heritage (...) in addition to creating an Aboriginal film industry in Québec".[8] The project is focused on working with young people, often living in risky situations involving domestic violence, alcoholism, as well as high rates of suicide and drug addiction. Situations resulting from a long process of expropriation and exploitation, including a violent policy of sedentarization, force removals and forced schooling, as well as the intensification of extractive activities in

Mots de neige, de sable et d'océan. Montreal: CPFM, 2009.

7 Wapikoni Awashish is the name of a young Atikamekw who collaborated with Manon Barbeau in a fiction film, which had the participation of several Indigenous actors. Wapikoni died in a car accident in 2002. The following year, Barbeau decided to pay homage to her, who would have become a full-fledged filmmaker.

8 http://www.wapikoni.ca/a-propos/qui-sommes-nous Accessed January 23, 2018.

the second half of the twentieth century. It is in this context that social and environmental themes become a fundamental part of the filmmakers' creations, who see the camera as an instrument of struggle and return, but also as a vehicle for the expression of a divided subjectivity between immeasurable worlds.[9]

TOWARDS A POETICS OF THE EXPERIMENTAL

One of the hallmarks of Wapikoni Mobile's production is the profusion of so-called "experimental" films, films that break with narrativity and give way to creative freedom. They are usually very short films, bumping into the aesthetics of video art or even the video clip. "Experimental" for Réal Junior Leblanc seems to be the best way to achieve his poeticity, making movies the way one writes a poem, that is, to create meaning through the unexpected association of images and sounds. The form through which he makes his movies is never disconnected from his subject: talking whenever possible about the return of fundamental ties; not only community ties, but above all the link that connects every subjectivity to the so called natural world – the world of trees, clouds, mountains and stars. Leblanc's experimental-poetic films act in this sense as "cosmopolitical manifestos"[10]: they start from a threat – cultural loss, environmental catastrophe – and celebrate the inseparability between body and cosmos, between subjectivity and environment, indicating new paths, other ways.

Eclipse (2'31", 2013), filmed in partnership with Jani Bellefleur Kaltish, also of Innu origin, is a manifesto against the destruction of the environment by whites.[11] The film begins with a text over a dark screen: "One day... Nature will revolt. She will let go of us. Our Mother Earth has, too, her dreams". From then on, images of a solar eclipse are shown alongside a series of elements – trees, sky, clouds, raindrops, rocks, river, foliage. As the sequence progresses, a somewhat incidental song appears in crescendo and texts in French are inserted on the images, always addressing a second-person singular:

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9 On working with young people, see Stéphane Guinant Marceau. "Le Wapikoni Mobile: conquête d'un nouveau territoire de citoyenneté pour des jeunes autochtones". In: *ACME* v. 12, n. 3, 2013; PP. 551-575.

10 "Cosmopolitical Manifesto" is one of the ways in which Bruce Albert defines his book in co-authorship with Davi Kopenawa. *A queda do céu: palavras de um xamã yanomami*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2015. In short, it is the production of a discourse that connects the political ecology of non-Indigenous environmentalists and the Indigenous shamanic cosmology, thus producing an unexpected meaning for what we define as politics.

11 Watch the full movie: http://www.wapikoni.ca/films/eclipse. Accessed January 23, 2018.

You destroy everything on your way to make money.
What are you going to do after you poison us all?
Are you simply going to watch us die?
What are you looking for in this land?[12]

We may say that this addressee, the potential audience, is the white man, evoking the figure of a terrible predator, able to convert, like the eclipse, light into darkness, the natural landscape into city. The texts disappear, and the sequence of images continues, now including urban elements, such as the image of a tree that follows the facade of a building and an aerial image of City of Montreal. On the last images of the film – the solar eclipse and raindrops, both referring to the passage from light to darkness, akin to the invasion of the city – a new text is shown: "The earth is already tired of us. We lived our last moments free and savage".[13] The last and disheartening text differs from the previous by changing from "You" to "We". Because of the French grammatical structure, it is difficult to tell if it is an inclusive or exclusive first-person plural. It is possible that Leblanc and Kaltish are talking about "we the Innu" (which, as in other Amerindian languages, means "human being, people"). But it is also possible that they are incorporating the whites. After all, the tragedy of the exhaustion of Earth can bring them together. In any case, apart from the disheartening element, Leblanc and Kaltish celebrate through this very brief sequence of images the potential beauty of what these "last moments". Nothing is said about the meaning of the eclipse for the Innu, but in view of other Amerindian elaborations, it is possible to understand it as a sign of impending catastrophe or violence – the collapse between heaven and earth, for example –, requiring human urgent ritual actions, as if they could remake the world.[14] We can understand this little film essay not as resignation to a possible end, but as a critique and call for resistance in an era conventionally called the Anthropocene, in which a certain kind of humanity changes geological structures.

The contrast between urban and natural landscapes is the subject of *Shamanitu* (2012, 1'39"), co-directed with Kevin Papatie, of the Anishinaabe

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12 In the original, "Tu détruis tout sur ton passage juste pour faire de l'argent / Que as-tu faire après nous avoir tous empoisonnés? / Tu vas juste nous regarder juqu'à ce qu'on meurt? / Qu'est-ce que tu recherches encore sur nos terres?"

13 In the original, "La terre s'épuise déjà de nous. / Nous vivons nos derniers moments libres et sauvages".

14 On eclipses in Amerindian mythology, see Claude Lévi-Strauss – *O Cru e o cozido: Mitológicas I* (São Paulo: Cosac Naify, 2004) and *A origem dos modos à mesa: Mitológicas III* (São Paulo: Cosac Naify, 2006). For a reflection on the subject based on material from the Kuikuro of the Upper Xingu, see Carlos Fausto "Sangue de lua: reflexões sobre espíritos e eclipses" (*Journal de la Société des Américanistes* v. 98, n. 1, 2013).

(Algonquin) people, and one of the first filmmakers involved with the Wapikoni Mobile.[15] In this film, a shaman uses his powers to regenerate the city. In the first scenes, he plants glass seeds on an urban terrain, from which images of trees sprout, taking over the urban landscape and growing on the city walls. In the last scene, a fish covers the sky of Montreal, until it gives way to the lettering with the name of the film. Instead of dismay, this very brief film bets on the idea of the regeneration of the city through the action of an Indigenous shaman. The tension between worlds in *Shamanitu* is, indeed, the theme of several of Papatie's films, which certainly had much influence on Leblanc, given his questioning and poetic style. *Entre l'arbre et l'écorce* (Between the tree and the bark, 2008, 3'41") picks up on what the director himself defines as "identity search".[16] "I live in two worlds, but none of them inhabit me", whispers the narrator in voice-over. *Nous sommes* (We are, 2009, 2'31"), in turn, is a film-manifesto based on Papatie's encounter with the Zapatistas.[17] After a series of scenes shot in Mexico, images of pollution and environmental destruction are displayed. In the Anishinaabe language, we hear a whispered voice-over say: "We are the water", "We are the earth", "We are the animals", "We are the air", and "We are the forest". On the last images, which go from a blurred landscape to a close-up of the eyes of a child, we hear: "We are the devastated landscape. Our territory is us. Let us rise". Inspired by the experience with the Zapatistas, Papatie asks his people to abandon the feeling of discouragement and resignation and embark on an active struggle against destruction, a struggle that restores the identification – in the absence of a better term – between the people and the others that make up the world, because the devastation of the territory is the devastation of communities, of "ourselves", of what we are.

The two experimental films that Réal Leblanc directed alone explore even more the experiment of conjugating poetic texts and images. His first film, *Tremblement de terre: Nanameshkueu* (Earthquake: Nanameshkueu, 2010, 2'51"), defined by him as "a celebration of the Innu culture", speaks of a kind of fusion between the subjectivity of the narrator-poet and the environment.[18] Always in a split screen, the image contrasts natural and urban landscapes, clear and dark, sky and earth, voids and bodies. We hear Leblanc reciting, over and over, a poem in French whose verses only occasionally refer directly to the images shown.

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15 Watch the full movie: http://www.wapikoni.ca/films/shamanitu. Accessed January 23, 2018.

16 Watch the full movie: http://www.wapikoni.ca/films/entre-larbre-et-lecorce. Accessed January 23, 2018.

17 Watch the full movie: http://www.wapikoni.ca/films/nous-sommes. Accessed January 23, 2018.

18 Watch the full movie: http://www.wapikoni.ca/films/tremblement-de-terre-nanameshkueu. Accessed January 23, 2018.

Since the night of times
I contemplate the moon
I howl my songs to it
The moon knows my hatred
The mountains are impregnated with my tears
(...)
All I want is to hunt and fish
And return to my forgotten lands
There, where my grandparents lived
My heart beats to the rhythm of the rain
My soul heals little by little
(...)
After each wave that fades away
A new one is reborn even stronger
I am Nanameshkueu
I am the one who will rekindle the fire of my people[19]

The persona of the poem is Nanameshkueu, the Earthquake, a non-human being, a personified geological force. We have no further information about the Nanameshkueu entity in the Innu cosmology. It appears here under the sign of anger and solitude, but also as something that can destroy and regenerate. "I am Nanameshkueu". The poet identifies himself with this destruction and regeneration force, metamorphosing into it. "I am the one who will rekindle the fire of my people". He alludes to the rebirth following a hecatomb. In what way can this identification result in what Leblanc called the "celebration of Innu culture"? The poem certainly speaks of regeneration and rebirth through the possibility of composition with the various elements of the world, a possibility inscribed in the Innu system of thought and way of life. In the last images of the film, we see the face of a child superimposed on images of landscapes and the shadow of an anthropomorphic body, already present in previous scenes.

Chevelure de la vie (Mane of life 2011, 2'12") celebrates the force of an age-old tree.[20] As in *Tremblement de terre*, a poem dialogues with pictures

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19 In the original: "Depuis la nuit des temps / je contemple la lune / je lui ai hurlé bien des chansons / j'ai toujurs été Seul / oublié de Dieu / la lune connaît ma haine / les montagnes sont impregnées de mes larmes / toujours chassé / faudra-t-il que je me cachê encore / parmi les arbres et le brume / pour que le monde me laisse tranquille / Je veux seulement chasser et pêcher / et retourner dans mes terres oubliées / là même où mes grands-parents vécurent / mon coeur bat au rythme de la pluie / mon âme se cicatrise peu à peu / après chaque vague que s'épuise / une nouvele renaît / encore plus forte / Je suis Nanameshkueu / je suis celui qui ravivera la flamme de mon peuple".

20 Watch the full movie: http://www.wapikoni.ca/films/chevelure-de-la-vie. Accessed January 23, 2018.

on the screen, which depict images or fragments of images (closes, foliage, textures) of this ancient and gigantic tree, alternating or overlapping with images of birds, rain, faces, and a flag. In the background, the sound of drums mixes with that of birds and the wind. Once again, Réal Leblanc uses of split screens, overlapping images and even film frames to give rise to animations. In the poem, the great tree, the "mane of life", is referred to yet again in the second-person singular.

> Wrap me in your roots
> while the wind shakes me in your branches
> Protect me from the elements and the enemy.
> While you tell me about your life
>
> Sing me a song with your leaves
> So that I can finally dream again
> Accept me under your shadow and in your sap
> See me as one of your children.
>
> The sound of the wind is your language
> You are the mane of line
> Only you can understand the mountains
>
> Your skin is cracked by the time
> Your thoughts are older than a rock
> Your presence appeases hearts
> Your scent intoxicates souls
> You are the first daughter of land
>
> Listen as your daughters and sons sing for you
> Experience their pains and their marked hearts,
> Invite their soul to rediscover their path
> Join the bark and the skin[21]

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21 In the original: Enveloppe-moi dans tes racines / pendant que le vent me berce dans tes branches / protege-moi des intempères et de l'ennemi / pendant que tu ma racconte ta vie / chante-moi une chanson avec tes feuilles / pour enfin que je puisse rêver d'autrefois / accepte-moi sous ton ombre et dans ta seve / regarde-moi comme l'un des tes fils / le son du vent est ton langage / tu es la chevelure de la vie /toi seul peut comprendre les montagnes / ta peau est fissurée par le temps / tes pensées sont plus anciennes qu'un rocher / ta présence apaise les coeurs/ ton odeur enivre les âmes / tu es le premier des enfants de la terre / écoute tes filles et tes fils chanter pour toi / ressens leurs peines et leurs coeurs marqués / invite leur âme à retrouver leur chemin / assemble l'écorce et la peau

As Viveiros de Castro wrote about Amerindian perspectivism, "You" is a dangerous pronoun, since it implies taking the other – non-human, the enemy, the foreign – as a full subject, and therefore opening oneself up to an experience with the supernatural, representing a risk to "I".[22] Referring to the other as "You" is accepting their subjectivity, establishing more than a relation, but an exchange (or commutation) o perspectives. If in *Tremblement de terre* the poet takes the place of a geological force, the Earthquake, in *Chevelure de la vie*, he addresses this more than human being represented by the age-old tree. He writes an ode to the tree, letting it envelop him and bind his skin to its bark.

The aforementioned films may be considered poem-films, poetic-experimental films. More than overlapping image and text, they create poetry through the combination, or interchange between verbal and visual. After all, the poetry of the films would not only be in the text, but in the visual discourse, and in the filmmaker's ability to compose with images. The images do not serve as illustrations to the text, nor the text informs the images. Image and text are both part of the composition created in the editing room. In Réal Junior Leblanc's creations, it is possible do recognize echoes of the intersemiotic chains that are present throughout the Amerindian arts, adding value to the permutation of sensory codes. In these chains, verbal and visual elements are tied together, translating each other: a drawing may represent a chant, a dance is also a musical score, everything is an image, sound and choreography.[23] In the regime of signs of the Amerindian arts, no *semi on* is able to sustain itself alone: verbal chases visual, visual requests sound, songs are always choreographed. What Leblanc does is to bet on the translation of verbal into visual, and vice versa, through music. His films are poetic, and his poetry is written in both words and images.

In these film-poems, in which images and text are translated, human figures are not central, remaining peripheral or even incidental. Faces and shadows usually appear superimposed to the images of other beings. In *Shamanitu*, the figure of the human shaman prevails, but he is only responsible for sprouting the forest in the city. In general, the protagonists on the screen – who remain in the foreground, never limiting themselves to being "background" – are nonhumans or "more than

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22 "Perspectivismo e multinaturalismo na América indígena" In: *A inconstância da alma selvagem e outros ensaios de antropologia*. São Paulo: Ubu Editora, 2017.

23 The problem of intersemiotic chains in Amerindian arts is quite complex. On this subject, see, among others: Rafael Menezes Bastos. "Música nas terras baixas: um panorama hoje In: *Revista de Antropologia* v. 60, n. 2, 2017. Carlo Severi. "O espaço quimérico: percepção e projeção nos atos de olhar". In: Severi, C. & Lagrou, *E. Quimeras em diálogo: grafismos e figurações da arte indígena*. Rio de Janeiro: 7 Letras, 2013.

human": the Earthquake, the eclipse, the natural landscape that flourishes again in the city, the age-old tree. "I am the Earthquake". "You, tree, is the mane of life". "Earth is already tired of us". Yes, this is the main point: Earth is tired of "us" – humans – defending our exclusivity, our primacy. Now through Papatie's words, what we really are "a devastated landscape". All these films are engaged in the critique of the centrality of this "we", "humans", evidencing an "I" that is already Other, a "You", that is not human, but without which no human could live. Both the images and verses, the visible and the audible, refuse the anthropocentric perspective: [24] the nonhumans are the ones in the center of the scene, the poet talks to them, they speak for the poet, their images proliferate.[25] Differently from other cinematographies, which also remove the human element from the center, it is not a question of capturing an absolute Outside, of filming the "great emptiness", but of capturing the bond between beings, a world in which everything is subjectivated. Unlike the long plans of a non-Eurocentric cinema, such as that of Abbas Kiorostami, in which the human seems to be lost in the vastness of the landscape[26], Leblanc's experiments – as well as that of other Indigenous filmmakers connected to the Wapikoni Mobile Project – favor an editing process in which the borders between human and nonhuman are constantly revised. If the Earth is already tired of us, it is because we need to rejoin with it, to compose with its subjectivity, avoiding a revolt that is fatal to us. Resuming those ties would be a recipe for resistance.

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24 Frederico Sabino wonders about the possibility of a non-anthropocentric cinema, about how to speak, through images, of the world beyond the human. The challenge of Indigenous films, he points out, would go beyond the proposition of something like an "eco-cinema" – a cinema of landscapes – since it would bring to the foreground the need to deal with the invisible, with the cosmos. "Conversa sobre filmes e paisagens". In: *Catálogo do Fórum Doc 2017*. We might even say that the "beyond human" would not be equivalent to an inert landscape, but a decisive actor.

25 The idea that "who speaks or sings in me is another" is very common in the regimes of enunciation of Amerindian verbal arts, which brings into question the very notion of subject present in much of the modern Western philosophy traditions. For a detailed study on the subject, see, among others, Carlo Severi. "Memory, reflexivity and belief: reflections on the ritual use of language". In: *Social anthropology* v. 10 n. 1, 2002. and Pedro Cesarino. *Oniska: poética do xamanismo na Amazônia*. São Paulo: Perspectiva, 2011.

26 See *24 frames* (2017), Kiarostami's most recent film, in which the contemplation of the natural world appears, in poetic and experimental language, in its most radical form: in each frame, different animals and landscapes parade in front of the camera, there is almost no place for the human.

MEMORY AND RESISTANCE

Blocus 138 (Block 138, 2012, 7'13") and *L'enfance déracinée* (Uprooted child-hood, 2013, 7'16") are short documentaries about political subjects: the movement of resistance to the construction of a hydroelectric plant and the memory of residential schools. In these films the place of poetry remains central: Leblanc's poems are added to the documentary images, condensing the drama of the discussed events.

Blocus 138: la résistance innu presents scenes of the highway 138 blockade, occurred on March 9, 2012, in a protest against the construction of a hydroelectric complex on the river Romaine.[27] The initial text explains that the construction works, which invade almost 500 km of the Innu territory, started without prior consultation with the communities. They result from the so-called Northern Plan, a major economic development project involving extractive activities and the construction of hydroelectric dams. In the last intertitle, before the display of the images and the sound of drums, we read: "The fight is far from over."

Leblanc shoot scenes in two distinct moments: during the day, when the Innu women organize, leading the blockade, and at night, during a confrontation with the police, after a series of threats. The night scenes are certainly more striking. As the police advance, the women sing in unison in the Innu language: "Dear children, we love you. We'll still be there tomorrow." The camera closes in on their faces. The police advance even more, dispersing part of the protesters, while others launch themselves into direct confrontation. Men and women shout: "My thinking is with my children, not with money." "We are losing our culture and our territory." Some are arrested. At the last minute of the film, we hear another of Leblanc's poems over night scenes of confusion and commotion that soon give rise to the credits:

> I hear still
> the cries of rage
> and tears of despair
> of my people
>
> I have seen women
> defend Mother Earth
> with songs of peace

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27 Watch the full movie: http://www.wapikoni.ca/films/blocus-138-la-resistance-innue. Accessed January 23, 2018.

I have seen my people
driven back
on our own land
by helmeted strangers

I have seen my elders
shedding tears
of forgotten pride

How can we
defend our heritage
and our children's future
against the moneyed giants?

I weep
for all the rivers
they will divert
for all the forests
they will plunder
for all the lands
they will flood
for all the mountains
they will raze

To them, I say always
from the depths of my soul
No[28]

The poem recited at the end of the film condenses the drama of the images we saw in the previous six minutes. If the movie began with the phrase "The fight is far from over," it ends up in a poetic tone with "To them, I say always… No". With this, it praises the resistance, suggesting the message of the aforementioned experimental films: it is necessary to deny the spirit of destruction of the "helmeted stranger's" society, binding once again the weakened ties within the community and between society and environment, preventing the rivers from being diverted, forests from being plundered, lands from being flooded and mountains from being razed. *Blocus 138* is, in fact, the Innu version of a history of resistance and of tragic scenes that are repeated throughout Indigenous America. Hydropower projects that divert rivers and call into question the sovereignty of Indigenous territories and ways of life are

28 Réal Junior Leblanc, "Roadblock 138 – Innu Resistance". In: *Languages of Our Land: Indigenous Poems and Stories form Quebec*, ed. Susan Ouriou, trans. Christelle Morelli. Alberta: Banff Centre Press, 2014; p. 53.

everywhere in this vast continent. There are also manifestations of resistance everywhere, which are constantly reinventing themselves, allied to aesthetic forms that include music, dance and cinema. However dramatic the situation may be, the struggle turns pain into joy, oscillating between celebrations and wars. This is the message conveyed by close-up image of the Innu women who, faced with the confrontation of the police, never stop singing and celebrating the resistance.

Resistance is also the theme of *L'enfance déracinée*, a film about the memory of the Indigenous people who were forced to spend their childhood in the residential schools of Sept-Îles, away from their families and ways of life.[29] The memory of these residential schools and their ethnocide politics is an open wound in Canada, finding echo in many other countries in America. Children were separated from their parents, forbidden to speak in their language and to practice their rituals and other customs. The residential schools were the result of the Indian Act of 1884, a radical policy of assimilation of Indians by the Canadian State. With the support of religious missions, more than 150,000 children were forced to go to these establishments. Alongside the residential schools a policy of sedentarization and removal was put into practice, with the purpose of erasing the peoples' ties to the land. In the same period, the ban on the *potlatch* on the West Coast and the *Sun Dances* in the Plains region was enacted, a law that would only be repealed in the 1950s. Furthermore, it was only on June 11, 2008 that Prime Minister Stephen Harper apologized, publicly and on behalf of the state, for the immense "cultural genocide" committed by that country. But this apology could not erase the memory of the atrocities and pain, nor do the necessary justice.

Because it is an open wound, the memory of the residential schools is a recurring theme in the films made by the Indigenous peoples of Canada and, more specifically, the films made under the Wapikoni Mobile project. See, among many, *L'Amendement (*The amendment, 2007, 4'58"), by Kevin Papatie.[30] The film mentions the 1920 amendment that makes the school compulsory for all Indigenous children, at the risk of penalizing parents. Papatie portrays, in very brief and close scenes, four members of his family: Zoe, his grandmother, who "does not speak French"; Noah Louis, her son, who went to school at age seven and "speaks French"; Nadia, his daughter, who "almost forgot the Anishnabe language"; and finally Ingrid, daughter of Nadia, still a child, who does not speak the language of the family anymore. Papatie makes an energetic speech about

29 Watch the full movie: http://www.wapikoni.ca/films/lenfance-deracinee. Accessed January 23, 2018.

30 Watch the full movie: http://www.wapikoni.ca/films/lamendement-abinodjic-madji-nakini. Accessed January 23, 2018.

the near extinction of his language, the result of a violent politics of assimilation. At the end of the film he concludes, "These are four generations, two residential schools, two cultures, and one extinction." This is how a language and a people are exterminated, and that is why Papatie's insists on making his films in the Anishnabe language. In a more recent film, *Kokom* (2014), Papatie returns to the figure of his grandmother, forced to send her children to the residential school.[31] However, the film ends with a positive message: after many years of oppression, thanks to the elders' perseverance, "the Anishnabe roots sprout again".

In *L'enfance déracinée*, Leblanc returns to the place where the Sept-Îles residential school was built and operated from 1951 to 1972 to gather testimony from witnesses who were there. Only one building survived demolition, and over the ruin of the others a new community was established. Leblanc recognizes himself as "a descendant of these uprooted children," of the tragic history of removals, genocide, and ethnocide. The film alternates between archival images – images of life at the residential school, of children, priests, state officials – and scenes from the community that was established and grew there. Another poem by Leblanc is presented throughout the film, overlapping with archival and current images. Here are the first verses:

> Why did you snatch my people from their parents' arms?
> Who were you to empty my village of its children?
> I am the descendant of those uprooted children.
>
> No effort was spared to change our identity
> devour our traditions
> erase our history
> destroy our culture[32]

During the film, Leblanc meets a woman who lived, as a child, in the residential school. We do not know her name. In most scenes, she does not look at the camera, remaining self-absorbed, painting a canvas. Moments later we learn that what makes her paint is the ability that this art has to reconnect her to the Innu cosmological universe. Almost at the end of the film, the camera shows the completed canvas: a wolf howling at the moon. And she comments: "I'm glad to find something I lost." We do not know exactly what cosmological theme this is, only that it refers

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31 Watch the full movie: http://www.wapikoni.ca/films/kokom-cd9b74. Accessed January 23, 2018.

32 Réal Junior Leblanc, "Uprooted childhood". In: *Languages of Our Land: Indigenous Poems and Stories form Quebec*, ed. Susan Ouriou, trans. Christelle Morelli. Alberta: Banff Centre Press, 2014; p. 57.

to the first verses of *Tremblement de terre*. In her testimony to Leblanc, this woman talks about how she was sexually abused at age six, how she constantly lived in fear, seeking support from peers of the same age. She also talks about how she was prevented from speaking her own language. We see documentary footage again, including scenes of children dealing with priests (their possible aggressors) and a girl who is smilingly staring at the camera. We also do not know whether this girl is the witness speaking in voice-over. In any case, it represents a myriad of victims, people who shared the same fate. The woman tells of her return to the community, after a time in the residential school. It is a devastating landscape: everyone drank there, his father had become an alcoholic, and the sexual abuse common at the residential school became a reality in the villages as well. It is a portrait of the deepest of pains.

In the last scene of the film, we see the administration building, the only structure remaining after the 1972 demolition, being set on fire by firefighters. The year is 2012. About this image, Leblanc says that the residents of the Maliotenam community experienced the act as a "healing ritual". Soon afterwards, archival images are fused with images of the local community. We listen to the poem's last verses:

> The wounds of the past
> have not yet healed
> but my people's hope has been rekindled
>
> Though the shadow of residential schools
> hovers still over our communities
> I know today's youth will find there
> a way to free themselves[33]

The end of *L'enfance déracinée* is a call for resistance. The last building of the residential school is consumed by fire, the witness of the atrocities rediscovers the Innu universe through painting, the community grows over the ruins, Leblanc recites his protest poem, stimulating the memory of past events. Art plays its part in reconnecting with a world that has almost been lost. Just as in *Blocus 138*, Leblanc praises the resistance through images and words, combining struggle and art. *L'enfance déracinée* is a film about ethnocide, which is often equivalent to genocide. *Blocus 138* is perhaps a film about ecocide, about trying to reverse the effects of building a hydroelectric dam that will affect all Nitassinan, "our land," the land of the Innu. Now, in the experience of the Innu

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33 Réal Junior Leblanc, "Uprooted childhood". In: *Languages of Our Land: Indigenous Poems and Stories form Quebec*, ed. Susan Ouriou, trans. Christelle Morelli. Alberta: Banff Centre Press, 2014; p. 57.

and Leblanc itself, ethnocide, ecocide and genocide are equivalent.[34] The river's death is not unlike the death of tongues and people. Everything falls apart. The expulsion of the Amerindians from their lands is confused with the parents being forced to send their children to residential schools. The intensification of development projects coincides with an attempt to destroy thoughts and practices that recognize in natural or geological forces subjectivities with which one needs to coexist, so that life and society may subsist.

A COSMOPOLITICAL AESTHETICS

We could say that Réal Junior Leblanc's cinema puts forward a cosmopolitical proposal in the sense attributed by the philosopher Isabelle Stengers: it unsettles the very meaning of politics, conceived of as a kind of action among humans that unfolds in an inert, discouraged world[35]. Stengers' cosmopolitical proposal, which is based on problems concerning the modern sciences and environmental issues, requires that we bring "nature" into politics, that we politicize the sciences, that we show that humans are not alone in the world, and that we consider modes of existence that we thought were unlikely. The failure of the opposition between inert nature and human action has become evident in the so-called modern world, through the environmental and climate crisis, because of the destruction caused by humans themselves. In "catastrophic times", which follow from what geologists have called the Anthropocene, the Earth – tired, exhausted, and revolted – becomes an agent of retaliation and reveals its subjectivity, claiming a new political approach and the reestablishment of ties that were lost[36].

For Amerindian peoples like the Innu, what we call "nature" has never been dissociated from what we refer to as "politics": the action of making collectives and composing common worlds. Perhaps this is so because terms like "nature" and "politics" do not make sense to them. The Innu have always cultivated ties with nonhuman beings, with the beings of the Earth, and more than ever they now know that they need to reconnect with them, going against the background of the triumphalist history of colonization, which is guided by a narrative defending progress. As a countercurrent, the reawakening of these ties resonates closely with the

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34 For a discussion of the inseparability between ethnocide and ecocide, based on an analysis of self-demarcation processes in Amazonian lands, see Luísa Molina Pontes. Terra, luta, vida: auto-demarcações indígenas e a afirmação da diferença. Masters thesis. UnB, Brasília, 2017.

35 Isabelle Stengers. "La proposition cosmopolitique". In: Lolive, Jacques & Soubeyran, Olivier (eds.). *L'émergence des cosmopolitiques*. Paris: La Découverte, 2007.

36 Isabelle Stengers. *Au Temps des catastrophes: résister à la barbarie qui vient*. Paris: La Découverte, 2009.

ethics and aesthetics of Leblanc's cinema, which seeks to restore fundamental ties between those who recognize themselves as humans and the environment around them, populated by different kinds of beings.

In its own way, Leblanc's cinema summons up what Félix Guattari, inspired by Gregory Bateson, called "ecosophy", the idea that mental, social and environmental dimensions must be considered as interrelated in a system[37]. In his view, all modes of subjectivation cut across these three levels. The "identity crisis" that takes hold of the lyrical self of the poems or the characters in Leblanc's cinema, as well as among other filmmakers involved with Wapikoni Mobile – "I live between two worlds", "I am a descendant of rootless children – is an integral part both of a community crisis – the break-up of families with the advent of residential schools, alcoholism, drugs, loss of "culture" – as well as of an environmental crisis – the diversion of rivers, pollution, global warming, natural disasters. In *Tremblement de Terre*, the Self becomes the Other: "My heart beats in the rhythm of the rain", "I am Nanameshkueu, the Earthquake." In *La chevelure de la vie*, the secular tree becomes the great interlocutor, a great You: "You are the hair of life". "You are the Earth's first daughter." The images in both films indicate overlapping modes of existence. Human figures appear only incidentally, while meteorological, geological, plant and bird phenomena are foregrounded. This anti-anthropocentrism reappears in documentaries; if human people are always foregrounded in it – for example, demonstrators who sing and confront the police, children who are "educated" in residential schools, a distinguished painter – it is also true that these characters are part of a cosmic plot: demonstrators fight to protect the rivers and the Indigenous territory; children taken to the residential schools are also being driven out of their land, and this turns out to be an exorcism of all the beings associated with them; the painter rediscovers themes belonging to Innu cosmology. Being evicted from their land produces the extinction of their languages; the construction of the hydroelectric puts Innu children at risk once again, taking their future away from them. It is therefore necessary to say "no" and to recover the future and the ties that have been weakened, and thus to avoid a ruthless revolt of the Earth.

We need a new contract, says Elizabeth Povinelli, in concluding that the social contract no longer accounts for the situation established by the Anthropocene. True antagonism would not be between humans and non-humans, but between " various forms of human life-worlds and their different effects on all other forms of existence, including other human life-worlds". [38] She

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37 Félix Guattari. *As três ecologias*. Campinas: Papirus, 1990.

38 Elizabeth Povinelli. "Depois de outras naturezas e de novas culturas, um outro modo".
In: *Catálogo da 32ª Bienal de São Paulo* – A Incerteza Viva. São Paulo: 2016, p. 82.

suggests that in order to conceive what is human and what is not, what is alive and what is not, we need to think of another analytics of existence – of an "otherwise". Povinelli proposes to refer to this "otherwise" as the "geontopower" of late liberalism – in other words, the power to define what the earth is and the beings that inhabit it in order to take advantage and profit from them. For the Indigenous Australians of the Karrabing collective, with whom Povinelli works, geological formations, for example, are first of all the subjectivities with which one must compose, admitting that they participate decisively in history and politics. Be it a mining or a digital technology project, geological formations must be considered. The audio-visual experiences of the Karrabing assume that it is possible to transpose and translate the analytics of native existence – with its subjectivation of geological forces, with the hyper-reality of its dreamings – into filmic and other kinds of images, thereby raising the awareness of non-Indigenous audiences. In short, the films produced by the Karrabing collective provide for an ethical and aesthetic experience – a way of translating this "otherwise", a refusal of the separation between myself and another, human and not human[39].

The aesthetics of Leblanc's cinema also seeks to translate this "otherwise" that cannot be reduced to an opposition between human and non-human, nature and things. His film-poems make the earth, the mountains and the trees speak; they remove the human subject from the center of the scene, exhibiting other forms of subjectivation. What have we done with the Earth? How to get back to Earth and its beings? How to stop the wave of destruction – of the world and of bodies – carried out by the whites? Film and poetry, images conjugated to words, prove to be a powerful instrument in this direction. A "hunting weapon", as Leblanc defined it: not any weapon, but one capable of re-establishing a relationship with the infinite world of hunting, a world full of dangers, populated by the most diverse beings. For game animals are not merely external objects – they are a "you", a subjectivity with which a game of perspectives takes places, destabilizing the position of humans, making them wonder about what is human in the animal and what is animal in the human.

It can be questioned whether these weapons, however powerful, will always be the weapons of the colonizers. Be that as it may, the Indigenous appropriation of technologies such as the audiovisual, whose language had to be decoded, and the French language, whose adoption led to the suppression of so many native languages, always involves some kind of transformation. As the Wendat poet Jean Sioui writes, "Thanks to the generosity of the nations, the French language – the language of the white –, receives an infusion of red blood – a new life"[40].

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39 Elizabeth Povinelli. *Geontologies: a requiem to late liberalism*. Durham: Duke Press, 2016.

40 Apud Susan Ouriou. "Introdução" In: Ouriou, S. (ed.) *Langues de notre terre: poèmes et*

The same could be said about cinema: could its appropriation by Indige-
nous peoples bring new life to it, subverting its narrative commonplac-
es, its restricted forms of circulation, and above all its anthropocentric
insistence? This recalls what Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, reflecting
on Kafka, called a "minor literature": to make use of the foreign and
dominant language in order to subvert it, to search for other potenti-
alities in it, to fertilize it[41]. In this sense, Réal Junior Leblanc offers us a
"minor" cinema and a "minor" poetry, which make the technologies and
forms of language stutter. Unique movie-poems, poetic documentaries,
all of them engaged in the creation of an "otherwise", of an anti-anthro-
pocentric ethics, of a cosmopolitical aesthetics.

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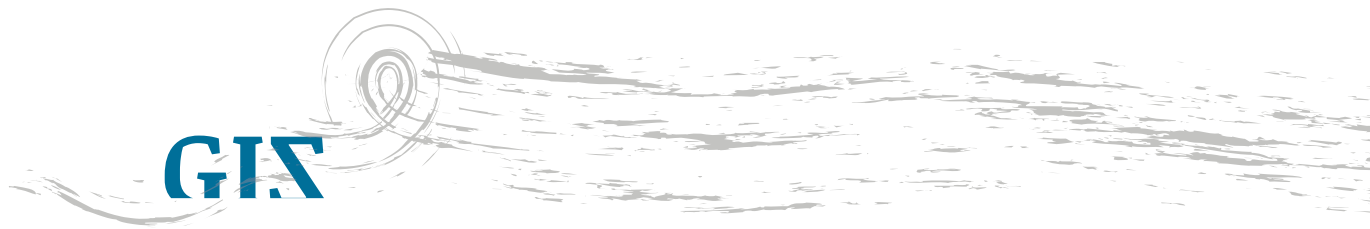41 Gilles Deleuze & Félix Guattari. *Kafka: por uma literatura menor*. São Paulo: Ed. Autêntica., 2014.

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Boîte Rouge VIF,
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CARL MORASSE

INDIAN TIME
DOSSIER
INTERSECTING GAZES

INDIAN TIME
31'10", 2016

directed, images and editing: Carl Morasse additional images: Bogdan Stefan, François-Mathieu Hotte, Olivier Bergeron-Martel, Maxime Girard, Mendy Bossum-Launière, Laurent Jérôme postproduction: Peak Média colorization: Samuel Veillet sound mixing: Martin Lemay location: comunidades autóctones de Quebec production: La Boîte Rouge VIF financial contribution of: Office National du film du Canada – Aide au cinéma indépendant (ACIC), Conseil des arts et des lettres du Québec (CALQ), Conseil des arts du Saguenay (CAS), Secrétariat aux affaires au- tochtones du Québec (SAA), La Fondation TIMI et Université du Québec à Chicoutimi (UQAC) original languages: French, English, Atikamekw, Innu, Inuk- titut, Eeyou (cri) subtitles: French, English

LE CONTEXTE DE PRODUCTION DU FILM INDIAN TIME EN RE-GARD DES ACTIVITÉS DE LA BRV

Entre 2010 et 2013, La Boîte Rouge VIF a effectué une grande tournée de concertation au sein de 18 communautés des Premières Nations et Inuit du Québec. La BRV était alors partenaire du Musée de la civilisation à Québec dans le renouvellement de leur exposition permanente de référence sur les Premières Nations et Inuit au Québec (*C'est notre histoire. Premières Nations et Inuit au XXIe siècle*). La Boîte Rouge VIF assurait la conduite d'une large démarche de concertation avec les nations autochtones tout au long des différentes étapes de production de l'exposition. Au cours de cette concertation, un vaste autoportrait culturel a été récolté, par l'application d'un programme d'activités dans chaque communauté visitée (entrevues avec experts, groupes de discussions, inventaires thématiques, visites documentées des communautés et territoires traditionnels, activités ludiques avec les jeunes). Une importante somme d'archives a été constituée, rassemblant 2 notamment quelque 250 heures de métrage audiovisuel. Au-delà des entrevues et discussions filmées, quatre stratégies principales ont été mises à profit, exploitant les forces du médium cinématographique, afin de libérer la parole autochtone : a) la visite guidée de la communauté et des territoires environnants, b) l'entrevue autour des cartes des territoires fréquentés par cette communauté, c) le vox pop – une caméra placée dans un endroit isolé où le participant seul peut adresser un message directement à la caméra avec une complète latitude, d) se mettre à disposition pour susciter et saisir les opportunités pour filmer des plans libres. De ce matériel recueilli, 24 commandes d'œuvres ont été réalisées pour les besoins du renouvellement de l'exposition permanente du MCQ, soit 11 portraits (un pour chacune des nations autochtones au Québec) ainsi que 13 capsules thématiques abordant des thèmes majeurs identifiés lors de l'analyse du contenu.

Mais tout le matériel vidéographique de cette concertation pour la scénarisation de l'exposition n'a pas été utilisé puisqu'il totalisait 250 heures d'enregistrement d'images en mouvement. Le film *Indian Time* est allé puiser dans cette somme telle une fouille archéologique la singularité du regard du réalisateur.

LA BOÎTE ROUGE VIF

La Boîte Rouge VIF est un organisme culturel autochtone à but non lucratif. La gouvernance de La BRV est assurée par un conseil d'administration à majorité autochtone. Sa mission est de valoriser les cultures autochtones en contribuant à leur transmission, à leur diffusion et à leur affirmation identitaire. La BRV s'inspire des savoirs autochtones pour

élaborer des méthodologies collaboratives en transmission par et avec les communautés et elle privilégie la création sous ses diverses formes d'expression artistiques (design, muséologie, cinéma, nouvelles technologies en interactivité et web) par et avec les communautés.

La vidéo s'est avérée aux différentes étapes d'un projet de transmission culturelle un compagnon fidèle aux multiples fonctions. D'abord utilisée comme outil d'archivage et de documentation sur des projets de recherche, la captation a ensuite évolué vers une production documentaire qui fait aujourd'hui la marque de reconnaissance de l'organisme : le cinéma de médiation culturelle.

La pratique d'un cinéma à vocation de médiation culturelle, telle que pratiquée par La BRV, s'inscrit systématiquement dans un contexte de valorisation d'individus victimes du colonialisme qui vivent encore l'oppression. L'établissement d'une relation de confiance mutuelle et égalitaire est dès lors vital, où chacun devient à la fois cochercheur et cocréateur. Les cinéastes médiateurs de La BRV travaillent donc en étroite collaboration avec les détenteurs même du patrimoine culturel à exprimer afin que l'œuvre filmique de transmission s'arrime au schème culturel de la communauté. Ainsi, à l'opposé d'une dynamique de création où l'enjeu pour le cinéaste s'avère son expression personnelle (film d'auteur), la mission du cinéaste médiateur est non seulement de mettre à contribution son savoir-faire artistique au profit d'un besoin d'expression culturelle d'un individu ou d'une collectivité, mais également de définir avec ceux-ci la méthode pour y parvenir.

Voici les plus récentes expositions réalisées par La BRV : *L'univers des Innus d'Ekuanitshit* (2013-2015), *Mziwi Abida /Prenons tous place* au Musée des Abénakis à Odanak (2014), *Parce que l'urbanité est aussi Anicinabe*, en partenariat avec le Centre d'amitié autochtone de Val d'Or (2013-2014), *C'est notre histoire. Les Premières nations et les Inuit au XXXIème siècle* en partenariat avec le Musée de la civilisation de Québec (2013). Entre autres réalisations en cours La BRV travaille sur le site internet *Voix, visages, paysages*, l'exposition itinérante *Ces femmes autochtones disparues ou oubliées*, une exposition virtuelle *Lieux de rencontres* ainsi qu'un site internet sous forme de récit audio en langues autochtones.

Il est fort important de souligner dans le cadre de la revue GIS que La BRV a tenu depuis 2008 de nombreux projets de recherche au Brésil dans cinq communautés guaranies du sud de l'État de Rio de Janeiro en partenariat avec le Museu do Índio et la FUNAI. Il a aussi développé un partenariat (2013-2016) avec le LISA du département d'anthropologie de l'Université de São Paulo et le Centro de trabalho indigenista (CTI) dans le cadre du projet *Olhares Cruzados/Regards Croisés*. L'Université

du Québec à Chicoutimi vient d'obtenir La Chaire de recherche sur la parole autochtone de l'UNESCO chaire de laquelle La BRV, le LISA et le CTI sont membres.

LES PREMIÈRES NATIONS ET LES INUIT DU QUÉBEC. BREF APERÇU

La Constitution canadienne reconnaît trois groupes de peuples autochtones : les Indiens (plus souvent appelés les Premières Nations), les Inuit et les Métis. Selon le recensement de 2016, ces populations totalisent 1 673 785 autochtones ce qui représente 4,9% de la population canadienne. 70 langues autochtones sont déclarées au Canada mais seulement 15% de ces populations parlent leur langue à la maison. Les Premières Nations du Canada représentent plus de 50 nations qui totalisent 60% de la population autochtone, ces nations elle parlent plus de 50 langues, les Inuit en forment environ 2%.

Les protagonistes du film **Indian Time** représentent les 10 Premières Nations et la nation Inuit nations qui habitent la province du Québec : Waban-Aki (Abénaquis), Anishnabeg (Algonquins), Atikamekw, Eeyou Cris), Hurons-Wendats, Innus/Ilnus, Inuit, Wolastoqiyik Malécites), Mi'gmaq, Kanien'heká:ka (Mohawks), Naskapis (voir la carte du Québec). Selon le dernier recensement 2016, ces populations autochtones qui couvrent le territoire de la province du Québec totalisent 182 890 personnes. Il existe dix langues autochtones au Québec, environ un tiers de cette population utiliserait une langue autochtone à la maison.

Les premières présences connues des Premiers Peuples datent au Québec vers les années -12 500, vers -6 000 jusqu'à vers -3 000 plusieurs sites archéologiques témoignent de leur présence tant au nord qu'au sud de la province. Vers 1 500 eurent lieu des contacts entre les autochtones du Québec et les pêcheurs et baleiniers européens. En 1534 avec Jacques-Cartier et en 1608 avec Samuel de Champlain s'est instauré le Régime français (1603-1763) soucieux de créer des Alliances. «En Nouvelle-France, où perdurait une structure du pouvoir héritée de l'époque médiévale, l'intégration des populations autochtones se réalisait dans la reconnaissance de leurs différences une fois qu'elles avaient accepté de se soumettre au roi et de s'en faire les sujets» (Delâge et Warren 2017 : 12). Il ne s'agissait pas alors d'une assimilation complète. La conquête (1759-1760) de la Nouvelle-France par l'Angleterre crée un tout autre régime pour les autochtones. «L'horizontalisation du pouvoir britannique...demandait pour sa part que ...les citoyens soient homogènes dans leurs principes et leurs valeurs, ce qui signifiait que des populations distinctes par la culture allaient être ordonnées, d'un point de vue moral, de la plus arriérée à la plus avancée... » (ibid.). Les traités entre nations autochtones de la Confédération des Sept Feux (1760) ont voulu créer une force commune

pour contrecarrer ce grand virage de la deuxième moitié du XVIIème siècle, mais l'Empire britannique se veut le maître de toute la partie nord des Amériques.

Le film **Indian** Time fait référence à toutes ces décisions de l'Empire pour régler une fois pour toutes le problème autochtone. Dans son article *Le colonialisme canadien d'hier à aujourd'hui*, Corvin Russel explique ces politiques « d'isolement par la création des réserves qui sont des territoires étroitement contrôlés où les autorités coloniales restreignent les mouvements et les activités économiques. En 1842, les premières écoles résidentielles ou pensionnats pour autochtones sont établies parallèlement. Dans ces écoles, le but est clair : détruire l'Indien dans l'enfant » (Russel 2017 : 100)

Ces politiques d'isolement et d'assimilation s'ancrent alors plus profondément lors de la fondation de la Confédération canadienne en 1867 par la création en 1876 de *La loi sur les Indiens*. Les peuples autochtones sont devenus une minorité écrasée et niée sur leurs propres territoires. Mais depuis 20 ans au moins nous pouvons parler d'une véritable renaissance des peuples autochtones au Canada et au Québec et ce, tant démographiquement que politiquement, économiquement, culturellement et artistiquement. Il y a certes encore beaucoup d'enjeux à surmonter en termes d'éducation, de langue, de santé et de territoire, mais toute une nouvelle génération est en train de prendre place.

LE RÉALISATEUR

Morasse a étudié à l'Université du Québec à Chicoutimi (Canada) où il a obtenu sa maîtrise en art, option cinéma. Son travail à La Boîte Rouge VIF (La BRV) l'amène à se définir comme cinéaste-médiateur car ses multiples expériences en production audiovisuelle ont consisté d'abord à documenter les diverses activités de La BRV tenues sur le terrain. Cette première phase dite de documentation l'a conduit à monter et à réaliser plusieurs capsules vidéographiques aux thèmes variés dans le cadre de diverses expositions dans les musées et centres culturels autochtones. Il est alors à une étape où le désir d'exprimer sa vision à titre d'auteur d'un film s'est fait fortement ressentir. Toutes ces vidéos, toutes ces archives représentant plusieurs années d'expérience sur le terrain dans les communautés autochtones lui ont ouvert une voie, un regard singulier enrichi par les différents témoignages des autochtones sur leur histoire, sur leur culture, sur les moments heureux et douloureux de leurs vies. Il a voulu revenir à la source, à sa formation professionnelle en cinéma et ainsi s'offrir l'opportunité de scénariser et monter lui-même un film avec une complète latitude, toujours dans l'objectif de respecter et de valoriser la parole autochtone. Carl Morasse a cherché à explorer cet entre-deux où pouvaient se métisser sa création personnelle et l'expression de la parole d'Autrui. Il a donc tenté d'élaborer une trame

narrative pour enchaîner les témoignages, sans aucune autre présence de sa part que son regard posé, porteur d'une expérience partagée. Aucun métadiscours ajouté, aucune stratégie communicative autre que l'identification des participants; une pleine place laissée aux individus, une tribune pour une parole recomposée à partir de voix multiples. En résulte la transmission de l'expérience d'un espace-temps, celui « indien », imposé par celui qui accueille dans sa propre maison, qui guide sur son propre territoire et qui est le propre acteur de sa destinée. Le film Indian Time construit un espace-temps où la présence du cinéaste est assumée et où il partage au spectateur ses rencontres privilégiées.

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CARL MORASSE
Carl Morasse travaille et enseigne à Chicoutimi, Québec, Canada. Cinéaste ethnographe depuis une dizaine d'années à La Boîte Rouge VIF, organisme autochtone à but non lucratif, il parcourt les territoires physiques et imaginaires du Québec, fasciné par les identités culturelles, la relation avec l'Autre et les enjeux contemporains. Par son approche artistique, il privilégie la pratique du documentaire comme outil de réappropriation identitaire. *Long-métrage* : Indian Time (2016). Courts-métrages : *L'univers des Innus d'Ekuanitshit* (2015), *C'est notre histoire: Premières Nations et Inuit du Québec au 21ᵉ siècle* (2013), *Préliminaires* (2011), *Matière première* (2008), *Approche commune* (2007), *Fragments d'un sommet oublié* (2004), *Sélection Naturelle* (2003), *Ainsi les Bergers* (2002).

Brussels, Belgium **CRISTINA ROSAL**

SILENCE, FADO IS GOING TO BE SUNG

figure 1
Brito (1994, capa)

According to Vieira Nery (2004, 17) "The first aspect to be verified in the search for the historical roots of fado is that until the end of the 18th century we do not know a single Portuguese written source in which this word is used with any musical connotation".

Before the beginning of the 19th century the word fado was only used with the meaning of its Latin root *fatum*, which means destiny or fate. With this meaning it appears in texts of poets and writers. As an example, the beautiful poem of Luís de Camões (1524-1580/ Camões, 1994, 123):

At what voice shall I weep my sad fate,
who in so harsh a passion has buried me.
May the pain not be that left me time,
of my well-despondent

Or like in this one from Bocage (1765-1805/ Bocage, 1968, 378):

But in the voracious bosom of misfortune,
Monster by whose mouth I was swallowed
Part of a thought pain heals me
The unfortunate (not by fault, only by fado)
In those hearts where there is tenderness
It's more interesting, it's more loved

The earliest references to the word fado being associated to music were described in the early 19th century by scholars who visited Brazil at the time.

The Venetian geographer Adriano Balbi (1822), quoted by Nery (2004, 19), considers that "O *chiú*, *chula*, fado and *volta e meio* are the most common and most remarkable dances in Brazil".

figure 2
Nery (2004, 28)

Also quoted by Nery (2004, 19), Frenchman Louis-Charles Frecynet (1827) reports that "There are five or six [dances] that are very characteristic: Lundu is the most indecent, then there are the carangueijo and the fados [...] sometimes they are interspersed with very free sung melodies. Various types of figures are in these songs, all of them very voluptuous".

Nery (2004, 20) quotes the German Carl Schlichthorst (1829), who emphasises: "The favorite dance of the blacks is called fado, it consists of a movement that gently swings and shakes the body, expressing the most voluptuous feelings of the person in a manner that is as natural as it is indecent".

THE FADO OF LISBON

My intent here is not to dwell on the origins of fado, since it is a theme that creates very diverse thesis and causes great controversy. I cannot say if the origins are in Africa, in the Arab world, in Brazil, or in the coastal communities of mainland Portugal. I am not a musicologist or a historian. I am a singer who loves to sing and talk about fado as if it were a friend. Furthermore, given the context we are, to me it seems more relevant to speak of fado itself: of its social framework since its existence; of its most striking characteristics; of the contents sung; the musical base and the instruments used; traditional fado and the improvisation. With the experience I have, I will try to explain the strange consistency of a genre that all Portuguese people recognise as their own, which the whole world recognises as Portuguese.

Joaquim Pais de Brito (1994, 15) reminds us that:

> Fernando Pessoa (1888-1935), in response to the survey carried out by the *Notícias Ilustrado* with intellectuals and artists in 1929, gave the following poetic formulation of approach to fado: "Fado is neither joyful or sad. It's an interval. It formed the Portuguese soul, when this soul did not exist, wishing everything without the strength to wish it [...]/ Fado is the weariness of a strong soul, the contempt of Portugal upon the God in whom it believed and whom it was abandoned./ In fado the Gods return, legitimate and far away". In its hermetism, this sequence of images presents some of the signs of "belonging" that are projected on the practices and representations of fado – fate, the Portuguese soul, weariness, desire, closeness to sadness –, at the same time it reveals the plurality, uncertainty, variation and the temporal, cultural and social depth that accompany this phenomenon.

Fado emerged as a recognisable musical form in Lisbon. Seaports have always been places of departure and arrival of people and goods, the same boats carried other cultures, sounds and songs. The sound of lundu and modinhas hovered in Lisbon, it was the musical fusion arriving and leaving.

According to Nery (2012, abstract):

> The history of Portuguese Fado is a long process of inter-cultural exchanges. African rhythms and dance patterns mingled with European harmonies and forms in the multicultural context of colonial Brazil creating a heavily sensual dance also sung by the participants, which crossed the Atlantic to settle in the popular neighbourhoods around the port of Lisbon. The interaction between the Brazilian model and the local Portuguese song traditions gradually led to the disappearance of the element of dance and to the attenuation of the original syncopated rhythm. These changes privileged a mourning and nostalgic atmosphere, with a strong rubato in the declamation of the poem.

The first references to the fado of Lisbon date back to the first decades of the 19th century. On July 26, 1820, Maria Severa Onofriana (1820-1846) was born, thus, fado gained its emblematic "foundational figure", the Severa.

figure 3
Brito (1994, 142)

Severa was a prostitute by profession and revered by her talents as a singer, she became one of the mythical characters in the history of fado. Severa was a significant representative of the environment to which fado was associated during its first phase: prostitution, along with all the social and physical environment around it, the taverns, brothels, sailors, vagabonds and pimps, the fado singer perfectly fits this context. The *fadista* was associated with the immorality, the marginality – a *scoundrel*.

Fado emerged among the poorest groups of the population, from those who had no regular job in the older, degraded and almost mazy districts, where the lack of light hid the marginality.

Fado lyrics were transmitted orally and their themes were the episodes of a marginal daily life: crimes, announced deaths, natural catastrophes, as well as the neighborhood life or the evils of love.

With a very simple melodic structure, fado valued the interpretation of who sang/recounted, appealing to the communion between the interpreter, musicians and listeners. Hence the phrase we still hear today: "the person who listens is as much of a *fadista* as the one who sings!"

Between the sad and sorrowful Fado Menor (figure 6) and the rapid, ironic and rascal Fado Corrido (figure 7) with quatrain, quintain or sestet stanzas and decasyllable verses, popular poetry had its place and fado was happening.

figure 6

OS MEUS OLHOS SÃO DOIS CÍRIOS
Linhares Barbosa, Fado Menor
(LISA/USP, 3', 2017)
image and sound: Rose Satiko Hikiji
edition: Leo Fuzer
link password: fado2017

figure 7

SONHO ANTIGO
Pedro Fortes Figueira, Fado Corrido
(LISA/USP, 3', 2017)
image and sound: Rose Satiko Hikiji
edition: Leo Fuzer
link password: fado2017

Allow me to note that the Menor and the Corrido are part of a famous "triad" along with the Mouraria (figure 8), a kind of *fadista trinity*.

figure 8

O MEU AMOR ANDA EM FAMA
João Ferreira Rosa, João Mário Veiga, Fernando Pessoa, Carlos Conde, Fado Mouraria (LISA/USP, 3', 2017)
image and sound: Rose Satiko Hikiji
edition: Leo Fuzer
link password: fado2017

Most of these fados have two tones, the most basic *fadista* repertoire. Mouraria is the best style to improvise *fadista* battles, to sing "à *desgarrada*". Due to the simple musical structure of these three fados (allowing any musician to accompany them, even with a guitar only) and the lyrics being sung "in quatrain" (the most popular poetical form), they became a "mandatory reference" to everyone who participates in the "Fado act" – singers/story tellers, musicians and the public. Despite being extremely basic, a *fadista* night nowadays without the Menor, Corrido or Mouraria is highly improbable, which takes us directly to the beginnings of fado.

To close this note; I must highlight that in the distant past the tobacco, the wine, the hoarse and rough voice were associated with fado. Fado, more than anything that was about singing a story or something improvised.

Political events that occurred during the last decades of the 19th century, such as the fall of the monarchy and the establishment of the Republic in 1910, caused important changes on national level and on the city of Lisbon.

For example, an emerging working class appears and begins to distance itself from the poorest groups of the population, wanting to show its own identity and characteristics.

Spaces and situations for meetings start to multiply during this period, and fado becomes a vehicle of sociability.

Fado is absorbed by this new and emerging class, not only as a pretext to meet people, but also as a way to narrate their lives, becoming a form of social and moral criticism (for example, showing the contrast between the rich and the poor, between the just and the unjust).

According to Nery (2012, abstract):

> When the bohemian aristocracy and the urban middle classes "'rediscover" this genre in the 1860s and 1870s, fado starts being played in light musical theatres, being published in leaflet editions, and eventually becoming a favorite of the emerging record industry.

Thus, fado is no longer enjoyed only by a very specific and marginal group, but by the general population, appearing in small publications, charity parties, etc.

figure 9
Nery (2004, 81)

From the end of the 19th century until the beginning of the 20th century, places and situations where fado occur proliferate, such as taverns, cultural and recreational societies.

However, the main transformations in fado occur with the political regime established by the military coup of 1926, which ends the first Republic and marks the beginning of a dictatorship.

The regime imposes prior censorship, establishing laws regarding the conditions and places where fado could happen in public. The lyrics sung by *fadistas* were censored by the established authority.

figures 10 and 11
Brito (1994, 221)
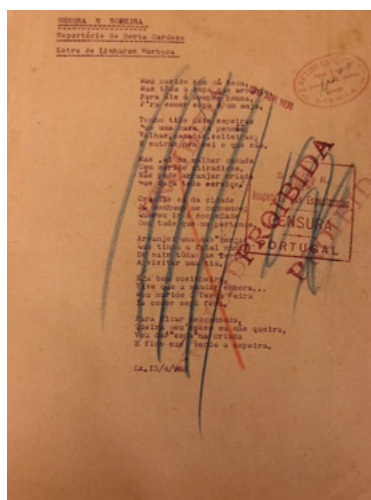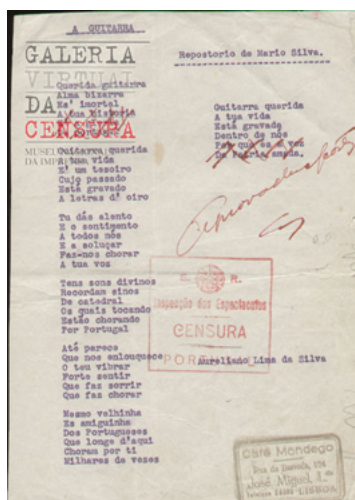
Fadistas were obliged to have a professional card to sing in public; to obtain it they had to prove that they had no criminal records.

figure 12
Brito (1994, 95)

This caused fado to lose its spontaneity, its characteristics and its improvising style, changing from an everyday gesture to a spectacle full of limitations and rules.

At the same time the radio contributed to spread the genre, it also promoted the subtlest forms of censorship, selecting the voices and forms of singing that were socially accepted by the regime. Censorship reigns supreme.
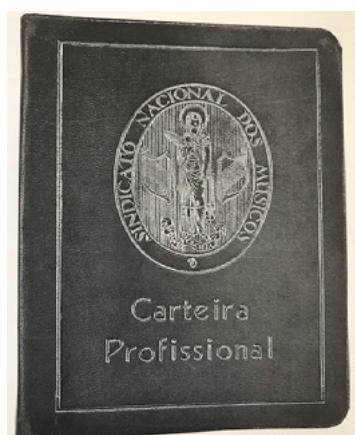
The repression also increased through police action on the places where fado was sung, limiting it to fado houses or specialised and over-homogenised restaurants.

Thus, fado moves from the marginalised groups where it was born, to be constituted as a form of stable and institutionalized manifestation, which was very well accepted by the dictatorship.

One of the consequences of the transition from the "everyday-fado" to a "spectacle-fado" was how *fadistas* dressed. In the past, the image had no importance, when it became a spectacle the fadistas begun to dress with pomp, and a colorful shawl became a fundamental prop for any woman singing fado.

During the dictatorship and within this context, Amália Rodrigues (1920-1999) surfaces. If the dictatorship forced deep transformations in the places where fado could be sung and defined who could sing it, emptying it of spontaneity and improvisation, Amália Rodrigues was undoubtedly the great landmark and who most revolutionized this Portuguese musical expression. In my opinion, which is shared by many, there is one fado before and another fado after Amália.

Amália Rodrigues gave to fado the poems, the voice and black as a color. She also dared to sing new melodies that went completely beyond the traditional canons of fado. "Standard fados" were abandoned for the notion of a "fado with its own music". These melodies were mostly written by the Frenchman born in Portugal, Alain Oulman (1928-1990) (figure 13).

figure 13

VAGAMUNDO
Luís de Macedo, Alain Oulman
(LISA/USP, 3', 2017)
image and sound: Rose Satiko Hikiji
edition: Leo Fuzer
link password: fado2017

Amalia is a fundamental reference, as she dared to change and changed almost everything. She was criticised by the purists due to her style of singing – said to sing with Spanish style or to sing "operas" instead of fados – she received a lot of criticism, but nothing stopped her and Amalia won.

Amalia Rodrigues started singing the poems of great Portuguese poets during the decade of 1950. From Luis de Camões to the erudite poets of her time: David Mourão Ferreira, Pedro Homem de Mello, Alexandre O'Neill, among others. She also sung poems by the Brazilian Vinícius de Moraes. Due to Amalia, poems reach a status they had never had in the history of fado.

Amália and her new form of singing fado were very successful, thus, the dictatorship used fado – and especially Amália Rodrigues – as a business card for the country. For this reason, fado and Amália Rodrigues were criticised after the end of the dictatorship on April 25, 1974, since for many Portuguese they were the image of the regime. Nowadays, this issue is completely surpassed, and the image of both fado and Amália Rodrigues has recovered.

From the 1990s onwards, a generation of *fadistas* with significant national and international recognition appeared. Due to the strength of the market, everything must be catalogued to be sold, this generation became part of the category named World Music. The presence of fado became almost mandatory at these types of events. In 2011, Fado was declared an Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO.

The fado played nowadays has lost a lot of its narrative character, of describing the daily or contradictory aspects of society, the intention of a "final" moral conclusion has also disappeared. What remains is a lament, a murmur, the imminence of a tear, the pain being performed, joy, exultation, a way of feeling shared by those who interpret, accompany or watch.

A NIGHT OF FADOS

The silence and complicity of those who listen are expected when fado is going to be sung. When there is noise in the room hearing "the person who hears is as much of a *fadista* as the one who sings!", or "Silence, fado is being sung!". For those who sing fado, the silence in the room is more important than the applause after the performance. This characteristic is what makes a fado performance a collective act of celebration, it is in this sense that we can also speak of emotional sharing, rather than spectacular art.

figure 15
(Brito, 83)

There is no sound amplification in a fado house, it is sung "dry". Silence is fundamental for the emotion expressed by the *fadista* during the performance, but also for the instruments that accompany the voice to be heard, allowing the dialogue between the voice and the Portuguese guitar.

Fado is traditionally accompanied by a regular guitar and a Portuguese guitar, which is a fundamental instrument in fado.

The Portuguese guitar is a very probable evolution of the English guitar, since its disappearance. Introduced in Portugal from the English colonies through Lisbon and Porto, the English guitar was widely known in the European salons during the 18th century. This instrument is pear-shaped and derives from the zither, it had 10 strings grouped into four pairs, plus two loose strings. This guitar was used exclusively in the bourgeoisie circles and by the nobility of the urban salons, being associated to the accompaniment of Italian canons of a more erudite character.
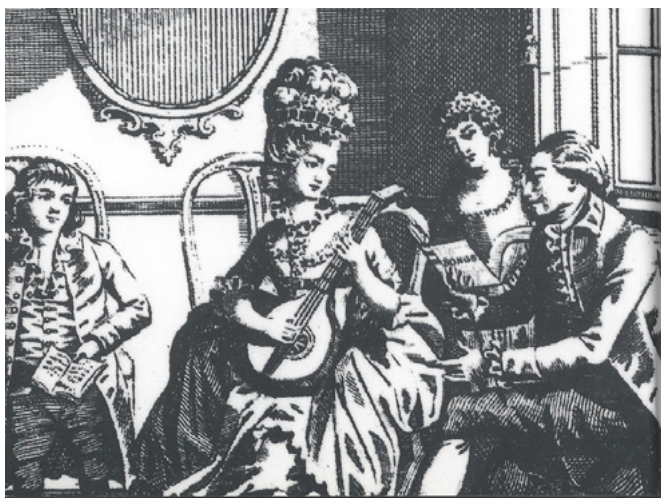
The designation "Portuguese guitar" was given on the beginning of the 19th century and refers to the model with six pairs of strings, a change probably made in Portugal. Reports of this guitar being associated to the *fadista* performative context appear only in the 1840s, from this moment on it assumed a role of absolute centrality.

Sometimes the acoustic bass and, more recently, the double bass can be used in a fado session.

The guitar provides the rhythmic and harmonic base of the song, and the Portuguese guitar improvises phrases sustained by rich harmonies, thus, dialoguing with the voice. The Portuguese guitar rarely plays the same fado the same way. I must emphasize that very recently some written scores were created and more importantly, at the start of the 21st century the Portuguese guitar was accepted on the National Conservatory of Lisbon, with the same status as the other musical instruments taught there. Until then, it was considered a popular instrument, devalued and associated only with fado. Carlos Paredes (1925-2004) contributed passionately and excellently to the appreciation of the Portuguese guitar as an autonomous instrument, travelling the world with his Portuguese guitar and his original instrumental compositions[1].

figure 18
O Fado do Público (2004, CD n° 16, 49)

The taste for fado by younger generations (and by the older *fadistas* and instrumentalists) allows this musical genre to continue to happen in a free and improvised way, like certain instances of tango, blues, or flamenco.

The city of Lisbon is home to a great variety of fado houses, some of them directly aimed at tourists - where there is no room for improvisation –, and others in which fado happens in a free and true way, the houses of the so-called "Fado vadio" ("vagabond Fado"). This means that there is a Portuguese guitar and a resident guitar player. Usually there is a *fadista* hired by the house and then there are the clients, neighbors and friends of the house who like to sing fado, so they ask to sing, always with a certain triage made by the owner of the tavern, restaurant or fado house.

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1 Available at: <https://goo.gl/YmBgW5>. Access on: Dec. 4, 2017.

And how is it possible that fado happens in these environments without the *fadistas* and the musicians knowing each other? Without rehearsals or previous preparation?

The reason is that the Lisbon Fado has at least 150 melodies/traditional fados – the fado *Tango*, the *Margaridas*, the *Sem Pernas*, the *Maria Vitória*, the *Santa Luzia*, the *Alberto*, etc. A good guitar player of fado should know them all in all tones, remember that a lot of traditional fado melodies are simple. Above all, the interpretation of who sings and the dialogue with the musicians are what gives the fado richness.

Therefore, when the fadista is asked to play, he/she asks the musicians for the "*Fado Alberto*" in la or the "*Fado Georgino*" in mi. The singer must tell them whether the pace is slow or "choppy" (fast). The *fadista* chooses the poem of their preference, it can be an erudite or popular poem (figure 19). On a same night of fados, we can hear the same melody being played several times, with different poems and interpretations. To detect that the melody being played is of the same fado, the person must have an extensive knowledge of fado.

figure 19

NÃO PASSES COM ELA À MINHA RUA/QUASE
Carlos Conde (poeta popular) e Quase, Mário de Sá Carneiro (poeta erudito),
Fado Alberto (Miguel Ramos)
(LISA/USP, 5', 2017)
image and sound: Rose Satiko Hikiji
edition: Leo Fuzer
link password: fado2017

Usually, each *fadista* sings three or four fados and there are several intervals during the night so the people can engage in conversations and the clients can be served, because while the fado is being sung the absolute silence must reign. The owner of the house is critical for the control and request of silence. Furthermore, the more attentive and experienced public will not hesitate to insist on silence if there is someone disturbing the performance.

The fados "with their own music" that Amália Rodrigues and Alain Oulman introduced – and which are very common among younger *fadistas* – are rarely played in this type of environment. They are fados with elaborate melodies, which are more difficult to transpose and that require rehearsals, which is not compatible with this type of environment where the "Fado vadio" occurs.

This form of singing fado in which improvisation is fundamental, can make some nights not very memorable, but others can be absolutely glorious. On several occasions I have entered a fado house where the singing began at 10:00 PM, only ending at 4:00 or 5:00 AM. The fingers of the guitar players can barely resist in these circumstances, despite playing every day.

TO FINISH...

For a type of dance to become a song format is not impossible, this is probably what happened to fado. Therefore, questioning how a dance could have gained song form in an urban context (Lisbon) crossed by multiple traditional musical genres, is legitimate at the very least. Or questioning how the musical basis of a syncopated choreography may be the origin of the musicality of fado.

Therefore, fado will have a "beginning, middle and end" where the songs present in the popular districts of Lisbon during the 16th and 17th centuries intersected. This is what we can call the "musicality of fado".

The fixation of this musicality on what we would call a "genre" is a long process in which each "tale-teller adds a detail"; or if we prefer, each *fadista* adds a fado, each guitar player adds a melody or a harmony.

The contemporary musicality of fado can be understood as a combination of all factors that were added and multiplied for over two centuries. The musical picture we have nowadays is the result of this creative plurality.

We may try to define regularities, harmonic patterns, rhythmic structure, and we will certainly be confronted by something recognisable in its own singularity. However, it is also true that several other musical forms could be recognised as fado by these same characteristics. This could be the reason for so many songs being easily "*afadistáveis*" (sung in the mood of *fado*).

The context of the fado ritual is composed by the other part of the fado – the one in which even those who are not singing or playing participate voluntarily, adopting the same cultural register of the artists.

As I said before, "the person who listens is as much of a *fadista* as the one who sings!"

Silence, which is a strong signal of the fado performance, may have been one of the forms of ritualising it.

Initially recited or sung in "noisy" environments (such as a tavern), it would not be surprising if anyone who wanted to understand the story told by the *fadista* asked for less noise (or even silence).

I would not be surprised if this was one of the characteristics of the "dynamic crystallization" of various elements of what was conventionally called fado in its earliest days (this is only a speculation with no scientific basis).

In my opinion, silence is a key element in the musicality of fado. Without silence, dado does not happen.

Silence, fado is going to be sun…!

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Movimento perpétuo – Carlos Paredes - Available from: https://goo.gl/YmBgW5

Não passes com ela à minha rua – Carlos Conde (poeta popular) e Quase – Mário de Sá Carneiro (poeta erudito)/ Fado Alberto (Miguel Ramos). Image and sound: Rose Satiko Hikiji. Edition: Leo Fuzer. LISA/USP, 2017, 5 minutos - Available from: https://vimeo.com/lisausp/quase

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

In the English version of this text, all terms that derive from the word fado were kept in Portuguese. Namely, the word "*fadista*", which is recurrent throughout the text. Translating this term to "fado singer" would greatly narrow its sense. A "*fadista*" sings fado; but as for other performing arts, the unique fadista's attitude, feeling, emotion, life story, convictions, ... are prominently present during what one may call a "celebration". Singing is virtually the added value of the fado happening. Therefore, only the first mention of "*fadista*" in the text was translated to "fado singer"(page 5) for ease of reference.

Furthermore, the names of traditional/standard fados were not translated.

CRISTINA ROSAL

Cristina Rosal, Portuguese, born in Mozambique in 1960, has a degree in Sociology from the Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (ISCTE), lives in Brussels – Belgium, is an international worker (European Union), a singer when the soul demands and a lover of fado.

GIƧ

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CAROLINA DE CAMARGO ABREU

SKULLS OF PERFORMANCE, THE BONES OF A COMMON AFFILIATION: JOHN DAWSEY INTERVIEWS RICHARD SCHECHNER

FRAGMENTS FROM SCHECHNER IN BRAZIL
32'09", english, 2014

During his visit to the University of São Paulo in mid-2012, Richard Schechner spent a morning with John C. Dawsey for an interview. The two researchers and teachers already had crossed fates by some of their common interests, but their meeting surprised many of us with their fun and playfulness.

Schechner's illustrious visit, the personality who was one of the founders of the Department of Performance Studies at the Tisch School of the Arts at New York University in the early 1980's, was organized by the Centre of Anthropology, Performance and Drama (known as NAPEDRA for Núcleo de Antropologia, Performance e Drama), University of São Paulo, coordinated since its beginning in 2001 by John Dawsey.

Richard Schechner, one of the most cited and well-known references in the field of the performance studies[1], was not intimidated by the narrowness of the economy class seat for the long flight to Brazil with stopover in Panama. He arrived well-disposed and behaved like a hurricane on the days he was here: he showed a relentless breath to offer lectures, present seminars, coordinate workshops, dance capoeira, write down thoughts, draw motions and ask a lot of questions.

His acting posture was cradled in avant-garde theater: he was founder and director between 1967 and 1980 of the New York experimental theater The Performance Group - TPG, which later became Wooster Group. In 1992, he founded another theater company, East Coast Artists, where he worked as an artistic director until 2009[2]. His initial proposals carried out street theater experiments, protested against the Vietnam War, relied on ancient Indian texts to invent training for actors, the Rasabox[3].

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1 In the year 2014, there were author's publications in 17 different languages. Some of his main books are: *Environmental Theater* (1973/2000); *Between Theater and Anthropology* (1985); *Performance Theory* (1988, 2003a); *The Future of Ritual: Writings on Culture and Performance* (1993); *Performance Studies: an introduction* (2002, 2006). There are five pieces of his work that were translated to Portuguese, they are: "*Pontos de Contato entre o pensamento antropológico e teatral*" (2011a), "*11 de Setembro, Arte de Vanguarda?*" (2011b), "*A Vanguarda Conservadora*" (2012b), "'*Pontos de Contato' revisitados*" (2013), "*Podemos ser o (novo) Terceiro Mundo?*" (2014). There is also the compilation "*Performance e Antropologia de Richard Schechner*" (2012a), organized by Zeca Ligério.

2 In the theater Richard Schechner produced and directed: *Dionysus in 69* (1968), *Commune* (1970), *The Tooth of Crime* (1972), *Mother Courage and Her Children* (1975), *Oedipus* (1977), *Faust / Gastronome Three Sisters* (1995), *Hamlet* (1999), *YokastaS* (2003), *Swimming to Spalding* (2009), *Imagining O* (with three versions: 2011, 2012, 2014), among other works. Some of these pieces were staged in other languages and in countries of different continents.

3 Offered as a training or workshop, the Rasabox is a technique developed by Schechner from his research on philosophy and performance in India. "Rasa" is the central term in the *Nātyasāstra* of *Bharata Muni*, text on Indian classical aesthetics of approximately 2,000

Richard Schechner has always seemed to challenge the boundaries between the audience and the actors to redefine the senses of performance.

Schechner is still the editor of The Drama Review - TDR and has also edited a series of important books to the field of performance studies. This field that he extended with his artistic-intellectual performance and opened with a conception of performance that gives account of a wide range of practices: theater, play, ritual, dance, music, parties, popular entertainments, sports, politics, interactions of everyday life, etc.

Schechner's visit to the University of São Paulo was an event desired by students and researchers at NAPEDRA, instigated that they were by the readings of Schechner's dialogues with Victor Turner. His coming was carried out under the thematic project of research "Anthropology of Performance: drama, aesthetics and ritual"[4], which investigated, discussed and performed the paradigms of theater in anthropology with a view to the varied, changing and fluid forms of the concept.

NAPEDRA, which brings together researchers in search of knowledge associated with the performing arts and researchers of the arts interested in anthropology, mirrors in its own way the meeting of the theatrical director who made his anthropological learning with Victor Turner, the anthropologist who, in turn, in his relationship with Schechner, became an apprentice of theater[5].

Two are the landmark books of the open field with this encounter: *From Ritual to Theater: The Human Seriousness of Play*, by Turner (1982); and *Between Theater and Anthropology*, by Schechner (1985). An interdisciplinary field, *between* anthropology and theater, which in the NAPEDRA experience is configured as an "off-center and expanding universe" (Dawsey et al 2013, 21).

Assuming the discussion not only of the social foundations of aesthetic life, but also of the aesthetic foundations of social life, the NAPEDRA researchers drew on Schechner's text, *Ritual to Theater and Back: The Efficacy-Entertainment Braid* (2003)[6] to think of the twisted interactions of ritual with theater, as well as of aesthetic dramas with social dramas.

years. *Nātyasāstra* is a large book of about 4,000 pages dealing with myths and the origins of the performing arts: dance, music, theater.

4 The project was possible because the support of FAPESP (Processo FAPESP no. 2006/53006-2).

5 Victor Turner and Richard Schechner became colleagues and interlocutors since their meeting in the USA in 1977, until Turner's death in 1982.

6 Currently published as one of the revised chapters of Performance Theory (2003). This essay was first published in December 1974, entitled "Ritual to Theater and Back: The Structure / Process of the Efficacy-Entertainment", in Educational Theater Journal, Vol. 26, No. 4.

Schechner, like Turner, seeks to show continuities between ritual and theatrical manifestations, but avoids the unidirectional orientation of the emergence of theater from ritual. Rituals produce theatrical events, and theaters can provoke ritualistic experiences. Performances are thus seen as braids of elements of ritual and theater. And the more "braided" the performances are, the more electrifying they tend to be, Dawsey believes[7].

In Schechner's (1985b) "Selective Inattention" essay, we find the symbol of infinity-loop model to think of the continuous interactions between aesthetic dramas and social dramas. Life and art reinventing itself, overlapping, creating hybrid forms. It is an interactive and matrix mirroring process.

If the texts and films of the researches of NAPEDRA sought to contribute to the consolidation of the field of performance anthropology in Brazil, besides the delimitation of an empirical field, Dawsey points out (2013b), the notion of social drama produces a methodological deviation, a theoretical inflection. It invites our attention to the gaze that comes from the margins[8], to dramatic moments or to interruption of social life, moments of danger.

In many of these researches, published in *Antropologia e performance: ensaios NAPEDRA* (2013), can be detected the perspective of deviations suggested by Walter Benjamin and the epic theater of Bertold Brecht. John Dawsey (2013b) even proposes a "Benjaminian anthropology" to rethink the paradigms of dramatic theater.

The desired meeting between Richard Schechner and John Dawsey did not happen without theatrical play. There were consecutive days of exchange between places in the audience and on the stage: seminars, lectures, a Rasabox workshop, capoeira, Afro-Brazilian dance, the play *Bom Retiro*, *958 metros* presented by Teatro da Vertigem, this interview recorded on video.

The meetings are always full of exchanges. Inevitably, when we meet, we exchange: looks, ideas, suspicions and trusts, smiles. Perhaps the sense of exchange (trocar, in Portuguese) has affinities with that of touch (tocar). At these encounters, we come together, we intermix, intersect. Transformations occur. Something is revealed, sometimes with estrangement.

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7 Vide "Tranças [apresentação]" in *Antropologia e performance: ensaios NAPEDRA* (2013).

8 John Dawsey (2007) notes that the etymology of "theory" as well as "theater" refers to the "seeing" - from the Greek *thea*. He considers, then, that the way Roland Barthes defines theater - as an activity that calculates the place from which things are seen (Barthes, 1990) - is particularly relevant to anthropology.

For the interview, Schechner and Dawsey set the stage: they created a peculiar scene in one of the rooms of the Laboratory of Image and Sound in Anthropology - LISA of USP. They selected and moved various objects to frame their dialogue. Objects previously forgotten on some shelf or corner of the laboratory were called to protagonism and animated the game between the two: old cameras, typewriter, indigenous clay sculpture of a multiple subject.

Featured is a B&W photograph - probably from the 1940s or 1950s - of a small crowd that looks at us, smiling, but defiantly shame. The three cameras also are aimed at the audience. Old and mechanical cameras stare at this 21st century digital, which then records the interview. Eyes and lenses that seem to face the viewers, a mirroring revealed by inversion.

There is also a wall clock hanging from the computer's shelf - which, incidentally, has disappeared from its usual place. The analog clock reminds us of time, which rotates counting the same minutes, repetitively, twice a day.

In building the setting for their meeting, Schechner and Dawsey evoked a common affiliation: a grandmother with a scientist's apron. Between the two professors of performance anthropology was invited to sit a grandmother skeleton with more body than skull.

The joke with academic serenity illuminated the metatheatre of science. The presence of the skeleton sseemed to revolve the earth of lower stratums - and of those who have been buried - in this mixed and moving field of theater and anthropology. Something about the past lives, the predecessors, the remembered ancestors and also those forgotten. A common bond in a conversation with some unanswered questions.

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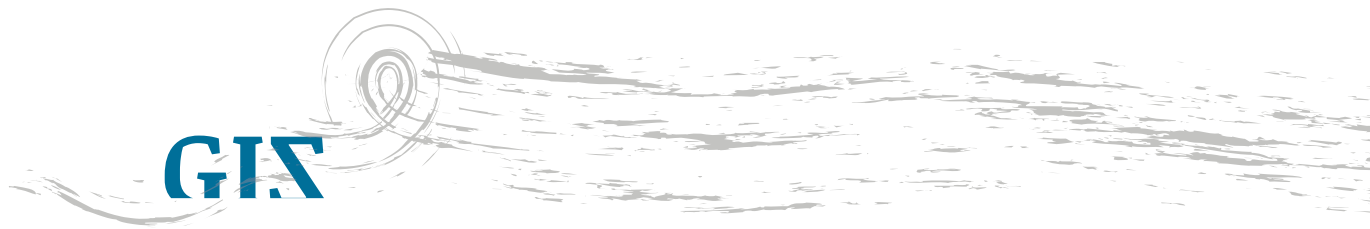
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RUI MOURÃO

LA MILAGROSA: A VISUAL ESSAY ON RITUALS AND AESTHETICS OF AFRO-CUBAN SYNCRETISM

LA MILAGROSA
24'07", 2016

directed, image, editing and production: Rui Mourão interview: Reina "Santera" location: Casa de Reina "Santera"; (outskirts of Havana, Cuba), Cristóbal Colón cemetery (Havana, Cuba), National Sanctuary de S. Lázaro (Cuba). soundtrack: Canto para Chango (choral and drums for rituals of Santeria, performed by Abbilona); sacred choral music recorded in religious celebration in the National Sanctuary of S. Lázaro

LA MILAGROSA transports us through the *Santeria*'s visual universe, a religious syncretism between African deities and Catholic religiosities that was generated throughout the Spanish colonization process in Cuba. Black slaves, in an oppression context, developed their own languages and religious-cultural processes that resulted from their assimilation as they expressed a significant resistance through the subversion of iconographic and performative senses.

Given that African rituals were forbidden, slaves would disguise these rituals as Catholic saint adoration, with whom they established secret formal, symbolic and mystical correspondences relating to their ancestral gods – the *orixas* (Linares 1993). Such beliefs and religious practices were not only developed during the slavery period but they were historically perpetuated after slavery abolition, independence from Spanish colonialism, white elite domination connected to North American neocolonialism, and continued to exist in an officially atheist communist political context.

As a visual witness of the perpetuation of the Ioruba mythology, brought from Africa to a "New World" island, the video reveals a subtle but vast pantheon of tribal gods through saints, street corners and colours present in flowers, fabrics, sweets, candles, doves, clothing, bead necklaces and bracelets, amongst several objects of appropriate mystical purpose (for example, dolls, shells, drums, maracas, living plants, aquariums, pots, fans, boomerangs, money, billiard balls, beer cans, golden or copper objects, etc.). At that level, religious practices appear related to symbolic elements with their own aesthetical characteristics (Casanova 2012; Glean 2011): water and the colour blue (correspondent to the sea and motherhood goddess – Yemaya – syncretized with the Virgin of Regla, who also wears a blue mantle); subtle chromatic variations of yellow (for example, bananas, that correspond to the love and sensuality goddess Oshun); wood elements, percussion instruments and red and white (corresponding to Shango, the thrones, bolts, justice, dance and fire *orixa*, evoked by chants and drums, like "Canto para Chango" that can be heard in this visual essay soundtrack, interpreted by Abbilona, historical reference in *Santeria*'s ritual music; here the syncretism happens between Saint Marcus and Saint Theresa).

LA MILAGROSA drives the spectator through domestic altars of a *santera* (woman that works with *Santeria*). The track includes the bigger altars of *Santeria* apparatus (with colourful typology normally present at home entrance halls), as well as other more discrete ones in the backyard, that also display rawer nature-related elements (for example, sticks, stones, shells and water) hidden in a dark cloth covered hole (similar to the ones hidden in the bottom of *senzalas*, where slaves would secretly practice their rituals).

The visual narrative later leaves the Afro-Cuban ritual's private domain and goes through a Catholic typology's public space, which equally became a *Santeria* iconic place: the *Cementerio Cristóval Colón*, in Havana, nominated during the colonial time in honor of the European "discoverer" of America. It is frequently considered one of the world's most beautiful cemeteries. In the video, we see a woman walking in search of a grave, amidst an expressive Carrara marble funeral statuary, from the period of white and post-colonial elite's great wealth. Along the way there is an ethnographic record of all those that work, restore and visit the cemetery (which has been gaining tourist interest). The performative quotidian at the cemetery received a choreographic dimension on the video after its edition.

After a continuous tour followed by a long search through the cemetery, the camera stops at a grave that was considered miraculous by the local population. It is the grave of a woman buried in 1903, Amelia, who was entombed after giving birth to a child that died during labour. Legend says, when the tomb was exhumed 13 years later, the mother and child's bodies were not only intact but also they had moved to embrace each other. The belief in that grave miraculous powers started after that story, and nowadays it is a popular pilgrimage place for wishes for fertility, pregnancy and child-birth.

Finally, the video shows nocturnal images of one of Cuba's biggest processions, with thousands of people, first towards Saint Lazarus sanctuary and later already inside it. The sanctuary importance is owed to Saint Lazarus, which corresponds to Babalu-Aye *orixa*, infirmity healer. The video documents the existence in that procession of a series of Catholic practices impregnated with a black cultural presence connected to body performativity and elements such as water (church holy water and water in glasses to offer to saints, as in *Santeria*) or fire and smoke (lighting purple candles and smoking cigars at the temple). There are those that wear burlap to evoke Saint Lazarus, the beggar. It is noteworthy to point out that the candles and flowers offered are also purple because it is the colour that corresponds to Babalu-Aye *orixa*.

In summary, this visual essay documents a series of actions, experiences and environments that support the importance of ritual as a symbolic communication cultural system that has standardized sequences, which are expressed through several media, agents and performativities. In that sense, as in any other ritual sequences, these also "have content and arrangements characterized by various degrees of formality (conventionality), stereotypy (strictness), condensation (fusion) and redundancy (repetition)" (Peirano 2003: 11).

From a formal point of view, the video appeals to double image games side by side aiming at combinations of meaning, where it is not only:

image A + image B = meaning AB; but instead: image A + image B = meaning ABC. That is, the purpose is that the meaning of the simultaneous combination of images is not only superior to the mere meaning of the same individual images presented separately, as it reverberates new meanings generated by that combination.

Within the artistic line developed by Rui Mourão, this work adopts video art as a medium, visual anthropology as a process and performative dimensions of cultural practice as an object of analysis.

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RUI MOURÃO

Rui Mourão (1977, Lisboa) studied Arts (UAB+CECC, Barcelona; Maumaus, Lisbon; Malmö Art Academy, Malmö-Sweden). He holds a graduate degree in Digital Visual Cultures and a Master's degree in Anthropology (both from ISCTE, Lisbon). He is a PhD candidate in Artistic Studies at Universidade Nova, Lisbon). He makes video art and was selected for *LOOP – Video Art Festival* (Barcelona) and for *FUSO – The Video Art International Annual of Lisbon*, where he received the *Audience Award, 2010*. He presented a film at Portuguese Cinematheque (nominee for Best Documentary in Queer Lisboa Cinema Festival – 2013). He did art residencies, performances, conferences, wrote papers, two books (one of individual and another of collective authorship). He had more than 50 exhibitions presented in 16 countries (ex: Spaces, Cleveland; Iklectik Art-Lab, London; MNAC, Lisbon; Palazzo Albrizzi, Venice; National Museum of Ethnography Museu Nacional de Etnologia, Lisboa; Künstlerhaus Bethanien, Berlim).
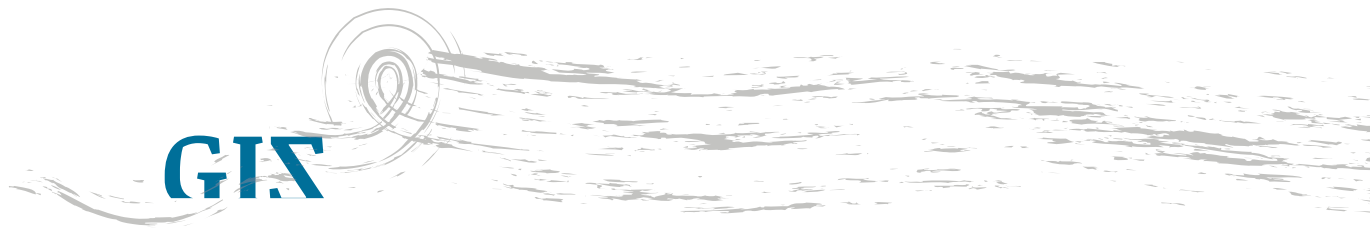
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THIAGO DA COSTA OLIVEIRA

A FESTIVAL IN THE RIO SUBURBS: PERSONS AND THINGS SURROUNDING COSMAS AND DAMIAN

ON CANDIES AND SAINTS

Every year on September 27th, since at least the first half of the twentieth century, a lively religious festival invades the streets of Rio de Janeiro. Groups of children wander through the city in search of Cosmas and Damian sweet bags. Today these movements are concentrated primarily in the city's suburbs – the space covered by this photo-ethnographic essay. On their journeys, children encounter candy givers at the doors of houses, apartment blocks, garages, and cul-de-sacs. They also discover more sweet bags as they walk by the roadsides, offered to them by drivers and passengers from their car windows. Sometimes they come across birthday party analogs, with infantile decorations featuring characters made famous by TV programs.

In addition to the street festivals, places like Catholic Churches and Umbanda and Candomblé Centers also distribute little bags filled with candies and toys, in addition to holding special rites. Recently, even Evangelical churches have begun handing out candies – sometimes not on the precise day of the traditional festival, but on a nearby date – in a clear attempt to counter the Catholic and Afro-Brazilian forms of worship, without neglecting the offering of candies to the group privileged on this date: children.

The images contained in this essay were the outcome of three days of photography in September 2015, which were part of the project "Holy candies, sweet saints: reciprocity, inter-religious relations and urban flows surrounding the worship of Cosmas and Damian in Rio de Janeiro". The *Holy candies*, *sweet saints* project united the "collective, intergenerational and multi-sited work" (Menezes 2016) of diverse researchers. I was part of the project team on two occasions: the first in September 2015, documenting the festival and the different tasks surrounding Cosmas and Damian Day, which are the topics of this essay; and the second in February 2016, when I was able to document the adaptation of Cosmas, Damian, and the Ibejis (deities from the Yoruba tradition, associated with these Catholic saints) as the chosen theme of the parade by the *Renascer de Jacarepaguá* Samba School, a topic that I intend to explore at a later date. The material presented here benefited, then, from the knowledge accumulated by the project team over its previous years of development and could not have been elaborated ethnographically outside of the laboratorial context of this collective research.[1]

figure 1

THE FESTIVAL BACKGROUND

To document the Cosmas and Damian festival in September 2015, I met the project team on two occasions. The proposal presented to me during these meetings involved documenting two moments related to the commemorative date: behind the scenes of the festival in the Rio de Janeiro suburbs, and the events that took place on September 27th in the districts of Olaria and Penha, and nearby areas.

We began on the September 24th in the Madureira neighbourhood, accompanying the purchases of candies at its famous "Mercadão" (Big Market). An important commercial hub in Rio de Janeiro's Northern Zone, the "Mercadão de Madureira" contains dozens of shops selling diverse goods – from presents to candies, uniforms, and religious items. The influx of merchandise supplied by the stores is adapted to the seasonality of the main commemorative dates of Brazil's religious and secular calendars: Mother's Day, Children's Day, Christmas, Saint George's Day, Iemanjá (Yemoja) Day – to cite just some of the most important.

figure 2

Around Cosmas and Damian Day, the stores selling religious articles offer three-dimensional images and effigies printed on paper, depicting the saints and other entities related to them, which are sold to Catholics and to Umbanda and Candomblé followers. Cosmas and Damian are associated in these traditions with Ibeji, a pair of Orisha twins, and many images of Cosmas and Damian also contain a third entity, Doum, in a clear association with the Yoruba Idowu[2] (Figure 1).

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2 *Idowu* in the Yoruba tradition is the child born after the birth of the twins so that the mother does not go mad (Freitas 2015: 29). He is the third, who comes to unbalance the strange twinness.

Also sold in the Mercadão are clothing and adornments for Erês – child entities of mediums from Afro-Brazilian religions – which will be used in the festivals in which they are invited to descend to the *terreiros* (temples), dance and offer consultations to the visitors of the centers.

figure 3

The windows of the festival stores display sweet bags as well as table and wall adornments depicting the saints. Families usually buy these items with their children, grandchildren, nieces, and nephews (Figure 2). This is a way of passing on the tradition of worship, as some of the research interlocutors stated. The sale of candies to fill the traditional Cosmas and Damian bags leads to a bustle of activity in the Mercadão de Madureira in the week running up to September 27th[3]. By focusing on the candies and images, we noted that a long trajectory of "things" began in these stores, a cultural biography (Kopytoff 1986) whose culminating point is the handing of sweet bags to the children, in the house doorways or from inside cars, first passing through the process of fetching, unwrapping, and repackaging the candies (see Menezes 2016), as well as the displaying of images.

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3 The region's main sweet shops are found in the external area of the Mercadão, at street level. The Mercadão is part of a broader geography of candy shops that serve as reference points to the worshippers of Cosmas and Damian on this date. Next to Madureira's main commercial hub there are the stores belonging to the *UFA Doce*s chain, with wholesale salespoints in the northern and western Zones of Rio, and the stores of the *Casas do Biscoito* chain, whose prices are higher than those of the former, but which, dispersed throughout the city, are more conveniently located for some buyers. Finally, there are also some important stores of this circuit in Bonsucesso, also in the suburb of the northern Zone.

From the Mercadão we proceeded the following day to accompany the filling of the traditional bags and the making of other foods connected to the worship of the saints in the houses of some selected interlocutors. In this context, we were able to observe a ritualistic complexity. The most common offerings are the famous Cosmas and Damian sweet bags. Producing them means having to bag the candies systematically – and here an equal distribution between the bags is deemed essential by the worshippers – removing them from their original packaging and placing them in wrappers printed with the images of the saints.

Like the purchase of the candies, preparing the little bags is a job undertaken by the family. And each family has its own form of thinking, preparing, and storing the offerings before their distribution. In Estácio we followed a family consisting of a father, a mother and a two-year-old son bagging their candies. These bags only contained candies deemed "traditional" (Figure 3). Among the worshippers, two definitions of traditional candies exist, definitions that interweave worship of the sacred and family tradition (see Menezes 2016 and Duarte 2006). On one hand, interlocutors refer to specific candies as *traditional to the date* and/or *traditional for a large number of believers*. These are *maria mole* (a kind of marshmallow), *doce de abóbora* (pumpkin jam), *suspiro* (meringue), and *pé de moleque* (peanut brittle), for example. On the other hand, there are candies that are *traditional to a specific family*, that is, traditional in the memory and practices of a particular family. These are candies "that must be included" because they refer to intergenerational relations described through comments like: "my grandfather/grandmother always offered that candy / that chocolate, as well as the traditional candies, which is why I continue to hand out these candies…"

As well as preparing the bags, followers of candomblé – and sometimes umbanda – prepare "saint foods", made with ingredients specific to the day, such as *caruru* (a meal made from okra, shrimp and other ingredients). On the eve of the 27th, we met the daughter of a late mother-of-saint, preparing the offerings in a large table to be placed at the door of her house, on which the children would find bags of candies, cakes, pop, and even savoury foods. In her house, situated in Vaz Lobo, she alternated packing the sweet bags with making *omolokun de Oxum* (Figure 4), a dish associated with fertility – and, therefore, with pregnant women, like her daughter at that moment[4].

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4 Through the notion of fertility, *omolokun* is also associated with Cosmas and Damian, since the saints are closely linked to children, the receivers of many promises linked to the desire for a child/grandchild or for the good health of the latter (Morena Freitas, personal communication).

figure 4

COSMAS AND DAMIAN DAY

On the awaited day of September 27th, as well as documenting the offering of candy bags around an altar-square devoted to the saints in Penha, called Cosmas and Damian Square (*Praça de Cosme e Damião*), we also registered the circulation of people and the distribution of candies and toys at the Church of Saint George and Saint Cosmas and Saint Damian (in the same district), as well as the Erês festivals held at an umbanda *terreiro*, the Boiadeiro Temple, located in Olaria. Complementing these *modalities of worship*, we sought to document the handing and receiving of candies in a semi-closed district in Vista Alegre called Bairrinho.

figure 5

figure 6

Cosmas and Damian Square, located in the Penha district, is one of the busiest points for distributing and receiving candies in the Rio suburbs. The offerings in this square revolve around a small altar with images of the saints – the trio, with Doum in the middle – around which spaces managed by the local people are arranged concentrically: inside the central circle we see the area of the altar and its surroundings. Fenced off for offering and taking candies, this area is separated by the cement pavement, which in turn is separated from the grass of the square and the road itself. The elements of urbanization used here enable diverse forms of control over the flow of people and things in the square, carried out by its "administrators" – a group of neighbours who live nearby and maintain the space independently of the public authorities.

On the altar, the promises for Cosmas and Damian frequently focus on children and their health. The offerings of candies made to the images are accompanied by prayers and requests. At this moment, the worshipper generally stays alone with the images, even if they have come with their family (Figure 5). Many of those frequenting the altar have been known to the administrators for a long time, meaning that the offering is also a moment for interaction between people from different backgrounds.

Early in the morning, before the public arrive, the administrators change the flowers on the altar and renew the offerings of candies. Placed in front of each image on the altar in 2015 was a miniature cart and a small cup of *guaraná* – "the typical drink of the festival, prescribed in various songs that mention Cosmas and Damian" (Menezes 2016: 2). These elements condensed, in a precise way, the offerings of toys and candies over the course of the day (Figure 6).

From time to time, children – and some adults – are allowed to enter the space of the offerings/gifts to collect the candies left by the worshippers (Figure 7). The administrators control the flow of people – reducing it to two or three at a time – so that this moment is not spoilt by fights or fierce dispute, which can sometimes happen. Those who take the candies have a limited time to do so, while the time for praying and for donating candies is not controlled. Mothers with young infants visit throughout the day (Figure 8), also groups of children led by adults or adolescents. The presence of adults enabled us to note a characteristic feature of the Cosmas and Damian festival, namely the broadening of the notion of childhood, which, in some contexts, extends to encompass people from the neediest sectors of the surrounding society.

figure 7

figure 8

As mentioned above, disputes are a constitutive element of the festival. On the receivers' side, the competition is to obtain more and better sweet bags – the children wander around with rucksacks to carry lots of offerings. On the givers' side, people compete over or compare the types and quantity of bags donated – offering "many bags" and/or "good bags", with good quality candies and in a large quantity, is considered the ideal for this group. Disputes may also occur between givers and receivers: children and adults very often "lunge" – as commonly occurs with the offerings made from the cars driving around the square and other points with large numbers of receivers – and may forcibly snatch the bags precisely from those who wanted to offer them the candies (Figure 9).

figure 9

A few blocks from Cosmas and Damian Square, the frequenters of one umbanda *terreiro* were offering candies and toys to the children and adults who were passing through the center's doors. Here, the organisation of the flow of people and things does not involve the urban layout of a square, but the architecture of the residential building in which the *terreiro* is located. In the year we documented the festival, as the children entered the space via the garage, they completed a specific circuit: they first headed to the rear of the space where they received toys; on the way back, they received bags of candies on the left and lollipops on the right (Figure 10). As in Cosmas and Damian Square, the givers always seek to maintain order and friendly interactions among the children. There is also a strong didactic dimension – the transmission and teaching of "good customs" – that permeates the offering of candies and toys on the day in question.

figure 10

Turning left, at the end of the street where the umbanda centre is located, we arrive at a square where the Orthodox Church of Saint George and Saint Cosmas and Saint Damian was built (Figure 11).

figure 11

The church, a simple building whose interior is partly covered in blue tiles, displays pictures of saints and Biblical scenes on its walls, painted in Orthodox style, accompanied by neo-classical style statues. Throughout the morning, the temple welcomes the worshippers of the saints. They interact with the diverse images located inside the church – found on the side altar at the entrance (to the right), on the central altar, and in the vestry. The worshippers gather around images of Cosmas and Damian – here without Doum, in a clear disassociation from Afro-Brazilian traditions. Some offer candy bags to the images (Figure 12). In the afternoon, the Orthodox Church of Saint George and Saint Cosmas and Saint Damian becomes the destination for hundreds of people looking for the offerings of toys and candies made by the worshippers in the morning. In this case, the flow of persons and things is controlled by the church architecture: the recipients are organised in queues and must follow a specific circuit, passing through the exterior righthand corridor of the building, where they receive the presents and which they leave by entering into the church, as though being invited to come into the space of the church by the mediation of the candies and toys offering (Figure 13).

figure 12

figure 13

While the festivals unfold in Cosmas and Damian Square, the Umbanda Center, and the Orthodox Church; in Vista Alegre – a district bordering Penha –, an area originally built as a village for factory workers, today called "Bairrinho", holds its own Cosmas and Damian festival. Some of the events documented in the district are paradigmatic of what occurs on Cosmas and Damian Day throughout Rio as a whole. In one garage, for instance, we found two dimensions of the saints' worship. Children are invited to sing happy birthday to Cosmas and Damian before reciting the Lord's Prayer, a traditional Christian verse (Figure 14), in honour of the saints. After these ritualistic actions, they receive bags of candies and slices of cake from the hostess.

figure 14

At the end of the day, returning to the umbanda temple, we also encountered the last action of the *multi-sited* festival of Cosmas and Damian that we accompanied. At the centre, diverse elements glimpsed in this photographic essay – candies, toys, children, birthday decorations, and children's clothing – converged in the realization of the "Erês festival".

In a *terreiro* partially transformed into a children's party hall, the *gira festiva* ("festive circling") began with all the mediums dressed in white, wearing necklaces with scarves on their heads. After a few songs, the temple's main entity-guides descended and prepared for the arrival of the Erês. After the first part of the *gira*, by now already nightfall, the Erês descended. The festival was preceded by an important change of clothing – which ranges from a complete change of clothes to the simply adding of caps, pacifiers, bows and other infantile decorations to the traditional white clothing. In this sense, the clothes and decorations are wrappings, layers of materials (see Gell 1998) that help the mediums to compose their child entities. The things here – images, clothing and adornments – thus permit different connections with the invisible world: either they point to a pair of referents, Cosmas and Damian, or they help create the conditions for particular entities to approach the mediums (Figure 15). The festival is festive, joyful, and marked by small transgressions, associated with childhood, in the interaction between the entities and the public.

figure 15

FINAL NOTE

This documentation had the broader aim of demonstrating through texts and images how "a festival is made", along with the discursive and practical operations – spatial, interactive etc. – that converge on a specific religious event. Through the selection of images shown in this essay, I have sought to illustrate how the Cosmas and Damian festival rearticulates "the dynamics [...] of a region" (Menezes 2016: 4), as well as the discursive categories and bodily performances linked to childhood (Freitas 2015), class relations, and to worship. From these interactions, I have highlighted *the spatial control and management of the flow of people and things*, characteristic of the exchanges and interactions that occur annually on Cosmas and Damian Day in the suburbs of Rio de Janeiro.

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THE *PASAMONTAÑAS* (HOOD) AS A MIRROR

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giz

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Photo essay by Alexander Maximilian Hilsenbeck Filho

The attractiveness of anonymity, mystery, unknown affiliation, no sur-name, no precise biographical data.

The faces always covered by the *pasamontañas* or *paliates*.

What is beyond the masks? Why do hoods and handkerchiefs generate so much identification?

How can these same objects, by hiding the Indian faces, "magically" turn what is usually invisible into something visible?

One of the first reasons for the use of *pasamontañas* (besides the attempt to hide from the cold weather) was to avoid the repression of the govern-ment forces against the insurgents and their families, thus obtaining the advantage of mimicry, that is, of being able, at any given time, to take on the status of military fighters and, at other times, to be part of the civilian population. They appear and disappear into the haze and shadows of the jungle, into the social indifference that makes them invisible.

The *pasamonta*ñas and *paliates* became a rebel symbol of the Zapatista uprising.

This symbolism was quickly perceived by the insurgents and used as one of the dramatic innovative resources and performance of insurrection.

The use of *pasamanta*ñas was linked to multiple meanings by the Zapa-tistas, such as the nonpersonification of their struggle, in which many become one, without protagonism[2].

They even subverted ancient indigenous symbols, in which masks served to impute terror. They also gave a different meaning to the hoods, which symbolized the return of the ancestors[3]. Now the *pasamontañas* hides the dead in life, the usual dead, without peace, the one reborn in the struggle to live, finally, a search for life and death with dignity.

One of the most popular metaphors, created by the military chief and main spokesperson of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation, In-surgent Subcomandante Marcos, is that the *pasamontañas* serve as

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2 HILSENBECK FILHO, 2007. Abaixo e à esquerda: uma análise histórico-social da práxis do Exército Zapatista de Libertação Nacional. Dissertação. Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências, Unesp-Marília. Available from: <http://repositorio.unesp.br/bitstream/handle/11449/88801/hilsenbeckfilho_am_me_mar.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>.

3 COLOMBRES, Adolfo. Teoría Transcultural del Arte. Hacia un pensamiento visual indepen-diente. México: CONACULTA, 2014.

mirrors, in which the country sees its problems and asks for a solution. In this mirror the nation can see and identify with the insurgents, with the faceless people who had to hide their indigenous faces to make themselves visible.

The pictures from this photographic essay were taken during the First CompArte Festival for Humanity in July 2016, when the Zapatista communities of southeastern Mexico opened, for the first time, their territories to show and share their artistic accomplishments with art workers from other corners of the world.

Sometimes the eyes stare at the ground, sometimes they take the world, send messages, rehearse chords and dances, show unity and solidarity, and most of the time the eyes question the soul and the possibilities open to the construction of another world, one that fits many worlds.

"We Zapatistas, men and women, do not look up above.

We only lift our eyes and ears in front of the sciences and the arts. And it is not fear and obedience that raise our gaze. It is the wonder of knowledge, the marvel of the arts" (...) "... whether in the fleeting moment of a song, the stroke of a painting, a dance step, a photograph, a scripted dialogue, a poem, a whatever, let the hour of the police be defeated and for just a moment, let us breath in the possibility of another world."[4]

ALEXANDER MAXIMILIAN HILSENBECK FILHO

Professor of Political Science and Brazilian Culture at the Cásper Líbero Social Communication School (FCL); PhD in Political Science (Unicamp) about some dilemmas of the Movement of Landless Rural Workers (MST); Masters in Social Sciences (Unesp) about praxis of the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN); Bachelor in Social Sciences (Unesp); Researcher of the: Nucleus of Ideologies and Social Struggles (NEILS); Anti-capitalism and Emerging Sociabilities of the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (ACySE-CLACSO); and of the Group of Communication, Politics and Society of the Spectacle of Cásper Líbero. This research was funded by the FCL's Integrated Research Center.

4 EZLN, 2016. Geography? Oventik. The calendar? July 29, 2016.
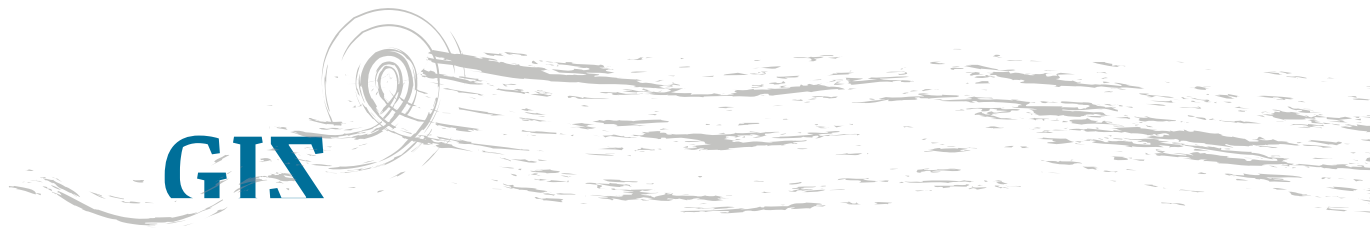
São Paulo, Brazil   **CARLOS FADON VICENTE**

VORTEX:
A VISUAL CHRONICLE

Conceived as a photographic essay, *Vortex* (2013-present) takes its imagery from the *immediate reality/scene*, handling the interplay and the blend of two realms: perception (*to foresee*) and action (*to encounter*). Its substratum is the sociocultural disarray present in the conflict and in the abrasion — sometimes, in the enlightenment — unveiled in the microurban landscape, seen as window, mirror and fencing. The resulting image carries phantom echoes and signals of an ongoing wayward time, wherein its title.

Centered on the certainty/uncertainty polarity, *Vortex* points to the deepening of a conceptual approach of the photographic representation. Essentially, it focuses on the combination between *envisioned* and *founded*, moving away from the artificial opposition between the builder and hunter behavior commonly associated with street photography.

The urban living experience is the source and motivation for *Vortex*, drawing on *intra* and *inter*-image relations. It pursues a minimalist aesthetics, which permeates the composition of forms and colors. Akin to *Diaries* essay (1990-present) insofar, it is shaped as a visual chronicle, blending certainty and uncertainty.

Vortex: uma crônica visual
Carlos Fadon Vicente

Vortex: a visual chronicle

São Paulo, fevereiro 2014

São Paulo, outubro 2010

giz

São Paulo, dezembro 2013

São Paulo, maio 2014

giz

São Paulo, dezembro 2015

São Paulo, abril 2014

São Paulo, maio 2014

giz

São Paulo, novembro 2015

São Paulo, junho 2015

giz

São Paulo, agosto 2014

São Paulo, março 2014

giz

São Paulo, outubro 2017

CARLOS FADON VICENTE

Photography (1975) and media art (1985) are the main and interdependent fields of his artistic production. He has participated in one-man shows, symposia and group exhibitions, besides giving lectures and courses in the Americas and Europe; his works are present in public and private collections, published articles, interviews and portfolios.

Born in São Paulo, Brazil, in 1945, he holds a Ph.D. in Visual Arts from Universidade de Évora, a MFA in Art & Technology from the School of the Art Institute of Chicago, and undergraduate degrees from Escola Politécnica and Escola de Comunicações e Artes, Universidade de São Paulo.

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editorial revision, footnotes and comments
JOHN C. DAWSEY

ANTHROPOLOGY IN PERFORMANCE: INTERVIEW WITH RICHARD SCHECHNER

During the period of June 26 to July 7, 2012, the Research Center in Anthropology, Performance, and Drama (Napedra - Núcleo de Antropologia, Performance e Drama), located at the University of São Paulo (USP), promoted a two-week event which was called "Encounters with Richard Schechner". This was one of a series of events sponsored by Napedra as part of its thematic project, "Anthropology of performance: drama, aesthetics and ritual"[1]

The following interview with Richard Schechner occurred on July 6, 2012, at the Laboratory of Image and Sound in Anthropology (Lisa), of USP.[2] Visual and sound images were captured by the Laboratory technician, Ricardo Dionísio Fernandes.

Various activities which occurred during Schechner's two-week visit in Brazil provide context for the interview. Among these, the following may be highlighted.

June 26, 6 pm. Presentations of capoeira, maculelê and Afro-Brazilian dance by participants of the University Culture and Extension Center in Afro-Brazilian Arts (Núcleo de Cultura e Extensão em Artes Afro-Brasileiras) at USP, led and directed by Luiz Antonio Nascimento Cardoso, Mestre Pinguim ("Master Penguin"). After presentations, Richard Schechner interacted with Mestre Pinguim and participants. Location: University Culture and Extension Center in Afro-Brazilian Arts at USP.

The project also counted with support from the following Napedra research associates: Eufrázia Cristina Menezes Santos, Rita de Cássia de Almeida Castro, and Robson Correa de Camargo.

2 Richard Schechner's production is extensive. Among his publications, may be included the following books: *Public domain* (1968); *Environmental theater* (1973); *Theaters, spaces, and environments* (1975, with Jerry Rojo and Brooks McNamara); *Essays on performance theory* (1976); *The end of humanism* (1981); *From the Ramlila to the avantgarde* (1983); *Between theater and anthropology* (1985); *The Engleburt stories* (1987, with Samuel McIntosh Schechner); *The future of ritual* (1993); *Performance theory* (revised edition of *Esssays on performance theory*, 1988; newly revised edition in 2004); *Performance studies – an introduction* (2002, second revised edition in 2006); *Over, under, and around* (2004). Schechner also organized several collections: *Dionysus in 69* (1970); *Ritual, play, and performance* (1976, with Mady Schuman); *By means of performance* (1990, with Willa Appel); and *The Grotowski sourcebook* (1997, with Lisa Wolford).

Schechner's performance and theater production is also expressive. As artistic director of The Performance Group, his production includes *Dionysus in 69* (1968), *Makbeth* (1969), *The Tooth of Crime* by Sam Shepard (1972), *Mother Courage and Her Children* by Bertolt Brecht (1975), *The Marilyn Project* by David Gaard (1975), *Oedipus* (1977), *Cops* by Terry Curtis Fox (1978), and *The Balcony* by Jean Genet (1979). With East Coast Artists, Schechner directed *Faust/Gastronomie* (1993), *Three Sisters* by Anton Chekhov (1995), *Hamlet* by William Shakespeare (1999), *YokastaS* by Richard Schechner and Saviana Stanescu (2003, *YokastaS Redux* 2005), and *Swimming to Spalding* by Lian Amaris (2009). Schechner also direccted plays in Asia and Africa: *Cherry ka Baghicha* by Anton Chekhov (1983 in Hindi) in New Delhi, *Mingri Jiuyao Chu Shan* by Sun Huizhu (1989 in Shanghai, in Mandarin), *Ma Rainey's Black Bottom* by August Wilson (1992) in South Africa, *The Oresteia* by Aeschylus (1995 in Taipei, in Mandarin), and *Hamlet* by Shakespeare (2007 in Shanghai, and 2009 in Wroclaws, Poland, in Mandarin). During his years in New Orleans, between 1960 and 1967, Schechner was production director (with John O'Neal and Gilbert Moses) of the Free Southern Theatre (1963-65), and founder and director (with Franklin Adams and Paul Epstein) of the New Orleans Group (1964-67).

June 28, 9:30 am. Rasabox workshop with Napedra group, directed by Richard Schechner.

June 28, 9 pm. Presentation of *Bom Retiro 958 metros* (Bom Retiro 958 meters) by the theater group, *Teatro da Vertigem*, in the Bom Retiro neighborhood of São Paulo. After presentation, Richard Schechner interacted with director, Antônio Araújo, and various actresses and actors.

June 29, 10 am. Lecture by Richard Schechner entitled "The conservative avant-garde" presented as special event of the Department of Anthropology of USP, organized by Napedra.

June 30. Candomblé ceremony in Rio de Janeiro. Richard Schechner attended in company of Zeca Ligiéro and other members of the Afro-Amerindian Performance Studies Center (Nepaa) of the Federal University of the State of Rio de Janeiro – UNIRIO .

July 4, 4 pm. Special Lecture by Richard Schechner entitled "Revisiting 'points of contact'" at the Brazilian Anthropology Meeting. Event held at the Pontifíícia Universidade Católica of São Paulo. Session organized by Napedra.

The July 6 interview took place in one of the film editing rooms of Lisa, the Laboratory of Image and Sound in Anthropology, at USP. From the perspective of the camera, Richard Schechner was to the right, and John Dawsey to the left. Between the two, a skeleton with white apron and left hand holding a scepter is presented by John as the "Napedra Grandmother". In the background, an old typewriter, an early twentieth-century photo of São Paulo's city masses, and several early to middle twentieth-century cameras.

During the interview thirteen questions were discussed, according to the following topics:

1. Schechner's notebook and field notes [Part I. 00:01:25];
2. Ritual and theater [Part I. 00:20:06];
3. Liminal and liminoid tragedy [Part I. 00:29:38];
4. *Teatro da Vertigem* and the play *Bom Retiro 958 meters* [Part I. 00:43:58];
5. Restored behavior [Part I. 00:51:49];
6. Anthropology of experience [Part I. 01:07:23];
7. The "infinity loop": relations between aesthetic and social dramas [Part II. 00:00:01];
8. The "not me... not not me" experience [Part II. 00:08:36];

9. *Jo-ha-kyu* and the variety of aesthetic experience [Part II. 00:21:12];
10. Paleolithic performance [Part II. 00:39:05];
11. The "belly brain" [Part II. 00:50:55];
12. Ethology and physics [Part II. 00:53:42];
13. The "Richard Schechner with lies" autobiography [Part II. 00:59:47].

Although the skeleton ("Napedra Grandmother") and some objects were quickly arranged or called on scene by John Dawsey, the interview was un-rehearsed, and Richard Schechner had no prior knowledge of the questions.

ANTHROPOLOGY IN PERFORMANCE:
INTERVIEW WITH RICHARD SCHECHNER
164" (96" 1st part, 68" 2nd part), 2012

script and interview: John C. Dawsey image and edition: Ricardo Dionisio
language: Kethyllin Santos da Silva english production: LISA/USP

JOHN DAWSEY

These have been two magical weeks for us.

RICHARD SCHECHNER

For me also.

JD

So, we are here with our Napedra Grandmother. She will be listening and doing whatever she wants to do.

RS

Right now she does not want to put her hand down.

[...]

QUESTION 1: SCHECHNER'S NOTEBOOK AND FIELD NOTES

JD [00:01:25 – 00:02:38]

My first question has to do with ethnography. [...] The notebook which you carry to different events has called the attention of colleagues. It is special, I am sure. My question is: how do performance studies help us to rethink and redo ethnography? [...] I am especially interested in this field diary and the one you took to capoeira and Afro dance with Mestre Pinguim[3], how you take notes, what kind of things you look for. Maybe you could even share some excerpts.

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3 Luiz Antonio Nascimento Cardoso, Mestre Pinguim, is the leader of the Culture and Extension Center for Afro-Brazilian Arts (Núcleo de Cultura e Extensão em Artes Afro-Brasileiras), at the University of São Paulo, where he teaches capoeira, Afro dance, and maculelê. RS visited and interacted with members of the Center on June 26, 2012.

RS [00:02:38 – 00:20:03]

Sure. So let me tell you about it. [RS lifts notebook.] This particular note-
book is special and it is one among other special notebooks. I have been
keeping notebooks nearly continuously since 1967 or 1968, when I made
my first trip to Latin America. My first visit to Brazil as well as to oth-
er countries in Latin America was when I began systematically to keep
these books. Prior to that, I had books going back to the fifties, but not
continuously. I do not know which number this particular book is [RS
opens the notebook to look for date of first entry], but it began in June
2012. It is so beautiful, it has a Persian cover. [RS lifts notebook.] It was
given to me by a Persian woman. Usually I just have a simple artists'
sketchbook – and I have many of them. But, then there is a series of
about fifteen books with leather covers that I had made especially in
India. And they look so beautiful. [...] Knowing that I use a particular
kind of notebook, always just about this size, people have been giving
me notebooks as gifts, which I appreciate. [RS turns toward camera.] So,
if any one of you out there wants to give me a gift, give me a notebook.
That's a very good gift.

In this one, a woman, who was my student in a workshop, wrote [RS
reads]: "September, 2011. Dear Richard, may your life and work continue
to be inspired just as your mentorship and friendship have inspired me.
Much love, Jahsi." She says she is an Iranian woman. So this book has
been around since 2011, but the first entry was on the 25th or 24th of
June, 2012. It reads: "At JFK terminal 04 waiting for departure on Copa Air
MA689 to Panama City. All around Spanish, Third World Spanish speak-
ers, lots of kids, a considerable number of South Asians, Blacks, Browns,
oldsters, youngsters. The whole airport is different from what it was 30
plus years ago. Not only the demographics, but the culture has changed.
The site of modernity has shifted. This is the Third World, not just an
enclave of it. [...]". Etc., etc.

I am always writing reflections in these books. I have at least 75 or 80 thousand pages of them. Now my papers are at Princeton University Library and, of course, they are eager to get their hands on these notebooks. After I die, they will get the notebooks, but not before that. And, even then, the notebooks will not be available to the public until several other people die, because this is not just a field journal. It is an "everything journal". [...] I write personal notes. [RS turns pages of notebook.] I write accounts about my relations with people. I write to some degree the outline of "new points of contact".[4] [RS shows outline.] Here I will get to the capoeira.[5] It says: "Indigenous knowledge transmitted performatively via dance, movement, song, vibration, ceremony. Transmission of performers' knowledge becomes transmission of knowledge by means of performance". That´s part of what I was talking about. [...]

Here it says: "Send two *Engleburt Stories* to Dawsey, one for him and one for Pinguim, the capoeira leader". I make notes to myself. The *Engleburt Stories*, which I had told you about, is a novel that my son[6] wrote when he was eight or ten years-old, and which I coauthored. He did the writing about a penguin. [...]

The notebook is an "everything book". Here I have some writings about my domestic life. Because the book is so multifaceted and is kind of my open brain and my open thought, I need to restrict access to it. [...] I don't want to hurt anybody's feelings and I don't want to have too much privacy or intimacy revealed. But, at a certain point, like Malinowski's notebooks, I don't care. When I'm dead and some of these other people are dead, then people that are interested should see it.

Now, in terms of field notes, I think the thing is to read a little bit of what I wrote about capoeira and then I'll say how I use it. It says: "6:15pm, 26

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4 In Brazil, at the invitation and sponsorship of Napedra (Center of Anthropology, Performance and Drama of the University of São Paulo), Richard Schechner presented a paper on "New points of contact between anthropological and theatrical thought". This paper was presented on July 4, at the 28th Meeting of the Brazilian Anthropological Association, held in São Paulo, during July 2-5, 2012. The paper was published as "'Points of contact' revisited", or, in Portuguese, "'Pontos de contato' revisitados", in the *Revista de Antropologia* (Vol. 56, no. 2, julho-dezembro 2013, pp. 23-66), and in the collection *Antropologia e performance: ensaios Napedra* (São Paulo: Terceiro Nome, 2013, pp. 37-68), edited by John C. Dawsey, Regina P. Müller, Rose Satiko G. Hikiji, and Marianna F. M. Monteiro. The paper was written as a follow-up, 27 years later, on Schechner's essay, "Points of contact between anthropological and theatrical thought" (In: Between theater and anthropology. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1985, p. 3-34).
5 During his visit to the Center of Afro-Brazilian Arts at USP, RS saw presentations of capoeira led by Mestre Pinguim. He also playfully interacted with Mestre Pinguim and the capoeira group, doing capoeira-like moves and rolling on the floor.
6 Professor Samuel Macintosh-Schechner.

June, capoeira center at the university. [...] Contact improvisations without touching, exchange of energies. Break dancing, trance, lots of dancing in circles, men and women, short sticks, clashing sounds, two people in the center, about 15 total. Skills vary. Pinguim, the leader. This is, I think, a genuine leader. As they dance, the circle rotates counterclockwise. Big cylindrical drums", etc. etc.. I am just describing what I see. It doesn't bother me, at that point, that I can go to a book and maybe get a better description, a clearer description. It is important that I make my description.

It is kind of like cooking. You can go to a cookbook, and you can go to a restaurant, but you can also cook your own things. If you cook your own things you have to prepare your own materials, you have to refer to your own recipes. Maybe this is a shortcoming of mine, maybe it is a *strong coming* of mine. I take very seriously the Zen adage: beginners begin at the beginning. Always assume your ignorance. Don't rely on secondary sources except to confirm or sometimes elaborate on what you have. But, don't take secondary sources as primary. [...] Let's say somebody wrote something from what they saw. Suppose they didn't see it quite correctly, but, since they were an important person, what they wrote gets repeated. All of the sudden, it becomes part of the disciplinary knowledge, and it is false.

If I read something, let's say Lévi-Strauss' essay or your essay or anybody's essay, describing something, and the description is different from what I see, I don't immediately say "Dawsey is wrong", or "Lévi-Strauss is wrong", whatever. I say that what I saw was what I saw. Suppose I don't have any real proof that what they saw is right. I don't believe what I read. I believe more what I experience. Of course, I use what I read, I refer to it. I am more liable to trust a theory when I can trust the data on which the theory is based. I can myself think through the theory and see what is correct, what suits or doesn't suit the logical demands, but the primary observation may be a misobservation. I know this from my own misobservations. So, if I am missing observations, even when I am very careful, so is everybody else. I rather swim in the sea of my own errors than swim in the sea of yours.

Having said that, here is what I write [RS reads excerpt]: "What I am seeing, drummers are all male, 10 of the 20 dancers are women." That interested me because I thought capoeira was mainly a male thing. So part of this whole gender shift and what I find in cultural studies generally is that we take the earlier models and project them forward, as if things are not changing. Although there are many women doing things that only men do, we still talk about these things as male even to the degree of saying women are learning male things. Now, once a woman learns something, it becomes a woman thing. That's why, yesterday, I was saying "why do we assume that only men were hunters in ancient times?" Once you have a spear... [...]. Men have bone structure and

muscle structure that probably makes them run longer and faster, that's true. But we know that many cultural practices override biological or genetic inclinations. Let's put it this way, just because a man can run faster doesn't necessarily make him a better hunter, especially after the development of spears. Hunting can be about standing still, or hiding in the bushes, or ambushing. It is not always about running.

So I am always trying to challenge assumptions and to see what something might be if you think it in a different way. Of course, I have been rewarded professionally for this, let's put it that way. You have invited me to come here, and I go places because I don't seem to think the way everybody else thinks. Or, sometimes, I think up something and I have written it down, and 25 years later people say, "oh, that was correct!", and the book is still in print.

So here is what I am writing [RS reads another excerpt]: "Racialness, visibly light tan is predominant. Pinguim is one of the darkest. One equally dark woman, one blond, another very nicely mixed." Ok, then I would begin to think: what does Afro-Brazilian mean? What does it mean culturally? And how is this different from what it means racially? And so I would say, as an opening hypothesis – and it probably would not be my hypothesis alone –, that Afro-Brazilian is not a racial category; it is a cultural category. And that Blackness does to some degree map skin color, but, to some degree, it does not. I would use this as a metaphor: the eclipse of the moon. You don't have to have the whole moon eclipsed to have an eclipse. A total eclipse is different from a partial eclipse. So raciality is a partial eclipse of culturality. Etc. etc.

[RS reads from his notebook.] "Pinguim explains the dispersion of the spiritual elements of the dancing. He points to me and says, 'we need the support of people like you'. He gestures to me and John Dawsey. [...] I think that he is appealing to us as authorities." He knows you as an authority and he is assuming that I am an authority because I am an imported person. Etc., etc., etc.

At the same time, I am trying to make note here [RS shows notebook to camera] [00:16:40] and draw out the physical things, the drums, the chanters, the counterclockwise movement, and the different kinds of body gestures here – as opposed to Abu Dhabi, where I just came from. [...] Abu Dhabi is so close to Africa. The very body parts that are isolated, rotated, and displaced here [at the Afro-Brazilian Arts Center of USP] are concealed in public in Arabia. Here one has lots of pushing outward of arms and legs, a big corporal sphere to take up a lot of space. In Arabia, one has cylindrical and vertical stillness up and down; some, mostly hidden, internal vertical rotation, etc. I am seeing the different kinds of body language that are used.

Thiago Mendes/ Center for Afro-Brazilian Arts of USP. From left to right: Eliany Funari, Luiz Antônio Nascimento Cardoso (Mestre Pinguim), Richard Schechner, João Luís Uchoa de Figueiredo Passos.

And, I am wondering: Arabia is right next to Africa. The Arabs were so active in the slave trade, so they actually were in Africa in a big way. And Africa is highly Islamized by now. So, I would wonder later, how does this affect the dancing? And, so forth. Because the body language and the covering of the body that are current in Arabia are so different from the exposure of the body which one finds, to some degree, in African dance. Although, again, when you go to the candomblé[7], one of the orishas[8] is completely covered in straw[9], the women are in these white dresses that conceal them. So, this business is a little more complicated.

7 Candomblé (Portuguese pronunciation: [kẽdõmˈblɛ], *dance in honour of the gods*) is an Afro-American religious tradition, practiced mainly in Brazil by the "*povo do santo*" (*people of the saint*). Candomblé officially originated in Salvador, Bahia, at the beginning of the 19th century, when the first temple was founded. Accessed: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Candombl%C3%A9; on October 29, 2017, at 12:50.

8 An orisha (spelled òrìṣà in the Yoruba language, and orichá or orixá in Latin America) is a spirit who reflects one of the manifestations of the supreme divinity (Eledumare, Olorun, Olofi) in Yoruba religion. Orishas are said to have existed in the spiritual world, or astral plane (*òrun*) or lived as human beings in the planetary world, or physical plane (*ayé*). Others are said to be humans who are recognized as deities due to extraordinary feats. Many orishas have found their way to most of the New World as a result of the Atlantic slave trade and are now expressed in practices as varied as Santería, Candomblé, Trinidad Orisha, Umbanda, and Oyotunji, among others. Accessed: https:/en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orisha on October 29, 2017, 12:35.

9 Omolu (or Obaluaê), who is covered in straw, is associated with earth, fire, and death, and is considered to be one of the most feared of the Orishas. Accessed: https://www.iquilibrio.com/blog/espiritualidade/umbanda-candomble/tudo-sobre-obaluaie/ on October 29, 2017, at 12:40.

Anyway, I use the notebook to write down what I see. Here is the rhythm, even. I have written a 5-6 rhythm, you know 1-2, 1-2, 2-1, 2-1, 2, 3, 4-5, 6. It is not musical notation, but it helps me remember. That is probably more of an answer than you want, but I also supplement this now with the computer. I have lots of notes on my computer. But what the computer cannot do is draw. You see, the computer cannot draw. [RS shows drawing to camera.] This is a kind of impression drawing not meant to be an accurate artistic rendering. It is called "Pinguim in motion". The whole drawing is kind of scattered out.
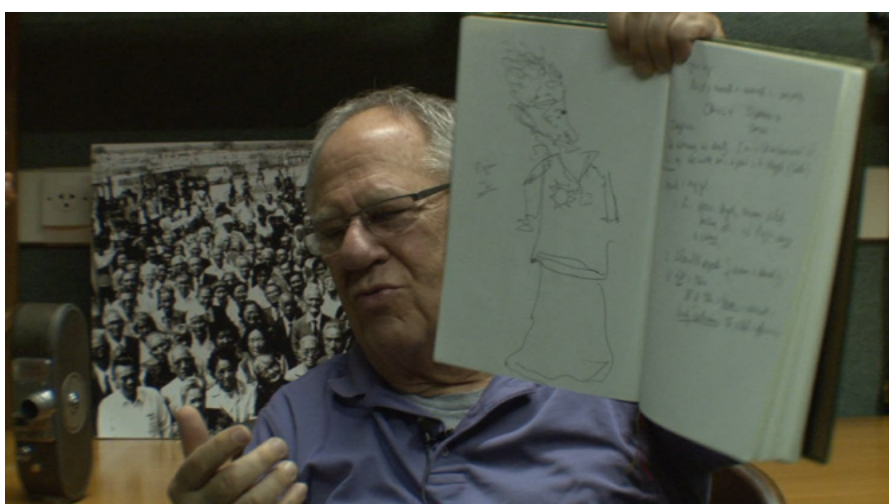
Finally, I say at the end here: "Two levels of engagement, one in Afro-Brazilian moves, rituals, beliefs, etc., which Pinguim says and shows. The second has to do with intercultural aspects of these moves as dance for those who are not part of the tradition. But, if the first one is true and correct, then the body does the believing, the ritual is efficacious." So, I am trying to understand ritualized behavior, etc. etc. [00:20:03]

QUESTION 2: RITUAL AND THEATER

JD [00:20:06]
The second question has to do with ritual and theater. I find it interesting that you wrote "From ritual to theater and *back*" before Victor Turner wrote *From ritual to theater*.[10]

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10 "From ritual to theater and back" was delivered by Richard Schechner as a paper to the Rassegna Internazionale de Teatri Stabili in Florence, Italy, 1974; it was revised and printed in the *Educational Theater Journal 26* (4) (1974); it was published in Schechner's *Essays on performance theory 1970-1976* by Drama Book Specialists of New York in 1977, and republished in Schechner's Performance theory by Routledge of London in 1988. Victor Turner's *From ritual to theatre: the human seriousness of play* was published by PAJ Publications of New York in 1982.

RS [00:20:18]
Well he took the title from my essay. No doubt about that!

JD [00:20:25]
But you did "from ritual to theater *and back*".

RS [00:20:27]
"*And back*", and he only did it "from ritual to theater".

JD [00:20:37]
At first impression, I would have thought that Turner first did "from ritual to theater" and then you kind of...

RS [00:20:37]
... pushed it...

JD [00:20:37]
...or subverted it. [...]

RS [00:20:46 - 00:26:33]
Well, "from ritual to theater" actually comes before Turner and before me. That comes from the so called Cambridge anthropology: Gilbert Murray, Jane Ellen Harrison, and then Theodor Gaster. I do not know if any of these names mean anything to you or not, but they called themselves anthropologists. They never were in the field. They wrote during the early and mid-twentieth century. Jane Ellen Harrison, a classical scholar, wrote a book called *Themis*.[11] Gilbert Murray, another classical scholar, wrote "An excursus on the ritual forms preserved in Greek tragedy".[12] He picks up on Aristotle and tries to show how Greek tragedy emerges out of a particular kind of ritual. Theodor Gaster expands that into a theory about the annual human sacrifice to a kind of god king who then gets resurrected.[13] He Christianizes it in a certain way. And he tries to conflate an ancient Greek, Middle Eastern, and Christian mythology in telling a story about the tragic sacrifice and resurrection of a year king. This would be a late Winter Spring festival. Of course, that is very interesting because, in Christianity, the placement of when Easter comes obviously has to do with rebirth. It is not so much about the crucifixion as it is about the resurrection. I do not know if it is true here [in Brazil]. But, in the United States, of course, eggs are a very important part

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11 *Themis: a study of the social origins of Greek religion* was published in 1927.

12 Published in 1927.

13 Among other books, Theodor Gaster wrote *A Canaanite ritual drama: the Spring festival at Ugarit* (1946); *Thespis: ritual, myth, and drama in the Ancient Near East* (1950); *The Dead Sea Scriptures in English translation* (1956); and *Myth, legend, and custom in the Old Testament* (1969).

of Easter – the Easter egg hunt, bunny rabbit, chocolate eggs... Rabbits have to do with fertility, of course, because they reproduce so much.

So they called themselves anthropologists and they developed the thesis "from ritual to theater". I wrote a critique on that in an essay called "Approaches to theory and criticism", which probably was collected in one of the editions of *Performance theory*. That is an early essay. I wrote it in 1964 or 65, I think. It was published in 66.[14] First in *TDR – The Drama Review* and, then, in *Public domain*,[15] which is my first published full book. And I critique that, even back then, saying that theater could not have simply evolved from ritual.

That is a chicken and egg thing. Theater may be originated in ritual, but ritual may be originated in theater because theater and ritual are both performances. That is when I began first to use the term performance to include both ritual and theater – actually to include ritual, theater and play.

I think Turner, however, being so concerned for his training with Max Gluckman and Milton Singer,[16] would see the more traditional Aristotelian ritual as coming first and theater later. I, very early on, rejected that. It is part of my investigation into early human culture and ritual, especially, not ritual ethologically speaking, but religious ritual and belief – ritual as the enactment of belief. This kind of ritual seems to me to be pretty sophisticated. We could not have become homo erectus and australopithecine and, then, the first thing we do are these sophisticated rituals. There has to be something. It would just seem that telling a story, performing, dancing, and such, without having super elaborated meanings, would be first. That is why I want to finally write about animal behavior. Like certain of the chimpanzees. When they discover a food source, they go kind of crazy and they jump up and down, like dance. Maybe humans went crazy and jumped up and down before they had meaning in the ritual sense.

So, I thought of ritual as a sophisticated cultural development. How could it be first? This [idea of "from ritual to theater"], I thought, was just a mapping backwards by anthropologists who accepted it out of the religious rituals or myth. You know, "in the beginning was the word", or

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14 *Performance theory* (1988) first appeared in 1977, as *Essays on performance theory 1970-1976*. The essay "Approaches", which was published in *Performance theory*, appeared as "Approaches to theory/criticism" in the TDR, *The Drama Review* 10(4) (1966).

15 Published in 1969.

16 Among other books, Max Gluckman wrote *Rituals of rebellion in South-East Africa (1954)*; and *Order and rebellion in tribal Africa* (1963). Milton Singer published, among other books, *When a great tradition modernizes* (1972)

"God created heaven and earth". All of these things are repeated in those theories. Also, the idea of the "Fall". [...] I thought this was a mythic rather than a scientific determinable thing.

But you were going to say something else about these two essays.

JD [00:26:33]
I was thinking of your affinities with Victor Turner, of how they run deep because of your collaborative work. Even so, there are striking differences, and you have just pointed to some of them.

RS [00:26:53 - 00:28:41]
I think he was intrigued by that. In my essay "From ritual to theater and back", I presented the idea of "the efficacy-entertainment braid".[17] All performances have some degree of efficacy; they are trying to do something. And when there is a high degree of efficacy, we call them rituals. All performances also entertain, they give pleasure, and they pass time. You know, entertainment and just passing time are fundamentally human things.

We deeply pursue pleasure. We like pleasure. There is an argument for the evolutionary advantage of pleasure. But let that go for a moment. There are obviously a lot of things we do for pleasure. Let's say eating. Sometimes we do things for pleasure that are destructive. Many people are too fat. That is because they eat for pleasure, right? What else can explain it? They take in more, they expand, and they enjoy it. It is sheer pleasure, and it kills people. I've got too much, you've got too much. He [Ricardo Dionísio Fernandes, the laboratory technician] is very lucky. Pleasure is a basic human action. All rituals, I would say, have a pleasurable side to them. They are entertainment as well as everything else. [...]

When I go to a candomblé, when I go to these things, of course it is ritual. There is a certain aspect of religion, a deadly serious aspect of Christianity, where you are not supposed to be laughing, and you are not supposed to be having a really good time.

JD [00:29:03]
At candomblé people and even some of the orishas laugh a lot.

RS [00:29:03 - 00:29:36]
That is what I am saying. I think Christianity, over the long hall, also did that. But, there is a certain kind of Reformation and counter-Reformation demand to strip Christianity of everything. And there is a certain

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17 The complete title of the essay is "From ritual to theater and back: the efficacy-entertainment braid".

Islamism, also, that is that way. Fundamentalist religions often tend to repress pleasure. But religion is also entertainment. People spend a lot of time at it, they really like it.

QUESTION 3: LIMINAL AND LIMINOID TRAGEDY

JD [00:29:38]
I want to ask you something about the liminal and the liminoid.

RS
Ok.

JD [00:29:46 - 00:32:12]
As I think of your discussion at the University of São Paulo the other day about the conservative avant-garde, I am reminded of the notions of the liminal and the liminoid, which you and Victor Turner elaborated during the 1970's and 80's.[18] I would like to know what your thoughts are on this. It seems that Turner was inclined to a tragic view of the liminal as it became liminoid especially after the industrial revolution – involving a sort of *sparagmos*, or dismemberment, or amputation of forms of symbolic action.[19] This makes me think of a kind of shattering of the magic mirrors of liminal experience.[20] In regard to your writings of that

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18 Richard Schechner's presentation at the University of São Paulo, on June 29, 2012, was published, in Portuguese, as "Vanguarda conservadora" (*Cadernos de Campo*, v. 22, n. 22, 2013, p. 180-192). Victor Turner's essay "Liminal to liminoid, in play, flow, ritual: an essay in comparative symbology" was published in Turner's book, *From ritual to theatre: the human seriousness of play*, in 1982.

19 The *sparagmos* or dismemberment of forms of symbolic action is discussed by Victor Turner in "Dewey, Dilthey, and drama: an essay in the anthropology of experience" (In: TURNER, Victor, e BRUNER, Edward M., ed. *The anthropology of experience*. Urbana e Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986, p. 42.) Victor Turner's complete work includes the following books: *Schism and continuity in an African society: a study of Ndembu village life* (1957); *The forest of symbols: aspects of Ndembu ritual* (1967); *The drums of affliction* (1968); *The ritual process: structure and anti-structure* (1969); *Dramas, fields and metaphors: symbolic action in human society* (1974); *Revelation and divination in Ndembu ritual* (1975); *From ritual to theatre: the human seriousness of play* (1982); *On the edge of the bush* (1985, post mortem); e *The anthropology of performance* (1987, post mortem). Victor Turner also organized several collections: *Image and pilgrimage in Christian culture* (1978, with Edith Turner) *Celebration: studies in festivity and ritual* (1982); and *The anthropology of experience* (1986, post mortem, with Edward M. Bruner).

20 The metaphor of the "magic mirror" appears in various writings of Victor Turner. Cf. TURNER, Victor. "Images and Reflections: Ritual, Drama, Carnival, Film and Spectacle in Cultural Performance". In: TURNER, Victor. *The Anthropology of Performance*. New York: PAJ Publications, 1987, p. 22.

period, I sensed a different tone, maybe not so tragic. I think that the interesting thing in Turner – and you may have a lot to do with this – was that liminoid phenomena can be even more dangerous, and certainly more subversive, than the liminal.[21] The liminoid can play more with danger, it seems. In your recent work on the "conservative avant-garde," I sense a type of irony. Or maybe you are pointing to a tragedy of the liminoid? Maybe the liminoid is becoming more like the liminal, that is, more conservative and less subversive? That is, it is becoming more like the liminal in its tendency to reinforce structure in some ways. But this is a very superficial reading, and I just heard you the other day.

RS [00:32:12 - 00:36:29]

I think that what you are opening up here is a huge region of discourse, and it is alright to simplify a little bit. Turner felt – and I must follow him in this, or follow him in most of it, and I will say where I have an exception – he felt that liminal rites occur only within traditional societies. In other words, liminal rites – as first described by Van Gennep and, then, as described by Turner and others – presuppose a mutually dependent value system; in fact, they depend upon a very coercive situation in which, if you do not accept that value system, you are isolated from the community, you are thrown out of the community. That value system is like a lease on a certain kind of collective life. With the onset of the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, private property, capitalism …, all of these things began to authorize individual ownership of culture, not just individual participation in culture. Obviously, there were always individuals; either you are a good chief or a bad chief, you are this or that, but you were part of the corporate group. The individual as such only had rights within the corporation, within the community. I am not talking about corporate business. There was no life outside the community. There was only another community. You could either join it or live in the wilderness. You could live outside, like a hermit or Saint

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21 Turner distinguished liminal from liminoid phenomena as follows: a) liminal phenomena tend to occur in societies based on forms of "mechanical solidarity"; liminoid phenomena, on forms of "organic solidarity"; b) liminal phenomena tend to emerge from collective experience; liminoid phenomena tend to be individual; c) liminal phenomena are centrally integrated into the total social process as a negative, subjunctive and anti-structural pole; liminoid phenomena develop at margins of central economic and political processes; d) liminal phenomena are associated with collective representations; liminoid phenomena with "personal and psychological" dimensions of symbols; e) liminal phenomena tend to revitalize social structures; liminoid phenomena are frequently more critical, and, sometimes, under certain conditions, may lead to revolutionary transformation. TURNER, Victor. "Liminal to Liminoid, in Play, Flow, Ritual: An Essay in Comparative Symbology". In: TURNER, Victor. *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play*. New York: PAJ Publications, 1982, pp. 53-55.

Francis, something like that, but even that was given a place within the community. There was no real bohemian, you see. The hermit is to the liminal what the bohemian artist is to the liminoid. So, with the rise of individualism and that whole set of ideas, and even Protestantism as an individuated religion in Christianity, as opposed to Catholic corporatism, the whole ball game changes. Classical Catholicism is liminal and reformed Protestantism is liminoid, of course.

Our second statement would be this. Liminoid societies are modern and postmodern in this regard. There are pockets of liminality. So, if you are a believing Catholic, you can, Monday thru Saturday, live a liminoid life. But, when you go to confession, when you go to mass, when you join the body of the church, or whatever you want to call it, you are living a liminal life. And, it gets complex, because you voluntarily live that life, but if you are a believer it is not voluntary, right? You cannot go to heaven, you are not entitled without the sacrament, so it is voluntarily and not voluntarily. This is the paradox – and I do not think Turner wrote about it so much –: within the liminoid world there are liminal pockets. And you agree to be in that pocket, but once having agreed to be in that pocket, it swallows you up all the way. You cannot believe in the sacrament and not believe in it at the same time. You are a believer or you are not. Of course, some people say, "I do it but I do not believe in it", which is a liminoid statement about a liminal action. And why do they do it? They do it because they are taking Pascal's wager. Do you know Pascal's wager?

JD [00:36:29]
No.

RS [00:36:31 – 00:37:48]
Blaise Pascal was an atheist. On his death bed he called for a priest and for his last sacraments. His friends, the philosophes, came around and they said, "you can't do this, you are betraying us, we are atheists". He said, "It is just a bet. I think there is no afterlife. I'll bet a million to one there isn't, but who would not take this other bet in my situation? If there is, I certainly don't want to go to hell." So it is called "Pascal's wager". "Pascal's wager" in philosophy is a kind of liminoid gesture to liminality, right? So, the liminal continues. And it is not a switch on, switch off thing. I don't see it that way. I say the liminal continues, not only in our society. The world is saturated by the liminoid, so we choose to be living liminal. That is a paradox, a contradiction. And that is one of those Batesonian things[22]: everything within this frame is true, everything within this frame is not true, and that kind of thing. We choose the liminal, but in choosing the

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22 Gregory Bateson developed his ideas about frames in "A theory of play and fantasy" (In: *Steps to an ecology of mind*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1972).

liminal we are liminoid and we are liminal.

JD [00:37:48]
Yes, that is paradoxical.

RS [00:37:50 - 00:38:20]
And it is similar for the candomblé, I would say. I am not sure that those people are adepts all of the time. So the liminoid world introduces individual agency. In a truly liminal society there is no individual agency. There is individual style, there is individual placement, and there is individual hierarchy, but there is no real individual agency. Agency belongs to the community. [RS pauses.] Now, where were we?

JD [00:38:21]
Is there tragedy in the liminoid?[23]

RS [00:38:23 – 00:39:58]
The tragedy in the liminoid must be in the realm of aesthetics, and we have to distinguish between sadness and tragedy. Sadness, of course, occurs when you lose a loved one. There are many occasions that we feel great sadness or little sadness. Tragedy, however, as a genre of thought – and not only as a genre of literature –, is the inevitability of loss. And the irreversibility of loss, let's put it that way, within this whole collective enterprise. Or, to put it in a classic register, as in Aristotelian tragedy, there was nothing that Oedipus could have done in his life that could have made him avoid his fate. So, the tragedy is that his fate has been preordained, predestined. He takes actions to avoid it, and the paradox or, rather, the irony – not paradox – is that every action he takes to avoid his tragedy brings him closer to it. It has already been written. That goes back to what I have just said. That is liminal phenomena. Oedipus belongs to the community and what the community has scripted for him has already been written. He has the illusion of individual agency.

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23 In his initial question, John Dawsey attempted to explore some ideas, as follows: 1- Victor Turner evokes something which may be called a "tragedy of the liminal" that becomes evident especially after the Industrial Revolution with the *sparagmos* or dismemberment of forms of symbolic action; 2- Arising from this process of dismemberment, the liminoid nonetheless has to do with something new in this social and symbolic universe, the awakening of critical and potentially subversive action; 3- In his presentation at the University of São Paulo, Richard Schechner shows how artistic vanguards (that can be viewed as liminoid phenomena) have become conservative. So, the question goes something like this: can we speak of a sort of "tragedy of the liminoid" which results from the loss of critical and subversive potential of artistic vanguards? Evidently, due to lack of clarity in the formulation of the initial question, a question about a possible "tragedy *of* the liminoid" was transformed into another question possibly even more interesting: the "tragedy *in* the liminoid".

Indeed, he is punished for trying to be liminoid. This is something new, now. I have not gotten to this. He is punished for trying to be liminoid within a liminal world. Right?

JD [00:39:58]
That is real interesting.

RS [00:39:59 – 00:41:16]
Alright, now, to some degree, Protestantism – especially certain forms of Protestantism which believe in predestination – re-inscribe this kind of liminality in the modern world. They say that your life has already been predetermined. So, if you are rich, that is proof that you are saved. Let's say, your destiny has been written, but you do not know what the writing is. So you have to go out and earn your evidence that you have been saved. But it has been written. Now others, like existentialists, modern atheists, agnostics, even Catholics – and, here, I am thinking of classical Catholicism –, would say "you are not predestined, you have choices to make". So, classical tragedy occurs only when you have no choice, but you do not know you have no choice. And circumstances kind of reveal to you your lack of choice. So, this is written all over Shakespeare. And, there is a great short story by Kafka called *The penal colony* – I do not know if you know the story.

JD [00:41:16]
Yes.

RS [00:41:19 – 00:43:04]
So, in this story, the prisoner only knows his crime at the moment of death, right? He knows he is condemned, but he does not know why. That is the classic tragic insight. Tragedy exchanges life for insight. At the end you know, but you are going to lose your life. Othello speaks as "one that loved not wisely but too well". This is at the end of the play. You know, the story of this Moor who killed his wife because of jealousy, then found he was mistaken. He finds out the truth, but he is finished. Oedipus discovers the truth and is blinded. Or Hamlet, who tells Horatio to give him the goblet, preparing to die, as one who knows the truth, then says "go tell my story". So, tragedy is the knowledge that we have no freedom, even though we thought we had freedom. Can this be a liminoid phenomenon? Well, this is certainly a liminal phenomenon.

Again, it is a pocket of liminality within liminoidism. True tragedy is always liminal. It cannot be liminoid. Liminoid is connected more to pastiche, to montage, to irony, to the making fun of such things, and to saying "hey, we never know!" I would say that liminoid is more pessimistic and less tragic. Yeah, these are very good things that we are coming up

with. So tragedy is when you find out you are condemned to die and why you are condemned to die. And, in finding that out, you have a *scientia potentia est* – "knowledge is power". You have that knowledge and you die. You trade your life for that knowledge. So that it is...

JD [00:43:05]
... meaningful.

RS [00:43:07 – 00:43:57]
Very meaningful. In the liminoid you live in perpetual doubt. You have skepticism, you have irony, but you cannot have tragedy. And you can die but never know exactly why you are dying. You don't have a belief system in which your death is absolutely secure. You may have "Pascal's wager". You take a bet. Maybe at the end of your life you would say "bring the priest" or do this or do that... [...] But, you do not really believe. You are just saying that you believe an action. You are saying "If I do it and if there is a god, that god will accept it". But of course, in this case, if there is a god, the god is also liminoid by now.

QUESTION 4: *TEATRO DA VERTIGEM*
AND THE PLAY *BOM RETIRO 958 METERS*

JD [00:43:58 – 00:44:19]
A liminoid god... That is real interesting. Moving on to another topic, could you comment on the *Teatro da Vertigem*[24], which we went to see? [RS says: "Yes, we went twice!"] I would be very interested in your comments on *Teatro da Vertigem* in regard to our discussion.

RS [00:44:20 – 00:45:31]
First of all, my remarks would have to be limited because I do not understand Portuguese. And there is a lot of text in it, but you helped explain what the actors were saying. I have seen it twice. It has a visual, scenic and behavioristic or behavior language, so that I understand. To me, it is a brilliant piece of site specific environmental theater. It uses and exploits, in a positive way, and is controlled by its environment – this semi-rundown, but "trying-to-come-back" neighborhood of São Paulo.[25] It is a neighborhood with lots of ghosts. In other words, it was once a Jewish neighborhood and then it became and is becoming a Korean

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24 *Teatro da Vertigem*, which literally means "theater of vertigo", is directed by Antonio Araujo. The street play which we saw, *Bom Retiro 958 metros*, begins at the Shopping Lombroso *Fashion Mall*, located at Rua Prof. Césare Lombroso, in the Bom Retiro district, São Paulo. The 958 meters refers to the distance which the public walks during the performance. The dramaturgy was done by Joca Rainers Terron.

25 RS is speaking of the Bom Retiro neighborhood of São Paulo.

neighborhood; but there are also Bolivian and other Latin American migrant workers. It is a neighborhood in which clothes are manufactured and sold and so on and so forth. And there is a particular small shopping mall where some of the action takes place. The Lombroso, is it?

JD [00:45:32]
Yes.

RS [00:45:34 – 00:51:46]
The Lombroso shopping mall is a place that is kind of upscale for the neighborhood. It represents an attempt to bring the neighborhood back, or to lift it up. At the same time, the piece itself deals with the fundamental conflicts between the homeless, or the people who are from the crack neighborhood – maybe coming to this neighborhood or rubbing against it –, who have no future, as it were. These are migrant workers who come to São Paulo because they can make more money here that they can in Bolivia. Still, they are deeply exploited. In the presentation, there are mannequins, and those who are half human and half not human, like über-marionettes, or large marionettes, humans playing dolls; there are struggles over fashion, and struggles over controlling the neighborhood – all of these themes which are profoundly, I would not say so much Brazilian or, specifically, from São Paulo, as they are profoundly urban. You know, we see similar kinds of themes in New York, and, I am sure, in any great urban center. This is because an urban center attracts people who feel. Those who, from one perspective, feel they are moving upwards – that is why they come! –, from another perspective, they are being exploited, because the boss can get them cheaper than they can if they were to pay people who live here all the time. They are migrant workers that are being exploited. So, all depends from what place you are looking at this. In this piece we have engagement with the space, engagement with these themes of urban development and urban decay, back and forth. The final scene takes place in this former Jewish social and cultural center. This organization, I was told by Antonio Araújo, the director, was a very leftist organization and fought against the generals and dictators in Brazil. But, then, there were Jews who made more money and left the neighborhood. The place is haunted by its great past. The dumpster scene at the end presents a haunting image with pieces of mannequins and servants being thrown away. I would call this a liminoid tragedy.

Coming up and being pushed out at the same time. Here we see brilliant use of the neighborhood and the space, leading the audience from place to place in subtle but compulsive ways. And we see the marking of those spaces, as, for example, with the woman that I followed for much of the time.[26] The mannequin, the human playing the mannequin, she first

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26 The actress Kathia Bissoli playing the mannequin.

starts at a sale, and, finally, at a sale with 100% discount, and then is completely discarded. But her place is never at the center of the performance. That is what is interesting. You pass her by. Most people passed her by. Then I stopped a first time, then a second time also. I just stared and stayed there with her. Later, she emailed me, saying how much she appreciated that, because people really treat her as if she is a mannequin, and as something, all of the sudden, to be thrown away. Yet, it is clear that she is a woman. So here we have three sets of figures in the mannequin world. We have the real mannequins; we have a woman who is half mannequin and half woman, the one who is wearing a kind of breast plate, and who is mostly smiling; and, then, we have the actress who is all woman, but is playing a mannequin. [...] But we tend not to treat mannequins as human, but to treat mannequins as mannequins. So, there is also, let's say, a narrative of exploitation of labor where we treat the human as machine, not the machine as human.

We say we treat the machine as human. Perhaps the computer we do, or cellphones – we love them, we hold them, we caress them, and we stroke them. But, most of the time, we are treating humans as machines and as instruments.

I found this performance to be emotionally moving, politically very active, and, yet, not altogether knee-jerking, politically speaking. It was much more complicated because it was also saying the neighborhood should come up. It was also showing us as it was coming up. It was talking about transformation and it was talking about the tragedy of what was happening. Here, we have tragedy again. A little while ago, I said that tragedy cannot occur in liminoid societies. In the liminoid, you can have irony. I would say you can have cruelty, but without tragedy. I am saying that tragedy's mark is not simply cruelty, death, and horror, which we have all the time. We have genocide, we have disease. Tragedy's mark is that in so dying you have gained acceptance into a system. Tragedy is fundamentally hopeful at the end. Most of us die as ignorant as when we were born. If we draw tragic deaths, in the classic sense, we have some knowledge that we are trading for our death. In the *Vertigem* performance there is none. There are some conclusions, there are some final speeches, there is some political thing, but, still, we look at the dumpster and we are seeing these humans and parahumans who are being thrown away. In the dumpster we see the three women: the cleaning lady who is the maid, the half mannequin, and the mannequin. [00:51:46]

QUESTION 5: RESTORED BEHAVIOR

JD [00:51:49]
Let me ask you about restored behavior.[27] [...]

RS [00:51:56]
At last, a theory that I invented rather than all these other theories.

JD [00:52:02 - 00:52:54]
Right. Of course, in various places, Victor Turner points to the importance of this concept in his own thought, especially for the development of anthropology of experience. It is, as many would say, a powerful concept. I want to ask you, why "behavior"? Kenneth Burke, for example, prefers to speak of action rather than behavior.[28] That would be the first question. The second would be, why "restored"? Would the word "recuperated", for example, do just as well?

RS [00:52:57 - 00:57:37]
The "behavior" question I can answer systematically. The "restored" one is probably accidental to some degree. I mean, I can make a justification, but we will get there in a minute. I like the word "behavior" rather than "action" because behavior precedes action. In other words, action is already interpretation. For Kenneth Burke and the actionists, action is meaningful behavior. I want to start back at behavior that may or may not be meaningful. Or, we can assume it is meaningful, but we don't know what the meaning is. Let's say, I do this with my hand. [RS moves his hand.] Unless you have a context to really understand what I am doing, it is not an action. It is a behavior. It is not even a gesture, because that would imply interpretation. So I want to start back as close as I can to ground zero, or embodiment. Now obviously you can never start exactly at ground zero. But, I want to start there, because the behavior is something that can be observed. You need to observe it and, in a certain sense, map it before you can interpret it – before, or, roughly, at the same time. But, conceptually, it should come first. The behavior should come before its interpretation. Otherwise, you risk not seeing a lot of behavior.

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27 The main reference for this concept is Richard Schechner's essay "Restoration of behavior", which was published in his book *Between theater and anthropology* by the University of Pennsylvania Press of Philadelphia in 1985.

28 Among other works, Kenneth Burke wrote *Language as symbolic action* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1966); *A rhetoric of motives*. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1950); and *A grammar of motives*. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1945).

So, now you are shaking your head, and you are moving and you are jiggling your feet a little bit. [RS observes behavior of JD.] Now, if I just say that John Dawsey is looking at me and his lips are moving slightly, and he is nodding his head back and forth, and so on, and you think "mmm", alright, so I write that down, so I can now interpret it – "he is engaged with me", "he is agreeing to some of what I am saying", "he is maintaining a kind of face-to-face supportive attitude" – all of that is action and may be true. But it may also be true that "he is in the middle of this interview", "he is feeling that this is not going so well but he needs to maintain a front", as Erving Goffman[29] would say. That is another interpretation. The behavior would support both interpretations. One would be that you are actually showing what you are feeling, and that there is symmetry between your interior state of experience and your communication. Another would be that there is a disjuncture. Could actors be performing disjunction very effectively all the time? It would take the experts to say whether you are lying or not, and maybe even the experts would not know. Let me tell you, great actors can fool them because they have control of all of the behaviors. That is why I want to start with behavior. I am always a little bit contrary. I could say, "Oh yes, I vote for this one, John my friend has always been good to me"; there is also supportive evidence that this is authentic. But, at the same time, maybe this is all an interview that we have done three times, and we are in the fourth take, and all of this is performed, and we have rehearsed it, and this is all part of the script, and you are saying "oh, excuse me, let's turn this off, I have forgotten page 93", etc. I am always interested in these disjunctions and possibilities. I feel that if we begin at the second floor of the building rather than at the foundation, we miss a lot of possibility for play, for further knowledge and so on.

The second reason for "behavior" goes back to B. F. Skinner, the behaviorist, and to William James, the pragmatist philosopher.[30] And it goes across to animal stuff. Regarding B. F. Skinner and William James, they really did take behavior as the very first thing. Behavior is observable phenomena. In Skinner's case, you can train behavior and you can elicit reflex emotional responses through trained behavior. When the bell rings, the dog's food is ready. After a while, when the bell rings, the dog salivates, and this kind of thing. I am salivating just thinking about it. It is kind of funny, but I truly am.

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29 Erving Goffman discusses the idea of a "front" in *The presentation of self in everyday life* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1959).

30 Among other books, B. F. Skinner (Burrhus Frederic Skinner) wrote *Walden two* (1948), *Verbal behavior* (1957), and *Beyond freedom and dignity* (1971). William James wrote *The principles of psychology* (1890), *The varieties of religious experience* (1902), *Essays in radical empiricism* (1912), and other works.

JD [00:57:37]
Maybe I am too.

RS [00:57:37 - 01:00:04]
Just from talking about it we are salivating. That is interesting. Now, the animal stuff is even more interesting because we do not know. We do not have a true theory of mind about animals. We don't know. Maybe we know a little bit about some primates, but we certainly don't know what a snail is thinking. We don't know what a bee is thinking. Does theory of mind even mean anything when I am talking about a bee, or about neuronal matter? I am not good at biology, but I am sure that it goes down to single cell organs, neurons, whatever. So, all we have is behavior. That is all we can see. We can't say what the organism feels, what it thinks. Or, what is its action. But, we can say what it does. So, the action of a virus is really its behavior, because action is interpretation, thought. Or, to put it in behavioristic terms, you know the AIDS virus just wants to replicate itself, it does not want to kill us. It does not have a motive. The HIV virus does not say, "I want to kill you human beings". That is a consequence of what it does. I refuse to believe that there is agency in these things – not human agency. That would be much too much. Let's say a divine plague was sent by God. But, even there, the plague doesn't have agency. God has the agency and the plague is the instrument, right? So, the plagues against pharaoh were behaving. God was doing the action and using the plagues. When I write with my pen, the pen doesn't act. I do the action, the pen is the instrument. Alright, maybe that does it for "behavior". I want to get to "restored", but does that do it for "behavior"?

JD [01:00:04]
Yes.

RS [01:00:05 - 01:00:42]
Alright, as for "restored", maybe I just like RE words. I like RE words because they suggest repetition, return, restoration, rebuilding. They suggest a circular movement. I don't know why I chose *restored* behavior. Maybe it has to do with the idea of a return.

JD [01:00:44]
Would the word "recuperate" do just as well?

RS [01:00:46 - 01:01:20]
Hmm, no. Look at my theory carefully and you will see it is saying that the future action determines what from the past is going to be used, and what we want to bring back. "Recuperate" strikes me as "rehabilitate", or as something lost that we need. I don't know, maybe it is very close. I don't have a huge justification for it, except for that.

JD [01:01:22]

Does "restore" have to do with new elements, new materials, or making anew?

RS [01:10:23 - 01:02:34]

Well, maybe rearrangement makes things anew. And what we restore from the past and choose to redo and to re-perform in the present is a function of the future project. What we are trying to build into, or trying to bring into existence. So it is this kind of ongoing rehearsal of the world. When you go in to rehearse a play, you are saying, "ok, today we will work this from yesterday because tomorrow we need to perform it. So we need to keep recycling, reusing – something like that. But, I can't defend the word "restored" as well as I can the word "behavior". One more thing, let me just finish this one thing. I feel that, in English, from a poetic point of view, "restoration of behavior" flows. "Recuperation", with the "p" and "t", does not sound right to me.

JD [01:02:36 – 01:02:59]

Something just occurred to me. Getting back to why you use "behavior". The other day, at the rasabox workshop[31], you mentioned that, in certain cases in India, boys are used instead of adults for transmitting tradition. [...]

RS [01:03:12]

I don't see the connection. What does that have to do with behavior, with restoration of behavior?

JD [01:03:22]

Could it have to do, in these cases, with giving more importance to behavior than to meaning? Could boys have to do more with behavior, and adults with meaning? Would transmission of tradition by boys, or by children, have to do with learning behaviors while being open to different possibilities of meaning?

RS [01:03:30 – 01:07:20]

O yes, well yes, but I am not talking at that level of the transmission of the performance knowledge. I am just talking about why I use the term "behavior", why I want to describe behavior, insofar as possible without interpreting it, yet. First describe then interpret. [...]

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31 The rasabox workshop was held with Napedra members on June 28, 2012. Richard Schechner discusses the rasabox exercise and theory in his essay "Rasaesthetics" published by *The Drama Review* 45, 3 (T171) Fall 2001.

Let me say one more thing about restoration. In the opening of that essay[32], I say it is like treating behavior as film clips that you could be using as in montage. I could have also said that it is like phonemes that can be made into words. The items that are restored exist independently of their meanings. We recombine them to make meaning. We cannot communicate without meaning, of course, but the items of our communication are meaningless. So, the phoneme in itself is not a morpheme. But, if you put two or more phonemes together, you can create meaning. Things have meaning only in combination and it is important for me to try to describe them as stripped from meaning as possible. This involves making both description and analysis as phonemic as possible. [33]

I agree with Clifford Geertz's "thick description".[34] This is the sequence which I make: description, thick description, explanation and theory. I don't know if that is in any of my books, but I use it in class all the time. Description is the behavior; thick description is the behavior within its social, personal, chronological context; explanation is asking "why did behavior occur in this context?"; and theory is generalizing from this instance to other instances, and asking "will similar behaviors in similar contexts yield the same meanings?". As trained fieldworkers and trained performance theorists, we first have to say, "ok, give me a description". "Alright, that is great. Next assignment, take the same description and now give me a thick description. Then give me an explanation. Tell me why this thing is happening, what is going on in here? [...] Finally, give me a theory if you can."

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32 At the beginning of the essay "Restoration of behavior" (In: *Between theater and anthropology* . Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985, pp. 35-116), Richard Schechner writes: "Restored behavior is living behavior treated as a film director treats a strip of film. These strips of behavior can be rearranged or reconstructed; they are independent of the causal systems (social, psychological, technological) that brought them into existence. They have a life of their own. The original 'truth' or 'source' of the behavior may be lost, ignored or contradicted – even while this truth or source is apparently being honored and observed. How the strip of behavior was made, found, or developed may be unknown or concealed; elaborated; distorted by myth and tradition. Originating as a process, used in the process of rehearsal to make a new process, a performance, the strips of behavior are not themselves process but things, items, 'material'. Restored behavior can be of long duration as in some dramas and rituals or of short duration as in some gestures, dances, and mantras." Schechner goes on to say that "restored behavior is the main characteristic of performance."
33 In a particularly revealing comment made immediately after the interview, Richard Schechner said that Claude Lévi-Strauss was possibly his main inspiration for the concept of "restored behavior". The comment was made to John Dawsey on a city bus as they were going to the municipal market and popular shopping district of the Rua 25 de Março of São Paulo.
34 Clifford Geertz discusses this concept in "Thick description: toward an interpretive theory of culture" published in his book *The interpretation of cultures* (Basic Books, 1973).

What I am saying is that any event can be described. If you have a little more knowledge, you can give a thick description. Maybe that is enough. Maybe you can give an explanation, and maybe you cannot. Don't try to give an explanation if you cannot give it. Know where you are in the process. Very few people can contribute to theory. Theory does not change that much. When it changes, we have a paradigm shift.

"Restoration of behavior" is a theory that has been around for a long time, recently speaking. Some theories, like Aristotle's theory of theatrical action, have been around for 2500 years. There are not that many real theories out there. [...]

QUESTION 6: ANTHROPOLOGY OF EXPERIENCE

JD [01:07:23 – 01:08:18]
Let me ask you about anthropology of experience. Of course that has all to do with restored behavior. Turner was inspired by your work, also by Wilhelm Dilthey and others. In the introduction to *From ritual to theater*, he suggests a model of experience with five 5 moments: something is perceived, causing acute pain or joy; emotions associated with past experience are relived; things are remembered; images from the past articulate with the present so as to create meaning; and then you have expression.[35] My first question is: what are your thoughts on the model itself, or this suggestion of a model?

RS [01:08:18 – 01:09:17]
I think the model is a little bit too soft, for my way of thinking. And that is why I like the idea of embodiment.[36] Again, experience is an internal state of feeling which we communicate unconsciously through our bodily gestures, like what you are doing right now, what I am doing, what Ricardo is doing.[37] So, Ricardo is kind of rocking back and forth, he is watching, but he is not

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35 Victor Turner's book, *From ritual to theatre: the human seriousness of play*, was published by PAJ Publications of New York, in 1982.

36 In "'Points of contact' revisited" ("'Pontos de contato' revisitados), Richard Schechner highlights Diana Taylor's concept of performance as "a repertoire of embodied knowledge, a learning in and through the body, as well as a means of creating, preserving and transmitting knowledge" (In: *Revista de Antropologia*, vol. 56, no. 2, julho-dezembro 2013, p. 28; and *Antropologia e performance: ensaios Napedra*, edited by John C. Dawsey, Regina P. Müller, Rose Satiko G. Hikiji, and Marianna F. M. Monteiro, São Paulo: Terceiro Nome, 2013, p. 40). Cf. Diana Taylor's *The archive and the repertoire: performing cultural memory in the Americas*, published by Duke University Press in Durham and London, in 2003.

37 Ricardo Dionísio Fernandes is the technician at the Laboratory of Image and Sound in Anthropology (LISA – Laboratório de Imagem e Som em Antropologia), who is filming and taping the interview.

as engaged in the dialogue. We are the "stars of the show", and he is kind of observing. Now that I have acknowledged him, he smiles and the smile says "ok, thank you, somebody has noticed me over here, so I don't have to just rock back and forth like a chimpanzee trapped in a cage". You know, when primates, such as us, are caged, they tend to rock back and forth like that.

JD [01:09:19]
Maybe he is the classic anthropologist, observing and participating a little bit.

RS [01:09:23 – 01:09:44]
Maybe now he is, because he is now a participant observer. We brought him into the dialogue and he is no longer rocking. [RS speaks to Ricardo and chuckles.] Now, you start to rock again, that's great.

JD [01:09:48]
You said Turner's model of experience is a little soft, right?

RS [01:09:50 – 01:13:52]
Yes, I think so. When dealing with experience, I am talking about descriptions of behavior, or, in other words, embodiments – which is another way of saying what your behavior is. I respect experience, but we have to work to get at it. That is what the rasabox exercise is about.[38] I think that Victor, to some degree, having not worked in theater, having not worked directly as an artist, and having come from anthropology and, also, from the tradition of writing ethnography, had a kind of experience envy. Let's put it that way. We wanted his work, and he wanted to enjoy experiences in work as he was doing it. He wanted to convey the enjoyment he had in participant observation rather than just observation. He wanted to move the emphasis, in a certain sense, or redress the imbalance, because, although anthropologists speak of participant observation, there has been, in classic anthropology, more observation than participation.

So, where were we? Ok, I misinterpreted that. That is very good. So, Ricardo is rocking back and forth. Ok, that we agreed. And I said that it showed that he was a little bit bored, that he was not being taken account of. And he reported "no, I was rocking back and forth because the battery was going low and I was anxious about whether we were going to have enough battery to finish the interview". So that is beautiful. Thank you Ricardo, because you demonstrated my point exactly. The behavior was the same, but the interpretation was totally different. Unless I find out from you what was really going on, what your experience was, I could not derive from the behavior what was going on. And we often misread behaviors.

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38 Regarding the rasabox exercise, see footnote 31.

Now, the case of people smiling when they do not really mean it is a kind of performance of deception. We do it all the time in social life, to appear nicer than we are. But, the case of Ricardo going back and forth, within my frame of reference, as I proposed, goes back to chimpanzees in their small cages. They are both kind of anxiety gestures. One is the anxiety of being trapped, the other is the anxiety of not being able of finish one's job effectively because the battery runs down. But, I had suggested that it might have to do with boredom. [...] Anxiety and boredom are part of the same continuum, but boredom is not enough stimulation and anxiety is too much to cope with. So he had too much rather than too little. So, I was part right and part wrong.

First, the behavior. Then you have to work on the interpretation. In Turner's terms – and this is very brilliant of him –, interpretation depends on experience. What was Ricardo experiencing? He was experiencing an anxiety over the battery; he was not experiencing boredom because he is standing up and we are sitting down, and because this has been going on for hours, and he has to keep watching this thing. Well, I think that Turner may have had, to some degree, a performance experience envy, because he had trained to observe more than to participate. Now you were saying...

JD [01:13:52 – 01:14:11]
In regard to "participant observation", I was thinking of the play on words, turning them around, as some anthropologists have done, speaking of "observant participation", with emphasis on participation.

RS [01:14:14 – 01:25:28]
Right. So, Turner wanted more participation. I agree that you can learn something by watching and recording the behavior. [...] But, you have to really get inside the cultures, embody the experience, and embody

knowledge to begin to understand. You want to see with the eyes of the other. This has to do with ancient performance or acting techniques. Actors learn by imitation, they learn by emotional recall, they learn by putting themselves in somebody else's circumstances. We call it the given circumstances. For example, if you want to experience the sadness of Ophelia over the death of her father, you have to imagine those given circumstances. I have a beloved father, so I say who he was in my life. Maybe it is not my father who is really beloved by me, so I can imagine, is there anybody who I loved and suddenly died? Maybe not murdered, but suddenly died? So, that person may still say, "no, I don't have such a person". Well, do you have a pet that died? If not, do you have something that you lost, maybe a pen, a ring? Finally, you can find something that can stand in for something. In that way, by recalling how you felt when you lost your ring or misplaced it, or when your pet died, and so on, you can begin to reawaken the emotions. Then those emotions are experience that will be applied to the event at hand.

That is an exercise in affective memory or emotional recall. I am sure that somebody like Kathia Bissoli,[39] who was playing the mannequin and weeping, was doing some degree of emotional recall. We saw her on the dumpster, but her experience may be something else. You experience things yourself. Now, according to a theory of mind, empathy has to do with mirror-neurons, so that one actually is having the experience of another, not just appreciating these experiences. There is a fuzzy boundary between sympathy and empathy. Earlier we were, by contagion, doing this salivating. But, in a nursery, when one child begins to cry, they all begin to cry. Maybe the first child that cries is uncomfortable, but the second child may not be uncomfortable, but is empathizing. They are lining up emotionally. We are a species that has to learn to shut out empathy – not learn how to have empathy. As early infants and children, we are inherently very empathetic to others. And emotions are very contagious. Then we learn to control them, because this is a little bit dangerous. We can control them. But, for example, a parent will feel something in his stomach when the child is not well. [...] I don't think it is genetic, because, if you have an adopted child, you may feel the same thing. You are mapped on that child and that very experience becomes your experience.

I think that Turner was interested not only in the behavior being described, but also in the experience being felt. I would now call attention to embodiment. [...] I am not saying that the theory of restoration of behavior is invalidated. I think it is a very strong theory. But, I do think that embodiment is an equally strong theory, and it connects to taking

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39 Kathia Bissoli was one of the actresses in the play *Bom Retiro 958 metros* presented by the *Teatro da Vertigem*.

on to the body of the other, or to the gestures of the other, in order to experience what the other is experiencing, something parallel to that. Turner was much into that. And, I agree. I think this is a very powerful tool. It heats or warms up anthropology.

I think anthropology in its classical sense sometimes is too cold. If you read Malinowski's ethnographies and then read his notebooks you would note more in the notebooks than in the ethnography. The notebook is always full of complications and so on. If you read a novel like *Heart of darkness*[40], you get a vision of colonial exploitation and of a certain kind of anthropology that is going on. You have the descriptions and so and so. But you are getting it from a highly experience-marked source. Obviously it is a novel, but it is a very powerful novel. It is an early twentieth century novel. I think ethnographers should read that novel because it also gives a feeling of "at that time" between the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, of how people felt in regard to other cultures, to so called "exotic cultures", truly "savage" and "dangerous" cultures – "the horror, the horror". They had that feeling even though they repressed it, and that affected those kinds of diaries they tried to understand. But, they had a hard time experiencing and empathizing. Now we live in a different world.

This morning, my performance studies colleague, Diana Taylor, and I had a discussion.[41] She said human rights trump cultural rights. We were talking about feelings about female circumcision, cruelty to children and so on. And she says human rights must always trump cultural rights. And I was saying that I agree, from my perspective. But I also think your human rights are relative. In other words, I agree with Diana because I am who I am, but I cannot say that human rights are inalienable. I think we have to work for them and I don't think we can impose them. I think we have to persuade. [...] Because I have seen, let's say, unintended consequences of good actions. It is horrible to say this on tape, but I am going to say it because I have thought it. Take the introduction of modern medicine, which leads to overpopulation. We don't want people to die of diseases, but unless you introduce, along with the cure, effective conditions for economic rising up and measures of birth control and population control, the consequence of saving lives will be

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40 Joseph Conrad's *Heart of darkness* was first published in 1899, in *Blackwood's Magazine*. In 1902, it was included in the book *Youth: a narrative, and two other stories*, by William Blackwood.
41 Diana Taylor's publications include the following books: *The archive and the repertoire: performing cultural memory in the Americas* (published by Duke University Press in Durham and London, in 2003); *Disappearing acts: spectacles of gender and nationality in Argentina's dirty war* (published by Duke University Press of Durham, North Carolina, in 1997); and *Theatre of crisis: drama and politics in Latin/o America* (published by University of Kentucky Press of Lexington, Kentucky, in 1990).

to wreck the lives. So we always have to think that there is a ying and a yang to all our actions, even the best of our actions. And it would be easy to say that George Bush went in into Iran just for the oil. Ok, that is terrible, and I am sure, that was a big part of it. But, I also think that he thought he was overturning a dictator and would bring democracy.

That is where you get the liminoid tragedy coming in. People have mixed motives and one does not cancel out the other. You can say, "yeah, we want the oil", and "yeah, this guy is a bad guy", and "yeah, we are making them culturally better", etc. So, then, do we intervene? Do we not intervene? Who are the "we"? Certainly, the early missionaries thought that they were bringing enlightenment with Christianity. They did not think they were simply exploiting people and getting more money for the churches. They thought that they were bringing the holy savior Jesus Christ, they were believers. It would be much too easy to think that everyone is a cynic. There are cynics, but many people really feel they do good.

I think part of the way we can recuperate good anthropology is to have trained anthropologists from other cultures to study us. One of the critiques of anthropology that I have is that when somebody comes from, let's say South Asia, or from Indonesia, or from Africa, as a trained anthropologist, it is almost to assume that they will be going back to their countries to do anthropology there. When we train a European American – you are a Brazilian, I am an American or North American – it is almost assumed that they will do some "exotic" place. Not among their own people, you don't train people here (I am not talking about the Amazonian) to do what we would call sociology. I always thought of sociology as the anthropology of the West on the West. Durkheim is as important to anthropology etc. etc. But, I feel [...] we should be having people from Central Africa doing studies in São Paulo, or doing studies of European peoples, and writing anthropological ethnographies to be published back in Nigeria about the strange people that they have seen and lived with. We have to have this. Either eliminate any notion of exoticism or make it really back and forth. And to do that, of course, we have to think about our indigenous methodologies.

JD [01:25:30 – 01:26:04]
The second part of my question has to do with the fourth and fifth moments of Turner's suggested model of experience. The fourth has to do with the creation of meaning which occurs when images of the past articulate with the present. And, the fifth or last has to do with expression of experience, or performance. Is meaning always created in experience?

RS [01:26:07 - 01:32:14]
Well, I think meaning is created through interpretation. In this respect, I will go along more with Geertz. I think meaning is an interpretation

of a behavior making it into an action. As we said before, I do not think meaning is inherent in behavior. I think meanings are inherent in actions on the part of the person who is behaving. But, I am also a Freudian to the degree that we are not always aware of what meaning will convey. There is a lot of psychoanalysis that is rejected as being mystical. But, the underlying assumption that we can do things and not know what we are doing, I think, is absolutely true. The second underlying assumption is that dreams can speak to us. I think this is absolutely true. And I think that is something in regard to which modern or Freudian culture and traditional culture are in harmony. Both say that dreams are extremely important. Dreams are conveyors of knowledge. According to Freud, they are the royal road to the unconscious and so on.

Turner's notion that through experience we get meaning is correct. But meaning is true self interpretation and interpretation of others. Meaning is not inherent in the behavior. Meaning is what is made from the behavior. And this I know so well from theater. As a theater director, I am using gestures all of the time. And, then, I have to decide how to make them do what I want them to do. The gesture itself has much less "natural meaning" than you think it would have. For example, take blowing a kiss. Ok, the meaning may seem obvious. But, what if Iago does it, as in Shakespeare's play? What if Iago blows a kiss to Othello? We know the history of what is happening between the two. In those circumstances, what does blowing a kiss mean? So we may have Juliet doing it to Romeo and Iago doing it to Othello – the same behavior, yet totally different meanings. We have to know the context etc. There is nothing inherent in the blowing of a kiss that says "I love you". It says many things. There is where I feel one should not be naïve.

There is a famous account from Poland that I will give you. During the period of *Solidarity*,[42] before *Solidarity* grew strong, there was martial law in Poland. A famous actor, who had supported the government, was very much hated by the people. But, you could not really demonstrate against him. So, after this actor had come out in favor of the government, people went to a performance he was giving, and when he appeared on stage, everyone stood up and gave him a standing ovation. He was so happy, feeling they had understood him. When he began to utter his first line, the people stood up again and they kept giving him

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42 *Solidarity* "is a Polish labour union that was founded on 17 September 1980 at the Lenin Shipyard under the leadership of Lech Wałęsa. It was the first trade union in a Warsaw Pact country that was not controlled by a communist party. Its membership reached 9.5 million members before its September 1981 Congress (when it reached 10 million), which constituted one third of the total working-age population of Poland. Access: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Solidarity_(Polish_trade_union) on October 30, 2017, 11:44 am.

standing ovations until the humiliated actor had to leave the stage. But what could he complain about, that he was being applauded? So the communication was very clear, although not at the beginning. It went from very positive to extremely negative by using a gesture that no government could contest or say was wrong. On one level of observation, all that was being said was, "we are so happy with this man", "we are so proud of him". But, he was never able to give his performance.

I do not think animals can do the same thing. But, to some degree – and we can see this in evolutionarily terms –, animals mimic, disguise, use camouflage, etc.. I do not think they do this through agency. They do it through natural selection. So I think this business of expression, even then, is context specific.

I am very much a context specific person because, within the framework of theater and the practice of art, everything is in quotation marks. That is why John Austin did not think any utterance on stage was a performative,[43] because it was always in quotation marks. I agree with Goffman:[44] all gestures and expressions in life are in quotation marks. The only difference, for me, between the stage and life, is that on stage we emphasize utterance. We point to it; the utterance or gesture is underlined. Like when a stain reveals the real shape of the cell, it shows some things more than we had seen before. It is not that in ordinary life we are always being authentic and doing real performatives, as Austin would say. But, more like Goffman, we perform with a high sense of performance on stage, but we also perform in everyday life. That is, we deceive, we put things in quotation marks. You need to know the context of everyday life. And I think the people that we feel are masters of traditional knowledge – such as shamans or Pinguim, the capoeira teacher[45] – they are often very cunning. They are both accepted and feared because they are cunning, because they speak with many different tongues, because they can master expression, and they can use expression aggressively or constructively.

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43 John Austin discusses the concept of a "performative" in *How to do things with words*, published by Harvard University Press of Cambridge, Massachussetts, in 1962.

44 Among other books, Erving Goffman wrote *The presentation of self in everyday life* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1959); *Interaction ritual: essays on face-to-face behavior* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967); *Frame analysis: an essay on the organization of experience* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1974); and *Forms of talk.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983).

45 Mestre Pinguim (Luiz Antônio Nascimento Cardoso), as mentioned previously, leads, teaches, and directs the University Culture and Extension Center in Afro-Brazilian Arts (Núcleo de Cultura e Extensão em Artes Afro-Brasileiras) at USP. Richard Schechner visited and interacted with Mestre Pinguim and participants at the Center on June 26, 2012.

JD [01:32:14]
As he did with us

RS [01:32:17]
Yes. So I think we should take these things into account.

JD [01:32:23]
As to the idea that performance is the expression of experience, what are your thoughts?

RS [01:32:30 – 01:36:46]
Well, performance may be a heightened expression of experience. But performance is also many other things. Take artistic performance. Artistic performance is critical thought and it is also a way of experiencing for free that which, in ordinary life, we pay a high price for. Therefore, we want to limit the experience, make it less painful. There is a lot of emotionally painful experience in real life, as when a lover rejects us, or a loved one dies or something. In real life, we express the grief, but we want to bound it as much as possible. When a loved one dies, if you are an Irish Catholic, you go to a wake, you drink, you tell happy stories, you try to move through the liminal light and get to the other side. It is hard to say things like "I enjoyed the death of my mother" etc. etc. But, in artistic performance, we are given the license to explore those feelings – to have feelings of grief, to find them and defy them, including the pleasure side of them. The world of make believe, or the dream world, which is not as realistic as other worlds, is consequential in its ways of expanding our knowledge and experience of experience. It is not consequential in the way that the loss of a loved one is preeminent. Tragedy in performance is something that we can enjoy and we go to. Actually we pay money to feel tragedy. As I said earlier, to be truly tragic you have to exchange your life for knowledge about your life, so theater gives you that, or the arts give you that. The arts have many functions that are commercial, where the art gets sold and this and that. But part of its epistemological function is to allow or to add experience. The idea is to allow us to expand our scope of experience in order to enhance our knowledge of certain emotional states that otherwise we would avoid. Ceremonies do that, not only artistic ceremonies but, also, ritual ceremonies. You see people weeping, you see people laughing, you see people overly exuberant about their feelings, doing things that they cannot do in their ordinary lives. This is the place to do that. It is very healthy and very good for the individual, but occurs within this boundedness. So, when candomblé says to go and eat, you leave behind those feelings. You know, Aristotle was right. You have a catharsis, you have experienced the feelings, you have gotten rid of them, in a certain way, at least temporarily, you have been

given your license, and then you move on. You move out. This is a kind of bounded ritual, and it is also aesthetic. It is so valuable that way. Although I am not a believer – being an atheist, ideologically speaking – I am a believer in the efficacy of religion – not the ideology of religion. I also go to synagogue. I enjoy it. It is not the ideology I am enjoying. I enjoy standing up. I enjoy saying the prayers. I enjoy seeing people next to me. This is all very healthy for me. Yes, I can stand outside and say that God does not exist, but the act of singing and moving my body and all, that is not imagination; it is real. I enjoy Hinduism too. When I was in Abu Dhabi, I went to the mosque. I enjoy those things. So, I separate very much the experience of ritual process and the experience of religion from the ideology. I reject the ideology, but accept the experience.

END OF FIRST PART.
BEGINNING OF SECOND PART.

QUESTION 7: THE "INFINITY LOOP" – RELATIONS BETWEEN AESTHETIC AND SOCIAL DRAMAS

JD [00:00:01 – 00:00:23]
I want to ask you about the figure eight, which you developed.[46]

RS [00:00:25 – 00:01:20]
Let me just say one thing and then you can ask the question. I took Turner's idea of social drama then I invented the figure eight, which is also the

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46 In "Selective inattention", as a way of discussing relations between aesthetic drama and social drama, Richard Schechner presents his diagram of the "infinity loop", a figure eight in the horizontal position (or symbol of infinity), as follows:
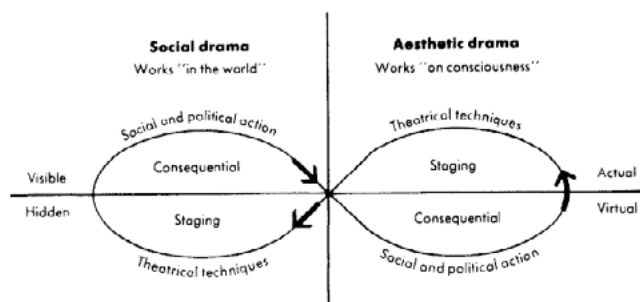
Schechner writes : "The 'infinity loop' depicts dynamic positive feedback. Social dramas affect aesthetic dramas, aesthetic dramas affect social dramas. The visible actions of a given social drama are informed – shaped, conditioned, guided – by underlying aesthetic principles and specific theatrical/rhetorical techniques. Reciprocally, a culture's visible aesthetic theater is informed – shaped, conditioned, guided – by underlying processes of social interaction." The diagram and quote appear in Schechner's *Performance theory*, published by Routledge in New York and London, in 1988, p. 190.

infinity symbol. I would not have invented the figure eight without knowing Turner. [...] This diagram is kind of 80% Turner and 20% Goffman because it also has to do with Goffman's notion of performance in everyday life. [...]

JD [00:01:20]
I was going to ask you about the idea that art imitates life and life imitates art.

RS [00:01:25]
Yes, but do you want to do more on the figure eight?

JD [00:01:27 - 00:02:04]
Well, I was also thinking of Gordon Craig's dolls or über-marionettes.[47] And I am guessing there is a relation there with the "infinity loop".[...]

RS [00:02:04]
Gee, I had not thought about that. What would the relationship be?

JD [00:02:08]
At a certain point, if life imitates art and art or whatever we call art is doing something, like a doll you know, or...

RS [00:02:22]
Like art is controlling the puppet, which is life, is that what you mean?

JD [00:02:26 – 00:02:59]
No, I mean like maybe the puppet is doing something to us. We create puppets, say, from elements which emerge from social drama. We create them and they become real, and we put them on stage or place them in a ritual. Then we do feel that they do something to us. I was wondering what you would think of that.

RS [00:03:00 – 00:08:30]
Craig's theory of the über-marionette really comes from quite a different impulse. He felt that actors were unreliable. And he wanted life-size puppets literally so that the director, himself, could make them do exactly what he wanted them to do. He felt that actors were all doing what they wanted to do. And, he never said so, but I think he admired the puppet theater, especially some of the puppet theaters of Asia. Certainly, he

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47 Among other books, Edward Gordon Craig wrote *On the art of the theatre* (1911), *Towards a new theatre* (1913), and *The theatre advancing* (1919). See also Craig's "The actor and the über-marionette", found in *The twentieth-century performance reader*, edited by Michael Huxley and Noel Witts, and published by Routledge of London and New York, in 1996, p. 159-165.

admired some of the Italian puppet theaters, which he did see. But, your application is a very interesting one, a very creative and different one.

I do not think that way exactly, because I think of all of these relations as processual – and that is a generic and, therefore, up for grabs. In other words I never wanted to use puppets in my theatrical work, for the very reason that Craig admired them. They do not have life of their own. Puppets can be controlled, so I would rather have the actor betray me, to some degree, and surprise me, and cause me an accident – like my bad behavior last night during the play when I was moving through and in the back always, and challenging the woman with the chair.[48] I like to think that in theater things are in play.

Now play, at least in English, has two meanings. There is the common meaning of play as a game and so on. But, there is another, such as when the rope is loose and we say there is play in the rope. In this case, the meaning is that things are a little bit unpredictable. There is room for change. Play is seen as more flexible than other forms of behavior. So we are not talking about strictly rule-bound play. Even in rule-bound play, the rules give you the boundaries, but what goes on between determines what is a good player or a bad player. They are both following the rules, but the winner is able to find space to kick the ball through the goal. […]

So, I think that the relationship between art and life is that they are each revising each other. They are not so much following each other. Art imitates life and life imitates art, but also, art makes life and life makes art. I would rather think of it like that. Maybe I did not write it that way.

The mimetic model would be the Aristotelian model. That becomes manifest throughout 19th century realism, with the idea of the fourth wall and all of those theatrical conventions. It also becomes prominent in much of early

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48 Schechner's behavior before and during the presentation of *Bom Retiro 958 metros*, by *Teatro da Vertigem*, called attention. As spectators were gathering at the appointed meeting place on a dark street, waiting for the play to begin, a woman (who turned out to be an actress) placed a chair on the sidewalk and began to read a book. Schechner immediately crossed the street and got very close to her to see what she was reading. After a while, the actress left the scene, disappearing from sight as she turned the street corner. Schechner again crossed the street to get the chair which she had left behind. When the actress came back, he was sitting in the chair. Schechner only gave back the chair after some discussion, which was translated back and forth from English to Portuguese and vice-versa. During the presentation, as spectators walked from scene to scene, Schechner tended to walk ahead surprising actors backstage as they were setting up each scene. He was especially attracted to an actress named Kathia Bissoli, who played the role of a discarded mannequin and seemed to be on the margins of action in some of the early and middle scenes as spectators walked by. She also appeared in the final dumpster scene.

film, realistic films and so on. Film is a highly realistic mode, at least at the level of visual representation, if not at the level of narrative. But, then, as we go into later film we get all these forms of musicals, destruction films and science fiction, all of this stuff in which film is making its own reality, in other words, in which film becomes fantastic, surrealistic. I see a film like *Avatar*, which I kind of like, and it is so obvious, and it creates this world divided between good and bad, and yet the special effects are impressive. And you have the "green people". The animator must have known this: there is a famous ad for nibbles green corn, called Jolly Green Giant – have you seen that? It is an ad for canned corn with this green guy with a corn stalk. I said, "Hey! Whoever made the movie must have been remembering that ad when he made these green people." Obviously, green is life and all, but then there is the Jolly Green Giant who is out there in the advertising world. Only those who are old enough can remember. There is a recuperation of this figure in the film. The Jolly Green Giant also has Spock's ears – you know, the human-Vulcan character on *Star Trek* –, so, it is a little bit from *Star Trek*. The pointy ears show high intelligence, etc. [...] Anyway, where was I?

Yes, I was talking about art imitating life. Art affects rather than imitates. They both operate on each other. They change each other. We model our behaviors very often on popular culture and arts, and so on. At the same time, art models what it is going to show. So it is a kind of continuous, deepening, positive feedback loop. That is the infinity loop. I think I drew it so that it moves the whole system, right? It is not static. It is a processual and spiraling thing; and it changes.

QUESTION 8: THE "NOT ME… NOT NOT ME" EXPERIENCE

JD [00:08:36 – 00:09:32]
Let me ask you about the "not me… not not me" experience.[49] At one point you refer to the relation between body and mask in these terms, which makes me think of a sort of friction, maybe with the R in parentheses [so that it may be read as f(r)iction]. I am interested in the development of this idea of "not me… not not me". You have mentioned Donald Winnicott in several places. During your discussion, the other day, on rasaboxes, you mentioned other sources as well.

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49 Schechner describes the experience of performers as "not me… not not me". In "Points of contact between anthropological and theatrical thought" (p. 6) he remarks that various ritual and theatrical traditions make no effort to hide the body behind the mask, thereby highlighting a liminal or transitional experience. In his essay "Restoration of behavior" (published in the book *Between theater and anthropology* by The University of Pennsylvania Press of Philadelphia, in 1985, p. 109) Schechner points to the relevance of Donald Winnicott's research on babies: "Winnicott called certain objects 'transitional' – in between the mother and the baby, belonging to neither the mother nor the baby (the mother's breasts, a security blanket, certain special toys)."

RS [00:09:34 – 00:21:09]

It happens to be *neti neti*, "not this, not this", from ancient Hinduism.[50] [...] It comes from several sources. [...] In theater, an actor is not the character, but an actor is not not the character also. When you are a director and you are talking to somebody, and you are playing let's say Henry V, I may say "Hey, Henry V, why don't you...?" No, I say "John, when you are in this scene and you are saying the Saint Crispin's Day speech, I would like you to say it with a little more enthusiasm". I do not say "Hey, Henry, when you're saying your talk..." That would be someone that is not a director, I don't do it anyway. I would call you John, you are John. I do not call you Henry, but I know that you are doing Henry and that when you get up there and speak, you are going to say "Those who have been there...", you know, the Saint Crispin's Day speech. But, I also know that the spectator knows that you are not Henry. Henry is back in the 15th century and you are here. They have paid money to see John Dawsey play Henry V. [...] You are not Henry V, but you are also Henry V.

The first thing was the "you are not, but you are". That did not strike me as a powerful idea. So being contrary, being Richard and this, I thought, "not and not not", because I like mathematics. You know one times one equals one, but minus one times minus one also equals one. Minus two times minus two equals four. That always amazed me. Minus two times two equals minus four. And two times two equals four. But minus two times minus two equals four. The logic of it is that a minus cancels itself out. So you can eliminate the minus there and get the plus. That is arithmetic or algebra, but I felt that it is also conceptually true – that these two negatives working against each other yield for the audience a positive experience, the experience of seeing Henry V. But, it also gives the actor the freedom to interpret Henry and to become Henry in many different ways. If actors really are Henry, then they are chained. Pirandello wrote a great play about this, and it is called Henry V, I think, or Henry VI, or something.[51] Not the *Six characters in search of an author*, but the other one, in which the actor really thought he was the character, and how this was nuts.

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50 Wikipedia: In Hinduism, and in particular Jnana Yoga and Advaita Vedanta, *neti neti* is a Sanskrit expression which means «not this, not this», or «neither this, nor that» (*neti* is sandhi from *na iti* «not so»). It is found in the Upanishads and the Avadhuta Gita and constitutes an analytical meditation helping a person to understand the nature of Brahman by first understanding what is not Brahman. It corresponds to the western *via negativa*, a mystical approach that forms a part of the tradition of apophatic theology. One of the key elements of Jnana Yoga practice is often a "neti neti search." The purpose of the exercise is to negate rationalizations and other distractions from the non-conceptual meditative awareness of reality. Access: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Neti_neti ,on October 30 2017, 5:22 pm.

51 Schechner is referring to Pirandello's play, *Henry IV*.

We do have accounts in film history where actors get locked into characters, like Bela Lugosi as Dracula. It ruined his life. He complained that he could not get other roles because people only saw him as Dracula. He had this Hungarian accent and he could not get rid of it, so he was Dracula in the people's imagination. But that was so limiting. So he was not so much "not Dracula" and "not not Dracula", he was Dracula. And whenever people or, at least, North Americans think of Dracula they remember those Hungarian accents of Bela Lugosi and the movies of this particular figure. [...]

The freedom that a double negative gives you of not making a final choice is a profoundly processual formula, to "not" and "not not". It means not for the first time, but only for the second time. The three most important parts of that theory are these. First, the future creates the past. That is the idea that what I want to do tomorrow determines what I reconstruct or restore from yesterday to play today. The future creates the past. Second, nothing is ever done for the first time, but only for the second to the endless time. Three, everything that is done exists in the field between not and not not. [...]

This is really a theory on human behavior and knowledge. It is an epistemological and experiential theory. We are doing this interview, but it is not for the first time. This particular constellation is for the first time, but the language we use, the grammar we use, the equipment we use, the words we use, the ideas we begin to play with, all of them are restored behaviors. We are selecting what we are doing from my past and from your past, doing it today in service of this future project which will be this film or whatever you are going to make from it. So everything is restored behavior.

Now I will tell you the *neti neti* story. Before I developed this theory, I was living in South India. This would have been in 1976. I was reading some of the *Vedas* and other sacred Hindu writings. [...] In one of them, there is a narrative of the student who goes to his teacher, or guru, and says, "guru, please tell me what is the fundamental structure of the material universe", and the teacher says "*neti*", "not that, not that". So, the student thinks for a while and says "what is the essence of the spiritual world?", and the teacher says "*neti, neti*". Then the student says "what is the essence of the universe, the idea of God?" Again the guru says "*neti neti*". He goes on through a whole list of possibilities of what is the essence and the core, and every time he gets the answer "*neti neti*", "not this, not that". Finally, the student has the illumination that *neti* is the answer. The essence of the universe is "not that". The "not that" is what the universe is.

This is so contemporary. Some of the recent discoveries about the physical nature of the universe are particularly interesting. At the core of the

universe scientists encounter dark matter. This, it may be suggested, is the not of the universe, the matter that we cannot directly observe.

Also, I was very affected by Keats' poem or essay, where he talks about negative capability.[52] Keats writes that Shakespeare is so great because he has a negative capability. What did Keats mean? Keats said in his essay that Shakespeare has the capability to become anyone, therefore he is no one. If he were to have a personality, he could not be all these other personalities which he is capable of being. Shakespeare has a negative capacity. This is so brilliant. This also relates to my attraction for a sort of emptiness, or point zero and such. These are scientific ideas and, also, mystical ideas. These mystical ideas appeal to me because they reduce things to zero. I just did a piece called *Imagining zero* in which I talk about zero, what is zero. Zero is nothing, but it is also a multiplier. [RS opens his notebook and writes as he talks.] Here, we will do a little thing. We can use the notebook. Here is zero. Zero is nothing. [RS draws a number one next to zero.] Now, what is that? It becomes ten. If you draw another zero, like this, it becomes a hundred. Then, it becomes a thousand, or ten thousand. So, nothing becomes everything. Take this computer. This whole thing, this lovely computer, is a system of ones and zeros. That is all it has. It has ones and zeros. Now, how to arrange them and how to program them is everything that is on that chip.

If we develop more advanced chips, which I am sure will happen, whatever else they may come to have, they will have zero. That much I will predict. And if we go to mysticism, whatever else God must be, it must be zero. If God has anything beyond zero, then it has already been created. So this is not just me. There is a huge amount of mystical and, I think, very powerful thought on zero.

QUESTION 9: *JO-HA-KYU* AND THE VARIETY OF AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE

JD [00:21:12 - 00:21:52]
I wanted to ask you about *jo-ha-kyu* and some other things.[53] [...] Of course,

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52 The term "negative capability" was first used by the Romantic poet John Keats in a letter to George and Tom Keats on December 21 or 27, 1817. Access: https://www.poetryfoundation. org/articles/69384/selections-from-keatss-letters. October 30, 2017, 5:44 pm. In a letter to John Woodhouse, sent on October 27, 1818, John Keats writes: "As to the poetical Character itself (I mean that sort of which, if I am any thing, I am a Member...) it is not itself – it has no self – it is every thing and nothing – it has no character". Cf. J. Keats, Letters of John Keats, ed. M. B. Forman (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1935), p. 227.

53 In "Theatre anthropology" (published by *Drama Review* 94, 2:5-32, 1982), Eugenio Barba writes: "The expression of jo-ha-kyu represents the three phases into which all the actions of an actor are subdivided. The first phase is determined by the opposition between force which tends to increase and another which holds back (jo = withhold); the second phase (ha = to break) occurs

Victor Turner developed the social drama model and Clifford Geertz' criticism of the model is well known.⁵⁴ But, your discussion of *jo-ha-kyu* allows us to think of many possible aesthetic forms beyond the one which inspires Turner's writings. What are your thoughts on that?

RS [00:21:52 – 00:25:32]
Well, *jo-ha-kyu* is a theory developed by Motokiyo Zeami – Zeami is the family name. His father was Kan'ami, and, together, they started the Kanze school of Noh drama. Come to think of it, the *noh* of Noh drama is a N-O-H word. It has no relationship to the numerology we were talking about earlier, but that is interesting. Anyway, Zeami says that the basic, aesthetic rhythm of Noh drama is *jo-ha-kyu*, which means "slow-medium–fast". So *jo-ha-kyu* would be... [RS taps notebook with pen.] Now, we have not the number, but the notion of going slow, as in *jo*, then slowly accelerating to *ha*, and then on to a very rapid *kyu*, then we stop. He says that when you do all the gestures of Noh, let's say, extending your arm, you do not do it like this [RS extends arm at even pace], you do it like that [RS extends arm at a *jo-ha-kyu* pace]. [...] Walking, speaking, and all movements can be done this way. This idea of an underlying *jo-ha-kyu* rhythm is so reductionist and, yet, so elegant. The end of it is called a break. Well, actually, it does not break. It goes "pa-pa-pa...pa". You can have a little break at the end. There are different ways of ending it. [...] But, he says that his is the basic aesthetic rhythm, one you should follow in your performing and in the construction of poetry. I think some of this if very valuable in performing. I never follow these things slavishly. Sometimes you want to use that rhythm, sometimes you want to use another. And there is also the notion of flow. There is flow, which is like this [RS demonstrates with movement of arm], and bounded flow, which is like that [RS demonstrates]. With bounded flow, I am pulling

in the moment in which one is liberated from this force, until one arrives at the third phase (kyu = rapidity) in which the action reaches its culmination, using up all of its force to suddenly stop as if face to face with an obstacle, a new resistance." This excerpt is cited by Schechner in "Points of contact between anthropological and theatrical thought" (In: Schechner, R., *Between theater and anthropology*, published by University of Pennsylvania Press of Philadelphia, in 1985, p. 12).

54 Victor Turner's model of social drama appears in many of his writings. In *Schism and continuity in an African Society* (published by the University of Manchester in 1957), where the concept was first developed, Turner writes: ""In short, the *processional form* of the social drama may be formulated as 1) breach; 2) crisis; 3) redressive action; 4) re-integration or recognition of schism." (p. 92). In his criticism of Turner's use of the model, Clifford Geertz writes: "With differing degrees of strictness and detail, Turner and his followers have applied this schema to tribal passage rites, curing ceremonies, and judicial processes; to Mexican insurrections, Icelandic sagas, and Thomas Becket's difficulties with Henry II; to picaresque narrative, millenarian movements, Caribbean carnivals, and Indian peyote hunts; and to the political upheaval of the sixties. A form for all seasons." This citation comes from Geertz' essay "Blurred genres: the refiguration of social thought", in *Local knowledge*, published by Basic Books, in 1983, p. 28.

in and there is a going out, which you can see as resistance. I am pulling back as I am moving forward, opening a relationship. Resistance gives me a relationship from here to up there. Pulling back is mere resistance in here, but I imagine the two. But *jo-ha-kyu* and bounded flow are very powerful. Once you learn these rhythms, you can play with them. Obviously, they are in Noh drama, they are in dance, whatever.

JD [00:25:57]
In some writings, I have come across translations where *jo* means "retention" or "retention of forces", *ha* means "break" or "rupture" (allowing for liberation of forces which had been retained), and *kyu* means "velocity".[55] Would this be something different? [...]

RS [00:27:18 – 00:27:34]
Well, I would have to check, but my understanding has been that the literal meaning in Japanese is "slow-medium-fast". The other does seem a lot like social drama, doesn't it?

JD [00:27:34]
I guess so. But, in *jo-ha-kyu*, as I had understood, the moment of "rupture" or "break" would be liberating, while, in social drama, it would be something that creates problems that will have to be resolved. But, I may be misreading it. [...]

RS [00:27:55 – 00:39:03]
I have a course that I give on compared aesthetics. There is dramaturgy in which the dramatic structure – with a beginning, middle and end – is

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55 According to Eugenio Barba, who is quoted by Schechner, as mentioned in footnote no. 53, jo = withhold; ha = to break, and kyu = rapidity.

based on *agon*, that is, on conflict and conflict resolution. That is the social drama model which Turner derived from aesthetic dramas, of course. But there are other kinds of dramaturgy. So, this course is meant to explore comparative performance theory and practice. As you know, praxis is the Greek word for action and action is Aristotle's key term. And tragedy, in this view, is an imitation of an action of a certain magnitude with a beginning, middle and end. So, action is at the center of that theory. [...]

In India, we come across *rasa* aesthetics. The *Natysastra* is an ancient text roughly 2000 years old of Indian classical aesthetics and it deals with everything from the mythic origins of the performing arts – including theater, dance and music – to its theoretical underpinnings; to its practical applications – the gestures, the costumes, the three different kinds of theaters: triangular, rectangular and square; to forms of acting; to the ten different kinds of plays; etc. It is a complete compendium. The theory of *rasa* is at the core of it. And *rasa* literally means "juice" or "flavor". It is an idea of something that pervades and inhabits, or aromatizes, rather than something visual. I have written quite a bit about it. I do not want to go over it too much, but *rasa* treats emotions or rather feelings as flavors. We have the flavor of the taste of happiness; the flavor of the taste of courage; or the flavor of the taste of sadness; etc. And there are eight targets, eight *rasas*. [RS opens his notebook.] I will give them to you: *sringara*, which means "desire" or "love"; *raudra*, "anger"; *bibhatsa*, "disgust"; *karuna*, "pity", "sadness" or "grief"; *hasya*, "humor". "mirth" or "laughter"; *adbhuta*, "surprise" or "wonder"; *bahyanaka*, "fear" or "shame"; and *vira*, "energy", "vigor" or "courage". The theory says that you can make all the feelings that humans are capable of by expressing a *rasa* purely or in combination with other *rasas*. When you combine two or three or four, they can get quite complicated.

This was Bharata Muni's theory about 2000 years ago. Then about a 1000 years ago, Abhinavagupta, a devotee of Shiva, who was also a Buddhist, had another idea. Buddhism, I might note, was a breakaway from Hinduism. Buddhism is to Hinduism roughly what Christianity is to Judaism. Anyway, this devotee of Shiva had the idea that there will the a ninth *rasa* called *santa* which means "peace", "bliss", "release". If you blend the eight *rasas*, you transcend them, you have bliss. Like when you blend all colors, you have white.

We do not have the original *Natyasastra* text manuscript form. We have fragments from around five or six hundred years ago to eight hundred year ago. I am not exactly sure about all of the fragments, but it was the German and English Asiatic scholars who, from a bunch of manuscripts, put together what is called the *Natyasastra*. [...] They put it together. I have to accept that. I am not so interested in the textural history; I am interested in learning about this underlying theory of emotions.

So, Aristotle developed a theory of action. *Rasa* is a theory of emotions. Then *ch'i* is the Chinese word for the area of the body between the navel and the pubic bone, here. *Ch'i* is your basic energy. In the Indian system, there is the *kundalini* [RS stands to show where the *kundalini* is located], which is at the base of the spine. Then you work it up the spine to the *chakra* circles. [...] The *ch'i*, the *kundalini*..., they are all related. They are all interior and, I believe, they relate to what I talked about the other day, the enteric nervous system (ENS), the notion of the brain in the belly, the "belly brain".[56]

We have a great number of nerve cells from our esophagus or our anus, and on through the digestive system, in which the neurons are exactly the same as those in the brain. But we are not so aware of it all the time. The information travels on the vagus nerve. I have to check that, but it travels more like on a one way street. I think there is more stuff coming up and giving the head brain information than going down. So, we have a kind of brain in the belly. The *ch'i* part of it practices imitation and performance, and *rasa* is the mixture and the mastery of emotions. My rasabox exercises are about that. The *ch'i* is more about the center of energy. Martial arts contain bodily energy. Yoga also deals with the *ch'i*. They do not call it *ch'i* in India. Yoga is different from the *rasa* stuff. So, where are the sources of our energy? Both *rasa* and *ch'i* theories say we can activate and find out about our enteric nervous system, and train it just like we train the nervous system up here. [RS touches his head.]

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56 Richard Schechner discusses the enteric nervous system (ENS) and the "belly brain" in "Rasaesthetics" (published by *The Drama Review* 45, 3, T171, Fall 2001) and "'Pontos de contato' revisitados" or, in English, "'Points of contact' revisited" (published in the *Revista de Antropologia* 56, 2, julho-dezembro 2013, pp. 23-66, and in the collection *Antropologia e performance: ensaios Napedra*, by Terceiro Nome of São Paulo, 2013, pp. 37-68, edited by John C. Dawsey, Regina P. Müller, Rose Satiko G. Hikiji, and Marianna F. M. Monteiro).

Hana is Zeami's word for flower and, as I was saying, it is the essence of Noh drama. In it, flower means delicacy and beauty and ephemerality. The Greeks really felt permanence. We still have the Greco Roman ruins. When they made things, they intended them to last. Noh drama, however, is ephemeral. You can dream and, like a dream, it is gone. It is a waking dream. You are supposed to watch Noh drama in a hypnotic state. This is why people always make fun of me about going to sleep in the theater, which I do. But, sometimes, I am half asleep, kind of listening and kind of not listening. But in Noh drama everybody in the audience is like this – sometimes for five hours or so. You are hearing, you are kind of half seeing. It is like a dream. You are there and you are kind of hyponologically mixing what's in front of you on the stage with what's going on in your own mind. So it is an open attention, rather than a focused attention. There is not much in terms of theatrical action in Noh drama. The dramaturgy is very simple. You come to a place and the guard there is saying that this is a place where somebody committed suicide, or where a great battle took place, or something happened. And you say that that is very interesting. You are the Buddhist monk. You are always the observer – that is kind of the anthropologist. There is a middle point of the play where the *kyogen* comes out and does a kind of comic interlude. It is a whole other thing. In the second part of the play, this keeper or something turns out to really be the ghost or the spirit of what they are talking about. He comes to you and dances the last moment of that person's life or whatever it was that made them what they are.

Again as the Buddhist monk counts the beads, and kind of exercises, so now the Buddhist monk is also a shaman. Noh drama combines Buddhism and Shintoism, the indigenous religion of Japan, which is very shamanistic. Remember that Japan is geographically not so far from Siberia, and it is not so far from Alaska. In fact, the northern people are called "the hairy".[57] I knew them. They do not look like Asiatic Japanese. They look more European Asiatic, or Siberian. They have heavy beards and so on. That is a shamanic culture as well, and the Chinese came over. So, there is a mixture in Noh drama which preserves and enacts some of the shamanism as well as the Chinese stuff. Korean ceremonies, in which exorcisms occur during the concluding moments, are also highly shamanic.

In Noh theater you are kind of watching it and it goes away. It is so beautiful, but, like a flower, it goes away. Flowers are not leaves, leaves last the whole season. The flowers disappear, especially in Japan with the spring blossoms. What is it called? Yes, the cherry orchard, the cherry trees. The cherry blossoms come like the snow, a snow of cherry

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57 RS is referring to the Ainu people.

blossoms falling and, then, they are gone. Obviously, this was true in Zeami's time as well. *Hana* is about the ephemerality of performance. That is what I love about performance, that it is here and it is not here, it is here and it is gone. It is not like the Acropolis, it is not built to last. It is built to evoke and to last in memory. I love that kind of art as well. My course teaches the relationships between these concepts.

QUESTION 10: PALEOLITHIC PERFORMANCE

JD [00:39:05 – 00:39:22]
We are coming towards the end, but I wanted to ask you about cave art and Paleolithic performance. What can we learn from this?

RS [00:39:26 – 00:50:55]
Well since I first wrote about that, there has been a lot written, so I want to recommend certain things. David Lewis-Williams, who is a South African anthropologist, has written *The mind and the cave*.[58] Do you know this book? It is a very good book. And Yann-Pierre Montelle has written *Paleoperformance*.[59] A little earlier, John Pfeiffer wrote an important book called *The creative explosion*, also about this Paleolithic thing.[60]

Let me say several things. First of all, we have these caves and new ones are still being discovered, like Chauvet which was found only 20 or 30 years ago.[61] Werner Herzog did a film, *Cave of forgotten dreams*, about Chauvet.[62] Lascaux and others are known for more that a century, but Chauvet has been known for barely 30 years. And it is one of the oldest ones. So we have no reason not to believe that more will be discovered. […]

Clearly, what is going on here is performance. These are not art galleries. Why do we regard them as art galleries? The images are beautiful, but there is so much evidence showing that these places are better described as performance centers, rather than art galleries. They are hard to access. There was no really sustained source of light. We are seeing them with electric light of flash photography. The only light back then would

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58 David Lewis-Williams' *The mind and the cave* was published by Thames and Hudson of London, in 2002.

59 Yann-Pierre Montelle's *Paleoperformance* was published by Seagull Books of London, New York, and Calcutta, in 2007.

60 John Pfeiffer's *The creative explosion* was published by Harper & Row of New York, in 1982.

61 It was found in 1994.

62 *Cave of forgotten dreams* is a 2010 3D documentary film by Werner Herzog about the Chauvet Cave in southern France, which contains the oldest human-painted images yet discovered. Some of them were crafted 30 thousand or more years ago.

have been animal with torches. [...] A lot of the art is superimposed on other art. These are palimpsests, and that means that the making of the art would have been more important than the regarding of the art. If the regarding were more important, we would say "well, don't paint over that one, I want to look at it, let's paint over here". And then there are things like hand prints, and things that are not so beautifully represented. [...] I have never been inside these caves. I would like to go, but I missed my chance, I guess. I could have gone with Montelle and I didn't.

There have been lots of interpretations about what is going on there, but the two that I like the most go like this. As to the first, we could call it initiatory. I would not even call it initiatory. I would say life cycle, some kind of ritual having to do with life cycles. There are footprints. At least in one case, you find small footprints and large footprints. So, there are children and adults. And, they are going around in a counterclockwise circle. You can tell by the feet. They have that ancient and still persistent directionality of which nothing much has been written. I would like to find out why counterclockwise. That is an interesting question; we talked a little bit about it. So, that is one possibility for what is going on in there.

The other possibility is some form of shamanism, maybe spirit journeys involving connections with beings, nonhuman beings. A lot of this art is obviously animal art, it is about the animal. I do not think these are naturalistic paintings of animals we love. You have aurochs, you have great cats, you have horses, and you have elands, which are a kind of antelope. You do not have the small animals that must have been around, like hare. Probably there were domestic dogs by then. The images in the caves are of large animals that would be feared. You have bear. Animals that are feared or hunted seem to make up the repertory of animals that are there.

There has been some talk that this is also animal magic, having to do with mastery over animals. Perhaps. Whatever it is, I think it is ceremonial. It shows performance, that is, the combination of preparing an environment, using an environment, and doing something in the environment, not just looking at something. It is not an art museum. All come together at what are still the earliest known developed places of human culture. You see these things kind of explode out of nowhere. They are beautiful. You have seen them, of course. They are beautiful renditions. These are not practice shots. They and they only have one chance to make them and sometimes they use the environment beautifully. And we are talking like Chauvet 35 to 45 thousand years ago down to 18 thousand years ago. Still, that is beyond our cultural imaginations. We think of Mesopotamia, which is what? Eight thousand years ago? Egypt is seven thousand years ago. Then, we get down to more recent things. Obviously, there are the early humans, you know, "Lucy", several

million years ago. And then, we do not really have access. I mean, we have access and all, but we do not have good records from any of that early stuff. We have skeletons and partial skeletons. We are wondering whether Neanderthals in Europe and humans interbred. We have Neanderthal flutes from around 30 thousand years ago. Have you seen the recording? Have you heard that? A guy replicated the flute, so he played on it. It is kind of nice. We have no guarantee that that is the music they were playing, but we do have the flute. Anyway, around 40 to 30 thousand years ago this work comes into existence. Probably we are going to look at this old typewriter one day like that. [RS refers to the typewriter on the desk next to the skeleton, "Napedra Grandmother".]

I do not think they just went in and, suddenly, did such good art work. There are several ways of explaining this. One is they were painting at the entrance of the caves but then all of that has been erased by time. So what we have is what has been preserved, not the whole record of it. The other is that there are other caves with more practice stuff, or maybe the practice stuff and paintings of lower quality were done outside and only the masters could go inside, only the ones the community recognized as the best painters could go inside to paint. The others could paint outside. In other words, there are lots of explanations that cannot be proven or disproven, but it seems illogical to me to think that 35 thousand years ago people who did not paint at all would, suddenly, have painted these masterpieces. You know, I cannot paint or draw like that, you probably cannot paint like that, yet they were painting like that with whatever they used for brushes, doing marvelous things. There is also sculpting.

And the interesting thing about it is that these caves apparently were ceremonial centers in which one can witness continuity between animal and human life. Later on we develop all kinds of theories of taboo,

of totems and so on. I do not know what to think in regard to totemic theory and so on. But, the point is that humans felt themselves as part of the web of life.

I think that in Europe, at least in the Renaissance, we learn to break from that, but that is the temporary thing. I think now that even the European and the Euro American are trying to come back to that unity. I believe many traditional cultures never left that unity. They felt that they were part of the web of life. Associating with animals and with other parts of nature was nothing unusual. The anomaly is the five or six hundred years of this thing. This has been a catastrophic anomaly. These cultures became so strong, they were able to dominate, and they were able to take from the world the resources, the oil, this and that. Traditional cultures were obviously sustainable. They had no choice. They did not have ecological theories. The Indians were hunting as much as they could, but, until the rifle came, they were not efficient enough to eliminate the buffalo. Then they did. They shot as many as the settlers. It was not that the earlier people were so good, but it had to be sustainable, because they were hunting by primitive methods. If you fish by hook, that is one thing. If you try to fish whales by harpoon, ok. But, if you have a gun that can shoot them, if you have a thrower that can just scoop up the whole ocean, that is another thing. It is hideous.

Make it a fair fight. You can take a big cannon out there to shoot a thinking mammal. I mean, I did not even want to do it with harpoons, but I can see how that could be. It is a long way from Moby Dick to these whale industry ships. It is a long way from that to these caves. But I guess what I am saying is that the ceremonial relations with animals and the web of life are represented in those places.

QUESTION 11: THE "BELLY BRAIN"

JD [00:50:55]
I wanted to ask you again about your recent work on the brain. In your presentation on *Revisiting "points of contact"* you speak of two brains, the brain in the head and the brain in the belly, the "belly brain".[63] Can we also think of a belly in the brain?

RS [00:51:27 – 00:53:40]
Well yes. The rasabox training is to train the enteric nervous system, and, to some degree, to open access to it. It starts in the brain in the head, of course. If you can access and know what is going on with these neurons, if you can feel what is going on with these, then we should be able to train that. Some

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63 See footnote 56. The notion of a brain in the belly, or "belly brain", was also discussed in regard to question 9: *jo-ha-kyu* and the variety of aesthetic experience.

of the Asian martial arts tend to do that. I am not knowledgeable enough of African dance and ceremony which also involves this type of training. But I would say that a lot of these things that Turner would have seen as having to do with the limbic system, which is down in the base of the head, have to do with both the limbic system and the enteric system. Persistent drumming, the up and down movements, and so forth, obviously affect these things. I think that there is quite a bit of local knowledge about this and that we should be in collaboration with local masters who may know the technique more that the theory. We have very sophisticated modes of theory, and local masters have very sophisticated modes of training. We can marry the two. [...] I wish I had more years left than I do because I would love to work on this with local masters, setting up some experiments. [...]

QUESTION 12: ETHOLOGY AND PHYSICS

JD [00:53:42]
I want to ask you about ethology and physics.

RS [00:53:48]
I got the ethology. What would the physics be? The Large Hadron Collider?

JD [00:53:56]
Yes. I think one very interesting dimension of your work is that of thinking not only of performance of humans, but, also, of performance of animals. Now, it seems to me that you are even going in the direction of the physical particles, and the physical universe. In "Revisiting 'points of contact'", [64] at the end of your essay and presentation, you bring attention to the circling movements of candomblé dancers and of the Large Hadron Collider. I would be interested in your comments.

RS [00:54:37 – 00:59:43]
That is really at the beginning of things. I am really at the beginning of that thought. Obviously the physical universe is universe in motion almost by definition. In the introduction of performance, I begin by saying there is being, there is doing, there is showing doing, and there is explaining showing doing.[65] So being is what is, doing is in action, showing some-

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64 "'Points of contact' revisited", or, in Portuguese, "'Pontos de contato' revisitados", was presented on July 4, at the 28th Meeting of the Brazilian Anthropological Association, held in São Paulo, during July 2-5, 2012, and published in the *Revista de Antropologia* (Vol. 56, no. 2, julho-dezembro 2013, pp. 23-66), and in the collection *Antropologia e performance: ensaios Napedra* (São Paulo: Terceiro Nome, 2013, pp. 37-68), edited by John C. Dawsey, Regina P. Müller, Rose Satiko G. Hikiji, and Marianna F. M. Monteiro.
65 Cf. Richard Schechner's *Performance studies: an introduction* (published by Routledge of Londons and New York, in 2002), p. 22.

thing is performing, and studying showing doing is performance studies. But I might say that all being is doing. There is no being without doing, there is only abstract being. I mean, the *neti* or the "not that" of God, if there is a God, is pure being. We do not have motion yet. But once the "big bang" has occurred, once the singularity moves, once the expansion, there is only expansion and contraction, there is no stillness anymore. According to most basic physics, about 17 billion years ago from the so-called singularity came the "big bang", right? The cosmic egg or whatever you want to call it. Before that is beyond conception, it is pure being.

Pure being is out of our realm. It is purely in the realm of mysticism or divine agency. Doing is what the universe does. The question is what the direction of this would be, whether indeed the Large Hadron Collider goes counter-clockwise. I have to check that out. Does it go counterclockwise for the same reason that the candomblé, the Sufi Dervishes, and countless others do? [...]

Would it have to do with being south or north of the equator? I think it is everywhere, so I would say it is something in the brain. But it may be something in the cosmos. Maybe the basic direction of the cosmos is counterclockwise, which I read as left handed because if I am facing the clock the movement counterclockwise goes from left to right. Right, it moves that way, not this way, so, of course, with my infantile narcissism, I like the idea, as a left handed person, that the whole the universe would be going from left to right.

I am very much at the beginning. I am glad you ask it at the end of the interview because this is so far out there, I do not know what to do with it. First, I have to find out about whether the spin is mostly left to right or not, whether the Hadron Collider which is not spin... How do you send the electrons when they are going to collide with each other? Now, probably, if they are going to collide with each other, they have to go two ways. How else are they going to collide? Some have to go counterclockwise, others have to go clockwise. The whole thing about the colliders is that they collide. I just thought about that this moment. How else are they going to collide? They cannot go just in one direction to collide. I have to see how to solve that.

I do not know if that final sentence [in "Revisiting 'points of contact'"], which is so elegant is going to survive research. That is another interesting thing. I will say it to the camera here. [RS speaks to the camera.] Sometimes when I come up with an idea that is kind of an eureka idea – something, you know, that can happen when you wake up in the morning and then you get into the bathtub –, there is no proof. It is just an idea. Then I have to go check, and a lot of these ideas get thrown out. They are wrong. The Large Hadron Collider may be going in both directions because they have to collide, or it may be going in one direction and, then, at a

certain point, they put a barrier or something. I do not know. I have to find out. But sometimes good ideas do not pan out. So one of the things you have to be able to do as an artist and as a scientist, is to be quite satisfied with saying "that was cuckoo, that was wrong, I give it up".[66]

QUESTION 13: THE "RICHARD SCHECHNER WITH LIES" AUTOBIOGRAPHY

JD [00:59:47]
You say that you thought of writing an autobiography with the following title: "Richard Schechner with lies". What lies would you tell? Would you have anything to say about your childhood, school, or whatever?

RS [01:00:03 – 01:06:42]
What I meant was that I would like to have the opportunity to use my life as the basis for a novel. And I would like to have the opportunity to recognize that everybody's autobiography is full of lies. We cannot help that. There are overt lies, like if I said I lived in San Francisco for ten years. I never did. And, more interesting lies, if I told that story about when I was child and I was in trouble all the time. Maybe I was in trouble all the time, maybe I wasn't. I remember it as being in trouble all the time, but that does not mean that I was in trouble all the time.

I would like to have the opportunity to first of all let my reader know that this autobiography is no different from any other autobiography. It is to some degree self serving and it is to some degree as honest as it can be. But, you cannot be totally honest. That was part of it. The other part was that I would love to do with an autobiography what I am able to do in art and in science, that is, to let my mind go free. So if you are writing an autobiography in the authorized way, you are supposed to be tethered to what actually happened. I have my notebooks, I have my memories, I have other people. I am able to reconstruct fairly much what happened,

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66 In "Revisitando 'pontos de contato'" ("Revisiting 'points of contact'") (In: *Antropologia e perfor-mance: ensaios Napedra*, São Paulo: Terceiro Nome, 2013, pp. 37-68, ed. John C. Dawsey, Regina P. Müller, Rose Satiko G. Hikiji, and Marianna F. M. Monteiro), Richard Schechner does not actually say that the movement of the Large Hadron Collider goes in a counterclockwise direction. In the last paragraph of the essay, he writes: "What performance does is create worlds or – if you accept at face value what masters of sacred ceremonies aver – gains admittance to other worlds and interactive relations with nonhuman beings. What the physicists are doing at CERN is also attempting access to another world, one which these scientists believe is fundamental to, yet barely perceptible by, the world we ordinarily live in. The dancers I saw at the Candomble near Rio in July 2012, had located their Higgs boson. Isn't our job as anthropologists and artists — as human beings with big brains — to foster actual and respectful communication between those possessed by the orixás and those possessed by the Large Hadron Collider?" (p. 63).

I think. But what I like about the theater, what I like about novels, what I like about the imagination, is that what ought to have happened, what could have happened, what is interesting to have happened, you can put it as if it really did happen. I know you cannot put it in quotation marks.

When I was 7 or 8 years old I set a fire in an empty lot next to a large apartment area where my house was. This fire became quite large and the fire department had to come put it out. It was dangerous. It could have got these apartments. Maybe people would have been hurt or killed, but they put it out. I was too young to be criminally prosecuted for arson. But they took me. I do not remember if they took me to a court or something like a judge, but I would like to write that they took me to a judge. But I do remember what the punishment was. And I do not know if it was just the police that did this, or my parents, or the judge, or whatever. I had to go to the firehouse every week, once a week. Now I cannot remember if it was once a week, twice a month. I had to go there and learn about fire safety. I wanted to know how the fire truck was. So they put me on the fire truck and they rode me around. The other kids were jealous of me. I was learning that doing something bad could have good consequences. I set a fire and my punishment was to ride in a fire truck. Hey, if life gets like this, I better continue to set fires. [...]

I used to build what I would call jetties near the ocean. There were these sticks that I hid into the sand and I let the waves hit them. I imagined that the sticks were actual cities or people and things would get smashed or drowned. I used to have these violent fantasies as a child.

In the autobiography, maybe I would take these fantasies and report them as actualities, move them forward, in other words, to erase some of the distance between so called accurate recollection and so called fiction. That is what I meant and that would be a chance to try to construct for myself a reasonable recollection of life. What happened? Why did it happen? I would call on my notebooks and so on and so forth. Now whether I will write such an autobiography, I do not know. One publisher, at least, has approached me with what they call "memoirs", and I said no. Basically, because it would be embarrassing, or it would be improper, or it would be something I would not want people to know at the present moment. But if I left something out, I would say "why do this?" I have dedicated my life to a certain kind of intellectual honesty. Now the intellectual honesty is that, at least in my notebooks, at least in myself, I know what I did and I know what happened. But that does not mean that everything that I did or that happened you should know, or the world should know. There is such a thing as privacy. Shakespeare put his privacy to work for his characters. We know very little about his biography, so why should I write an autobiography at all? Why not just write dramas and sublimate that stuff? I do not know, but I do know that I would like to be truthful rather that honest. [...]

Usually one can be honest but not truthful. You know what happened, but you do not really know how to construct it into a narrative that says something about life. I would like it to be truthful. So, if I am going to write about my life, I would like it to be like the *Brothers Karamazov* or *War and peace*. I would prefer to have truth in it rather than just honesty.

JD [01:06:44]
Wonderful! Richard, I cannot thank you enough. A rare privilege

RS [01:06:51 – 01:07:13]
You asked such good questions, truthfully. They were thoughtful and they were about deep aspects of my work. It showed a real familiarity with what I have thought and written about. You even asked me about *jo-ha-kyu*. You really know where I have been intellectually, so it was a real pleasure. [...]

JD [01:07:18]
Can we get a last image here with our grandmother?

RS [01:07:18]
Sure. [...] Hi grannie!

AFTERNOTE

After the interview, Richard Schechner said that Claude Lévi-Strauss was possibly his main inspiration for the concept of restored behavior. The comment was made on a city bus going to the municipal market and popular shopping district of the Rua 25 de Março downtown São Paulo.[67] On the bus, John Dawsey had commented with Schechner that his discussion of restored behavior had reminded him of Lévi-Strauss' writings. Even if unmentioned in the essay "Restoration of behavior", Lévi-Strauss is extensively cited by Schechner throughout his work.[68]

Schechner's affinities with Victor Turner are well known. Also well known, are Turner's deep misgivings in regard to Erving Goffman, on the one hand, and Claude Lévi-Strauss, on the other. It is interesting to note how Richard Schechner finds deep affinities with all three: Victor Turner, Erving Goffman, and Claude Lévi-Strauss.

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67 See footnote 33.

68 Cf. Richard Schechner's "Restoration of behavior" (In: *Between theater and anthropology*. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985, pp. 35-116). In Schechner's *Environmental theater* (which was published by Applause of New York and London, in 1973) Claude Lévi-Strauss is cited in chapters 3 ("Nakedness"), 4 ("Performer"), and 5 ("Shaman"). In Schechner's *Performance theory* (which was published by Routledge of New York and London, in 1988; and which was first published as *Essays on performance theory* by Ralph Pine, for Drama Book Specialists, in 1977) Lévi-Strauss is cited in the following essays: "Approaches" (p. 1-34); "Drama, script, theater, and performance" (p. 68-105); "Toward a poetics of performance" (p. 153-186); "Ethology and theater" (p. 207-250); and "Magnitudes of performance" (p. 251-288). In Schechner's *Between theater and anthropology* (see reference above), Lévi-Strauss is cited in the essay "Performers and spectators transported and transformed" (p. 117-150).
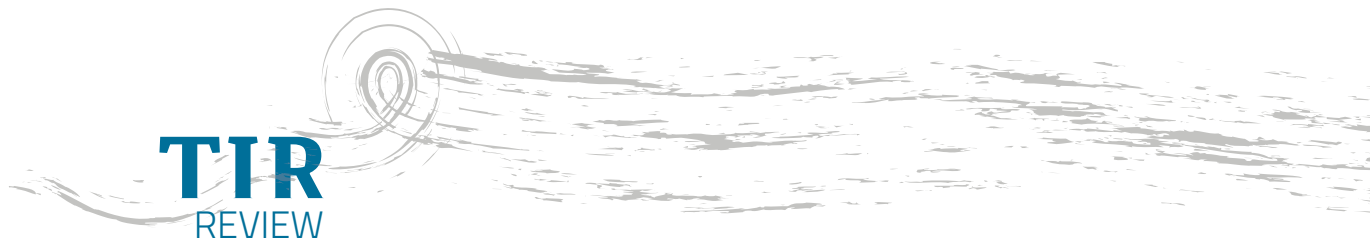
JOHN C. DAWSEY

Professor of Anthropology at the University of São Paulo (USP), Ph.D. in Anthropology and Master's in Theology (Emory University). At USP, he is the director and one of the founders of Napedra (Research Center of Anthropology, Performance and Drama), f. 2001. Among other books, he is the author of *Why sugarcane cutters laugh: anthropology and theater diaries* (2013). He is also a co-author and collaborating editor of *Anthropology and performance: Napedra essays* (2013), and of other collections. Research interests include anthropology of performance, anthropology of experience, and Benjaminian anthropology. Various concepts result from these studies: tension-thick description (descrição tensa), f(r)iction (with r between parentheses), corpoiesis, extraordinary or astounding daily life, margins of margins, etc.

RICHARD SCHECHNER

Richard Schechner – a "Jewish Hindu Buddhist atheist living in New York City", as he says – is one of the main formulators of performance studies. In 1980, he played a leading role in the creation of the Department of Performance Studies at the Tisch School of the Arts at New York University. As a theater director, he founded The Performance Group (TPG) and East Coast Artists. He is also the founding editor of TDR: The Journal of Performance Studies and of the Enactment books series. Along with Victor Turner and other anthropologists, he inspired the "performative turn" in anthropology and other areas of knowledge. His production as author and theater director is vast. Approaching performance as an object of analysis which includes a broad spectrum of activity – such as art, music, dance, ritual, theater, play, festivity, politics, religion, revolutionary movements, and everyday life –, Schechner also sees performance as a methodological lens for study and research.

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CAROLINA JUNQUEIRA DOS SANTOS

IMAGES AND THE POWER OF ENCOUNTERS

I begin reading the book by its films - visual objects, as thought by Catarina Alves Costa, resulting from diverse ethnographies. Even without knowing where will progress the theory, the films give us clues, propose deviations from the purely scientific, flood us of images, sounds, people who give visibility to the relationship established between researchers and the subject researched, while making this separation a mere cloudiness, since the simplistic and colonizing idea of subject and object disperses here, to give place to *encounters*.

The book and films are about encounters. Encounters, through research, of people, of countless possible relationships, of multiple looks. The filmic-textual object, inside the edges of a conventional book also carrying two DVDs, is divided into nine films and fourteen articles, in addition to the presentation of the organizers and the preface and afterword from invited authors. This book is one of the results of three thematic projects funded by FAPESP over 18 years and developed in the Department of Anthropology of the University of São Paulo, more specifically in the Visual Anthropology Group (GRAVI). Since its beginnings in the mid-1990s, this group has been researching the most diverse uses of the image within an anthropological view, looking for new languages and visual possibilities for ethnography.

Divided into three sections, the text covers the following core themes: *movie and anthropology; photography and ethnography; transdisciplinary experiences.* From the fourteen articles, ten were written by GRAVI researchers, half of them coauthored, which was desired by the group itself as a way of greater interaction among the thoughts. The other four articles

are from authors studied by the group and that served as reference and inspiration in their researches. Aiming at "combine the text to a new experimental poetics centered in the image" (p.10), all the articles evoke the use of the image as a powerful and transforming tool in the ethnographic process. Having before it a double dimension of contact and contagion, anthropology summons here other areas of knowledge - photography, movie, theater, music, the visual arts - to establish new bonds with them, but bonds that remain essentially moving, unstable.

To enter your texts and films, let's take the book in more detail in its order, beginning with thematic sections. In the first one, "*Cinema e Antropologia*", we started with a short text by Trinh T. Minh-Ha, Vietnamese filmmaker and writer, acclaimed for her work that renewed the documentary idea in the contemporary cinema. In "Mechanical eye, electronic ear, and the attraction of authenticity", the author makes a dense criticism of the tradition of ethnographic films built with the idea of accessing a cinematic naturalness, or an "ideological neutrality of the image", "in the search of a scientific use of the film" (p.29). Opening the present collection with this article is to immediately dismantle the ethnographic image as the pure, neutral, produced by researchers/filmmakers/photographers who are also neutral. Here, we soon know: it is about being present, together, researchers and the subject researched, trying to break, moreover, these denominations, these separations, in favor of an image that talks about the *encounter*.

The following article "*Etnoficção: uma ponte entre fronteiras*", by Alexandrine Boudreault-Fournier, Rose Satiko Gitirana Hikiji and Sylvia Caiuby Novaes, approaches the production of the film "Fabrik Funk", present in the collection, at the same time evoking a scathing reflection on the cinematographic making in anthropology, disorienting the notion of truth towards fiction as a potentially constitutive element of the ethnographic image. Taking forward the echo of the considerations of Trinh T. Minh-Ha, here there is not even a trace of that supposed scientific neutrality/naturalness of the image. We are, on the other hand, in the ethnofiction sandy soils. Jean Rouch's voice still resonates saying that "making-believe we stay closer to reality" (p. 43). The authors, immersed in the shared production of the film, report the experience of meetings, collaborations, collective creation, improvisation, among other elements that emerged during the process. In the film, the protagonists, residents of Cidade Tiradentes, the largest housing complex in Latin America, play their own roles, building a plot about funk and the social settings that are established around it.

Paul Henley, in his article "*Narrativas: a verdade velada do documentário etnográfico?*", engages in dialog with earlier texts by evoking the ways of doing and the narrative structures of ethnographic films. The text

sounds like a kind of manifesto against "a persistent residue of positivism" (p. 64) that makes the director think that the establishment of a narrative structure in the ethnographic film would not, in fact, be legitimate. But Henley is precise and emphatic in saying that all ethnographic films are representations, not mirrors aimed at the world, and it is from this irrefutable realization that he will think the narratives, the plots and the interventions in the chronology of the film.

Nadja Marin and Paula Morgado, in "*Filmes indígenas no Brasil: trajetória, narrativas e vicissitudes*", address indigenous audiovisual production through the remembrance of their trajectory, their history, projects and films. From the first video experiences among indigenous populations in Brazil, in the 1980s, through the acclaimed "*Vídeo nas Aldeias*" project and the television show "*Programa de Índio*", to the first questions about indigenous presence in cyberspace, the authors discuss the political perspectives of the use of the image, the indigenous production of self-image, the transmission of knowledge. Here, incidentally, the text progresses to an interesting and fundamental point in thinking about ethnographic images and their power of transmission. If, before, in several groups, the transmission was only oral and gestural, now the video becomes the great mnemonic file. Not being more moving in performance, in the permanent body transformation, the memory offered by video, static, brings to indigenous groups a new form of transmission of knowledge, and it will be necessary to understand how both memory forms are affected and transformed.

Bruna Triana and Diana Gómez, in "*A análise fílmica na antropologia: tópicos para uma proposta teórico-metodológica*", take as reference for analysis the film *Hunger*, by Steve McQueen. Thinking cinema as an anthropological object and problem, the authors evoke Walter Benjamin and his reflections on experience, narration and mimesis, to undertake the analysis of the film within a "dual theoretical-methodological perspective" (p. 113). Going through reflections on spectator, montage, affections, bodies, the authors seek a dialog in the text despite the mentioned difference of places that they occupy as spectators. They will say that, between both, "there is a certain mismatch between interests and ways of watching the film" (p. 116). However, this divergence of analysis is not clear throughout the text, which might have been interesting to sketch more clearly the many ways of experiencing the image.

In the last article of the section, "*O corpo no cinema*", David MacDougall proposes to think about the various bodies present in the cinematographic experience. The bodies in question are the body of the spectator, the body of the filmmaker, the body of the film itself. The extensive and magnificent analysis of the author makes us think of

cinema as something that provokes our encounter with what we are, as if the film made other bodies emerge from ourselves, while these bodies permanently change the bodies of the image and, therefore, the image itself. We are all - spectators, filmmakers, films - interspersed, mixed, disturbed by each other. "The film may be a fiction, but the bodies are not" (p. 133), says MacDougall, taking us to the dimension of impregnation, experience and transformation that cinema produces.

We then proceed to the next section, which discusses the meeting between "*Fotografia e Etnografia*". Elizabeth Edwards's text "*Rastreando a fotografia*" proposes to think and trace the photograph used in an anthropological context. Edwards explores the diverse functions and uses of photography for anthropological discipline over time, from three snapshots - which deal not with specific images but with historical instants - and with the categories of *evidence*, *power* and *agency*. The article, in a certain evolutionary tone of photographic practice in anthropology, runs through the ideas of photographic truth, scientific apparatus, power, pose, exploration of the body/image of the other, and the contemporary aspects of the use of the photographic image, such as a new appropriation and commitment, who wish to "find a gift for historical photographs" (p.176), or to collaborative and community projects around the production and use of the image. Despite the entire "tracking" of the enterprise by the author, it leaves open, in the end, the fate of photography within the anthropological practice, considering the permanent transformations to which both are subject.

Andrea Barbosa, in the article "*Fotografia, narrativa e experiência*", reports the work process in a neighborhood of Guarulhos/SP in which she held, for four years, several photographic workshops with the residents. Based on an approach to the uses and functions of the image and its role as agent of social relations, the author investigates photography based on her own ethnographic experience in the community, in which she proposed to the residents the photographic exercise of their own experiences in the neighborhood's life. Beyond the merely visible in the image, what Barbosa intends to bring to analysis is the relation between experience and memory, as one of the many and possible realities of photography. The author proposes to the reader a look at the images produced, or, more specifically, a lurking, which she imagines as exploratory movement by the images. The text brings some photographs and this gesture of looking at them, analyzing them, entering them, making us notice the life that inhabits the image, the life that exceeds it. See what the photo does not show, "plunge into other layers, other depths (...)" (p. 198). The film "*Pimentas nos olhos*", present in the collection, is also one of the results of the work of Andrea Barbosa carried out in the mentioned region. With more television visuals effects and a musical soundtrack, the film reports stories of common life in the neighborhood from four central voices.

In "*Alguns apontamentos sobre fotografia, magia e fetiche*", Alice Villela and Vitor Grunvald wish to think of the photographic agency from the echoes of their personal researches, with quite different ethnographic fields. Noting that, despite this distance, "a strange affinity" was present, Villela and Grunvald investigate the relations between people and photographs. However, the article is not intended as the undertaking of a cultural comparison, serving, above all, to bring to light fundamental questions for the thought of the agency of things. Going through an extensive and dense bibliography, the article summons numerous theorists to make resound the relation among photography, magic and fetish.

In the last article of this section, photography is thought of in ethnographic work from another bias. Here, the use occurs especially as documentation/observation tool in the field. Ewelter Rocha, in "*Objeto, imagem e percepção*", analyzes the domestic altars in houses of devotees located in Ladeira do Horto, in Juazeiro do Norte. The author investigates the structural similarities of several altars to understand the intimate logic that inhabits them, and their sacred meaning. From a reflection on images, such as the relation between perception and imagination, the author resumes the idea of an agency of the objects exhibited at the altars and in the affective relations established with them. The photographs produced throughout his research allow him to suspect of a basic form, a common order among the altars photographed, which the investigator gives the name of "*forma-altar*" [altar-form], and which he reconstitutes digitally as a simplified standard form. Ewelter's film, "*Beata, uma santa que não sorri*", present in the collection, shows the process of making holy images of blessed women in the same Juazeiro do Norte.

We have arrived at the last text section of the book with their "*Experiências transdisciplinares*". Edgar Teodoro da Cunha, in "*A intermitência das imagens: exercício para uma possível memória visual Bororo*", talks about his field research, carried out since 2000 in Bororo indigenous villages, which resulted in an ethnographic film and some photographic essays. The author calls Aby Warburg, especially through his Atlas Mnemosyne, and next to the voices of Agamben and Didi-Huberman, he thinks the images as vivid instances, creatures that arise in a permanent relationship with each other, with the world, with people, (des)assembled, (re)assembled, (re)configured infinitely. From his own visual material produced in field and archival images from different eras about the Bororo, Cunha intends to investigate the use and/or destiny that can be given to these materials. For the author, considering the low visibility of the group in question, becomes even more urgent the idea of considering the use of images produced and collected.

In "*Montagem, teatro antropológico e imagem dialética*", Carolina Abreu and Vitor Grunvald take from the beginning the concept of montage, original

technique of the cinema, to go towards the anthropological experience. For this, the authors plunge into a dense anthropological bibliography, full of reflections about ethnographic cinema and the insurgence of the idea of the filmmakers' self-conscious presence in his filmmaking, which opens gaps for what Rouch prepared as "shared anthropology" and MacDougall as "participatory cinema". In these cases, the film becomes a meeting place, of disagreements, of questions posed, open, shared between the one who films and the one who is filmed, in interconnections that allow the access of some to the world of others. Calling also Eisenstein, Vertov, Benjamin, Taussig, Didi-Huberman, Brecht, among many, and permeated with dozens of footnotes, the text is an absolutely theoretical source of reflections on image, montage and anthropological experience.

Francirosy Campos Barbosa, in her text "*Somos afetados: experiências mágicas e imagéticas no campo religioso*", in addition to bringing to light an intimate and personal perspective of the research, which shifts us sharply from the dense previous theoretical article, also evokes her film present in collection, "*Allah,, Oxalá na trilha Malê*". In the film, the director produces the encounter - physical and conceptual - of Islam with candomblé, tracing a fascinating journey between both centered on the figure Malê, name given to the black Muslims who arrived in Brazil during slavery. Technically, the film has some problems, such as a visible dirt on the lens in certain planes. But this is not capable of undoing the charm of the film and the relationships it spells out. I feel the same charm for the researcher's article, in which she recounts her experience in doing ethnography, also calling it from other researchers. In the only photograph present in the article, we see Francirosy between the two main interlocutors of the film, the body of the director implied in the image, as in the text. Written in an intimate way, the text sounds almost like a letter, and, as a researcher, I am thrilled by what I recognize of what really affects and transforms us. Just as the body of the author is implied there, via text and image, the body of the reader is also summoned with all his experiences.

In the last article of the book, "*Etnografia e hypermedia: a cidade como hipertexto e as redes de relações nas ruas em Niterói/RJ*", Ana Lúcia Marques Camargo Ferraz presents the research undertaken with residents of popular neighborhoods of Niterói, through which she wonders: "What can ethnography do in the hypermedia language?" (p. 307). Taking as its axis the idea of "seeing", through the net, what is on the streets under a dense layer of invisibility, the researcher sought to understand how ethnography becomes possible in multimedia, an ethnography that accompanies the metamorphosis that is itself City. Thinking of the city also as hypertext, "which contains portraits and landscapes, music and noise, narratives and mosaic performances" (p. 322), it is interesting and intriguing to imagine an ethnography capable of producing another

hypertext that spoke of this city, or rather, spoke of one of the many cities that inhabit what we call a city. In fact, there would never be a city in the singular - the ethnographic experience itself makes this clear. There will always be as many cities as there are different points of view. It is this dense and ambitious project, titled "*Cartografias da Margem*", which we are pleased to meet in Ferraz's text. From the same researcher, we have the film "*O aprendiz do samba*", in which she approaches another ethnographic experience. Here, young musicians present old sambas, in intergenerational musical encounters that stir all present.

In addition to the films already mentioned throughout this review, others are also present in the collection although they are not related to the articles. In "*Baile para matar saudades*", Érica Giesbrecht evokes, along with her interlocutors - black men and women between the ages of seventy and ninety - old gala dances in the city of Campinas, frequented mostly by the black community. These ladies and gentlemen are central figures in the black cultural movement of the city today. The researcher juxtaposes the old gala dances - which appear as a strong reminder among the interviewees - to the current musical scene of the community, essentially dedicated to Afro-Brazilian repertoires. Recreating, at the end, with the interviewees, a dance like those of old, the director makes the story move around the film, producing in it a space of experience for the people involved.

"*Danzas para Mamacha Carmen*", by Aristoteles Barcelos Neto, accompanies a ritual feast in the village of Paucartambo, Peru. This feast, which happens in the months of July, greets Our Lady of Mount Carmel in four days of dancing with nineteen groups of people dressed up and masked. The film follows a bit of all these groups and their dances, as well as testimonials from people involved in the party. This seems to be the best accomplished film of this collection, technically and conceptually, as well as being aesthetically seductive, both for colors, dances and fantasies, and for feeling the body that films in the middle of everything, as if through it we could project our own body within the image, through the dance.

"*Vende-se pequi*", by André Lopes and João Paulo Kayoli, a production entirely shared between indigenous and non-indigenous filmmakers, reverberates the text of Marin and Morgado, in which the production of the ethnographic film with the indigenous peoples was discussed. Here, Manoki Indians sell pequi by the roadside, and that is the motto for them to decide to investigate ancient myths involving pequi. From a video workshop, the young people go out in search of the old, instigating them to tell the pequi's story. Again, we have questions regarding intergenerational meetings and talks. The resulting film is beautiful, simple and thought-provoking. Through the artifice of what it wants to tell - the story of pequi -, so many layers are revealed, relationships, generations, memories, and the new, that inevitably transforms.

Vitor Grunvald's small portrait video "*trans_versus 1*" is a delight. Aesthetically impeccable and beautiful, the film sets in motion Lizz Camargo, responsible for an important cross dresser party in the city of São Paulo. Shifting the sound of the image, Grunvald produces an incredible audiovisual effect, in which we accompany Lizz's face, her gestures, and the whole movement of people in the dressing room where she is filmed, while her voiceover tells us stories of the feast and of its conception.

It is very clear the spirit of sharing, participation, dialog and movement between the articles and films of this collection. It is clear the origin of the material as coming from a group of studies. Everything crosses and adds up, which makes reading and looking a beautiful exercise in perceiving these many connections. The book we have in hand deals, above all, with encounters - we return to the essential word. To stand before the other is also to be in front of yourself and seen by the other, and it is in this encounter that all ethnography will make sense. This collection of texts and films speaks to us repeatedly of this, putting to the test word and image to give visibility to the powers of the meeting with the other and with himself. Still echoing a few words of Francirosy Campos Barbosa, in her beautiful text, let us imagine the encounter as that which potentially erases the boundaries between self and other.
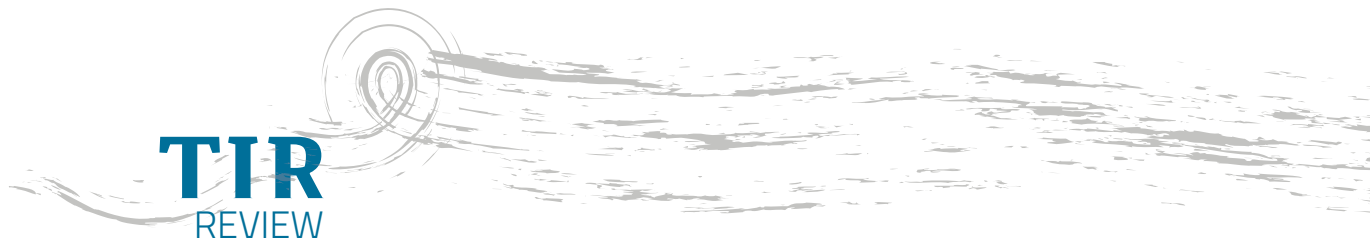
I return to the title of the book, "*A experiência da imagem na etnografia*". I find it curious to note the textual possibility that the image itself is one who *experiences* something in ethnographic work. What would be the image's experience? The way it acts, receives, gives, communicates. This is to remember that we do not simply manipulate image-making devices. The image itself acts. It tries. It works, or not. It chooses, lies. It leaves clues, traces. And we, on this other side, we built with them, next to them, in their magic, never innocent, always in transformation.

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FERNANDA ARÊAS PEIXOTO

BODY AND SOUL OF MODERN ART IN SÃO PAULO

The modernist movement, which 1922 and the Modern Art Week express and symbolize, is far from being a dormant event, of which there remain in the pages of the historical compendium the expectation that a curious look that makes them reintegrate the course of days. Quite the contrary: the artistic performances that took place at the Municipal Theater of São Paulo, from February 11th to 18th, continue to be present, and very present, in the debates about the arts in the country, about cultural life in the city of São Paulo, and in anniversaries and celebrations, the most varied.

The memory of the São Paulo movement is activated both by those who underline its disruptive character and by those who tend to emphasize continuities or by others who critically challenge the modernist canon. The disputes are many and accumulate in several studies, books and academic theses; a quick search on the sites and libraries is enough to find out about the positions at stake, there is no need to resume them here. But the mention of the debates surrounding the 1922 modernism and its developments seems timely to highlight the critical balance of Paulo Mendes de Almeida, who closely followed those years. The serenity of this viewer, actor and commentator of the artistic life in the capital of São Paulo contrasts with stalled and controversial positions that tend to accompany, until today, the resumption of the movement and its main characters.

Poet, journalist, critic of art and literature, one of the founders of the Modern Pro-Art Society, as well as artistic director of the Modern Art Museum and

secretary of the Biennial (from 1958 and 1959, respectively), Paulo Mendes de Almeida 1905-1986) was undoubtedly a key figure in the arts in Sao Paulo, and "*De Anita ao museu*", which he signed, is a classic in the full sense of the term. Firmly anchored in the 1950s, the book goes through time, not only because it is an indispensable source for the period, but also because it captures the atmosphere of the time, packed with the tone of the chronicler, whose memories and sharp style revive spaces, scenes and characters; reason enough to welcome the reissue of the volume of 1976 (from the Debates collection, Perspectiva publisher), which expanded the first, from 1961, with thirteen new chapters. But, it should be noted, the current book, presented by the writer, editor and translator Ana Luísa Martins, is not merely a re-launch of the 1976 book; plus, explanatory notes, images and documents that value the text, this volume can be seen as an enlarged edition.

Collecting articles published in the "Suplemento Literário" from the journal O Estado de S. Paulo, between 1958 and 1965, the book draws a precise course, as the title itself indicates: part of the famous exhibition of Anita Malfatti, 1917, considered the propelling element of the movement of 1922, and comes to the creation of the Modern Art Museum in 1949, describing a temporal arc or an "evolution", as the author wants, which contributes to the history of the arts in the country, without being a systematically constructed historical research. In fact, Paulo Mendes de Almeida's "notes" or "memorandums" are closer to the memorial record, chained by chronicle and testimony, which gives the text life and rhythm. "Those who lived in these days will remember that everything smelled revolution," he says, transporting the reader to the environment of the period and putting him in contact with a list of figures, some illustrious, others almost unknown. We are presented to painters, writers, sculptors and architects; critics, journalists, patrons and collectors; to designers, choreographers, set designers and illustrators; to men and women; national and foreign, from different backgrounds. This is one of the remarkable qualities of these reports by Paulo Mendes de Almeida: the way he broadens and diversifies the São Paulo artistic scene in general and the modernist years. In doing so, the writer not only assists in the better understanding of an era, but also provides a wealth of sources and suggestions for further research and analytical pursuits on seemingly exhausted topics.

To the profiles that appear along the narrative, it adds the presentation of the associations they created or joined: The Pro-Art-Modern Society (1932), the Modern Artists' Club (1932), the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Salons of May (1937, 1938 and 1939), the Paulist Family of Art (1937), Santa Helena Group (1934), the Salons of the Union of Plastic Artists (1938-1949). These associations are described not only in terms of works and exhibitions, but also of broader activities that have promoted: conferences, solemnities,

dances, serenades, parties and concerts. We are thus invited to meet not only the artists, but also the organizers and sponsors of events, magazines and catalogs, and even certain reactions from the public, which addresses us to more recondite dimensions and, unless mistaken, less dealt with by scholars of art. And, as if it were not enough, the artistic life in São Paulo on the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, which the texts of Paulo Mendes de Almeida reconstruct, is inseparable from the urban physiognomy, which is another contribution of the book, which reveals the city of São Paulo in those years, due to the outline of a cartography of the arts, letters and spaces dedicated to them: art galleries, bars, movie theaters, theaters, buildings, libraries and coffee shops.

The consideration of a specific urban artistic-cultural sociability is combined with the examination of aesthetic and critical debates, which illuminate fissures within the groups, giving them renewed density. Disputes between "academic" and "modern" artists; discussions between figurative and abstractionists; trouble around Portinari, among other controversies, crossed the collectives, without necessarily undoing them; after all, were disagreements and differences that gave life to each of them. In this sense, referring to CAM meetings, Paulo Mendes indicates how the controversies animated the group: "The arguments boiled as the glasses emptied around the tables Sava and Pacha were serving. Often, parties were improvised, dances that came noisily at dawn" (p.81). Dissensions have taken (and boosted) the Modern Art Week itself, he says; viewed from the plastic arts point of view, the exhibition was marked by "heterogeneity, contradictions and inconsistencies" by modern positions that lived within the movement. The same can be said of its consequences. If some circles and characters (Flávio de Carvalho, for example) sought to nourish attitudes of rebellion, others, such as the Paulista Family of Art, moved away from the very designation "modernist" by the deliberate resumption of the artistic tradition. This finding does not lead the author to overlook the contributions of these groups to the task of thinking about the constitution of a modern artistic environment in São Paulo, which brings us, once again, to the critical balance of Paulo Mendes. In his words:

> "[...] Paulista Artistic Family came to affirm a praiseworthy belief in the indispensability of the métier, the verification of the technical and formal elements of the art of painting, which meant a powerful stimulus for the formation of a professional conscience in young Brazilian artists, especially in São Paulo, and thus represented, and undoubtedly, an important step in the evolution of modern art in the country, understood in a widest sense" (113).

The serene tone and commitment to launch an expanded and nuanced view on modern art in São Paulo does not exempt the author of critical judgments (when, for example, he marks his distances from the readings of Mário de Andrade on the Santa Helena group), nor the defense of a central argument: the place of the Modern Art Museum as the culmination of a process of artistic germination, which began in 1922 and has consolidated over the years. In this sense, the book can be read as a prehistory of the museum, as the sketch of a retrospective painting, as its author says, which shows the conditions of possibility of the new institution (officially constituted in 1948 and whose headquarters date from 1949) and of the 1st Biennial (1951), tributary of an artistic environment that progressively welcomes modern art. So, the last five chapters of the book work as the starting point of the analysis, sending the reader back to the beginning.

When the subject is the MAM and the Biennial, there too, Paulo Mendes de Almeida exercises his descriptive talent, bringing forth the details that involved the ventures, looking for the leading figures as well as those secondary. In the final segments of the volume, the names of all the signatories of the public deed that constituted the museum are listed; the terms of its statute; the management team and the one in charge of the organization; public reactions to its creation; the first exhibitions and the list of attendances, national and foreign. Descriptions, all of them, mobilized to emphasize the pioneering character of the 1st Biennial and its organizers to whom "it was the opening of the bite in the middle of the forest". The inaugural character of the project is highlighted by the signs of decline it already identifies in 1963, when the 7th Biennial was opened, which was then disassociated from the MAM and under the responsibility of the newly created Biennial Foundation.
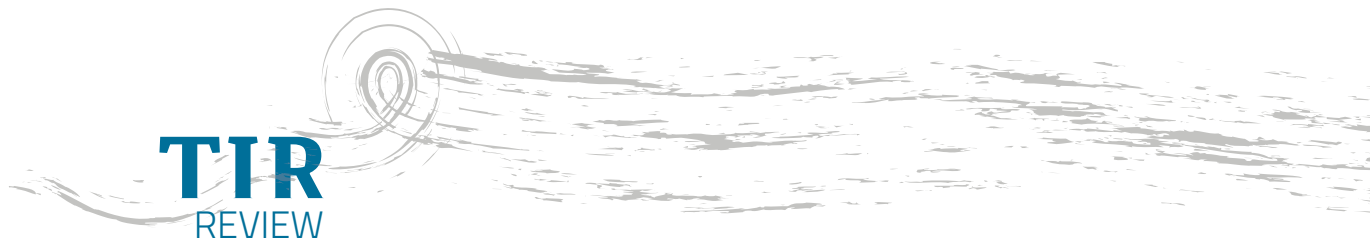
There is no way to fully recover the content of the texts that make up this "*De Anita ao museu*", its richness from the descriptive point of view or all the clues that it sends to future researchers. Therefore, we should only register the invitation to read (or re-read) the rich and tasty narrative of Paulo Mendes de Almeida that expands our knowledge and judgments about modern art in the country.

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EWELTER ROCHA

FROM THE STREET TO THE STAGE, UNSUSPECTED RELATIONS BETWEEN POPULAR AND THEATRICAL DANCES

The conflicting relationship between an alleged "dancing nature" of Brazilian people and the only remote participation dance takes on stage in Brazil's cultural scene is the initial provocation that led Marianna Monteiro to carry out her research, timely called *Dança popular: espetáculo e devoção* (Popular dance: spectacle and devotion). As suggested in the subtitle, research deals with seemingly opposite vectors - coming from the old dialectic of the sacred and the profane - however, marked by unsuspected relations, where politics, economics, aesthetics and religion intersect in the formative process of Brazilian popular dances, considered by the author as an integral part of the expansion of the Portuguese Modern State, between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. The research is the result of the doctoral thesis presented to the Department of Philosophy of the Faculty of Philosophy, Languages and Literature and Human Sciences of the University of São Paulo (FFLCH-USP), under the guidance of Professor Olgária Feres Matos.

One of the key challenges - and motivation for most of the reflections undertaken in *Dança popular: espetáculo e devoção* - is to develop a critical reflection on the ideological approach that understands the process of assimilation of themes from popular dance by theatrical dance as an alternative for restoring a supposed national identity on stage. Regardless of

developing value judgments on the aesthetic quality of theatrical dances inspired by popular culture, the research examines the conditions involved in the delicate process of interchange between the two artistic manifestations, a relationship that the author allegorically called "dialog of deaf people", to highlight the distances and mishaps that underlie this presumption of aesthetic appropriation.

Arranged under the spectacle logic, the author emphasizes that aspects such as innovation, originality and authorship are mobilized to demarcate and legitimize the space of the stage dance regarding popular dances. However, Marianna Monteiro observes that these boundaries are attenuated when one wants to lend identity or even national language to stage dance, appropriations that "often feed the artistic renovation of dance" (Monteiro 2011, 14). From this point of view, and under the argument that this instrumental interest in popular dances does not affect the "prestige and exclusion logic", which segregates the performance spectacle on the stages of dance on the streets, the author highlights one of the initial commitments in her research: "to understand the tensions and polarities that permeate the past and the present of Brazilian dances" (Id., 14).

Marianna Monteiro does not summarize her research to a diagnostic analysis, limiting herself to revolving contaminations between erudite and popular culture, then, being satisfied with the identification of a "predatory anthropophagy". Quite different from that, the author breaks the formative processes of popular dance, developing a hypothesis of research that suggests there are "differences" between the popular dance and the theater dance, whose nature resembles those that separate the Old Regime dances from the 19th century dances. The researcher uses the historical approach as an initial research strategy, mobilizing an extremely wide and diversified set of sources, comprising theological and doctrinal writings of the 17th and 18th centuries, ethnographies on popular dances, as well as seventeenth-century documents and cordel, to name but a few. It is worth to mention that, instead of presenting a ready concept of *popular culture*, the author carries out a detailed scrutiny in search of references that allow her to lend historical weight to the analysis of this concept, a critical posture that permeates the whole work, making the research more fruitful and comprehensive.

When revisiting medieval documents attesting the use of dances in churches, in order to pay homage to the Blessed Sacrament, the author finds out, in the examination of the sanctions of the ecclesiastical authorities of Portuguese America, interposed to the practitioners of this custom, an analytical key that considers the relation between body and sin. Marianna develops a subtle association between gesture and word, emphasizing that the appropriation of the Church's control over gestural exaltation to a certain

extent had direct relations with the purpose of restoring the symbolic power affected by the breaking of the ecclesiastical monopoly in relation to the written language. These restrictions, whether in the metropolis or in the colony, according to the author, highlight the "persistence of these popular practices even in the most official instances of cultural and religious life" (Monteiro 2011, 28). The consistency and plausibility of the argument, which gives rise to an interpretive plume, are surprised when the author identifies a contradictory relationship between institutions of civil and religious power. If, on the one hand, a combat was instituted in relation to the presence of practices considered pagan in spaces reserved for ecclesiastic exercises, on the other, the obligatory participation in the dances, which was imposed to Jews, gypsies and black brotherhoods, denounces the "existence of political control and affirmation mechanisms in Portuguese processional parades" (Monteiro 2011, 29).

When investigating exchanges between popular culture and erudite culture, Marianna revisits Mário de Andrade and his position on the involvement of the Jesuits in the institution of a Mamluk Catholicism in Brazil. In addition, other examples are presented to highlight the reciprocal influence between these two universes, a fact that, combined with the diversity of manifestations that would be embraced by the label of "popular", deconstruct the idea of an unequivocal meaning that would guide the development of a popular culture concept. This perception leads the author to appropriate the notion of "subcultures", in the form coined by Peter Burke (1989), a theoretical option that legitimates her thinking about specific popular cultures.

The rigor and refinement of the author in the management of conceptual instances persist in all the work, whether in constructs of her own work, or in the precision of the choice of references that inspire and embody her reflection. When she ponders over the convenience of analytical procedures aimed at the universe of popular culture, the incursion into the work *Danças dramáticas do Brasil* (Brazilian dramatic Dances), in which economic imperatives of a sociological order are deprived as an analytical instance, cannot be more fruitful in order to give way to recognition of a poetics of culture, which lends relative autonomy to forms of artistic expression. In this immersion into the thought of Mário de Andrade (1982), the author demonstrates the analytical power of notions such as "symbolic", "dramatic dance" and the musical concept of "suite", vectors that favor contextualizing the dissolution of boundaries between popular and erudite tradition. Suite specially suggests a singular interpretive approach to analyze the cosmopolitan character of the formative process of Brazilian dances, to the detriment of the folklore studies from European tradition.

From a reflection on the legitimacy of royal power in Portuguese Christian thought and the fact that Portugal is configured as an imperial vocation kingdom in a mystical and messianic project, Marianna Monteiro (2011) points out that the Portuguese modern political thought did not have secularization trends, and that the traditionalist and religious mentality would only be refuted from the late eighteenth century. Based on this study and pondering the overlap between politics and religion, particularly the problem of the popular origin of royal power, the author questions how festive social practices reproduce the mystical body of the Government. Among the various developments resulting from this discussion, let us cite the statement of the fragility of the argument that supposes the party symbolism as an immediate expression of a transcendent reality. Opposing this assertion, the author argues that the procession reproduces the mystical body of the Government, but instead of doing so in the condition of representing an absence, it promotes an "effective conjuring of social and spiritual forces" (ibid. 79) through its own syntax, that mobilizes material, plastic and sound signs.

Upon completing these considerations about the subtleties that underlie the formation of political and religious power in Portuguese America and assigning to them their concern about the symbolic components that emerge from its festive demonstrations, Marianna dedicates to studying the coronation celebrations of the kings of Congo and Bumba meu Boi, reflecting on the conditions of permanence in the current mirth of old poetic and artistic forms. Through an ethnography carried out in Ilhabela *congada*, to the Mozambicans of the Paraiba Valley and Minas Gerais Congo, the author identifies that ancient values remain fundamental instances for understanding the meaning of these manifestations, as in the case of the recognition of "royalty" as superior instance of the present *congado*, despite over a hundred years of republic.

The author points out that "the so-called folkloric manifestations have been constituted in a religious and cultural field consistent with modern political formulations" (ibid., 228). From these findings, the methodological commitment to contextualize the reading of popular dances considering the perspective of the complex society in which they occur comes out. In the preparation of her ethnography referring to the three mentioned manifestations, Marianna Monteiro favors the analysis of the artistic creation, directing the field research to an investigation in which the interpretation of the symbolic aspects of the mirth is predominant.

As a simple "set of assumptions", Marianna Monteiro sets her investigation result. Projecting far beyond this perspective, *Dança popular: espetáculo e devoção* presents a deep and subtle reflection, combining theoretical density, methodological care and ethnographic refinement rare

to see embodied in the same work, notwithstanding the elegance and vigor condensed in her writing. It is with precision and ingenuity that each hypothesis is built and grounded and the authors who make up the conceptual fortune mobilized by the researcher are chosen. Combining an education of social scientist and a trajectory of artist and player, Marianna Monteiro developed an inspiring research with developments that are not limited to the universes directly themed in the work, but which reverberate in a multitude of domains, especially in the researches that dare to investigate the tensions involved in the aesthetic appropriation projects of popular culture by the so-called elite culture. On this point, it could not be more appropriate to finalize this review by repeating and confirming the author's question: "When we talk about popular dance, where do we do it?" (Monteiro, 2011, 224).

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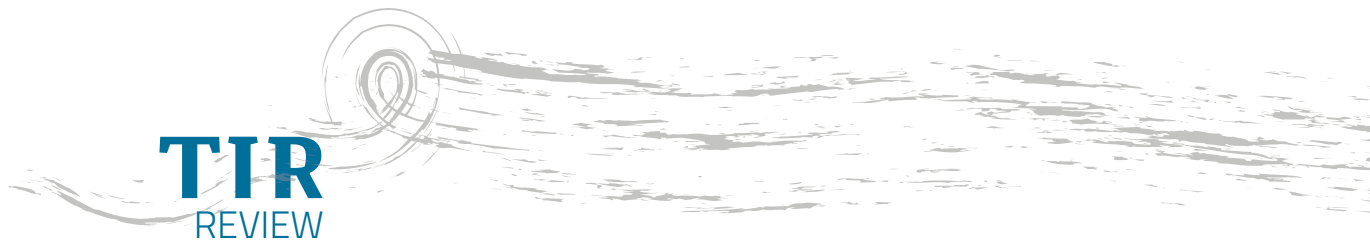
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RODRIGO FRARE BARONI

BOGART AS BOGART'S DOUBLE: CLUES TO HUMPHREY BOGART'S CINEMATOGRAPHIC PERSONA 1941-1946

In the book *Bogart duplo de Bogart*, Luis Felipe Sobral centralizes his analysis of the construction of the cinematographic persona of Humpfrey Bogart, a Hollywood actor who began his theater career and in supporting characters in the gangster films of the 1930s, but got known for his detective movie main characters in the 1940s.

The author selects three key films to compose his analysis throughout the chapters of the book, they are: The Maltese Falcon (1941), Casablanca (1942), The Big Sleep (1946). In addressing the scenes of the film, Sobral also scrutinizes texts of the time, establishes, publicity materials, relationships between films of the same period, among other materials, to avoid a transposition of his own reading for the films and, in describing the scenes, tries to get closer to the "visual culture" of the film's production period. This movement of analysis recalls some concerns about the anachronism posed by the historian Lucien Febvre in The Problem of Unbelief in the Sixteenth Century (2009), as Febvre, concerned about the way in which Rabelais was read in the sixteenth century, tries to avoid the maximum anachronism in an exercise of trying to appropriate the perception categories of this period. There is, therefore, between these two authors, an effort in a similar direction.

Sobral tells us that he takes as inspiration the "'gender technology' concept, developed by Teresa Lauretis from Michel Foucault's works on sexuality"(Sobral 2015, 20). According to this conception, the idea of

gender could be thought of as the product of social technologies such as cinema. However, Sobral marks a difference between the analysis he undertakes in his book and Lauretis' model of analysis, since: while the later emphasizes the internal elements of the productions analyzed, Sobral explicitly states that the focus of his analysis is not so much the internal elements of the movies, but rather the movement between what appears in the films and the context of their production.

In this way, Sobral's analysis follows a double movement: to think of the "visible of the image" and the "invisible of its production" (ibid., 20), that is, what is seen by the spectator in the films starring Bogart (which are inserted in what the author calls a "visual culture")[1] and what is not present in these images, but which are condition of its production. In this sense, we try to understand the trajectory of Bogart and the relations established by the actor in the Hollywood film production context (to insert the actor and his *film persona*, which Sobral is keen to differentiate) within his historical, political, economic and social context (in an analysis marked by the influence of Bourdieusian thought)[2]. In this way, the author articulates (in economic, political and social terms) the images produced and the "relative autonomy" of Bogart in the construction of his own persona.

The preface written by Heloisa Pontes brings, besides a description of Sobral's procedures and analytical methods, a brief but instigating comparison between the figures of Humphrey Bogart and Jon Hamm (actor who played the character Don Drapper in *Mad Men* series), a comparison that would yield promising studies on how these two actors and their characters build masculinity ideals and standards in the cinema. However, Sobral's analysis, despite starting from the concern with the idea of gender, concentrates its efforts in the attempt to understand how the formation of the cinematographic persona serves as mediator between actor and character and that sometimes ends up confusing them, or joining them, as if they were one and the same entity. In the formation of the persona there would be a specificity of the cinema that, for Sobral, unlike the theater, makes inescapable the evidence of physical traits of the actor, and to the extent that the films are reproducible, in several times, they end up establishing a more lasting relation between the actor and his characters. It should be said that these differentiations between cinema and theater are brought by the author at various points in the book and are important for understanding the biography and trajectory of Bogart as he goes through the two expressive forms throughout his life.

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1 Sobral's concept derives from what "michael Baxandall called the 'cognitive style of the period'" (2015, 54).

2 See Bourdieu (2015).

If the formation of the cinematographic persona is the articulator between the life and body of the actor and the role of the character he plays, it is precisely there that resides the analytical potential of such a category for Sobral, since the concept then puts in relation the actor's body his economic, political and social relations, actor their social, political and economic, the influence (or relative-autonomy) that he has in the film production process, its inclusion in the broader context of production of Hollywood and world cinema and the historical contexts of these productions, as well as the films narratives themselves. All these characteristics would influence the construction of the persona, and, at the same time, appear articulated by it. These elements form and are read, for the author, in the cinematographic images of the period.

Consider the following passage:

> A característica mais notável desse material publicitário reside no fato de que as figuras em cena não são apenas personagens nem seus respectivos interpretes, e, sim, as próprias *personas* dos artistas. Tal processo resume-se em retomar um conjunto de atributos associados a um personagem de um filme anterior e vinculá-lo ao personagem do filme promovido; a continuidade é preservada, pois um só artista interpreta ambos; no entanto, não se trata apenas de um ou outro personagem, tampouco do próprio artista, porém de sua *persona*, que só assume uma forma concreta ao inscrever, por meio da performance, o primeiro no corpo do segundo (Ibid., 224).

> The most notable feature of this advertising material lies in the fact that the figures on the stage are not just characters nor their respective interpreters, but the artists' personas themselves. Such a process boils down to taking back a set of attributes associated with a character from an earlier film and linking it to the character of the promoted film; continuity is preserved, as one artist plays both; however, it is not just one or another character, nor the artist himself, but his persona, which only takes a concrete form when signing up, through the performance, the first in the second one's body (Ibid., 224).

This passage shows us, synthetically, the way in which Sobral articulates these problems from the concept of persona, which we should not take as a static form defined *a priori*. The way in which the construction of the concept (and of Bogart's own persona) is outlined in the book is dynamic, just like the various moments in Bogart's life. At the same time, we can reverse this movement to think how the construction of the persona of the actor would have contributed to the Hollywood productions and to the

formation of bodies and ways of being in the world. We can make this last statement to the extent that we note that Sobral articulates the concept of persona to the two formulations worked by Marcel Mauss (2003): the notion of "person" and the "corporal techniques" concept. Sobral makes a point of reminding us that Mauss had already noticed the role of cinema in the education and propagation of different body techniques which, in turn, mediate our relationship with the world.

The characters and images in the film associate, carry vestiges (so to speak) of the trajectory and processes of their formation, and they are somehow inscribed in the body of the actor. The body thus has a very important dimension in the assay and is often in the position of a vertex articulating the relations. In addition, it guarantees, as we saw in the above quotation, a kind of continuity that gives certain expectations to the public in relation to what will be seen on the screen, what, for Sobral, is also part of a kind of modus operandi of the Hollywood film industry that, from a certain point, shall be guided by models of films that are successful for the general public and found in the selection of actors (which in turn were associated with characters they had already played) more or less suitable in each of these models.

It is quite interesting to note how Sobral establishes the relationship between the historical-social context of the period, the actions of the American government over Hollywood cinema, and the reverberation of these elements in cinematographic productions, and consequently in the design of Bogart persona as in the relations in which his character establishes with the women he falls in love with (in the movies, evidently) and in how love tensions have resolved within the plot given the situation of the moment. Sobral's analysis in this essay is very well worked out in terms of the "visible" image (though not the central axis of analysis) and the "invisible" of its production (the focus of concerns). And in this sense, throughout book, the author is more concerned with showing how the construction of images and values through the Hollywood film industry works than with the moment of reception of these cinematographic constructions and to what extent they affect the spectators' bodies. Even so, the book written by Sobral opens a field of possibilities with multiple possible entrances to think about the role of cinema and the construction of cinematographic persona in the formation and transformation of our ideas about gender and sexuality, such as that pointed out by Heloisa Pontes.

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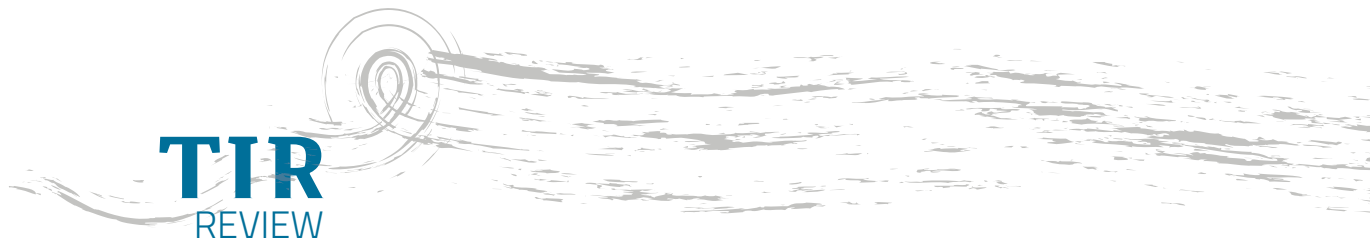
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AFFECTIVE OBJECT: SOCIAL USES, TIME AND COMMENTED PHOTOGRAPHS

What makes a picture publishable? This seems to be
the core question in *O Instante Certo*, the first book by
the journalist Dorrit Harazim (2016). The work brings
together articles originally published between 1995
and 2016 in magazines such as *Zum*[1], which cover the
author's multiple interests: visual arts, wars, politics,
fights for civil rights, gender. The volume tells stories
of images and people and can be read in three ways:
as an exhibition, as a documentary evidence of a per-
sonal file and as a family album.

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1 Available in: <http://revistazum.com.br/en/revista-zum>. Ac-
cessed in: December 5, 2017.

PHOTOGRAPHERS ON EXHIBITION

Seen as a photo exhibition, the book shows a series of images (iconic or not) that have surpassed the moment of their production. Seen as a document in a personal archive, his textbook reflects moments in the professional life of the journalist, who received awards such as Gabriel Garcia Márquez's on Journalism in the Excellence category[2]. As a family album, it presents a sequence of commented photographs , which lead us to think about the presence and participation of images in social life, when certain photos show themselves capable of leading important changes in history.

Each of the 38 articles included the volume can be freely dismembered from the whole without loss to the understanding of Harazim's thought on the photographs and their life histories: production, publication, circulation, social uses and disposal. Although speaking of photos, *O Instante Certo* is not a book in which we are called to compare different images, as in the disturbing Big Book by W. Eugene Smith. It is not a co-incidence for Dorrit Harazim to discuss the author's work in "O triunfo de W. Eugene Smith" (2016, 211-220), article in which the Big Book figures as a radical act of autonomy and creative freedom in form and content.

To Brazilian "Assisinho" (as he calls the photographer from Minas Gerais), Harazim dedicates the essay "O clique único de Assis Horta" (Ibid., 31-45), stating that he "gave face, photographic identity and visibility to the worker. He has taken him from anonymity, revealing him as a class and as an individual in the country's visual history" (ibid., 34). Simple people, many of those portrayed are black, a fact that points to a process of social integration by means of the photographic visual consumption still little known by the history of photography in Brazil. There is still a common sense that tends to suggest that black people, even in an urban setting, would not have access to photography as important visual goods, especially at the level of family narratives. Thus, the collection of Horta's negatives shows how the compulsory 3x4 portrait served as a gateway to the consumption of other individual and collective images, transforming the ways of expressing and memorizing the affective bonds between people.

The relationship between black people and photographic studios also appears in the essay "Estúdio Malick" (Ibid., 311-320), in which the author discusses the work of the African photographer Malick Sidibé. The Malian portraitist produced portraits of an era in which his country had become a young and euphoric independent nation, from 1960 on. Also a

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2 For archival theory, personal records documents reflect the activities of their holders, among which, in the case of certain professionals, their intellectual production. See in this regard Travancas, Rouchou and -Heymann (2013) and Campbell and Goulart (2007).

black man, the South African photographer Koto Bolofo photographed not the fullness of life, but the expression of violence inthe images he made of the old Robben Island prison, where Nelson Mandela was imprisoned. In the essay "Retrato invisível" (ibid., 289-294), Harazim takes these Bolofo's pictures as material to discuss the horrors of apartheid also visually, making reference to the moment whenphotos of the leader were forbidden to circulate. This repression of images makes one think about the conditions in which a photograph becomes unprintable. Harazim teaches that the absence of images of Mandela arrested shows how the photograph could safeguard the truth of his incarceration, hence the concern with the visual erasure of the black leader memory.

In "A Cor de Gordon Parks - Parte I" and "Gordon Parks na catacumba - Parte II" (Ibid., 175-192), he comments that this famous American black photographer worked for years for Life, when he carried out, in 1956, the colorful series *Segregation Story*, which documents the day-to-day life of the Thorntons, a black Alabama family. In view of the large volume of sales, 13.5 million copies, Harazim shows that the success was due to the impact of the magazine among thewhite public who was offered to se a black family as "essentially equal to their own" (Ibid., 179)[3].

A FAMILY ALBUM: OBLIVION, MEMORY AND WOMEN

If *O Instante Certo* can be seen both as an imaginary exhibition (yet to inspire future exhibitions in Brazil), and as a personal archive (as because it reflects and allows the reader to follow some moments of the author's professional career), peering at it corresponds to leafing through a family album, device in which each photograph, when shown by those who hold their guard, is often accompanied by speeches that turn oral what is seen[4]. This act of speaking of the images reveals that they are not objects made exclusively for passive eyes, willing to contemplate them in silence. Such images mobilize other senses, so that we can write about them, and this writing interferes in how they will be seized. In leafing through *O Instante Certo* as an album, we learn about the plans, materials, and procedures of Nazi architecture constructed from 1943 to 1945 in "A Muralha Esquecida" (Ibid., 169-173); about why a museum

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3 Two other black photographers cited are the Nigerian Teju Cole and the American Roy DeCarava (2016, 129).

4 See Edwards's (2012) review of the bibliography on the sensory appeals of photographic images, especially orality and touch. See Bruno (2009), who discusses the verbal-visual relationship in his study of photographic collections of older people. In a dialog with his interlocutors, the author makes visual arrangements based on the informants' collections. In addition, Leite (2001) can be consulted in this sense, considering the oral narratives in his research on family photos.

decides to call a photographer to document its ruins; or we learn that the apartheid inaugurated in 1976, in a white area of Johannesburg, the 54-storey cylindrical building and 467 apartments - Ponte City - through the text "Autópsia de uma Ilusão" (ibid., 89- 95), around which Harazim comments on the monumental work of the photographer Mikhael Subotzky and the artist Patrick Waterhouse. Together, they collected and thoroughly documented the life of one of the greatest symbols of "white supremacy utopia" (Ibid., 91).

Still following the logic of a family album replete with stories and deeds of humanity, Harazim points out: Evelyn McHale was carrying "a bag of family photos" (Ibid., 15) before committing suicide. This attachment to affective images recalls Walter Benjamin's note of our relationship with photos: "No work of art is contemplated so closely in our time as the photographic image of ourselves, our close relatives, our loved ones" (1994, 103).

Those who, in some moment of life, got into photography are the subject of the Polish photographer Jerry Lewczynski, who, according to the correct title of the article "O catador de imagens" (2016, 203-210), became, sympathetic to unknown people in portraits, a particular type of garbage collector. Those who are gone, but who remain in the photos, seem to want to come back to life. The images that interested the collector, however, enjoy little social prestige when they are released from their owners. They are non-iconic images, usually serialized, without subtitles[5], in a predictable and simple framework, sometimes blurred and, most importantly, refer to people with no notoriety[6]. They are men and women on whom remain as images that could be easily forgotten, as were the people described through their belongings in "Viagem sem volta" (Ibid., 67-75). This essay describes a project of Jon Crispin, who photographed 429 bags stored until 1995 in an attic of Willard Lunatic Asylum in New York. Both photographers are concerned about loss and forgetfulness, with garbage and memory. This number of "memory boxes"[7] now advertised does not, however, make up 10% of the total number of individuals who have been there for almost a century.

A little more than 10% of Harazim's book brings at the opening of the essays two photos, such as "A história em preto e branco" (Ibid., 121-130), "Loving Story" (Ibid., 321-332), "A fotografia descobre a América" (Ibid., 333-340), "O cidadão Meeropol" (Ibid., 355-366) and, finally, "As novas

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5 For Harazim, subtitles, when informative, such as those used by the photographer Joseph Koudelka, make it possible to "ver além da imagem" (see beyond the image) (2016, 286).

6 In my master's research, I worked with this type of image. Acc. Bispo (2012).

7 According to Assmann (2011, 125), the memory boxes are devices to store what is considered important, such as documents and treasures.

cores do império russo " (Ibid., 147-154). Despite this, through a strategy of the written text, Harazim multiplies images by choosing one or two to open each text and by remission to many others. An example is the portrait of Leo Tolstoy (Ibid., 150) made by the pioneer of color in the already decaying Russian empire, Sergei Mikhailovich Prokudin-Gorskii. Another multiplication occurs with "Tomoko no seu banho". The only photograph, according to the author, that W. Eugene Smith "took full pride" for having done. For Stefânia Bril (1987, 40), the photo of the girl in the bath was a proof of Smith's victory in the fight, in Japan, in Minamata along with the fishermen. By arguing that a photograph goes beyond the instant selected in time, Harazim leads us through immersible stories, observing through the images the moments of production, circulation and uses, even contradictory to the intentions of producers and their portraits. An example in this sense is "Ruth Orkin fez primeiro e melhor" (2016, 131-137), in which Harazim simultaneously narrates the story of two women - the photographer Ruth Orkin and the model Ninalee Allen - and shows how the image of a woman being adressed by seductive men while walking freely by herself on an Italian street, published in 1952, became twenty years later a symbol of macho oppression in the light of the second feminist wave after the 1960s. It is a result of this reflection that, rather than restoring an essential truth to the image titled American Girl in Italy, what matters most, in following her argument, is that the photographs emerge with their own biography and trajectory, transcending the characters involved at the time of their production.

Although many women appear in *O Instante Certo*, few of them are photographers. The essay "As múltiplas Vidas de Lee Miller" (Ibid., 97-110) presents the model and later alsothe photographer who left a collection of "60,000 original negatives, 20,000 images in contact sheets or hard copies as well as manuscripts and documents" (Ibid.,110). Another figure is Maier, the photographer nanny, to whom he dedicates two texts: "O enigma Vivian Maier" - Parts I and II (Ibid., 221-233). Although socially withdrawn, when accompanied by portable Rolleiflex, Maier photographed a multiplicity of strangers on the streets of the urban centers near her workplace. Her obsession with photography was such that she left more than 100,000 negatives, hundreds of unrevealed rolls, 1,500 slides, and more than thirty 8-mm shorts (Ibid., 226).

The Mexican photographer Graciela Iturbide is presented in "Pássaro Solitário" (Ibid., 343-353) as a student of Manuel Álvares Bravo, with whom she learned to wait for the time to pass and, in the interim, something to happen, Known for erasing in her essays the boundaries between art and document, Iturbide's work came to be known since the publication of her essay *Los que vive en la arena* (1979). This is a documentary work on the Seri Indigenous people that was well received by visual criticism,

but frustrated anthropologists who worried about the "emotional approach of images" (ibid., 345). For them, the subtitles used like Mujer Angel, name of the photo that brought fame to the photographer, did not report on what, after all, the images were. Iturbide replied: "I am neither an anthropologist nor a sociologist. I take pictures for the pleasure of doing them, I never photograph anything to document" (Ibid., 343).

While Miller was, as Harazim explains, dissected by the camera many times, including by his father (Ibid., 100), and learned from him notions of framing, perspective, and magnification - which led him to make many copyrights (Ibid. , 102), Evelyn MacHale, on the other hand, has made herself ethernal through her only published image, discussed the essay "Foto Imortal" (Ibid., 11-17). MacHale died at age 23 and her morbid portrait not only opens the book, but announces how human death is a subject for photography and a theme in Harazim's book. Thus, there is no lack of touching scenes of death and deceased, reproduced or suggested in several of the texts.

The presence of death in certain photos helped to change the course of societies, such as *Execution in Saigon*, 1968, chronicled in "A chave" (Ibid., 303-309). For the South African professionals of the Bang Bang Club, whose group life is described in "Abutres ou Heróis?" (Ibid., 19-29), the slaughters became the central character of the end of the process of dissolution of the *apartheid*. Accompanying the narrative, the sensation is that the wars install a total confusion between people and things. At such times, humans become a sort of residue or garbage from the conflict, as one of the surviving photographers of the Club, Greg Marinovitch, put it: "Corpses are foreign objects" (Ibid., 25). This strangeness reappears in the essay "O Cidadão Meeropol" (Ibid., 355-366), in which one of the images discussed alludes to the social practice of black lynching that occurred almost without respite in many southern states of the United States, between the end of the nineteenth century and 1968 (Ibid., 359). The citizen referred to in the title is Abel Meeropol, white and Jew who wrote Strange Fruit (1938), song eternalized in the voice of Billie Holiday. The lyrics showed Meeropol's astonishment at the naturalness with which violence against the black population was practiced.

In the same way, but focusing on the female experience of racism, the essay "Ódio Revisitado" (Ibid., 295-301) describes two women - Elizabeth Eckford and Hazel Bryan - who appear in a photograph taken in1957, when both were only fifteen years old. The scene is a synthesis of American society in a combat that, more than sixty years later, did not guarantee full rights to the black American. Harazim says that "The photo gained strength, becoming a flag for an entire generation of athletes, lawyers, black teachers" (Ibid., 299). In bringing the image back and commenting

on it, the author reveals the current pains produced by racism as they enter the life trajectory of these women after the photo was released.

O Instante Certo ends with "Relembranças" (Ibid., 375-382), an open dialogue with a photo of Dorrit Harazim made in Cambodia in 1970: the closing text in the book which could, nonetheless, work as an opening article . The author explains how she came closer to certain images, talks about her desire to comment on them, and to tell what she has discovered about them. Her pleasure in digging up stories, finding out who is the person portrayed, knowing about the environment that initially welcomed or refused a photo, peering beyond the click, has to do with her conception of what, after all, a photograph is. As she puts it: "when we look at a photograph, we see in it, too, the reflection of who we are" (ibid., 377).

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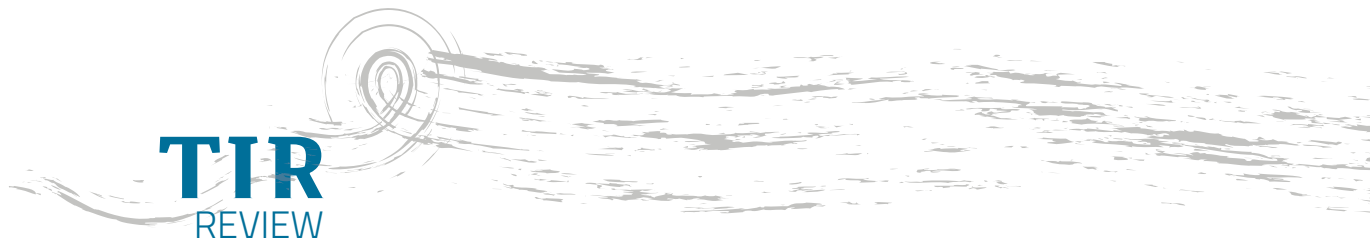
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PHOTOGRAPHY AND EMPIRE: LANDSCAPES FOR A MODERN BRAZIL

In the work titled Photography and empire: landscapes for a Modern Brazil, Natalia Brizuela (2012) presents the reader with an overview of nineteenth-century Brazil from photographs, stating that these records were intensely present in the construction of the national imaginary. Thus, it indicates an important relation between the photographs of this period and the configuration of the Brazilian territory during the reign of D. Pedro II, commenting on the photography coinvention by Hercule Florence, the abolition of the slavery and the formation of the New Republic.

The author reflects on the relationships between the photographic field and the socio-historical context from which it emerges, mainly through the portrait (whose people are the central theme) and the landscape (scenarios in which people may also be inserted), two important genres that marked the beginning of the photographic practice. For that, Brizuela highlights two figures as potential types of photographers in Imperial Brazil. The first is the traveler-photographer, a landscape-related character responsible for portraying the main Brazilian cities (Rio de Janeiro, Recife and Salvador), offering an atlas of the country through the photographic image. The lover-photographer, on the other hand, consists of a portraitist able to identify those who are absent through visual memory, an act linked at the same time to the order of the affective, the invisible and

the imaginary: "An atlas of space and an atlas of emotion, aggregated by a 'scientific art'" (ibid., 39).

Thus, Brizuela composes his book with a prologue and four essays of images that dialogue with the text. In this sense, although the photographs appear throughout the work in small size and accompanied by explanatory legends, they are reviewed in good resolution in the beautiful booklet located at the end of the work, which is fundamental to understand the author's reflections, whose intent is to understand the photographs as cultural products that constitute "not objective and very magical maps"[2] from Brazil (Ibid., 15).

In the first essay, Brizuela examines the ways in which the Second Empire (1840-1889) used the photography to implant the project of constructing a geographic imagination of the new colony and developing a nationalistic feeling. In this context, photography will be associated with the art of cartography, the official project of Romanticism and the work of the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute (IHGB), showing a relationship between the cultural development of the Second Empire under the regency of D. Pedro II, and the arrival and consolidation of the photography in Brazil.

The images in the first chapter show the reader the so-called views, a name given to nineteenth-century landscape photographs showing Brazil with a nature apparently unexplored by man, which needed to be made public. However, Brizuela draws attention to the fact that these photographs are never the object itself, that is, "there is no landscape before a human subject can configure it as such" (ibid., 26). For the author, the views constitute as places built by the photographers to be seen, either by the choice of a frame or by the presence of a human figure, who appears in the middle of the wild scenery. Such apparitions make us distrustful of images in that sense, "because we now know that photography is not only nature imprinting itself, but the product of a subjective observer" (Ibid., 30).

After offering the reader these views, the author begins the second essay establishing a counterpoint to the first chapter of the book, which is composed of the official history of the arrival of photography in Brazil, imported from Europe with the help of D. Pedro II[3]. Now the central axis is

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2 Even if, paradoxically, the photographic ontology is linked to an ideal of objectivity, that is, it consists of a technique elaborated thanks to the advances of rationalization and science. In this sense, photography would be halfway to art and science, as shown in the book *Entre arte e ciência: a fotografia na antropologia*, organized by Sylvia Caiuby Novaes (2015).
3 D. Pedro II, a great admirer and collector of photographs, organized a set of 25 thousand images of all kinds: portraits, landscapes, urban views, astronomy, biology, zoology, etc.

no longer the images produced in the nuclei of the colonial court, but the photographic experiments of Hercule Florence, a Brazilian based in Brazil who "invented", in the town of São Carlos (present-day city of Campinas, São Paulo), a method of solar printing to establish a commercial reproduction technique. Brizuela shows that the first efforts of Florence resulted in the year 1833 in a copy of commercial labels of a pharmacy, which the author himself called photography, pointing to the use of photography as a consumer good[4], a commodity aiming at reproducibility.

This difference in use is clear with the first two photographs presented in the second chapter and which were exposed on the same page (Ibid., 63). The first is called the "City Hall" (Rio de Janeiro, 1840), a daguerreotype made by Father Louis Compte; considered the first image produced from this technique in Brazil, it shows a scene of the palace that housed D. Pedro I and D. Pedro II, an urban symbol of the Empire. The second is an image of Florence (dated 1839) that resembles more a drawing or a print, and the impression of direct reality is absent. However, Brizuela points out that both are photographs and attempts to re-enact the world, either by constructing an imperial urban imaginary or by revealing a history that happened at the margin of the courts, far from the centers of power of the country[5].

Thus, Brizuela narrates the context of the production of the images of Florence, who came to Brazil to work as a naturalist painter in the scientific expedition of Baron Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff (1825-1829), in which he was hired to draw and catalog the scenarios and new specimens of animals and plants found. With the intention of reproducing a manuscript he had written during his participation in the expedition, Florence encountered technical difficulties, since the only printing company in the São Paulo region refused to publish such a work, which encouraged him to develop a new method of more democratic impression. "Photographie: a way of printing images that arose from disenchantment with the observation of nature" (Ibid., 75). Therefore, Florence's *photographie* consisted of a return to rational techniques, since it was the result of a chemical/physical process; it also derived from a longing for authenticity and creation, reviving the distinctions between original/copy and nature/culture, and anticipating classical discussions for both photography and anthropology.

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4 Boris Kossoy (2006), in the book *Hercule Florence: a descoberta isolada da fotografia no Brasil*, claims the importance of the experiments that Florence realized with silver nitrate, including coining and using the term photographie for the first time, in 1833.

5 In addition, the author emphasizes that the Florence *photographie* presented formal similarities (such as the frameworks that emphasize human intervention from a point of view) with the first photographic images produced by Niépce, Daguerre and Talbot, considered the pioneers of the practice in Europe.

Already in the third essay, Brizuela returns to the images produced in the space of the colonial court. Now the author shows the reader that enslaved black people were portrayed in Empire photographs as racial "types." In this way, he affirms that such images cannot be seen "only" as conventional portraits, but as signs of slavery and as a way of understanding the organization of Brazilian space of the time. Brizuela is part of the study of the so-called *cartes de visite* or *timbres-poste* (postage stamps), produced in the 1860s, which showed slaves posing in studios of the Brazilian capital, Rio de Janeiro then, during daily activities. Such photographs were sold as souvenirs of the tropical lands, a kind of souvenir for European travelers who showed the "types" of slaves of Brazil. This form of appropriation coincides with the uses of photography in Europe, including the anthropometric practices of the nineteenth century, which emphasized a cataloging of human "specimens", a cultural cartography indicative of the superiority of the white man.

Brizuela highlights the existence of what he called the "triumvirate" of portrait photography, made up of portraitist, model and observer, a relation that exposes important and profound revelations. Be it in the woman of Stahl's portrait (Ibid., 109), who looks at the camera showing the photographer the marks on her face and the front teeth, evidence of slave status; or in the images of Christiano Júnior (Ibid., 136) that portrayed scenes of work of the enslaved wearing clothes typical of the representation of black in the Brazilian visual culture of the time, what can be known by these images is part of what is recorded in the photograph, but leads to another place, intrinsically related to the Brazilian sociocultural context.

In this way, the author pursues clues, intimacies and secrets of photographic images. And it causes us to do the same, saying that we do not know, for example, the names of the characters, their ages or countries of origin. From this meticulous work, the reader is invited to dive into the photos and see beyond the surface of the paper, when considering the purpose for which the photograph was taken and its circulation. In this sense, Brizuela emphasizes that if we take these images as "simple" portraits, they will be no more than "still life", with a capacity for alienation that offers not the capture of reality and a fragment of life, but a petrified object (Ibid., 123).

When thinking about the production and circulation relations of the *cartes-de-visite*, Brizuela exposes a crucial moment in Brazilian cultural history, which consists of the beginning of the abolitionist period[6].

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6 The Eusébio de Queirós Law, in 1850, prohibited the slave trade. In 1871, the Law of the Free Womb was enacted, which considered free all the children of enslaved women born from that moment. In 1888, Princess Isabel, regent of the Brazilian Empire, signed the Golden Law that

These photographs present the work of black people displaced from a landscape and its context, an erasure of the image of these subjects that is directly associated with the end of the slave trade and the monarchy in Brazil. It is from this analysis that the author connects with the last essay of the book, in which she displays images of the photographer Flávio de Barros, produced in the context of the Canudos War, in 1897.

Unlike the images shown in the previous chapter (produced in the sanitized environment of the photographic studios of the court) and the photographs exposed in the first chapter (produced to highlight the exotic monarchic ideal of the tropics), Barros' images depict scenes that are devastated and distant from fantasy the photographic representation of colonial Brazil. They are displayed to answer an important question: "Where was, then, tropical Brazil?" (Ibid., 151).

In fact, these ruins picture make up for Brizuela a new kind of "still life", produced to show the evidence of the relentless battle between modern man and the hostile environment of the northeastern hinterland. On the one hand, the technology did not allow the photographs to be taken during the combat, in "real time", because the long expositions made it impossible to capture the movements on the battlefield, on the other, Barros photographed only the scenes commissioned by the commanders of the troops, because he was hired by the military of the New Republic to register the victory against Antonio Conselheiro, messianic leader from Canudos and seen as a monarchist rebel.

When talking about the pictures made by Flavio de Barros, Brizuela also introduces another important character of the Canudos War: Euclides da Cunha, charged with going to the region of armed conflict to photograph and produce written accounts; initially a fervent supporter of the republican regime, which can be seen in the first two parts of his literary masterpiece, *Os sertões* (1902/2002)[7]. However, the author points out that, after going through more than six hundred pages of the book, when describing the climax of the war, the journalist interrupts the narrative and turns to the prolonged description of a photograph, as if distrusting its supposed objectivity and, consequently, the republican ideal.

Thus, Euclides describes the moment in which the army, through the official photographer Flávio de Barros, portrays the mortal remains of Antônio Conselheiro, being such image the symbol that the country definitively extinguished the monarchical ideal, transposed to the figure

abolished slavery. On November 15, 1889, the Republic of Brazil was officially proclaimed.

7 The book *Os sertões: campanha de Canudos* (1902/2002) is divided into three parts: "The earth", "the man" and "the fight".

of the messianic leader (Ibid., 181). Photography once again transformed the human body into a souvenir, as was the case with the enslaved Brazilians who served as models for the *cartes-de-visite*. At first glance, this image portrays a man in quiet sleep, arms folded across his chest, head turned, eyes barely visible between hair and beard. But Brizuela draws attention to the details of the image by saying that the body is not in the shade of a tree and that the terrain around it shows that it is not a person at rest, but a corpse in the arid soil of the hinterland.

On the same point, Brizuela still constructs an important relation between the image of Antônio Conselheiro and the portraits of D. Pedro II, who is always shown "like an old man, even when he was still in his twenties" (Ibid., 183), with a large beard and an imposing physique. Thus, the author interprets the image of Conselheiro: a man also older and with a large beard, but whose body is fragile and lifeless, as the symmetrically inverted figure of the emperor, which represents "the final death of sovereignty of the monarch" (ibid., 183).

Thus, in relating the images of the War of Canudos with those of the Second Empire, Brizuela again emphasizes the polysemy of photography, capable of constructing very different imaginaries. Be it in the visual construction of a wild country with an inhospitable nature; in the view of an arid hinterland where progress needs to enter and control; in the photographies at once technical and magical of Florence, who tell a story on the banks of the Empire; or as a means to establish the symbolism of slavery in Brazil, Brizuela's book brings together and causes contradictory sensations: objectivity and subjectivity, presence and representation, appearance and disappearance, a way to both disenchant and re-enact nature and the world.

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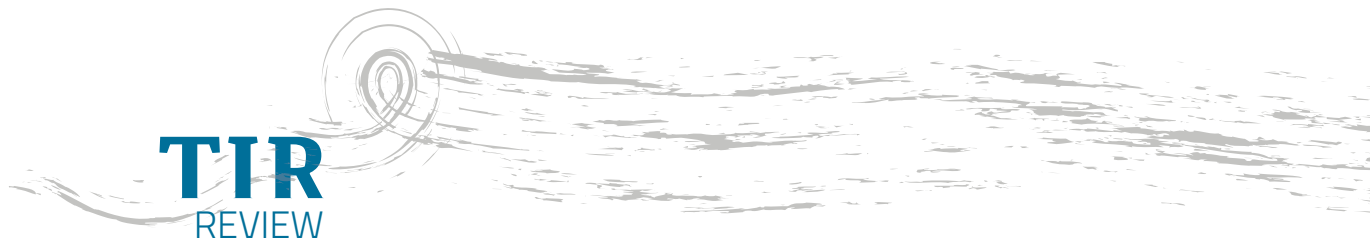
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FELIPE SILVA FIGUEIREDO

ARBITRARINESS, UNCERTAINTY AND NETWORKS: "FLYING LOW" OVER THE WHOLE WORLD

In recent times, we have seen in the media and in social networks news about forced and voluntary migrations, xenophobic attacks, real and imaginary frontiers that are recreated in different ways. At the same time, the media and audiovisual language give us the impression of a more connected and integrated world. We operate as "network actors", always recreating the forms of association, so that "any description of the social structure" is questioned (2016, 17). Néstor García Canclini, an Argentine PhD of philosophy and anthropologist, leads us to look more strangely at the world before our eyes, at a time when the legitimacy of democracy is checked and the theories that we believed were explanatory of social reality, many times no longer work; a time when we used to face digital media daily and often see this world through and from them.

The most unsuspecting readers may feel a sense of "strangeness" as they read the first pages of *O mundo inteiro como lugar estranho* (The whole world as a strange place), an essay-like work in which the author brings together several writing genres. Alongside the chapters in which Canclini critically analyzes the various topics covered, there are some texts in which the philosopher uses a fictional narrative, sometimes to describe interviews, sometimes to describe speeches in academic congresses as well as the trajectory of a student to complete the thesis. Thus, the attention

of the reader is required, since it is not always possible to identify who is speaking throughout the text. The format of the essay, as the author himself says, has the purpose of "taking any masterly tone", and giving some fluidity to the reading that would be interrupted by "academic precisions". We can say, therefore, that the author is more inclined to the questions than to the answers, questioning the rootedness of the academic-scientific knowledge in magisterial certainty. Examining the assumptions of common sense, it is no longer restricted to philosophers and social scientists, but it is also the task of social movements.

According to Canclini, "we are in an uncertain transition that makes any description of the social structure unsafe" (Ibid., 17) before the arbitrariness of reality that we face. It is from his contact with anthropology and fieldwork that the philosopher was able to meet empirical realities and to nurture a "transdisciplinary" knowledge, given the insufficiency of his own area of formation. For Canclini, speaking on "transdisciplinary" would not be to return to a moment of Western thought in which the knowledge was little specialized, but it is precisely the movement in which the contemporary researchers, faced with the arbitrariness of the world, "admit the insufficiency of the area itself [...] meets with those of other departments and reformulates their questions" (ibid., 43).

This happens because we no longer find a stable and explicable world based on concepts that derive from a deductive method capable of fixing reality in a theoretical framework. Instead, the author argues that we should study "networked actors" (a clear reference to Bruno Latour's Actor-Network Theory), showing how actors associate, build an agency, and resolve conflicts from their possibilities and networks they create and choose to connect to.

Throughout the narrative, the author goes through this world as a strange place, throwing in a "flying down" on topics such as being a foreigner; democracy that, in his eyes, earns the adjective of "bastard"; forms of hacktivism; ways of writing science and literature; besides talking about academic congresses and opening space for doubt.

It is no longer possible to think of the contemporary world dissociated from the new forms of communication, writing, circulation of information and artistic productions provided by digital and technological means. By asking "how or how much is read" in chapter three, for example, the author discusses the "reading crisis" by saying that we need to look at how information is accessed and the "new presentations of knowledge" (ibid.., 33).

Canclini shifts the issue of reading to looking at crosses of media, formats and languages. The very act of reading is no longer the same: "It is

also knowing how to use navigation icons, scrollbars, windows, menus, hyperlinks, text search functions, images and music, site maps" (Ibid., 34); all within an authoring interface, that is, content set by companies and institutions that can sell information from users or even in environments in which users can modify and produce content such as social networks and e-mails.

Alongside this problem, there is also the question of vigilance and espionage, proper to the world involved by the network, and the protest movements that spread in it, despite the mechanisms of control. Hacktivism, which often acts in the name of the ethics of free movement, sharing and cooperation of information in the network, is then approached. These issues cast doubt on our power of choice on the internet and in social networks, which offer us possibilities for action and subversion of order, although we recognize the collaboration of surveillance and communication companies with governments to obtain access to certain information.

Canclini, in the chapter that gives his name to the work, also looks at the various forms of strangeness that appear in the contemporary world, not only from migratory flows and border policies, but also thinking of the digital world that stands in the "objective world" and constitutes himself as a part of it. "We are invited or pressured to live other 'homelands." The author uses metaphors to refer to "non-territorial" forms of strangeness. "What does it mean to inhabit a digitally interconnected world where it is increasingly difficult to be a foreigner?" (Ibid., 59). To answer this question, the author proposes that we consider at least three notions about strangeness:

> a) the nature of loss as a territory; b) the experience of being a native-born foreigner, that is, feeling strange in the society itself; c) the experience of leaving a city or nation that suffocates and choosing to be different or minority in a society or language that we will never feel as entirely our own (Ibid., 59).

Apart from the violence and difficulties faced by migrants and exiles who leave their country in search of employment, economic deprivation or political issues, Canclini sees strangeness not as an individual decision, but as a "family strategy" that favors exchanges of "cultural remittances" between "transnational communities" of fluid communication (Ibid., 60). The author cites the example of Mexican migrants who go to the United States and send objects of social prestige to families, such as household appliances and clothes, while taking from Mexico cultural goods of affective value such as food, music and videos of regional ceremonies.

However, these exchanges can generate distortions, because, as the author points out, to be accepted, migrants often must participate in the game of avoiding certain stereotypes about their nationality.

On the other hand, there is still, according to Canclini, the strangeness linked to the feeling of feeling foreign within society itself, as in the case of indigenous or colonized peoples who are denied the exercise of cultural expression, or whose cultural practices are transformed in goods.

The author also addresses "contemporary displacements", a concept that evokes the Spanish term dislocación, whose meaning is "disarticulation" and "alteration", and which is commonly used to refer to articulations and geological formations, as pointed out in the translator's note for this edition. In this sense, contemporary displacements are those generated by "interculturality" and global communications: feeling foreigner in one's own country by the increase in the number of people who speak other languages and wear other clothes; feel foreign in the face of the difficulty of moving from the analog to the digital in a technology-literate generation.

There are still those who leave their country and, when they return, they miss where they have been, experiencing an estrangement from their place of origin. They are the followers of what Canclini calls "abstract cosmopolitanism", carried out by the concept of "deterritorialization", of breaking of borders and of being citizens of the world. The author proposes, however, that we perceive the various ways of modifying the ties with our homeland and recognizes that the "desire to be a foreigner" (Ibid., 63) occurs in different ways between geographical migrants and well-born foreigners as among those who need to be exiled for political reasons.

The contemporary world, however, brings a novelty that cohabits with these forms of strangeness, even if arbitrarily: the impossibility of being a foreigner, in the sense that it does not totally belong and has not built the place for itself. Canclini points out that, apart from difference, being a foreigner requires "intimacy", something diluted in a world where companies have access to our personal information, used in favor of the market and consumption. In this sense, the author concludes that we cannot be foreigners if we are clients or suspects watched always, systematized within consumption patterns and even thoughts and tastes (which does not mean that this generates a standardization).

Linked to these reflections are the author's questions about democracy: "Is democratization, understood as the recognition and public regulation of social, economic and political rights, an important point still on the agenda of any State?" For the author, "the answer worsens if, as these times of global interdependence demand, we ask about the rights of migrants" (ibid., 109).

The chapter in which Canclini addresses these questions is one of those that appear in the form of fiction, whose protagonist is a PhD student who is doing his field research in an academic congress on "interdisciplinary" and "political decomposition". The text accompanies several dialog and questions about the controversies surrounding democracy and its legality, mainly from a perspective of the so-called "southern countries".

This mixture of genres within a book of essayist character, in a genial way, makes the form of writing dialog with the content in the sense in which Canclini speaks of the constitution of the literary object from the "socio-cultural process of its elaboration, its traffic and the modulations in which their meaning is altered" (Ibid., 96), as well as the questioning of the cultural practices disseminated by digital media connected in network. In dealing with the sources of his book, for example, the author states that a quick "Google" in the cited passages lead to bibliographical references and, therefore, abstain from certain formalities that interrupt the fluid reading of the text. The Internet and the digital networks allowed not only a modification of the writing in its links with the audiovisual, modifying the autonomy of the literary field, but

> Also, the predominance of the text about the context, that marked the literary theory of the twentieth century, diminishes when we, readers, have access in the net to novels or poems along with links to performances of the authors, blogs in which the readers interpret them, that place in the day by day debate on the fortune of the texts. Bookstore owners who advise and expert critics coexist with trailers on YouTube and Google (Ibid., 97-8).

The work calls into question other forms of thinking about the public domain, democratic practices of production and circulation of culture in a world in which digital network relationships are present. It is from Bruno Latour's "actor-network theory", that Canclini thinks of "culture in times of social decomposition" (Ibid., 13) as something more than a place where things are fixed; it is the space where actors find "repertoires" to act in a world in which social structures are always questioned and modified, and one cannot speak of a long-term stability. Therefore, we can say metaphorically that Canclini's work is a "flying down" on the world: when flying high altitudes, it would have a generalist view of the world, as well as theories that it questions because they are unable to explain the discontinuities of contemporaneity; but, on the contrary, the low flight allows the author to describe how the actors behave in a network.

The reader can guide himself, like the network actors, by this thin network of connections and possibilities that the book offers to think of the

world as a strange place with its arbitrariness and uncertainties. According to Canclini, "recognizing uncertainty is not opening the back door to irrationality" (ibid., 143), but rather accessing discontinuous structures that have been always remade, instead of thinking of a world with stable structures. In addition, it is a Latin American perspective that can think about the contemporary world and, as the book itself says, "the epistemologies of the South makes the Northern ones less deluded" (Ibid., 108).

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FOUND ON THE NET

RAFUCKO INTERVIEWS EDUARDO VIVEIROS DE CASTRO

TALK-SHOW DO RAFUCKO: EDUARDO VIVEIROS DE CASTRO
35'45", 2015

Rafucko Álvares Cabral tries to rediscover Brazil in an interview with the anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro.

RAFUCKO
Rafucko is videomaker, talk show host and artist.