Cantos da Floresta (Forest Songs) : exchanging and sharing indigenous music in Brazil

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Chapter 3: Reverberations, Outcomes and Reflections

The *Rupestres Sonoros* project and *Cantos da Floresta* Amazonian tour were transformative experiences, both for Mawaca as a whole, and for me personally, helping me to establish important ties with the participating natives, such as Uraan Suruí, Ibã Sales Huni Kuin and members of the Bayaroá Community from Manaus. Listening to the Paiter Suruí Arampiã sound archive and music from CDs and ethnographic LPs was also an important experience; nevertheless direct contact with natives is much more intense – inspiring improved listening, through a more accurate, sensitive, and less intellectual perception of their music. The processes of researching for my master's degree in anthropology and for researching the *Rupestres Sonoros* project complement one another, bringing to the foreground important questions and tensions concerning issues of appropriation, multiculturalism, postmodernism, and even music education and Brazilian public policies relating to it. These, among other aspects, will be addressed further on in this chapter, with the intention of reflecting not only on my artistic practice, supported by research, but also relating it to politics and education.

"We are all Guarani-Kaiowá"

In 2012[272], the Guarani-Kaiowá of the Pyelito Kue/Mbarakay-Iguatemi village, from the state of Mato Grosso do Sul[273], sent a letter to the Brazilian government in which they declared their intentions to committ collective suicide[274], indicating this was due to them no longer being able to live in their traditional place, the

[272] Ironically, in 2012 the Plano Setorial para as Culturas Indígenas (*Setorial Plan for Indigenous Cultures*) was implemented by the Federal Government, defining the guidelines to "consolidate a new comprehension about culture". "Now the concepts cannot be reduced to the artistic manifestations (parties, rituals or material culture) out of local context where it is produced and reproduced". As Guarani Kaiowá leader Tonico Benites pointed out: "Today, indigenous culture is seen as a minority (...), and they allocate money to finance these actions directed towards culture. The way people appropriate this term is complicated. This needs to be analyzed. [...] In villages where the football is financed, or Sao João´s bonfire, things that are identified by the non-indigenous as "culture", can cause confusion about the term and end up devaluing our own culture. We need to clarify with the managers what culture is from their point of view and what culture is from our point of view [...]" (MINC, 2012: 19-20).

[273] Brazil's second largest indigenous community, located in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul, with 66.963 inhabitants, of which 40.245 are Guarani/Kaiowá., according to FUNASA – Fundação Nacional de Saúde (2008).

[274] The Belgian linguist and anthropologist André-Marcel d'Ans, former professor at the University of Paris VII, studied the Huni Kuin myths of the Peruvian Amazon, where he lived for more than six years. In his article "Language and Social Pathology", he uses the category "*souffrance*" to explain the suffering and despair caused by the tensions and linguistic conflicts that can lead to suicide. *Souffrance* is a kind of pathological suffering, which is not the result of any individual anomaly, but comes from a functional change in the linguistic situation. It occurs when someone is forced to use a language that is not their mother tongue in a context of discrimination and prejudice (BESSA FREIRE, 2015).

tekoha[275], where their ancestors were buried. They depended on this land in order to survive. Expelled from their *tekoha*, this community found itself in complete despair: their villages were transformed into cattle pastures and soy plantations, with no compensation. Caught up in a lengthy and morose process to demarcate, and hopefully reclaim their ancestral lands, the Kaiowá find themselves in a tragic situation, camped on thin strips of land bordering farms and highways, drinking contaminated water, without proper access to food or basic hygiene. The problem with Kaiowá territories is not new, and in fact has only become worse over the decades. Since the 1980s, newspapers have covered the suicide of dozens of young Kaiowá[276], which has always been met with shock from the general public, stirring up commotion, but sadly never leading to concrete improvements to their situation. The tension between the natives and farmers is profound, the stark dichotomy between village and city generates conflict, while the repressive indoctrination of evangelical religions in these communities deteriorates the situation. The Kaiowá Pyelito Kue/Mbarakay-Iguatemi village's 2012 letter announcing their collective death was published in newspapers and led to much indignation. An excerpt of the letter is included below:

> Actually, we know very well that in the center of our old territory many of our grandparents and great grandparents are buried, that is where our ancestors' cemetery is located. Knowing this historical fact, we will and want to die and be buried with our ancestors right here, where we are today, that is why we ask the Government and Federal Justice to not decree an order of expulsion/eviction but decree our collective death and bury us all here. We ask, once and for all, to decree our total decimation/extinction, and send tractors to dig a single pit to bury our bodies. This is our plea to the federal judges (Letter from the Guarani-Kaiowá community of Pyelito Kue/Mbarakay-Iguatemi-MS to the Government and Justice of Brazil, 2012, n.p.).

Moved by these words, thousands of Facebook users changed their profile's last name to Guarani Kaiowá. Non-profit organizations promoted several fundraisers to collect food and mitigate their situation.

In solidarity with Kaiowá, cultural producer Glaucia Rodrigues, responsible for organizing dance and world music festivals, invited Mawaca to perform the *Rupestres Sonoros* concert with the participation of indigenous groups, as a way to support Kaiowá´s cause. We invited musicians of the Bayaroá Community from the state of Amazonas, the Huni Kuin singer Ibã Salles from the state of Acre, as well as Marlui Miranda as our special guests. We asked the audience to donate non-perishable food and all the money raised by ticket

[275] For the indigenous, the relationship with the land goes far beyond where they live. The earth, or *tekoha* (sacred place), means the place where "they accomplish their way of being". It is where their songs, rites, harvesting, hunting and fishing have important meanings. Away from this place they lose their meanings and their culture becomes unstructured.

[276] According to FUNASA, between 2000 and 2008, there were 410 suicides (GRUBITS and FREIRE, 2011). However, no government agency, whether FUNAI or the Federal Court, can solve the situation. The soulful letter of the Kaiowá was widespread by social networks and attracted media attention. CIMI revealed that more than half of the 754 murders of indigenous people between 2003 and 2014 happened in Mato Grosso do Sul. More about this situation in Stephanie Nolen´s report at Globe and Mail.

sales were sent to the Kaiowá assistance NGO. In the lobby of the Anhembi Morumbi Theater where the concert was held, there was also a photo exhibition of Mawaca´s tour created by photographers Eduardo Vessoni and Eduardo Pimenta. On stage, images of Kaiowá people and life were projected, and we opened a space for an important speech by a Kaiowá militant about the group's situation. At the end of the concert, we sang a Guarani song together. The audience was moved, and we were met with enthusiastic applause.

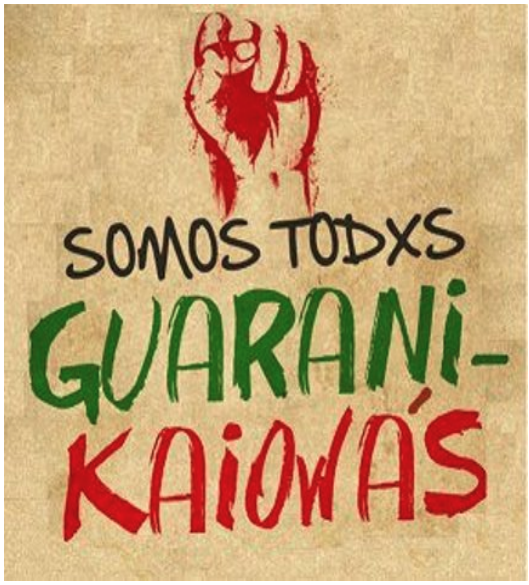

Figure 219 Posters of the campaign 'Somos todos Guarani-Kaiowá, 2012.

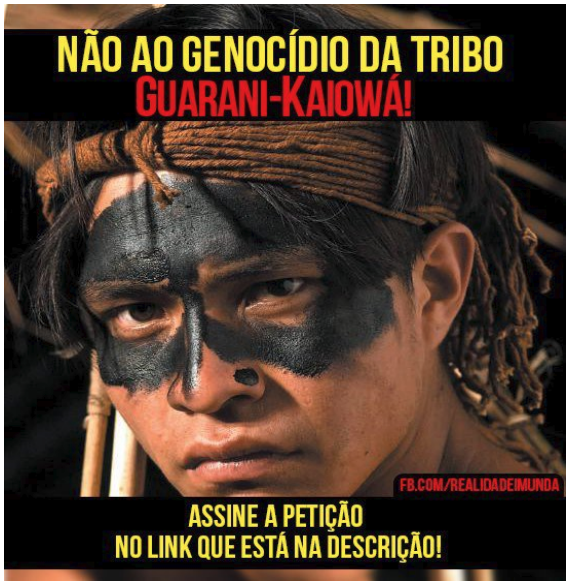

Figure 220 Petition for the campaign Guarani-Kaiowá, 2012.

Figure 221 Poster of the concert for the Guarani-Kaiowá at Anhembi Morumbi Theater, 2012.

Figure 222 Concert with participation of Ibã Sales, Huni Kuin, Anhembi Morumbi Theater, São Paulo, 2012.

Figure 223 Concert with participation of Bayaroá Community, Anhembi Morumbi Theater, São Paulo, 2012.

Figure 224 Concert with participation of Marlui Miranda, Anhembi Morumbi Theater, São Paulo, 2012.

Figure 225 Mawaca, Bayaroá Community, Ibã and Marlui Miranda, Anhembi Morumbi Theater, São Paulo, 2012.

Three years later, after the success of this presentation, I implemented another project, this time directly with the Kaiowá, in Dourados, which will be described below in the chapter. Beforehand, I will address other actions which resulted from the transformative experience we had in the Amazon.

New collaborations

On May 2013, as a continuation of the *Cantos da Floresta* project, we performed two concerts in the National Postal Museum Auditorium in Brasília, the nation's capital. Given this opportunity, we once again invited Ibã Salles[277] to join Mawaca and to give a workshop presenting the songs of the *Huni Meka* to the audience. Apart from 'Matsa Kawa', which was already part of Mawaca's repertoire, I also wrote an arrangement for the traditional song 'Yube Nawa Aibu' – the anaconda´s song – featuring a cyclical structure, created by the use of different sound textures for wind instruments, vibraphone, accordion and acoustic bass. Ibã was supposed to sing over the instrumental arrangement freely with his powerful voice. It was not an easy task for us, Mawaca musicians, to "follow" Ibã, because his tempo was very variable and his breathing pace between phrases was very flexible. However, we succeeded by using the score as just a skeletal suggestion and having the musicians instead be guided by Ibã´s voice itself, "floating" with him. The effect was that 'Yube Nawa Aibu' and 'Matsa Kawa' sounded like a "suspended" moment during the *Rupestres Sonoros* concert, an unusual atmosphere that put the audience in another state of listening. The reaction of the audience was

[277] In 2016, we had another experiencie with Ibã that will be related further in this chapter.

heartfelt and touching not only during the concert, but also, during the workshop, when they danced and sang with us.

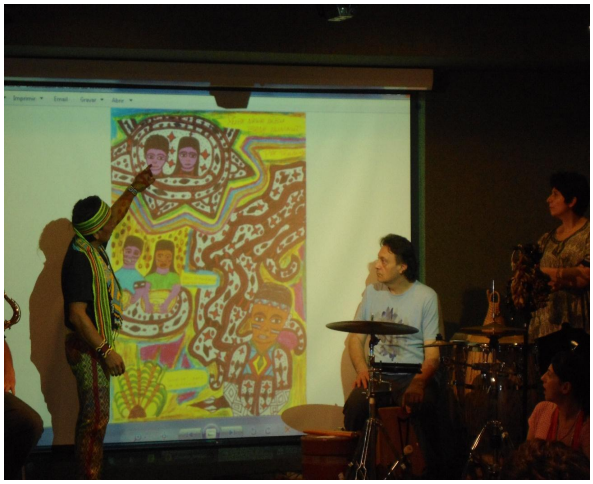

Figure 226 Workshop with Ibã Salles, Museu dos Correios, Brasília, 2012.

Figure 227 Rehearsal with Mawaca and Ibã, Museu dos Correios, Brasília, 2012.

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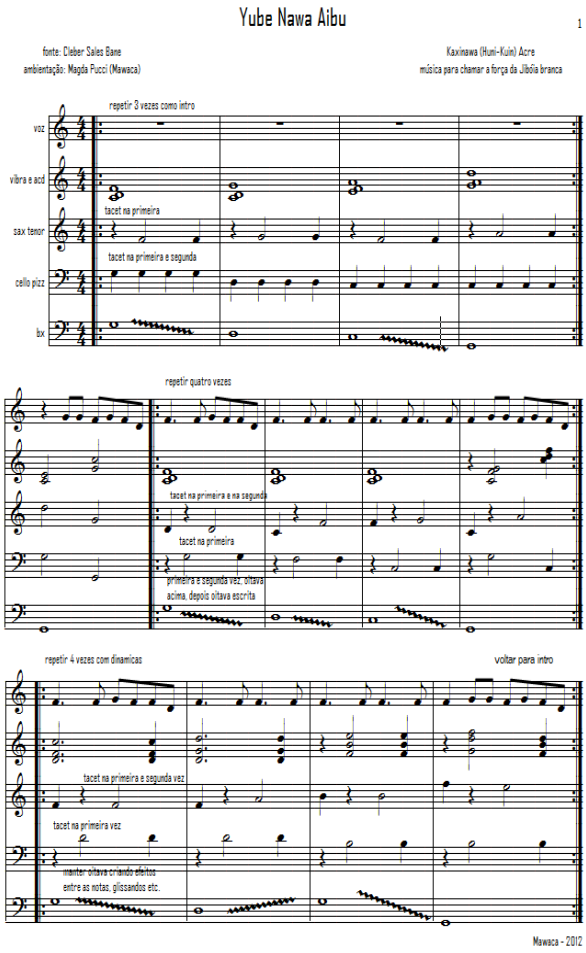

Figure 228 Score for Mawaca musicians on the Huni Kuin snake theme, 2012.

Figure 229 Workshop with Ibã and Magda, Museu dos Correios, 2012

Figure 230 Flyer of the concert *Rupestres Sonoros*, Brasilia, 2012

These presentations with the natives had an interesting intercultural character. They were very pleasurable, but also filled with anxiety. We were always willing to be conducted by Ibã and tried to direct as little as possible. It is important to point out that Ibã Salles had a predisposition towards collaborating with artists outside his community, which made the process easier. There is friction, uncertainty, blunders, but the

path seems very promising, in the sense that Ibã also "appropriates the spectacle", the performance in front of an audience, and mentions "learning to be a teacher and an artist" (Ibã Salles, personal testimony, 2017), in the Western conception of the word, because he sings, performs, draws and paints. According to Amilton Pelegrino, an anthropologist who aids the Huni Kuin in their projects, Mawaca's trip to Acre in 2011 encouraged them to develop cultural actions and drawing workshops inspired by the *Huni Meka* chants. The presence of the group in the city gave them visibility and it was the first time an outside group performed with them in the city's most important theater. What seemed like just an ordinary show to us, in reality, was an extremely important landmark to the Huni Kuin group, who understood that moment as a turning point for them. Amilton Pelegrino, an anthropologist, who has worked with Huni-Kuin for a long time, explained how Mawaca's presence in Rio Branco stimulated them to organize the first exposition they did:

> As an activity of the *Espírito da Floresta* project, we undertook, in 2010-2011, in the indigenous land of the Jordão River (Acre), the Huni Kuin graphic artists encounter in which young artists invited by Bane (Ibã) drew the chants. At first, our intention was to only produce images for new films and further develop research on the (*miração*) chants. Due to the results of the encounter, we decided, still in 2011, to organize an exhibition of the drawings in Rio Branco (when Mawaca was in town). As a result of this exhibition [being displayed] on our website, we were invited to exhibit in Paris in the same year, at the Cartier Foundation for Contemporary Art, which was when we finalized our first documentary for the exhibition *O Espírito da Floresta* (PELEGRINO, 2017: 3, my translation).

These drawings are a way to translate visualy the complex language of the chants, which Ibã describes as "putting or placing in meaning" (PELEGRINO, 2017: 2). The group named themselves MAHKU – *Movements of the Huni Kuin Artists* – and has created important exhibitions and murals in many locations, including overseas. Their actions in other projects show how they are aware of and engaging with contemporary forms of art making, without fear of 'losing their essence'. Their audiovisual signature is printed on the drawings and murals that MAHKU have made in several museums, such as the Cartier Foundation[278] in Paris, Tomie Ohtake Institute, São Paulo Modern Art Museum (MASP) and Itau Cultural in São Paulo, among others.

Figure 231 Panel by MAHKU produced for Instituto Tomie Ohtake, São Paulo, 2015.

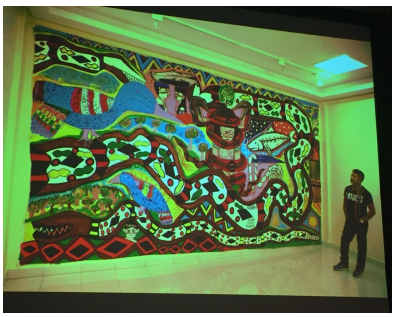

Figure 232 Ibã and family in front of the panel made in Bolivia, 2017.

[278] For more on this project, I recommend accessing the blog *Espírito da Floresta listed* in the bibliography.

Multiculturalism or Interculturalism?

During these past years, I noticed the different ways of approaching indigenous music and of developing collaborations with them, realizing the various conceptions of multiculturalism that exist, and that could be transposed over the seemingly less adequate notion it has been transformed into nowadays: a "complacent practice of tolerance" that stimulates a culturally relativistic approach in public policy (VIVEIROS DE CASTRO, 2015: 50). Multiculturalism, as I perceived it twenty years ago, was a possibility for mapping sonorities and hearing them as a great mosaic of ideas and cosmovisions. The Brazilian educator Vera Candau differentiates three types of multiculturalism [279] : assimilationist, differentialist and interactive multiculturalism also called interculturalism:

> *Assimilationist multiculturalism* begins by acknowledging that in the societies that we live in not all citizens have the same opportunities, *equal opportunities do not exist*. There are groups, such as indigenous peoples, black people, homosexuals, handicapped individuals from certain regions in a country or from other countries and lower classes, who do not have the same access to certain services, goods, fundamental rights as other social groups, in general middle or high income white people and people belonging to highly educated groups. An assimilationist policy favors integration of everyone in society by incorporating all in a hegemonic culture. However, there is no change in society's matrix, the pursuit is of assimilating marginalized and discriminated groups to values, mentalities, and knowledge socially valued by the hegemonic culture [...] (CANDAU, 2012: 243, my translation, emphasis added).

This assimilationist posture was the *modus operandi* of the Brazilian government during the Getúlio Vargas and Marechal Rondon era but can be seen in action as early as the nineteenth century and is still reverberating today. A critique of the structural components of a policy of assimilation should not be confused with individual moments and decisions. Candau elaborated it as another modality of assimilation:

> As for *differentialist multiculturalism* or, according to Amartya Sen (2006) *plural monoculture*, this stems from the affirmation that, when assimilation is emphasized, differences are denied or silenced. The proposal then is to *recognize differences* and to guarantee expression of different cultural identities present in a determined context and guarantee places where these cultures can express themselves. It is believed that this is the only way different social and cultural groups can maintain cultural bases (CANDAU, 2008: 50, my translation, emphasis added).

This approach can be seen being implemented in bilingual indigenous schools, where differences are recognized, and the indigenous cultural base is given a space within a larger Brazilian "plural monoculture". However, this tactic too is limited, and although attempting to teach through native philosophy and cosmology, only ends up reproducing the Brazilian educational system. Candau suggests a third, more

[279] The term 'multiculturalism' began to be used in the 1960s and 1970s in the United States and Canada to account for a set of policies for the recognition of difference, but in the 1990s it took the form of a theoretical paradigm, by the action of Canadian political philosopher W. Kymlicka (1996) among others. Earlier, in 1940, Fernando Ortiz had introduced the concept of transculturalism, which is perhaps even more appropriate as it refers to the intersection or common ground of cultures.

democratic, approach:

> However, I find myself with a third perspective, that proposes open and *interactive multiculturalism*, which accentuates interculturalism, by considering it more adequate for building democratic societies that articulate equality and identity politics and recognition of different cultural groups (CANDAU, 2012: 243).

Taking this proposal of interculturalism, or interactive multiculturalism, to heart, I began to reflect more on the many existing demands of indigenous peoples and used it as a lens through which I could develop projects with other groups. I gravitated towards the issue of music education, focusing on the diversity of indigenous sonorities, which is lacking completely in the country's schools' curricula, even after attempts were made through a law from 2008[280], that makes the inclusion of indigenous cultures obligatory in Brazilian schools' curricula.

Ana Maria Mae [281], a Brazilian art educator, in an interview confirmed the importance of interculturalism in art education.

> Multiculturality supports the idea that "I have my culture and I respect and value your culture" but the intercultural proposal goes beyond: "I have my culture, but I can crave to work with your culture". This interrelation of cultures makes it possible to create new horizons for the new generation. One teacher, when deciding what to show to his students must think about the different cultures that are part of Brazil, including, the *marajoara* ceramics, the Afro-Brazilian expressions, the Japanese art and even the European, because it is part of us too. [...] We are colonized, and we find it difficult to value what we produced here in Brazil [...] It is possible to learn mind behaviours through art that can be transfered to the learning of other knowledge areas (MAE, interview for Seminário Arte, Cultura e Educação na América Latina – Itaú Cultural, 2018)

Books and workshops – Focus on music education

My attention towards music education has always been tied to my co-authored book *Outras terras, outros sons* (Other Lands, Other Sounds, 2003), which helped create a demand for my workshops amongst music teachers interested in offering a multicultural repertoire, by including especially indigenous and afro-Brazilian music. The necessity of understanding and performing "other" tunes, i.e. besides classical music, began only gradually in Brazil at the beginning of the twenty-first century and has spreaded to some private schools. Although prejudice and racism towards black and indigenous communities still prevail in our society, we can see that some afro-Brazilian songs have been incorporated and are being performed in schools, but still, indigenous tunes are not present at all. Faced with this discrepancy, I began focusing more intensely on indigenous culture. Furthermore, it was very desperating to hear teachers reproducing racist ideas, seemingly

[280] This law is available at Brazilian Government´s website in http://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/lei/2008/lei-11645-10-marco-2008-572787-publicacaooriginal-96087-pl.html.

[281] Responsible for elaborating the Triangular Approach (to know the history, to make art and to know to appreciate a work), that brought elements of Paulo Freire´s theory to think the teaching of art, she was one of the founders of art education in Brazil and is widely referenced in schools, museums and colleges of pedagogy in the country, in Latin America and elsewhere.

borrowed from the past century, such as the preconception that indigenous peoples were 'primitive' and 'lazy', that they are always naked in the middle of the forest, and that they all speak the Tupi language (which is not even a language in and of itself, but a linguistic branch amongst the many different indigenous languages of Brazil). The fact these prejudices were so deeply engrained, even amongst the country's educators, was very worrying. The books on multicultural music education I helped write were motivated by the belief that in Brazilian music education, although recognizing the importance of indigenous culture, this is not reflected in classrooms, which needs to change.

There are many reasons for the exclusion of indigenous cultural elements from the nation's classrooms, ranging from outright prejudice to a lack of consistent education, and the difficulty of comprehending indigenous cultural expressions; 'other' universes, which, in order to be unraveled, demand a deeper interest, attentive listening and a will to let go of the stereotypes we are continually exposed to.

In a recent article about the application of the 11.645 Law, Brazilian educators Kelly Russo and Mariana Paladino confirm my impressions on the general lack of indigenous music education. The article bases itself on research done with a hundred teachers[282] from different schools in Rio de Janeiro, who were asked how they have (or have not) been developing content based on indigenous cultures. Most testimonies reveal major inadequacies, as well as demonstrate prejudices that reproduce outdated ideas on the subject. The following testimony demonstrates the urgent need to further education on this subject amongst educators themselves:

> Every 'Indian Day' is the same thing: we make colorful feathered hats with the children, they paint their faces, we sing "woo-woo-woo" around the school, we also give them exercises with these themes, like, for example, "connect the little Indian to his hut", or "count how many indians are there in the canoe", things like that [laughter]. I know this theme should be approached in a better way, but we don't have much time, right? It's hard, and we keep repeating the same mistakes year after year (Primary School teacher, Baixada Fluminense, 2013, in: RUSSO and PALADINO, 2016: 899).

'Indian Day', on April 19th, was included as an official holiday in school calendars during Getúlio Vargas' government in the 1940s, and it is usually the only moment in which schools "remind" pupils of the existence of indigenous peoples, and even so, more often than not, in a very stereotyped way. According to Daniel Munduruku[283] an indigenous writer, philosopher from the University of São Paulo (USP), the 'Indian

[282] The presented data are a result of qualitative research gathered during 2013, built during three stages: observation of lessons in three public municipal schools and one private school from the state of Rio de Janeiro; a questionnaire applied to primary education teachers with questions on how they approached indigenous themes in school and their views on the legislation n. 11.645/2008 (RUSSO and PALADINO, 2013: 890).

[283] Daniel Munduruku wrote over 40 books (for children, adults and teenagers), created a blog, a virtual TV channel, and has been participating in several literary events all over Brazil. He is the director at Instituto Uka which promotes a series of actions to stimulate the reading of Brazilian indigenous literature.

Day' celebration is a "farce created from good intentions". According to Russo and Paladino, the indigenous person is still seen as:

> A being linked to the past, whose only significant presence was in the formation of the colony and the constitution of the "Brazilian people"; the "Indian" as generic, with no attention to the cultural diversity of over three hundred and five ethnicities in our country; the "Indian" as someone who lives in the forest, isolated and nude, surviving only from hunting and fishing – as a lazy being, who "takes up a lot of land" and holds back the development of the nation, among other stereotypes (RUSSO and PALADINO, 2016: 893).

Apart from the teachers' manifest lack of preparation, their testimonies also show a lack of appropriate material made available for this theme. The teachers consider the books and supporting material made available on public schools to be insufficient and superficial, leading many to use "material from the internet and personal books, some academic books, which are used mainly for the pictures" (RUSSO and PALADINO, 216: 905). The superficiality of the texts and videos presented during the activities are restricted to an attempt to approach the "habits inherited from indigenous culture", such as "taking a bath", "sleeping in hammocks", the "use of teas and medicinal plants" and "songs and myths from Brazilian folklore". "By doing this, a diversity of customs and knowledge of the indigenous peoples is reduced to isolated, decontextualized and folkloric traces", critique the authors. Ethnocentrism is also markedly present in the teachers' speeches:

> One of the most important customs is to take a bath everyday. In other cultures, such as in European countries, it is common for people to spend days without having a shower. Isn't it great that Indians taught us that? That's why we smell so good! (Testimony of a schoolteacher from Rio de Janeiro, in: RUSSO and PALADINO, 2016: 907).

Another frightening fact is how students react to the rare occasions when there is the presence of indigenous individuals visiting schools, invited with the intention of speaking to the children and bridging the gap between them. As can be observed below, these actions are shocking:

> At school A, a Guarani Mbya and a Tabajara man were invited for a visit. We noticed that the first was completely ignored by the children due to the fact that he wore jeans, a T-shirt, shoes and did not sport any "indian" symbols. The second gained attention because he was wearing bracelets, a necklace and colorful feathered headdress and a straw skirt over green shorts. However, he was also questioned by a child because of the way he talked: "You are not an indian... Indians don't talk like us, you have to talk differently. You are a fake indian... you have a costume on". The student even emulated how an "indian should talk", hollering "woo-woo-woo!". Other children would say: "he's not a real indian", "he's fake, there are no indians in the city". The Tabajara man entered the auditorium and did not say anything, he simply closed the door. But the children beat on the door, they wanted to see the indian, and kept yelling in the hallway: "It's not true, he's wearing a costume!". No teachers intervened in these children's behaviors (RUSSO and PALADINO, 2016: 907, my translation).

Daniel Munduruku gives lectures on literary matters and is often invited to talk to students in schools. He sees the urgent need to "reconsider the concept of 'indian', in accordance to the moment we are in. There is an outdated understanding that needs to be updated for the good of the Brazilian people" (MUNDURUKU, 2012). Munduruku criticizes schools and how they corroborate in the maintenance of damaging stereotypes:

> All the stereotypes are repeated to exhaustion. The school system has stopped in time, although its function is to bring new

> elements so that the youth – who are always thirsty for renewal – can think of ways to escape the prejudices they hold. The path is long, while the indigenous people continue to not be understood and accepted (MUNDURUKU, 2012, n.p., my translation).

It is precisely because of this concerning scenario in the educational system, and my past experiences with different indigenous groups that we—Berenice de Almeida and I—started writing books on the complex and inspiring cultural and auditory universe of indigenous music. In doing so, I merged my research and teaching.

We developed extensive supplementary material including around one hundred activities with songs and instrumental tunes from nine different indigenous cultural groups, and a book with a variety of information to guide teachers in research. After four years of production, we finally presented the project to the Peirópolis publishing house, and they quickly agreed to publish it, but first in a children's version[284] named *A Floresta Canta – uma expedição sonora por terras indígenas brasileiras* (The Forest Sings – a Sound Expedition through Brazilian Indigenous Lands). The book is aimed at 8 to 12-year-olds and contains music from the following peoples: Yudjá (Juruna) (MT), Xavante (MT), Paiter Suruí (RO), Ikolen-Gavião (RO), Kambeba (AM), Krenak (MG), Mbyá-Guarani (SP) and Kaingang (RS). The book also narrates some of our experiences during the Amazon tour, with the educational purpose of presenting indigenous instruments and songs.

The book has a contemporary, light and fun design to help stimulate the child reader to go on a "journey" to these villages and even let them listen to the music through the QR Codes that can be read by smartphones, a more modern mechanism for younger generations to interact with and listen to the book's musical content immersively.

[284] In 2014, the Brazilian government, had opened a grant program for the publication of books based on indigenous culture and the publisher gained the opportunity to make a larger printing run, and took over the publication of the book with great efficiency and speed. But the grant was not finalized and is still suspended today, demonstrating the customary lack of commitment from the government when it comes to indigenous matters.

Figure 233 Front and back covers of *A Floresta Canta*, Peirópolis, 2014.

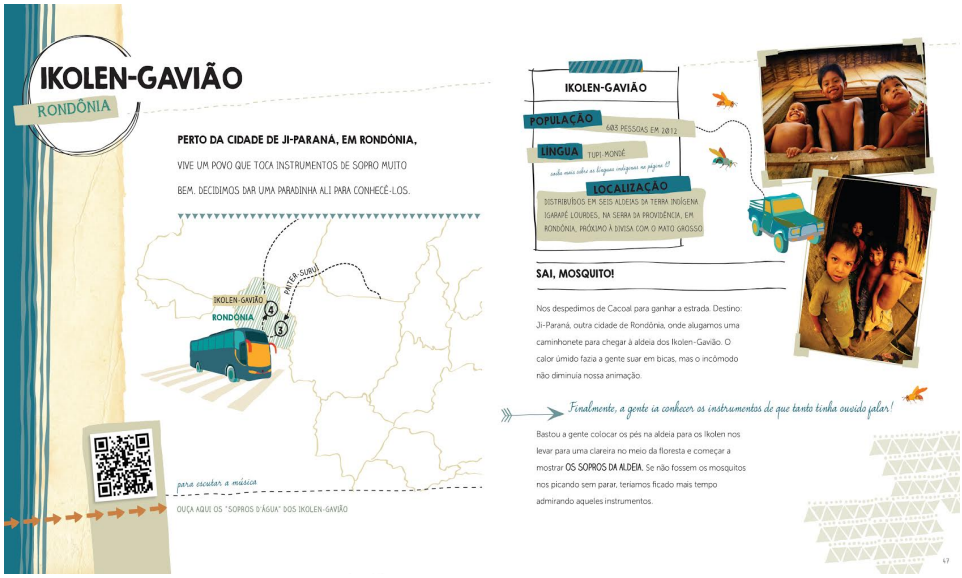

Figure 234 Inside of the book cover by Ikolen-Gavião, design by Joana Resek (Peirópolis), 2014.

In some parts of the book, I wrote my account of real situations that took place during the Amazonian tour and other trips, and I came up with fictional situations using my imagination. I would say that I was an "ethnomusicologist-author", in the way the Argentinian researcher Ramón Pelinski describes in his article *Post-modern Ethnomusicology* published in a blog.

> In certain cases, the frontiers between fiction and nonfiction – literature and ethnomusicology – are blurred. The ethno-musicologist-author produces a literary work that describes situations and behaviors attributable to the field experiences of an ethno-musicologist (PELINSKI, 1997, n/p).

The book *A Floresta Canta* was first released in Acre, in November 2014, during the ABEM (Brazilian Music Education Association) North Region Encounter, when we also presented the paper 'Is there space for indigenous music in schools?' (ALMEIDA and PUCCI, 2014). In our address to the readers, we emphasized the

necessity of including indigenous music/culture as part of the curriculum in musical learning.

> The fact is that academic research on indigenous musical cultures hardly has the desired impact on music education. Another aspect of this reality is that there is difficulty to access indigenous music, since most documentaries, CDs and DVDs are still restricted to specialists. And so, we see a huge lack of material to be used in the classrooms. And even with the material in hands, few teachers would be able to develop a consistent work with indigenous cultures, due to the complexity of the subject that requires a deep study which they might not have time to do it. In this sense, it is necessary to include the discipline of indigenous culture, including music, in undergraduate curricula (ALMEIDA and PUCCI, 2014: 6, my translation).

The book had a good reception during launch at an important bookstore in Rio Branco. In 2016, the book was released in São Paulo at the Livraria da Vila, during a delicate moment for the country. The President, Dilma Rousseff, was about to be impeached and the release had to be postponed due to the protests taking place on the streets that made it impossible for people to arrive at the bookstore. Despite the tension, everything went well and Zuzu Leiva, Mawaca´s singer and actress, presented *Bichos de Palop´s* narrative from the book to the children present at the event.

Figure 235 *A Floresta canta* book release in Rio Branco, Acre, 2014.

Figure 236 Article in a cultural supplement of a local newspaper in Rio Branco, 2014

Figure 237 Interview on local TV Channel, Rio Branco

Figure 238 Book release at Livraria da Vila, São Paulo, 2015.

We delivered many workshops after the launch, for instance at the international meeting of ABRAORFF – Orff Brazilian Association in São Paulo, TECA Oficina de Música (São Paulo); UDESC University (Florianópolis); "Post-colonial transits and decoloniality of knowledge and meanings" Symposium (UFAC-Rio Branco), course of music education (UFAC-Rio Branco); Project Guri Seminar for 100 teachers (Santos), lecture for 100 teachers in *Fábrica de Cultura (*São Paulo), Água Branca Park (São Paulo) among other locations.

Figure 239 International workshop of music education – ABRAORFF, Sao Paulo, 2016.

Figure 240 Workshop at Água Branca Park, 2015.

Figure 241 Play with indigenous names, Água Branca Park, 2015.

Figure 242 Workshop at music education Course, UFAC, Rio Branco.

Figure 243 *Peteca* game at workshop, UFAC, Rio Branco.

Aside from courses delivered for teachers, I also promoted seven encounters with disadvantaged children from suburban neighborhoods of São Paulo in the *Fábricas de Cultura*, cultural spaces that grant youngsters and children access to extracurricular artistic activities. These encounters were held in libraries and were also attended by teachers.

Figure 244 Workshop for children at *Fábrica de Cultura*, São Paulo, 2015.

Figure 245 Magda in a workshop at *Fábrica de Cultura*, São Paulo, 2015.

Figure 246 Workshops using Floresta Canta at *Fábrica de Cultura*, São Paulo, 2015.

Figure 247 Children during workshop at *Fábrica de Cultura*, São Paulo, 2015.

Our collaboration with Ibã Salles continued in 2016, when he went to São Paulo to give a lecture on the MAHKU project directed by him. Ibã and his family began to make drawings based on chants connected with Huni Kuin´s mythology. His lecture was part of a workshop about indigenous music for teachers, given by me and Berenice de Almeida in Studio Mawaca. On the night of that same day, Ibã was our special guest in Mawaca's *Rupestres Sonoros* concert. This goes to show that artistic activity is always mixed with educational purposes.

Figure 248 Ibã during workshop at Estúdio Mawaca, São Paulo 2016

Figure 249 *Katxanawa* dance with Ibã and group, Estúdio Mawaca, São Paulo, 2016

During this workshop, teachers had the opportunity to listen to Ibã singing, see the *Huni Meka* drawings and afterwards experience a 'reinvented' ritual based on scenic and musical elements of the *Katxanawá*, the vegetables party. This richness of exposure shows, how direct contact with Ibã was clearly important to those teachers.

One of teachers in attendance, Debora Fogli, told us about an experience she had right after the workshop at Estúdio Mawaca, in which she took her students to talk to a Guarani group in an event promoted by the school in Cidade Dutra, in the outskirts of São Paulo. They were surprised to see natives in jeans, wearing t-shirts and sneakers, however, as opposed to what Kelly Russo reported in a school in Rio de Janeiro, the children reacted differently, as Fogli reports in an e-mail testimony:

> The student, seeing that the natives were wearing clothes normally used by white people and based on what they had studied, asked: "Are you urban natives?" Claudia, the Poitá native, responded yes, that is how they are called, but they did not like that, because the fact that they wore clothes like white people does not make them less indigenous. She gave an example: "Do you wear Nike sneakers?" The children answered yes. "Does that make you stop being Brazilian and turn you into Americans?" The children all answered no (Debora Fogli, teacher of Escola Cidade Dutra, São Paulo, 2016, my translation).

The same group went through an interesting moment when they sang 'Mamo oymé' – the Kaiowá tune they had learned – to the Guarani from São Paulo. The teacher described this moment as an "epiphany":

> At the end of the visit and Claudia's beautiful exhibition, we proposed that the children sing the song we taught them at the workshop at the Mawaca Studio about the *tekoha*, because the lyrics tell us about the importance of the land to the natives. The children sang *a cappella,* and at that moment, we did not quite understand what happened. The eyes of the natives, the children and the teachers welled up and when we returned to the classroom, the children were ecstatic: "*What happened? It seemed like they understood what the song was saying, because when we sang it they got emotional and I even cried*" (Júlio, ten years old). "*I will never forget this day and when I grow up I won't be prejudiced against natives*" (Maria Lúcia, nine years old) (Débora Fogli, teacher, 2016, my translation).

The teacher ended her testimony with an excerpt from the preface to our book *Outras terras, outros sons* (Other lands, Other Sounds) by the music educator Carlos Kater, in which he effectively points out the importance of experiencing other cultural references:

> It is direct contact with the other culture, the continuous discovery of their universe and internal relations, experiences with their symbolic constructions, that creates within us a sense of broader comprehension. If intellectual exchange seems to justify the acceptance of the other, to put it in these terms, it is participation by incorporation that generates closeness; a fraternal, sincere and intelligent respect of singularities and the subtle perception of the universalizing transcendence of what makes us original. How is it possible, in the condition of educator or student, to give existence to something we do not know, to someone we have had no contact with? Would the cultural manifestations and way of life of the indigenous and African peoples be translatable to the universe of the Brazilian urban school systems? Well, not only poets translate. The educator who also knows the experience with its difficulties and pleasures, without fear or indifference, recreates within himself, assimilates and incorporates. He can consequently reconstruct what is to be taught in another dimension (KATER, in: ALMEIDA and PUCCI, 2003, preface, my translation).

As Kater states, it is crucial to understand the importance of the assimilation and re-creation of other musical practices by the teachers in their classroms, since they are responsible for connecting the students to

different cultures.

The presence of Ibã Salles showed us that interdisciplinarity and interculturality are a very interesting and effective tactic to change the prevalent perceptions the public holds of indigenous peoples. Ibã's presence changed the way the participants understood indigenous music, its functions, rituals and mythology. One year later, he did a workshop on his own in Studio Mawaca in São Paulo, narrating many stories and encouraging people to draw along with him.

Figure 250 Participants drawing the *miração* chants, Estúdio Mawaca, 2016.

Figure 251 Ibã in Estúdio Mawaca, 2016.

Indigenous Music on Stage – Project with Kaiowá in Dourados (MS)

"I don't want your alms, nor your pity. My land is not dust! My gold is the clay where I walk, where I plant" Brô Mc's Tupã (Guarani Kaiowá rap group).

In 2015, I was invited to take part in the *Música Indígena no Palco* (Indigenous Music on Stage) project, in the city of Dourados in Mato Grosso do Sul, a city notorious for being a place "where indigenous people are hated the most in Brazil". In the state of Mato Grosso do Sul, the level of violence against natives[285] is alarming and has been widely studied by the CIMI (Indigenous Missionary Council), who report frightening data. It is considered "the worst case of violence and disrespect towards human rights of an indigenous group in Brazil", according to anthropologists Ana Lúcia Rangel and Deborah Duprat, authors of an article condemning the violence in this area.

> In the last four years, the number of murders of indigenous men in Mato Grosso do Sul was higher than the total number of assassinations of indigenous persons in the rest of the country. While 162 natives were killed only in MS, 106 were killed in the rest of the country. The comparison is not to diminish the violence against natives in the rest of Brazil, it is all very serious; what we are showing here is the incredibly dire situation of the Kaiowá people. Although we should consider the

[285] 250 murders of indigenous people were reported in Mato Grosso do Sul between 2003 and 2010 (RANGEL, 2010: 20).

complexity of factors that involve this reality and that the greater part of the deaths is a result of conflicts within the communities, the numbers cause indignation and demand urgent, widespread organized measures, starting with demarcation of the *tekohá* (RANGEL and DUPRAT, 2012: 16, my translation).

Figure 252 Protest in Brasilia with many crosses symbolizing those killed in the conflict between Kaiowá and farmers, 2015

Figure 253 Kaiowá protest, Mato Grosso do Sul, 2015.

The Uruguayan anthropologist Graciela Chamorro – speaker of the Guarani language and professor at UFG-MS (Federal University of Grande Dourados) – has worked with the Kaiowá for more than 20 years and implemented the "Indigenous Music on Stage" project to garner positive visibility for the Kaiowá, particularly important given the brutal reality that prevails in this region.

Chamorro invited me to direct a group of students, musicians, poets, actors and circus artists and to collaborate with two Kaiowá communities, the *Itay de Douradina* group and the family of Mrs. Floritza. It was a challenging and very stimulating proposal. My role was to create a study group about indigenous music with help from the Kaiowá, and to direct the artistic group in re-interpreting the indigenous music in the form of an audio-visual performative spectacle. Its objective was clear: garner visibility on the indigenous plight, always very turbulent in that area, and constantly omitted by the local media, silenced by bribes from farmers and politicians tied to agribusiness. Due to the strong resistance and prejudice against the Kaiowá, there is a very violent conflict zone in the region of *Amambaí*, which provoked Graciela to create 'something artistic' to

call people's attention towards this often-ignored reality[286].

The *Música Indígena no Palco* project was selected by a Municipal Fund Grant for Investments in Artistic and Cultural Production, an investmenet which helped finance my trips to Dourados to develop these proposals. I spent weeks at a time there listening to the natives telling their stories, singing their songs and speaking to Graciela, a specialist in Kaiowá life. A few months after the end of the project, she sent me the following testimony by e-mail:

> Magda Pucci arrived here smiling, avid to learn about Kaiowá and Guarani music, and to get to know us, and we wanted to sing and take our indigenous music to the stage. We had great expectations of her and her professional work. We met in Florianopolis during the Brazilian Ethnomusicology Association Congress and I had a very good impression: she was kind, easygoing, amiable and creative. With our *Veraju* group we saw some of her work available on the internet and on CD. The first days of interaction with our resident artist were during her workshops on ethnomusicology. We were more than fourty people and she took us, didactically, to a world of sounds and little-known concepts. Gradually she guided our attention to indigenous peoples and we then presented to her a few Kaiowá and Guarani chants. These were three very productive days of reading, sharing knowledge and sounds, talking and getting to know indigenous peoples (Graciela Chamorro, anthropologist, project coordinator, 2016, my translation).

We had five one-week encounters at the *Casulo* cultural space and in the outside area we held a series of activities for anyone interested. These were very enriching days, which are still very much alive in my memory. The youths were avid to study and experience the indigenous songs I gradually presented them, giving them the time to truly discover each sound and understand its meanings.

Part of the musical repertoire for this project was extracted from another project developed in 2014 by Graciela Chamorro, which resulted in the CD *Ñemongo'i,* with traditional and new chants from the *Mbororo, Jaguapiru, Itay,* and *Guyra Kambiy* communities. During these encounters, I created arrangements for these songs, already imagining them in a concert format that could be presented in the next months. Considering the musical possibilities of the participating youths, I selected fifteen songs that had won their hearts and were representative of the repertoire from Kaiowá culture, also including some tunes from other groups, such as one Huni Kuin, two Mbyá Guarani and one Shipibo song. The group had about fifteen singers, two percussionists, one acoustic guitar player and one bass player, as well as circus and theater performers.

[286] To know more about this subject, I recommend the Amnesty International website (Guarani Kaiowa) and the letter of ABA (Brazilian Anthropology Association) *Situação dos Guarani Kaiowá e Ñandeva no Mato Grosso do Sul: Ação Imediata ou Genocídio Consentido pelo Estado Brasileiro.* (The situation of the Guarani Kaiowá and Ñandeva Peoples in Mato Grosso do Sul: Immediate Action or Genocide Consented by Brazilian Government) listed in the Bibliography (ANISTIA INTERNACIONAL, 2017). There are many articles about the Kaiowá´s situation. See more at https://anistia.org.br/?s=Kaiowa in Anistia Internacional website.

Figure 254 Meeting at *Casulo* with Mrs Floritza, Graciela Chamorro and participants of the Veraju collective, 2015.

Figure 255 Meeting at *Casulo* with Mrs. Floritza, Graciela Chamorro and participants of Veraju collective, 2015

Figure 256 Poster of the course *Etnomusicologia – Música indígena no Palco*, Dourados, 2015.

Figure 257 Poster of the presentantions Indigenous Music on stage, Dourados, 2015.

Figure 258 Veraju collective with Mrs. Floritza and family, Dourados, 2015.

The actress and scenic director Arami Marsher gave a testimony via e-mail about her impressions of the workshop's opening day:

> Since I already knew many chants and prayers from the Guarani Kaiowá from the region of Dourados, I was able to broaden my perception to other sounds referenced in the indigenous universe, perceiving how languages, timbres, melodies and rhythms that make up indigenous chants and music are diverse and mean different things according to our impressions. During this workshop, we did a listening exercise on the first day in which the participants laid on the floor and closed their eyes to listen samples of indigenous music. Afterwards we talked about what kind of instruments could be used or what each chant could probably mean, seeking a very intuitive listening. So, we noticed how these other references remove us from our symbolic system, because most of our impressions did not correspond to the meaning that the actual natives give to these chants, and the sounds of the instruments were rarely known to us. With these cognitive awareness exercises, our perceptions became familiar with other types of sonorities, other rhythms and musical concepts, by identifying different

timbres and different vibrations in the body when we sang certain songs (Arami Mascher, actress, 2016, my translation).

On the creative process, I leave you with the words of Graciela Chamorro, who experimented with a new way to make music and witnessed the transformation of the Kaiowá songs:

> We started to think of arrangements for the stage from the melodies and traditional movements we learned in the indigenous communities. We selected *borahéi* songs to create arrangements over them. For me, it was a time of creative anguish. Nothing was established anymore. Every attempted arrangement was a fickle possibility that was readily substituted by the next idea. Due to my classical music background, I wanted sheet music I could read and know exactly what I should do. However, the creative process was not so quick and even when the sheet music was available, it was modified. The indigenous melodies were transformed. The melody was developed into other phrases. The ostinato, the vocals and percussions, as well as the voicing of the songs and the beats with the rhythm sticks and *maracas* started to give a different color and texture to the original melody. The scenic movements, the mythical reports, the sound landscape, fire tricks and other proposals gave life to the music we wanted to take on stage (Graciela Chamorro, anthropologist, 2016, my translation).

Veraju made five presentations for different audiences in local theaters as well as village schools. I confess that it was quite a challenge to work directly with a group of mixed indigenous and non-indigenous members, but we had the great advantage that participants of the collective Veraju knew the Kaiowá very well, making our positive relationship arrise very naturally. Despite the group's technical limitations, the synergy between the people allowed for a captivating spectacle.

Figure 259 Scenes *Música Indígena no palco* with the Veraju group, Dourados, 2015.

Figure 260 The Veraju group performance, Dourados, 2015. Figure 261 *Música Indígena no palco* with Veraju group, Dourados, 2015.

Our arrangements of Kaiowá songs were 'approved' by the natives Mrs. Floritza, Mrs. Teresa, Ifigeninha and Daniela, as well as the traditional masters Mrs. Merenciana, Merina and Neusa. According to Graciela's testimony, "they received our interventions in what they had taught us with positive appreciation".

Figure 262 First presentation of the Veraju group at Guarani´s Panambizinho school (MS), 2015.

Figure 263 Kaiowá woman with *takua´pu* watching the presentation at Panambizinho school (MS), 2015.

Figure 264 Children of the school Panambizinho watching the Veraju presentation (MS), 2015.

One of them talked about my version of the *Opyrû* chant: "you sing for real, making the public believe that *Verami*[287] indeed sets his feet on the Earth again". Hearing this brought me immense joy. Graciela shared further praise:

> Months later, the Ñemongo'i group surprised us by saying they were rehearsing the song with the arrangement we made with Magda. One of the members had recorded and filmed our presentation. They thought it was beautiful and began rehearsing (the new format) (Graciela Chamorro, 2016, my translation).

Graciela was referring to the 'Mamo oymé' song, made up of two verses by one of the youths of the community, which reveals the importance of *tekoha* to the lives of the Kaiowá. The song was originally sung with beats marked by *takua´pu*, bamboo sticks, which the women beat on the ground, while the men play *maracás*. I kept the original rhythm of the melody, but I added an ostinato sung by the men and a high-pitched melody line to create space between the many repetitions of the theme. I kept the 4/4 signature, added African-Brazilian percussion, changed the rhythm of the *maracás*, accelerated the tempo, created a small introduction and a coda, to give it some structure for the show, which requires a "beginning and an end". The song had tremendous impact, everyone gave their best during the performance and it worked as a cathartic moment of great expression on stage. It was a project with a social scope, but that used art as the vehicle for sensibilizing the audience, that sought to reach layers of the invisible, showing to non- indigenous audiences the resilience of Kaiowá people through their own musicality.

I usually end my workshops with the 'Mamo oymé' song, which always delights the participants. We sing it in a big circle, it is a way to raise the participants' awareness of this serious yet still obscure problem which indigenous people, and particularly the Kaiowá, face today.

In 2018, the Veraju collective began new rehearsals for a tour to Mato Grosso do Sul and Paraguay theaters and villages. They did an artistic residence at Estúdio Mawaca under my direction for the new tour.

[287] *Verami* is the creator, as conceived by the Kaiowá.

Figure 265 Poster for the Veraju concert in the villages.

Figure 266 Poster for the Veraju concerts in the theaters.

Figure 267 Concert Veraju – tour 2018.

Figure 268 Concert Veraju – tour 2018.

Cantos da Floresta – Reference book for teachers

After the release of *A Floresta Canta*, a more complete version of the material was organized to create a more thorough educational project, renamed *Cantos da Floresta*, which includes a CD and a website with educational activities and workshops for teachers in the state of São Paulo. This project was subsidized through a public-private incentives program with PROAC – the Cultural Support Program (*Programa de Apoio à Cultura*) of São Paulo State and *Natura*, a cosmetic company. The book aims to encourage its readers to listen to indigenous chants related to some rituals, getting to know their instruments and meanings in a way that we can comprehend, and demonstrating how music is an integral part of indigenous life.

The book is meant to be used as reference material for teachers and contains 336 richly illustrated pages. Though there has been a rise in publications about indigenous themes, we still see a need for material that supports the real application of this content in schools. In general, music books for children and young

adults have appeared[288], however, material that covers indigenous music is rare, since it is an area where there is not much research by and for music teachers.

The project was an enormous undertaking, because we had to gather a large volume of material that was spread out in websites, books, articles, theses, in order to achieve our intentions of creating a deeper knowledge of each topic covered, from the more cultural aspects of the indigenous universe – its most important rituals, main leaders, immaterial art, games – to delving into sound art, with all its singularities, showing sound samples from nine different indigenous peoples, transcribed sheet music, contextual explanations, lyrics in native languages, translations and pronunciation, in order to facilitate the teacher's process as much as possible[289].

Figure 269 Cover Cantos da Floresta – 2017.

[288] Youth literature books created by indigenous writers numbers over 300, which can be considered a great advance. There is also literature about natives made by non-indigenous peoples, which in a way complements these actions on a didactic scope.

[289] See Appendix. Chapter 3-3.

Figure 270 Pages of the book *Cantos da Floresta*.

We intended the book to be only a starting point for educators, and with the purpose of making it easier for teachers to research further on the pre-selected approved material, we created a website that offers pedagogical activities complemented by audio, video, a bibliography and a discography. Furthermore, as part of the project, five workshops were held for public school and university music teachers to help them expand their indigenous repertoire.

Berenice and I wanted to contribute by inserting this indigenous repertoire in schools and chose this to be done carefully and not through a "folkloric" [290] approach, still very common in Brazilian school institutions. The fact is that academic research about indigenous musical culture does not resonate in music education as desired.

We are aware that a book might not change much, because we know that even with the material in hand, few teachers will be able to develop consistent work with indigenous culture, due to the fact that they are not always able to dedicate themselves to study the complex subject with the depth it requires. According

[290] Still teachers usually put the indigenous cultures in the same "basket" of folklore (or *cultura popular*) thinking they are from this "place of unknown" authors and very influenced by the European view, but in Brazil, *cultura popular* is more connected with the afro-Brazilian traditions merged with European elements like *Congados, Jongo, Boi* and others. These traditions have nothing to do with the indigenous way of thinking, the historical and anthropological process was different. There is a problem with the conception of those terms. For more about this subject I recommend reading http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=S0102-88392001000200005&script=sci_arttext.

to Pedro Cesarino, "the problem is not only due to the lack of materials, but also the absence of a conceptual basis to think in Amerindian terms, radically different from ours" (CESARINO, 2009, my translation). That is why it is necessary to also include indigenous music and culture in the curricula of music universities.

It is clear through research, such as the work of Kelly Russo and Mariana Paladino, that if there is no improvement in the quality of teacher's education, it will be difficult to see a change in paradigm because schools are still stuck in an archaic model based on a European mindset, and urgently need to be decolonized. Many Brazilian intellectuals, including the aforementioned authors, use Mignolo and Walsh as their academic reference, because they work with aspects of Latin-American cultures that are closer to Brazilian reality, and articulate a critical point of view which is lacking in our academia:

> The incorporation, or lack thereof, of the indigenous peoples' cultures and history in the curriculum should be comprehended in the field of political and ideological disputes in which differences are produced and ranked in our society. Through this view, we point out the discussions about modernity/decoloniality and critical interculturalism (MIGNOLO,1999; WALSH, 2002) as conceptual tools that offer us a complex and historical comprehension of scholastic reality. This perspective proposes the challenge of thinking of cultural difference beyond simple recognition and tolerance, to re-discuss power structures and inequality in our society and in the organization of our school knowledge (RUSSO and PALADINO, 216: 902, my translation).

During the creation of the two books, *A Floresta Canta* and *Cantos da Floresta*, many indigenous people were consulted, helping us to better elaborate concepts, defining how to transcribe their languages, establishing an intercultural dialogue. Although we were physically distant from them, modern ways of communication, such as e-mails, telephone calls and WhatsApp messages immensely facilitated this process. What happened was collaborative research, adapted to post-modern times, in which there was no intention, in any way, to represent the 'other' faithfully, but rather to present information that evidently had passed through my filters, and offering educational strategies that I understood to be effective in the approach to these different cultures.

While writing the books from 2014 to 2017, we gave many workshops and courses to teachers, children and other interested parties, presenting them with various aspects of the indigenous musical universe and showing how this music is inserted within a richer context. Berenice and I elaborated interactive activities, games, storytelling sessions with scenery, commented hearings, as well as activities with vocals and instruments, music making with audio and collective composition. Part of our objectives was to stimulate the teachers' creativity in their approaches, encouraging them to not only reproduce an already established repertoire in their classes. We sought to encourage the teachers to create projects, paths and research, to think of creative possibilities that would allow indigenous cultures to be inserted in schools. The many activities proposed sought to establish exchanges between languages, such as relating indigenous graphics to sound structures (a concept covered in *Rupestres Sonoros* project); to reflect on the everyday tasks of indigenous lifestyles connected to the songs; to try and understand the relation between myths and music;

and to tell and situate stories from different peoples; creating other instruments based on acoustic indigenous procedures, as well as understanding social and environmental issues through a self-sustaining indigenous perspective.

With the book *Cantos da Floresta* in hands, Berenice and I promoted five worshops for teachers and students in different cities in the state of São Paulo: Franca, Campinas, Jundiai, Mogi das Cruzes and São Carlos. After finishing the workshop, each participant received one free copy of the book[291].

Figure 271 Workshop in Franca, 2017.

Figure 272 Workshop in Franca, 2017.

Figure 273 Fulni-ô singers. Workshop in Campinas, 2017.

Figure 274 Workshop in Campinas, 2017.

[291] More photos and information about the Workshops are in Appendix Chapter 3.

Figure 275 Workshop in Jundiai, 2017.

Figure 276 Workshop in Jundiai, 2017.

Figure 277 Workshop in UFSCAR, São Carlos, 2017.

Figure 278 Workshop in UFSCAR, São Carlos, 2017.

Figure 279 Workshop in Mogi das Cruzes, 2017.

Figure 280 Workshop in Mogi das Cruzes, 2017.

During this time, I have observed how there is at least a small change in people's opinions when they

are appropriately educated about the indigenous peoples. Information is important, but the way it is transmitted and delivering it to an audience with a receptive point of view are also fundamental in the process of approximation of these two cultures.

Our intention for the future is to continue this research through projects and activities with indigenous groups that can be developed into a lasting partnership, offering courses and workshops where we can interact with the participants and create new materials that can be shared with teachers.

All of these projects, books, workshops and shows are tactics that can use music to change our points of view on indigenous issues. It is a social project, which deploys art as a means for raising awareness and of shining light on a topic all too often kept obscure.

Music, research and education – A powerful triad

As I describe these projects, I revisit some reflections that have permeated my career as an artist, researcher and educator. After all, what do I do? Do I research indigenous music? Do I perform based on research about indigenous music? Do I organize educational endeavors to propagate indigenous music? For what, for whom and why? Where is the line between the artist and the musicologist?

I also ask myself the questions the Argentinian ethnomusicologist Ramón Pelinski brought forward about current musical ethnography in the postmodern period:

> What could we know through the fieldwork without exploiting the holders of the culture under investigation? What could musical ethnography offer to a human being's knowledge? What obligations of reciprocity does the ethnomusicologist hold when faced by the members of the culture he/she studies? (Clifford 1983; Barz and Cooley 1997: 11). As it was observed by Timothy J. Cooley, to move from the study of music as an object to the study of music as culture leads one to practice a reflexive ethnomusicology in which the researcher cannot place him/herself outside of the culture as an observer of an objectively observable culture (PELINSKI, 1997, my translation).

The idea of being inserted into the culture while interacting with the indigenous persons definetely changed my way of thinking.

Even after a few years, the *Rupestres Sonoros* project and the *Cantos da Floresta* tour in the Amazon, still stimulate me to reflect on many issues such as interpretative reinterpretation, recreation and development of music inspired by the indigenous universe.

In the first chapter, when analyzing the existing initiatives that use indigenous material in relation to the cultural diversity we have in Brazil, I observed that material was scarce. What could justify the limited contact we, non-indigenous Brazilians, have with the indigenous repertoire? Could such lack of interest be only a matter of prejudice against indigenous materials, considered minor and less interesting? Or could it be

because many hold the opinion that it would be cultural appropriation to work on these themes?

The work mentioned in the first chapter, as well as the actions with Mawaca, are full of issues regarding appropriation, and in some cases present hybridisation of form and context. Would hybridisation be a problem or a possibility to address appropriation? Are musicians aware of this issue? How do indigenous people view this?

Canclini views hybridism as a multicultural dialogue between different cultures. Culture is seen as something no longer genuine, but mostly as something that is represented (CANCLINI, 2011). Even the indigenous groups – who are presenting excerpts of their rituals in theaters for non-indigenous audiences – are 'representing' their culture, they are not doing the 'real thing'. They are adapting and reconstructing their musicality and gestuality. Indigenous groups are doing this hybridization when 'showing' their culture to the others in theaters or cultural spaces. They are mixing their idea of a ritual with the concept of a spectacle, a 'scenic representation', as constructed by their non-indigenous audience[292].

The sociologist Adélia Miglievich-Ribeiro also reflects on hybridism:

> Hybrid, by principle, is a concept associated to biology and is about the result of certain breeding between species. The mixture, in common knowledge, is the hybrid. Bruno Latour (1994) appropriated this idea but gives it a political dimension. For him, if modern rationality creates specialities and hyperspecialities, diminishing the complexity of reality, it is now the time to disorganize the modern way of conceiving the world, in excluding binary and dichotomic pairs. This is the role of the hybrid (MIGLIEVICH-RIBEIRO, 2014: 69, my translation).

Musical hybridisms are also contemporary ways to rearticulate traditional music and other pre-existing musical styles, such as jazz, electronic music, rock and pop. There are many cases in which musical groups appropriate external sound elements through *samples* and reinterpret songs, creating their own work. Yet, ethical issues are not always respected, especially when this takes places across two cultures.

Musical Appropriation

The possiblilty of appropriation of traditional indigenous music by artists on CDs and DVDs, is questioned more in the academic world than other places. Steven Feld raises this issue when commenting on the use of pygmy chants of the Fataleka and Baegu from the Malaita Islands by the French electronic music

[292] There are many projects where indigenous groups are performing their culture. Paiter Surui had an experience of representing their history on stage. One group of Fulni-ô people had being performing at Aldeia Mutiétnica at the festival *Encontro de Culturas Tradicionais da Chapada dos Veadeiros* for many years. Guarani Mbyá also has being presenting shows with children choirs to show their culture. Djuena, a Tuyuka singer is perfoming in my places as a solo singer. All these activities are considered a mix of tradition and a "white-man's" way of performing, a kind of hybridization.

group *Deep Forest*[293]. In 1993, the group sampled recordings from French ethnomusicologist Hugo Zemp which were released as part of a compilation by UNESCO in 1973. One of the songs, 'Rorogwela', sung by Afunakwa, was used as a sample in the song 'Sweet Lullaby' by the French duo in 1992, and it became a world hit. The controversy around cultural "looting" was huge, in particular since the name of the singer, Afunakwa, was not credited on the CD. Although the duo had affirmed they requested and received her permission for the sampling, it was later revealed that she had never been consulted.

What really occurred was an unlawful exploitation of Zemp's ethnographic recording, who granted permission to the group to use his recordings after being asked. However, Zemp did not know about the duo's intentions, nor did he require that the rightful credits or royalties be given to the authors of the song. The recording label connected to UNESCO acted as many commercial labels would (recalling the case of Caetano Veloso's song 'Yudjá' used in the the song 'Asa' mentioned in chapter 1), not giving credits, by considering it irrelevant to mention the 'native artist'. The ideal situation would be that the producers of *Deep Forest* pay the authors/interpreters their rightful share, and an ethnomusicologist aid them in this mediation, but Zemp did not seem to give much importance to the matter. After much turmoil between the parties, royalties were finally paid to the native performer. According to Feld, ethnomusicologists are seen as outdated "dinosaurs" to the powerful entertainment complex, which is not preoccupied with traditional or minoritarian artists' rights.

> The lesson for researchers is that community trust, academic recognition, and institutional prestige mean little when you are up against international entertainment law, major record companies, the media and marketing world, music collecting agencies, and high earning, highly protected pop stars. Here they are globalization, and you are a dinosaur' (FELD, 2001: 166).

On the other hand, this so-called "pygmy music", completely outside commercial standards, gained unforeseen visibility, generating interest because of its unique way of making music, considered 'different' from anything Western audiences had heard before. Other artists were inspired by pygmy music, and used samples of ethnographic recordings, some already mentioned by Feld, such as Herbie Hancock in his classic 'Watermelon Man' and Jan Garbarek, who recorded a version of the 'Rorogwela' tune in his *Visible Word* CD. Others used pygmy music samples as well, such as the English group *Baka Beyond*, the Zaire-Belgian vocal group *Zap Mama*, the US musician Jon Hassel, as well as percussionist Chris Berry. Each case needs to be thoroughly analyzed.

However, it is currently almost impossible to build barriers around artistic work, monitoring what can

[293] The track 'Sweet Lullaby', which became a techno ambient hit full of chillout beats. With this album, the group achieved the highest sales worldwide and the duo was nominated for a Grammy Award in 1994 in the category of World Music's best album.

and cannot be done to prevent cultural appropriation. The actions of these artists do not strike me as disrespectful to the pygmies. I would like to believe that their interest in pygmy music was caused by the wide-spread exhibition of a song that was previously distant and isolated. As it became known, it stimulated the creativity of these artists, due to its beauty and complexity. It is widely considered an exceptional piece of music, as stated by Chris Berry, who lived among the Bayaka and created the soundtrack for the movie Oka![294] about the life of Louis Sarno, who for three decades lived among the Aka pygmies.

> You just cannot frame it like Western music. It is very complex and make no mistake: Bayaka musicians know exactly what they are doing. And the most ingenious thing about it is that while they stick to this order, everyone is free. They express that moment and get at the power and beauty of where you are, right there (BERRY, 2012, n.p.).

Admiration for the Bayaka way of making music is what seems to have transformed the mentality of non-indigenous artists from several genres. I cannot see this in a negative light.

Of all the forementioned cases, only 'Sweet Lullaby' seems to have stirred debate in ethnomusicology, however there is no shortage of cases of "bad" appropriation all around the world. Faced with this dillema, one question remains unanswered: should ethnographic recordings be commercialized in CDs? If yes, should we not establish clear rules for their usage? Or should they be locked away and used only for academic purposes? Should we keep this music hidden from society? This is an extremely important issue that has not yet been sufficiently discussed[295].

Perhaps something we should consider with more relevance is the fact that due to the internet and globalization, it has become difficult to prevent illegal usage entirely. It could be more productive to instead worry about copyrights, which although complex and difficult to understand, should clearly feature in products to inform consumer (and artists) what to do should they wish to include that material in a subsequent piece. Since I am constantly working with indigenous themes, some artists ask me what they should do when they want to record a traditional tune, since there are different rules in every country concerning collectively written music, and this can get very complex. I always answer them that they should talk directly to those who are performing it, if it is possible. If not, they should try to get in contact with an

[294] The movie is a story of Louis Sarno, an American ethnomusicologist who lived among the Bayaka Pygmies in Central Africa for 25 years.

[295] Anthony Seeger had discussed this subject in a key note lecture at ISMIR (International Society of Music Information Retrieval) titled "I found It, how can I use it?" – Dealing with the ethical and legal constraints of information access" (2003). At the end of the text he wrote some recommendations for the future: "Our music schools, conservatories, and music research departments need to add training in music law and ethical practice. Artists need to know how to protect their own rights to their creations. Researchers need to learn how to obtain the rights they need for archiving and publication when they make a recording. Librarians, archivists, programmers, and other information specialists should be involved in these training processes as well" (SEEGER, 2003: 5).

institution connected with the indigenous community.

In Brazil, referring to indigenous music, the musical appropriation—by Villa-Lobos, Marlui Miranda and Sá Brito—is seen by some purists as a 'disrespectful' and a 'colonizing' attitude, because in their minds, there is an 'authentic' indigenous music that should be treated as something "immaculate". The transformation seems not to give legitimacy to the artistic process, however respectful it may be. Caetano Veloso was considered guilty in using a Yudjá melody, in the same way Deep Forest did. Three decades later, environmental and social associations that work for the protection of the indigenous populations accused him of misappropriation. But rarely someone mentions that he created a masterpiece "using" this song. In fact, without such transformations many masterpieces of popular and erudite music would not exist. Art history professor Jorge Coli similarly comments on the origin of the opera 'Madama Butterfly': based on the French novel *Madame Chrysanthème* (1888) by Pierre Loti, which was inspired by an American play written by John L. Long and David Belasco, from which Puccini used references to compose his work.

> It is, therefore, the fruit of a cultural mix. A Frenchman, two Americans and an Italian have created this imagined, fantasy, fictional Japan. The assumption of purity is in cultural exclusivity. Nothing should be mixed so that the respect for a quintessence could be preserved. Full of an ambiguous prestige, though powerful and intolerant, the notions of "pure" or "purity" are however treacherous. For instance, twentieth-century history has shown that associating them with the notion of the human race leads to the worst of horrors. Every culture and any culture, weak or strong, no matter how much endeavor of isolation is imposed to them, live and are always energized by contamination. From this arises the vital and fruitful dynamics. Fortunately, even if you want to, no one can veto the mixture, miscegenation and impurity. Powerful instrument of conscience and denunciation, "Madama Butterfly" would not be possible if it obeyed the theory of cultural appropriation, now so in vogue. Shakespeare's "Othello" would not be possible also (COLI, 2017).

What intrigues me most is that it is very rare to find artists really interested in Brazilian indigenous music. It seems to me that to avoid using these references for "ethical" questions would definitely erase the existence of indigenous (and Brazilian) musical diversity from memory.

I would venture to say that in other countries in Latin America, there is a more consistent, though folkloric, production using the music of the original peoples. Many local groups in Bolivia and Peru gain respectability and manage to make a living by playing indigenous music.

Copyrights

There is a crystalized idea that indigenous peoples are "naturalized" and seen as "elements of nature / forest", immobile and timeless, far from "us". Rarely are they considered individuals, with their own thougths and demands. Indigenous songs, are usually treated almost as "natural resources" that can be "extracted" and the credit goes to the urban artist who "found" and "brought" these songs into the "civilized world". Just as capitalism that excludes these communities from the (few) benefits of the global economy, indigenous labor is also devalued and not seen on the same level as the labor of others. When an artist produces a song, we see it as work (labor) that deserves to be remunerated, but for indigenous peoples, especially since they have a

different relation to music, this is not seen as work and effort coming from a people, but as their natural activity that does not have to be remunerated, just recorded, extracted and reproduced, like the song of a bird.

In Brazil, the existing copyright laws created mechanisms to prevent anyone from "appropriating property rights over traditional knowledge." According to Brazilian lawyer Ronaldo Lemos and anthropologist Hermano Vianna, "one of the greatest concerns of traditional communities regarding the protection of their traditional knowledge is regarding others taking economic advantage of them," however, this protectionism is "counterproductive towards building a global collaborative culture that can become more effective in terms of obtaining symbolic and economic advantages" (VIANNA and LEMOS, 2005, my translation).

It is known that the interest in indigenous music (or even folk music) is limited and usually does not generate profit. Projects relating to indigenous music are subsidized by government or sponsorship and the resources obtained are usually only enough to finance the project. Very rarely CDs with traditional music material, released for commercial purposes, are profitable. Unrealistic expectations of financial rewards of such musical products can be tricky: it is common for some to expect a higher income than these types of projects are able to generate, and this can create internal conflicts in groups and destroy relations. Besides that, the need to secure consent to market the project in the first place, can further isolate these traditional cultures making it more difficult for them to become better known outside their usual circuit.

Alternative ensembles such as Mawaca do not make great profits or have the media exposure of a group like *Deep Forest*. Since we – Mawaca, Renata Rosa and Marlui Miranda – are independent artists and not involved with big labels, we are outside the mainstream market. We do not use original recordings either, we recreate indigenous themes, duly authorized by the groups.

Throughout all my projects mentioned here – CDs, DVDs and books – we always paid copyrights for the indigenous songs, to the extent that it was possible to do so. All the credits are rightfully given (as far as this is possible[296]) and authorizations are requested and signed to avoid misunderstandings and possibly conflicts. During the Amazon tour, all the indigenous groups received a fee as artists and authorized the use of their images only for the documentary. If there is a need to use them for other purposes, copyrights would be paid once again, as was the case with the publishing of the *Floresta Canta* and *Cantos da Floresta* books. I acknowledge that it is exhausting work that demands patience and care, even more so since dealing with

[296] In some cases, it is not possible to find those responsible for a recording, and some record labels no longer exist, which makes due payment difficult, but these cases are exceptions.

financial issues with people not accustomed to the capitalist world is always a delicate matter.

Authorizations are similar to those between musicians and composers, using the same procedures defined by the Brazilian justice system but requiring added care to specify the conditions for each usage. When an interpreter wants to sing a song by a certain composer, they must get direct authorization from the author, the publisher or the association that represents them. The difficulty is that sometimes many of the songs do not have individual authorship, which becomes a legal problem. The solution in these cases is to get authorization from the natives that represent their group or indigenous associations that can receive the payment or authorize the use of their images or music, and then they decide what to do with the money. In this case, an advance payment is given rather than making payments according to sales, making operational logistics easier. Even if the profits are not high, recognition is given, and the agreement allows for copyrights to be paid within the law.

Therefore, I believe that our actions do not constitute an unethical appropriation, since consent was given by the indigenous communities for us to use their songs in different contexts[297]. All of the natives received copies of the CDs and books in which their music and photos were published, and this was a *sine qua non* condition established with the publishers[298].

Arrangements and adaptations are called "derived works" and many musicians who develop work with traditional music incorporate traditional material in their songs. If the musician adds new elements to the original music, he/she can create a new copyright, but if someone uses music that is considered part of the 'public domain' they do not need pay copyright to the 'recreator/adaptor'. However, if they use a version of this original, i.e., an arrangement with modifications, they must pay the adaptor. This marks the adaptor/arranger as being, in a way, also a composer, since they are creating new material over the original.

In the *Rupestres Sonoros* and *Cantos da Floresta* project, we also had authorization from all the participants who had their copyrights paid, whether through institutions or local representatives. The use of indigenous songs is understood in the same way as when an interpreter sings any other composer's work, they need to obtain direct authorization from the author. If we take into consideration the definition of

[297] Though there still might be difficulties in this negotiation between indigenous and non-indigenous people, as there is a constant exploitation of authorial rights by advertising agencies and other media which do not always act ethically, creating unfavorable contracts. There are, on the other hand, TV stations who pay great quantities for filming that may make the indigenous population ill-accustomed to large amounts, causing problems for researchers who need to film them for ethnographic documentaries, which would be charged the same.

[298] In the case of the book *A Floresta Canta*, we established a percentage for each group for the case that it be sold as government grants where there are large print runs.

cultural appropriation by Susan Scalfidi (2005) – "to take intellectual property, traditional knowledge, cultural expressions or artifacts from others without permission" – we understand that this is not applicable to Mawaca's engagement with the indigenous collaborators, since there was consent for the use of their music in the different contexts it was used.

Cultural Exchanges

It is important to recognize that money is not always the most important matter in relations with natives. This financial relation is also permeated by friendship and trust, because exchanges are fundamental for an affective relationship. According to French anthropologist Marcel Mauss, alliances are a central concept in non-Western populations. It is through giving that an alliance is forged, as in diplomatic relations between natives and non-natives (MAUSS, 2008). When researching the modes of reciprocal exchange in "archaic" societies in the 1920s, Mauss demonstrated that the value of things can not be bigger than the value of the relation between peoples, and that symbolism is fundamental to social life. He realized that the gift occurs also in "modern" societies and that those transactions transcend the divisions between the spiritual and the material. The practice of exchange between different civilizations reveals that "exchanging is mixing souls, allowing communication between people, intersubjectivity, sociability. Anthropology is the study of this communication and the rules that establish it" (Mauss in: LANNA, 2000: 191).

In projects such as Mawaca's tour, we can observe a will to exchange experiences, as mentioned by Uraan Suruí during Mawaca's visit to his village and the singer Adana Kambeba, who participated in Mawaca's concert in Manacapuru, and commented on their presence in the Tururukari uka village:

> I see it as a lesson, a learning opportunity. In the end, natives and non-natives have much to contribute and learn from one another. How many natives would like to show their music to the world, but have no conditions to go out and do that? A group like Mawaca can do this. It is like they are satisfying our desire in some way (Adana Kambeba, singer, 2011, my translation).

On the issue of appropriation of which we, supposedly, could be accused, I quote the Brazilian ethnomusicologist and composer Kilza Setti, who commented on my work with Mawaca. She believes that "it is up to each person to decide how to use" traditional music in their projects, as long as the rightful credit is given. In a testimony by e-mail, she wrote:

> In certain cases, the use of cultural data can even favor the community. Your work (as well as Marlui's, which I am less familiar with) is brilliant. I have told you already that I love your CD *Rupestres Sonoros,* because of the beautiful sonorities you achieved, as well as some live concerts I have seen. Your performances are beautiful, and it is one of the best ways to promote the cultural grace of different peoples (Kilza Setti, composer and ethnomusicologist, 2017, my translation).

The way this sonic resignification and reorganization of indigenous material is developed has to go through ethical approval, of course, which is what I always seek throughout my productions.

As mentioned before, during the research for the books I wrote, there was constant interaction with natives such as Uraan Suruí, Josias Ikolen, Iran Ikolen and Márcia Kambeba. They were consulted many times and helped me with questions about the written language, suggesting meanings and clarifying the correct names of people and musical instruments. We also had the support of anthropologists, linguists and ethnomusicologists who helped a lot with their expertise in specific subjects.

In my understanding projects like this, built on interaction/integration, are part of a postmodern phenomenon, in which the existence of cultural exchange and plurality in 'high' and 'folk' art bring us the idea of "transcultural empathy" and "aesthetic reconciliation". These concepts were commented by Hesmondhalgh and Born in the book *Western Music And its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music*:

> It is in the postmodern "resolution" of issues of appropriation into un- problematic notions of crossover and pluralism in both art and popular musics that we find the dominant expression today of the idea that cross-cultural empathy and its attendant aesthetic "reconciliation" equalizes musics of formerly unequal status and power, and erases erstwhile differences of legitimacy. As Born has argued elsewhere, pluralism is central to the way that postmodern intellectuals experience the aesthetic imaginatively as progressive; aesthetic pluralism is divorced from extant socioeconomic differences and held to be an autonomous and effective force for transforming those differences. The aesthetic is held to portend social change; it can stand in psychically for wider social change. In this sense, cultural postmodernism can be seen as an ideology *tout court* in the classic sense of a cultural system that conceals domination and inequality. (BORN and HESMONDHALGH, 2000: 21).

I agree with Born and Hesmondhalgh's affirmation that "pluralism is central to the way that post-modern intellectuals experience the aesthetic imaginatively as progressive", and the way indigenous cultures are viewed needs to be reconstructed. Clearly it is a form of approximation that happens through aesthetics. According to Pelinski, this process of fusion between 'high' and 'folk' (or indigenous) art results in "pastiche"[299], not in the pejorative sense, but as a collage of styles and ideas. Pelinski quotes Canclini, referring to the fusions of traditional and mass music:

> The songs travel in space and time, shorten both these distances, abolish the separation between high and folk art, between written and spoken traditions, between high, folk and mass music. The 'simultaneousness of everything with everything' (Jameson 1984) takes, in its turn, pastiche as the appropriate form for postmodern expression. The practice of postmodern composition and improvisation constantly imagines new fusions and confusions between high, traditional and mass music. To study music today is to be 'preoccupied with mixtures' (CANCLINI 1992: 11-2 in: PELINSKI, n.d.).

Collaborative Dialogues

The projects presented here allow for a reflection on the forms of contact and musical research with, and not only 'about', different indigenous groups, consisting in a contribution that works, in my view, on the

[299] The term 'pastiche' is defined as an artistic piece which openly imitates another musician's style. It does not, however, serve to satirize or criticize the original piece, which differentiates it from a parody. Nowadays, pastiche can be seen as a type of collage or montage, becoming a collection of cuttings from several texts.

axes of dialogue and collaboration**.** I therefore believe it may contribute to reassessing some parameters of participative ethnomusicological research.

My main objective in these projects was to promote exchange, register indigenous sonorities and produce informative material that could reverberate positively in society. Although there are criticisms about the performance of indigenous music, when we present them in spectacles or from other musicians in other contexts, I understand that it is necessary to develop different ways of bringing non-indigenous people closer to indigenous musical traditions with the goal of deconstructing prejudiced concepts. The way that this has been done in the past tends to be limited to academic articles and theses, making it difficult for the layman to gain access to this discussion. However, there are criticisms about the "performance or the use of performative indigenous knowledge, nowadays very frequent among musician-researchers". Rosângela Tugny, an active ethnomusicologist in collaborative projects with natives, understands that the universe of indigenous music has an "inseparability of music and body" that makes it inadequate to be performed by musicians in other contexts.

> This (indigenous) art inscribed in a long process of fabrication of people, is not a harbor of content or forms that detach from the bodies fabricated in this process. Art here is not music or mimesis or a dance, it is a means of transmission – displacements and exchanges of substances. It is aptitude, developed by the individual of a group, to transform into a person – through the possibility of acquiring chants, for example. The dangerous encounters, the *couvades*, the painful physical regimes to which apprentices – musicians – performers submit to, consist in the experience that turns each body into the only carrier of what has been transferred to it**.** It is in this inseparability of music and the body, resulting from these processes of transmission and metamorphosis, that our criticism to the performance or the use of performative knowledge resides, nowadays very frequent among researchers-musicians (TUGNY, 2004: 6, my translation).

Instead of 'imitating indigenous rituals' and 'putting indigenous music in a performance', we can develop the idea of *diegesis*, proposed by the philosophers Plato (*Republic*, 380 B.C) and Aristotle (*Poetics* 335 B.C). They distinguish *mimesis* (imitation: showing or representation) and *diegesis* (narration: telling or report). For them, *diegesis* is not mimetic because there is a narrator – an interpreter – framing or commenting the action. For Benjamin, *mimesis* is adaptive: it is how we interact with things in the world via acculturation, affinity and reciprocity (STURM, n.d).

For the *Rupestres Sonoros* concert, we did arrangements for a Paiter Suruí *pajelança* chant, a Huni-Kuin *miração* song and for a Kayapó naming theme tune, all of which were originally applied in a situation where the body, gestures, the connection between the invisible (animal-spirits) and the visible cannot be recreated by other people, if not the very agents of these rituals. In the ethnomusicological view, this repertoire must not be recontextualized, because it would lose the original sense of the *performance*. However, I do not see the reinterpretation of Mawaca as pure *mimesis*, an attempt to reproduce the indigenous *modus operandi*, but rather as a transformation in which there is hybridity with other musical elements, which extrapolate indigenous aesthetics. It is not the real thing but does claim to be so: our role in

interpreting, framing and re-delivering the content is made apparent. I understand hybridity as a process, more than a state. According to Wim van der Meer in his article *The Location of Music: Towards a Hybrid Musicology*, "hybridity would be interaction by nature" (2005):

> Hybridity is by nature an interaction. Identities have usually been reified into fixed entities, but we can see at present that a growing number of scholars look at identity as a process, as becoming rather than being (MEER, 2005: 65).

Deleuze-Guattari drive this idea deeper by thinking about of *de-venir* as a way to grasp the 'becoming'. It is not a matter of just imitate, but "letting happen" and not "doing as". In the Introduction: *Rhizome,* Deleuze developed the connection of deterritorialization and the process of reterritorialization as part of this *de-venir* ('becoming'), a concept of difference that dismantled the hierarchical character of dualisms such as being/nonbeing, man/woman, human/animal, black/white, and so on. Creative responses will transform what is seemingly hopeless into something hopeful. The transformative potential of reality is a transcendental operation (PARR, 2015). The experience of transforming songs from one context into another place is a process of deterritorialization and reterritorialization, that is related with the process of re-creation in music, not a creation from zero, but a transformation based on the "capture of codes".

> At the same time, something else entirely is going on: not imitation at all but a *capture of code*, surplus value of code, an increase in valence, a veritable becoming, a becoming-wasp of the orchid and a becoming-orchid of the wasp. Each of these becomings brings about the deterritorialization of one term and the reterritorialization of the other; the two becomings interlink and form relays in a circulation of intensities pushing the deterritorialization ever further (DELEUZE and GUATTARI, 1987: 10).

The musician is an experimenter, an alchemist, with an inadequate reason, wandering and inventing concepts, making new connections, lines of escape. We can speak then of a new ethical perspective, which is given through experimentation, a nomadic ethic, ethics of becoming, in movement, that goes in search of new territories: a geo-ethics, ethics of experimentation. The *ritornello*[300] always points to a possibility of escape from a territory, opening for new meetings, but at the same time a "return home", close the door and dust the furniture.

It is clear that in a postcolonial world, full of multiple networks, "old centers become mobile and nomadic, and follow the movement of deterritorializations, migrations, cross breedings, multiculturalism." In other words, identities become more complex (PELINSKI, n.d: n.p).

> In these conditions there emerges postcolonial literature, art and music as new forms of resistance and new sensibilities to oppose local traditions to the multinational nature of capital. These artistic expressions make use of strategies of

[300] The concepts of territory and ritornello provide a philosophical alternative to understanding the existence of beings in terms of an immutable, unchanging transcendent structure, such as divine revelation, politico-economic ideology or cultural identity. As such, this conceptual pair is a necessary element in translating Deleuze and Guattari's metaphysical commitment to immanence and univocity into ethical and political theory and practice (KLEINHERENBRINK, 2015).

> signification and grammatics of opposition, based on code switching, syncretism and hybridity in face of the diverse forms of economic hegemony (LIPSITZ in: PELINSKI, n.d: 31).

An example of this would be the shamanic chant 'So perewatxé', recreated by Mawaca, which explores the 6/8-time signature from a Paiter Surui chant by Oiomar shaman, but with African-Brazilian percussion, such as *congas* and *djembés*, with a Brazilian syncopation. In the field recording, Oiomar repeats a phrase many times and modulates freely. I explored this modulation tendency and also created textures to enrich the sonority, imagining the trance, the alterated state of mind, turning it into a round dancing movement. There was a transformation from that song to another. Making my arrangement is about metamorphosis, for what is extracted is a musical idea and not the 'thing' itself. We can imagine, we picture how it would be, but it is not the real thing. In this sense, I resort to Schechner to understand the role of performance in these intercultural processes in which dialectics between globalization and cultural exchanges is frequent:

> In performance studies, questions of embodiment, action, behavior, and agency are dealt with interculturally. This approach recognizes two things. First, in today's world, cultures are always interacting – there are no completely isolated groups. Second, the differences among cultures are so profound that no theory of performance is universal: one size cannot fit all. Nor are the playing fields where cultures interact level. The current means of cultural interaction – globalization – enacts extreme imbalances of power, money, access to media, and control over resources. Although this is reminiscent of colonialism, globalization is also different from colonialism in key ways (SHECHNER, 2013: 2).

When indigenous music 'enters the scene', it really does acquire other attributes. There is no way to transpose the ritual, revive it, but the performance has the role of reinventing, desacralizing it.

Metamorphoses during the creative process are fundamental for hybrid arts, in which elements of different cultures and languages are mixed – singing, dancing, projections on screen, costumes, synthesized sounds – creating a piece that transcends the 'original' and transposes part of that imaginary to a cybernetic, future-oriented atmosphere.

The composer and trumpet player Jon Hassel explored along with Brian Eno the rhythm of the waters of the Semelai of Malaysia, in which he made float his 'talking' trumpet. According to his philosophy: "A rhythmic fragment of a recording of joyful rainwater was restructured and became the generating force for a composition, as well as a thematic guide for the entire recording of *The Dream Theory in Malaya* CD" (HASSEL, 1981). Hassel was inspired by the writings of the anthropologist Kilton Stewart[301], who, in 1935, met the Senoi group from Malaysia, whose happiness and well-being were connected to the "morning family

[301] Kilton Stewart delved into the jungles of Luzon island in the Philippines back in the 1930s, when it was an American colony, back when that people lived isolated. He wrote the book *Pygmies and Dream Giants* in 1973, an adventure book, but not serious anthropology, because it is completely outside of the cultural discourse of the last 75 years. But still, the pygmees' life and cultural expressions had moved many researchers and musicians.

custom of telling their dreams". For Hassel, this is a path to be retaken because we are touched when this type of knowledge is pronounced. Reorganizing these sonorities is a step towards the future. On his website, he talks about the exchanging of identities.

> Now is the time for the technoworld to use its knowledge to go beyond this pattern – to begin to see the unforeseen ways in which the best of their attitudes will become ours, and ours become theirs, resulting in modalities which I refer to as Fourth World – a return to, and at the same time a step forward. It seems natural to me that a step into the future will have some relationship to a deeper comprehension of the rich multiplicity of the earth's tribal musics (HASSEL: n.d).

Tradition versus Change

While we were creating the *Rupestres Sonoros* spectacle, my choices transited through the search for melodies that sounded 'interesting', in other words, they were 'out' of the standard tonal system or with different intonations, and ways of singing that would allow me to establish musical dialogues with my own references. It has always been clear to me that I was recreating, transfiguring, and reinventing the indigenous songs. I never had the intention of 'imitating the original form' or of reproducing the contexts in which they occur usually, but rather to use them as inspiration for a different performance.

Uraan Suruí, in a speech at a round table in the São Paulo State University[302] in 2015, clearly affirmed his willingness to dialogue with others and learn from others:

> The European, the Asian, even the Latin American want to live, they want to perpetuate in the world. The indigenous peoples also want that. The indigenous peoples definitely have a vision of the future, because they are like any other human being, all of us want to live. And one of the things to see as different is that you can be at the same time part of the world where you can dialogue through knowledge. And over time, we realize that the most important is not be isolated, so you can keep your culture. That is not the ideal situation. The ideal for us is that we need to know the other to know how we are important too, wherever we are. There is nothing better than dialogue itself. [...] And we have to seek this harmonic relation (Uraan Suruí, student and Surui leader, 2015, my translation).

In this way, we can start to establish a relationship between the two worlds, ceremonial agreements between people and begin to give voice to "subalterns"[303], deconstructing the European colonial model which has been in effect for so long.

These crossing paths of the Paiter Suruí, the Guarani Kaiowá, the Bayaroá Community and the Huni

[302] Uraan translated several Suruí songs since his Masters, and counseled me for the book *Cantos da Floresta*. He was in São Paulo in 2015 for a series of conferences and for an exhibition of Suruí ceramics, and together with the artist Ellen Slegers, he participated in several cultural events. One of the speeches he gave was filmed from where I extracted a paragraph (see audiovisual biblio).

[303] The researcher on Subaltern Studies is Gayatri Spivak (2010), who spoke to researchers from the Latin American Literary Studies group, formed by diverse intellectuals such as the Mexican literature teacher José Rabasa, the Bolivian critic Javier Sanjinés and Robert Carr, during the 1990s. For a deeper look at the subject I recommend reading the article *América Latina e o giro decolonial* (Latin American and the decolonial turn) by Luciana Ballestrin (2013).

Kuin group can be comprehended by observing dialogue and interculturalism. It is evident that the processes generate some fusion or musical hybridities that can be analyzed by ethnomusicology as a situational dialectic, in which traditional dialogues change. The 'Tamota Morioré' version interpreted by Mawaca is not the song *as is* sung by the Txucarramãe, because there are transformations in rhythm, the way of singing, the use of instruments and a fusion with a Japanese song that musically (and archaeologically) makes sense. But is there such freedom to do this? Is it a distortion of the Txucarramãe song? Are their identities being placed at risk? Are we expressing their language poorly? Are we disrespecting their community?

The work of recreating these indigenous songs goes through a creative, inventive process that transcends the ethno-musicological aspect. Should I leave that music 'alone' in a dusty LP or some inaccessible collection? Should I be criticized by ethnomusicologists or music critics, who belong to 'Western music'?

> 'Innovation', 'invention' and especially 'creativity' are very much part of the vocabulary of traditional history and criticism of (art and urban) music. It is strongly dogmatic (in western culture) that the 'progress' of the art is described in terms of 'creativity' of the 'genius'. The phenomenon of reorganization rarely appears in sociological literature, which is curious since it seems to be so important in all contemporary organizations. Rearranging the furniture in the house may not be spectacular enough for the sociologist, but it can have an enormous influence on the use of space. In music, many improvisational and compositional techniques are based on reordering. In fact, we can very well ask the question if not all creativity in music is a form of reordering. Finally, 'reduction' often is discussed in relation to environmental change and it could well be compared to the 'survival of the fittest'. Musical concepts and ideas are continuously regrouping, hybridizing, renovating and what not, but only some will survive for some time (MEER, 2005: 64-65).

The concept of reorganization and composition applies well to what we produce musically. Since we are working mainly with musical arrangements, many would think that they are only a 'new version' with just some extra chords or a new introduction. But the creative process in relation to these indigenous themes, in *Rupestres Sonoros*, is mostly the result of my experiences with a vast repertoire of different musical traditions that, for some reason, connect. The analyses of these pieces would unravel a series of diverse procedures that do not connect in indigenous music but create possibilities of articulating this sonic material.

> It is the role of critical musicology to explore the dialectic of tradition versus change. The musician or composer has other things on his mind, as he is basically an opportunist who relies on tradition and innovation at the same time to establish his identity and in the process, proclaim his superiority. 'My' innovations are necessary within the tradition; 'other' innovations violate the very core of the tradition. Twentieth-century western attitudes to the opposites of tradition and change are less evident, as there is, both in popular and classical music, a tendency to fully synthesize these opposites, or, in other words, to take the legacy of tradition for granted while giving full primacy to innovation (of which the 'New!' syndrome is also an outcome). This may partly be ascribed to a capitalist concern with copyrights, which not only prohibits imitation and borrowing, but also cripples the power of tradition to act as a selective filter. It may be, however, that the only real change this entails is that musicians have to worry more about lawyers than about critics (MEER, 2004: 59).

This dialetic dialogue between tradition and change is something that permeates Mawaca's approach. We do not belong to any specific tradition, we are deterritorialized because we live in a city like São Paulo, with its vast multiplicity of immigrants – from Asia, Europe and Latin America – and the African

traditions, a completely cosmopolitan environment. We are "postmodern subjects" in the concept of Stuart Hall in his book *The Question of Cultural Identity*.

> The subject, previously experienced as having a unified and stable identity, is becoming fragmented; composed, not of a single, but of several, sometimes contradictory or unresolved, identities. Correspondingly, the identities which composed the social landscapes 'out there', and which ensured subjective conformity with the objective 'needs' of the culture, are breaking up as a result of structural and institutional change. The very process of identification, through which we project ourselves into our cultural identities, has become more open-ended, variable and problematic (HALL, 1992: 276-277).

Anthropophagy and perspectivism

São Paulo has a 'cannibalistic' spirit, reflected in its past when it staged the *Semana de Arte Moderna* (Modern Art Week) (1922) and the *Movimento Antropofágico* (Anthropophagic movement') (1928). Tropicalism[304] (1967) emerged from this tradition, when the nationalist connotations were lifted, and the political discourse reverted to another level. The notion of 'swallowing' (or cannibalizing) prevalent in this movement is not different from Mawaca's proposal. To eat and regurgitate, experiment, fuse, hybridize, and connect are the appropriate verbs. A proposal that may partake of the "proliferation of multiplicity" Viveiros de Castro professes in his book *Metafísicas Canibais* (Cannibal Metaphysics), in which he preaches the abolition of cultural and bilateral borders – the old "us and them" – and instead to make these frontiers "imprecise", "distorting their boundaries". This is not about erasing limits, but folding them, making them denser, skewing and coloring them, making them into fractals" (VIVEIROS DE CASTRO, 2015: 28, my translation). The non-definition of frontiers would be a way to imagine oneself with the point of view from the other's place.

Viveiros de Castro adequately summarizes the moment I am currently in: the challenge *is to think with them and not like them*, for even if we try to put ourselves in the 'other's' shoes, we will always represent the dominant ones, who have the technology and economic means to produce things. We must decolonize our thinking, even though our education has directed us towards doing the opposite. Viveiros de Castro understands that anthropology is a form of "cultural translation," and for him, the ideal situation would be "the theory-practice of the permanent decolonization of thought", which implies recognizing the difference and the autonomy of indigenous thought: "we cannot think as natives; we can, at most, think with them." (VIVEIROS DE CASTRO, 2015: 92, my translation). In this process, there is a process of mediating interests, and not only 'translating' from one way to another of viewing the world. Each one with their culture, customs, is what will define the 'what', 'how', 'why' and 'for what' to do. More than translating stories and songs, the native seeks a relationship between equals, in which he can freely place his way of thinking, without being

[304] Although mostly created by Bahian musicians, Tropicália was motivated by Sao Paulo´s multiple and controversial situation blending the newest things with the old stuff.

considered just an 'exotic being to be revealed'.

Latin-American decolonization and ethnomusicologies

Latin-American intellectuals have been reconsidering forms of comprehending indigenous cultures in a region with the historical density of old civilizations, and therefore an important place to construct a postcolonial perspective, a vision that results in new reflections on non-natives belonging to the Latin American continent.

The Uruguayan researcher Hugo Achúgar adresses the issue of decolonization from a Latin American perspective, in which there is great cultural diversity in colonial spaces with their own geo-historical specificities: "one thing is to be postcolonial in English and another in Spanish, Portuguese, Bahian, Quechua, Aymara, Guarani or equivalent" (ACHÚGAR, 1997: 4, my translation). We must understand the postcolonial issue using parameters that are different from what has been installed by Europe and the United States. Achúgar opens the article with the African proverb: "Until the day lions invent their own stories, hunters will always be the heroes of hunting stories", which summarizes what I would like to express. The story of the jaguar is about the intellectuals who, without pertaining to the 'subalterns' (the lions), stand side by side with them and place themselves as a "loaned identity", or a "consciousness of a loaned jaguar" (ACHÚGAR, 1997: 1, my translation).

> Much of the thinking originated within the Commonwealth's framework of postcolonialist theory ignores Latin-American production or, at best, analyzes Latin America as a homogeneous ensemble derived from a historical colonial past, supposedly common in essence with India, Africa and other regions of the planet. I will not reiterate here my question of the construction that has been made of Latin America and us Latin American, but I would like to insist on pointing out one of the biggest misunderstandings in the treatment of Latin America, which is that of its homogenization or that of its reduction to an epitome of the postcolonial or subaltern. Latin America is one of the battlegrounds where the different subjects fight for the construction of their project in function of their particular memories (ACHÚGAR, 1997: 379, my translation).

The Peruvian anthropologist Ramón Pajuelo proposes an exorcism of the colonial past in order to think of the future:

> [...] the search for a form of knowledge enunciated from the local historicity itself, truly freed from eurocentrism and colonialism, represents the first step towards a new way of knowing and recognizing the world; of simultaneously decolonized and decolonizing knowledge, related both to the past and to the future of postcolonial spaces and the people who inhabit them. This is the central promise of the nascent Latin American and Andean postcolonial theorizing: exorcising the past as a way of prefiguring the future; precisely because it is, to a large extent, a theorizing of pain (PAJUELO, 2001: 14, my translation).

The pain still felt from colonization in Latin America reverberates in many areas of knowledge, including ethnomusicology. Since it is an area of European origin, Brazilian researchers feel constantly suffocated by the methods of analysis and thinking of foreign ethnomusicology. There is a pressure that suffocates us, because we live in friction with ideas from there (North) and forms of thinking

from here (South) which stiffens us. We are considered chaotic and not very productive, and if we really think in a cross-linked, dialectical way, this is the result of different stories that are yet to be told, and only then would we understand its complexity.

We must "cannibalize" much more in order to understand our internal processes and solve these issues. Militancy and research go hand in hand. Currently, there are very few researchers who do not take political sides in Brazil, due to its many social problems.

In Brazil, educator Vera Candau follows the same principles of Latin-American intellectuals that develop research about decolonialism and understands interculturalism as a new process of democratic construction of societies:

> We part from the assumption that interculturalism points to the construction of societies that take differences as a democratic foundation, and that are able to construct new, truly equal relations between the different sociocultural groups, empowering those who have been historically inferiorized (CANDAU, 2012: 244, my translation).

Transposing these ideas to the field of music and the research of music is what in Brazil has been coined 'ethnomusicology', despite criticisms to the prefix 'ethno', which carries derogatory and racial meanings and denotes a colonialist view that is no longer accepted today (MEER, 2014).

Ethnomusicologist Angela Lühning (2016) analyzes the presence of participative ethnomusicology in Brazil, as a consequence of the decolonization process. New demands emerge for musical research, that dialogues with the great and challenging cultural diversity that this country of continental dimensions has. The moment in which we discuss multicultural and intercultural education in schools, contexts will be redefined, and new concepts will emerge as a response to such a profound change in society. Even the field of ethnomusicology has been questioning the function of the 'ethno' prefix:

> As such, the fault is not with the musicologists hijacking the term, but with ethnomusicologists later segregating themselves from musicology by claiming 'other music' as their territory and leaving 'western classical music' to the old 'musicologists'. The term ethnomusicology is therefore a remnant of a (neo-) colonial heritage and those who call themselves ethnomusicologists wittingly subscribe to this elitist, racist and sexist ideology. In the same way, the term 'world music' in reality is a submission to the idea that there is 'music', which is European classical (and perhaps North American popular) music, and there is other music – the music of 'most of the world' (MEER, 2014, n.p.).

This 'most of the world' to which Van der Meer refers to hardly includes Latin American music, because 'world music' is more concerned with African and Eastern countries, India and Caribbean styles. With rare exceptions (such as Peruvian Susana Baca, Bolivian Luzmila Carpio and Colombian Toto la Momposina[305]), Latin American music did not have much space in the international music scene, having been

[305] There are many Latin American singers from the pop scene like Shakira and Ricky Martin and others from the romantic line like Julio Iglesias who are not considered part of the World Music scene.

relegated to 1970s protest music under the concept of "music as revolutionary social transformation" or romantic pop music. Latin America "did not have this Tropicalism that mixed Vicente Celestino with John Cage, folk culture with high culture, using elements of pop and kitsch", in a process of Oswaldian cannibalism[306] (VIVEIROS DE CASTRO, 2017, my translation). According to Viveiros de Castro, tropicalism was the "most original meta-cultural reflection produced in Latin America until today".

> The Anthropophagy movement was the only truly anticolonial contribution we invented, a contribution that completely anachronized the outdated academic-marxist notion of "out of place ideas". It put the indian in the future and in direction to the ecumene; it was not a theory of nationalism, going back to roots, indianism. It was a truly revolutionary theory (VIVEIROS DE CASTRO interview, 2014, my translation).

This is what makes the way of thinking in Brazil different from other Latin American countries, mainly Bolivia and Venezuela, where indigenous issues are often linked to nationalism and there are several mainstream actions to promote "indigenousness", even though it might be an artificial construction. However, in Brazil, our policies insist on ignoring them and consider them "outsiders". Even though there were some actions promoted by the Ministry of Education with the Secretariat for Continuing Education, Literacy, Diversity and Inclusion (SECADI), the Brazilian native continues to be invisible to the rest of Brazilian society and they are not on the Brazilian political agenda[307].

In the words of Viveiros de Castro, what Brazilian society imposes on the indigenous communities is a "symbolic death, a neutralization of native thought, which is where they become second-class citizens". It is also what anthropologist José Jorge Carvalho (1998) calls "condition of subalternity", also translatable to the "condition of silence".

> The subaltern is not representated due to their condition of being silenced. The moment the subaltern gives in to the mediations of the representation of their condition, they become an object in the hands of their representative in the economic and power circuit. Because of this, they do not become full subjects (CARVALHO, 1988: 120, my translation).

This silencing is mostly done through developmental policies that consistently ignore the indigenous population, disrespecting their basic rights to live in their original lands. Viveiros de Castro makes severe criticisms to the way the Brazilian government ignores the indigenous presence, transforming them into

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[306] Here Viveiros de Castro is comparing Oswald de Andrade to Mário de Andrade: "Anthropophagy was poorly received for several reasons. First, Oswald de Andrade was a French-American dandy (the paradox is part of the theory) who lacked academic credentials. He did not do field work like Mário de Andrade, for example. Mário de Andrade reaped popular music, songs, went after myths, invented a view of Brazil. But Oswald had a superior rhetorical firepower; his inconsequence was visionary [...] He had an incomparable punch. If Mário was the great inventor of diversity, Oswald was the great theorist of multiplicity – a very different thing" (VIVEIROS DE CASTRO, 2017).

[307] We can cite some important figures that were fundamental indigenous leaders as Ailton Krenak, Álvaro Tukano, Raoni, Sonia Guajajara, Eliane Potyguara, Nailson Pataxó, Marcos Terena, Kaká Werá and many others.

"poor people forced towards consumption" and "neutralizing native thought":

> In Brazil, what we see today is much more than a "neutralization of native thought". What we see is a ferocious offensive to decimate the natives, sweep away their way of life (and, consequently, of thought) from the face of the national territory. This is what is intended today – what has always been the plan, but nowadays the methods are more subtle and effective, yet just as brutal as always. Silence the indigenous, deindigenize all native thought, in order to transform those "indians" that still "re-exist" (this is how indigenous people in Brazil exist today: through "re-existence") into poor people, i.e., into "good Brazilians", poorly assisted, poorly educated, converted into evangelical christians by an army of fanatic missionaries, turned into meek consumers of the infinite stock of trash produced by the world economy. In a nutshell: to turn natives (the ones that have not yet been exterminate) into a "citizen". A poor citizen, of course. A rich native would practically be a theological offense, a heresy to national ideology. To turn the indigenous into the poor, you must first remove what they have: their lands, their way of life, the moral and ecological fundamentals of their economy, their internal political autonomy. Impel them to consume what they do not have – what is produced in the land of others (in the lands owned by agribusiness for example, or in Chinese factories) (VIVEIROS DE CASTRO, 2015, my translation).

Amerindian perspectivism

Viveiros de Castro proposes to decolonize anthropology, which according to him urgently needs to reconsider the established new forms of research and of contacting natives. He proposes an Amerindian perspectivism[308], which is different from cultural relativism and from universalism, and seeks to comprehend indigenous cosmologies, refusing to believe in a binary mode of thinking, where nature is opposed to culture; animality to humanity; objective to subjective. The Amerindian perspectivism discusses:

> [...] the ideas in Amazonian cosmologies concerning the way in which humans, animals and spirits see both themselves and one another. Such ideas suggest the possibility of a redefinition of the classical categories of 'nature', 'culture' and 'supernature' based on the concept of perspective or point of view. The study argues in particular that the antinomy between two characterizations of indigenous thought – on the one hand 'ethnocentrism', which would deny the attributes of humanity to humans from other groups, and on the other hand 'animism', which would extend such qualities to beings of other species can be resolved if one considers the difference between the spiritual and corporal aspects of beings (VIVEIROS DE CASTRO,1998: 469).

Anthropology today transcends the old dichotomy between the paradigms of emics and etics[309] and aims at creating a 'meaningful' social relation, more consistent with a two-way path:

> The 'anthropologist' is someone who discusses the discourse of a 'native'. The native does not need to be especially wild, or

[308] Amerindian perspectivism, according to Viveiros de Castro (1996), would be "the notion that, in the first place, the world is populated by many species of beings (besides actual humans) endowed with consciousness and culture and, in the second place, that each one of these species sees itself and others in quite a unique way: each one sees itself as human, and the others as non-human, that is, as species of animals or spirits. This subject is discussed in the article *Pronomes cosmológicos e perspectivismo ameríndio* (Cosmological pronomes and Amerindian perspectivism) (1996).

[309] The most common use of the distinction between emic and etic, in most cases, is to differentiate the "native's point of view" from that of the observer, "an extreme division, mechanical and dichotomical, which does not consider the possibility that a person may be both native and external observer in a given context; as if the subjects would always have only one identity – and their corresponding interests – invariably" (ROZO, 2006). More information about it in: ALVAREZ-PEREYRE e SIMHA AROM, 1993; FINNEGAN, 2002; GOURLAY, 1978; NETTL, 2003)

> traditionalist, neither a natural of the place where the anthropologist finds them; the anthropologist does not need to be excessively civilized, or a modernist, or a foreigner to the people they write about. The discourses of the anthropologist and, especially, the natives', do not have to be texts: they are any reproduction of meaning. What is essential is that the discourse of the anthropologist (the 'observer') establishes a certain relation with the discourse of the native (the 'observed'). This relation is one of meaning, or, as is said when the first discourse has the intent of being scientific, a relation of knowledge. However, anthropological knowledge is both a social relation, because the effect of the relations is reciprocal between the subject that knows and the subject that is getting to know, and the cause of transformation (every relation is a transformation) in the relational constitution of both (VIVEIROS DE CASTRO, 2002, my translation).

The traditional academic format does not seem to be sufficient to address the complexity of dealing with indigenous concepts now formulated by themselves. They have started to acquire their own technological tools, to make their own films, produce their own CDs and protagonize their projects autonomously. Ethnomusicologists become partners and collaborators, and even producers in the sense of transforming the native ideas into concrete projects, thus setting a new paradigm for their roles. While the nineteenth and twentieth centuries produced ethnographers, who were concerned with 'preserving primitive native cultures' and keeping their objects in collections to be shown in museums, as relics of remote times, today there are proposals for different types of musicologies, as Wim van der Meer proposes in his article *The Location of Music: Towards a Hybrid Musicology*.

> Endomusicology – when musicians study their own music, as is the case of historical, critical and theoretical musicology;
>
> Exomusicology – when a person who has another terminology for culture analyzes the music of another culture using his or her own terminology. This avoids any confusion around –emic and -etic perspectives;
>
> Metamusicology – musicology that tries to locate universality in different musical traditions, or negotiates a common way to translate musical concepts and events between different cultures;
>
> Paramusicology – music-logic, thinking about music, thinking of music, thinking through music. An example would be the way a Kamayurá understands the world through a complex musical theory, which regulates social and cultural life;
>
> Orthomusicology – implies complete autonomy of music, as a phenomenon that can be studied in isolation, as is done with sheet music analyzed by historical musicologists and the acoustic and cognitive studies of systematic musicology;
>
> Ecomusicology – music in its context, more accepted by the academic community, non-autonomous;
>
> Biomusicology – based on evolutionist studies, which include neurological and psychological aspects of music. Another direction would be paleomusicology, an interesting new field.

These distinctions, as thought of by Wim van der Meer, oppose lingering colonialist ideas that still permeate ethnomusicology.

> The very idea of ethnomusicology is a remnant of colonialism. If we take Kerman's definition, it is the study of non-western music. Dividing the world of music into western and non-western spheres seems to be a distinctly colonial legacy. Should an Indian musicologist who specializes in the study of western music call himself an ethnomusicologist? Still, some western musicologists try to defend the 'status aparte' of western art music. Of course, if the argument is that this is their music we can accept that. And of course, a scholar of French literature will study French literature, but will he suggest that literary studies only bear relevance to French literature? (MEER, 2014).

However, the removal of the prefix 'ethno' would not serve well for the reality Brazil is living through

now. We are still seeking to affirm the existence of our nation's minorities, even demanding the creation of a federal government division dedicated to taking care of "ethno-racial relations." We are still in the process of recognizing and defining these minority groups and of creating spaces where they may exist with dignity. Therefore, removing 'ethno' at this moment would mean not giving them this little space and continuing to make them invisible. It is in this process that proposals adopting an intercultural approach, which values collaborative actions, may empower us all.

Interculturalism

In Brazil, I have been observing a series of actions which aim at giving minorities access to new settings, such as graduate programs in universities which have designated spots for indigenous and black people, as is the case of UFMG, UFBA, UFSCar and UFG. In 2009, the Federal University of Goiás (UFG) created the *Núcleo Takinahaky de Formação Superior Indígena* (Takinahaky Center of Higher Education for Indigenous Peoples), a research and qualification center in the field of indigenous school education and intercultural education, for undergraduate and graduate courses. The Takinahaky Center consolidates new educational practices in indigenous and non-indigenous schools and also promotes indigenous peoples' access to and permanence in higher education. They currently have 300 indigenous teachers in the states of Goiás, Mato Grosso, Tocantins and Maranhão, representing 20 different peoples: Krahô, Apinajé, Javaé, Karajá, Guarani, Xambioá, Canela, Gavião, Guajajara, Kuikuro, Krikati, Tapirapé, Xerente, Kamayurá, Juruna, Timbira, Waurá, Xavante, Xacriabá and Tapuia. According to ethnomusicologist Alexandre Herbetta, the program's coordinator:

> From a decolonialist perspective, Krahô and non-indigenous intellectuals establish reflections and suggestions for the transformation of schoolar dynamics. They propose a musical, contextualized, transdisciplinary and community-driven school. The NTSFI actions are based on spoken data, practices and documents produced by indigenous and non-indigenous academics of the center, as well as documents about Brazilian school education. The reflections and experiences presented are especially musical, and point towards new conceptions, perspectives and possibilities of music, music education, schools and the world (HERBETTA, 2016, n.p.).

Ibã Sales from the Huni Kuin people also worked as a teacher at UFMG, a federal university in Minas Gerais and UFSB (University of the South of Bahia), where he lectured to art students presenting his research on *Huni Meka* ritual chants, already mentioned earlier. There are many more actions being carried in universities today, too numerous to approach all of them in this thesis[310].

These actions, in a certain way, are developed in accordance with UNESCO's 2009 proposal of an

[310] I recommend reading the article by CAMBRIA, FONSECA and GUAZINA (2016) and by CARVALHO, COHEN, CORRÊA, CHADA in the World of Music Series Magazine edited by Birgit Abels (2016).

"intercultural dialogue that requires the empowerment of all the participants through training and projects that propagate the interaction without the loss of personal or collective identity", (UNESCO, 2009: 10), which clearly indicates a more collaborative and participative way of moving towards cultural diversity.

> The key to successful intercultural dialogue is in acknowledging that there is equal dignity among the participants. It presupposes recognizing and respecting different forms of knowledge and the participants´ modes of expression, customs and traditions, and the efforts to establish a culturally neutral context that facilitates dialogue and permits communities to express themselves freely (UNESCO, 2009: 10).

Interculturalism today has substituted the multiculturalist perspective because it has greater methodological reach. It presupposes the concept that these "identities" must relate to, and not only tolerate, one another by keeping in mind the distinction between cultures created by the relations of power that affect them, not only their sizes. Some authors use these terms almost synonymously, the term multiculturalism being more used in English speaking academic production (especially the north Atlantic) and interculturalism in productions from Latin language countries (in Latin America interculturalism transcends the idea of simply co-existing, and brings in that of interrelating, which is deeper and more complex). Even so, the researcher is still faced with a dilemma: to what extent can they understand these musical universes without interfering in them? There is urgency in the actions that need to be taken, so there can be multiple points of view, and our ears must be open to other musical possibilities, especially in Brazilian music education, which is still very attached to the European model. Music education has been left out of schools for 40 years, which evidently makes the situation even more complex.

> There is still much to be done for the reality of qualification courses, which show great difficulty in inserting manifestations of folk culture as well as indigenous music. In relation to the contribution of ethnomusicology in the practice of music education, we can still observe a gap between teachers and researchers, who have very little dialogue and hardly exchange knowledge. It has become necessary to approximate these two universes so that a more updated education may reach the classroom (ALMEIDA, PUCCI, 2014: 5, my translation).

Ethnomusicology and music education

The connection between ethnomusicology and music education is relatively recent in Brazil and is still struggling through conceptual problems. Ethnomusicologist Hugo Ribeiro made a wide-ranging report of articles and communications from 1992 to 2003, published in the ABEM Annals (Brazilian Association of Music Education). His conclusions about the use of authors connected to ethnomusicology are that, "in general there is little knowledge of even the basic texts of ethnomusicology", which denotes "academic stagnation", "without renewal of knowledge" (RIBEIRO, 2004: 16, 17, my translation).

> The importance of basic texts, such as Charles Seeger (1977), John Blacking (1995), (1973), Alan P. Merriam (1964), Bruno Nettl (1964), Mantle Hood (1983) among others is in the fact that these texts have already initiated important discussions on topics of interdisciplinary interest, such as processes of informal learning, cultural identity, uses and functions of music, musical discourse as a discourse of power, social control, etc. When subjects like these are approached without necessary references of what has already been written more than forty years ago, there is academic stagnation, a continuous process of rediscovery, without reflection about previous experiences. Therefore, there is no renewal of knowledge (RIBEIRO, 2004:

16 and 17, my translation).

Hugo Ribeiro also criticizes the "apparent total lack of knowledge of ethnomusicology as a field of study and production of knowledge in music", when we see "several texts approaching problems of multiculturalism, cultural plurality, elite culture and folklore which are based exclusively on cultural anthropology, sociology, psychology, but not even one text from the field of ethnomusicology" (RIBEIRO, 2004, my translation).

Although these texts analyzed by Hugo Ribeiro surely do not include all of the music educational practices in Brazil, since most music teachers prioritize musical practice and are not interested in producing articles or even participating in academic congresses. We see a wide gap between music education and ethnomusicology, with few exceptions such as the authors Margareth Arroyo, Katia Dallanhol, Sonia Chada, Ermelinda Paz, Gloria Moura and Luiz Ricardo Queiroz, who consider the contact with diverse cultural and musical contexts an expansion of discourse within music education:

> [...] it is not possible for us to universally comprehend all the songs of the world, for it is the musical language of each culture suitable to their singular system of codes. What is possible for us, and what music education should provide us, is the interaction with music from different cultural contexts, amplifying our musical dimensions and perceptions, so that from our contact with other languages we can also amplify our own musical discourse (QUEIROZ, 2004: 101, my translation).

Educational work that includes musical diversity demands research and practical studies from the teacher for the musical experience to indeed be meaningful for the students, or else it will tend to stagnate towards the automatic reproduction "of 'exotic' music, deprived of symbolic value to the students".

> Therefore, it is necessary to elaborate activities with musical interpretation, appreciation and creation from the research of organological aspects (discovering instruments, their sounds, ways of playing, etc.); of the discovery of elements related to vocal aesthetics (how to sing, timbres used, effects from the use of the voice, etc.); comprehension and practices of musical structures in general (melodic, harmonic construction, etc.) (QUEIROZ, 2009: 102, my translation).

Marcos Câmara, professor of ethnomusicology at University of São Paulo, understands that "music education can be considered the greatest field of application of all and any research in music", but states that the bibliographical production of music in Brazil is still insufficient and there is a scarcity in the publication of reviews and translations of foreign books for the "development of a conscious critique" (CÂMARA, 2013: 928).

> Music education must create a thinking that preserve the symbolic capital of communities and societies, who pay taxes to support their research and bridge the gaps between technical, historical and humane approaches to music (CÂMARA, 2013: 928, my translation).

Ethnomusicologist Carlos Sandroni commented during the ABEM (Brazilian Association of Music Education Symposium in 2000 on the difficulties of "the incorporation of themes relative to traditional folk cultures of the entire world in music schools". The main problem he identified is connected to the "distinction we are used to making between content – encompassed in the 'curriculum' tag, i.e., 'what' is taught – and

form, encompassed in the 'method' tag, i.e., 'how' it is taught" (SANDRONI, 2000: 1, my translation).

> The problem is that this distinction, if applied in a mindless way, might lead us to think that it is possible to treat folk music as contents to be incorporated in music curricula, but taught in methods alien to their original contexts, whether they are methods already used in schools or specially crafted methods (SANDRONI, 2000: 1, my translation).

Sandroni observes that the contents of folk music are better apprehended in informal educational spaces, but that the situation becomes complicated when we deliver this learning exercise in formal spaces such as schools, conservatories and colleges.

> Given that these methods originate in specific contexts, in cultural situations that are different from the ones in schools, would it be utopian to transplant them? To sum it up, do cultures of oral tradition have something to teach us in respect to teaching methods? (SANDRONI, 2000, my translation).

The friction between the two universes – 'informal' and 'formal/methodic' ways of learning – does exist, but it does not prevent teachers of undergraduate courses from including these concerns and stimulate academia and the next generation of ethnomusicologists to search for better ways of approaching this content; simply ignoring this tension would make no sense. Ethnomusicologist Mantle Hood, who pioneered bimusicality in the 1960s, envisioned that his students should learn at least two musical traditions, their own and of a culture different from theirs, and that this requirement would provoke an immense change in their mentality. By learning about other musical traditions, Hood proved that it was possible to have knowledges to coexist and that doing so would be a way to stimulate respect and comprehension of one for the other.

Mantle Hood's proposal of bimusicality could be interesting for Brazil. The Brazilian musician, as well as the musical educator, enjoys actively experiencing and participating, and there is nothing better than 'doing', 'playing along', singing, in order to comprehend the concepts, the musical forms of other groups, whether Brazilian or foreign. It is important to remember that the music of the Xingu natives can be a very different mode of musical expression for someone from the south of the country, and contrary-wise the *chamamé* of Rio Grande do Sul can be 'strange' for someone from the north. Brazil is culturally extremely diverse, and internal exchanges are just as important for us to comprehend our own aesthetic, and our cultural and social differences. In the field of music education, these exchanges of knowledge can be stimulating and result in interesting interdisciplinary work.

In this not-so-new paradigm, "participant observation" requires more commitment from people and the acquisition of a different point of view on things. According to Bolivian ethnomusicologist Bernardo Rozo, in many cases, there is the necessity of an "experiential approach: 'live what you study' and 'study what you feel' that may be an option for intransferable enrichment of knowledge and construction of meaning" (ROZO, 2006). Rozo defends bimusicality as an interesting process for research and political engagement:

> Bimusicality implies a way of positioning oneself politically in evoking the importance of musical learning methods

> developed in traditional cultures, which prioritize aspects such as: development of tonal memory, the importance of mnemonic resources in the entire teaching process; imitation, listening, the importance of sound over technique, improvisation as a principle of execution, the adaptation of musical technique to the body of the musician and the independence of different body parts for execution. All of these principles could be the fundamentals of a practical study to be developed in order to address a fundamental issue: deep knowledge, not only technical, of a musical tradition (the identity of a studied culture, in terms of language, religion, customs, history, etc. (ROZO, 2006, my translation).

Still using Hood's concepts, Rozo frequently uses the term 'hear'. But there is also the term 'listen'. The act of hearing should be more than simply exercising the physical-mechanical act of perceiving sounds with the ear in order for it to be part of a larger democratic and respectable musical practice. Hearing implies knowing how to listen; its latin equivalent is *auscultare*, which means to 'pay attention to what one hears'. "The ability to listen, therefore, means connecting with the entire body, making it listen, execute, understand and transmit the music" (ROZO, 2006, my translation).

In the Federal University Sul da Bahia (UFSB), while Ibã Sales Huni Kuin worked there as a visiting professor, the perceptions the musicians and students had of him were very interesting. According to Augustin Tugny "what impressed the students, apart from the strangeness of the language and the words, the myths and cosmogonic relations Ibã presented, was his will to transmit, his generosity in passing along his knowledge and his ability to insert others in his practices". According to him, the musical experience with Ibã "deconstructed the Western standards" in which the students were habituated to learning and instead encouraged them to propose "renewed musical creation", an effect which Daniel Duras coined as 'resonance', "a temporal and physical resonance that is established in the passing of chants from generation to generation" (TUGNY, 2016: 8, my translation).

> The chants are transmitted orally from father to son and there is a complexity that goes beyond learning a new language, but it is in the unique details of those sounds. Such complexity also happens with the melody, because the notes are different, there is a singular time division, which cannot be copied by a guitar. Understanding becomes experimenting with, and experiencing**,** something that has been refined through many generations. Resonance happens every moment (TUGNY et al., 2016: 9, my translation).

The UFSB students noticed the issue of fluid measures, also noted by Mawaca's musicians during our collaborations with Ibã, as well as the difficulty of using other instruments to accompany them, because of the differences in tuning. These perceptions can only be understood through execution and hands on practice, noticing that the sounds that exist outside of our academic standards are equally important, even if they feel aesthetically strange.

Bruno Nettl, at a conference in Beijing during the international ISME (International Society of Music Education) Congress stated that music does not always produce "agreeable" sounds, but rather reveals important aspects about who is making it. His presence in the encounter shows that there is a concern to unite ethnomusicology with music education, to create a solid foundation for children's education:

> […] educators have perceived that music can offer a lot more than listening, appreciating or making agreeable sounds. They discover more and more that they learn about people through music, that many peoples around the world express important things about their lives and cultures through music. And as ethnomusicologists, they may become more and more humanistic in their hearts, music educators have been, at least for some time, anthropologists of music (NETTL, 2010: 3).

The agreement in relation to teaching a multiplicity of musical genres from different parts of the world is, of course, humanistic and interesting enough, but there is an issue: how could a teacher explain cultural diversity if they have only received classical European education? It is not realistic to suppose that all teachers will be able to have all the musical abilities required for all genres. For example, to sing a Chinese song demands quite different vocal techniques from those required by Brazilian folk singing, such as Bossa Nova. To interpret a Brahms *lied* requires a different technique from a Bulgarian chant, which needs guttural sound that are entirely avoided in the Italian tradition of *bel canto*.

The issue of tuning is also complex. While I transcribed indigenous songs for the *Cantos da Floresta* book, I noticed how difficult it was to transpose the vocals of several indigenous singers to sheet music [311], as well as to define the microtones of the woodwind instruments – such as *japurutu* or *cariço* – which have complex articulations, portamentos and variations. Western music notation is not suited to cover other cultures' musical qualities. Therefore, as a first step, it would be interesting to develop different listening dynamics – active listening, contextualized listening, sensorial listening, body listening – so that the student might cover these musical idioms with tranquility, dissipating initial strangeness. A second step would be to appropriate these musical elements and learn how to sing and play them, even if only by using other instruments in order to approximate the desired musical results. Therefore, I believe that the teachers should work intensely on organizing listening exercises with many different musical styles, as well as encouraging students to interpret these outside examples of music-making, seeking creative solutions to adapt their classical training. However, when creating such spaces, the risk of students stereotyping the culture and musical tradition in question is great. I clearly notice this during Mawaca's own rehearsals. When we try to imitate southern Italian women singing, we nasalize and exaggerate the opening of the vowels, imagining how we will recreate their characteristic sound. But over time, we noticed that the placement should be different, not nasal, not guttural, but rather using the high palate, so that vowels sound louder. In some cases, we seek specialists to teach us how to use our voices properly and explore these characteristics, so the result is not a homogeneous technique, but one capable of sustaining the desired nuances.

In this sense, when I envision applying my indigenous music research towards music education, I intend to work in a more direct way. When I thought of writing the educational book *Outras terras, outros sons*

[311] For example, the Rio Negro singers that can be listened in the website www.cantosdafloresta.com.br (tracks 26 and 27).

(2003) the idea was to support teachers who were interested in inserting indigenous, Iberian and African influenced music in the classroom. Berenice, in her many qualification courses, had observed that most teachers prefer receiving detailed material, including sheet music and suggestions for in-class activities, rather than doing their own research, and it is still rare to have teachers who are also researchers. This is something the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire always commented on in his speeches: the importance of 'coming and going' between the roles of researcher and teacher, from 'naive thinking' (intuitive) to 'rightful thinking' (academic):

> There is no teaching without research and no research without teaching. These practices are found in one another. While I teach I continue to pursue, re-search. I teach because I search, because I ask and ask myself. I research to confirm, by confirming I intervene, by intervening I educate, and I educate myself. I research to know and what I still do not know, to communicate and announce novelty (FREIRE, 1996: 32, my translation).

In 2007, the Ministry of Education financed the publication of materials that covered indigenous contents, giving preference to those made by indigenous associations targeting specific educational processes in indigenous schools. Twenty-nine projects were financed in total, leading to twenty books, seven CDs and two videos, published by the SESADI – Secretariat of Continued Education, Literacy and Diversity. A further fifty titles were published by other companies, with a total investment of over two million reais. Most of this material comprised of school material on mathematics, grammar of native languages, and texts about health. Only three titles covered indigenous arts. We know of the existence of this material, but we have not been able to access it, perhaps due to the small amount of copies printed or the fact that they were only distributed in the communities that had produced the material. There was no link between the indigenous and non-indigenous communties, and subsequently no incentives for non-indigenous teachers to inform, make aware and stimulate their students to have contact with indigenous cultural contents. In this new material, there is almost nothing relating music, and no ethno-musicologists or music-researchers were involved.

Ethno-Musicologies in Brazil

Angela Lühning criticizes European and North American researchers' lack of knowledge on Brazilian ethnomusicology and the gaps that exists between the construction of knowledge in the North Atlantic Hemisphere and the alternative knowledges of the "Global South". This gap is a result of language barriers, relations of power and inequalities from the colonial era that persist until today, which entrenches the idea that European concert music is superior to other types of music, delegitimizing not only indigenous or African music, but also the results of the fusions with European music, such as *choro* and *samba* (LÜHNING et al., 2016). Brazilian musicology was restricted to a positivist view within a restricted circle until the mid 1990s. From time to time there have been actions that create possibilities for viewing this 'subaltern' music although they are still considered alternative and are on the fringes of media.

Brazilian ethnomusicology has a characteristic in which researchers investigate Brazilian manifestations either close to them or connected to their origins, which makes it possible to have a closer, more affective relation to the matter. In general, they are people who want to show the value of traditional manifestations which they consider to have great cultural importance.

When Bruno Nettl was in Brazil for the opening of the Brazilian Ethnomusicology Association conference, in 2005, he said it was clear to him that "the national ethnomusicology movements are prospering, and that the world of ethnomusicology will soon be seen as a world of ethno-musicologies" (NETTL, 2005: 112). However, Brazilian music education is still too concerned with so-called classical music, for it is considered music of a higher level. Unfortunately, the multicultural education that encompasses diverse ethnic expressions is rarely seen. The emergence of 'non-Western' academics who began studying music in their own traditions, was probably one of the greatest events in ethnomusicology since the 1950's (NETTL, 2005: 154).

In Brazil, with ethnomusicology in its youth[312], emerging only in the 1980s[313], we have a different scenario, because most of the musical ethnography done until then was called folklore and it took a long time for researchers to become more reflexive and not just descriptive in their researches. Mário de Andrade, who researched Brasilian music between 1920 and 1940, had a very interesting analytical view, but the ethnomusicologist's view took a long time to be incorporated into our research. Carlos Sandroni, in his article for the USP journal in 2006, makes a brief analysis of the development of ethnomusicology in Brazil:

> Ethnomusicology in Brazil is implanted predominantly in graduate programs in music, but with a strong tendency towards dialogue with researchers of other areas, including anthropologists not specialized in music, as well as researchers of literature, folklore, history, communications and others (SANDRONI, 2008: 75).

Dialogue with other areas of knowledge

The need to establish a dialogue with other areas of knowledge was noticed and public policies were implemented by UNESCO and the Ministry of Culture in the 2000's, which stimulated visibility and respectability of Brazilian and indigenous folk culture, such as, for example, in the interdisciplinary project

[312] Though the ethnomusicological production in Brazil is promising, the Associação Brasileira de Etnomusicologia (ABET – Brazilian Association of Ethnomusicologists) only began in 2001. On this matter, I suggest reading the articles by Ângela Lühning (2007), Rafael Menezes (2004), and Carlos Sandroni (2008) which demonstrate the promise of studies about music in Brazil, despite still going through the process of consolidation. The discipline has research and teaching groups in Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Brasília, Bahia, Pernambuco and Paraíba. Outside of Brazil, studies on ethnomusicological studies on Brazilian music can be found in the USA, France, and Great Britain.

[313] The most known researchers on folklore in Brazil were Mário de Andrade, Guerra Peixe, Luiz Heitor Corrêa de Azevedo, Câmara Cascudo and Silvio Romero.

Encontro de Saberes[314], (CARVALHO, 2010) conceived by the UnB professor José Jorge de Carvalho (LÜHNING, 2017). This project demonstrates a possibility for dialogue between the academic community and traditional holders of knowledge such as shamans and folk musicians. According to the National Institute of Science and Technology's (INCT)[315] website, it is an immense challenge when taking into consideration the enormous gap that separates the

> academic world, highly educated and centered exclusively in knowledge from modern Western universities; and the world of traditional knowledge, centered in the spoken tradition and that preserves knowledges of indigenous, African and other cultures, accumulated for centuries in Brazil (INCT, 2010, my translation).

The university seems to have started to understand that it needs the input of these indigenous-knowledge masters, while the indigenous peoples have realized that they need to 'speak the language of white people' if they want to defend themselves and tell their own story in their own way without middlemen, even if the process is mediated by professors.

> *Encontro dos Saberes* (Meeting of Knowledges) is a project that brings folk knowledge into the university, and the extension complements this process in the opposite direction, which is to open the doors of the university and take its knowledge outside. [...] It emerged with the creation of the Institute of Inclusionary Science and Technology in Higher Education (INCTI) of the University of Brasilia (UnB), in 2009. I had participated in two seminars about folk cultures in 2005 and 2006, which the masters of folk cultures had demanded to bring into formal education. Why don't *capoeira* masters teach? Why don't percussionists teach? So, with the foundation of the institute, I thought of making a partnership with the Ministry of Culture to put this in practice. It was all a big coincidence that the struggle for affirmative action, the struggle of folk culture masters and the INCTI happened at the same time, and this combination allowed the creation of the project (CARVALHO, 2014, my translation).

Other projects have been implemented according to the premises of *Encontro dos Saberes*, such as the interdisciplinary bachelor's in arts of UFSB from Bahia, which offers Amerindian, African-Brazilian and Euro-Brazilian masters for professors of many different areas such as dance, music, theater and visual arts. The course brings woodworkers, ceramics masters, shellfish gatherers, indigenous preachers and shamans, narrators and singers, midwives, fishermen, Afro-Brazilian religion leaders, several artists and masters of traditional communities of the South of Bahia to share their knowledge with the students (UFSB, 2014).

The intellectual, environmentalist and writer Ailton Krenak, coordinator of the *Rede Povos da Floresta* (Peoples of the Forest Network), has recently received an *Honoris Causa* title from the Federal University of Juiz de Fora, the first university to give that title to a teacher of the *Encontro dos Saberes* Movement. "Although this recognition has arrived on my 63rd year, it is a starting and not an arrival point. This is a movement to decolonize the university, open windows to other knowledges and pass them on" (Krenak in:

[314] See articles written by Carvalho, Cohen, Correa and Chada about the *Encontro de Saberes*, published in *The World of Music*, organized by Birgit Abels in 2016.

[315] The project was initiated by the University of Brasilia (UnB), in 2009.

UFJF website, 2016).

Ailton Krenak sees this as a step forward and a "collective gain". The university sends an important message to other universities, especially public universities, on the importance of integrating knowledge that is not of the Western canon, which still guides Brazilian history until today.

> Different knowledges are being integrated as resources, and this is fundamental. This is a collective gain. I have always heard prejudiced comments, but a great part of the population that does not read or write has a lot of knowledge. Today, the university is open to other forms of knowledge and I am happy to be a part of this. It is a collective victory not only for the indigenous, but also for other spoken cultures and memory (KRENAK, n.d., my translation).

Therefore, we can see a process that points towards acknowledgment of indigenous knowledge, even if distant from scientific-academic parameters of knowledge. Thus, we understand that projects that are centered on plurality and transculturality are important as exercises of approximating different cultural universes and stimulating the understanding of symbolic universes that have something to add.

The presence of these masters in universities relates to a proposal by Angela Lühning to create a participative, political and dialogical ethnomusicology – with researchers who seek more direct dialogue with cultural protagonists, the masters and owners of traditional knowledge – in communities and contexts close to the researchers' cultural experience, as well as dialogues with other areas of knowledge, such as history, technology and music education (LÜHNING, 2007).

In Brazil, there is a movement to move away from work-related ethnomusicology towards more participative approaches connected to social work. Lühning observes that many students who attend the ethnomusicology classes in Bahia come from other fields. According to her, many students "show a new mentality of comprehension and necessity of insertion, sharing what goes beyond merely academic interests. This development is quite positive in our view" (LÜHNING, 2006).

We can say that ethnomusicology in Brazil has something more to offer than just a discipline in the curriculum. According to Lühning, it is "more like a mentality, a way of perceiving that goes beyond the subject matter because it impels us to reflect on our inquiries, to rethink important concepts and socio-cultural historical realities" and proposes that the discipline should be offered in undergraduate courses as well, instead of being restricted to the graduate level.

Another strong tendency of ethnomusicology in Brazil can be described as a tendency towards "participative", "applied" or "engaged" work. Some examples would be the work of Kilza Setti with the Timbira, in Maranhão, helping them create an indigenous music collection; of Francisca Marques Pinto with *sambadores* of Cachoeira, in the bay area of Bahia; and of Samuel Araújo together with the low-income community of Maré, in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Although political engagement has already been pointed

out as a tendency in the discipline as a whole, it is possible to say that Brazil, compared to the US and Europe, is especially characterized by this activism (SANDRONI, 2008: 72).

During the last decade, masters of African-Brazilian and indigenous cultures have become a part of many projects that, although they do not fall within traditional academic molds, allow them to be inserted into universities, even if in experimental ways. This new collaborative approach with these masters was stimulated by ideas and actions of the anthropologist José Jorge de Carvalho[316], creator of the project *Encontro de Saberes*, which counted on the collaboration of many ethnomusicologists. The resulting actions are of Brazilian ethnomusicologists who study their own communities, or instead develop collaborative projects with the aim of strengthening the community where their research is being done. This is also a result of internal demands by diverse minority groups in Brazil. In the case of the indigenous, some groups ally themselves to linguists, anthropologists and ethnomusicologists to produce material in their native languages, so they can be used in the bilingual schools in the villages, besides creating cultural revitalization projects, as has been done with the Paiter Suruí people.

The Paiter Surui undertook a post-Western action as proposed by Mignolo[317] and named by Pajuelo as a process of construction of "a historiography written by the subalterns" (PAJUELO, 2001). Joaton Suruí had the desire to tell the story of contact with the *Gãbgir ey* clan from the viewpoint of his father, and he did so through the book *Histórias do Clã Gãbgir ey e o Mito do Gavião Real* produced by the Suruí themselves. This happened by means of the participative research model. The project was accomplished with resources obtained by the *Gãbgir ey* Association, which in exchange demanded the creation of educational material to be used in indigenous schools, since there is a paucity of material in the Paiter language. In the process of organization, recordings from Betty Mindlin's Arampiã Collection were used, which were published on CD. During the workshops, I was in service of the Paiter and made notes and translations under the supervision of

[316] Professor at UnB, his works as an anthropologist is mostly focused on the areas of Ethnomusicology, Afro-Brazilian Studies, Art Studies, Comparative Religion, Mysticism and Spirituality and Popular Cultures. Carvalho was one of the people responsible for the creation and implementation of the quota policy for African and indigenous descendants at the University of Brazilia, inspiring several other public education institutions, and continues to work with inclusive measures in the field of science and academia. He inaugurated the Instituto de Inclusão no Ensino Superior e na Pesquisa (Institute for Inclusion in Higher Learning and Research), at UnB.

[317] Mignolo proposes that the notion of "post-occidentalism" would be more adequate than "postmodernism" and "post-colonialism" to name Latin American post-colonialism, whose sources for reflection can be found in Latin American thought trajectory in the ideas of Mignolo, Coronil, Dussel, Quijano, Lander, Escobar, Castro-Gómez, among others.

the elders – culture keepers – the *korup´ey*[318]. The educator who assisted the Paiter Suruí, Laíde Ruiz, explains how the process of doing these workshops and their objectives was.

> During the workshop, we discussed the resulting problems of the use of different spellings for Paiter and norms were created to facilitate the unification of their spelling. For this it was fundamental for teachers from different Paiter schools to participate, and, most of all, the pivotal help of the *korup ey* themselves. As a result of this first workshop, we created the Paiter Suruí alphabet: a, ah, ã, ãh, b, d, e, eh, ẽh, g, ǧ, i, ĩ, ih, ĩh, j, k, l, m, n, o, oh, õ, õh, p, r, s, t, tx, u, uh û, ũh, w, y. Due to the success of the first one, the Gãbgir Association organized more workshops, [...] which resulted in the recording of more songs and narrative of the *Gãbgir* clan, complementing the existing material and, at the same time, stimulating the recording of new content. Currently, the quantity of the material written in the Paiter language is still insufficient for the work of teachers in the classroom. In a moment of deep cultural losses, the great reflection of the Paiter is to reinvigorate their language and promote cultural self-determination. The Paiter understand that they live in a universe that does not permit them to return to life as it was before the recent and devastating contact with the non-indigenous; they want to live in dignity in the current social context, but without losing their ancient knowledge they inherited from their ancestors (TRUBIGLIANO, FERREIRA, 2016: 7, my translation).

The oral stories, which were kept alive in the memories of these elders, reveal the 'other side of official Brazilian history', and, little by little, will together make up a robust corpus. These stories are still fragmented, they are only now begining to gain ground, and are still considered parallel and less important than the mainstream narrative. Their reverberation is still small, but these oral histories already have a space, even if limited to NGOs and indigenous institutions.

Contact with the Paiter Suruí made me understand how hard it is to guarantee that the perspectivist view (Viveiros de Castro) will be applied, because our own thoughts are still binary: crossing borders is not common in research. And when we discuss indigenous music we cross their borders all the time. It is not only music, it is sung poetry, it can be spoken and sung at the same time, it is narrative intertwined with song, people become animals that sing, and many different meanings become obscure, making it difficult to enjoy ancient knowledge that is distant from our conceptualizations.

Besides this action by the Paiter Suruí, there are many more ongoing actions with indigenous peoples entering universities, and many different cultural and educational projects that reinforce the cultural identity of each people. However, even with the greater access to indigenous content that exists today, with more books, websites, animations, documentaries, CDs, there is still great resistance to facing the fact that indigenous people should be autonomous and respected in their diversity. It is still common to see books insisting on the 'good savage' stereotype, who lives in the middle of an isolated forest, unchanged since the Neolithic era. British postcolonial theorist Robert Young comments on this effect:

> The colonial and imperial rule was legitimized by anthropological theories which increasingly portrayed the peoples of the colonized world as inferior, childlike, incapable of looking after themselves (despite having done so perfectly well for

[318] More info about this in my Master dissertation *A Arte Oral Paiter Suruí* and in the article by Laíde Ruiz Ferreira (2016), who worked with Paiter for many years, both listed in the bibliography.

> millennia) and requiring paternal rule of the west for their own best interests (today they are deemed to require 'development') (YOUNG, 2003: 2).

In Brazil, there are more and more campaigns about indigenous and environmental issues, issues which are evidently connected. Generally, when environmental issues are the main focus, society engages with the cause. But when the issue is indigenous people, engagement is much lower, perhaps due to ignorance or the fact that many people consider natives to be 'an obstacle to development'. Although the present moment is open to new ways of approaching this theme, we can still see a naive and romanticized reaction from many people who sign petitions or read superficial news reports, as part of a serious lack of understanding of indigenous issues. It is true that in the last decade there has been an improvement in the way people view the indigenous problem, but there is still much to be done so that their point of view becomes free from banal stereotypes. Even though awareness of the indigenous world has grown, the violent actions so common against the Kaiowá clearly show the constant process of rejection indigenous people face from the rest of Brazilian society. Cultural actions, although of great importance, are kept in the shadow of greater problems that plague these communities such as squatting, the construction of hydroelectric dams, mining, continuous deforestation and diseases that have decimated several indigenous groups in Brazil. Their culture resists even with this ever-deteriorating scenario. In light of this dire reality, to talk about music may seem ludicrous, or even useless. Considering these difficulties, it becomes even more important to review the way to do research in Brazil, since colonialist thinking is being progressively dismounted by actions and projects that seek new alternatives to opportunities, education and participation.

Research processes in a postcolonial´s view in progress

The Brazilian pedagogue André Morin describes the research process under a triad that balances explanation, application and implication, and describes it in the following way:

> In general, the term research-action is a method used to take strategic action and requiring the participation of the actors. It is identified as a new way of creating knowledge in which relations between theory, practice, research and action are constant. Research-action allows actors to build theories and strategies that emerge from the field and that, afterwards, are validated, confronted, challenged within the field. Make desirable changes in order to solve or better address a problem. The demarche looks like a circle in spiral between three processes that mix: planning and action, combined with a constant collection of data of the group and their own context (MORIN, 2004: 60, my translation).

My actions towards the indigenous people with whom I have been developing educational and artistic projects follow the approach André Morin proposes. These actions are in part trying to explain concepts, and in part applying them. Everything is mixed, from my specific interests as a musician, of understanding and experimenting the musical codes of each group; to my preoccupation in transmitting what I have learned from indigenous to other people, especially teachers that do not have this knowledge; as well as my concern with 'serving' the indigenous groups in some way, helping them with their projects, and participating in musical projects that are based on a high militancy process as was *Música Indígena no Palco*.

Aiming to give visibility, acknowledgment and respectability to the natives is what moves me, because observing the situation they are in, I have understood that this is a function I cannot cease to do. The production of educational material about the musical repertoire of a determined group for their own use is of fundamental importance, in my opinion, because I observe complete ignorance on indigenous cultural issues in the Brazilian society in general.

I agree with Nettl (2005: 401) that education must be incorporated in current ethnomusicology, as explained by Julia Tygel.

> ... in the sense of transmitting to other areas the importance of music and musical studies in culture. Papers on participative ethnomusicology can also result in complementary and supplementary educational material, turning the youth's attention towards the world's musical diversity, under the lense of the different communities that produce this music and, with this point of view, learn to respect and value them. Nettl (2005) believes it to be of greater interest, for the educational process, to show children that there are many sounds and repertories different from our own, adapt songs from other peoples to our musical language, so they can sing them and appreciate them, as is being done (TYGEL, 2006: 119, my translation).

This path is intercultural, expressed in different actions between governmental and non-governmental institutions organized by indigenous people. Latouche (1994: 134) expresses optimism by arguing the possibility of intercultural dialogue: since communicability exists. It can work if there are concessions from both parties, for each culture has much to learn from one another, and they can be enriched through these numerous contributions. His expectation that we could give some "sheen" to his music was great. Francisco Umura of the Kambeba people is an indigenous teacher and works mediating traditional and indigenous school knowledges. Currently he has become *tuxaua* (leader) in his village and now he is responsible for Kambeba political aspects. Umura words showed how his group felt during Mawaca´s visit for the musical exchange:

> We don't know everything, right? And our children, it's always like that, they want to learn more, we also want to learn more. We want to discover how it can be better. With the Mawaca group, we will certainly learn a lot (Francisco Umura, *Cantos da Floresta* documentary, 2011).

Conciliation of interests

This entire process is a matter of conciliating interests and exchanging knowledge: universities have understood the need to have these Masters' degrees and indigenous people have realized they need to speak the language of "white people" in order to defend themselves, tell their own stories in their own way without mediation, even if the process is still mediated by teachers.

The work of Daniel Munduruku, mentioned before, clearly demonstrates a new posture emerging in the academic world. As a leader in literary festivals, curation, lectures, round table coordination, he appropriates mechanisms used by "white people" to intensely promote indigenous literature and does so with formidable skill. He proposes the decolonization of thought and stimulates the creation of books written by

indigenous peoples themselves, creating spaces so they can have public readings, lectures, talks, participate in literary fairs, etc.

> To decolonize thought is to dismantle the distinction between the subject and object of knowledge, and accept that there is only one interknowledge, comparative knowledge, and that anthropology as the "study of the other" is always a translation (a faulty translation) to our conceptual vocabulary of the study of the other. Today, anthropology's greatest challenge is to accept and draw conclusions from this, including public policies (VIVEIROS DE CASTRO in: FREITAS, 2016, my translation).

Daniel Munduruku dialogues with the dilemma proposed by Viveiros de Castro: we are still grappling with the problem of "the very definition of what it is to be indigenous in Brazil." Anthropologists know that "indigenousness is not a question of feathered hats, face painting and bows and arrows, something apparent and evident in a stereotypical manner, but rather a "state of being", a way of being and not a way of appearing" (VIVEIROS DE CASTRO, 2005: 42, my translation).