

THE EXPANSION OF BLACK RELIGION IN WHITE SOCIETY:
BRAZILIAN POPULAR MUSIC AND LEGITIMACY OF CANDOMBLÉ

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Black religions in white society

Origins and variety of black religions

In present days, blacks and mulattoes in Brazil amount to nearly half of the total population; even though , in their majority they preserve little or nothing of their original African ethnic inheritance. The majority of the Afro-descendant population is so deeply engaged to white and European cultural patterns that even affirmative movements for black identity find it difficult to deal with the issue of the original African religion , although national culture is strongly impregnated with traits of Afro-Brazilian religions or others related to them. In terms of religion, only one percent of the Brazilian population follows the Afro-Brazilian religions, though the contingent of blacks and mulattoes amounts to almost half of the total population; and only a parcel of those following religions of African origin is made of Afro-descendants.² Nevertheless, the visibility of these religions and their cultural importance surpass such demographic limits. Nowadays, it is impossible to talk about Brazilian culture and make no references to African inheritances assimilated through black religions.

During a period extending from the middle of the last century to the middle of present century, black groups with an organization centered in their religions would have been responsible for handing down those features which did not dilute themselves in the traditional culture. The places of African gods worship spread over a developing national culture a religious inheritance of black origin, crucial for the definition of cultural identity of present Brazil. Traits of such culture are present today — especially after the sixties — in popular music, in literature, in the cinema, in the theater, on television, not to mention the cuisine, the carnival, and other several popular practices, along with highly visible regional and national festivities. And, of course, we still have the popular beliefs. It is also evident that there is an enormous linguistic contribution from African ethnic groups.

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² Prandi, 1996, chapter 2.

The samba, and its multiple forms, is a Brazilian trademark par excellence, and Africa is at its origins, as well as it happens with the *escola de samba*, both of them born in Rio de Janeiro, at the beginning of our century, deriving from the old *candomblés* and *rodas de música* of black people who were already born in Brazil, mainly natural of Bahia³. The States of Rio de Janeiro and Bahia, as well as the different “nations” of *candomblé* and their worships to the orishas are at this origin.

The influences and contributions of Afro-Brazilian religious culture in the shaping of popular culture may be described as parts of a two-way process: the African inheritance provided conclusive elements for the shaping of fundamental aspects of popular culture; on the other hand, this one, at a certain point, acted as a source of diffusion and legitimacy for black religions. As we shall see further on, popular music, during the period post-*Bossa-Nova*, brought to the large audience, by means of radio and television broadcasting, an unusual familiarity with the orishas, their myths and attributes.

References to African gods of *candomblé*, made by prestigious composers and singers, especially consumed by the cultivated middle class of that time, were important for the diffusion and better acceptance of such religion that almost became a must. Nevertheless, preceding times have been a long era of intransigent prejudice, isolation, and even persecution carried on by the white society.

Up to the first quarter of this century, black religions in Brazil were still carrying on their construction process, and they were an exclusive institution for slaves, freedmen and their descendants, although they could bring together some sort of white coreligionists, looking for the magic favors of priests in charge of such worships. In different regions of the country, mainly in large cities where lived an extensive number of slaves, worships assumed a fixed and definite form, departing from the ethnic contributions prevailing in the area.

Available data show that the organization of black religions in Brazil is fairly recent. The last lots of Africans brought to the New World by the end of the 19th century (final period of the slavery) were mainly located in the cities, and had urban jobs. Therefore, Africans of such period in Brazil could more easily keep in touch physically and socially with one another, since they had greater mobility and, up to a certain extent, greater freedom of movement, characterizing a process of social interaction they did not experience before. This fact created propitious social conditions for the survival of some African religions, through the constitution of organized worship groups.

Until 1930, black religions could be included in the category of ethnic religions preserving cultural inheritance of former black slaves and their descendants, that means religions which kept alive traditions of African origin. These religions appeared in different areas of Brazil, with different rituals and local names deriving from diverse African traditions: *candomblé* in Bahia⁴ ;

³ Moura, 1983; Zan, 1997.

⁴ When we talk about *candomblé*, generally we are referring to Ketu *candomblé* or *candomblé* of the Ketu “nation”, from Bahia, where we have the predominance of the orishas and iniciatic rites of Yoruban origin. Their old *terreiros* are the best known and the more prestigious of Brazil: Casa Branca do Engenho Velho, *candomblé* of Alaketu, Axé Opô Afonjá, and *terreiro* of Gantois. Their prestige increases especially during the sixties and the

xangô in Pernambuco and Alagoas; *tambor de mina* in Maranhão and Pará; *batuque* in Rio Grande do Sul; *macumba* in Rio de Janeiro. In Bahia were born the very popular *Candomblé de Caboclo* and the less known *Candomblé de Egum*. More recently, in Rio de Janeiro and later on in São Paulo, *Umbanda* was born and quickly spread all over the country; up to a certain extent, it opened the way to a new phase of diffusion of old *Candomblé*. The Northeast was also the cradle of other religious expressions, more closely related to indigenous religions, even though sooner or later they incorporated much of the Afro-Brazilian religions or influenced them. We are talking here of *Catimbó*, a religion of spirits, named masters and *caboclos*, who embody through a state of trance to give advice, to prescribe a remedy or to cure. This Afro-Amerindian branch shows particular traits in different places and has several names: *jurema*, *toré*, *pagelança*, *babaçuê*, *encantaria* and *cura*.⁵

Umbanda was born in our century and has been consistently identified as the Brazilian religion par excellence, since its birthplace was Brazil and it is the result of the conjunction of African, Kardecist Spiritism and catholic traditions.⁶ In contrast to traditional black religions, born as religions for black groups, *umbanda* intended to be a universal religion, addressed to everybody. *Umbanda* always tried to legitimate itself, effacing the features inherited from *candomblé*, its black matrix, especially those referring to behavior and mentality standards which indicated the tribal origin and afterwards the slave condition, even though it kept such signs in the setting up of its pantheon. As compared to *candomblé*, the *umbanda* initiation process is simpler and cheaper, and its rituals avoid and generally do not demand blood sacrifices. The spirits of

seventies, when artists and intellectuals related to them through religious or sentimental ties will bring into popular culture many elements of the orishas' religion. Ketu *candomblé* has a great influence upon other "nations" which incorporated many of its ritual practices. The ritual language derives from the Yoruba, though the meaning of most of the words was lost along the time, and today it is very difficult to translate the lyrics of old sacred songs, and impossible to keep a conversation in the language of *candomblé*. Besides Ketu, the following "nations" also belong to the Yoruban branch (or Nagô, as Yoruban people are also called.): Efã and Ijexá, in Bahia; Nagô or Eba, in Pernambuco; *batuque de nação*, in Rio Grande do Sul; Mina-Nagô, in Maranhão; and the almost extinguished Xambá "nation", in Alagoas and Pernambuco.

Candomblé of Angolan "nation", of Bantu origin, adopted Yoruban orishas' pantheon and incorporated many of the initiatic practices of Ketu "nation". Its ritual language, also untranslatable, derives mainly from Quimbundo and Quicongo languages. Such "nation" gives crucial importance to *caboclos* (indigenous spirits) who former Africans considered to be the true Brazilian ancestors. For such reason, *caboclos* deserved to be worshiped in the new land where Africans have been brought in slavery. *Candomblé de caboclo* is a variety of Angolan *candomblé*, though centered in the exclusive worship of indigenous ancestors. *Umbanda* probably derives from Angolan *candomblé* and *conadomblé de caboclo*. There are other "nations" of less importance with Bantu origin, e.g. Congo and Cambinda, today almost entirely absorbed by Angolan "nation".

Traditions and ritual language of Jeje-Mahin "nation", from the State of Bahia, and Jeje-Mina "nation", from the State of Maranhão, derive from Ewe-Fon or Jeje as the Nagô already called them, and their principal entities are the voodoos. Jeje ritual traditions were very important for the shaping of *candomblés* predominantly Yoruban.

⁵ Concerning different Afro-Brazilian religious forms, see Bastide, 1975, 1978; Carneiro, 1936; Rodrigues, 1935; Motta, 1985, 1990; Pinto, 1935; S. Ferretti, 1986; M. Ferretti, 1985, 1994; Eduardo, 1948; Herskovits, 1943; Corrêa, 1992; Oro, 1994; Prandi, 1991, 1996; Mazzoleni, 1993; Santos, 1992; M. Ferretti, 1994; Braga, 1992; Camargo, 1961.

⁶ Camargo, 1961; Concone, 1987; Ortiz, 1978; Arcella, 1980; Negrão, 1996.

caboclos (indians) and *pretos-velhos* (old slaves) manifest themselves through the bodies of initiates in a state of trance in order to dance, and especially to give advice and cure those looking for religious help to solve their miseries. In a certain sense, *umbanda* assimilated from Kardecist Spiritism the virtues of charity and altruism, becoming thus more occidental than the other Afro-Brazilian religions. Nevertheless, this occidentalizing process has never been fully achieved, and *umbanda* stayed halfway between being an ethic religion, like Kardecism, concerned with moral guidance, and ritual religion, like *candomblé*, mainly equipped to deal with the magic manipulation of the world.

Catholic syncretism of black religion in white society

Since early times, Afro-Brazilian religions have been shaped in syncretism chiefly with Catholicism, and second with indigenous religions. Catholic worship of saints, fruit of a popular Catholicism with a polytheist pattern, fitted in with the worship of African pantheons. Later on, with *umbanda*, contributions from French Kardecist Spiritism were added to the African beliefs, especially the idea of communication with the spirits of dead people through a state of trance, aiming at exercising the virtue of charity between these two worlds, because dead people must help living people who suffer, as well as living people must help dead people to find the path for eternal peace exercising charity, according to Kardec's doctrine.

In Brazil, religions of black origin have always been dependant on Catholicism. Although the Negro — slave or freedman — has been able to maintain in Brazil along the 18th and 19th centuries, and even today, much of his religious traditions, it is a fact that his religion faced, from the very beginning, a serious contradiction. At their origin, the religions of Bantus, Yorubans and Fons were religions that worshiped the ancestors and they were anchored by the families and their lineages, and in Brazil it has never been possible to reproduce these social and family structures to which religion gave a sense.

The social tissue of the black slave had nothing to do with family, groups and social *strata* of Africans at their origins. For such reason black religion could only be partially reproduced in the New World. The ritual portion of the original religion which was the most relevant for daily life — the worship of family and village ancestors -barely was redone, since slavery meant the loss of the family, the loss of the tribe. In Africa, the ancestor of the village (egungum) was responsible for the order of the group; he was in charge of solving conflicts and punishing wrongdoers who jeopardized the collective balance. Since slavery broke the social structures up, ancestors lost their privileged position in the worship; they survived in a marginal condition within the new social and ritual context. The orishas, divinities generically worshiped, more closely related to the forces of nature, more closely involved in the magic manipulation of the world, more present in the construction of personal identity, were put in the center of the new black religion in Brazil. For the black slave, controlling social life was senseless. Excluding their religious meetings, the master's Catholicism was the sole possible source of connection with the collective world projected outwards slave labor and plantation slave quarters.

In spite the fact that black religion, even in its fragmented reconstruction, was able to give the Negro a black, African identity, ritually recovering the family, the tribe and the village, lost forever in the Diaspora, it was, however, through Catholicism that he could find a place and move himself in the real world of every day, within the society of the white oppressor who guaranteed

the Negro's existence — even though under conditions of suffering and deprivation — and had complete control over his life. Any attempt to overcome the slave condition, as a reality or historical inheritance, first demanded the necessary inclusion in the white world. The next step was the imperative need to be, feel and look *Brazilian*. Negroes could not be Brazilian without being, simultaneously, Catholics. They were allowed to preserve their beliefs within the narrow limits of family groups — frequently reproducing the family and its ties symbolically, through the religious congregation, and here we find an explanation for the origin of *terreiros de candomblé* and *famílias-de-santo* — but the insertion in the broader space demanded a national identity, able to reflect the general body of the expanding Catholic society.⁷

The end of slavery, the rising of national society, the spreading of populations throughout large geographical areas, creating different kinds of social opportunities, all together only reinforced the importance of Catholicism to black people. Catholicism itself, as an hegemonic culture of inclusion, did not create unsurmountable barriers due to the fact that blacks kept a double religious link. We have to say that in São Luis, State of Maranhão, perhaps the most active and profound cultural center of Afro-Catholic syncretism, devotees of black religions are simultaneously Catholics; and furthermore, they consider that the divinities they brought from Africa are also Catholics; in a word, the voodoos of Maranhão praise the saints of the Catholic Church.

Thus, Afro-Brazilian religions have always been dependant of and in debt with Catholicism, both ideologically and ritually. In recent years, religions of black origin started a process separating themselves from Catholicism; this happens at a moment when Brazilian society no more needs Catholicism as the sole and great source of transcendence, capable to legitimate it and provide valuing controls for social life. In any case, this project of changing identity references is at an early stage, and demands beforehand different experiences in facing the world with more freedom and pertaining rights.⁸

Afro-Brazilian religions, since their birth, were not concerned with issues referring to justice administration which enforces universal principles and collective agreements above individual desires; such concerns belonged exclusively to Catholicism, the common religion of society as a whole. Furthermore, black religions were not interested in contents shaping a person for the secular world where the model was white. Promoting the worship of gods who express themselves mainly through the *form*, here we find the reason why Afro-Brazilian religions developed an enormous ritual sense ruled by unique esthetic sense, capable to overflow the limits of the sacred, and become part of the most secular expressions shaping the national identity.

Due to the rich cultural patrimony they have been able to preserve, black religions, especially from the sixties on, met Brazilian society again in the field of arts providing popular culture with a great amount of their repertoire which has been converted into secular art for mass consumption,

⁷ Regarding other interpretations and aspects of Catholic syncretism in Afro-Brazilian religions, see Valente, 1977; S. Ferretti, 1995; Sanchis, 1995.

⁸ It concerns the movement for africanization of *candomblé*, which tries to undo the syncretism with Catholicism, recover ritual elements lost in the Diaspora and learn again the Yoruban language. Among other important leaders, we have to mention *Mãe Stella Azevedo*, from *Axê Opô Afonjá*, of Bahia and *Mãe Sandra Medeiros Epega*, from *Ilê Leuiwyato*, of São Paulo.

and in exchange they gained recognition and prestige. But, before this happened, the orishas' religion covered a long way putting aside its African features and adopting a more white and European face.

In the thirties umbanda is born; a new religion for white society

By the end of the 19th century, the spiritism of Alan Kardec, born in France, comes to Brazil. Such a religion mixed some of the world karmic conception of Hindu inspiration with Christian precepts and a certain rationalism of the 19th century. Kardecist spiritism flourished in Brazil, and it was, from the beginning, a middle class religion, though it also had blacks and poor people among its followers. In Rio de Janeiro, black people who adopted the Spiritism brought to the centers of the new religion most of their *candomblé* traditions rousing conflicts with the “European” model of Kardec's religion.

The first *Umbanda* center, founded in the State of Rio de Janeiro in the middle of the twenties, was born as a dissent from a Kardecism rejecting the presence of black and *caboclo* guides which were inferior spirits according to orthodox spiritists. First headquartered in Niterói, in 1938 this center moved to a central area of Rio de Janeiro. Soon after, many other centers of such *umbanda* Spiritism were established, and in 1941, with the sponsorship of *União Espírita Brasileira*, they held in Rio de Janeiro the First *Umbanda* Congress, with the presence of *umbandistas* from São Paulo. The establishment of this symbolic and pioneer center of *umbanda* in Rio de Janeiro, as a consequence of public and institutionalized dissent from Kardecism, translated a dignification of national elements, such as the *caboclo* and *preto-velho* who are spirits of indians and old slaves. On the other hand, it also represented a rearrangement between two apparently irreconcilable alternatives: one of them richest in doctrine contents, the other more centered in ritual practices.

The new-born *umbanda* re-worked those religious elements integrated to Brazilian culture through a black estate who was diluting himself by the mix with poor whites, forming the new social classes in a city that, being federal capital, was white — even when proletarian —, culturally European, that enhanced the bureaucratic organization in which large portion of the resident population lived, that rewarded knowledge acquired in school to the detriment of oral tradition, and that already knew Kardecism as a religion. “To purge” the rising religion from those elements more closely related to secret and sacrificial iniciatic tradition meant one thing: taking for model the Kardecism, capable to express ideals and values of the new republican society, there, in the capital.

The first stepping-stones were the adoption of vernacular language and the simplification of iniciatic process, eliminating quite completely blood sacrifices and characterizing the initiation, according to Kardecist style, by a public mediumistic apprenticeship — the development of the spiritist medium. *Candomblé* singing and dancing rituals were preserved, as well as a simplest pantheon of orishas who, years before, have already been syncretized with catholic saints, and a liturgical calendar, following that of Catholic Church, was reproduced. However, every day worship in the centers is dominated by guides, *caboclos*, *pretos velhos* and even “malefic” and

self-seeking female eshus, the so-called *pombagiras*, already worshiped in old *candomblés* of Bahia and Rio de Janeiro.⁹

Departing from Rio de Janeiro, *Umbanda* found its place in São Paulo and quickly spread all over the country. After three decades, several social scientists will analyse and celebrate it as the Brazilian religion. São Paulo openly adopted *umbanda*; nevertheless, *terreiros* had to enroll themselves in police stations, and up to the end of Vargas authoritarian government, as well as before it and a little after it, *umbanda* bitterly experienced systematic persecution on the part of police forces, as it happened to *candomblé* in Bahia, during the first half of the century, to *xangô* in Pernambuco, during the thirties, and to *xangô* in Alagoas, almost decimated during the twenties.

Umbanda, ritually close related to *candomblé* following Angolan and *caboclo* rites tried to incorporate in its rising doctrine, Christian theological beliefs — faith, hope and charity, the great catholic virtues adopted by Kardecism — and simultaneously borrow from Kardecism its bureaucratic and federative organization. *Umbanda* did not entirely accomplish neither one nor the other.

The pantheon of *umbanda* is headed by orishas-saints of *candomblé* and *xangô*, although prominence is given to entities who left the flesh (*desencarnados*) i.e. spirits of dead people owning a biography, in accordance with Kardecist tradition, and also *encantados* of unknown origin, as it happens in worships of greater indigenous influence (*catimbó*, *candomblé de caboclo* and *encantaria*). *Umbanda* also absorbed, from these indigenous sources, a number of ritual practices including the use of liquor and tobacco. *Umbanda* is the religion worshipping the spirits of *caboclos* (indians), *boiadeiros* (herdsmen), *pretos velhos* (old slaves), *ciganas* (gypsies), eshus, *pombagiras* (female malefic eshus), *marinheiros* (seamen), and children grouped in families and phalanges ruled by the orishas.

Up to a certain extent, *umbanda* broke off with the Kardecist worldview which teaches that this is a land of sufferings where we should pay for the acts we carried out during our past lives. But *umbanda* inherited from *candomblé* the concept that experiencing this world means the obligation of enjoying it; the concept that man's fulfilment comes through mundane happiness that he is supposed to achieve. Such concepts called in question the Kardecist notion of a karmic evolution (what we are today depends upon how we acted in a past life) emphasizing guilt and submission. The *umbanda* usual practice of ritual oblation to gods seeking for their favours reaffirms the possibility of a changing in the order, of intervention in the world according to personal interests and willings. Each of us has to look for complete fulfilment since the world we live in enhances individualism, creative work, enlargement of our imagination, and the importance of getting on in life. Here we have a crucial detail.

Due to this worldview, *umbanda* is a religion that stimulates social mobility, and furthermore, such mobility can be reached by anyone, with no exceptions: pors of all kind, white men, mulattoes, black men, Arabs... social status no more derives from family origin, and even lesser from racial descent. Each of us can change the world to our advantage, and such religion offers an additional instrument to do so: the manipulation of the world through rite. Large cities in

⁹ Prandi, 1996, chapter 4.

the Southeast, followed by all others, make acquaintance with the *despacho*, ritual oblation set down in the corner of the streets. Eshu is free in the streets and crossroads of Brazil.

Thus, up to the end of the fifties, the history of Afro-Brazilian religions is a history of effacement of African features and adjustment to national culture, basically European and white. But, in spite of the effacing process, several black ritual practices and religious concepts won their way within white society.

In the sixties, the expansion of candomblé and the return to black origins

Around 1950, *umbanda* had become a religion for all sorts of people, regardless their color, race, social or geographical origin. Since *umbanda* developed its own worldview, an European-African-Indian bricolage, symbolizing Brazilian origins, it could introduce itself as a source of transcendence capable to replace the old Catholicism or join it as a vehicle to renew the religious sense for life. After consolidating its inner aspects as a universal religion in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, *umbanda* spread throughout the country, and in present days it flourishes in Argentina, Uruguay and other Latin-American countries, as well as in Portugal.¹⁰

However, Afro-Brazilian religions, as they were organized by that time, were religions for black people. They were even under the control of police and public health departments. *Umbanda* itself, which made a tremendous effort to be introduced within white society under the face of a white religion,¹¹ was still regarded with great bias. Leaders of *umbanda* were members of low middle class such as non-commissioned officers, policemen, small businessmen, housewives, and the religion was called “low spiritism” and dealt with cautiously; therefore, it was not able to captivate better ranked coreligionists, for instance intellectuals, artists or outstanding journalists, like it happened with Kardecist spiritism. In regard to *candomblé*, since it was born influential members of the society, like intellectuals, kept ties of friendship and respect for the black people religion and its leaders. *Candomblés* created for such members a hierarchical position representing a protective father — *ogã* — who was in charge of building a sort of bridge linking the *terreiro* and the white world, protecting worship groups from police persecution, solving political and bureaucratic problems, financially supporting ritual expenses. Outstanding intellectuals and artists, in the past and still in the present, won such distinction, and here we shall mention a few of them: among the researchers, Nina Rodrigues, at the end of last century, Edson Carneiro, Roger Bastide, Pierre Verger, Vivaldo da Costa Lima, and Júlio Braga; among the writers, Jorge Amado and Antonio Olinto; the plastic artist, Carybé; the psychiatrist Rubin de Pinho; the composer Vinícius de Moraes, and dozens of other names. But all that happened in the private world of *terreiros*, more specifically in the world of *terreiros de candomblé* of Bahia.

However, during the sixties something remarkable started to happen. With the extensive migration from the Northeast to the large industrialized cities of the Southeast, *candomblé* began

¹⁰ Referring to the presence of Afro-Brazilian religions in countries of South Cone, see Oro, 1993; Frigerio & Carozzi, 1993; Pi Hugarte, 1993; Prandi, 1991 1b; in Venezuela, Pollak-Eltz, 1993; in Portugal, Pordeus Jr., 1996.

¹¹ Ortiz, 1978.

to penetrate the well-established territory of *umbanda*, and old *umbandistas* began to convert to *candomblé*; some of them, even abandoned *umbanda* rituals and became *pais* and *mães-de-santo* (high priests and priestesses in *candomblé*) in the traditional worship of the orishas. Following this movement, *umbanda* made the way back to *candomblé*, its old and “true” original root, which new coreligionists thought to be more mysterious, more powerful, more strong than *umbanda*, its modern and white descendant.

The years we use to call “the sixties” (from the mid sixties to the early seventies) saw the rising of *candomblé* in São Paulo, and mark a period of vital excitement in culture and mentalities. Ways of life and intellectual codes went through deep changes, when rationality was under suspicion, as well as the respect for university knowledge and its closed models for explanation of the world. We could foresee what later on would be called post-modernism. The contest movement of the sixties, starting in Europe and United States, soon arrived in Brazil, mainly in the large cities of the Southeast, conquering followers among intellectuals and high-school and college students.

Those were the years of contra-culture, of recovering the exotic, the different, the original. Cultivated western youth rose in rebellion, got a taste for eastern civilizations, their transcendental and hidden mysteries (we should remember the Beatles and the pilgrimage of American and European youth looking for the Himalayan gurus). The culture of the other was enhanced. In Brazil, we enhanced indigenous culture and the anthropology gave a new dimension to ethnography in order to carry out indigenous policies. And we still have to talk about Negro’s culture. Society was looking for its roots. It was necessary to come back to Bahia, and — why not? — camping in Arembepe; to open the doors to perception, to go after pleasure, expansion of sensitivity, immediate reward for body and soul.

During this period of Brazilian history, old religious traditions of African origin, until then preserved in Bahia and some other areas of the country, found excellent financial conditions to reproduce and multiply themselves more to the South; high expenses with the rituals were no more an obstacle restraining the practice. At the same time, within this middle class movements, seeking for what could be considered to be the original roots of Brazilian culture, several intellectuals, poets, students, writers, and renowned artists knocked at the doors of the old *candomblé* houses of Bahia. Traveling to Salvador and having the future read through the oracle of sixteen cowries (*jogo de búzios*) by *mães-de-santo* (high priestesses) for many became a must, a necessity filling an emptiness deriving from a modern and secularized life style, so emphatically built up through social changes characterizing the industrialized cities of the Southeast, a life style yet — who knows? — contaminated by so many disillusionments (Prandi, 1991a).

Candomblé found extremely suitable social, financial and cultural conditions to rebirth in a new land where the existence of black origin institutions yet was not important. In the new orishas’ *terreiros*, we could find poors from all ethnic and racial origins; they were interested in *candomblé*, and *terreiros* grew by the hundred. *Candomblé*, departing from the Southeast, became a universal religion, i.e., a religion for all sorts of people.

Throughout this period of intensive cultural and political agitation — we should only remember the military rule in Brazil from 1964 on, and the long years of authoritarian repression and resistance movements on the part of students and blue-collar workers — movements of the Left youth acted intensively in the fields of theater and music, simultaneously with the

development of an idea of society enhancing the poor, the Negro, the exploited and the marginalized people, inclusively *carioca* hills and slums that are used in fighting social injustice.

Middle classes concentrated nonconformity and disdain towards rational culture¹². Soon, a cultural movement arose, defining itself simultaneously as from protest, from Left, and from renovation; such movement uses the already electronic media to show itself up, and introduces in all homes an incredible amount of new information exciting new preferences. The country was living the political and cultural euphoria preceding 1964 events, followed by the agitation of the years of resistance to military rule that came afterwards. The most remarkable intellectuals of the sixties actively took part of a project recovering the origins, directly connected to Bahia.

The presence of orishas in Brazilian popular music

In the movement for “recovering the Brazilian origins”, during the sixties and the seventies, *candomblé* was fully present in at least three fronts: music, dance and mythology. In this paper, I shall analyse one of these aspects, the absorption of elements from the orishas’ religion in Brazilian popular music, more precisely, in the lyrics of the songs.¹³

Elements of Afro-Brazilian religions first appear in the lyrics of sambas at the beginning of the thirties, period which gave birth to the recording industry and to the full radio broadcasting in Brazil, more precisely in Rio de Janeiro. Although the samba, in its origins, is closely related to *candomblé* music, mainly to the rhythms of Angolan *candomblé*, in years preceding the thirties straight references to religious elements have already disappeared from the lyrics of the songs. In 1930, the composer Amor (Getúlio Marinho da Silva), together with Mano Elói and the “Conjunto Africano” (African Ensemble) recorded with Odeon a disc containing two songs which were *pontos de macumba* (religious songs of *macumba*, the *candomblé-umbanda* of that time): *Macumba: ponto de Eshu* (Macumba: song of Eshu), and *Macumba: ponto de Ogum* (Macumba, song of Ogum). Amor was born in the city of Salvador, and lived in Rio de Janeiro since the age of six. He was an outstanding *omelê* (the former *cuíca*, a percussion instrument) player, and regularly attended *terreiros de candomblé*. He also enjoyed Carnival, and paraded in *ranchos*

¹² Symptomatically, the lyrics of *Canto de Oxalufã (Oshalufan Song)* [Oshalufan is the name of old Oshala, creator of mankind and god of seniority and wisdom], song by Baden Powell and Vinicius de Moraes, from 1963, say: You who knows too much/My father (Oshalufan) asked to tell you/That time effaces everything/Death has never studied/ And life is unable to read/You who knows too much/But who doesn’t know how to live/Answer, if you can/During life, who knows more?/ When death comes, who wants to know?

¹³ At the end of the text, there is an Annex where relevant information is given concerning songs referred to in present paper, along with many others that are integral part of the movement we herein describe. This is not a final list, since this is an ongoing research, but I do think it brings the most representative titles, authors and singers. In almost all listed songs, the date we refer to is the date of first recording, though it may exist several recordings. In the column “terms referred to”, we indicate the names of the orishas, *terreiros de candomblé*, and *mães-de-santo*, as well as names of other entities, such as *caboclos*. In this paper, we did not include *candomblé* and *umbanda* sacred songs, unless when they have been recorded in a disc with no religious purpose. There are uncountable *candomblé* and *umbanda* discs recorded for religious purposes. We also did not include the *sambas-enredo* (plot of sambas) of *escolas de samba*.

Lure, a magic place,
Ilusão, ôi, candomblé...
 Illusion, oh, candomblé...
Pra você.
 For you.
Juro por Deus
 I swear to God
Pelo Senhor do Bonfim
 For Our Lord of Bonfim
Quero você
 I want you
Baianinha, inteirinha pra mim.
 Little baiana, entirely for me.
Sim, mas depois
 Yes, but afterwards
O que será de nós dois?
 What's gonna happen to both of us?
Seu amor é tão fugaz e enganador!
 Your love is so brief and deceptive!
Mentirosa, mentirosa, mentirosa.
 Liar, liar, liar.
Tudo já fiz
 I did everything
Fui até num canjerê
 I even went to a magic place
Pra ser feliz
 To be happy
Meus trapinhos juntei com você.
 I decided to live with you.
Sim, mas depois vai ser uma ilusão.
 But afterwards, it's gonna be an illusion.
E o amor quem governa é o coração.
 And the one commanding heart is love.
No tabuleiro da baiana tem
 In the baiana's tray there is
Vatapá, ôi, caruru
 Vatapá, oh, caruru
Mungunzá, ôi, tem umbu
 Mungunzá, oh, there is umbu
Pra ioiô
 For the massa
Se eu pedir você me dá...
 If I ask, you give me...
Se dou!
 Of course I do!

O seu coração, seu amor de iaiá?
 Your heart, your Missy's love?
No coração da baiana tem...
 Inside baiana's heart there is...
Sedução, canjerê,
 Lure, a magic place,
Ilusão, ôi, candomblé...
 Illusion, oh, candomblé...
Pra você
 For you.

In the lyrics of this samba, the words *candomblé* and *canjerê* (black people religious ceremony ; place to practice enchantment) are clearly referred to (I went to a *canjerê* in order to get the love of the beloved woman), but in other works of Ary Barroso, although several elements of culture and daily life in the *terreiros* are cited, there is no explicit reference to the worship. Following the same musical trend — *samba-exaltação* — we mention *A Bahia te espera* (Bahia waits for you), from Herivelto Martins and Chianca Garcia, whose lyrics list *candomblé* among the riches of Bahia: *vem busca da Bahia/cidade das tentações onde o feitiço impera...* [come look for Bahia/city of temptations where enchantment reigns ...] and was a hit in the voice of Dalva de Oliveira.

Dorival Caymmi is the most relevant of these forerunners. The great singer of the sea, and pioneer of stories centered in Yemanjá, honored this orisha in 1939, with *Promessa de Pescador* (Fisherman Promise), and in 1940, with *Quem vem pra beira do mar* (Who ever comes to the seashore). In present days, Caymmi still has a strong influence upon relevant composers and singers who consolidated the use of *candomblé* cultural elements in popular music. However, he was an almost isolated and lonely voice.

More than thirty years after the wide popularity of *No tabuleiro da baiana* (In the baiana's tray), first musical displays openly referring to the orishas' world recover those themes concerning fishermen, sea dangers and the difficult art of living, following Caymmi's steps. Yemanjá, a favourite theme, from Caymmi to recent composers, is the orisha of the sea, the great mother, and in the lyrics she is the protector of fisherman, although she can also loose him or even provoke his death. *Barravento*, recorded in 1963, in the voice of its composer, Sergio Ricardo, represents well that moment. Moreover, it can be seen as one of the initial mile-stones of such period consolidating the presence of orishas and other themes related to *terreiros* in Brazilian popular music. Here we have the lyrics of *Barravento*:

Noite de breu sem luar
 Pitch-black night with no moonlight
Lá vai saveiro pelo mar
 Fishing boat goes to the sea
Levando Bento e Chicão
 Carrying Bento and Chicão
Na praia um pranto, uma oração
 At the shore, a cry, a prayer
Barravento
 Barravento

Se barravento chegar
 In case *barravento* arrives
Não vai ter peixe pra vender
 There will be no fish for selling
Filho sem pai para criar
 Fatherless son to be brought up
Mulher viúva pra sofrer
 A suffering widow
Salve Mãe Iemanjá
 Hail, Mother Yemanja
Barravento
 Barravento
Não deixe ele chegar
 Don't let it comes
Não leve o bom Chicão
 Don't take good Chicão away
Barravento
 Barravento
Salve Mãe Iemanjá
 Hail, Mother Yemanja
Não quero mais viver, Janaína
 Janaína, I don't want to live anymore
Se Bento não voltar
 In case Bento doesn't come back
Meu coração vai ser barravento
 My heart is gonna be barravento
Salve Mãe Iemanjá
 Hail, Mother Yemanja.

In 1964, during the First Festival of Brazilian Popular Music, undertaken by former Excelsior TV Channel, in Guarujá, Elis Regina sang *Arrastão* (The taking in of the fishing net), from Vinicius de Moraes and Edu Lobo, and won the festival, though the theme was too exotic for the audience of that time. The career of the girl who was going to be considered the best Brazilian singer was just starting, and later on, working for Record TV Channel she would lead a show at first named *O Fino da Bossa* (The best of Bossa), and afterwards just *O fino* (The best). Such TV show became the entrance door to renewal Brazilian popular music post-*Bossa Nova*, and introduced several composers and singers who definitely left their print in the MPB (Brazilian Popular Music), e.g. Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil, Milton Nascimento. *Arrastão* (The taking in of the fishing net) in its lyrics recovers stories of fishermen, and cites Yemanja, *Janaína*, Queen of Seas, responsible for good fishing:

Ê tem jangada no mar
 Hey, there is sailing raft on the sea
Ê eiê hoje tem arrastão
 Hey, we're taking in the fishing net
Ê todo mundo pescar
 Hey, let's go fishing

Chega de sombra João
 João, leave the shade

J'ouviu
 Do you hear me?

Olha o arrastão entrando no mar sem fim
 Look at the sailing raft on the endless sea

Ê meu irmão me traz Iemanjá pra mim
 Hey, brother bring me Yemanja

Nha Santa Bárbara me abençoi
 St. Barbara bless me

Quero me casar com Janaína
 I want to marry Janaína

Ê puxa bem devagar
 Hey, pull the net very slow

Ê ieê já vem vindo o arrastão
 Hey, the're taking in the fishing net

Ê é a Rainha do Mar
 Hey, hey, it's the Queen of Seas

Vem vem na rede João pra mim
 Come, João, come to me with the net

Valha meu Nosso Senhor do Bonfim
 Help me our Lord of Bonfim

Nunca jamais se viu tanto peixe assim
 We never saw such an amount of fish

Valha meu Nosso Senhor do Bonfim
 Help me our Lord of Bonfim

Nunca jamais se viu tanto peixe assim
 We never saw such an amount of fish

After the modernity of *Bossa-Nova*, we were recovering the contents of “legitimate” Brazilian mannerism; Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo had already good acquaintance with Yemanja through *umbanda*, but since the reference point became Bahia, the orisha was also referred to as pertaining to Bahia, that is to *candomblé*. We are talking about a new way of singing, in which elements of *candomblé* culture take their legitimate place between middle classes who consume the sophisticated production of the country. Themes coming from Bahia were leading Brazilian popular music renewal, and *candomblé* had an especial place in it.

At that point, *Bossa-Nova* movement¹⁸ was concerned with social contest, putting aside its characteristic intimate romanticism; orishas also started to show them up in lyrics of “protest songs” dealing with social issues. *Esse mundo é meu* (This world is mine), from Sergio Ricardo and Ruy Guerra, dramatist and movies maker, is a symbol. Recorded in 1963, with Nara Leão, it was re-recorded with Elis Regina and Jair Rodrigues. Here are the lyrics:

¹⁸ Concerning a history of Brazilian popular music, see Zan, 1997; Moura, 1983; Castro, 1990; Sodré, 1979; Tinhorão, 1974; Cabral, 1982; Bahiana et alii, 1979-80; Vianna, 1995.

Esse mundo é meu
 This world is mine
Esse mundo é meu.
 This world is mine.
Escravo do reino estou
 I am a slave of the reign
Escravo do mundo em que estou
 A slave in the world where I am
Mas acorrentado ninguém pode amar
 But enchained nobody can love
Mas acorrentado ninguém pode amar
 But enchained nobody can love

Saravá, Ogun
 Saravá, Ogun
Mandinga da gente continua
 Our enchantment goes on
Cadê o despacho pra acabar?
 Where is the *despacho* to end it?
Santo Guerreiro da floresta,
 Saint Warrior from the forest
Se você não vem, eu mesmo vou brigar
 If you don't come, I'll fight myself
Se você não vem, eu mesmo vou brigar
 If you don't come, I'll fight myself.

The leaders of musical movement of such period are artists of the Left, engaged in criticizing capitalist exploitation of the blue-collar worker who sees himself as a slave, unable even to love. Ogun, orisha of war, is exhorted to fight side by side with ordinary people, and help them conquering their freedom. The lyrics teach that in order to conquer what we are longing for, in this case freedom, it is worthwhile to use enchantment, sorcery, *despacho*, opposing all concepts until then considered to be ethically correct.

Also composed in 1963, *Maria Moita* (Silent Maria), from Carlos Lyra and Vinicius de Moraes is a protest song. Lyrics comment upon exploitation of poors by richs and of women by men. We could say this is a feminist song, preceeding women's rights movement. First recorded with Nara Leão, and later on re-recorded with Elis Regina and others, *Maria Moita* seeks for the help of Shango, through the *babalorisha*, *pai-de-santo* (high priest) to fix social injustices, eliminating differences between rich and poor, man and woman, since men and rich people do not work. Lyrics protagonist is a mulatto female whose mother was a slave and the father a white slave-driver. Shango is the orisha of thunder and justice. Here are the lyrics:

Nasci lá na Bahia
 I was born in Bahia
De mucama com feitor
 From a slave and a slave driver
Meu pai dormia em cama
 My father slept in bed

Minha mãe, no pisador
 My mother on the floor
Meu pai só dizia assim: venha cá
 All my father said was come here
Minha mãe dizia sim, sem falar
 My mother said yes, with no words
Mulher que fala muito
 A woman of many words
Perde logo seu amor
 Soon loses her lover
Deus fez primeiro o homem
 God first made the man
A mulher nasceu depois
 The woman was born after him
Por isso é que a mulher
 That's the reason why the woman
Trabalha sempre pelos dois
 Always works for both of them
Homem acaba de chegar, tá com fome
 The man just arrived and he's hungry
A mulher tem que olhar pelo homem
 The woman has to look after the man
Mulher deitada, em pé
 A woman laying down or standing up
Mulher tem é que trabalhar
 A woman has to work
O rico acorda tarde
 Rich man wakes up late
Já começa a rezingar
 And starts to complain
O pobre acorda cedo
 Poor man wakes up early
Já começa a trabalhar
 And starts to work
Vou pedir ao meu babalorixá
 I'm gonna ask my babalorisha
Pra fazer uma oração pra Xangô
 To make a prayer to Shango
Pra por pra trabalhar
 Demanding to give work
Gente que nunca trabalhou
 To people who never worked before.

In *Samba do carioca* (Carioca's samba), from Lyra and Vinicius, recorded in 1963, and re-recorded in 1965, with Elis Regina, we ask the orishas to give us the good things in life. We ask St. George, syncretic name for Ogun, to give us liquor, and we ask Shango, who had several

wives, inclusively Oshun, Yansan and Oba, to give us “several women to love”. Here we find another significant example of a new moral conception legalized through the mythology of orishas worshiped in *candomblé*, and vice-versa.

Vamos carioca

Let's go, carioca

Sai do teu sono devagar

Wake up from your deep sleep^Y

O dia já vem vindo aí

The day soon is coming

E o sol já vai raiar

and the sun is rising

São Jorge, teu padrinho

St. George, your godfather

Te dê cana pra tomar

give you liquor to drink

Xangô, teu pai, te dê

Shango, your father, give you

Muitas mulheres para amar

Several women to love

Vamos minha gente

Let's go my people

É hora da gente trabalhar

It's time for us to work

Vamos minha gente

Let's go my people.

In 1965, the singer Gilberto Gil, in his first appearance in the show “O Fino da Bossa” (The Best of Bossa), sang his samba *Eu vim da Bahia* (I came from Bahia) where he refers to the protection of Yemanjá towards people of Bahia, poor people joyfully living to sing and dance, reassuring the frequent association between orisha and feast.¹⁹For *povo-de-santo* (followers of *candomblé*), Oshala and Our Lord of Bonfim are a single entity.

Eu vim, eu vim da Bahia cantar

I came, I came from Bahia to sing

Eu vim da Bahia contar

I came from Bahia to tell

Tanta coisa bonita que tem

All the beauties we have there

na Bahia que é meu lugar

in Bahia which is my place

Tem meu chão, tem meu céu, tem meu mar

There is my land, my sky, my sea

A Bahia que vive pra dizer

¹⁹ Amaral, 1992.

Bahia that lives to teach
Como é que se faz pra viver
 How do we do for living
Onde a gente não tem pra comer
 Where we have nothing to eat
Mas de fome não morre porque
 But we don't starve because
Na Bahia tem Mãe Iemanjá
 In Bahia we have Mother Yemanja
De outro lado o Senhor do Bonfim
 On the other hand, Our Lord of Bonfim
Que ajuda o baiano a viver
 Who helps the man of Bahia in his living
Pra sambar pra cantar pra valer
 To really dance and sing the samba
Pra morrer de alegria na festa de rua
 To die from joy in the street feast
No samba de roda
 In the samba de roda
Na noite de lua
 In the night with moon
No canto do mar
 In the song of the sea
Eu vim da Bahia
 I came from Bahia
Mas eu volto pra lá
 But I'll come back
Eu vim da Bahia
 I came from Bahia
Mas algum dia eu volto pra lá
 But someday I'll come back there.

Canto de Ossanha (Osaniyn Song), from Vinicius de Moraes and Baden Powell, recorded by Ellis Regina, in 1965, is another hit. The orisha, in this case Osaniyn, is the god of leaves who cures the diseases, but he is dangerous and unreliable, and we must be careful on carrying enchantment on, since in life we only find contradictions, and no one ever tells the truth. Shango calls our attention upon so many misunderstandings of words and desires:

O homem que diz dou não dá
 The man who says I give, doesn't give
Porque quem dá mesmo não diz
 Because who really gives, doesn't say a word
O homem que diz vou não vai
 The man who says I go doesn't go
Porque quando foi já não quis
 Because when he went, he didn't want to
O homem que diz sou não é

The man who says I am, he is not
Porque quem é mesmo é não sou
 Because who really is, is I'm not
Coitado do homem que cai
 Poor of the man who falls
No canto de Ossanha traidor
 In the tune of unreliable Ossaiyn
Coitado do homem que vai
 Poor of the man who believes
Atrás demandinga de amor
 In enchatment to find love
Vai, vai, vai, não vou
 Go, go, go, I don't go
Vai, vai, vai, não vou
 Go, go, go, I don't go
Não vou, eu não sou ninguém de ir
 I don't go, I'm not someone believing
Em conversa de esquecer
 In these advice to forget
A tristeza de um amor que passou
 The sadness of a dead love
Não, eu só vou se for pra ver
 No, I only go if it is to see
Uma estrela aparecer
 A star enlightening
Na manhã de um novo amor
 The morning of a new love
Amigo, senhor saravá!
 My friend, my lord saravá!
Xangô me mandou lhe dizer
 Shango urged me to tell you
Se é canto de Ossanha não vá
 If it is a tune of Ossaiyn don't go
Que muito vai se arrepender
 You'll have much to regret
Pergunte ao seu orixá
 Ask your orisha
Amor só é bom se doer
 True love hurts
Vai, vai...
 Go, go...

In 1966, Vinicius and Baden Powell with back-vocals of Quarteto em Cy recorded the LP "Afro-sambas", with the following songs: *Canto de Xangô* (Song of Shango), *Bocochê*, *Canto de Iemanjá* (Song of Yemanja), *Tempo de amor* (Time for love), *Canto do Caboclo* (Caboclo's Song), *Pedra Preta* (Black Stone), *Tristeza e solidão* (Sadness and solitude), and *Lamento de Exu*

(Moan of Eshu). The influence of *candomblé* is not limited to the lyrics of songs; rhythms coming straight from *terreiros* are also incorporated to popular music, and this happens in present days.

During the sixties, the best lyrics were written by Vinicius de Moraes; within a short time, others came on the scene, e.g. Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil. The main singers during this first stage were Nara Leão and Elis Regina, soon followed by Gal Costa, Maria Bethânia, Clara Nunes, among the most relevant.

This was a period of deep changes in esthetics, and almost all arts (mainly the *Cinema Novo* and the scenic arts) looked at Bahia and other areas of the Northeast. With “O Pagador de Promessas”, a movie from Anselmo Duarte, based on a play of Dias Gomes, Brazil recognized himself, and was acknowledged in the screens around the world. Yansan/St. Barbara was in the core of the plot; the catholic priest was against her; the people was in her favour. The movie tells the story of a sharecropper who makes a vow to Yansan seeking for the cure of his sick mule. The mule was cured and his owner, *Zé do Burro*, makes a trip to the city of Salvador, carrying a wood cross on his back, intending to leave it at St. Barbara church in payment of his vow. The catholic priest does not accept the syncretism of the sharecropper and forbids him to enter the church. The whole plot, up to its end, brings into scene a huge collection of cultural ingredients inherited from *candomblé*. In the early seventies, Carnival feast in the city of Salvador surpassed the festivities in Rio de Janeiro, exciting the interest of revellers coming from the whole country. Everyone wanted “to follow the *trio elétrico*” (electronic music-band). Diffusion of the culture of *terreiros de candomblé* also reflected in the taste of the country, bringing into scene the flavour of *azeite de dendê* (African palm oil), and we learnt to enjoy exquisite food of Bahia: *acarajé, vatapá, bobó de camarão, caruru...*

The enormous popularity and publicity Bahia and black-*baiana* culture reached, also with the help of Jorge Amado’s literature and plays such “Zumbi”, introduced us to honorable *mães-de-santo* (high priestesses) in the *candomblé* of Salvador; the first was Olga do Alaketo, and later on Mãe Menininha do Gantois, the most famous yalorisha at any time. Following the voices of Gal, Bethânia and so many other singers, Brazil learnt to sing the song from Dorival Caymmi: *Oração a Mãe Menininha* (Prayer to Mãe Menininha):

Ai! Minha Mãe

Ah! My Mother

Minha Mãe Menininha

My Mother Menininha

Ai! Minha Mãe

Ah! My Mother

Menininha do Gantois

Menininha from Gantois

E a estrela mais linda, heim?

And where is the most beautiful star?

Tá no Gantois

You find it in Gantois

E o sol mais brilhante, heim?

And where is the most brilliant sun ?

Tá no Gantois

You find it in Gantois

A beleza do mundo, heim?
 And where is the beauty of the world?
Tá no Gantois
 You find it in Gantois
E a mão da doçura, heim?
 And where is the hand of the sweetness?
Tá no Gantois
 You find it in Gantois
E a Oxum mais bonita, heim?
 And where is the most beautiful Oshun?
Tá no Gantois
 You find her in Gantois
Olorun quem mandou
 Olorun told
Essa filha de Oxum
 This daughter of Oshun
Tomar conta da gente
 To take care of us
E de tudo cuidar
 And look after everything
Olorun quem mandou, ê ô
 Olorun told her, eh, oh
Ora iêiê ô
 Ora iehieh oh.

Thus, popular music taught us the names of the orishas, already known through *umbanda*; but by that time, we had to travel to Bahia to ask for the blessing of Mãe Menininha do Gantois, to have the future read through the oracle of sixteen cowries (*jogo de búzios*), to try the taste of real enchantment.

This consumption market was made up by the young college student, the cultivated man, the middle class white who first went to *terreiros* of Bahia; there was a new world in the national religious market to cope with eastern originality. Nevertheless, the metropolis was not eager to pay the price for going so far; when *candomblé* arrived in São Paulo, its clients were ready — middle class clients who could pay for the infrastructure of such religion, and whose number increased and diversified very quickly. We cannot ignore an important pre-condition for the acceptance of *candomblé*: the existence of *umbanda*. And the *povo-de-santo* (followers of *candomblé*) who came from Bahia towards this new frontier of the Southeast metropolis, opening *terreiros* in São Paulo, and instructing *filhos-de-santo*, redoing here the religion they had there, offering oracles and enchantments they learned in their land, closely followed the prestige *candomblé* inclusively in popular music and other artistic expressions. Everyone wants to be a son of Gantois, a son of Mãe Menininha. But that is another story...

The list of songs making references to orishas, *mães-de-santo*, enchantments, mysteries and secrets of *candomblé* is uncountable.

Throughout the seventies and the eighties, the singer Clara Nunes will dedicate an expressive portion of her repertoire to sambas and songs talking about the orishas, though her

conception of orisha is more closely related to that of *umbanda*. We mention here the following sambas recorded by Clara Nunes: *Ijexá*, from Edil Pacheco, *Guerreira* (Warrior), from João Nogueira and Paulo César Pinheiro, *Nação* (Nation), from João Bosco, Aldir Blanc and Paulo Emílio, *Conto de Areia* (Sand Tale), from Romildo and Toninho.

Vinícius de Moraes, during a certain period of his career when Toquinho was his partner, and their songs were consumed by the popular masses, composed more than a dozen of songs with orishas as theme, and those songs became extremely popular, as for instance, *A bênção Bahia* (Bless me, Bahia), *Tatamirô*, *Canto de Oxum* (Song of Oshun). In his *Sambada bênção* (Blessing Samba), music from Baden Powell, in honor of great composers of Brazilian popular music, he declares that he descends from Shango, and he greets Mãe Senhora “the greatest yalorisha of Bahia; that song follows the structure of *louvações* (expressions of praise) in *candomblé*, directed to honorable ancestors, from the elders to the youngsters.

Even after the final phase of *Bossa Nova*, marked with protest songs, and after the movement of *Tropicalismo*, the orishas of *candomblé* are still present in songs from Gilberto Gil, Caetano Veloso and other prestigious composers. In Caetano Veloso’s repertoire we find, among other songs: *Milagres do povo* (Miracles of the people), *Oração ao Tempo* (Prayer to Time), *Iá omin bun*, *São João Xangô Menino* (St. John Shango as Boy), *Badauê*, *Cavaleiro de Jorge* (George’s Knight), *Nana ê*, and *Blues* from Péricles Cavalcante.

Gilberto Gil recorded: *Ê menina* (Eh, girl), from João Donato and Guarabira, and from his authorship *Logun-Edé*, *Filhos de Ghandi* (Ghandi’s Children), *Eu vim da Bahia* (I came from Bahia), *São João Xangô Menino* (St. John Shango as Boy) with Caetano Veloso as partner, *Afoxé-é*, *Água Benta* (Holy Water).

Maria Bethânia sang *As Ayabás*, *Awô*, *Iansã*, *Ofá*; in duet with Gal Costa, she also recorded the historical *Oração a Mãe Menininha* (Prayer to Mãe Menininha). Gal recorded *É d’Oxum* (It belongs to Oshun), *Ingena*, *Saudação aos povos africanos* (Praise to African peoples), *Raiz* (Roots), *Bahia minha preta* (Bahia, my black), *Lavagem do Bonfim* (Washing the Bonfim), *Milagres do povo* (Miracles of the people).

We may add to this list other singers and composers: Clementina, Maria Creuza, Jorge Benjor, Chico Buarque, Luiz Airão, Wilson Simonal, Martinho da Vila, Aparecida, Antonio Carlos e Jocaí, Pepeu Gomes, Zezé Motta, ensemble Banda Mel, Zeca Pagodinho, Fafá de Belém, Alcione, João Bosco, Moraes Moreira, Timbalada & Carlinhos Brown.

We must not forget two contributions of Angela Maria; in the sixties, she recorded the unforgettable Cuban version *Babalu*, a prayer to the orisha Babaluaieh or Omolu, and later on, *Moça Bonita* (Pretty Woman), in honor of *Pombagira* (female malefic Eshu). Although these two songs are not related to the movement described in this paper, they certainly contributed to fill popular imaginary with entities of *candomblé* and *umbanda*.

Songs praising the orishas have as theme daily life, love and pleasure, betrayals and desires, the difficulties of life in a world socially unfair. A few of them simply praise the orishas, tell about their myths, enhance their character and their miraculous powers. It is not uncommon for an artist to record a sacred song of *candomblé*, in the old Yoruban ritual language.

In 1988, in her first disc, Marisa Monte, acclaimed as great singer by the critique and middle class audience, anxious to preserve an image of demanding consumer, payed her tribute to African

origins recording *Lenda das sereias, Rainha do Mar* (Sirens Legend, Queen of Sea), from Vicente Mattos, Dionel e Arlindo Velloso. It is a song dedicated to Yemanjá, mentioning all different names she is called in *candomblé*:

Ogunté, Marabô

Ogunté, Marabô

Caiala e Sobá

Caiala and Sobá

Oloxum, Inaê

Oloxum, Inaê

Janaína e Iemanjá

Janaína and Iemanjá

O mar, misterioso mar

The sea, mysterious sea

Que vem do horizonte

Who is born in the horizon

É o berço das sereias

It is the cradle of sirens

Lendário e fascinante

Legendary and fascinating

Olha o canto da sereia

Listen to the siren song

Ialaô, Oquê, Ialoá

Ialaô, Oquê, Ialoá

Em noite de lua cheia

In a night of full moon

Ouçõ a sereia cantar

I hear the siren singing

E o luar sorrindo

And moonlight smiling

Então se encanta

Then becomes charmed

Com a doce melodia

With that sweet melody

Os madrigais vão despertar

Madrigals are going to awake

Ela mora no mar

She lives in the sea

Ela brinca na areia

She plays on the sand

No balanço das ondas

In the rocking of the waves

A paz ela semeia
She spreads peace

E que é?
And who is she?

Ogunté, Marabô
Ogunté, Marabô

Caiala e Sobá
Caiala and Sobá

Oloxum, Inaê
Oloxum, Inaê

Janaína e Iemanjá
Janaína and Iemanjá

At the beginning of the nineties, Gerônimo e Zezé Calazans composed, in reference to the city of Salvador, the song *É d'Oxum* (It belongs to Oshun) recorded by Gal Costa, Caetano Veloso and others. Lyrics emphatically say:

Nesta cidade todo mundo é d'Oxum
In this town everybody belong to Oshun

Homem, menino, menina e mulher
Man, boy, girl, woman

Toda a cidade irradia magia
The whole town irradiates enchantment

Presente na água doce
Present in fresh water

Presente na água salgada
Present in salt water

E toda a cidade brilha
And the whole town shines

Seja tenente ou filho de pescador
Be a lieutenant or a fisherman child

ou importante desembargador
or an important chief judge

Se der presente é tudo uma coisa só
It's all one and the same thing

A força que mora n'água
The strength that lives in the water

Não faz distinção de cor
Makes no racial distinction

E toda a cidade é d'Oxum
And the whole town belongs to Oshun

É d'Oxum
Belongs to Oshun

É d'Oxum
Belongs to Oshun

Eu vou navegar nas ondas do mar
I'm gonna sail on sea waves

Eu vou navegar nas ondas do mar

I'm gonna sail on the sea waves.

Thus, this song refers to a town that seems to be completely engaged with Oshun, the orisha of beauty and love. It is precisely during this period that in the city of Salvador is born a tremendously successful kind of music dominating the whole country, Axé Music which makes no straight reference to candomblé, even though its rhythm derive from it.²⁰

In 1995, Caetano Veloso composed *Milagres do povo* (Miracles of the people) for the sound-track of TV show entitled "Tenda dos Milagres" (Tent of Miracles) based upon a Jorge Amado's novel. The song dignifies African inheritance and the Negro who in spite of racial prejudice, counting upon the orishas' help, was able of performing so many miracles in order to survive; it also celebrates life, sex and freedom. Even declaring himself godless, Caetano says that we cannot deny the existence of all these gods constantly arising, celebrating the polytheist environment so present within Afro-Brazilian culture.

Quem é ateu

The one who is godless

E viu milagres como eu

And saw miracles as I did

Sabe que os deuses sem Deus

Knows that gods without God

Não cessam de brotar

Constantly arise

Não cansam de esperar

Don't get tired of waiting

E o coração

And the heart

Que é soberano e que é senhor

Who is sovereign and who is master

Não cabe na escravidão

Doesn't fit in slavery

Não cabe no seu não

Doesn't fit in your no

Não cabe em si de tanto sim

Is overjoyed with so many yes

É pura dança e sexo e glória

It's pure dance and sex and glory

E paira para além da história

And floats beyond history

Ojuobá ia lá e via

²⁰ Ashe is a Yoruban word meaning sacred force, orishas' energy. It became popular outwards *terreiros* as an expression of vows for good-luck, good fortune. It can no longer be used as an exclusive reference mark of the orishas' religion.

Ojuobá went there and saw
Ojuobahia
 Ojuobahia
Xangô manda me mandar
 Shango orders me to send
Obatalá guia
 Obatalah as guide
Mamãe Oxum chora
 Mummy Oshun cries
Lágrima alegria
 Tears of joy
Pétala de Iemanjá
 Yemanja's petals
Iansã-Oiá-Iá
 Yansan-Oya-Ya
É no xaréu
 It's in intense cold
Que brilha a prata luz do céu
 That shines the silver light of skies
E o povo negro entendeu
 And black people understood
Que o grande vencedor
 That the great winner
Se ergue além da dor
 Stands on his feet beyond pain
Tudo chegou
 All them arrived
Sobrevivente num navio
 Surviving a slave ship
Quem descobriu o Brasil
 Who discovered Brazil
Foi o negro que viu
 It was the Negro who saw
A crueldade bem de frente
 Cruelty face to face
E ainda produziu milagres
 And even then he produced miracles
De fé no extremo Ocidente
 Of faith in the Far Western
*Ojuobá ia lá e via.*²¹

²¹ Ojuobah in Yoruban language means “the eyes of Shango” and it is the title of a priest of Shango whose task is to inform the *mãe-de-santo*, telling her everything that goes on in life outwards *terreiro*. Ojubahia, a construction of the poet, could mean “the eyes of Bahia”.

Candomblé today

In such economical, social and cultural context, *candomblé* arrived and set itself in São Paulo and other regions of the country where it was almost unknown. It is no longer an exclusive religion for black people; it is a religion for all sort of people, regardless race, although in the regions of origin followers are mostly blacks.²² *Candomblé* still faces an enormous bias. It is impossible to hide the discrimination exercised towards it, especially catholic and pentecostalist. According to pentecostalists point of view, the orishas and the devil are one and the same, who must be exorcized. Catholicism is less intolerant, though its progressive segments never invited *candomblé* to their ecumenical meetings.

The orishas' religion preserves its image of a worship full of mysteries and secrets, and this arises an idea of danger and risk in the popular imaginary, feeding back the prejudice. Nevertheless, there is no doubts respect its progress on the process of legitimacy; today, *candomblé* does not need to hide itself from the police nor is limited to closed parcels of the society. Secular diffusion of the religion through arts, mainly popular music, reaching the masses through radio and television broadcasting, undoubtedly contributed to reduce marginalized condition of African gods religion.

As a religion for all sorts of people, *candomblé* emphasizes the idea that competition within society is much more acute than we could think of, and that we must reach much more dense and coded levels of knowledge. In our days, religious power has a real chance to improve itself. *Candomblé* teaches that there is nothing to be hidden or repressed in relation to oneself or other people, since in this world, we can be what we are, what we would like to be, and what other people would like us to be. And all at the same time.

As an agency for magic services, *candomblé* offers the outsider a possibility to find the solution for an unsolved problem without a close relation with religion.²³ Probably the client will not get aware of the inner sacred feature of *candomblé*; iniciatic rites of the religion are performed in privacy, away from audience eyes. Therefore, non-initiates only take part into public rituals, where everything is a celebration, with dancing, singing, food, and colors, many colors. Here we find the reason why *candomblé* can be mixed up with its esthetic form, reproduced in the theater, in the *escola de samba* and in soap-operas — orishas within arm's reach as a product ready for legal consumption .

An important share of social legitimacy of elements of such black culture, or of African origin, whose most important cradle is Bahia, this legitimacy of the “roots” is a result of the new esthetics of cultivated middle class of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, along the sixties and the seventies, who adopted artists and intellectuals from Bahia, and expanded through electronic media, reaching all social classes. And this paper seeks to prove that it happened especially

²² Considering the whole adult Brazilian population, in the year of 1994, followers of Afro-Brazilian religions (all sorts) are distributed as follows: 51% of whites; 29% of mulattoes; and 18% of blacks. Separately, followers of *umbanda* are: 57% of whites; 27% of mulattoes; and 15% of blacks. *Candomblé* has 40% of whites; 33% of mulattoes; and 24% of blacks (Prandi, 1996, chapter 2).

²³ Pierucci and Pradi, 1996, chapter 11.

through popular music. Poor people also had their share, even though they have not experienced the rebellion and the coming back to Bahia, that during the sixties took the way to Salvador, moored in Porto da Barra, climbed the slope of Gantois, in the neighborhood of Federação, found its way to São Gonçalo do Retiro, and looked for honorable *mães-de-santo* and their enchantments in Matatu de Brotas. Such a desire also dominated *umbandistas* who tried hard to efface precisely such non-white origin of their religion, this hidden face of Bahia and Africa. The process of africanization of candomblé²⁴, as I called it, is starting; in such a process, deliberate return over tradition means a re-apprenticeship of the language, rites, myths, lost or altered during the Diaspora; coming back to Africa, not to be African or Negro, but to recover a patrimony whose presence in Brazil presently is a reason for pride, wisdom, and public recognition; holding a culture which is, at the same time, Brazilian and black, because Brazil recognizes himself in the orisha.

In the imaginary of this coreligionist, who is poor, the “original” orisha, celebrated by that one who is richer, more cultivated, famous, this orisha, worshiped according to old models, according to candomblé, disclose himself as stronger, richer, more powerful and “real”. Thus, more than ever, in the society we are living in, as Caetano Veloso says, “we must be attentive and strong”.

Along the socio-cultural process of changes we approached in this paper, worship to orishas first mixed itself to catholic saints seeking to be Brazilian — and syncretism was born; later on, it effaced black elements trying to be universal and part of the general society — *umbanda* arose; finally, it came back to its black origins, making part of the full identity of the country — and *candomblé* became a religion for all sorts of people, starting a process of africanization and abandonment of syncretism in order to recover its independency towards Catholicism. At this point, recognition of orishas’ culture on the part of society as a whole represents an important step, and its diffusion through popular music, among other artistic expressions, a very expressive mean.

²⁴ Prandi, 1991a.

Annex: Songs with lyrics covering Afro-Brazilian religions themes (1930-April of 1997)

Year (*)	Title of the song	Theme references (**)	Authors	Singers	LP/CD	Recording company
1930	<i>Macumba: ponto de Exu</i>	Eshu	public domain	Amor (Getúlio Marinho da Sila), Mano Elói and Conjunto Africano	78 RPM	Odeon
1930	<i>Macumba: ponto de Ogum</i>	Ogum	public domain	Amor (Getúlio Marinho da Sila), Mano Elói and Conjunto Africano	78 RPM	Odeon
1931	<i>Ererê</i>	macumba, umbanda song	Amor(Getúlio Marinho da Silva)	Moreira da Silva	78 RPM	Odeon
1931	<i>Rei de Umbanda</i>	macumba, umbanda song	Amor(Getúlio Marinho da Silva)	Moreira da Silva	78 RPM	Odeon
1934	<i>Feitiço da Vila</i>	feitiço, farofa, candle, coin (despacho)	Noel Rosa and Vadico (Osvaldo Gopgliano)	João Petra de Barros and Osquestra Odeon	78 RPM	Odeon
1936	<i>No tabuleiro da baiana</i>	candomblé, canjerê	Ary Barroso	Carmen Miranda and Luiz Barbosa	78 RPM	Odeon
1940	<i>Promessa de pescador</i>	Yemanjá	Dorival Caymmi	Dorival Caymmi	78 RPM	Odeon
1946	<i>Quem vem pra beira do mar</i>	Dona Janaína (Yemanjá)	Dorival Caymmi	Dorival Caymmi	Histórias de pescadores	Odeon
1950	<i>A Bahia te espera</i>	candomblé	Herivelto Martins and Chianca Garcia	Dalva de Oliveira	78 RPM	Copacabana
1956	<i>Babalu</i>	Babalu (Babaluaye, Omulu)	Margarita Lecuana (Cuba)	Ângela Maria	Quando os astros se encontram	Copacabana
1963	<i>Esse mundo é meu</i>	Ogum	Sérgio Ricardo and Ruy Guerra	Nara Leão	Nara	Elenco
1963	<i>Maria Moita</i>	Shango	Carlos Lyra	Nara Leão	O fino da bossa	RGE
1963	<i>Barravento</i>	Yemanjá	Sérgio Ricardo	Sérgio Ricardo	Um senhor talento	Elenco
1964	<i>Nanã</i>	Nanan	Moacir Santos and Mário Telles	Wilson Simonal	A nova dimensão do samba	Odeon
1965	<i>Deus com a família</i>	Yemanjá	César Roldão Vieira	Elis Regina	Dois na bossa	Philips
1965	<i>Arrastão</i>	Yemanjá	Edu Lobo, Vinícius de Moraes	Elis Regina	Dois na bossa	PolyGran
1965	<i>Samba do carioca</i>	Shango	Carlos Lyra and Vinícius de Moraes	Elis Regina and Jair Rodrigues	Dois na Bossa	PolyGran
1965	<i>Samba da bênção</i>	Shango, Mãe Senhora, saravá	Baden Powell and Vinícius de Moraes	Vinícius de Moraes	Kaleidoscópio nº 2	Elenco
1966	<i>Bocochê</i>	Yemanjá	Baden Powelle and Vinícius de Moraes	Baden Powell and Vinícius de Moraes	Os afro-sambas	Companhia Brasileira de Discos
1966	<i>Canto de Iemanjá</i>	Yemanjá	Baden Powelle and Vinícius de Moraes	Baden Powelle and Vinícius de Moraes	Os afro-sambas	Companhia Brasileira de Discos
1966	<i>Canto de Xango</i>	Shango	Baden Powelle and Vinícius de Moraes	Baden Powelle and Vinícius de Moraes	Os afro-sambas	Companhia Brasileira de Discos
1966	<i>Canto do Caboclo Pedra Preta</i>	Caboclo Pedra Preta	Baden Powelle and Vinícius de Moraes	Baden Powelle and Vinícius de Moraes	Os afro-sambas	Companhia Brasileira de Discos
1966	<i>Tristeza e solidão</i>	umbanda, babalawo	Baden Powelle and Vinícius de Moraes	Baden Powelle and Vinícius de Moraes	Os afro-sambas	Companhia Brasileira de Discos
1966	<i>Canto de Ossanha</i>	Osanyin, Shango	Baden Pawel, Vinícius de Moraes	Elis Regina	Dois na bossa número dois	Philips
1967	<i>Bat macumba</i>	macumba	Gilberto Gil	Gilberto Gil	Tropicália	Philips

1968	<i>Yaô</i>	Shango, Ogun, Oshala, Yemanja, Nanan	Pixinguinha and Gastão Vianna	Clementina	Gente antiga	Emi-Odeon
1968	<i>Upa neguinho</i>	ziquizira	Edu Lobo and Gianfrancesco Guarnieri	Elis Regina	Elis especial	Philips
1968	<i>Casa de bamba</i>	macumba	Martinho da Vila	Martinho da Vila	compacto simples	Philips
1971c	<i>Moça bonita</i>	Pombagira	Evaldo Gouveia and Jair Amorin	Ângela Maria	compacto	AMC
1971	<i>Canto de Oxum</i>	Oshun, Shango	Toquinho and Vinícius de Moraes	Maria Bethânea	Rosa dos ventos	Philips
1971	<i>A bênção, Bahia</i>	Mãe Senhora, Mãe Menininha, Axé Opô Afonjá, Gantois, Nanan	Toquinho and Vinícius de Moraes	Toquinho and Vinícius de Moraes	Como dizia o poeta	RGE
1971	<i>Maria vai com as outras</i>	Yemanja, caboclo, orisha	Toquinho and Vinícius de Moraes	Toquinho and Vinícius de Moraes	Toquinho and Vinícius	RGE
1972	<i>Iansã</i>	Yansan	Gilberto Gil and Caetano Veloso	Maria Bethânia	Drama	Philips
1972	<i>Ossain</i>	Osanyin	Antônio Carlos, Jocafi and Tavares	Maria Creuza	Maria Creuza	RGE
1972	<i>Jubiabá</i>	feitiço	Martinho da Vila	Martinho da Vila	Batuque na cozinha	RCA
1972	<i>Tatamirô</i>	Oshala, Shango, Osanyin, Ogun, Yansan, Oshun, Mãe Menininha do Gantois	Toquinho and Vinícius de Moraes	Toquinho and Vinícius de Moraes	São demais os perigos desta vida	RGE
1972	<i>Canto de Oxalufã</i>	Oshalufon	Toquinho and Vinícius de Moraes	Toquinho, Vinícius de Moraes and Marília Medalha	São demais os perigos desta vida	RGE
1973	<i>Abauaiê</i>	Obaluaye, Orishala	Waldemar Henrique	Clementina	Marinheiro só	Emi-Odeon
1973	<i>Atraca, atraca</i>	Nanan, Yemanja	domínio popular	Clementina	Marinheiro só	Emi-Odeon
1973	<i>Oração a Mãe Menininha</i>	Olorun, Oshun, Mãe Menininha do Gantois	Dorival Caymmi	Gal Costa and Maria Bethânia	Doces bárbaros	Polygram
1973	<i>Lendas do Abaeté</i>	Yemanja	Jajá, Preto Rico, Manoel	Jair Rodrigues	Orgulho de um sambista	Philips
1973	<i>Rancho da goiabada</i>	pais-de-santo	João Bosco and Aldir Blanc	João Bosco	Galo de briga	RCA
1973	<i>O Caveira</i>	Eshu Caveira	Martinho da Vila	Martinho da Vila	Origens	RCA
1974	<i>Sindorerê</i>	Odé, Mutalambô, Tatamirô	Candeia	Clara Nunes	Alvorecer	Emi-Odeon
1974	<i>Conto de areia</i>	Yemanja	Romildo S. Bastos and Toninho Nascimento	Clara Nunes	Alvorecer	Emi-Odeon
1974	<i>Nanaê, Nanã, Naiana</i>	Nanan, canjerê	Sydney da Conceição	Clara Nunes	Clara Nunes	Emi-Odeon
1974	<i>Festa de umbanda</i>	Eshu Traanca Rua, Ogun, Zâmbi, Nanan, Caboclo Sete Flexas	adapted by Martinho da Vila	Martinho da Vila	Canta canta, minha gente	RCA - BMG Ariola
1975	<i>A deusa dos orixás</i>	Yansan, Ogun, Nanan	Romildo S. Bastos and Toninho Nascimento	Clara Nunes	Alvorecer	Emi-Odeon
1975	<i>Exaltação à Bahia</i>	Yemanja, candomblé	Silas de Oliveira and Joacir Santana	Dona Ivone Lara	História das escolas de samba	Marcus Pereira
1975c	<i>A moça do mar</i>	saravá, feitiço, gira	Raquel da Bahia	Georgette	A moça do mar	Tapecar
1975	<i>Ogum pai</i>	Ogun	Mateus and Dadinho	Os tinoões	O africanto dos Tinoões	Dynaflex
1975	<i>Oxóssi te chama</i>	Oshosi, Oshala	Mateus and Dadinho	Os tinoões	O africanto dos Tinoões	Dynaflex
1975	<i>Promessa ao Gantois</i>	Oshun, Gantois	Mateus and Dadinho	Os tinoões	O africanto dos Tinoões	Dynaflex

1975	<i>Nega de Obaluáê</i>	Obaluaye, feitiço, orishas	Wando	Wando	Wando	Beverly
1976	<i>Menino rei do mar</i>	Yemanja	Airão and Sidney da Conceição	Luiz Ayrao	Luiz Ayrao	Emi-Odeon
1976	<i>As ayabás</i>	Yansan, Oba, Yewa, Oshun	Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil	Maria Bethânia	Pássaro proibido	Phonogram
1976	<i>Odoiá</i>	Yemanja, yawo	Wando and Chico de Assis	Wando	Wando	Beverly
1977	<i>Xangô o vencedor</i>	Shango, umbanda song	Ruy Maurity and José Jorge	Os Maneiros	Samba preferência popular	AMC-Beverly-Copacabana
1977	<i>Pérola de Agonitá</i>	Oshala, Oshun, Nanan, Shango, Cigana	Gerson Alves and Mhariazzinha	Os Maneiros	Samba preferência popular	AMC-Beverly-Copacabana
1977	<i>Meu Pai Oxalá</i>	Obaluaye, Oshala, Yansan, Shango	Toquinho and Vinícius	Toquinho and Vinícius	Toquinho and Vinícius	RGE
1978	<i>Guerreira</i>	Oshala, Ogun, Oshun, Yansan, Oshosi, Nanan, Yemanja, Oshumare	João Nogueira and Paulo César Pinheiro	Clara Nunes	Guerreira	Emi-Odeon
1978	<i>Babá Alapalá</i>	Shango Aganju	Gilberto Gil	Zeze Motta	Zeze Motta	Atlantic WEA
1979	<i>Oração ao Tempo</i>	Tempo	Caetano Veloso	Caetano Veloso	Cinema Transcendental	PolyGram
1979	<i>Banho de manjerição</i>	bath of herbs	João Nogueira and Paulo César Pinheiro	Clara Nunes	Clara Esperança	Emi-Odeon
1979	<i>Logunedé</i>	Logun-Ede, Oshosi, Oshun	Gilberto Gil	Gilberto Gil	Realce	WEA
1979	<i>Logunedé</i>	Logun-Ede, Oshosi, Oshun	Gilberto Gil	Gilberto Gil	Realce	WEA
1979	<i>Linha de passe</i>	Babaluaye, candomblé	João Bosco, Aldir Blanc and Paulo Emílio	João Bosco	Linha de passe	RCA
1979	<i>Lembadilê</i>	Oshala, Oshaguián, Oshalufon, Lembadilê, Ifá	Wando	Wando	Gazela	Copacabana
1979	<i>Boca de sapo</i>	Obaluaye, Eshu Caveira	João Bosco and Aldir Blanc	Zeze Motta	Negritude	WEA
1979	<i>Pensamento iorubá</i>	egum, orisha	Moraes Moreira	Zeze Motta	Negritude	WEA
1980	<i>Salve a Bahia</i>	Yemanja	João Nogueira and Edil Pacheco	Jair Rodrigues	Estou lhe devendo um sorriso	PolyGram
1980	<i>Oxum mulher</i>	Oshun	Jorge Alfredo and Chico Evangelista	Jorge Alfredo and Chico Evangelista	Bahia Jamaica	Copacabana
1980c	<i>Dezessete anos</i>	Oshala	Maria Aparecida Martins	Maria Aparecida	Foram 17 anos	CID
1980c	<i>Lágrimas de Oxum</i>	Oshun	João Ricardo Xavier and Evaldevino Ponciano Xavier	Maria Aparecida	Foram 17 anos	CID
1980c	<i>Os deuses afro</i>	Olodumare, Shango, Oshaguián, erê, Oshumare, Leba	Mário dos Santos	Maria Aparecida	Foram 17 anos	CID
1980c	<i>Todo mundo é preto</i>	Pai Joaquim, Pai Tomé	Maria Aparecida Martins	Maria Aparecida	Foram 17 anos	CID
1980	<i>Odum</i>	Shango, odu	Walter Queiroz	Maria Creuza	Maria Creuza	RCA
1980c	<i>Aquarela brasileira</i>	candomblé	Silas de Oliveira	Martinho da Vila	Martinho da Vila	RCA
1980c	<i>Pessoal do alô</i>	ebó	Moraes Moreira and Antônio Risério	Moraes Moreira	Moraes Moreira	Ariola
1980c	<i>Pelas capitais</i>	Shango	Moraes Moreira and Jorge Mautner	Moraes Moreira	Moraes Moreira	Som Livre
1980	<i>Oxum</i>	Oshun, Shango	Johnny Alf	Zeze Motta	Dengo	WEA

1980c	<i>Boca de sapo</i>	Eshu Caveira	João Bosco and Aldir Blanc	Zezé Motta	Zezé Motta	WEA
1981	<i>Sim/não</i>	orishas	Caetano Veloso	Caetano Veloso	compacto	PolyGram
1981	<i>Blues</i>	Yemanja	Péricles Cavalcanti	Caetano Veloso	Outras palavras	Pygram
1981	<i>Coroa de areia</i>	Sereia do Mar	Mauro Duarte and Paulo César Pinheiro	Clara Nunes	Clara	EMI Odeon
1981	<i>Afoxé é</i>	Oshala	Gilberto Gil	Gilberto Gil	Banda um	WEA
1981	<i>São João, Xangô Menino</i>	Shango, Oshosi	Gilberto Gil and Caetano Veloso	Gilberto Gil	Gilberto Gil em Montreux	WEA
1981	<i>Paxorô</i>	Oba Balafon (Oshala)	Moraes Moreira and Charles Negrita	Moraes Moreira	Moraes Moreira	Ariola
1981	<i>Agô do pé</i>	Shango	Paulinho Camafeu and Pepeu Gomes	Pepeu Gomes	Pepeu Gomes	WEA
1981	<i>Tema de fé</i>	Ogun	Charles Negrita and Pepeu Gomes	Pepeu Gomes	Pepeu Gomes	WEA
1982	<i>Agolonã</i>	agô, obi, orobô	Ederaldo Gentil and Batatinha	Alcione	Morte de um poeta	PolyGram
1982	<i>Canto do mar</i>	Yemanja, Yansan, Janaína	Totonho and Paulinho Rezende	Alcione	Morte de um poeta	PolyGram
1982	<i>Afoxé pra Logun</i>	Logun-Ede, Oxósse, Oshun	Nei Lopes	Clara Nunes	Nação	Emi-Odeon
1982	<i>Ijexá</i>	Catendê, Zâmbi, Babá Oba (Oshala)	Edil Pacheco	Clara Nunes	Nação	Emi-Odeon
1982	<i>Nação</i>	Oshun, Oshumare	João Bosco, Aldir Blanc and Paulo Emílio	João Bosco	Comissão de frente	BMG Ariola
1983	<i>Oxóssi</i>	Oshosi, Oshun, Oshala	Wando	Wando	Coisa cristalina	Som Livre
1984	<i>Samba do grande amor</i>	Oshumare	Chico Buarque de Holanda	Chico Buarque	Chico Buarque	Barclay Discos
1984	<i>Mãe-África</i>	Shango, Oshala	Sivuca and Paulo César Pinheiro	Clara Nunes	Nação	Emi-Odeon
1986	<i>Erê</i>	erê	Michael Sullivan and Paulo Massadas	Fafá de Belém	Atrevida	Sigla
1986	<i>Yorubahia</i>	Gantois, Orunmila	Jorge Portugal and Roberto Mendes	Maria Bethânia	Dezembros	RCA
1987	<i>Iá omin bun</i>	candomblé song	public domain	Caetano Veloso	Caetano	Polygram
1987	<i>Eu vim da Bahia</i>	Yemanja	Gilberto Gil	Gilberto Gil	Gilberto Gil em concerto	Geléia Geral
1988	<i>Ofá</i>	Olorun	Roberto Mendes	Maria Bethânia	Maria	RCA - BMG Ariola
1988	<i>Lenda das sereias, Rainha do mar</i>	Yemanja	Vicente Mattos, Dinoel and arlindo Velloso	Marisa Monte	MM	Emi-Odeon
1989	<i>As forças de Olorum</i>	Olorun, Afreketê, Oranyan, Shango	Ythamar Tropicália, Valmir Brito, Gibi and Bira	Banda Reflexu's	Kabiêssele	Emi-Odeon
1989	<i>Dialeto Negro</i>	Tempo, Dandalunda, Kaviosô	Almir Brito and Gibi	Banda Reflexu's	Kabiêssele	Emi-Odeon
1989	<i>Mulher negra</i>	quelê, djina, ancestor	Gerônimo	Banda Reflexu's	Kabiêssele	Emi-Odeon
1989	<i>Oshaguian</i>	Oshala, Oshaguian	André Luiz de Oliveira	Banda Reflexu's	Kabiêssele	Emi-Odeon
1989	<i>Pedras de luz</i>	orishas	Ythamar Tropicália, Aranda Jr and Pwalé	Banda Reflexu's	Kabiêssele	Emi-Odeon
1989	<i>A fé do Pelô</i>	Oshala	Paulinho do Camafeu	Carlinhos Axé and Banda Odara	Prá vadiar	Paralelo

1989	<i>A verdadeira baiana</i>	rum, rumpi, lé (drums)	Caetano Veloso	Gal Costa	Plural	RCA
1989	<i>Ladeira do Pelô</i>	Aganju (Shango)	Betão	Gal Costa	Plural	RCA
1989	<i>Cowboy Jorge</i>	Ogun	Jorge Bem Jor	Jorge Bem Jor	Bem Jor	WEA
1989	<i>Ifá, um canto pra subir</i>	Ifá, Shango	Vevé Calasans and Walter Queiroz	Margareth Menezes	Um canto pra subir	PolyGram
1989	<i>Mãe estrela</i>	Janaína (Yemanjá)	Nardão and Edlamar	Tobias	Tobias	3M
1989	<i>Mãe guerreira</i>	Yansan, Ogun, Yemanjá and Oshala	Roberta Miranda	Tobias	Tobias	3M
1990	<i>Awô</i>	candomblé song	public domain	Maria Bethânia	Maria Bethânia 25 anos	Polygram
1990	<i>Inhansã</i>	Yansan	Gilberto Gil and Caetano Veloso	Maria Bethânia	Maria Bethânia 25 anos	Polygram
1990c	<i>Xangô</i>	Shango	Roberta Miranda	Roberta Miranda	Roberta Miranda vol. 4	Continental
1991	<i>No mesmo manto</i>	Shango	Beto Corrêa and Lúcio Cuvelo	Jovelina Pérola Negra	Sangue bom	RGE
1991	<i>Pelourinho, negritude e magia</i>	Obatala, Oba, Odudua, Orunmila, Catendê	Labre and Geraldo de Lima	Jovelina Pérola Negra	Sangue bom	RGE
1991	<i>Menina dandara</i>	Yansan	Paulo Bebético and Paulinho Resende	Margareth Menezes	Kindala	PolyGram
1991	<i>Negrume da noite</i>	Oshosi	Paulinho do Reco and Cuiuba	Margareth Menezes	Kindala	PolyGram
1991	<i>Paz no mundo</i>	Oshala	T. Beaubrun Jr, M. beaubrun, D. Beaubrun, E. François. versão Margareth Menezes	Margareth Menezes	Kindala	PolyGram
1992	<i>Beija-flor</i>	Iemanjá	Moby	Banda Mel	Banda Mel	Continental
1992	<i>Era tarde</i>	Yemanjá, Oshala, Gantois	Saul Barbosa and J. Velloso	Banda Mel	Banda Mel	Continental
1992	<i>Inspiração</i>	orishas	Evanyr, Márcia and Jailton	Banda Mel	Banda Mel	Continental
1992	<i>Rainha do mar</i>	Yemanjá	Wilson Jatiassu	Banda Mel	Banda Mel	Continental
1992	<i>É d'Oxum</i>	Oshun	Gerônimo and Vavá Calazans	Gal Costa	Gal	BMG Ariola
1992	<i>Ingena</i>	frases em iorubá	candomblé song	Gal Costa	Gal	BMG Ariola
1992	<i>Raiz</i>	Ogun	Roberto Mendes and Jota Veloso	Gal Costa	Gal	BMG Ariola
1992	<i>Saudação aos povos africanos</i>	frases em iorubá	Mãe Menininha do Gantois	Gal Costa	Gal	BMG Ariola
1993	<i>Diga que eu vou</i>	Yemanjá, orishas, candomblé	Ythamar Tropicália, Tutuca Crenga and Fé, Itamar Santos and Antonio José	Banda Mel	Mãe preta	Continental-Warner
1993	<i>Sensala do barro preto</i>	Nanan, Gantois	Tonho Matéria	Banda Mel	Mãe preta	Continental-Warner
1993	<i>Bahia minha preta</i>	Mãe Sonhora do Opô Afonjá, Mãe Menininha do Gantois	Caetano Veloso	Gal Costa	O sorriso do gato de Alice	BMG Ariola
1993	<i>Lavegem do Bonfim</i>	lavagem do Bonfim	Gilberto Gil	Gal Costa	O sorriso do gato de Alice	BMG Ariola
1993	<i>África</i>	Oshala	Lourenço and Santana	Grupo Raça	Grupo Raça	BMG-Ariola
1993	<i>Navegador</i>	Oshosi, Shango, Oshala, Mãe Menininha	Pepeu Gomes, Jorginho Gomes, Carlinhos Gererê	Pepeu Gomes	Pepeu Gomes	WEA

1993	<i>Sexy Yemanjá</i>	Yemanjá	Pepeu Gomes and Tavinho Paes	Pepeu Gomes	Pepeu Gomes	WEA
1994	<i>Semba dos ancestrais</i>	ancestors axés	Martinho da Vila and Rosinha de Valença	Martinho da Vila	Semba dos ancestrais	Velas
1994	<i>Nas águas de Amaralina</i>	Janaína	Martinho da Vila and Nelson Rufino	Martinho da Vila	Semba dos ancestrais	Velas
1995	<i>Minha irmã</i>	búzios	Toni Garrido, da Gama and Charles Marsilac	Cidade Negra	Sobre todas as forças	Sony
1995	<i>África Morena</i>	Mãe Menininha	Daniel Moreno	Daniel Moreno	Daniel Moreno	Retoque
1995	<i>Milagres do povo</i>	Shango, Obatala, Oshun, Oba, Oya	Caetano Veloso	Gal Costa	Mina d'água do meu canto	BMG Ariola
1995	<i>Pé de prédio</i>	Ogun	Carlinhos Brown and Nina	Timbalada	Andei road	PolyGram
1995	<i>Meio da maré</i>	macumba	Carlinhos Brown	Timbalada	Andei road	PolyGram
1995	<i>Samba Duro Calolé</i>	babalorisha	Roberto Amaral Chaves	Timbalada	Andei road	PolyGram
1995	<i>Canto pro mar</i>	Oya	Carlinhos Brown	Timbalada	Dance	PolyGram
1995	<i>Sambaê</i>	casa-de-axé	Ninha, Jaime Costa and Melodia Costa	Timbalada	Dance	PolyGram
1995	<i>Toque de timbaleiro</i>	orishas, candomblé	Nem Cardoso	Timbalada	Dance	PolyGram
1995	<i>Vou botar seu nome na macumba</i>	macumba, patuá, feitiço	Zeca Pagodinho and Dudu Nobre	Zeca Pagodinho	Samba pras moças	PolyGram
1996	<i>Vanju Concessa</i>	Shango, Ogun	Carlinhos Brown	Carlinhos Brown	Alfagamabetizado	EMI
1996	<i>O erê</i>	erê	Toni Garrido, da Gama, Bino, Bernardo Vilhena and Lazão	Cidade Negra	O erê	Sony
1996	<i>Verdade</i>	mandinga	Nelson Rufino, Carlinhos Santana	Zeca Pagodinho	Deixa clarear	PlyGram
1997	<i>Unicamente</i>	Yemanjá	D. Blando, Reppolho A. Levin, C. Celli, G. Grody, E. Baptista	Deborah Blando	Deborah Blando	EMI
1997	<i>Água Benta</i>	Osanyin	Gilberto Gil	Gilberto Gil	Quanta	WEA
1997	<i>Opachorô</i>	Oshalufon	Gilberto Gil	Gilberto Gil	Quanta	WEA
1997	<i>Qüenda</i>	Oshun	public domain, collected by Erido Nascimento de Jesus	Patrícia Amaral	Trilha da nonela Xica da Silva	Bloch Som and Imagem

(*) *c* = *circa*, undated.

(**) Frequencies of the orishas in the 158 songs on the list

orisha	n	%	orisha	n	%
Oshala	30	19,0	Omulu-Obaluaye	5	3,2
Yemanjá	28	17,7	Oba	5	3,2
Shango	28	17,7	Olorun (Supreme God)	4	2,5
Oshun	22	13,9	Oshumare	4	2,5
Ogun	14	8,9	Osanyin	4	2,5
Oya-Yansan	12	7,6	Logun-Ede	3	1,9
Nanan	10	6,3	Orunmila	2	1,3
Oshosi	8	5,1	Yewa	1	0,6
Eshu	5	3,2	Oranyan	1	0,6

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Abstract

Essay on Afro-Brazilian religions, their constitution and expansion in the quality of religions opened to all sorts of people, regardless their racial origin, focusing the influence of Brazilian popular music post-years 60, in the process of diffusion and social legitimacy of the orishas religion, regarding middle classes, especially in the case of *candomblé*.

Key-words

Afro-Brazilian religions; Candomblé; Umbanda; Religion and culture; Brazilian popular music and candomblé

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