

AFRICAN HERITAGE AND
MEMORIES OF SLAVERY
IN BRAZIL AND THE
SOUTH ATLANTIC WORLD

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EDITED BY
ANA LUCIA ARAUJO

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CHAPTER 5

MEMORIES OF CAPTIVITY AND FREEDOM IN SÃO JOSÉ'S *JONGO* FESTIVALS

CULTURAL HERITAGE AND
BLACK IDENTITY, 1888–2011

Martha Abreu
Hebe Mattos

Over the last twenty years, the study of popular festivals, previously dominated by folklorists and anthropologists, has increased in Brazilian historiography.¹ It has incorporated questions central to the study of history today, including the discussion of social actors' agency, the construction of memories and heritage, the formation of identities and representations of the past, changes throughout time, and the affirmation of traditions, as well as closer links between the arts, culture, and political action.² Among the few consensuses found in historiography that focuses on festivals is the certainty that these festivals are part of history and belong to the sphere of historical investigation.³

This chapter analyzes a major festival organized by a small community located approximately one hundred miles from the city of Rio de Janeiro in Brazil. We argue that this community, the *quilombo* of São José da Serra, in the municipality of Valença, was transformed into a channel for political action and the expression of black identity as it created a form of visibility for an alternative history of slavery and the postabolition period. Despite the *quilombo*'s remote location, isolated and hard to reach, the recent reverberation of its drums in Rio de Janeiro media has been significant.

The *quilombo* holds a festival every year on May 13, the date Brazil abolished slavery in 1888. The revelers, descendants of the last generation of enslaved Africans in the old Paraíba River Valley coffee region in southeastern Brazil, now claim the land title and rights of remnant *quilombo* communities based on Article 68 of the Acts of Transitory Constitutional Provisions in the 1988 Brazilian Constitution. After more than fifteen years of struggle, the *quilombo*'s land-ownership rights were partially affirmed by the National Institute for Agrarian Reform (INCRA) in early 2013.⁴

Jongo, also known as *caxambu*, can be defined in general terms as a circle dance accompanied by drumming, clapping, and a bonfire. A couple in the center of the circle performs the main movements, and the old *jongueiros*, accompanied by a chorus from the participants, supply improvised verses. For historian Robert Slenes, *jongo* from southeastern Brazil shows various signs of a close relationship with cultural practices among people from West Central Africa, who shared not only a Bantu linguistic heritage but also a common cosmology. West Central Africa in particular was the main place of origin for enslaved Africans residing in southeastern Brazil during the first half of the nineteenth century. In addition, as also pointed out by Slenes, words in Kikongo, a West Central African language, occupied the position of common denominator not only in oral exchanges in the slave quarters but also in poetry themes. West Central African practices were visible in the presence of *puitas*

(a musical instrument similar to a drum, with a wooden stick attached to the center of a leather membrane on the inside), drums, and fire. The challenge placed on the oldest leaders and the reverence for their ancestors in the *jongos* also reveal impressive links between southeastern slave culture and West Central African sets of beliefs, music, and dance.⁵

Jongo in São José da Serra marks the climax of the May 13 commemorations. One of the verses sung by the revelers in the form of “a *jongo* theme” directly expresses the abolition’s importance as a landmark for the community and, consequently, its festivals: “The black man in captivity. He worked so hard. He gained his freedom. On May 13.”⁶ Although direct references exist to the May 13 festivals in São José da Serra dating only to the 1990s, it can be inferred from interviews with the older revelers and from information acquired from consulting the works of folklorists that the celebrations are much older.⁷ They must date back to May 1888, when *jongo* was one of the major attractions at abolition commemorations in Brazil. In this chapter we show that the political transfers between the May 13 festivals and celebrations and memories of Africa are central elements in understanding the history of *jongo* as a practice and a musical genre from the nineteenth century. The recent history of the *quilombo* of São José da Serra updates these questions for the twenty-first century.

A FESTIVAL NOT TO BE FORGOTTEN

Although they are remembered by very few today, the festivals celebrating May 13, 1888, were intense and remarkable, especially for the press, abolitionists, and parliamentarians. According to recent work by Renata Moraes and Matheus Serva Pereira, the festivals—attended by masses and marked by speeches, poetry, and processions—were organized in order that slavery and its abolition might not be forgotten. In addition to the authorities, abolitionists, parliamentarians, journalists, trade associations, and Catholic lay brotherhoods, the people in the streets also enthusiastically celebrated abolition, although not always in a very organized manner.⁸

There were celebrations among freed slaves with *batuques* (a generic term for “black dances,” the majority of which were similar to *jongo*, found in the southeast) in 1888, as in the famous image by Ângelo Agostini for the *Revista Ilustrada* of Rio de Janeiro on June 2, 1888. In the caption published under an image of freed slaves in a circle dance, the author explained that following abolition, the “new citizens surrendered themselves to the most delirious *batuque!*” He went on to relate that “stocks, whips and other instruments of torture,” symbols of slavery, were burned in a bonfire.⁹

The historian Stanley Stein described the mass exodus soon after the end of captivity, a movement from plantations to the countryside of the former province of Rio de Janeiro, when a large number of freed slaves made for the “secondary roads, stopping to enquire about friends and family, camping close to roadside taverns to dance, sing *Jongo* and talk.” According to Stein, “the drums could be heard reverberating for three days and three nights, while the freed slaves rejoiced with the *caxambu*” (one of the drums used in *jongo*; also a name for *jongo* itself).¹⁰ One year after the end of slavery, an entry on *jongo* published in Macedo Soares’s 1889 dictionary cited a short article from the newspaper *Jornal do comércio* printed May 14 of the same year about freed slaves who danced “happy *Jongos* to celebrate the anniversary of abolition!”¹¹ Not long after May 13, 1888, even with all the problems faced by the freed slaves and the evident limits to their freedom, celebrations on this date characterized by meetings of *jongueiros* do not appear to have been interrupted, much less forgotten.

For the first few decades of the twentieth century, the historian Jaime de Almeida found, in São Luiz do Paraitinga in the state of São Paulo, records of *jongo* accompanying an important political mobilization in May 1916 and 1917.¹² In addition, various records by folklorists of the old slave-owning southeast attest the practice at later times. Musician Luciano Gallet, for example, registered a *jongo* theme at a ranch close

to Rio Pirai, in the state of Rio de Janeiro, during the 1920s in which a “queen” (i.e., Princess Isabel) had ordered them to stop working.¹³

Involved in the disputes between monarchists and republicans, official or popular commemorations of slavery's abolition in various parts of Brazil continued during the entire period of the First Republic (1889–1930) and a large part of the twentieth century. According to Petrônio Domingos, the landmark of May 13 was maintained by various organizations, clubs, brotherhoods, and black newspapers in São Paulo throughout the first decades of the twentieth century as an important day for reflections on and denunciations of the black population's situation. Among its wide range of meanings, this was a date for cultural activities, festive meetings, and a large number of “*batuques*, *sambas*, *jongos* and *congadas*.”¹⁴

However, although they had not completely disappeared, official festivals and those organized by black leaders took place on fewer occasions, especially during the first Getúlio Vargas government, when the May 13 public holiday was suspended by Decree 19,488 of December 15, 1930. During the 1970s, the Unified Black Movement (MNU) and the growing influence of the critique by the so-called São Paulo School of Sociology regarding the view of Brazil as a “racial democracy” ultimately questioned the date as worthy of a festive commemoration. Based on the influential scholarship developed by this group, black organizations started arguing that the abolition laws did not deserve celebration; they had changed the lives of the enslaved and their descendants very little.¹⁵ Therefore, for the black movements, May 13 transformed into a national day to campaign against racism, and November 20, the assumed date of the death of Zumbi, the leader of the Palmares *quilombo* in 1695, became a marker of resistance to slavery and racial oppression. Among these social actors, the May 13 date and Princess Isabel, who had signed the law abolishing slavery in Brazil, were discredited in the press, textbooks, and a large number of academic articles, at least in the major urban centers. Nevertheless, festivals commemorating abolition were not completely forgotten, and even today the *jongo* drums have not been silenced.

During the 1940s, students from the University of São Paulo who were mobilized by scholars such as Antônio Candido and Lavinia Reynolds attended festivals with *jongos* close to May 13 in and around the Paraíba River Valley, in São Paulo state's countryside. In 1943, Lavinia Reynolds's colleagues in Tietê, São Paulo, said that they liked drumming on May 13, although they also took advantage of religious festivals for *jongo* celebrations. On May 13, 1944, the State Department for Press and Advertising (DEIP) in the state of São Paulo registered a *batuque* in Vila Santa Maria (city of São Paulo) after an informant advised that during this time of the year *jongo* was livelier.¹⁶ Further, Alceu Maynard Araújo attended a *jongo* on May 13, 1947, in São Luiz do Paraitinga.¹⁷ In turn, Maria de Lourdes Borges Ribeiro, one of the most prominent *jongo* researchers, recorded a theme that mentioned May 13 as a day of great happiness. At a much later date, in 1976, Ermes Silva, a well-known *jongueiro* from Campos, in the state of Rio de Janeiro, informed Raul Lody of the three weeks of happiness and festivals with drums that had occurred when Princess Isabel ended slavery.¹⁸

In the 1950s, the historian Stanley Stein also collected significant narratives from former slaves regarding abolition linked to the practice of *jongo* in Vassouras, a municipality in the state of Rio de Janeiro adjoining São José da Serra. In the last chapter of his work, *A abolição e suas conseqüências*, which moved beyond the drama experienced by coffee-plantation owners, Stein presented some *jongo* themes sung by African descendants. Some of these themes, or very similar versions, can still be heard in the Paraíba River Valley, sung by the São José da Serra community or by groups invited to its festival, such as those from Pinheiral and Miracema. Among the *jongo* themes that Stein heard and recorded when researching slavery in Vassouras, many were directly connected to the events of May 13 and to Princess Isabel (also identified as the queen, as already mentioned): "I was sleeping, *ngoma* called me. Get up people, captivity has ended"; "I stepped on a stone, the stone wobbled. The world 'was crooked,' the queen put it right."¹⁹ In addition to memories of abolition, other themes cited by the author also demonstrated

audacious and ironic attitudes typical of the oral tradition of *jongo* themes and largely marked by coded and metaphoric language. One in particular criticized the limits of abolition and mentioned only partial freedom: "The queen gave me a bed. She didn't give me a stool to sit on."²⁰

Further examples demonstrate the ways that May 13 was remembered and commemorated by descendants of the last slaves at different locations in the states of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo through music, *jongos*, and festivals during the twentieth century. But the preceding examples should be sufficient to convince readers that memories of abolition (and slavery, indirectly) not only were celebrated but also were thought to justify festive meetings of *jongueiros* until today. Surely the abolition festivals, commemorated in the old coffee valleys with *jongos* and *caxambus*, represent an important channel of expression and communication for the last freed slaves and their descendants from the coffee-producing southeast throughout the twentieth century.

The festivals and references to May 13 often remembered in *jongo* themes have gained new meanings in the last twenty years. They have become part of the cultural, festive, religious, and musical heritage of black communities formed by the direct descendants of the last enslaved Africans. Without access to land and formal policy, these communities transformed their cultural practices into sites of memory and history, their festival into a channel expressing identity and politics. The May festivals of the *quilombo* of São José da Serra constitute one of the best examples of this transformation.

SÃO JOSÉ DA SERRA: NEW PATHS FOR *JONGO*

From what we have been able to uncover, the May meetings in São José da Serra came to last for more than one week. Recently, they have been concentrated around a weekend close to May 13 and have continued to attract people from neighboring regions. Following the community's recognition by the Palmares Cultural Foundation (Fundação Cultural

Palmares) as a remnant *quilombo* at the end of the 1990s, in combination with actions by one of its greatest leaders, Antonio Nascimento Fernandes, known as Toninho Canecão, the celebrations to commemorate May 13 morphed into “real *jongo* festivals,” attracting hundreds of “researchers, journalists and traditional black music lovers,” in addition to *jongo* groups, *folia de reis* revelers, and *calangueiros* from other, more distant areas.²¹ Since then, the community of São José da Serra has gained much more visibility.

At the same time, during the first decade of the twenty-first century we closely followed new disputes regarding the festivals’ meanings. These disagreements, led by São José da Serra revelers, show the politicization of their commemorations and the opening of new forms of expression. First, one must consider the intentional transfer of the May 13 landmark to May 1. The May festivals that had at some time in the past been linked to commemorating the abolition of slavery in 1888 and the leading role of Princess Isabel in that event were reset to May 1 in commemoration of São José Operário, the patron saint after whom the plantation where the community lives was named. Moreover, it is important to recall that May 1 is a public holiday in Brazil marking Workers’ Day commemorations. Second, one notices a greater value accorded to the November festivals. National Black Consciousness Day, which is celebrated in Brazil on November 20, started to gain importance under Toninho’s leadership and as a result of his participation in the black movement. Between 2004 and 2005, the festival returned to the landmark of May 13 but with substantial modifications to its meanings. The information we have received indicates that the transfer to May 1 may have displeased older members of the community who also traditionally dedicated this day to the *pretos velhos*, spiritual entities from Umbanda and Candomblé centers that are directly related to older slave ancestors. As a display of the force of this tradition of worshipping the *pretos velhos*, it is worth mentioning that the community of São José da Serra is home to a Umbanda shrine that is also an important spiritual reference for nearby regions.

Indeed, today the festivals in the community take place once again entirely on May 13. According to what community members officially promote in posters and invitations for the festival and also based on what the revelers' discourses convey, the *quilombo* of São José da Serra commemorates the memory of the *pretos velhos* on May 13. Even if the transfer of the commemoration is marked by an attempt to dismiss Princess Isabel's role, the slave past of community members' grandparents and great-grandparents is not forgotten. On the contrary, the association of the day of the *pretos velhos* with May 13 establishes a direct bridge with the time of captivity, slave ancestors, and the date of slavery's end. It also opens up new possibilities for the May festivals, which incorporate the claims raised by this community of slave descendants regarding their right to land, reparations, sustainability through cultural tourism, and the valorization of a black and Afro-Brazilian identity through the visibility of *jongo*.

THE (RE)DISCOVERY OF *JONGO*

We went to São José da Serra together for the first time in 2003. Hebe Mattos took her oral-history group to interview descendants of the last generation of slaves from that location and invited colleague and friend Martha Abreu to accompany her because the latter was studying *jongos*, *lundus*, and *batuques* in the nineteenth century. Mattos had completed a report requested by INCRA in 1998 to confirm the legitimacy of the community's demands for the land at the São José plantation—which, as already explained, has now received the title of a remnant *quilombo* community—and intended to further her research on family relationships within the community and on memories from the time of slavery.²²

The community was already part of our conversations, particularly regarding the presence of *jongo*, a cultural expression that Abreu did not believe still existed on the old slaveholding lands of the southeast. We could not have imagined that soon afterward, in 2005, following a request from the *quilombo* of São José da Serra and a *jongo* group from

Morro da Serrinha in Madureira (a suburb of the city of Rio de Janeiro), *jongo* would be recognized as part of Brazil's intangible cultural heritage by the National Institute of Historic and Artistic Heritage (IPHAN) based on Decree 3,551 of 2000.²³

At that time, Abreu was researching nineteenth-century festivals and carried out a precise analysis of primary and secondary sources on *jongos*. An assiduous reader of the folklorists from the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, and clearly influenced by them, she imagined that *jongo* had actually disappeared at some point during the twentieth century, as so many folklorists had envisaged. However, this assumption was a major mistake. When Abreu watched the May festival for the first time in 2005, she was able to confirm that something was changing: the silence reserved for and imposed on southeastern *jongo* and *jongueiros* in the scholarship of folklorists, anthropologists, and historians was being broken. Further into our research, we had the privilege of following up on the movement whereby new *quilombola*, *jongueiro*, and black communities in the old slave-owning southeast have emerged. One of the best channels for breaking the silence constituted the May festivals in São José da Serra with *jongos*, closely followed by *calangos* and *folias de reis*.²⁴

The value attributed to *jongo* today as the heritage of a group and a nation decisively shows how far today's understanding has come from the first scholarly records and evaluations of such cultural displays. Government authorities and nineteenth-century foreign travelers described *jongos* as *batuques*, attributing racist markers to them that were customarily associated with African "barbaric dances," "savage and crude music," and "wild and grotesque ways."²⁵

In 1892 the scholar Henrique Maximiano Coelho Neto (1864–1934), after watching a New Year's celebration at the Vassouras plantation, defined *jongo* in the *O Paíz* newspaper as a dance by Africans who are "sad in their brutality and monotony, savage and barbarous like the land of their origin." It was a dance of exile, a "nostalgic representation of a

distant homeland." At the time of writing, Coelho Neto was categorical about its end, pronouncing that the *caxambu* was now heard on fewer occasions and that "it was only possible to hear it raging in the distance, at the bottom of a valley." For the author, there was no longer "any hatefulness," and "the sadness had ended." "The guttural screams" were forgotten as the Africans adopted the Christian God and consigned instruments from Africa to the past, abandoning them for the trombone and flute. In the author's evaluation, they were "erasing the painful tradition of exile."²⁶ Coelho Neto's claim that Africa was abandoned in Brazil, although it has been partly discredited, created a long career for folklorists and musicologists who energetically supported the appearance of mixed and popular music, a product of interaction between the three initial races in the country that persisted until the late twentieth century.²⁷

The folklorists came to recognize the persistence of *jongo* during the 1930s and 1940s, a reason why they recorded the practice. However, they often reinforced the certainty that *jongo* was condemned to decline, perpetuating its invisibility in terms of the number of dancers, as well as musical and poetic inspiration, on days close to May 13.²⁸ From this perspective, it would never have attained recognition as a group's heritage, much less as today's Brazilian heritage. Even to Stanley Stein, the loss seemed inevitable. In a footnote, he indicated that "the *caxambu* tradition has survived in Vassouras, although it is quickly disappearing, insofar as there are fewer old slaves."²⁹

In Abreu's evaluation, the prognoses regarding the disappearance of *jongo* are eloquent signals of a persistent lack of interest in research about the descendants of slaves in the old coffee valleys of Brazil's southeast and in their social, political, and cultural struggles during the postabolition period, a phenomenon the works of several historians have denounced for some time.³⁰ Through stronger traces, one can say that these prognoses and the disqualification of the poetic wealth of *jongo* verses and the *jongueiros* relate directly to the exclusion imposed on freed slaves following abolition and to the silence imposed on their history.

Forgetting a specific history and heritage in some way contributes to marginalizing groups and their cultural expressions. Like two sides of the same coin, *jongo* was hidden, and the *jongueiros* also sought to hide.

Besides the break in silence regarding *jongo* and the visibility gained by *jongueiros* in the twenty-first century following the São José festivals, our research shows that *jongo* certainly never died. Hidden and marginalized, it remained protected by *jongueiro* families in suburban backyards in small towns and large cities and on the farms and plantations where they isolated themselves.³¹ It continued to exist as family heritage passed from father to son and was not forgotten, much like the date on which slavery was abolished.

Batuque, *jongo*, and *caxambu* festivals on the old coffee plantations composed an important space of struggle for the slaves and for freed slaves during the nineteenth century. It was something worth fighting for.³² In addition to defending family, access to land, and their own freedom, the formerly enslaved placed festive meetings with *batuques* on their agenda of demands, and these activities retained a central place among their descendants. They became a fundamental location for meeting and strengthening communities; they became the group's heritage, although they were persecuted and condemned by the authorities throughout the twentieth century and were devalued by various folklorists and scholars.

Given new demands from black movements at the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first, such as affirmative action and rights to *quilombola* identity and diversity, the São José festivals underwent an important transformation process that reinforced practitioners' actions: their festive cultural heritage gained new political and cultural dimensions; new forms of struggle and identity assertion emerged through attributing value to cultural expressions.³³

A GREAT FESTIVAL

We arrived together at the São José da Serra festival in May 2005 to film what would become the documentary *Memórias do cativo* in a fantastic opening night.³⁴ With us were undergraduate students from the Universidade Federal Fluminense (UFF) and hundreds of visitors from outside the region who had been attracted by the novelty of visiting a *quilombo*, where it was said that people danced and sang verses from the time of slavery. It was not easy to explain to the students that the festival's location, despite some initial impressions, was very different from the nineteenth-century environment; then there were no open fields for cattle or isolated communities like that of São José. At that time, coffee occupied the region's "sea of hills," the railroad cut through the paths, and the movement of slave workers and merchants was significant.

Quite strikingly, we found that there was no cell phone signal at the 2005 festival; indeed, electricity had arrived in the area only a few years earlier. The sixteen *quilombola* (members of the remnant *quilombo* community) houses, in which approximately seventy people resided, were wattle-and-daub constructions with earth floors and gardens full of chickens and flowers. The small houses, which could be barely seen from a distance, were scattered and crushed between the mountain base, which formed a type of frame, and the wide valley, where the official landowner displayed barbed-wire fences and a few cows. The festival took place in a common area with a dirt floor, surrounded by a large yard. A small church had been built right next to it, consisting of a covered shelter, a kitchen, and two small classrooms. Hanging light bulbs provided the feel of a countryside festival.

Following lunch, during which we enjoyed a delicious *feijoada* (a stew with black beans and various kinds of pork), Abreu was impressed by the arrival of various *jongo* and *folia de reis* groups in a place that was far from any asphalt roads and difficult to access even today. Comprising mainly black people, the groups seemed to have come from very distant places. In a short time, we identified contingents from nearby municipalities,

such as Barra do Piraí and Pinheiral, and even other secluded areas of Valença. Others had arrived from even farther away, such as Bracuí (Angra dos Reis), Santo Antonio de Pádua, and Quissamã, in the north and northeast of the state of Rio de Janeiro.

During the intervals between the *jongo* presentations and a visit by the *folia de reis* participants to the extremely busy shed, *calangos* were danced in couples to music played on accordion, viola, and *pandeiro*.³⁵ The revelers showed that they thoroughly enjoyed the *calango* dances. We should confess that initially, we made a completely erroneous evaluation of the *calangos*; we thought them a poor and distorted imitation of the northeastern *farrós* that disrupted what we believed to be the more traditional and authentic *jongos*. We soon discovered, however, that *calangos* also formed part of the grouping of musical expressions and black narrative poetry, the heritage of the region's slave descendants. Taking a form that is close to that of *jongos* and *folias de reis*, the *calangos* and their verses were practically unknown both to us and to scholars outside the community.

Our feeling of surprise and emotion grew during the festival. It seemed evident (as we confirmed) that the participants were all descendants of slaves and were representatives of black peasantry who had emerged following abolition, as were the revelers from the São José da Serra community. They had proudly brought with them the legacy of their ancestors, along with memories of captivity and of the postabolition struggles, through verses, challenges, dances, music, and prayers for the three kings. Each group that arrived with its *folia de reis*, *jongo*, and *calango* instruments seemed to open a window to its own history, representing a specific past renewed in the fresh context of a festival and reflecting the political struggles of the last twenty years. As in many other festivals, the past, present, and future were all evident. The black and *quilombola* identity of São José and its plans for the future were at center stage.

Amid the surprise, we soon started to ask a number of questions that were impossible to answer quickly. Where had the groups been? Why did the historians of slavery and culture know little or nothing about these festivals and expressions? Why had these people remained invisible for so long (or been made invisible)? Our questions quickly multiplied: What were they all doing there? How did they know each other? Where did they come from? Why did they meet in this way? Why was it that Abreu, who had been studying popular culture and black festivals for years, had never heard of these meetings and of the existence of *jongo*, *folia de reis*, and *calango* in a location so close to the city of Rio de Janeiro? Why did we know so little about the cultural action of the freed slaves and their struggles in the postabolition period?

Despite having so many questions, we noted that there was nothing new to these people about what was happening. They all appeared to know the form of communication being used at the festival. They expressed themselves and communicated using a cultural and festive language that was very familiar to all. Amid the particularities, the *jongueiros* knew how to enter the other groups' *jongo* circles; they also easily followed the developments and challenges in verses by the *folia de reis* groups that arrived from time to time. Unlike the audience, the revelers knew and understood the disputes and challenges in the *calango* verses. They appeared to know and share all of those activities.

It did not take us long to understand that we needed to organize a new research project starting with the *quilombo* of São José da Serra's festivals. In 2005, in parallel with our individual research interests, we developed a documentary film project entitled *Jongos, calangos e folias: Memória e música negra em comunidades rurais do Rio de Janeiro (Jongos, calangos, and folias: Black memory and music in Rio de Janeiro's rural communities)*. In addition to the festival that we had attended, the basis of this project was the research now consolidated by Hebe Mattos and Ana Lugão Rios on memories of captivity among descendants of the last slave generation in the Paraíba River Valley, particularly São José da

Serra, and the emergence of black country dwellers following abolition. The book *Memórias do cativo* had just been published, and we finalized our first videographic history writing based on the book and on new interviews conducted in São José da Serra.³⁶ Drawing from Rios and Mattos's pioneering works, specific questions about the postabolition period, such as work in the fields, family organization, spatial mobility, and peasants' struggles and rights, started to attract due attention as a historiographic problem in Brazil. The project dealt with expanding these experiences and linking them with the current land struggles, the emergence of a *quilombola* identity, the festivals, and finally the *jongos*, *calangos*, and *folias* that we had seen in São José da Serra.

Our major aim was to develop an inventory and a record of black musical expressions in the state of Rio de Janeiro, as well as to reconstruct the memories and history of the communities at the forefront of the cultural expressions under analysis. In addition to this, we were committed to creating an audiovisual research and reference center using recordings and films produced by the project, along with the production of an additional documentary telling the story of the communities and their *jongos*, *calangos*, and *folias*. We understood that historians of slavery, race relations, and black music would be able to contribute to this project, offering elements to an understanding of the history of these musical expressions at least since the last few decades of slavery. The project was also intended to fill a gap regarding black musical production in Rio de Janeiro. Few historiographic works focus on the history of music in Brazil, and the main existing works are still committed to specific viewpoints on a mixed-race Brazilian national identity.³⁷ Therefore, the film was meant to fulfill educational purposes within the scope of Law 10,639/2003, which establishes the obligation to teach Afro-Brazilian history and culture in basic education, creating other channels in which to disseminate research about the history of communities of slaves' descendants in the Brazilian southeast.

RESEARCH AND A FILM: *JONGOS, CALANGOS, AND FOLIAS*

As part of the project, we developed a review of the literature treating the cultural expressions and the regions where the interviewees resided, confirming the weak scholarly production regarding the descendants of slaves and their cultural heritage in Rio de Janeiro.³⁸ Their stories had been either neglected or forgotten. Therefore, we started the research with the contacts we had in the São José da Serra community, including the *jongo*, *calango*, and *folia* groups present at the 2005 festival who were members of the network of *quilombos* recognized by the Palmares Cultural Foundation in the state of Rio de Janeiro, along with students and former students of the history program who had family ties with the areas of our study.

Because of the location of the *quilombos* that were already recognized by the Palmares Cultural Foundation in 2005, it became clear that we needed significant resources for travel, for the research would need to be carried out in a wider area of the current state of Rio de Janeiro. From the state's north and south coasts, including Búzios (*quilombo* of Rasa and Campos Novos) and Angra dos Reis (*quilombo* of Bracuí and Mambucaba), we traveled toward the Paraíba River Valley and the districts of Barra do Pirai, Pinheiral, Arrozal, São José da Serra, and Duas Barras and returned via Baixada Fluminense, especially the municipality of Mesquita, which is very close to the city of Rio de Janeiro. We needed to travel more than 2,500 miles during a twelve-month period beginning in late 2006 and continuing throughout 2007.³⁹

Through oral history, we started to record the groups' memories and trajectories and their festive and musical activities. In order to achieve this goal, we conducted filmed interviews and constructed genealogies, reconstituted through informants' oral statements. Wherever possible, we gathered birth and death records, as well as inventories of the old plantations. The research agenda involved interviews with the oldest and main *jongueiros*, revelers of *folia de reis*, and *calangueiros* in the communities visited. We started with questions about memories of

captivity in the family and their region of origin. We also mapped interviewees' ancestors and relations using a genealogical-interview model.⁴⁰ Then we addressed their participation in *jongos*, *calangos*, and *folias*. How had they learned these practices? When did they perform them? What did it mean to the group? We tried to articulate social history, cultural history, and political history, as well as family genealogies and cultural heritage. We also filmed the main festivals and musical displays.

One of the most difficult tasks during the research was delimiting the areas of study: for each group that we contacted, another was suggested. Someone always knew another *jongueiro*, *calangueiro*, or *folia de reis* reveler in a nearby region, and we were unable to respond to all the suggestions and references received. For example, we did not reach the northern and northeastern areas of the state, nor did we venture into the city of Rio de Janeiro. There Tia Maria's *jongo* group in Serrinha (Madureira), which has family roots in Valença (home to the *quilombo* of São José da Serra), still carries out important cultural and social work on *jongo* today.⁴¹ Moreover, we knew that migrants from the Paraíba River Valley moved to Rio de Janeiro's hills during the first few decades of the twentieth century and that they helped to found the city's main samba schools with their *jongos*, *calangos*, and *folias*.

All the statements collected in different and distant locations—from the south to the north of Rio de Janeiro state and from its interior to the coast—revealed the groups' relations with memories of slavery and postabolition struggles. In the various testimonies, great emotion was conveyed in relating life stories that emerged through family memories, longing for friends, childhood experiences, festivals, and times of happiness and suffering. The results can be followed in the documentary film *Jongos, calangos e folias*, released in 2007. In a process similar to that of writing an article or book, we started to select portions of the interviews to cite in extended form. The film's editor, Isabel Castro, played a fundamental role as coauthor of the film-text. In 2007, with the aim of obtaining approval

for the filmed material, we also held a prescreening session attended by the main leaders of the *quilombola* community.⁴²

The film script not only was heavily inspired by our research trajectory but also sought to outline a narrative of the social, cultural, and political history of the last generation of Africans who arrived in the old coffee regions in the state of Rio de Janeiro and their descendants throughout the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries. The first part of the film examines Rio de Janeiro's north and south coasts, sites of disembarkation for the last enslaved Africans to arrive in Brazil. It also presents the *quilombola* communities of Bracuí in Angra dos Reis and of Rasa in Búzios. The second part of the documentary, focused on Serra do Mar, moves to the Paraíba River Valley, the old nineteenth-century coffee valley, where the majority of the newly arrived Africans were taken. We interviewed representatives from the communities of Barra do Piraí, the *quilombo* of São José da Serra, and Duas Barras. The film's third and last part focuses on Baixada Fluminense, especially Nova Iguaçu, Mesquita, Duque de Caxias, and São João do Meriti, to which a large number of former slaves and their descendants moved in the postabolition period and throughout the twentieth century in search of better work opportunities.

Informing the central argument of the film, the question formulated at the São José festival regained a central role: What did all these groups have in common? The film registers that different regions in the state of Rio de Janeiro are marked by the expressive presence of the black population, descendants of the last generation of slaves, and are identified—whether in practice or in memories—with *jongos*, *calangos*, and *folias*. Even regions distant from one another had retained concurrent narratives. In different locations, verses, challenges, and improvisation structured the singing, storytelling, and celebrating. Stories and memories of slave and African ancestors (many of whom arrived in the region illegally after 1831 and 1850) are recurrent. Moreover, consistent feelings emerge about the struggle for land and the heavy peasant labor, as well as about their parents and grandparents who practiced *jongo*, *calango*, and *folia de reis*.

The various stories highlight the joy of their meetings and respect for their elders. Stories of racial discrimination and exclusion, along with others of strengthening black identity, are striking. In the film, these stories are revealed through the verbal challenges between “blacks and whites” and in the verses expressing pride in being black or asserting that “freedom was not our way.”⁴³ The best of all the stories, told in various versions by different groups, values the presence of the “black king” (sometimes called Belchior and other times Balthazar), as opposed to the other two famous “white kings,” in the Christian nativity tradition: in their visit the newborn Jesus, commemorated on January 6, the black king would have arrived first if not been for the efforts of the other kings, who used irregular strategies to trick him and arrive at their destination before he did. Regarding the memory of captivity, the film records an impressive oral tradition involving stories of the former slave owners, punishments, wealth, donation of land to former slaves, and illegal slave-trade activities—of which those of the *quilombo* of Bracuí are good examples.⁴⁴ Undoubtedly, if all of this history can be told today, it is only because it remained present in festivals’ performances and in the impressive repertoire of *jongo*, *calango*, and *folia de reis* dances, music, and verses within this cultural group—which, since the nineteenth century, has been built collectively.

Jongos, calangos e folias presents clear marks of West Central African heritage in drumming, challenges, verses, and improvisation. Creole markers, such as the *calango* and *folia* accordions, are also visible and very strong even in *jongos* and *jongo* improvisations in the Portuguese language, in addition to elements of Catholic religion (the presence of the three kings, as well as verses and festivals for Saint Peter, Saint Benedict, and Our Lady of the Rosary). The *jongos*, *calangos*, and *folias* shown in the documentary present a large number of cultural and musical crossovers and approaches. After all, they were created and constructed by the same social actors, revealing a cultural grouping, a common grammar and repertoire mainly expressed in the beautiful poetic structure of verses, challenges, and improvisation.⁴⁵ These clear cultural crossovers contrast

with the emergence of a powerful black identity. We discovered much more than we had imagined.

To return to São José, we can conclude that the *quilombo*'s festivals may be understood as the most visible expression of a much broader cultural, social, and geographic universe. Independent of our questions, the festival allowed descendants of the last generation of enslaved men and women in the coffee valleys to speak about the past and the present through their own worlds' verses and challenges. Furthermore, the festival allowed the *jongueiros*, *calangueiros*, and *folia de reis* revelers to become visible—even if only in their isolated municipalities, even amid harsh living and working conditions, even if they are still far from certain of obtaining deeds for their land and seeing their cultural heritage valued. Surviving until today and maintaining these cultural traditions also constitute a way of affirming these people's rights to organize, meet, and enjoy their own saints, values, dances, and music. The festival has become an effective exercise of their heritage.

A FURTHER NOTE ON JONGOS AND JONGUEIROS

The *jongueiros* certainly attributed significant symbolic and political value to the practice of *jongo*, *calango*, and *folia*. Even when crossing over between *calangos* and *folias de reis*, the great *calangueiros* and *folia* jesters, the *jongueiros*, and consequently *jongo* have gained greater visibility today, especially following *jongo*'s 2005 IPHAN recognition as intangible cultural heritage.

However, the presence of an increasing audience and a large number of specialists was already visible at the São José da Serra festivals even before the award of the title. Anthropologists, musicians, filmmakers, cultural producers, and even historians like us had become more fascinated by *jongo*, understood as an expression of the African roots of black music and samba. Nevertheless, *calangos* and *folias*, the former closer to mixed genres and the latter linked to traditional Catholic forms, did not attract

great attention among those from outside the practicing community; the mobilization to visit São José revolved around *jongo*. This is an issue that the community quickly understood, despite never having cancelled or disparaged *calango* and *folia de reis* presentations at their festivals. It should be emphasized, however, that the specialists were not responsible for this mobilization surrounding *jongo*. The *jongueiros* themselves started this story and selected *jongo* (not *calangos* or *folias de reis*) as a channel for meeting and for political mobilization in a process similar to what occurred in 1916 and 1917.⁴⁶

The connection between *jongueiros* and intellectuals is long standing and has always been a reciprocal form of exchange. The new social movements connected through *jongo* began in the mid-1990s, before the 2000 decree protecting the rights of holders of intangible heritage and well before the IPHAN award in 2005. The various *jongo* groups created the Jongo Memory Network in 2000, an organization that rapidly gathered a considerable number of *jongueiro* communities with support from some cultural intermediaries, especially teachers and university students in the areas of music, communication, and education. São José da Serra began demanding land and affirmation of a *quilombola* identity in the same decade. It was only after these social movements were consolidated that the specialists appeared, particularly anthropologists and historians, on the verge of implementing new public policies, such as the National Immaterial Heritage Program (2000) and the Curricular Directives for Education on Ethnic and Race Relations and Teaching Afro-Brazilian and African History and Culture (2004). The exchanges between cultural intermediaries and *jongueiros*, now publicly recognized as collective political actors, accelerated. Obviously, our projects with the *jongueiro* communities continued, not purely because of our specific academic interest in slavery, the postabolition period, and black music and culture. Our presence and academic production encouraged memories, reinforced recollections, and stimulated narratives. But it was the *jongueiro* communities, supported by other specialists with direct access to funding, that took these stories further. The *jongueiro* communities increasingly sought

to retell their stories and heritage and to make them visible, independent of our presence or interest. We certainly do not have a monopoly on their stories, and we are by no means their only interlocutors. However, we have already covered a great distance. It is no longer possible to stop following this movement among the descendants of slaves in the old Paraíba River Valley. Our projects have continued in the form of interviews with young leaders and the production of new documentary films such as *Versos e cacetes: O jogo do Pau na cultura afro-fluminense* (2009) and *Passados presentes: Memória negra no sul fluminense* (2011).⁴⁷

Certainly, a great deal has taken place since the festival that we attended in 2005. *Jongueiro* groups, emerging from various locations in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, and Espírito Santo, have demonstrated the extent of *jongo* in the southeast, its various approaches, and its diversity to the *jongueiros* themselves. They have connected with an organization named Pontão de Cultura de Jongo e Caxambu (Cultural Center of Jongo and Caxambu), a network of *jongueiro* communities associated with IPHAN, the Folklore Museum, and educators from the Universidade Federal Fluminense.⁴⁸ Together they have produced teaching materials, websites, and films. They have also created small memory centers and have organized seminars and a large number of meetings, making possible their continued existence and the production of an autonomous narrative.⁴⁹ Since then, the movement has expanded with regard to strengthening affirmative action. Some groups still associate the struggle to value *jongo* with a new *quilombola* identity that demands access to land and the construction of locations for memories about *jongo* and its history.⁵⁰

At the same time, it is true that very little has changed in relation to the *jongueiro* communities' harsh living conditions. The *quilombo* of São José da Serra received a definitive title for the majority of its claimed land, but sections still remain under dispute. In Bracuí, the inheritance awarded to the community by the landowner Souza Breves in his will has not yet been received. Although *jongo* has been listed as national cultural heritage, many groups have not been able to establish reference centers

for visitors or to receive support from town halls or local departments of culture. The young people in the communities also have difficulties completing high school, and very few have the opportunity to go to college. However, it is still possible to note some changes. The *jongueiros* are no longer afraid of or ashamed by persecution and prejudice. We have noted young people's involvement and their pride in a history that has gained more visibility at each subsequent festival we have had the opportunity to attend. At the festivals, the tradition appears to make sense and is continually updated as a way of fighting racism and advocating total access to the rights granted all citizens. At the *quilombo* de São José festivals and in those that are now multiplying in each *jongueiro* community, *jongo* has ceased to be simply a practice of the elders or something from a past that no one wishes to remember. On the contrary, many groups have relearned *jongo*, created schools for children to learn in, and remember that it has existed in their families for a long time. The "traditional" festivals are thus reaffirmed as a political place, a place of cultural exchanges, a place in which community members can locate themselves and articulate their identity as it is in the present and, to some extent, as it has always been.

NOTES

1. Another version of this chapter was published in Portuguese: Martha Abreu and Hebe Mattos, "Festa, patrimônio imaterial e identidade negra, Rio de Janeiro, 1888–2011," *Arteologie* 4 (2012): 1–17.
2. See István Jancsó and Iris Kantor, *Festa, cultura e sociabilidade na América portuguesa* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 2001), 5–16.
3. Clementina P. Cunha, *Carnavais e outras festas* (Campinas: Editora da Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2002).
4. The São José da Serra community is made up of descendants of a slave family. They remained on the land following the abolition of slavery and sought to guarantee their access to land and the rural economy throughout the twentieth century. See Ana Lugão Rios and Hebe Mattos, *Memórias do cativo*, 299. Regarding the history of the São José da Serra community, see Hebe Mattos "'Terras de Quilombo': Land Rights, Memory of Slavery, and Ethnic Identification in Contemporary Brazil," in *Africa, Brazil, and the Construction of Trans-Atlantic Black Identities*, ed. Livio Sansone, Elisee Soumoni, and Boubacar Barry (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2008), 293–318.
5. Robert Slenes, "Eu venho de muito longe, eu venho cavando: Jongueiros cumba na senzala centro africana," in *Memória do jongo: As gravações históricas de Stanley Stein, Vassouras, 1949*, ed. Silvia Lara and Gustavo Pacheco (Rio de Janeiro: Folha Seca; Campinas: Centro de Pesquisa em História Social da Cultura, 2007), 127–128. The English translation of this article is Robert Slenes, "Like Forest Hardwoods: Jongueiros Cumba in the Central-African Slave Quarters," in *Cangoma Calling: Spirits and Rhythms of Freedom in Brazilian Jongo Slavery Songs*, ed. Pedro Meira Monteiro and Michael Stone (Dartmouth: University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, 2013), 49–64.
6. Rios and Mattos, *Memórias do cativo*, 260.
7. Hebe Mattos and Martha Abreu, "Jongo: Registros de uma história," in *Memória do Jongo: As gravações históricas de Stanley Stein, Vassouras, 1949*, ed. Silvia Lara e Gustavo Pacheco (Rio de Janeiro: Folha Seca; Campinas: Cecult, 2007), 69–106. For another version of this article, see Abreu and Mattos, "Jongo, Recalling History," 77–88.
8. See Renata F. Moraes, "As festas da abolição: O 13 de maio e seus significados no Rio de Janeiro (1888–1908)" (PhD diss., Pontifícia Universi-

- dade Católica do Rio de Janeiro, 2012); Eric Brasil Nepomuceno, “Diabos atlânticos: Abolição, criouliização e racialização em carnavais da década de 1880,” in *Caminhos da liberdade. História da abolição e do pós-abolição no Brasil*, ed. Martha Abreu and Matheus S. Pereira (Niterói: Editora da Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2011), 430–469.
9. *Revista Ilustrada* 13, no. 499 (June 2, 1888): 4.
 10. Stanley Stein, *Vassouras: Um município brasileiro do café, 1850–1900* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1990), 302–303.
 11. Antonio J. de Macedo Soares, *Dicionário bibliográfico de língua portuguesa* (1889; Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1954), 1:256. Maria de Lourdes Borges Ribeiro also mentioned an article in the Rio de Janeiro newspaper *Diário do comércio* published on May 14, 1889, about the joyous *jongos* held in São Paulo to celebrate the anniversary of abolition. See Maria de Lourdes B. Ribeiro, *O jongo* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação, Secretaria da Cultura, Funarte, 1984), 61.
 12. Jaime de Almeida, “Foliões e festas em São Luís do Paraitinga na passagem do século, 1888–1918,” (PhD diss., Universidade de São Paulo, 1988), parts 1 and 3.
 13. Luciano Gallet, *Estudos de folclore* (Rio de Janeiro: Carlos Wehrs e Cia., 1934), 76.
 14. Petrônio Domingues, “Salve o 13 de maio: As comemorações da abolição da escravatura,” in *Anais do XXVI Simpósio Nacional de História* (São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo, 2011), 6.
 15. See, among others, Florestan Fernandes, *A integração do negro na sociedade de classes* (São Paulo: Dominus Editora, 1965); Emília Viotti da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire*, 234–246.
 16. Lavinia Costa Raymond, *Algumas danças populares no estado de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras, 1954).
 17. Alceu Maynard Araújo, “O jongo em São Luiz do Paraitinga,” *Fundamentos* (1948): 44–50.
 18. Mattos and Abreu, “Jongo: Registros de uma história.”
 19. Stein, *Vassouras*, 303.
 20. *Ibid.*, 305. Other points are now part of the permanent record, thanks to Stein’s recordings, made in the late 1940s. They can be found on the compact disc that is part of a book in Stein’s honor, *Memória do jongo: As gravações históricas de Stanley Stein, Vassouras, 1949*, ed. Silvia Lara and Gustavo Pacheco (Rio de Janeiro: Folha Seca; Campinas: Centro de Pesquisa em História Social da Cultura, 2007). In the US edition,

- the sound files can be downloaded from http://www.laabst.net/laabst3/sound_files_laabst3.htm.
21. Rios and Mattos, *Memórias do cativo*, 300.
 22. Hebe Mattos, "Marcas da escravidão: Biografia, racialização e memória do cativo na história do Brasil" (*Livre docência* diss., Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2004). For a summary of this dissertation's argument, see also Hebe Mattos, "Ciudadanía, racialización y memoria del cautiverio en la historia de Brasil," in *Afro-reparaciones: Memorias de la esclavitud y justicia reparativa para negros, afrocolombianos y raizales*, ed. Claudia Mosquera Rosero-Labbé and Luiz Claudio Barcelos (Bogota: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Facultad de Ciencias Humanas and Centro de Estudios Sociales, 2007), 95–130.
 23. Martha Abreu, "Cultura imaterial e patrimônio histórico nacional," in *Cultura política e leituras do passado*, ed. Martha Abreu, Rachel Soihet and Rebeca Gontijo (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2007), 357.
 24. *Folias de reis* are groups that during December and January travel several regions of the southeast in devotion to the Three Kings, especially the black king. See Daniel Bitter, *A Bandeira e a Máscara: A circulação de objetos rituais nas Folias de Reis* (Rio de Janeiro: 7Letras, 2010). *Calangos* are rural dances enlivened by accordions, verses, challenges, and refrains that are held by communities of African descent in the state of Rio de Janeiro. Danced in pairs, the *calangos* often took place during *jongo* festivals in private homes throughout the twentieth century and mainly involved young people. Regarding the musical accompaniment, see http://www.historia.uff.br/jongos/?page_id=11.
 25. Mattos and Abreu, "Jongo, registros de uma história," 175–178.
 26. Coelho Neto, "Por montes e vales: O caxambu," *O Paíz*, March 6, 1892, 1.
 27. Coelho Neto himself established another venue for *jongo*: vaudeville. See Silvia Cristina Martins de Souza, *Carpinteiros teatrais, cenas cômicas e diversidade cultural no Rio de Janeiro* (Londrina: Editora da Universidade Estadual de Londrina, 2009).
 28. Raymond, "Algumas danças populares," 20.
 29. Stein, *Vassouras*, 244.
 30. Rios and Mattos, *Memórias do cativo*.
 31. Luana Oliveira, "Jongo no sudeste: Patrimônio imaterial e políticas públicas," paper presented at the Sixth Encontro de Estudos Multidisciplinares em Cultura, Faculdade de Comunicação da Universidade Federal da Bahia, Salvador, Brazil, May 25–27, 2010.

32. Camila Agostini, "Africanos no cativo e a construção de identidades no Além-Mar, Vale do Paraíba, século XIX" (MA thesis, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2002).
33. Beyond *jongo*, these changes can also be observed in other festivals in several parts of Brazil that involve icons of Afro-Brazilian culture, such as the *congado*, *samba de roda*, and *maracatu* festivals.
34. The film by Hebe Mattos and Martha Abreu, *Memórias do cativo* (Rio de Janeiro: Laboratório de História Oral e Imagens, Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2005), can be viewed here: <http://ufftube.uff.br/video/M2GWDYGDYU7/Memórias-do-Cativo>.
35. For more information about *jongos*, *calangos*, and *folias de reis*, see www.historia.uff.br/jongos.
36. See the film *Memórias do cativo*. Regarding the Laboratório de História Oral e Imagem's (LABHOI) experience writing history, see <http://www.labhoi.uff.br/videos>.
37. Martha Abreu and Carolina Vianna Dantas, "Música popular e história," in *Música e história no longo século XIX*, ed. Antônio Herculano Lopes, Martha Abreu, Martha Tupinambá de Ulhoa, and Mônica Pimenta Veloso (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa, 2011), 37–68.
38. See www.historia.uff.br/jongos/acervo.
39. See a map of the regions visited on the *Jongos, calangos e folias* website: <http://www.historia.uff.br/jongos/?p=6>.
40. The model was developed by Ana Maria Lugão Rios for the *Memórias do cativo* (Memories of Slavery) project of the LABHOI at the Universidade Federal Fluminense. See the film *Memórias do cativo*, part II, chap.2.
41. Statement by Manoel Morais, Quilombo do Bracuí, tape 01.0020, interviewed on October 27, 2006, Acervo UFF e Petrobrás Cultural, <http://www.historia.uff.br/jongos/acervo/>.
42. See *Jongo da Serrinha*, <http://www.jongodaserrinha.org.br/v2/index.htm>.
43. See *Jongos, calangos e folias*, <http://ufftube.uff.br/video/9RBAHO8O6474/Jongos-Calangos-e-Folias-M%C3%BAAsica-Negra-Mem%C3%B3ria-e-Poesia>.
44. Regarding these stories, we have produced our fourth and last film. See Hebe Mattos and Martha Abreu, *Passados presentes: Memória negra no sul fluminense* (Rio de Janeiro: LABHOI, Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2011), http://www.labhoi.uff.br/passadospresentes/filmes_passados.php.
45. This cultural complex also includes the *jogo do pau* (stick game), a staged combat directly involved in the challenges and dances of the *calangos*.

The *jogo do pau* links African heritage with experiences of slavery and postabolition networks of sociability. Knowledge of the *jogo do pau* opens up new clues to the history of capoeira in southeastern Brazil. See Matthias R. Assunção and Hebe Mattos, *Versos e cacetes: O jogo do pau na cultura afro-fluminense* (Rio de Janeiro: LABHOI, Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2009), <http://ufftube.uff.br/video/G2SY2DSB1KSS/Versos-e-Cacetes-O-jogo-do-pau-na-cultura-afro-fluminense>.

46. See Almeida, "Foliões e festas."
47. See the documentary films *Memórias do cativo*; *Jongos, calangos e folias*; *Versos e cacetes*; and *Passados presents*.
48. See <http://www.pontaojongo.uff.br/>.
49. See Gabriela Moscardini, "Urgência que não permite improvisos: Lei 10.639/2003 é discutida em Seminário na UFF de Volta Redonda," <http://www.pontaojongo.uff.br/>.
50. Regarding this period, see Hebe Mattos and Martha Abreu, "Remanescentes das comunidades dos quilombos: Memória do cativo, patrimônio cultural e direito à reparação," *Iberoamericana. América Latina, España, Portugal: Ensayos sobre letras, historia y sociedad. Notas. Reseñas iberoamericanas* 11, no. 42 (2011): 145–160.