Music of Para, Brazil: Carimbo, Pajelança, Batuque & Umbanda
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Recorded and Annotated by MORTON MARKS
DESCRIPTIVE NOTES ARE INSIDE POCKET
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The state of Pará is located in the north of Brazil, and is part of the vast geographical and culture area known as Amazonia. The Portuguese colonizers never established in Pará the plantations or mining operations that required the huge labor force eventually supplied by captive Africans and the slave system. These were located mostly in the northeast and south of the country. At first, Indian slaves were used in the extractive enterprises in the Pará forests, with African labor brought in as early as 1788. (Anaiza Vergolino e Silva, Alguns Elementos para o Estudo do Negro na Amazônia, 1968, p. 6). African slaves worked in domestic service in the capital, Belém do Pará, or elsewhere, concentrated to the east of the city in agricultural work. The slaves arrived in Pará "were either imported directly from Portuguese Guinea, Cape Verde, or from Cabinda and Angola, or indirectly through the ports of Maranhão, Bahia and other Brazilian ports: their total number was at least 53,072" (Anaiza Vergolino e Silva, O Negro no Pará - A Notícia Histórica, 1968, p. 33).

Blacks eventually merged with the rest of the population in a thoroughly mestizagem or racial mixing, so that today the most common phenotype in Amazônia is the caboclo, or rural mestiço, of mixed Portuguese, Amerindian and African descent. In material culture, language, cooking and belief systems, the Indigenous heritage persists in the culture of the Amazonian caboclo. In spite of this powerful presence of Amerindian elements in the culture of Pará, the contribution of blacks is strongly felt in the recreational music of the interior, as well as in the ritual systems of Amazonian cities, especially Belém do Pará, where the majority of these recordings was made.

Paraense culture may be seen as the result of several stages of culture contact and waves of migration. The influx of the caboclo into the cities (notably Belém) has influenced the development of popular urban culture, especially in the area of religion. The thousands of northeastern Brazilians who began arriving in the second half of the nineteenth century and increased during the rubber boom also deeply affected the cultural and economic life of the state. The successive levels of integration of Pará into the national culture of Brazil and the role of religious ritual as an instrument of national penetration are clearly reflected in the contents of this recording. With the exception of the carimbo, the major recreational dance of the Pará litoral, all of the music presented here is connected with religious ritual. Leaving aside the paje's song collected near the city of Bragança in eastern Pará, the music is clearly Afro-Brazilian. Given the relatively weak impact of black culture in Amazônia, it is obvious that what is involved here is not a question of "African survivals," but rather one of the transmission of Afro-Brazilian musical and cultural elements and their subsequent adaptations to the Amazonian context.

I have arranged the music in a rural to urban sequence, as well as in a temporal order. The continuum runs from the combined European-Amerindian style of the paje's song, to the use of ritual Nagô (Brazilian Yoruba) in the song to Iemanjá placed next to the last selection on this recording. Behind the paje's song stands the shamanistic complex of pre-colonial Amerindian groups; behind the Nagô selection is the world of candomblé of Bahia, the center for Brazilian Yoruba culture. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this temporal ordering is the appearance of Nagô elements in the most recent strains. While Yoruba elements were introduced into Belém as early as 1900, it is the recent impact of the religion known as Umbanda that accounts for the Nagô song included here.

Pajelâna, batuque and Umbanda are the three stages of popular religion in Belém do Pará. There is a mutual influence among all three of these belief systems and ritual practices. However, it is possible to distinguish among them in terms of musical style, cult organization, and local versus national affiliation.

Pajelâna is essentially a curing ritual, a fusion of folk Catholicism and indigenous shamanism. It is typically found in the Amazonian interior among caboclo communities. "In order to relate to the spirit world, the caboclo employs either magical formulae (rezas) or goes to a shaman (paje) for help. Shamanism (pajelança) is based on the Amerindian belief that the shaman possesses powers over supernatural entities and is thus able to break the spells generated by the various malevolent spirits of the world." (Emilio F. Moran, "The Adaptive System of the Amazonian Caboclo," 1974, p. 150). Besides the local traditions of pajelança native to Para, there are other traditions to have undergone influences brought in by immigrants from Brazil's northeast, the árigás. In a study carried out in the city of Bragança, Pará by Napoleão Figueiredo, such an influence was established: "The mythological world of pajelança has its roots in indigenous beliefs and the very designations of the spirits is expressed by terms that are also of indigenous origin, although they have lost their original function. Indigenous beliefs were reformulated by the influence of Catholicism, of Afro-Brazilian cults as well as others, coming from contact between these populations with fronts of national penetration" (Napoleão Figueiredo, Pajelença e Catimbó na Região Bragança, n.d., p. 9). The system of beliefs revolves around the mestres de cura or curing spirits, which are manipulated by the pajês in sessions known as de mesa, or "table." The ceremony revolves entirely around the pajê, who invokes the spirits with a small maracá, or rattle. He is aided by a member of his family who lights the ritual candles, serves drinks or lights incense. This use of the rattle to invoke spiritual forces, coupled with the ritual use of smoke, establish a clear link with the shamanistic practices of Amerindian groups. The belief system of pajelança and the melodic structure of the pajê's songs are influenced by non-indigenous elements.

The migration of caboclos into Belém brought pajelança into the city, and famous shamans with large clientele were known to be practicing there until about a generation ago. The first evidence in Belém of Afro-Brazilian cults (which were to absorb elements of pajelança) dates to around 1900. The generic name for these cults is batuque, and they range from Ilin-Nagô (Dahomean-Ioruba) to others more heavily influenced by European spiritism. Evidence points to migration from the neighboring state of Maranhão as the probable source for this religion in Belém (see Ladinos e Crioulos by Edison Cunha, 1969, pp. 126 and 137).
"Cult members insist that the first terreiro [cult center] in Belém was founded only sixty or seventy years ago by the mãe de santo (female cult leader), Dona Doca, who moved to Belém from the Xingu region of northern Brazil. Before Dona Doca arrived, the older cult members state, Belém had only pajeúns, the healing ceremonies that are based primarily on Indian shamanism and are still held today, both within and outside the batuque cult.... It is unlikely that any religious cult that emphasized exclusively African traditions could have succeeded in Belém.

The batuque may be seen as the result of two waves of migration, the first originating outside of Pará and bringing the basic organization of an Afro-Brazilian cult. The second wave was the migration of the caboclo into the city. Most Amazonian batuque cults have introduced Amerindian and caboclo spirits. Alongside orixás and voduns and the saints, one finds ítideus (encantados, enchanted spirits), supernatural guardians of caboclo shamanism, and spirits of the forest and river, such as the bico, cobra grande, curupira, and other Amerindian spirits. Batuque is one instance which exemplifies what happens when there are extensive caboclo migrations to urban areas. This massive rural-urban migration brought caboclo culture into contact with Brazilian lower-class urban culture. Ideologically, this contact has led to the merging of the various traditions of the various indigenous peoples found in the Amazon and caboclo traditions. Batuque is not merely an ideology but an adaptive system evolving in the urban environment. The enlargement of the ambit of the cult is to a large degree the result of the contact with the city. Cults are not merely supportive but are an integrating force within the community of the lower-class neighborhoods and squatter settlements."

In 1975, the year most of these recordings were made, the Federação Espírita Brasileira, the national federation of Umbanda spiritualists of Brazil, and the cults of Belém counted four hundred sixteen member cult houses, most of them located in the city. As it was in the past, the Yoruba-type caboclo cults, where drums are often replaced by hand-claps, especially if the cult centers are located in neighborhoods near the center of the city of Belém.

Umbanda, the most recent and perhaps most pervasive level of popular religion in Belém, developed in southern Brazil in the 1920s. Although it is often said that the cult was introduced into the state of Pará by the missionary Dona Doca, it is clear that this cult really belongs to the southern state of Bahía. As Christianity spread across the ancient world via the system of Roman roads, so has the penetration of Umbanda into areas of Brazil relatively remote from influences of the Brazilian south and southeast been assisted by the opening of the Belém-Brasília highway. The fortunes of the state of Pará have been closely tied to the exportation of forest products. Probably the most significant event for the state since the collapse of the rubber market was the opening of the Belém-Brasília highway which provided a link with the rest of Brazil. The road has been a major factor in the accelerated agricultural development and population growth of the area. It traversed and hastened the growth and industrialisation of Belém."

For Belém do Pará, the tradition that allows for the adaptation to the Amazonian context of religious cult organization and belief systems from elsewhere is an old one. Umbanda in its current form is a creolized religious cult. It is the result of the conscious bringing together and recombination within a single structure of such diverse elements of the Brazilian heritage as cabocblé, macumba, Congo-Angola cults, European spiritualism and indigenous shamanism. The presence of "caboclo" or idealized Amerindian elements within Umbanda indicates a "nativization" to the Amazonian environment. In one Umbanda center that I studied, the Yemba Espírita de Umbanda "Cabocla Yanara," it is clear that this cult applies the custom of linking rugby to pajeúns, now practiced in an Afro-Brazilian context with recent infusions from Bahía and Rio.

Opening of batuque ceremony at Cabana Mineira de Mãe Iemanjá, Belém. The "throne" of the drummer, at the bottom of their "throne" is the designation Mina-Nagô.

There is a strong parallel between the structure and function of Umbanda and approaches to language development within social structures. There has been a "creole" model of language development where a model of a mixed language has arisen in a multi-lingual setting and that is now used as a first language; in function, it may be called a "standard," in the sense that it bridges local diversity and helps to create a national identity. In the manner of a dialect, it allows for regional variation, a feature especially important for Pará, with its strong presence of caboclo traditions. The bridging function provided by Umbanda in Belém includes linkages between rural and urban traditions, as well as between local and national ones.

While the older batuque cults in Belém also have combined Nagô and caboclo elements, they differ from Umbanda in several important ways. The latter exhibits a more flexible structure, which allows for elements along the caboclo-Nagô continuum to be featured in specific rituals during the weekly or annual ritual cycle. Patterned on the Nagô terreiros of Bahia and Recife, where each day of the week is dedicated to a specific orixa or deity, many Umbanda houses in Belém make a similar ritual division. The difference is that the Umbanda weekly calendar includes many non-Yoruba elements. For the Cabocla Yanara center, the pattern was as follows: Monday, Ciro da Engaço, brincando (development of mediums—closed to the public); Tuesday, desenvolvimento (development of mediums—closed to the public); Wednesday, mesa branca (mediumistic sessions); Thursday, Mesa Negra (ritual cycle)—Saturday, no activity; Sunday, orixá. Monday night's ritual is open to the public, and allows for mass cures based on pajeúns to take place under the auspices of Exú, the Afro-Brazilian trickster figure. Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday reveal the important role of spiritualism within Umbanda. The days devoted to the Nagô orixás, Thursday and Sunday, are more dedicated to caboclo deities in the same spirit "lines" as the orixás, with the latter rarely appearing.

During the last 1975, I was fortunate enough to be invited to the major public festival at this Umbanda center, the festa for Ogum Nika Befar, the personal orixá of Pai Aytron, the priest, or orixa, as he was called. All the mediums or initiates were dressed in Bahian Yoruba style, in colors corresponding to their orixás. The Bahian or Nagô style adopted here marked the prestige of the orixás of the Bantu-riverine region of Bahia. Many of the Umbanda terreiros carried out public ceremonies on the beach in honor of Iemanjá, the river goddess, of the Xangô cults, and of the orixá Exú, whose statue is acting as the "throne" of the drummer, at the bottom of their "throne" is the designation Mina-Nagô. The bahian orixás, Thursday and Sunday, are more dedicated to caboclo deities in the same spirit "lines" as the orixás, with the latter rarely appearing.

A few days later a public ceremony sponsored by the Belém Umbanda Federation was held in Icoaraci, a small community just outside the city. The festival was in honor of Iemanjá, one of the major orixás of the Bahian Carnival, and was modeled on the annual beach-front celebrations in Bahia. Many of the Umbanda terreiros carried out public ceremonies on the beach in honor of Iemanjá and other deities. Some of the ceremonies were sung in Nagô, the liturgical Yoruba of Bahia and Recife. It could thus be said that Umbanda is acting to diffuse caboclo and Bahian styles being diffused to Amazônia via Umbanda.

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Amazônia should be of special interest to students of urbanization and social change. It is on the boundary between Indo- and Afro-Brazil, thanks to the roadways now crossing the region. The increasing introduction of Afro-Brazilian elements, including musical ones, is in direct proportion to the urbanization process.

The music on this record was made during three stays in Pará, the first in 1971 and the second and third in 1973. During the last I was associate researcher in the Department of Anthropology, Universidade Federal do Pará. My special thanks to Dr. Napoléon Figueiredo for his assistance in recording the pajeúna song, to Dr. Miguel Scaff for his support, and to Pai Zé Maria and Pai Aytron for permission to record. Thanks also to Santana, Marilene, Polina, Nelson Tembra, Januari Simões, Lúcia van Veltman, and Elza de la Roque, all of Belém. obrigado pela forma.
1. Caiximbo. The first mention of the caiximbo appears in Monte, 1979, p. 77, and p. 220, note 60). Whatever the African origin of the caiximbo, it is chiefly found today accompanying bandas in the caboclo communities to the east of Belém. The form of the dance is usually a ring of male and female dancers, featuring solo applic at each course played in the caboclo style, exhibits a broad range of cultural influences, from the Iberian-derived snapping of fingers in cantant fashion, to evocative dances of indigenous origin. On this recording, the ensemble consists of the ona, three graded drums, played by the hands and with the musicians seated on the drums, caquinho, banjo, scraper, rattle, and transverse flute. This is the only selection on this record that was arranged specifically for the purpose of the recording session. The name of the group is the Conjunto Tapayoa, led by Santana Miranda. Most of the musicians are fishermen, and they play for dances in the Salgado. The caiximbo is especially popular in June (the Festas Juninas), and in November and December.

2. Palençana song. This was extracted from a curing session carried out by João Cego, a paje from Braganza, Pará. It is one of the opening songs that precede the paje’s trance and the calling of the encantados, or spirit helpers. Although the melody is strongly European, the use of the rattle has made it a unique song in its sound is directly related to Amerindian shamanistic traditions.

3. Batuque song. "Caçador na beira do caminho" (Hunter at the edge of the road). Within the batuque, songs (known as cassetes) play an important part in ritual. This one was recorded at the terreiro of Zé Maria, which calls itself "Mina-Nagô." While I did find some songs that apparently were borrowed in form, dance, and content, the cassetes follows standard batuque practice, with the soloist singing the verses, then the chorus repeating them in the response. This song is for Oxóssi, the orixá of the hunt. This deity serves a linking function with Ogum, the orixá to whom he is most closely connected, and with the Amerindian elements within the batuque pantheon. No trances were manifested during the singing of this caximbo.

4. Batuque song for Ogum General. This is a special rhythm associated with the deity General, who then possesses the dancing pai-de-santo. One of the major differences between drumming in the batuques of Belém and that found in the more "African" houses of São Luis do Maranhão, Recife, or Bahia is the relatively low elaboration of cross rhythms and multiple parts in the batuque drum orchestra. Also, General is one of the major drummers, or riadu, in manipulating the rhythms in order to bring on possession-trance. This tougue or rhythm for Ogum General was part of the version played on this recording. Zé Maria was dancing with several initiates in a line; their eyes were on his feet, because they could tell from his movements when he was about to "play out" General. When that moment came, the drumming stopped, as can be heard on this selection. Zé Maria was immediately given the red sash of Ogum, and was greeted by batuque members. Further, he started a new song as the orixá. This possession preceded the presentation of an initiate to the drummers.

5. Umbanda song for Ogum. This was recorded at an Umbanda center known as Santo Antônio de Angola. Borrowing from candomblé, Umbandistas refer to the song sequence in their rituals as a Shirê, a Nagô word meaning "play." Songs are known as pontos cantados, or "sung points." The shirê opens with pontos de abertura, or opening songs, usually commencing with a defumação, or ritual purification with incense. Songs for Eshu and Ogum then follow. The latter is an especially popular orixá in Belém, as may be seen from the number of contexts in which it appears on this record. Appearing in the early part of the shirê, this ponto is meant to salute Ogum, not to invoke him.

6. Ele atirou, mas ninguem viu ("He shot it, but no one saw it") This song was recorded as the preceding and following selections. The pai-de-santo was standing in the middle of a circle of mediums, women to his right and the men to his left. Zé Maria was dancing to the caboclos had already been sung, and the pontos were to invoke João Batô, a caboclo spirit specialized in curing. Immediately precede Ogum; when that moment came, the dance around his spot, an X marked on the floor in the center of the circle of mediums. In beginning this song, the pai-de-santo sang it in the freil ("criou,"

Greeting Ogum General. Part of batuque ceremony.
7. *Ogum Beira-mar.* This ponto was recorded soon after the one described above. Now in trance or incorporado in Umbanda terms, the caboclo leads the singing. Many possessions began to appear in the ring of mediums, who break the ring to dance in the center.

8. *Ogum e pai de todos, pai do pongá.* (Ogum is father of everything, king of the altar). This ponto and the two following were recorded on a Sunday at the Umbanda center Caboclo Yaciria, a day devoted to the orixá. Pai Ayrton's terreiro does not belong to the Umbanda Federation of Belém, but is instead allied to a federation in Rio. Much of the music found in Belém's Umbanda houses were diffused from the south of the country via recordings and song books, purchased at any of the stores specializing in Umbanda articles found in Belém. The drum style adopted here exhibits more cross rhythms than in the batuque houses, and is probably influenced by the Congo-Angolan traditions without any manifestations of trance.

9. *Caboclo não tinha caminho para caminhar.* (Caboclo had no road to travel). This ponto was sung immediately after Pai Ayrton had received João da Mata, a spirit classified as an enxangáto and important in curing. As João da Mata, he had just berated the drummers for playing too fast and too flashily; he had earlier complained that a rival pai-de-santo had left a despacho, a malevolent offering. This ponto may thus be seen as a personal complaint by Pai Ayrton's center to Umbanda centers, and many of the deities mentioned, or incorporated into Umbanda, are from the south of the country via recording and song books, purchased at any of the stores specializing in Umbanda articles found in Belém. This ponto accompanies a ring dance around the dance floor, without any manifestations of trance.

10. *Leembrai, o leembrai.* (Remember, remember), "This ponto for *Ogum Beira-mar* was recorded at Pai Ayrton's center during the festival for *Ogum* mentioned in the introduction to these notes. It was in a long series of pontos for this orixá that preceded Pai Ayrton's possession by this deity. Only one other possession-trance occurred during this ritual, with one of the mediums receiving Oxóssi. The warrior-hunter relationship is deeply rooted in Yoruba mythology, and it appears here in an Umbanda context. The pontos for *Ogum* are all Umbanda songs, and no traditional toques from *candomblé* were played.

11. *Song for Iemanjá.* This was recorded at the festa for *Iemanjá,* orixá of salt water and patron of fishermen. It is sung in Nago, and is the middle section of a song from the Ketu *candomblé* of Bahia. Here it is sung by Umbandistas at a beach-front public festival patterned on those of Bahia and Rio in honor of this orixá. The first such festival was in 1970, and each year since then has seen an increase in public participation. Umbanda has helped spread a "national" event into a small town on the outskirts of Belém.

12. *Umbanda pontos at the Iemanjá festival.* This series of songs was performed by a group of Umbandistas on the beach at Icoaraci, Pará. Background sounds include drumming and singing from other groups. This is perhaps the most "national" style on this recording. The singing is accompanied by hand-claps, common to urban Umbanda centers, and many of the deities mentioned, especially *pelo velho,* are rarely encountered in the Belém centers. Although this festival is meant to honor *Iemanjá,* it also serves as a way of tying popular culture in Belém to urban Afri-Brazilian culture in the rest of the country.