

Vida sossegada: The Kalankó perception of nature

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1. Summary

This paper...

2. Introduction

The Kalankó Indians live in the Alagoas hinterland, part of the so-called “caatinga biome”, one of the most vulnerable systems in Brazil. They are descendants of a violent history of interethnic contact, land expropriation and, over the last century, struggle for their human rights, as part of the democratic process in Brazil.

Kalankó people understand the universe through an associative pattern of thinking related to environment. This pattern is based in cosmocentric logic that emphasizes relationships, in opposition of a fragmentary worldview, typical of our urban industrial society. That symbiotic view of the world makes it difficult for them to consider things in isolation, and is responsible for, among other things, the formation of alliances with other groups in the region and also for establishing contact with spiritual entities and natural elements.

Moreover, this pattern of thinking is a key to understand their decisions about resources control, which are very fragile, as mentioned before.

That constitutes a special way to deal with environment, understood as living systems. They express that in a terminology classificatory system that includes “alive” as an adjective to some important elements to their life. So, they can call a musical instrument as an alive entity, as far some plants.

This text aims to explore their thinking, describing the various systems in which it appears, and its importance in the of these people’s mind. Their thinking is part of a peace culture that look for what they call “vida sossegada”, which means a life without suffering and conflicts, in good relation with nature.

1. Introduction

Time has passed for the Kalankó. They live today in some communities situated in the upper hinterland of Alagoas, west of the state, and are distributed in around 70 families, in a total of about 390 inhabitants.

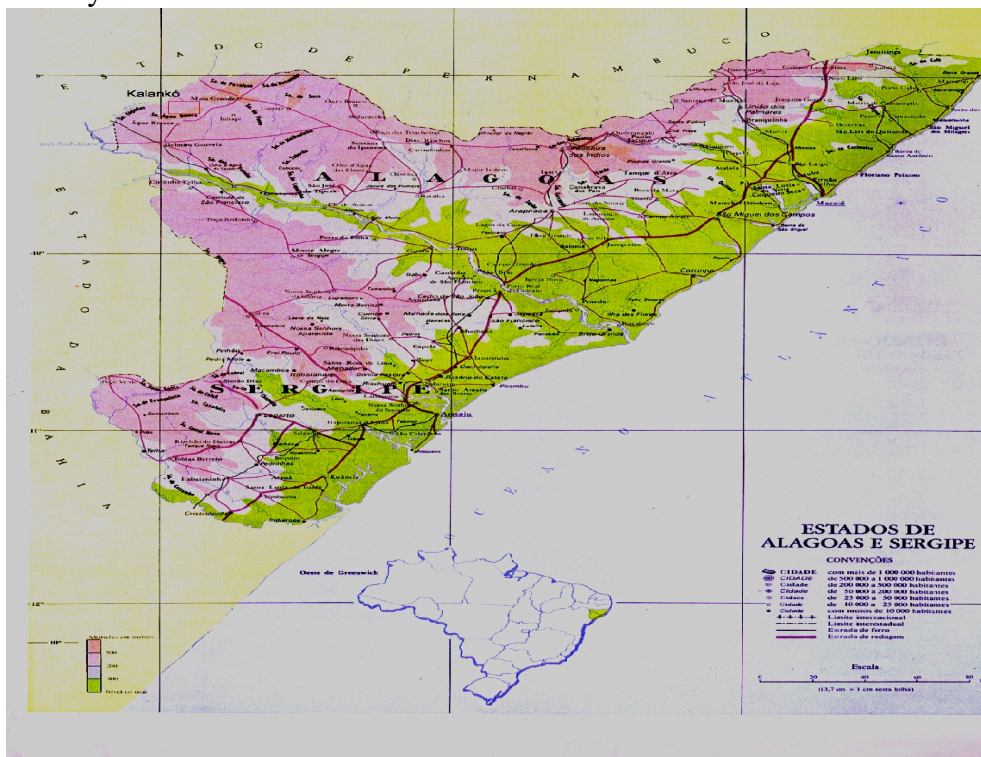
The upper northeast hinterland includes the region around the northeastern part of the São Francisco River, mainly the area that crosses the states of Bahia, Sergipe, Alagoas and

Pernambuco.¹ This region is part of the Brazilian semi-arid, and “although the region total extension is around 700,000 square meters—three times the São Paulo state area—, it is possible a quick sectionalization of the various hinterlands that compound its spatial whole” (Ab’Saber, 2006, p.142). This section has a limited rainfall and high temperatures, what makes people’s life harder.

Soil is shallow and stony, and vegetation is hard and dry, keeping some water in its interior. The region has also a small drainage system, as the most part of the few rivers are seasonal. In this landscape, São Francisco River is an oasis that irrigates vast areas of the caatinga, changing its margins to a fertile soil.

This section is also part of the “draught polygon”, a political and administrative denomination that delimitates the territory where draughts occur. The phenomenon sets this region as one of the poorest in Brazil, “prone to a so suffering human geography, commonly ignored by the insensitive elites of our country” (:143). The Água Branca city IDH-M—Human Development Index for Cities—makes it clear. From 1991 to 2000, this index was between 0.486 and 0.597, considered medium or low life quality.

The map below represents the region and shows where Kalankó are situated in the referred semi-arid section, and also positions them in relation to neighbor states and the whole country.²



The community life is divided in two great moments along the year—the winter and the summer.

¹ According to Aziz Ab’Saber (2006), this is a allochthonous, that is, still perennial in a subequatorial semi-arid area with hydroclimatic and phytogeographic seasonality.

² Source: Atlas Geográfico Melhoramentos.

The winter, from April to September, is lived under the abundance. In this period, the economy is based in subsistence farming based specially on beans, but also corn, cassava and some fruits, like cashew, acerola, coconut and guava.

Beans are cultivated from February to July by most part of the masculine population of adults of the settlement. Even if a Kalankó has his own crop, he ends up working jointly with a relative. The production of beans is mostly based on land leasing; the native uses the land of a farmer and shares the results with him, although the native assumes all the risks.

Kalankó also counts on the culture of upland cotton commercialized in nearby urban centers, and a small livestock of sheep and goats.

Summer, from October to February, is marked by shortage. In this period, some people work on other farms in exchange for miserable daily rates; some migrate to the coast, where they work on sugar cane farms of big landowners and sugar factory owners, most of them regional politicians.

It's also the season of imbu (Brazil plum), whose tree is very common in the region. The fruit is very appreciated, fresh or with milk—this last variety is called “umbuzada”. Hunting is realized the whole year, and the preferred animals are: peba (six-banded armadillo), boa, a lizard species, and some birds, like the rolinha (a kind of ground dove). Hunting some species, as the hummingbird, is forbidden.

March is the thunderstorms month and represents the transition between shortage to abundance. It's time of planning and work, fundamental for the production of resources needed along the year.

Some resources are central in Kalankó life: water, beans, corn, umbu, the forces and other nature elements—as the enchanted energy—, money and land.

All these resources are important and vary from abundance to shortage through the year. Concomitantly, they are generosity and resignation operators among group individuals. During abundance time, they usually share the surplus and use resources as money and food in an exaggerated way. In shortage, they don't see any problem in dividing resignedly the little left; in the intermediary period—planning time—they don't hesitate to help allies in the search of resources.

The group also faces, along with other northeastern communities, some temporary diseases that are a menace to the population health, especially children. In some moments, mainly in summer, diarrhea is recurrent, related with the shortage perception—water scarcity, which may be fatal. In winter they face viral diseases, pointing this time to the abundant rainfall, wind, and low temperatures.

Diseases due these two moments are: belly ache, headache, fever, and backache. The cure for these diseases comes from natural medicine and interventions from the enchanted through music, present in their rites.

1.1. Ethnic affirmation



In the upper hinterland of Alagoas, mainly after the decade of 1990, some communities affirmed themselves Indians based on a genealogic perception, ethnogenealogically constituted, what relates them to the 19th century Brejo dos Padres, Pernambuco, village and to the practice of a complex music ritual known as *toré*. It's also related with the reinforcement of democracy in Brazil and, specially, with Brazilian Constitution in 1988.

Among the Kalankó, this complex ritual is compound of three interrelated rites that hold many common properties (Herbetta, 2006). The three has music as their base, namely, *toré*, *praiá* and *serviço de chão* (ibidem). To Kalankó, rites are used to materialize an *enchanted power* in the ground. It happens during the ritual performance of the *enchanted*. As exposed in the introduction, the *enchanted* are entities related to their ancestries that, when alive, transformed into energy that could act inside the community, strengthening the body of individuals and solving some problems, as diseases, or advising. The *enchanted power* is translated as power of courage and protection, feeling that generates happiness, wisdom and health, according to the natives.

This complex rite is also fundamental in the ethnic emergence process. The Indian question in upper hinterland of Alagoas is marked by the ethnogenesis issue.³ The issue there stands on the fact that the communities that classify themselves as Indians are very similar to the ones classified in a diverse—and inverse—way. It certainly happens since the long, intense and

³ Some communities began affirming themselves Indians as of political land claiming. This process started in the 1930's and is still ongoing, although very shyly. This reaffirmation was legitimated by the position of the Indian Protection Service (SPI), through the regional inspector Raimundo Dantas Carneiro, together with the ethnologist Carlos Estevão Oliveira, who recognized the *toré* religious ritual as an ethnic criterion. Therefore, *toré* became the mandatory expression of the northeastern Indianness.

violent contact among communities that made them blend. In this scenery, the ritual works as a signal of difference.

In July 1998, the Kalankó “reappeared” to Água Branca city singing the *toré* in downtown, affirming an Indian identity. Since then, this moment is repeated every year. In July 25th, 2001, they sang the *toré* in a presentation in Gregório, one of the Kalankó communities, and appeared in the national press, the *Tribuna de Alagoas* newspaper.

The picture below is part of the cover of the *Tribuna de Alagoas* July 29th, 2001 edition, presenting the group and the cited event.



From the beginning it's evident that the Kalankó are looking for official recognition. In 2003, the Brazilian government finally classified them as Indians. It happened through FUNAI—National Indian Foundation (official letter No. 110/2003), following 169 Convention of the ILO—International Labour Organization, of which Brazil is a signatory.

In spite of that, Kalankó doesn't have their land demarcated. Regional farmers now own most part of the traditional land. Economic pressure forced the small landowners to sell their lands to the bigger ones. Marriage and consequent presence of the non-Indian in the settlement also collaborated.

To the Kalankó, this period of political claiming is called *Tempo da Luta* (time of struggle). They own a historic linear time conception based in eras. The current era started in 1998 as of the process of the group resurgence and the affirmation of their Indian identity. This period is related with the democracy conquests in Brazil.

The *Tempo da Luta* is understood as a political acting towards Brazilian government in order to guarantee their rights, provided by the law, mainly the land. In this period, the group feels stronger as they are recognized and recognizes themselves as Kalankó.

According to pajé (witchdoctor) Tonho Preto, this is a dangerous period, since “we risk the life of the leader, children, our wives; the risk that a leader runs, our children run too”. But, for the pajé, this is a necessary and calculated risk. According to him,

this strengthens the fight, it's a struggle strengthening... it's part of the nature, and our duty, strengthen our spirit to get into the fight, not with an open body... we fight together with the nature... united we stand... it's very important the association of the Indian people... from outside, from everywhere; the Indian is the minority, and besides that the organization is not adequate, if we had a wide organization.

The speech above shows some important principles of the current era. Firstly, from the native point of view, they are not alone. The struggle is realized with the help of the nature. In this case, they refer mainly to the *enchanted power*.

Secondly it can be noticed that this energy influences the body and the spirit, strengthening them to the fight. In the follow, it's noted that to the pajé the struggle is related to organization form that aims the association of various agents, like the nature and other Indian communities.

Lastly, Tonho's testimony points to the importance of the alliance as a strengthening way, also the politicization of the Indian movement. According to the pajé point of view, the increase of the support strengthens the political claim process of the groups. At the same time, the pajé identifies the internal organization problems of the Indian people, what doesn't guarantee their association. So “the government thinks it's fine this kind of thing, they find lots of weak groups... if we started solving the problems... but each one just looks after their own interests”.

It's clear that the political struggle is towards government. Although in one side the government is responsible to guarantee Indian rights, in the other it doesn't take the appropriate actions for that. Tonho Preto doesn't ask much for his existence, to him “our position is for peace, if we could benefit one person with good, we get benefits... our religion is not to make bad things, it's to make good things, peace, tranquillity, peace in each one's life... we all belong to one father and one mother only”.

2. Democracy and associative logic



It seems relevant to me in this moment clarify the logic in Kalankó thinking. This particular way of thinking aims to associate some elements and, at the same time, differentiate others, elaborating a set of themes and relations. Kalankó build relations from their kinship system, their political actions in a democratic society to their relations to the enchanted.

Every time I went to a Kalankó settlement I was very welcomed. Hospitality is a hallmark of this community. They make a point of treating well the “foreigner”, however indicating the social position of the individual. Certain areas of their knowledge and space are interdicted to me, and anyone who comes from outside.

As an example of that, I couldn’t see a very interesting rite placed in July 2009. In that almost particular moment, Tonho Preto, Paulo and Zezinho Koyupanká spent the night singing inside the poró—the sacred house, where praiá apparel is kept. They told me they did that to celebrate the corn harvest.

They considered the occasion intense because they potentiated the capability of the three greatest singers of the upper hinterland with their association, so the event was something powerful, with more enchanted power. At the same time, the interdiction was applied not for me only. Women could not—and still can’t—enter in the poró. The same applies to the one who has drunk liquor.

The differentiation related to the association is essential once “the practico-theoretical logics governing the life and thought of so-called primitive societies are shaped by the insistence on differentiation [...] on the theoretical as well as the practical plane the existence of differentiating features is of greater importance than their content” (Lévi-Strauss, 1989 [1962], p.91).

These two operations—association and differentiation—are fundamental to understand the Kalankó world.

During fieldwork this logic got clear when Tonho Preto or Paulo told me about an *Indian science*—or the *Kalankó science*.

This expression is commonly heard during conversations with the leaders. It's used when the subject is about the religious and musical universe and indicates that the depth of the question inhibits the answer, turning some points into taboos.

This creates the image of an Indian secret. Although it sets the diacritical sense of the identities in question on the research, it keeps knowledge and action methods important to the community safe. According to cacique (Indian chief) Paulo, “this must be checked and I even could... it's about the pajé... their religion... I'm sorry, it depends, it's something about our nature, Indian origins, I don't know if I will, if I can get through this point, there are things we can't tell other people, with all the respect”.

Obviously, these subjects and denials made me think about the relations and the processes of this knowledge. This mystery led me to take this universe as a fundamental subject for the understanding of Kalankó world and its various cultural systems, especially their relations with nature.

Based on observations, I could realize that the expression is used not only with me, but also among other Indian groups. It happens when the subject is the *enchanted power*. In brief, the term *science* is used as a synonym for *enchanted* or *power*. So the *Indian science* is related to a manipulation of a fundamental resource to the region—*enchanted power*. Also connected to a power of change, once the *enchanted power* can modify the settlement life.

As already exposed, the *enchanted energy* is a resource provided by the *enchanted*—their ancestries that when alive were transformed into entities who protect the community and now live on the space visiting Indian settlements. The *enchanted* and their power come from nature, so it might be said that the *Indian science* doesn't aim to change it. Actually, they try to modify society, which belongs to the culture domain.⁴

Therefore, the *Kalankó science* treats the vital energy management based on a precise technique of resource administration: for each moment and each space there is a specific process.

The *enchanted power* has three acting levels in the community. The first occurs on the *toré*, when the *enchanted* are only observing the event through music. According to Culezinha, “they are watching, understanding what we are doing”. The second moment is the *praiá*, when the *enchanted power* comes to the *terreiro* and is shared among the dancers. As told the pajé, “the enchant pays a visit and gives strength to the man so he can hold out the heat”. The heat is related to the potential of the *enchanted power* present on the body of the dancer. According to Tonho Preto, if one is not prepared, it might be dangerous. The third moment occurs in the *serviço de chão*. That's when the *enchanted power* acts directly in the singer and the *enchanted* talks to the spectators through the body of a person. According to Paulo, there is no possession—what is related to other religious practices—, but the energy action.

This *enchanted power* materialization technique is produced in an experience called *trabalho* (work). The Indian chants are emanated by the *enchanted* themselves for some community members—the scientists of the region. They are called *cantadores* (singers). Besides

⁴ As opposed to the sense of science commonly spread in the western societies based on European thinking. This science has the meaning of logic, truth and specialization; establishes a method whose pretension is to be precise and explanatory; understood as the model for the natural sciences, it would constitute the best instrument for human life development. Nevertheless, this Newtonian science acts towards generalization and objetification of its research subjects, imposing a deterministic view and, wherefore doomed to be analyzed inside laboratories (Pinguelli-Rosa, 2006). According to Lévi-Strauss, this notion of science is for our world as the myth of civilization, or the discourse we create about ourselves.

that, these members stand out, also in a political way, because of their knowledge. All of them participate in councils and represents the Kalankó outside the settlement.

The relation between the Indian scientists and the living entities⁵ provides this energy. These entities owns agency, pointing out their indeterminacy, once this supernatural entity has its subjectivity. As the Kalankó science treats the relation among individuals, an emphasis in subjectivity, and consequently on emotions, is given.

Therefore, this process is irreversible, since the energy produced in a certain event will not be the same in another event, once it's based in the relationship among individuals.⁶ The constant presence of pajé Koyupanká on Kalankó rites, for example, generates a unique energy power that would never be achieved without this association. According to Edmilson, there is a contiguity in the idea of enchant. He associates the three enchanted with whom he works—Carro Branco, Umbuzinho e Mestre Jardim—to “an only-one power”, as they are the same. In his words, “these three are one enchant... their work is one”.

In this scenery, the *enchanted* also act in association. If there is association between two *enchants*, the power of the *enchanted power* is greater—they use the adjective *heavy* on the community. There are lots of examples. Cinta Vermelha (Red Belt) and Carro Branco (White Car) are both *donos de batalhão* (crowd owners) according to the military typology in the community (Herbetta, 2006). If both are associated in an experiment, the energy will be *heavier*. Other associations among *enchanted* and *caboclos* are also respected.

Each *enchant* belongs to an Indian, so the musical method to the *enchanted power* must preferably associate two Indian scientists to achieve more strength. The associative pattern also appears in another step of the work. According to Tonho Preto, the *enchanted power* materializes in some spaces named *mato*. The *mato* is related to nature, and Tonho Preto says the *enchanted* can act in those spaces. This also represents the traditional Indian culture, as exposed on the introduction.

According to the pajé, the *earth* is the Indian place and the *space* is the *enchants* place. *Science* associates both places, releasing the path through them. For this to happen, says Paulo, the dancers must *encruzar o terreiro* (cross the land), in a choreography with a shape of a cross, transforming *earth* in *mato*. Therefore, the Kalankó *chant* is the rhythm of the cross, according to the cacique.

The *encruzamento* (crossing) process and *enchanted power* materialization can only occur in specific places. The *toré* and the *praiá* happen in the *terreiro*. The *serviço de chão* is placed in the living room of an Indian house, over a rectangular cloth. All the rites are held in the night and can last till the dawn. In those places all the object involved in the process and the *enchanted power* management must act associated. Moreover, each one of them, when associated and involver in the ritual system is denominated *vivos* (alive). In this way, these *alive* elements also point to agency and intentionality.

2.1. Living system: between nature and culture

⁵ According to Maturana (1995), we capture knowledge through sharing the world with other beings. Our trajectory makes us build the knowledge of our world. In this way, the Kalankó manipulate the natural word sharing moments based on the relationship among individual—Indian-Indian, Indian-nature and Indian-enchanted relations—and combining two places—earth and space.

⁶ The idea of the *enchanted* as a *person*—with agency—is well described among the Tumbalalá by Maia Andrade (2008). However, according to the Kalankó pajé, the enchanted “are not human flesh human beings that we can meet and touch”.

This living system constitute a classificatory and correspondent system, building up a “complex and consistent conscious systems of societies” (Lévi-Strauss, 1989 [1962], p.58). These elements are understood in the settlement as belonging to the Indian *tradition*. This establishes the relationship with tradition: it’s alive and so important in the community. In order to be classified as *alive*, these elements must receive the sign of the cross. The cross in this system works as a key that allows or not the passing of the *enchanted power*. The elements name *não-vivos* (not alive) are not recognized as tradition therefore have no effect in the rituals.

The *live* elements are many times associated to the nature, as honey, medicine herbs, fruits, bark scraps, the *enchanted* and the body. The first element of this system is the wood from the jurema tree. It’s very common in the region and considered *live*. Jurema tree wood is used in pipes and to prepare medicine baths. Also in order to make Kalankó ritual objects, what points to a specific belonging to the wide Jurema Ritual Complex, already very described on literature about the upper northeastern hinterland (Reesink, 2000; Mota & Albuquerque, 2002).

Some other elements come from the material culture. Among the most important resides the pipe, or *campiô* (also known as cruzepé, poi ou coaqui). The *campiô* may be made up of jurema wood—when it’s considered *alive*—or fired mud—not alive. It is used to smoke other elements and must be puffed often (when used, a cross is drawn in the forehead of the user). Tobacco plant is mixed up mainly with imburana-de-cheiro and rosemary. These objects also act as sources of Indian identity, which contributes on differentiating the non-Indian and the construction of its image (Amorim, 2010). Besides that, it serves to cross the body, the *terreiro* or the garapa. This occurs in a homologous way with the feet that cross the *terreiro* in the specific choreographies, pointing to the relation cachimbo-foot, or the lower part of the body.

For the production of these *alive* items, raw materials found in the environment are used: seeds, wood, bamboo, coconut shell, meiru—a native plant—and carcará—another native plant, hard to find nowadays. Also, cattle bones and industrialized goods, like the necklace used by pajé Tonho Preto, made of domino pieces.

The *alive* elements follow with the rattle, used as the rhythmic basis and to cross other elements. The rattle is considered *alive* because it works directly with the enchanted and fundamental to the musical practice. Its shape and importance point to a relation to the upper part of the body: the head. The harmonica, another musical instrument, is considered *not alive*. Another element of great importance of this universe is the *praiá* apparel. It is produced among the Kalankó since the beginning of the 1980’s, when Tonho Preto lived in Tacaratu, next to Brejo dos Padres, Pernambuco. There, he learned how to confect it. Made of coconut straw (caroá), it is considered *alive*, being remarkable in the ritual practice and in the construction of the community image. Formed by the mask, belt, hat and skirt, the dress must be made every year. However, the caroá is scarce, so the Kalankó build them every two years.

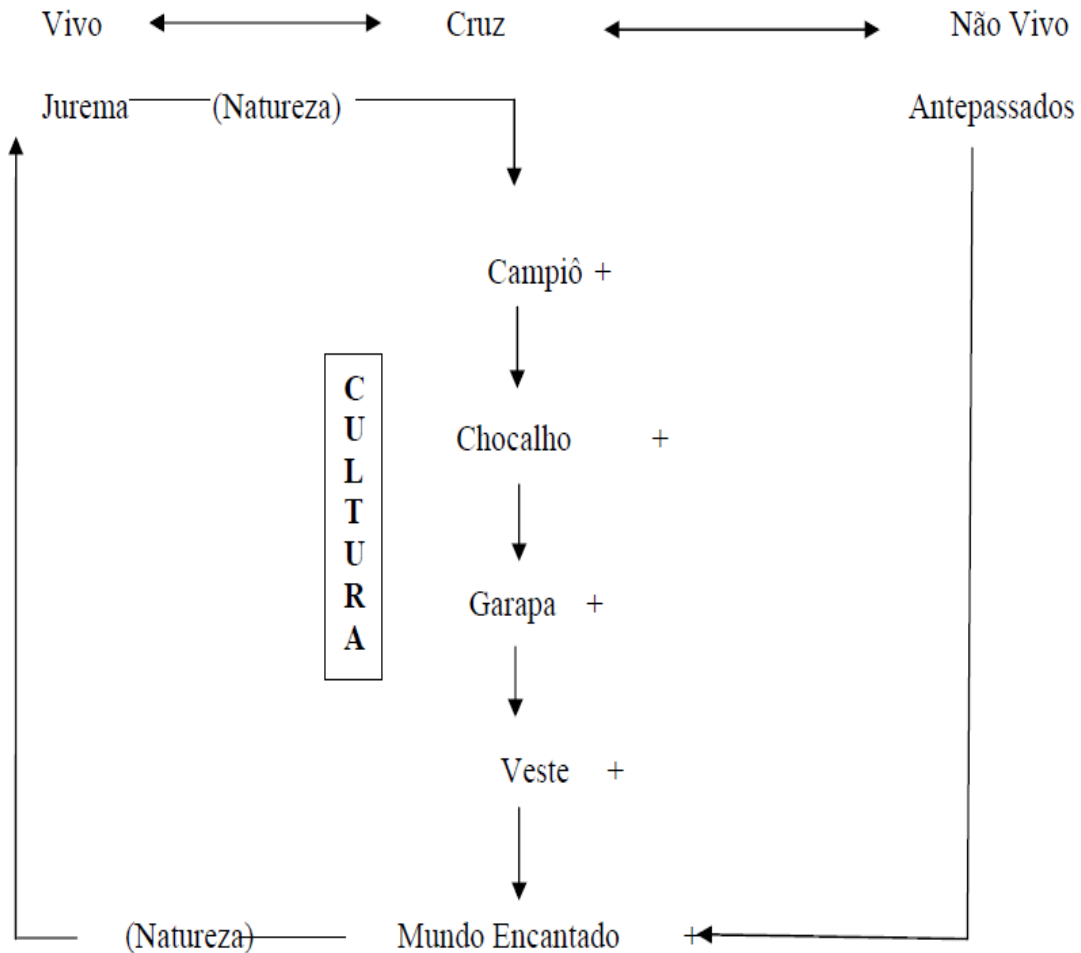
The hat is made of feathers from turkeys, very common in the settlement. Feathers are important too in the confection of the headdress (cocar), made of chicken feathers (guiné). The mask uses the same straw as the dress. The belt consists in a rectangular cloth that goes in the back of the dancer during the *praiá* ritual. Made by the hands of the pajé’s wife, it’s confected with the cotton produced in the region and brings some graphic representations related to the *enchanted* (mostly crosses).

The Kalankó also have a great knowledge of the medicine properties of other natural elements, such as the imburana-de-cheiro, used as an additive to tobacco, bellyache and cough medicine, and cleaning bathes; alecrim-de-vaqueiro (a rosemary species) roots and watermelon seeds for fever; and the vassourinha-de-botão for bellyache. Some others are used in medicine

bathes and as medicine: catingueira flower, andu-branco, poi roots, cabeça-de-frade, maracujá-de-estrada and plum.

Used on the ritual system, these *alive* elements, according to the Kalankó, just work if disposed in a system, that is, associated. If not, they don't get place in the *enchanted power* production and handling process. According to Tonho Preto, "he is not going to share, let's say, his forces and knowledge to each one to share, a partner sharing, each story, he's not going to stand there only with his physic energy... mainly what makes that conjuncture to invoke the nature experiences".

The chart below shows the elements associated in a circuit due to materialize the enchanted power:



The diagram above makes explicit the network of associations necessary to materialize the vital energy of the community. *Kalankó science* aims to (re)connect several objects of different types and therefore against fragmentation. According to Morin (2007 [2004]), knowledge, including scientific knowledge, is characterized since modernity by specialization therefore by fragmentation. Specialization and fragmentation were both responsible by subject alienation and by the planetary crisis we are living.

Thus, "native classifications are not only methodical and based on carefully built up theoretical knowledge. They are also sometimes comparable from a formal point of view, to those still in use in zoology and botany" (Lévi-Strauss, 1989 [1962], p.60) and presents details and precision. In this way, associations and differentiations may be seen in many domains—from

nature to culture. As an example, they can associate an *enchant* to another *alive* element, ““cause in the case of umbu it has the man who’s part of umbuzada, it’s Cinta Vermelha... he’s the owner of umbuzada”, as told me Tonho Preto in 2003. It also can be found in the Beija-Flor (hummingbird) enchanted and the milk rice association, as said Paulo in another occasion.

Here we have an association between two distinct orders—*enchanted* and gastronomy. This pattern may be noticed in an indefinite form in Indian thinking. A relationship may be binary, tertiary or related to other elements; then it’s differentiated from the whole. In the same direction, Zé Magrinho told me once that some *enchanted* are related to some animal meat or to a wild bird. They can also relate to geometric shapes, like the line, the circle and the cross.

Remédios do mato (natural medicine), as they are called, may also be associated to the *enchanted*. Each one can suggest one or more specific herbs. As an example, according to Nascimento (2004), the Kiriri relate their ethnobotanical knowledge to the enchanted: “the deeper ethnobotanical knowledge, with all its probability, precedes the introduction of the toré itself (p.52). So, this people can revise their musical memory based on plants—one more elements order in the Kalankó way of thinking.

I have once noticed a military hierarchical order present in the *enchanted* universe (Herbetta, 2006). This typology was appropriated very probably during the violent settlement process these groups suffered. Therefore, the most powerful *enchanted* are the battalion owners, followed by the commanders, captains, master and caboclos. This order establishes the power degree of each one of them, represented by the number of *chants* and their acting in the ritual (Ibid).

The relations among the *enchanted* lay down on the continuous reproduction and elaboration of a musical repertoire, since each *enchant* power and its power quantity are expressed by number of chants of each entity. Mestre Andorinha, the “toré king”, is the most powerful—according to Tonho Preto—, with 25 chants. Normally, the others have one line for *toré* and another for *toante* (Ibid). Here two more elements orders can be found: military and *chant*.

Besides that, each *enchant* must be associated to an individual, considered the *enchant owner* as he owns the seed or the permission to work with the enchanted. Each *enchant* might have more than one individual in each settlement and might relate to his origin place. Until this moment, at least among the Kalankó, the Brejo dos Padres settlement is the most remarkable.

The native way of thinking acts, based in association and differentiation logic, among several homologous orders. I present below the complete system and its associated orders, since “the characteristic feature of mythical thought, as of *bricolage* on the practical plane, is that it builds up structured sets, not directly with other structured sets but by using the remains and debris of events” (Lévi-Strauss, 1989 [1962], p.37).⁷

Cinta vermelha : Beija –flor : , Mestre Jardim : Juazeiro Verde : Umbuzinho : Muderno :
Capiazinho : Mestre Andorinha : Capitão Dandaduré : Carro Branco : Juazeiro Verde :
Lambuzinho : Sereno : Mestre Gavião : Jaburitiba : Capitão Fernando : Mestre Lavandeira :
Mestre Serra Branca : seu Antonio : Manoel Bravo {...}

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⁷ This system can—in theory—extend indefinitely. Notice that the focus of the presented association was next to the *enchanted* order, and it could be any other order. For example, associations between gastronomy and subject, settlement and time.

Umbuzada : arroz doce [rice milk] : carne [meat] : mel selvagem [wild honey]{...}

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Carneiro [lamb] : peru [turkey] : pássaro-do-mato [wild bird]{...}

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imburana-de-cheiro : alecrim-de-vaqueiro roots : watermelon seed : vassourinha-de-botão :
catingueira flower : andu-branco ; poi roots : cabeça-de-frade : maracujá-de-estrada : plum : {...}

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cross : circle : line : rectangle {...}

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battalion owner : captain : master : caboclo {...}

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Toré : praia : serviço de chão {...}

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Culezinha : Edmilson : Tonho Preto : Paulo : D. Jardimina : Antonio : Edmilson : Pedro :
Pelé {...}

{...}

Firstly, this system indicates that Kalankó thinking has a great and complex symbolic ambition. Then, it makes clear that this symbolic ambition is in the concrete plane, since it uses heteroclitic elements of the Indian daily life: “the existence of some connection is more essential than the exact nature of the connections” (Lévi-Strauss, 1989 [1962], p.82, my emphasis).

This associative character passes through several orders, establishing a key function to the *Indian science*; “starting from here a complex grammar is developed by means of a system of correspondences with more concrete or more abstract domains but within which the original scheme, acting as a catalyst, initiates the crystallization of other schemes of two, three, four, or more variables” (ibidem: 164). Differentiation is made from the delimited schema. Relations can be established among as many elements wanted and any determinate order.

Notice that to Kalankó every element involved in the *enchanted energy* system become *alive*. When *alive* elements are produced, they constitute hybrid elements that don't belong to the natural or the cultural order. This is “the concern to assign every single creature, object or feature to a place within a class” (ibidem).⁸

⁸ This is what happens with the elements from the false modernity, analyzed by Latour (1994). The author makes

When producing *enchanted power*, the Kalankó produce life and produce them life, produce in a certain way new individuals and new points of view. Among the Kalankó, one who is part of the *work* that materializes the *enchanted power* in the *terreiro* is *alive* and therefore must have agency, intentionality and a point of view.⁹

In these cases, this individual might be a *campiô*, a *chant* or, mainly, an *enchant*. This last one can even take the Indian perspective, set up on *earth* and heal, advise or kill with its transformation power.

3. Kalankó laughter—forms of association and differentiation



In spite of the identified term and relations established during the text, everything points to an emotion ethics very valuable to the settlement. Based on this ethics they identify themselves and create relations, constituting them as persons. The sensitive seems to precede the intelligible, so there is “nothing in the intellect that hasn’t passed through sensation” (Serres, 2004 [1999]). As a final step, I aim to define this emotion ethics and its importance in the constitution of the individual notion, “not in the sense of ‘I’, but the notion, the conception that man” from there created (Mauss, 1974 [1950]).

Every time I was in the Kalankó settlement I produced, received and saw lots of emotions, which were part of the fieldwork and mainly part of the life of the Kalankó. Without them, they wouldn’t be what they are. One of the most remarkable moments on this subject was the *toré* held in my farewell for the period I lived there in 2005.

During that period, I combined a farewell party with the *cacique*, the *pajé* and other close people, like *Culezinha*. *Pedrinho*, Kalankó dancer, however, was quicker and surprised me in the last Saturday night, offering me a *toré*.

evident the continuum from nature to culture. If modernity elements are almost always positioned in the central spectrum of the continuum, the sense given to them is always in another pole, pointing to modernity falsely connected to the cultural pole that would control nature.

⁹ The point of view and perspectives of the Kalankó universe are just introduced here. These topics might be better worked in other studies, as it shows a certain relevance in this universe.

The next day morning we went to Santa Cruz do Deserto, Alagoas state. I took the opportunity to invite some people to another *toré* that would be held at night in Lageiro do Couro. Along the day, Culezinha organized a soccer match between two settlement teams, followed by a *churrasco* (barbeque) that went till nightfall. The event counted with an intense participation from all the Kalankó community, including family members from Santa Cruz do Deserto, Quixabeira e Salgadinho, one of the most important moments of association and conversation among people that don't meet often.

Toré started around 9 pm, with a leader speech by the pajé (Herbetta, 2006). The chants were led by most of the singers. Everyone danced lively—sole or in groups. In *toré* circles several kinds of couples could be seen. Young couples, children, elders and women. Happiness was apparent. Conversation was friendly, remembering events that happened when I was there, future plans and jokes. Laughter was a constant expression. Their words were always gentle. In this moment I could feel the esteem they created for me, as I've created for them. The event lasted until 2 am, when we drank the *garapa* and ended the ritual. In that moment, it started to rain till dawn.

This kind of event is always remarkable, because it contrasts with the Kalankó daily discourse. As said before, they perceive the world from the suffering. The given world is about sadness. It comes clear when they talk about the land issue, for example. This subject is specially touching for the Kalankó, once it's the greatest resource in the settlement. That's why they elaborated the *Struggle Time*, which seems to see no end.

Pajé Tonho Preto always outrage about this issue and shows his deep sadness in front of the fail of the law, noted in the practices of the Brazilian government, although in the period of Brazil's democratization. For him, everything related to conquered rights, present on the law and in the practice of these rights—like official territorialization—, lasts through years. Kalankó still don't have their land demarcated.

This kind of sadness is directly related to the resignation observed in the settlement. This resignation is revealed when something doesn't go as planned, like a good crop, the conclusion of a project or conquering a right, for example.¹⁰ In these moments they say normally that “God didn't want that” or “that's how life is: tough”. Therefore the individual capability is eliminated and fail is moralized, commonly related to guilt or a past sin.

About this resignation, there is a intense struggle on course led by cacique Paulo, who asks for everyone collaboration and affirms categorically that yes, they can conquer the right guaranteed by the law. However, resignation makes this movement development always difficult, what frustrates the cacique. Even the official recognition of the group was conquered only in 2003, after at least five years of claims. It just happened after an agreement—the 169 Convention from the International Labour Organization—elaborated abroad. Perhaps it couldn't be different, once they live in a place where grace comes from outside, that is, far from above. Notice that the intense Indian and indigenist struggle is not disregarded; this struggle was responsible for amazing achievements during Brazilian democratization.

¹⁰ A relevant part of recent ethnographies treat the relation between emotion and acting. Rivière (2000), for example, studies the Trio based on this relationship. The author “look at this idea they have and some other emotion in terms of which they account for their behavior and to show how closely a number of the features of their social organization fit with this behavior” (: 252).

Kalankó life also indicates a perverse structure of the democratic, personalist and Christian¹¹ state formed in Brazil, where the individual must wait for some grace. For the Kalankó, grace has another origin—distanced. Nothing can be done. Suffering related to sadness, however, can also be seen outside the Brazilian political sphere. Death or threats, for example, brings lots of sadness. And this sadness always brings lots of tears. Kalankó cry for the imminence of death.

A certain afternoon, I was sit down under a tree in the Januária exit together with Culezinha, Tonho, Antonio and some of their friends and neighbors. A reason for happiness to everyone. That was a relaxing time, with jokes and laughter. Suddenly, a settlement child came running and told us that Abdias has fallen from a horse in the middle of the caatinga and that it could be serious, although the child didn't have many details. Everyone was worried with Abdias' situation and some was in tears. From other sources we got known that Abdias hit his head on the floor, raising the worries, since it's the most important part of the body.

Resignation appeared in a certain way, once a greater force caused everything that happened. However this it time led to action. In a sudden we all came back to the settlement in order to wait for news and plan for what could happen. Luckily, Abdias injuries—on the head, indeed—were superficial and death risk was just a scare.

In another occasion, Edmilson fell and brought worry and tears to the settlement. The wounds were more serious. He was transferred to Água Branca hospital and after to Paulo Afonso's. He fully recovered, what brought calm again to the settlement. It just happened as of their relatives' first aid over him. Again, tear and attitudes appeared indicating that something could be done.

From these events we can see that frustration in relation the Brazilian government and its neglect towards people is operationalized without much indignation or in a mild way, related to passivity and resignation. However, the second reaction is about the inter menace to the group. This one is really felt in an intense way—tears pointing to the individual action. In this way, a system can be outlined: emotions whose cause is inner to the group are felt more intensely and emotions caused by outer reasons are felt in a more passive way. Therefore, emotions lived inside the group require some quick action from the individual, pointing to some attitudes.

Generosity, for example, is seen as an important action in caatinga life. Some behaviors derive from it and are very valued among community members. Farming collaboration from a *primo* (cousin) is seen as a good practice, even among the political rivals. Visiting also works in same logic. The more you visit neighbors, the more you are esteemed. To give a seat, receive a visit in a late hour, offer a hearty plate of food; these are all appreciated behaviors to the Kalankó.

Some emotions are avoided and almost eliminated from public. Only in a few moments I had contact with anger, for example. This emotion is kept for the private domain. My contact was through some conversations, when some conflict situations in the community were told to me. Maybe it happens due to a specific procedure towards internal conflicts and disagreements. In these cases, the Indian council gathers with the rest of the settlement. The meeting is held inside the central oca (hut) of the place. The situation is openly discussed in this council, and all

¹¹ It happens although the official splitting of state and church since Brazilian republic foundation, in 1889. Seems to me that at least in Brazil 'official' and 'real' are not synonyms. For this issue, see Buarque de Holanda (1995 [1936]). The author corroborates the idea when affirms that "no politic elaboration would be possible if not outside it [religion], outside a cult that just appealed to feeling and the senses. Almost never to reason and wil. (p.150).

the people tell their opinions about the event. In the end they decide what the involved must do and the involved apologize to each other.

I saw one of these meetings. In that occasion, an elder married Indian has sexually harassed a newly widow woman—his relative—in the community. Everyone condemned the occurred and the act was justified by abusive drinking. The occurred was openly narrated to everyone present, what made the involved apologize and change their behaviors.

Balance is an aim, it might be said. According to Jardimina, “a balanced life always brings good results”. In order to that, some emotions as ambition and ingratitude are avoided, since they appear as a disjuncture in the established alliances network. This Kalankó code points to an emotion ethics¹² that creates an emotion-driven living together (Buarque de Holanda, 1995 [1936], p.149). This ethics is responsible for the elaboration and management of diverse social relations inside the group and between the group and the outside, all based “in those capabilities of creating relationships with others that are conducive to a health environment in which to raise children” (Overing, 2000, p. 78).

In the words of pajé Tonho Preto, Kalankó life is focused on a *vida sossegada* (quiet life), a search for balanced relations that leads to good emotions, at the same time conflicts that could unleash negative emotions are avoided. This lifestyle is very common among Indian communities in Brazil. Excessive emotions must be avoided. Neither much laughing nor much crying. Both excesses are promptly rejected.

This system based on emotions indicates the existence of a grammar of being Kalankó in the world, grounded on sensations that must be regulated and articulated. Kalankó aims to regulate group emotions, enhancing some and avoiding others. That’s the importance of behavior standardization. Besides that, individual sensations and perception are controlled, related to happiness or sadness, and then to pleasure or pain. Each one of these feelings generates images and behaviors immediate to the subject.

In this scenery, the Kalankó has absolute perception of the violent historic process of contact and marginalization to which they were submitted, and express this understanding in their narratives, discourse and rituals. Notice that they commonly express themselves through clearly appropriated in the process of Christian world apprehension. If they haven’t developed an intricate symbolic appropriation of marriage, birth and death, as some Amazonian Indian communities, they present a very complex group existence conception.

As already told, they perceive their experiences in the Alagoas caatinga from the suffering, their emotions, conceptions and behaviors background. According to Merleau-Ponty (2006 [1945]), perception gathers our sensorial experiences in an unique world (p.310). In Kalankó case, a world of pain.

Narratives in which work is referred, for example, always have the suffering and central subject. Suffering serves to get something. Work seems to be a very valued element as it’s an achievement and relief instrument. Once, for example, Cícero, Kalankó from Quixabeira, told me—in an excited way—that, despite he hasn’t eaten much of his beans during winter and had health problems due to this lack of food, in the end he kept a good amount of the resource that he sold, generating family income. His speech is full of pain; pride from supporting it; happiness from compensating it.

¹² According to Lévi-Strauss (1990 [1971]), emotions phenomenon must not be detached from intellectual operations and conscious operations, as “any phenomenon of the life of the emotions which does not reflect, on the level of consciousness, some important event hindering or accelerating the work of the understanding, is not a matter for the social sciences” (p. 668).

This story, as others, is situated in a context and makes evident how the community organizes its social dramas. Even day-by-day is seen itself as suffering, what according to Merleau-Ponty (2006 [1945], pp. 23–83) brings the idea of launching yourself in the world, experiencing it.

A common answer to “how are you?” in the community is something like “more or less”, “just going” or even “how God wants it”. These answers point, again, to the suffering as world perception to the Kalankó, as if living is suffering. Rituals, especially *praiá*, sometimes called party and/or celebration, are also called probation, pointing the same sacrifice meaning.

In July 2008, for example, a very remarkable event occurred in the region, what they call *Retomada da terra Kalankó* (Kalankó land recovery). A year after, July, 2009, the community was pressured by CIMI—Conselho Indigenista Missionário (Missionary Indigenist Council) in order to organize a celebration. After some meetings, Kalankó decided to not make a party arguing that there was no reason to celebrate, as that was a year of intense suffering, and land—greatest resource in the Kalankó universe—was still not demarcated.

In view of all that, it might be said that suffering is an essence of the Kalankó existence and it can be noted in the facticity that involves the group. The social position of injustice, resignation and oppression lived by Kalankó in the northeastern hinterland is perceived as suffering. On this world the individual may elaborate a series of elements, as rituals, celebrations, chants and narratives, establishing important relationships of adaptation and reality changing.

Thus, it's possible to affirm that this suffering may be transformed through the *grace*, that is, a supernatural resource individual can conquer from God or the *enchants*—through the *work*. From the *work*, then, the group and the individuals act in the world in relation to its adaptation and transformation—of the given world—, always aiming a subtle life balance in the Alagoas caatinga.¹³ This process is put in practice especially through the group expressivity, making the native symbolic universe dynamic. Life in caatinga is not easy. Although contingent in the suffering perception, pain can be attenuated by the warmth that comes from some special moments in the community.

These moments are related to some rites, privileged expression spaces for the feeling of belonging to something greater, owning a project of life in this world or even communicating important symbols and meanings about the idea of being Kalankó. However, in the Kalankó perspective, the rites are concretely important as they relate space and subject to the *enchanted* world (Herbetta, 2006). Warmth, then, comes from an aesthetic experience that is not individual, but collective. One opens oneself to another through the attraction of sensibilities and socialization of common tastes.

This opening is relevant to the aesthetic experience created to ease the feeling of suffering, present as their actions background. Aesthetics thus is the form to create warmth. Reflection over nature comes from art—as construction, not randomly.

In a research I did in 2003 based in a questionnaire with semi-structured questions about leisure, emotional moments and musical taste in community, I noticed that in 100% of the cases *toré* is cited as the most liked music, and also the preferred leisure in the community. Some testimonies are quite evident about the question. According to Zé, for example, he “was born in toré” and will die on it. To Tonho, “toré is the music he always sang”, since his ancestries. To

¹³ It's important to notice, however, that this reflection is not part of a naturalizing and static conception of world, but of a world that, according to Viveiros de Castro (2002), although “given” to the individual, is always in continuous construction and in relation to social-historic processes.

Maria, “life is impossible without toré”. These testimonials point one more time to the importance of this rite to the community, as if *toré* represented the space of personal formation, that is, to get born in *toré* has the meaning of discovering oneself as subject, authorize oneself, recognize oneself and appropriate a way of live in the world.

In this scenery, the practice of the complex ritual in analysis characterizes and constitutes the subjects and Indian groups in the upper hinterland of Alagoas while distinguishes from other subjects and social groups typically non-Indians. If *praiá* and *serviço de chão* are more restricted, *toré* is the proper public rite. Besides that, in *toré* domain, one might have a good vision of practices, notions, ideas, and feelings observed also in the daily domain. For example, it always aim group dance. Mostly, a man and a woman form pairs. Sometimes both have the same age, what would point to an eroticization of the event, but most of the times it has no age or family criteria. You dance with who is available. What points to the association logic, about bodies, that must not be isolated.

Toré is the place for living together, so it represents and creates a kind of lifestyle. Since the first time I was with the Kalankó, in 2001, I could take part in lots of *torés*. *Toré* is called *brincadeira* (playing)¹⁴ among the Kalankó. The adjective *playing* is opposed to *heavy*, used to describe *praiá* and *serviço de chão*. It shows a less powerful or a more open character of the rite. According to Kalankó, “toré is a respectful playing”, pointing to its importance on producing social relations and lifestyles.

Toré is seen in the settlement as opposed to other rites, so its characteristics brings its good relations making machine function. For example, it is the space for receiving the non-Indian—inside or outside the settlement. Take part in a good *toré* is a sign of hospitality. In addition to *playing*, it can also be classified as *promessa* (promise). *Promise* in the settlement means the execution of at least three chant rounds in a specific day of the year in homage to some event, generally related to some healing. Again, *toré* is related to happiness.

According to Tonho Preto, this hospitality logic that produces good social relations and happiness is related to the *vida sossegada* perception and may be observed in several other moments and situations. *Toré* was used, for example, in June, 2005 as the union between Kalankó and the school community children attend in Lageiro de Couro. Like a parents meeting, in this event, teachers could meet students’ relatives and talk about the children. Ana, schoolteacher on that time, told me later that was the first time she went to the settlement and had contact with children relatives. Besides that, that was her first *toré*, what made her feel closer to Kalankó students’ culture. She understood a little more the children’s insistence during classes to work on some rite elements or even dance the *toré* in class. Activities which she promised to at least give some more attention, as she told me that the city government had never made efforts to train teachers how to lead with a different culture. This school is not an Indian school, other children from that hinterland region also attend it; so the event was an effective way to approach all the subjects in question.

Toré is very important to the community, constituting a polysemic rite (Reesink, 2000). It’s related to the *playing* that produces good social relations, the *promise* of healing, happiness producing, and body strengthening, evidenced by the term *esquentá* (warming). Although people take part on *toré* for several reasons, they share the body, dance, sound, scents and everything else that collective experience can communicate so then they can change to discourse what they experienced. *Toré* transcend the Indianness notion. It brings also the humanity conception, present among the Kalankó notion of *vida sossegada*. In this rite, the Kalankó individual is

¹⁴ For a deeper treatment on terminology used on the settlement, see Herbetta (2006).

elaborated. Individual that owns a lifestyle, generated by a good coexistence ethics, related to the good social relations and happiness.

In this scenery, laughter has a vital plot on the Kalankó life.

Laughter has become an important subject in Indian ethnology. Beaudet (1996) has already pointed the importance on analyzing laughter. Lévi-Strauss (1990 [1971]) also cited laughter—crying too—several times as transformative process operators. Lagrou (2006) corroborates it. When studying the Kaxinawa, she noticed that laughter has a high ritual efficacy. Among the Kalankó, laughter works as if it was created in order to soften the given world of suffering. Humor seems to be an important code to face other cultural universes domains. Also, it makes evident the social integration potential on *toré*, since “good laughter is essential to the health of community” (Overing, 2000: 76).¹⁵

There is a whole discipline on the usage of laughter in the settlement. One must use humor gradually in all its different levels or degrees—with no excesses. Humor excess is disordering. Also, one must take care with some humor kinds—cynicism and sarcasm are avoided. Laughter appears as resistance and resignation. So, it opposes to Christianity. This laughter comes with the pleasure of laughing, related to desire, inverse and symmetrically opposed to the Christian passivity. Laughter, and crying also, potentiates the subject, pointing to its action.

Therefore, laughter is related to the invention (Wagner, 1981) that attenuates the given world of suffering. *Terreiro*, especially on *toré*, is a place to be happy. Under sun or rain, Kalankó have fun there.

This affection that makes everyone on the settlement say they were born on and like *toré* seems to certificate group belonging notions. If Kalankó declare sadness and suffering, on the *terreiro*—on *toré*—they *play* and have fun—where they laugh collectively.

Laughter is a belonging operator and establishes social relations. They are Kalankó—they share the same kinship system and parties, have fun together. Smile together. Therefore, laughter and happiness are understood as and related to the idea of beauty. Kalankó lifestyle—aiming to *vida sossegada*—is related to beauty.

Toré is beauty, a moment of contact with the aestheticized myth, of resignation confrontation. If beauty is the place of laughter,¹⁶ beauty is also funny. Humor generates a series of reactions, including restraint laughter that can be intensified to a little louder laughter. Then an action aesthetics is created, directly related to sense of community therefore humanity notion.

Some narratives¹⁷ that explore the fantasy and humor points to exaggeration as a reason to be explored. They are intense laughter generators. Francisco, for example, told me the story of a man so hungry that he ate “much, so much, that his belly started to grow more and more till it blew”. Abdias told me the story of a dog that defecated many gold coins so he could have plenty

¹⁵ The author compares the laughter among Amazonian communities and Christianity related laughter. This last one is for her dangerous in opposition to the first (Overing, 2000, p. 66). So, “the role of laughter is vital to the everyday life in an Amazonian community” (p. 64).

¹⁶ According to Lévi-Strauss (1990 [1971]), laughter is connect to some abrupt cut of reality: “laughter, thus explained, is the opposite of anguish, the feeling we experience when the symbolic faculty, far from being gratified by the unexpected solution of a problem that was prepared to struggled with, feels itself, as it were, being strangled by the need, in vitally urgent circumstances, to achieve a synthesis between operational or semantic fields, when it is without the means of doing so” (p. 658).

¹⁷ According to Langdon (1999), some narrative studies treat texts as fixed and therefore ignore the fact that narrative is a result of the context of its narration. It implies that many works emphasize the aim for an original version of the narrative or its authenticity and ignore that tradition is a dynamic process and social life is dramaturgical, with social actors interacting and producing cultural all the time.

of money—important resource in the Indian universe. In the first story, the man’s belly blew, bringing the idea of shortage; in the second story, the dog was a hoax: after sold by gold weight, it has never produced any coin. Both stories point to a subtle balance lived in caatinga—shortage and abundance.

In this way, beauty is related to the idea of abundance¹⁸ to the Kalankó, as the ugly to the idea of shortage. Abundance is seen as a compensation form to the caatinga suffering. Symbolic and daily life is always guided by exaggeration in opposition to day-by-day, when excesses are controlled. A plate of food, for example, more than compensate vitamins and nutrients needed by who works on agriculture is always excessive, full of beans, rice, meat and whatever is available in the moment.

Kalankó family is also seen as a *large family*. Each couple must have the most possible number of children; family abundance must compensate death due to common diseases and missing or suffering. To have a lot of children, more than farming labor, is considered balance to Alagoas caatinga life. Cacique Paulo, Kalankó member model, says he has ten children, but four has died.

From the narratives above, it might be said that the idea of abundance is connected to the amount and to repetition. Kalankó chants point to the same direction. They somehow produce the community abundance. *Toré* chant has a “question-answer” structure, in which the singer sings two verses and the participants sing another two in choir. Example:

*Caboclo de pena,
não pisa no chão (singer);
Peneira no ar,
que nem gavião (participants)*

Besides some variations over this base, there is a complement from the vowels set, characteristic of *praiá*:

*Vamô minha gente,
uma noite não é nada
(2 times)
Ô, quem chego foi Kalankó
(singer)
No romper da madrugada (participants)
Vamo vê se nóis acaba (singer)
O resto da empeleitada (participants)
Lê lê lê eio há há
Há há he Eio a há há*

Piece development is based on singing and repetition¹⁹ of these elements. According to some field records, *toré* chant may last from 3 to 22 minutes. The longer the better, as the

¹⁸ These adaptation forms are generally related to the term opposed to shortage—thus difference mark: abundance. The idea of abundance is connected to human power and resources of the community. It’s also related to a period of the year, indicating the seasonality as an important code of understanding the native world.

¹⁹ Repetition on music is a largely used recourse in several cultures and also a very discussed subject in western music with European basis. Common sense largely uses the expression with a pejorative sense. At the same time

happiness and involvement sensation will be greater. To Kalankó, the more repeated a cell is the more intense it will be, as more *enchanted power* will come to *terreiro*. *Toré* also produces abundance on Alagoas caatinga. Consequently, it is related to beauty, humor and laughter.

Therefore *toré* music theory operates the idea of quantity and repetition. Native chants are an abundance-producing machine in the upper hinterland of Alagoas. This musical compound also appeals to local meanings and generates founding emotions to the group, always connected to abundance—as happiness and laughter. In this way, this machine ends up generating affections positive to local population, in which individuals are responsible for emotions and the pride to be Kalankó.

Abundance produced by musical machine means happiness. The more repetitions, more happiness the individuals feel. Therefore to be or not be a Kalankó is mainly related to this pride than any other complex lucubration. The affective investment, related to sonority appropriations and negotiations, is central to music genres comprehension, to sociability and to notion of person.

It gets clearer through a closer look to the music form of the chants.²⁰ The chant below, “Lá no alto da serra” (There in the top of the mountains), was collected in a *toré* held in a Saturday of July 2007, as all the others presented in this chapter. This piece was the first of the night and lasted around 15 minutes.

Besides the common characteristics of a *toré*, already pointed, it’s evident that repetition is this genre mark. Men and women sing superposed, elaborating a false chorus, repeated until the end of the piece.

Besides that, transposition along the chant happens in an ascendant form. The path is crossed through musical reiterations, as shown on the transcription below.

Lá no alto do tempo

Pulso binário ♩ = 72 - 80
Voz masculina

Canto
Eu su-bi no al-to do tem-po so pra ver a fun du-ra do mar oi

Coro
oi

grupos intervalares
1º tétrede do modo de Mixolídio de Si

Percussão

In part A, the main singer enunciates the phrase marking the chant theme. He repeats the first phrase at least two time, as in the referred event. Following that, the choir answers with one more phrase, part B of the chant. It is the answer for A, as shown below.

some popular music genres—from romantic country to electronic music—rely on this recourse. To Kalankó music perception, repetition is absolutely fundamental.

²⁰ The three *torés* presented here were collected in July, 2007 in a full moon Saturday on Alagoas caatinga. They were transcribed by musician and composer André Ribeiro and are part of a wider study still on development. Therefore following analysis is just some notes. These points will be deepened in the future. They are just tracks of a Kalankó complex music theory.

Ca.
can - ta ho - me o can - ta - mu le, e o

Coro
hai hai e a se - re - ia can - ta no mar, o

grupos intervalares
sobreposição em quintas paralelas

Perc.

Chant follows with the repetition of this dialogue. The singer repeats A and choir repeats B. Both establish precise rhythmic metrics to be followed. After the most remarkable repetitions, it goes back to A. It is sung as the initial introduction A, maybe pointing the seasonal character of Alagoas caatinga life. A is repeated twice.

Voz masculina
Canto
Eu su - bi no al - to do tem - po so pra ver a fun du - ra do mar oi

Coro
oi

grupos intervalares
1º téttrade do modo de Mixolídio de Si

Percussão

In the closing part of the chant, there's more choir participation, that repeats B until the end of the piece.

Ca.
can - ta ho - me o can - ta - mu le, e o

Coro
hai hai e a se - re - ia can - ta no mar, o

grupos intervalares
sobreposição em quintas paralelas

Perc.

The chant “Minha aldeia tem caboclo” (My settlement has caboclo)—below—was the second of the night and lasted around 11 minutes. It can be noted the intense profusion of arpeggios. Arpeggio usage seems to be connected to the message reiteration. **(Please explain to readers that the whole above section is not simply about emotional outlook but is related to views of nature/ environment)**

Minha aldeia tem caboclo

Pulso binário ♩ = 72 - 80
Voz masculina

Canto
Em mi - nha a - de - ia tem ca - bo - clo e e - le vem pra tra - ba -

grupos intervalares
Frase ascendente em Modo Jônio de Fá, arpejo em cima do 4º grau (Si bemol maior) Frase descendente em Modo Jônio de Fá, (cadência sobre a nota Fá)

Percussão

In the A part, the main singer enunciates the phrase denoting the chant theme. He repeats this phrase at least twice, as in the referred event. Then, the choir answers with one more phrase, constituting the B part. It is a response to A.

B is repeated again, what gives chant extension. This extension, remarkably long, helps the appropriation of its message, directly connected to affection.

Ca.
Ihar, mas vo - cê disse que são ca - bo - clo

Coro
ver e a - go - ra que eu que - ro

grupos intervalares

Perc.

The cell above is repeated until the end of the chant. According to pajé João Koyupanká, present at the event, this was a “beautiful chant”.

The third chant, “Urubu da serra negra” (Dark mountains vulture), presented above, was the third of the night, completing the first ternary block. Kalankó thinks that *toré* must be sung three by three, as mentioned.

This piece has the duration of approximately 13 minutes.

Chant makes evident transposition.

Urubu de Serra Negra

Pulso binário ♩ = 72 - 80

Voz masculina

Canto

U - ru - bu de Ser - ra Ne - gra de ve - lho ca - iu as pe - nas

Coro

vai vai

grupos intervalares

1º tétrocorde do modo Jônio de Fá

cadência melódica em terça menor descendente

Percussão

3

Ca.

de co - me man - ga - ba ver - de o le na bai - xa da ju - re ma o le le coa

Co.

1º tétrocorde do modo Jônio de Fá

Perc.

B part is again intensely repeated and institutes the chant extension—consequently people happiness.

Besides that, it gets easier to memorize the chants from the repetition of some melodic and textual elements. The assertion of a character as the vulture or even the dark mountains—similar to Brazilian popular music ‘baiana’ or girl from Ipanema—this is one of the main forms of text reiteration.

5

Ca. na bai-xa da ju-re le coa na bai-xa da ju-re-ma o le le coa

Co. na bai-xa da ju-re-ma na bai-xa da ju-re-ma

Gl. modulação poco a poco

Perc. 2010

All analyzed Kalankó pieces are reiterative in that they assume a new signification and take a new path exposed by the group. They are related to repetition and difference

Also because some sound figures are repeated—similar melodic and rhythmic cells. Besides that, reiterate the usage of some terms, as characters, objects or actions.

According to Janotti Junior (2006), the term reiteration means to take a new way or itinerary, and also to have isomorphism, that implies the existence of equal figures in the chant time, with the same form.

The author also considers this fundamental, once the communication perspective of the musical phenomena are registered above all on music expressions leading to formation of music genres that develop economic rules (direction and cultural appropriations), semiotic rules (meaning production strategies registered on musical products), and technical and formal rules (involving music production and reception in a strict sense).

Notice that the musical form analyzed is characterized by repetition of the same elements present in other music genres, as *praiá* and *serviço de chão*.

In this way, Kalankó music is relevant to mold the Kalankó individual that, above all, understands itself as one, by the affection it feels on group music and the emotion it urges—happiness. The pride of being Kalankó is produced, what differentiates them from other prides and beings of the region. What Gow (2000) calls “particular experiential state” (:46), pointing to a community aesthetics and a self conception of human condition.

In other words, to Kalankó happiness that comes from the extension of the chant is related to the human potential that comes from the load of *enchanted power* on the *terreiro*, what makes the human body strong and makes it possible to live, be and smile Kalankó.

In this way, seems to me that the given world²¹ is related to Christianization and land expropriation. The invented universe is connected to the practice of a specific sonority, which deals with shortage or abundance of a vital energy.

Injustice and oppression—experienced by Kalankó—social place is perceived as an innate suffering world. Over this world the individual can invent a series of artificial elements, as

²¹ This logic is very well exposed by Wagner (1981), who thinks culture through innate and artificial categories. The innate is something perceived as immanent and artificial is dialogically obtained through human invention, that create conventions and controls over the innate, in order to invent forms of adaptation to reality.

rituals, chants, narratives—establishing operator that relieve the pain of being Kalankó. In all occasions sound is essential.

Therefore, on one hand taboos important to the management of a collective life are created and related to suffering, in the other Kalankó establish rules of living together, based on a representation system that points to the ways of dealing with the rules, sublimating them.

In this way, music transcends taboo and pain, and overflows suffering, sending the *enchanted power* to the individual body.

Therefore, I understand that, to Kalankó, the emotion that generates warmth and displace world suffering is perceived through abundance conquering—a way to compensate suffering lived in the Alagoas caatinga and also understood as beauty. Besides that, abundance is the founding element of a style of living together based on *vida sossegada*, setting a particular emotion ethics.

Among all the *torés* I lived in the last decade, I was struck by one of them. In this one, I didn't take part. I didn't have the courage. I have just contemplated a moment of remarkable beauty and humor.

This *toré* happened in the last night of the Northeastern Hinterland Indian People Meeting in 2007.

Through the day happiness was evident on *toré* groups, where one could notice the smile on everyone's face. At the same time, suffering was always a present theme on leaders speeches. Everyone claimed more participation and integration among Indian people and asked for more respect from national government. What led to a sadness feeling.

It was very cold and started to rain, what made the *praiá* rites—very expected—couldn't happen. I've heard some resigned commentaries, affirming that that's how Indian life is: difficult.

The bonfire was almost extinguished due to the heavy rain, menacing the final *toré* too. This *toré* would gather every participant of the meeting, a symbol to everyone's union.

Non-Indians—me, my wife, Alagoas rural labor union members and members of movements against the transposition of the São Francisco River—went back to the tents inside the recovered central hut to get protected from the weather.

Inversely, Indian—from several ethnics in the upper hinterland—ran to the *terreiro*, in front of our tents. They started to sing and dance the *toré*.

Fire resisted bravely to the abundant rain.

We—the non-Indians—stayed comfortably in the hut, talking about the issues Indians raised through the meeting. We spend a long time on this talk, expecting that *playing* was going to end soon. We had no courage to take part or admit that.

The group, however, didn't stop. Indians danced under rain, covered in mud all night long.

I haven't seen the end of the rite.

I fell asleep thinking about those *braiado [mixed]* bodies smiling by firelight.

Everyone. Indians, caatinga, ideas, mud, happiness, bonfire, laughter, water, smiles... associated, setting a special and moving scenery. There was no suffered past or mysterious future. Life in Alagoas caatinga was in that moment happiness and joy. Always.

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