

THE "HENRIQUE PRETO" SAMBA*

by

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I came to know the "Henrique Preto" Samba in 1977, when I was preparing to study the carnival of Santana de Parnaíba to collect material for my book published under the auspices of the Secretary of Culture of Sao Paulo state. "Aspectos folclóricos do carnaval de Santana de Parnaíba".

Santana de Parnaíba is a small city very near the largest and most important in Brazil, São Paulo. One could imagine it would have been paralysed over time due to the nature of its soil. This is not suitable for sugar-cane growing, foundation of our coffee economy, which brought prosperity to neighbouring cities like Campinas, where several Santana de Parnaíba families moved. Established as one of the most ancient settlements of Brazil, it was already in existence in 1590, and in 1652 it became a village. Santana de Parnaíba, centre of the back-country expeditions, called *bandeira* in Brazil, and cradle of the famous *bandeirantes*¹, was a radiating much more than a settlement centre. In the first years of Brazil; it was from here that the *bandeirantes* left looking for gold. Later in another phase, the *tropeiros*, the cane planters, and also the first wave of energy to found industries and transform São Paulo into the great Brazilian metropolis - all these came from here. Thus the city underwent alternating phases, little surges of progress, to which its architecture testifies, until it completely stagnated when the electricity from its Inferno Falls took all progress away to São Paulo. The city stopped: without suitable coffee lands the construction of railways or highways would not have been justifiable, and without these the economy did not develop. At present a branch of one of the most modern Brazilian highways, the SP280 or Castello Branco Freeway, connects Sao Paulo with Santana de Parnaíba - the Estrada dos Romeiros (SP312), whose sinuous line follows the same army road which the *bandeirantes* took into the interior of Brazil. Today the traveller going to the city of Santana de Parnaíba is enchanted with its calm, its colonial houses with wide eaves and thick walls, penetrated in places by the tarred strip of highway that carries in one direction the stones, carbonate and kaolin from its soil for the progress of São Paulo, and in the other the humble but faithful people living in or near the big city who search out Santana de Parnaíba to pray or baptise their children in the church, now become a monument, around which the city was born.

It is around the mother church's precincts that the festivals of Santana de Parnaíba take place, both the religious ones and the carnival, the festival which rocks the city most. The carnival of Santana de Parnaíba is the festival of a whole city. The whole population takes part, with no consideration of class separation or of colour or race. Everyone joins in everything. The carnival of Santana de Parnaíba has the festive air of a spectacle which is made to be lived. At the same time one must analyse it as a spontaneous cultural expression presenting the mask as its principal characteristic, as folklorist Rossini Tavares de Lima says, the main cultur-

*Translated by Andrew Tracey

al complex of the carnival. In whichever parades in the carnival of Santana de Parnaíba, this is the main preoccupation: not to be recognised. All the preparations for the carnival, from the fantasies, the painting of bodies and faces, the masks, the giant heads, the decoration of the streets, the allegorical floats, are undertaken by the inhabitants of the city, everyone trying to contribute to making the festival more beautiful. The spectacle is produced with the unconscious intention of improving the quality of what they themselves do, trying to do better each time, to expand one's creativity, without coercion or any preoccupations at all, other than those which encourage happiness, a spontaneous happiness which infects anyone who sees it. And this happiness scatters throughout the city, collectively contaminating the people who are united at this moment as brothers in the festival. Thus the festival performs its function: to maintain and perpetuate society.

The carnival of Santana de Parnaíba starts on the Friday before the three days dedicated to the 'reign of Momo'² at ten at night, with the *Fantasma* parade. This is a characteristic of the city's folklore, because it was created here and only exists here. No one knows how it arose, they just know that "it was a long time ago". It is a parade of '*fantasmas*', with people wrapped in sheets and hoods, or with giant heads or masks imitating skulls.. It is in this parade that the tradition of Henrique Preto is presented.



1. Two *fantasmas* during the parade.

Henrique Preto was a black, son of slaves, born in Santana de Parnaíba, and a cook by trade. He died at the age of 85 on the 1st of April, 1973, but still everyone in the city speaks about him, and even the children who did not know him refer to him with admiration. He is the most remembered figure on this night of the Parade of *Fantasmas*. The music of the parade is called the Samba of Henrique Preto. What you see in the dance performed in the streets is not properly speaking a samba. The rhythm is samba, but it is a crowd of people dancing as they like, shaking their arms, body and legs in a samba-like step and following the beat given by the music.

The samba starts suddenly. The instruments which belonged to Henrique are kept and looked after by his successor, Nelson Morais,³ and it is at his house that the samba starts. They move straight to the mother church square, carrying in front the banners which announce the samba. It is the "*Grito da Noite*" (Cry in the Night). The banners are held by youngsters who fight for the honour of carrying them. There are three: one of red silk bearing the words in white "*Samba o Grito da Noite*", and all decorated with strips and flowers of coloured paper; the others are more modest, made of polystyrene, round, and bearing the same words. The name is *Samba Grito da Noite* but the people persist in calling it "Samba of Henri-

que Preto". The musicians come up and the first *fantasmas* start to appear in the church square. From there the samba sets off through the whole city, the *fantasmas* appearing from all corners and the samba lit by torches, which are nothing more than cooking oil tins fixed to pieces of bamboo, with a wick inside soaked in spirit.

The origins of this parade are obscure. According to informants, it originated in the 'Procession of Souls' which existed in the city in the 19th century. Recommending or praying for souls (*recomenda, encomenda*) is carried out in Lent in the rural parts of Saõ Paulo state. Rosini Tavares de Lima similarly states, in "*Folclore das Festas Cíclicas*", that it generally consists of a religious group with its members shrouded in white or simply with white towels round their heads, which goes out in the streets and highways late into the night, singing and offering prayers to the souls wandering in space or suffering in purgatory or hell. The group is accompanied by several instruments for exorcising, the main one being the rattle, the same as used on Good Friday in the funeral procession. De Lima concluded that "because of the important social function fulfilled by the 'recomendadores', as they are called in the rural parts of Saõ Paulo, they are viewed with seriousness and respect." In view of this it is difficult to know how such a religious tone was transplanted to the happiness of the carnival, but this is what they say in the city. One of our informants, Arabella Vilar, says that her father, who died in 1975, used to tell of the horror with which the Procession of Souls filled him when he was very small, and she concluded that "it was so tenebrous that one day it became Carnival."

The main costume in the parade is of course that of the "*fantasmas*", but it can also be anything else equally frightening, to remind one of death. The disguise of a *fantasma* consists of a white sheet covering the whole body. On the head an old pillow case may be worn, with eyes and breathing holes, and with skulls or faces painted on to inspire fear. The more capricious prepare, instead of a plain white sheet, white or black tunics of shiny satin, covering the head with a hood. Others again wear skull heads, a characteristic feature of the carnival of Santana de Parnaíba. These heads are the creative product of local artists, who make the whole thing themselves, down to the cement shapes which act as moulds.

There are two ways of making the heads. One was described to me by Holmes Villar. There already existed a tradition of skull heads in the city before him. The originator was João Santana, who used to make masks and heads in a clay mould. This method disappeared with his death, and Holmes Villar thought of using some-



2. The samba banners on *fantasma* night.

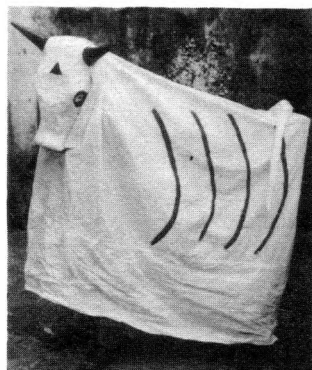
thing more durable. He took an existing head, cut it in half longitudinally, placed one half into a paper-lined box, and filled the box up with cement, on the outside of the head. He did the same with the other half, using another box for this. He let the cement dry for a few days, then broke up the box and pulled out the two parts of the head, thus obtaining the moulds for new copies. These moulds measure .80 x .50 x .30m. To make the heads, Holmes sits on a stool facing the moulds and starts putting on paper. First a layer of wet paper so the mask does not stick in the mould. Then follow layers of paper, cardboard, newspaper, some four or five, all held together with flour paste. He leaves it to dry in the mould some forty minutes if the day is hot. After this, the two halves are pulled out of the moulds and joined with the same paste, attaching paper over the two halves, or sewing with twine. The ears, which are made by the same process, in a separate mould, are fixed onto the head using strips of paper that are intentionally left protruding from the ears for the purpose. Finally, the head is ready to be covered with the last layer of paper. Then it is placed in the sun for some fifteen minutes and it is ready to acquire its own characteristics, which could be an enormous nose, strangely formed teeth etc.



3. Preparing a head.

The other way of making heads is Gabriel Marques de Silva's, at present mayor of Santana de Parnaíba. He also concluded that a clay mould was fragile and thought of a more resistant material, using basically concrete, but he came to a different conclusion. He took a complete head and put it into a box. He filled the box with sand and filled the middle of the head with cement. When dry, he only had to take out the box, the sand and the head. The mould was ready. To make new heads he uses the process of applying layers of newspaper, paper and cardboard onto this matrix, always starting with a layer of wet paper so it does not stick to the cement. He leaves it to dry for two or three days, then takes it off the mould, cutting it longitudinally in order to separate it into two halves. This done he joins the two parts again with flour paste and reinforces the join fixing one part to the other with wire, hairclip-shaped, or sewing with twine. It is well sanded on the outside and is ready for the final painting. The mould is the size of the head: .60 x .40 m.

The heads are carefully kept from one year to the next, but the parade itself tends to damage them. So every year, days before the carnival, the children of the city get together to restore them. Other figures appear in the parade of *fantasmas*: Death is a giant head strung onto an enormous cross of light wood whose cross-piece forms the shoulders, and over which is placed a white cloak which covers the operator; there is also a donkey skull, highly polished, which sways uncertainly over everybody, held on a pipe about three metres long. Along this pipe runs a cord which is attached to the jawbone of the skull, allowing this to open and close its mouth. From time to time the operator runs up behind the children, pulling the cord, making the mouth open and shut, and trying to catch someone's head un-



4. *Boisinho*, one of the ox masks.



5. The *fantasmas* parade during the samba.

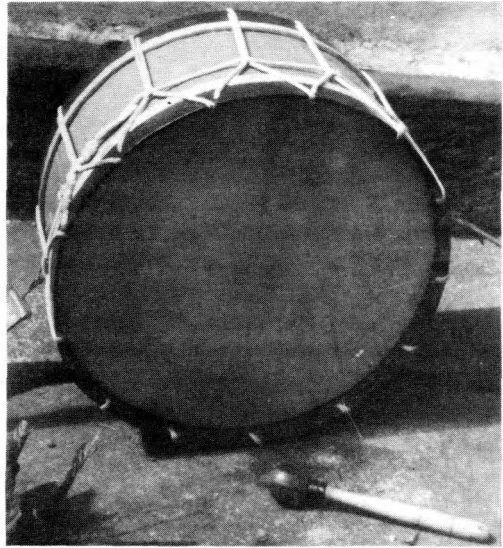
awares. Another figure is an ox mask, or masks, as there are several. This is made of layers of glued paper like the heads, but with an ox skull as the mould imitating the head of this animal. The body is a cloth which hides two children, who form the front and rear of the animal. The ox charges at children, raising shouts, laughter and tumult. These animal skulls in the parade, according to Nelson Morais, who took over leadership of the samba on Henrique's death, are to chase off bad luck. He showed me another, an ox skull which had painted on the front "*Sai de mim caborja*"⁴ (Get away from me sorcery).

All these elements in the parade cause not alarm, but laughter, tumult and confusion. Consequently the parade is not a structured group of dancers, but playfully spontaneous, no unifying choreography can be distinguished. It opens with the group who play and sing, to which the crowd flocks. The accompanying music, according to informants in the city, came from the slave samba. Nelson Morais gave more details: before Henrique, the leader of the samba was Isidoro, a black slave. Henrique was already free, but a son of slaves. Nelson explains that this samba is played by the whole region, and that there are two different ways of beating the *bumbo*. One of them is called the '*campineira*',⁵ and the other the '*paulista*' beat. In Santana de Parnaíba the *paulista* beat is used. Nelson Morais has heard the samba played with this beat in Itu, Rio Claro and Sorocaba, neighbouring cities of Santana de Parnaíba, and also Santo Amaro, a suburb of the capital, São Paulo, where there is a group which plays the same kind of samba as at Santana de Parnaíba. This group goes every year to Pirapora do Bom Jesus, another neighbouring city of Santana de Parnaíba, to play at their religious festival. He says that their music is '*pontos*'⁶ Arabella Villar says: "the music sounds like a *ponto de macumba*"⁷. The samba instruments are the same as Henrique's, *chocalho*, *caixa* and *bumbo*. The *chocalho* is a cylinder of metal, some 25 cm long by 8 cm wide, closed at two ends, with small stones or seeds inside which sound when shaken. The player holds the instrument at the two ends, and shakes it on the beat. This instrument is also known as *ganzá*.

The principal instrument is the *bumbo*. The one belonging to Henrique is the traditional one for the parade and is a cylindrical wooden box, 80 cm in diameter by 30 cm high. It is carried by the samba director, held by a strap which goes over one shoulder, and round the back, holding the instrument in a nearly horizontal position



6. Nelson Morais playing the Henrique Preto samba (not Henrique's instrument).



7. Henrique Preto's *bumbo*.

in front of the player. He supports it with the left hand, while the right hand holds the beater. The *bumbo* has a skin on the upper side, tightened by means of cords.

The *caixa*, also belonging to Henrique, is similar to the *bumbo*, but very slightly smaller. Other percussion instruments also take part in the parade: there is a *bumbo* bigger than Henrique's, and a *caixa*. These are of metal and modern, belonging to Nelson Morais, who is a member of the *Corporação Musical*, which plays as the city's religious festivals. These instruments, explains Nelson Morais, take part in *fantasma* night to enliven the parade and also to spare Henrique's instruments, which are very old, and considered precious by the whole city.

In the song, some verses have a melody which can be repeated again in other verses, while there are verses which have their own melody. I observed nine different melodies in the samba song sung by the group who moved around with the players and banners. They are couplets which stay in the group's memory and are transmitted down the generations. The words have a meaning that only those who know the tradition can clarify. They refer to some happening or to somebody, like this one:

"eu tenho pena, eu tenho dó do galo preto apanhá do carijó"	I pity, I am sorry for the black cock caught by carijó ⁸
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This example mentions a dispute which Henrique had with Quirino, another black, to see who would direct the samba after Isidoro. Henrique, known as the Galo Carijó, won, and severely beat Quirino, the Galo Preto. From this arose the couplet which is still sung today. This tradition of making up verses with a meaning only known by the samba group is kept up in Santana de Parnaíba. Watching the 1977 carnival I heard this verse:

Carrera ⁹ de pau, carrera de leb(r)e oi, traz a pinga ¹⁰ que nós bebe	Carrera of wood, carrera of hare oi, bring us the pinga that we drink
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A boy informed me that the words were about his father, Honorato, known as 'Lebre', and said: "He has a bar and these words were invented there," He explained: "The men used to ask Lebre for *pinga* in song": "Hey, bring us a *pinga* that we drink."

The choice of stanzas to be sung is made in the manner which Mário de Andrade called "collective consultation", when he went looking for this mode of samba in 1931, and met this samba played by Isidoro. "Collective consultation" is carried out in the following way: someone in the group proposes a verse, in song while the others gather round the singer, leaning forward to listen carefully. If they approve, they learn it quickly and the samba goes on. If they don't approve, someone sings another and so on until there is collective acceptance, when they all sing and the samba continues. In the meantime the *bumbo* does not stop playing while they are discussing what is going to be sung, nor do they stop dancing. It all happens quickly, and acceptance is nearly always immediate, particularly when the samba is swinging well. When the words start to be rejected, it is an obvious signal that tiredness is taking its toll of the group. They sing a verse for some time, and then another is proposed, always in collective consultation.

The words sung during the samba are given below. The numbers with each verse indicate those that have identical melodies or with only slight variations.

- (1) *Carcará, cadê gavião*
oi, na carrera do leão Falcon, where is hawk
oi, in the lion's 'rhyme'

The samba words are difficult to translate, being in the 'Caipira' dialect (São Paulo), e.g. *cadê=que é deê*, where is; *nóis=nós*, we. They do not pronounce the final 'r' of verbs: *saí, girá*, etc., change 'ou' to 'o' and several other mispronunciations.

- (1) *Carrera de pau, carrera de lebre*
traz a pinga que nós bebe Rhyme of wood, rhyme of hare
bring us the *pinga* that we drink

Explained in the text.

- (1) *Eu vô saí, eu vô girá*
çaçá tatu e tamanduá I'm going out, I'm going to spin
hunt armadillo and ant-eater



8. The armoured *tatu* (armadillo) rolls into a ball if there is no time to hide. The largest species can be a metre long.

9. The *tamandua* (ant-eater) is a large, hairy animal, up to 2m long and a metre high, strong and not to be lightly tackled.

- (2) *Cabreúva não é pau*
prá quebrá machado não *Cabreúva* is not a wood
not to break an axe

Cabreúva, strictly *cabriúva*, is a type of tree, but also a way of making *pinga*, by mixing with water and sugar. They must be teasing someone who, having said he was strong (axe), drank *cabreúva* and got drunk. There is also the double meaning, in that *cabreúva* is also not a tree, but a type of *pinga*.

- (3) *Eu tenho pena, eu tenho dô
do Galo Preto apanhá do Carijô* I pity, I am sorry for
the black cock caught by Carijô

Explained in the text.

- (1) *Ô pau rolô, o pau caiu
oi lá na mata ninguém viu* The wood rolled, the wood fell
oi, there in the forest no one saw

Again a figurative reference to a fight, perhaps the same one between Quirino and Henrique. No one saw: no one was interested.

- (3) *Embaraçô, embaraçô, o cabelá dela
de tão crespo (belo) embaraçô* It embarrassed, it embarrassed, her hair
so curly (beautiful) it embarrassed

- (3) *O mar encheu, solte a marreca
eu morro mesmo, ah meu Deus
que leve a breca* The sea filled, let loose the cunning
I die indeed, ah my God,
go with the devil!

- (1) *Mata boi, tira o corô
que eu não agüento desaforo
(8 a 0 é desaforo)* Kill an ox, take the leather
that I should not suffer shame
(8 to nil is a shame)

To do with a football match which was lost 8-nil. They would prefer to lose the value of an ox and its leather (not inconsiderable to rural people) than to lose 8-nil.

- (3) *Nhá Catarina, o bezerro qué mamã
ô pega o toro na portera do currá* Nhá Catarina, the calf wants to suck
oh hold the bull at the gate of the corral

Nhá is the Caipira way of saying Mrs.

- (3) *Patinho da lagoa deixa
na areia
enquanto nós bebe pinga
este samba não arreia* Little duck from the lagoon leaves
its footsteps in the sand
While we drink pinga
this samba does not go down
(i.e. finish)

- (3) *A lua nova lá no céu apareceu,
apareceu
a lua nova lá no céu apareceu* The new moon appeared there in the sky,
appeared
the new moon appeared there in the sky

- (3) *Quem foi que disse, quem que falou
que nessa terra (em Parnaíba)
já não tem (havia) sambadô* Who was it who said, who spoke
that in this land (in Parnaíba)
the samba was not danced.

- (4) *É cerca de pau-a-pique
morão de jacarandá* It is a *pau-a-pique* fence
gatepost of *jacarandá*

Pau-a-pique is a method of building with crossed sticks and clay used by the poor population in the rural districts. The poor man's fence is *pau-a-pique*, but the gatepost of the rich man's estate is of *jacarandá* (a protected wood).

- (5) *Alô Pirapora, alô Barueri
traíra está pegando no anzol do
lambari* Hello Pirapora, hello Barueri
traíra is being caught in the *lambari's*
hook

Pirapora and Barueri are neighbouring cities. *Traíra* and *lambari* are types of river fish.

- (6) *O melhor da galinha é o ovo
que faz o pudim gostoso* The best of the chicken is the egg
which makes tasty pudding

- (3) *Laranja-lima, tira o gaio do caminho* Orange-lime, take the branch out of the road
quero passá, tenho medo do espinho I want to pass, I am afraid of the thorn

Gaio = *galho*, branch.

- (3) *Eu venho vindo do cais-cais* I am coming from 'fall-down'
bebendo pinga, ainda tô querendo drinking *pinga* and still wanting more
mais

The people of Santana de Parnaíba are very proud of their *pinga* and lose no chance of mentioning it, or of boasting about how much they can drink. Even "coming from *cais-cais*", i.e. continually falling down from drinking so much, they still want more.

- (7) *Na estrada de Pirapora mataram* On the road to Pirapora they killed
meu companheiro my friend
com um saco de virado pensando with a sack of *virado* thinking it was
que era dinheiro money

Virado is a local São Paulo dish made of beans, manioc flour, bacon and eggs.

- (3) *Caninha verde, foi o diabo que* Green *caninha*, it was the devil who
inventô invented (it)
O diabo foi embora, a caninha é que the devil went away, it was the
ficô *caninha* that stayed

Caninha, dim of *cana*, cane, i.e. *pinga*.

- (8) *Meu nome é Maria, Maria eu não* My name is Maria, Maria I don't
quero ser want to be
Maria padece (parece) muito, eu não Maria suffers (appears) much, I don't
quero padecer (aparecer) want to suffer (appear)
- (9) *Ô tatu peba, ô tatu peba* Oh *tatu peba*, oh *tatu peba*
de dia tá no buraco by day in the hole
de noite o cachorro pega by night the dog catches (it)

These last two verses illustrate well how the *Caipira* sees his position. Maria is the name of Every-woman who suffers. They say, I don't want to be Maria, because I don't want to suffer. Similarly the *tatu peba*, a kind of armadillo, stands for the *Caipira*. The *tatu* is hunted by men for food. When pursued it digs a hole and hides. By nightfall it thinks the danger is past and comes out, but the hunter's dog has been waiting for it and catches it. The *tatu* has no other way of life but to be hunted. Similarly with the *Caipira* and the land question: when the owner of the land arrives he has to get out and lose the results of his labour.

There is no rehearsal for the parade. The song is simple and can be learned by ear in an hour. The instrumental music is learned by ear, and by trying it out. Even during the parade, the *bumbo* goes from one person to another, whenever the *dono do samba* (the leader of the samba), the name by which the person is known whose responsibility it is to continue the samba, wants to rest and somebody else thinks himself able to play. Nelson Morais learned the samba music with Henrique, listening to him play, and trying to imitate him. Nelson has liked music since a boy and used to run close to Henrique as often as he could. This is how he learned his beat and became heir to his instruments. Nelson Morais is a white, was an official of the company which built the electric power station, and belongs to an upper class city family. In the 1979 carnival he was rather sick and unable to play. So he gave the instruments and the job of *dono do samba* over to the young Oberdan Camargo,

a white like him, who is continuing to pass on the memory of the samba of the slaves and on Henrique Preto.

In Santana de Parnaíba there are not, and never have been, any prejudices of any kind. Everybody becomes brothers and the whole population joins in its festivities, especially the carnival. Festivals in Santana de Parnaíba, as in other small communities in Brazil, have the function of uniting and binding the population, unconsciously equalising, dissolving it into a common solution. Festivals are something for the whole community to participate in, from the oldest to the children, and even babies are carried in their mother's arms or on their father's shoulders. The old people watch the parade go past from their windows. From far in the neighbouring cities and countryside the people come to see the carnival of Santana de Parnaíba and because of this it has to be more beautiful every time, to have the strength to attract the population and integrate it. This is how it performs its function.

The parade moves through the streets, playing and samba'ing for two hours. At midnight the church clock announces the time to stop and everything stops. It stops slowly: calm reigns again over the small city as if nothing had happened, as if the band of *fantasmas* had really been *fantasmas* and disappeared from one instant to the next. Henrique Preto's samba will only appear again in Santana de Parnaíba next year, on the Friday before carnival.

Conclusion

According to Nelson Morais' information, the Henrique Preto samba beat is the same as in neighbouring regions. The samba at Santana de Parnaíba also has its own characteristics, which demonstrates the dynamics of folklore. The studies of Mário de Andrade, Rossini Tavares de Lima and Mário Wagner Vieira da Cunha have shown sambas that do have similarities with the samba of Santana de Parnaíba, but these will never be *the same*. Octavio Ianni, in his study at Itu in 1955, even found the same words and music as the Santana de Parnaíba samba: "Eu tenho pena, eu tenho dó, do galo preto apanhá do carijó". This goes to show that the samba is the same in the whole area, with individual local characteristics. According to Rossini Tavares de Lima, it is the type known as Samba Campineiro, Samba de Pirapora or Samba de Lenço (handkerchief). In Mário de Andrade's description of the samba instruments used by Isidoro, one can see that they are identical to Henrique's, maybe the very same. However, the author mentions how Isidoro had learned the samba at Campinas, another great centre of this kind of samba. Nelson Morais knows two kinds of beat, and says that the one played at Santana de Parnaíba is the one called *paulista*, not *campineira*. He also says that he learned to play from listening to Henrique. This can be varified from the similarity of the instruments, allowing for the different beat. The sambas studied by the above authors all show a choreography of rows of men and women face to face, moving forward and backward together. In the Santana de Parnaíba parade it is a continuous forward movement. According to Ana Margarida, Henrique's neice, her uncle's step used to be two steps to each side, that is lifting the right foot forward and half to the side, and drawing the left foot in to the right heel. At the same time there was a slight lowering movement with the knees. Then the movement was repeated in the same direction. Following that the same movements were done to the left. Then he did them again to the right and so

on in turn. The step gives pace and continuity, which lends a feeling of occasion to the parade. In Santana de Parnaíba what happens is a procession moving through the streets, with every one doing more or less as he likes. An observation can be made here. Mário de Andrade heard this samba for the first time in the carnival of 1931 in São Paulo, played by blacks. He notes "a samba which had nothing in common with the carioca (Rio de Janeiro) sambas, neither in choreography nor music." It was a group of São Paulo blacks. Afterwards he studied the same samba at Pirapora do Bom Jesus, neighbouring city of Santana de Parnaíba, at the patron saint's festival. It was danced at the edge of the city because the padre and the police considered it immoral. Thus the samba previously danced in front of the cathedral was kept at a distance. Samba, for the blacks, served for any occasion. It was a form of showing one's happiness, and the place or time did not matter. Octavio Ianni considers that the existence of the blacks' samba after the abolition of slavery was a factor which helped to maintain a group life, a symbol of self-respect and self-affirmation, through their cults and common traditions. The authors mentioned above state, and I myself have had occasion to hear during my field research, that in previous times whites were not allowed into the samba. With time, however, the descendants of the slaves no longer experienced the same motivation as their forefathers and the samba came to be danced by everybody.

Finally, it may be suggested that the samba at Santana de Parnaíba was restricted to carnival perhaps because of the same religious restrictions on its being performed at church festivals. From Henrique's dance step and from carnival being a festival of expansion of feelings and total liberty, the samba took the form of a parade, giving the whole community the chance of a moment of spontaneous participation.

NOTES

- 1 These words refer to the expeditions made by 'Paulistas' (from the state or city of São Paulo) during the first colonial period (16th/17th cents.) with the ultimate aim of taking Indians and making slaves of them. The expeditions were called '*bandeira*', and those who took part '*bandeirantes*'. While looking for Indians they found gold, and expeditions were then organised for gold and precious stones. Because supplies and arms had to be carried to the distant gold mining areas part of the population became '*tropeiros*'. These were the men who left Santana de Parnaíba in groups (*tropa*) with donkeys and other pack animals.
- 2 As is said of the three days of carnival. King Momo is a mythical figure who represents the carnival. In all cities which have a proper carnival, a couple is elected king and queen Momo (not necessarily a married couple, but both must be fat).
- 3 Now unfortunately passed away (1980).
- 4 According to Renato Mendonça, in "A influência africana no português do Brasil", the word is of African origin, meaning sorcery.
- 5 i.e. of the city of Campinas, São Paulo State.
- 6 According to Rossini Tavares de Lima, in "Folclore de São Paulo", p. 103, *ponto* is "a literary-musical form of a religious nature, used by the mediumistic religions of bantu origin, appearing sometimes in the magico-religious form of *jongo*, *caxambu* and *candomblé*." It is one of the expressions of Brazilian musical lore. As this samba seems to have a religious origin, or to be a reformulation of some of the expressions quoted, the *ponto* re-appears in the samba. R.T. de Lima again: "*Pontos* are (chosen) by the singer, some times with his assistant, and responded to by the chorus of dancers". A *ponto* can contain an enigma only known to the members of the group, as "Eu tenho pena....." (see below).
- 7 *Macumba* is the name given in Rio de Janeiro to the fetishist ceremony of African origin with Christian influence, accompanied by dances and songs to drums the same as *candomblé*.
- 8 Species of cock with black and white coloured feathers. Henrique was called this, perhaps just for being Brazilian. Apart from African forebears he was not considered a true African.
- 9 The way a '*caipira*' (person from São Paulo) pronounces the word '*carreira*' (approx = rhyme). The caipiras or paulistas compete with each other for who can sing the most verses with the same rhyme. They spend whole nights at their *carreiras*. If the *carreira* is '*leão*', all the verses have to rhyme with this word. It is all improvised and each one sings in turn. Anyone who gets confused and does not manage to make his rhyme is lowered in estimation as a singer. When they are tired of singing one rhyme they go on to another. They call it *carreira* (lit. road, career, race) because one verse follows another without stopping.

- 10 An alcoholic drink obtained by the distillation of sugar cane, (i.e. the same as *cachaça*). This line means to say that they can drink as much *pinga* as comes. They sing this in the street, going into bars to drink *pinga*. The owner offers everyone *pinga*; failing this, the samba does not stop outside that bar.

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