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THE URBAN CARIMBÓ PRODUCED IN GREATER BELÉM: A DEBATE ON THE PROCESSES OF CULTURAL SYNCRETIZATION BETWEEN THE TRADITIONAL AND MODERN CURRENTS OF CARIMBÓ¹

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Abstract: This article intends to analyze the carimbó, produced in the metropolitan region of Belém in the State of Pará, with the objective of recognizing how the processes of hybridization and, later, syncretization between traditional elements of the carimbó pau e corda and contemporary elements of the modern carimbó took place, the from the analysis of the performance of the groups Cobra Venenosa and Caruana to understand, this way, how the production of what is called urban carimbó happens.

Keywords: Hybridization, urban stamp of Belém, Venomous Cobra, Caruana.

INTRODUCTION

The perception of the multiple composition of society allows the understanding of the permanent mutation of cultural phenomena, through dynamics of appropriation and rearticulation of meanings that promote displacements in the structures of production of cultural manifestations, by articulating the circulation of identity flows within the spaces of urbanity, from the hybridization processes provided by the encounter between different cultures.

Changes in popular culture are stimulated by changes in the ways of making the phenomena of sociability and social production of space by a traditional cultural manifestation. In this sense, the present article proposes to investigate the carimbó and the aesthetic variations within its production in the metropolitan region of Belém-Pará. However, it is necessary to point out the context of the Amazon as a place on the margins of the great cultural centers of Brazil, according to Paes Loureiro (2001) when evaluating the recognition of the cultural resistance that the imaginary of the Amazonian identity of Pará occupies in the context of national culture: “The isolation that covered the Amazon with the cloak of

mystery, distance and timelessness, which prevented it from exchanging its cultural assets, contributed to the accentuation of a folkloric and primitivist vision of it”.

The perception of the transit of existing signs in the composition of the carimbó produced in the metropolitan region of the city of Belém in the State of Pará and that can be called urban carimbó, gives rise to sociocultural tensions. According to Hall (2003), culture does not have an origin rooted in some temporal cut that would allow us to transit between the beginning and the end of a cultural manifestation, as they are stimulated by hybridization processes that move diasporic imaginaries that stimulate the displacement of meanings and sociocultural actions of cultural agents.

Hall (2003) reflects on cultural identities as mobile identification points that offer not an idea of essence, but of changing positioning, therefore, a diasporic interpretation of culture can be understood through a critical look at the processes of alteration of traditional cultural models, in the specific case of this article, through the transformation of the existing paradigms in the ways of doing the cultural production of carimbó in the urban environment.

First, in order to understand the convergences of cultural dynamics within the processes of interculturality and hybridization at the origin of carimbó, we will invoke the research of Canclini (2003) and, later, to understand the processes of convergence of carimbó, we will use the concepts postulated by Debord (1997). on the question of the spectacularization of popular culture by the cultural industry with the objective of guiding the paths to visualize the elements that were stimulated in the ways of doing and living in the unfolding of the cultural manifestation of carimbó in the urban space.

The analysis of the carimbó produced in the metropolitan region of Belém is marked by the understanding of the dialogue between its traditional representation or stick and rope with elements of its modern or stylized representation, therefore, to understand this interaction we will resort to the questions of Borgonõ (2017) about the mutation discourse and aesthetics of urban carimbó, through the process of syncretization of cultural signs from both currents of carimbó.

Another factor that moves the pretensions of this research is the recent affirmation of carimbó as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Brazil in 2014, after the organization of an inventory through the Carimbó Brazilian Cultural Heritage Campaign organized by the Carimbó Safeguarding Committee with support from the Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional (IPHAN) which lasted approximately 10 years. The proposal begins with the perception that the Iphan Carimbó Dossier (2013) prioritized the registration of the traditional manifestation of the carimbó pau e corda, leaving a gap in the observation of the expression of the carimbó produced in the metropolitan region of the capital of Pará, despite the comments on the existence of the modern/stylized carimbó of the cultural industry, failing to encompass the discursive and aesthetic variations that the urban carimbó presents.

The urban carimbó production contexts affirm other forms of sociocultural interaction and aesthetic developments that establish the existence of new positions and discourses that demonstrate new possibilities of understanding the process of subversion of the traditional and modern carimbó paradigm within the globalized urbanity of the 21st century to, this way, to point out the existing transformations in the urban

mutation of carimbó in Greater Belém².

DEVELOPMENT

CARIMBÓ TYPES: STICK AND ROPE/ TRADITIONAL AND STYLIZED/ MODERN

To begin the journey in the historiography of carimbó, it is necessary to define notes about its emergence in the territory of the State of Pará, until its consolidation as a musical genre that is a symbol of Pará's cultural identity after more than two centuries of existence.

The word carimbó is an inheritance from the Tupi language korimbó, which is the combination of the prefixes curi (hollow stick) and m'bo (hollowed stick) that originates the expression "stick that produces sound" and is also the name given to the drum, curimbó, used to drum the rhythm of carimbó and which later became the term associated with cultural manifestation.

According to research by Salles and Salles (1969), Gabbay (2012) and Salles (1980), defining a starting point for the birth of carimbó raises debates that invoke questions regarding the processes of miscegenation, which took place in the culture of the State of Pará, and when we reassemble the signs that formed the Amazonian-Paraense identity, we will find elements of cultural hybridization through the influence of indigenous, black and European-Iberian peoples in the construction of the sociocultural identity of the State of Pará.

Within the Amazon, nothing is essentially indigenous, African or European. (SALLES, 1980, pg.27).

We can analyze through the statements of the inventory carried out by the Iphan Carimbó Dossier (2013) that one of the main places and peoples for the emergence

2. Also known as the metropolitan region of Belém and is equivalent to the meeting of seven municipalities (Ananindeua, Belém, Benevides, Castanhal, Marituba, Santa Bárbara do Pará and Santa Izabel do Pará) in the state of Pará that have undergone processes of socioeconomic integration.

of cultural manifestation is the city of Marapanim, on the coast of the State, from the Tupinambá indigenous people, but it is interesting to note that there are documents that point to the carimbó as an invention of blacks and slaves who occupied the territory of Pará in the 17th century.

From the information mentioned above, we can understand the stimulus that the cultural diaspora, influenced by the processes of miscegenation and hybridization, offered to the peoples of the Amazon, based on the hybrid characteristics found in the cultural manifestation of carimbó since its origin. Therefore, according to Hall (1996) it is necessary to observe the identity as a production that never ends, after all it must be perceived as a process established internally and not externally to its presentation.

This way, some studies point to the indigenous influence observed in circle dance and in some percussion instruments such as maracas. In the batuque (syncopes, antiphonies and polyrhythms), in the acceleration of the rhythm and in the “swing” of the dance would be the contribution of the black. And, finally, in the dance in pairs or even individually with gestures, palms and finger snaps, in addition to the melodic patterns, there would be the Iberian influence. In this figuration, the association of the carimbó became common to the emblems and identity icons of cultural promotion discursively emanated by its defenders and practitioners. (DOSSIÊ IPHAN CARIMBÓ, 2013, p. 14).

The orality of traditional communities from different regions of the territory of the State of Pará characterizes the musical expression of the traditional carimbó until the 70s, when the unfolding of the modern carimbó appears, however, before deepening the research for the aesthetic slips of the traditional and modern variation. of the carimbo. Salles and Salles

(1969) explain that there are demographic and also aesthetic segmentations in the traditional carimbó referring to the existence of the pastoral carimbó, an allusion to the production of rubber stamps on the Ilha do Marajó, the presence of the rural carimbó, referring to what is produced in the region of Lower Amazon and finally the carimbó praieiro of the municipality of Marapanim and the island of Maiandeuá in the coastal strip of Zona do Salgado³.

At this moment of the analysis of this research, we rekindled the debate stimulated by Hall (1996) about cultural identities not being fixed, despite coming from some group of signs, but in a continuous process of negotiation of sociocultural and aesthetic displacements when we find variations of production of the carimbó pau e corda or traditional in the territories of the interior of the State of Pará, even before any comment on the existence of the modern unfolding of the cultural manifestation of the carimbó.

Cultural identities come from somewhere, they have histories. But, like everything that is historical, it undergoes constant changes. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialized past, they are subject to the continuous “play” of history, culture and power. Identities, far from being grounded in a simple “recovery” of the past, which waits to be discovered and which, when it is discovered, will guarantee our perception of ourselves for eternity, are just the names we apply to different ways that position us, and by which we position ourselves, in the narratives of the past (HALL, 1996, pg.69).

Regarding the types of carimbó, it is also necessary to point out two aesthetic configurations on the cultural manifestation in the metropolitan region of Belém-PA, referring to two stampzeiras currents that were consolidated in the popular imagination over time, according to Amaral (2004) and Gabbay

3. The Salgado Paraense Zone comprises the Extractive Reserves of Mãe Grande de Curuçá, São João da Ponta, Caeté-Taperaçu, Tracuateua, Aráí Peroba, Gurupi-Piriá, Chocoaré-Mato Grosso and Soure in the State of Pará.

(2012) in relation to the different aesthetics of the stick and rope or traditional carimbó and the modern or stylized carimbó. In this sense, for a better understanding, it was essential to analyze the instrumentation of these carimbó streams, as well as an analysis of the content of musical compositions.

To begin with, according to Amaral (2003), to think about the instrumentation of the pau e corda or traditional carimbó is to take into account, first of all, that the cultural manifestation has an instrumentation observed through recorded musical samples and another that was recorded from the discourse of the mestres and Stampers, therefore, in order to visualize this point of view, we use as a reference the record trajectory and cultural performance of Mestre Verequete, one of the first to record the musical rhythm in the long play style.

Mestre Verequete is seen as a primordial reference of the traditional carimbó or pau e corda and when we analyze his musical production, we realize that he maintained the musical structure of the Marapani reference, as he is seen as a basic element of originality of the cultural manifestation by the Stampers, even when it was absorbed by the phonographic market, as observed in their discography.

By deepening the research on the instrumentation used by Mestre Verequete in recorded songs, it was possible to find in his instrumental formation the use of two carimbós lying on the floor when played, banjo, maracas, saxophone and clarinet as the configuration most used by him in his recordings and shows.

Stamper Verequete, in turn, cites three different instrumental formations. The first would include the two drums, the jaguar, the clarinet, the flute, the viola, the tambourine, the reco-reco (or reque-reque) and two wooden sticks used to strike the back of one of the carimbós. The second would include

the carimbós, the saxophone, the clarinet, the banjo, the maracas, the triangle and the ganzá (a metal cylinder partially filled with grains). The third formation would include the drums, the viola, the tambourine, the triangle, the xeque-xeque (reque-reque, reco-reco), the flute, the ganzá and the percussion sticks (Amaral, 2003:60-1). In the three "orchestras" mentioned, only the drums and the banjo (if understood as a viola) coincide. (AMARAL, 2005, pg75-76).

The question about the musical compositions of carimbó, by Mestre Verequete, was approached from the content of its contents, which vary from themes of the daily life of the caboclo of traditional communities, to work in the countryside, the charms of nature and the criticality in relation to the attempts of concealment of cultural manifestation.

In order to compare both aesthetic developments, after analyzing the elements that constitute the carimbó pau e corda, it is urgent to analyze the configurations consolidated by the aesthetic developments of the modern carimbó introduced by Pinduca, one of those responsible for the popularization of the manifestation within the cultural industry., from his attempt to insert musical expression into popular dances in the metropolitan region of Belém during the 70s after incorporating elements of modernity into carimbó.

Pinduca is seen as the first artist to modernize the carimbó, changing the structure of the traditional carimbó or stick and string through the insertion of electric musical instruments. He inaugurates, this way, another way of doing that, later, was called modern or stylized carimbó.

Pinduca, would have altered this structure, in the sense of attributing to it a feature of modernity. [...] This data indicates a point of contact between the stamps of the big city and the reference of "originality". Now, if there are characteristics from Marapani

in Pinduca, for example, I understand that, in a broader conception, tradition is being recognized by modernity. (AMARAL, 2003, pg. 74-75)

The immersion in Pinduca's discography showed that the instrumentation, most used in the recordings of their albums and in the shows performed, had a completely different formation from what is considered traditional, as its composition contains guitar, keyboard, drums, piston, double bass, saxophone and percussive effects. Therefore, it can be seen that although there is no use of the tambor-curimbó as in the matrix of the carimbó of Marapanim, we found from the research of Amaral (2005) a small rhythmic affinity with the pattern of the musical configuration of the carimbó pau e corda marapaniense.

On the issue of the lyrics of Pinduca's songs, it is possible to affirm that there is an approach to themes that involve love relationships, daily life in the city of Belém, about the act of dancing carimbó, typical food of the State of Pará, in addition to compositions in honor of the demonstration. culture typical of the territory of Pará.

A necessary appendix, at this moment of the research, refers to the question of the popularization of the manifestation of the carimbó having happened from processes of spectacularization of popular culture, which was stimulated by the current consolidation of globalization in Latin America and, consequently, in the Amazon, according to observed by Canclini (2003.)

(...) media circuits have gained more weight than traditional local ones in the transmission of information and imaginaries about urban life and, in some cases, offer new modalities of encounter and recognition, such as communication through radio and television, "participatory" or online programs. direct, or the meeting in shopping malls that partially replace the old meeting and stroll spaces (CANCLINI, 2003, p.160).

Therefore, from the marketing logic, from the idea of a modified product for the market, the modern carimbó consolidated its production chain supported by a circuit of in-person shows, recording of records, intensification of the radiophonic presence and support of public policies, motivated by the potential of use in tourism, mainly in the 70's at regional and national level.

Now, after theoretical punctuation and analysis of the rubber production of Mestre Verequete and Pinduca, it is possible to say that both trajectories and musical practices have approximations as well as distances. After all, the two bands were exponents of the popularization of the cultural manifestation of carimbó in the cultural industry, but with different performances of both in the regional and national market scenario, different instruments and differences in relation to the content of the compositions. We can say that both defended the carimbó as an original cultural manifestation and characteristic of the cultural identity of the State of Pará, despite the aesthetic and sociocultural variations produced.

The presence of multifaceted and complex elements of popular culture mobilization, in the contemporary context of globalization, from the cultural spectacularization within the sociability of urban spaces demonstrates, according to Debord (1997), that the tensions of the negotiation between tradition and modernity are filled with convergences and oppositions, as pointed out earlier in the comparison between the production of carimbó in Pinduca and Mestre Verequete.

The whole life of societies in which modern conditions of production reign is presented as an immense accumulation of spectacles. Everything that was lived directly became representation. (DEBORD, 1998, pg. 13).

The comparison between the modern or stylized carimbó with the stick and rope and

traditional carimbó encourages the perception that the former seeks a reinterpretation of the elements of the carimbó, based on contemporary conditions, through the insertion of technology with the use of electric instruments or, also, with the positioning of the demonstration in the entertainment industry. While, the second mobilizes the feeling of belonging to the cultural identity of a territory through the representation of the reality of a people, therefore, as Amaral (2003, pg. 81) stated: “the continuity of the carimbó as a musical movement that identifies Pará depends on an articulation between tradition and modernity”.

THE CULTURAL SYNCRETIZATION BETWEEN TRADITIONAL AND MODERN CURRENTS IN THE URBANIZATION PROCESS OF CARIMBÓ

The analysis of the historiography of the carimbó allowed the visualization of the cultural signs that were mobilized from the indigenous, black and European-Iberian cultures that influenced its creation, therefore, after these perceptions we can say, according to Canclini (2003), that the carimbó is a manifestation cultural hybrid, as the encounter between cultures that were displaced to the Amazon territory provided a favorable environment for a new cultural expression, the carimbó.

The hybridity of the cultural practices of three different cultures, as previously observed about the DNA of carimbó, enabled the perception of the displacement of cultural symbols that were adapted to the Amazonian context of Pará, through the interaction between the subjectivities that resulted in cultural negotiations, the from intercultural processes through convergences and oppositions between aesthetic sociocultural tensions.

From a multicultural world – juxtaposition of ethnicities or groups in a society or nation – we move to another, intercultural and globalized [...] On the other hand, interculturality refers to confrontation and intertwining, to what happens when groups enter into relationships and exchanges. Both terms imply two modes of production of the social: multiculturalism presupposes acceptance of the heterogeneous; interculturality implies that the different are what they are, in relationships of negotiation, conflict and reciprocal borrowing (CANCLINI, 2009, pg. 17)

The concept of interculturality according to Hall (2003) and cultural hybridization as perceived in Canclini’s (2009) research offers a basis for understanding the emergence and elements that make up the configuration of the carimbó as a cultural manifestation of the Amazonian-Paraense identity in the social sphere, cultural and aesthetic.

The research instigated the reflection on the sociocultural dynamics existing in the aesthetic interaction between the traditional and modern or stylized stamping chains, as they have shifted the ways of making their production chain, from the intertwining or aesthetic-temporal syncretism, as observed in the analysis of the carimbó production of the chosen groups, after experiencing and contacting the urban carimbó scenario of Greater Belém.

To better understand what we propose in the research of this article, we will use record production as an object and subject of research. And, also, the instrumental organization of the carimbó groups Cobra Venenosa and Caruana that work in the metropolitan region of Belém on and off the stage, for acting in occupations, squares and fairs. They emerged recently, and already have a trajectory that allows us to point out the elements and transformations inserted in the context of the carimbó produced in the metropolitan region of Belém.

It is necessary to point out at this moment the motivation for choosing only these two groups of urban carimbó, as there are other projects in the scenario that could have been selected for analysis, however, Cobra Venenosa and Caruana released EP on streaming platforms in periods, relatively, close by and have an action based on culture notices, in addition to dialogue with the independent street cultural production scenario.

COMMENTS ON THE COBRA VENENOSA AND CARUANA STAMP SETS

We will start with the carimbó group Cobra Venenosa that emerged in 2016 in the district of Icoaraci, which is part of the metropolitan region of Belém, is one of the exponents of the urban carimbó movement that fights for the valorization of stick and rope or traditional carimbó, however with processes of social production of space and sociabilities that build aesthetic and sociocultural unfoldings of urbanization. In 2019, he released his first musical work, an album entitled “Cobra Venenosa” that brings together 8 original and unreleased tracks in the carimbó phonographic scene, in addition to 5 extra songs from live recordings in 2017.

The album that bears the homonymous name to the Cobra Venenosa stamp set produced, released and distributed independently, despite the involvement with cultural incentive notices at the national and regional level, has compositions with cosmopolitan themes that are present in urban spaces throughout the territory. world, such as feminism, violence, the periphery, against homophobia and politics. This way, it is possible to affirm that the traditional carimbó matrix underwent a change in the elements of the songs with the intention of punctuating contemporary elements in its production of carimbó, influenced by the

contact with the urbanization processes that the project receives when it is inserted in the metropolitan region. from Bethlehem.

Regarding the instrumentation of the Cobra Venenosa carimbó ensemble, we can see a standard instrumentation, both for concerts and for studio recordings, which has the following configuration: maracas, curimbó drums, banjo, percussive effects, clarinet and saxophone. However, we found some variations in the composition of their instruments found in curimbós and banjo, in which both are built through a process of recycling urban materials, such as the one perceived in curimbó created from the reuse of PVC sewage pipe by the rubber stamper Flavio Gama, or the banjo made from motorcycle helmets by artisan Ney Lima.

Our group makes reference to carimbó pau e corda, a youth group formed by young people from the peripheries [...] involved in street activities and in the processes experienced in Belém that have to do with a national situation [...] we had this vision that it was necessary to value the carimbó pau e corda, we didn't think it was outmoded, we didn't think that for the sound to be contemporary in modern quotes, it needs electronic equipment [...], with curimbó, banjos, maracas and organic effects, without the use of drums, bass or guitar [...] (interview with Priscila Duque, composer of Cobra Venenosa, in the Programa Sem Censura Pará on 27.06.2019)

Now we will focus on the production of the carimbó set Caruana that was born in 2017 in the capital of the State of Pará and emerged within the movement of appreciation that carimbó, as well as other groups in the period, from the affirmation of cultural manifestation as Brazilian Intangible Heritage at the beginning of the current decade of the 21st century, however, like the Cobra Venenosa group, it has sociocultural actions influenced by the urban processes of globalization and, therefore, develop aesthetic developments that

generate new forms of sociability of carimbó in urban spaces.

The EP called “Chave do interior”, by the carimbó group Caruana, released in 2018 with 4 original tracks and with a release show at Teatro Margarida Schivasappa, but produced independently. This demonstrates the use of the production chain of the phonographic market, despite the attempt to maintain poetic freedom in the musical production of the project during the recording period.

That said, we can immerse ourselves in the musical compositions, present in the musical product or in the shows, to affirm the discursive and aesthetic positioning of the carimbó produced by the Caruana group, given that, like the Cobra Venenosa group, it also unfolds the content of its songs to from themes that involve diversity, appreciation of the Amazonian-Paraense fauna and flora, the issue of marijuana legalization, social policy and praise of the batuqueiro universe of carimbó.

Regarding the instrumentation of the Caruana carimbó ensemble, variations are noticeable when compared to the two traditional and modern or stylized stamping currents of stick and rope, as we find in the standard instrumental configuration, both for studio recordings and for shows, which has the following format: maracas, curimbós, guitar, banjo, saxophone, clarinet, alfaia and other different percussive effects.

However, there are changes in the composition and use of curimbós, since, as we observed in the Cobra Venenosa group, they are built with recycled material such as PVC sewage pipes made by Mestre Dimmi Paixão who also influenced Caruana to play the curimbós standing, suspended by a tripod attached to the body of the drum, which stimulates new timbres and a different form of sociability, previously not seen in any carimbó composition recorded and distributed within

a musical and cultural product such as the LP.

In carimbó, incredible as it may seem, despite several personal influences that flow into our sound, our main differential is respect for tradition, in an attempt to maintain instrumentation, with maracas and curimbó starring [...] (interview with Rafael du Valle, composer of Caruana, on TV Unama's Terruá Program, on 05.15.2019).

The sociocultural autonomy of the urban carimbó, according to research by Borgonó (2017), on the issue of sociocultural negotiations that an identity crosses and is crossed through through processes of cultural and aesthetic syncretization, is present in the result of the synthesis between traditional and modern stamping elements. which resulted in the construction of a new way of doing and living the carimbó both in terms of the signifier and the signified.

CONCLUSION

The research showed that, according to Borgonó (2017), cultural hybridism is unable to fully explain the aesthetic consequences of a cultural manifestation such as the urban carimbó, given, as the author recalls, the question of culture being built in circles. This way, offering a theoretical horizon that seeks to understand the dynamics of cultural change that transports the signifier without necessarily carrying it with the original or initial meaning.

We live with values and practices typical of modernity and with others that belong to the deepest of traditional Latin American cultural forms, which are exacerbated by a peculiar process of syncretization, in which neither the traditional nor the modern is chemically pure. (BORGONÓ, 2017, p. 131).

The signs are re-signified as in the case of the use of instruments in a different way, both in the instrumentation and in the making of them through other unconventional materials in the other stampzeiras currents, as

well as the updating, from social and cultural guidelines, existing in the content of musical compositions that make use of cosmopolitan and contemporary themes that reside in the great urban centers of Brazil and the World.

The dynamics of cultural negotiation that the cultural manifestation of carimbó suffered within urban spaces demonstrates, according to Hall (2003) when commenting on the cultural diaspora, that in order to understand how this articulation happened, it is necessary to observe cultural identities as productions that never end, because they are always suffering aesthetic, cultural, social and political crossings.

The context of carimbó production in urban spaces shows that there are new sociabilities that configure new aesthetic and cultural processes of the urban manifestation of carimbó that illuminate perceptions about the syncretization between signs of the traditional or traditional stampzeira currents in dialogue with the modern or stylized.

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