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CULTURE, HISTORY AND IDENTITY OF THE KILOMBOLA COMMUNITY OF SANTA FÉ DE GUAPORÉ

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ABSTRACT:

This article aims to demonstrate the historical factors that were determinant for the emergence of the historical cultural patrimony of the quilombola community of Santa Fé do Guaporé in the context of the social formation of the Amazon. In this way a discussion about the history, culture and identity of the quilombola community of Santa Fé do Guaporé, object of study of my masters research will be approached. It is intended to analyze in a historical-cultural perspective the formation and the current situation of this population through documentary research (anthropological report of the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform), bibliographical research and field research conducted in the community. Thus, the historical contextualization of occupation, colonization, exploitation and conflicts that remain present in the social relations existing in the community will be sought.



KEYWORDS: Culture. Historical Patrimony. Quilombolas. Santa Fé. Guaporé Valley.

INTRODUCTION

The term "remnants of quilombos communities" is used in Article 68 of the Transitional Provisions Act of the Federal Constitution of 1988, to define the human collectives that have the right to recognition and titling of their lands.

This definition has provoked intense debates in the universities, between the political and media groups, because the term "quilombola" refers us to communities of black outsiders and insurgents

against the slave system of the past, and this stereotyped view has made difficult the understanding of this phenomenon and created several prejudices about these communities in the social imaginary of Brazilians.

It is necessary to reflect on a term that was consecrated by the studies of modern anthropology for communities of rural blacks, which adopts the concept of remnant populations of quilombos, or quilombolas, which imply in a vision of the present in relation to these

communities and that reinforce the bonds of these social groups with the old black communities of resistance to slavery, producing a reinterpretation of the term in its conception defined by the Portuguese Overseas Council of 1740.

Historically, the situation has only been rediscussed since the promulgation of the Federal Constitution of 1988, which in its transitional provisions, in article 68, establishes that the remnants of the communities of the quilombos that are occupying their lands is recognized the

definitive property, and the State to issue them the respective titles.

1. THE SLAVERY SYSTEM AND THE PROCESS OF AQUILOMBAMENTO OF THE VALLEY OF GUAPORÉ.

It is known by the innumerable historical researches on the history of the Brazilian society that the action of the Bandeirantes crossed the sertão in search of natural riches and lands, which allowed the expansion of the Portuguese territory. Some ventures sought the so-called "drugs of the sertao," others sought precious stones and gold, metals that contributed to the status quo of countries during mercantilism and the beginning of the first industrial revolution.

The same practice is observed in these cases: extermination of indigenous peoples, use of the slave labor force and looting of natural resources.

According to Teixeira, "Portuguese possession of the Guaporé Valley was confirmed by the signing of the Treaty of Madrid in 1750. However, gold exploration had been carried out since the 1730s by the miners of Cuiabá and São Paulo" (2004, p. 67). According to the author, it was the decay of the gold production of the Cuiabá region that allowed the expansion of the mining areas to the Guaporé Valley.

For the work carried out in the phasian and mining mines, the Portuguese settlers brought the black slave labor force to the region. The records concerning the movement of enslaved Negroes can be found in the compilation prepared by Janaína Amado and LenyCaseliAnzai (2006), of the Annals of Vila Bela, referring to the years from 1734 to 1789.

In these documents can be verified dozens of passages on black slaves and indigenous peoples in the region of Vila Bela. Thus, along with the exploration of gold, the "bandeirantes" founded cities and fortresses with the slave labor force.

Black slavery in the Guaporé Valley was not restricted to economic life. Black slaves were used in military forces in order to wage war against Castilian neighbors, who also disputed the border territories.

For Júnior (2011), besides the reports of conflicts involving Portuguese and Spaniards, there are also reports of the escape of black slaves into the forests and rivers, forming quilombos, creating new forms of sociability. There are also several flags and punitive expeditions sent to combat and destroy the quilombos.

According to the socio-historical-anthropological report of the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform of Rondônia (2014) there was a resulting tension between whites and blacks in the Alto Guaporé Valley that can be perceived through the following circumstances:

[...] "at first the conflicts between masters and slaves prevail. This conflict reinvented the identity of blacks as free individuals and opponents of the slave system, which defined its territoriality from the quilombos system, where a social and economic model based on the sustainability of the production itself was installed, which minimized the chronic effects of maladies such as hunger and shortages, which have always plagued the colonial population of the Guaporé Valley. "

Subsequently, there was the destruction of the quilombos and the exit of the whites of the region. As a result, Black communities reinvented themselves as free and egalitarian extractive peasant communities. The blacks became masters of Guaporé and the region came to be recognized by the power of the State of Brazil as a land of blacks.

In the twentieth century, there was the third phase of the conflict and affirmation of the identity and territoriality of the local black populations, when the white colonization of the region was resumed in the 1970s, and the State began the new occupation from the colonization fronts agropastoris.

According to the anthropological report of INCRA, at this stage, it is observed that the affirmation of identity and the maintenance of territoriality are divided into two strands, black populations from all over Guaporé come in clash with the fronts of colonization, through processes of disaggregation and facing clashes with diverse instances of political power. The loss of occupied the main factor of the disintegration and disappearance of countless communities.

2. THEORETICAL REFERENCE: CONCEPTUAL ISSUES.

It is important in this article to address the problem linked to the discussion about the conceptual bases of quilombos, remaining communities of quilombo, collective identity, territory and territoriality.

The term quilombo was one of the first problems to be solved by the scholars of the subject. It was the Overseas Council of Portugal, which created the first concept of quilombo in 1740, addressing the king of Portugal, issued the following definition, stating that quilombo is: "every dwelling of fugitive blacks, who pass from five, partly depopulated, although they have no ranches raised and no pylons are found in it."

This concept was perpetuated as a classical definition until the 1970s, influencing various scholars. This interpretation encoded the interpretation given to the word quilombo. There was little progress in its discussion until the 1980s, when the new constitutional charter was promulgated.

According to Almeida (1999), the concept of the Overseas Council consisted basically of five elements:

- 1) The escape;
- 2) A minimum number of escapes;
- 3) The geographic isolation, in places of difficult access and closer to a "wild nature" than the so-called civilization;
- 4) Habitual housing, referred to in the term "rancho";
- 5) Self-consumption and reproduction capacity, symbolized in the image of the rice pestle.

These elements evidenced the quilombos as rural black communities, which were distant from colonial settlements and with the support and conditions to ensure the perpetuation of these social groups.

This conception associated the term quilombo with the question of armed and armed resistance against immediate slavery. This view was constructed in function of the superficial studies on the subject, focused on the "Quilombo dos Palmares" case, which was: "a symbol of black resistance, popularized by the media, but which in reality constituted only a modality of quilombo" (Reis, Santos, 1996, apud ANDRADE, TRECCANI, 2000).

The central question of this conceptual discussion is in the identification of what a quilombo is and of who the quilombola is. Schmitt, Turatti and Carvalho (2002) state that:

"Is the feeling of belonging to a group and to a land that makes a community capable of self-determination and self-determination, as a form of expression of ethnic identity and territoriality, always built in relation to the other groups with which the quilombolas are confronted and related. For these authors, therefore, ethnic identity and territoriality are the elements that ground the understanding of remnant communities of quilombos."

The Decree N^o. 4887 further establishes that the characterization of the remnants of quilombos communities will be confirmed by the community's own "self-definition", thus using the criterion of self-attribution, for purposes of ethnic identification, which is employed by convention 169 of the International Labor Organization (ILO) on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples" (Santilli, 2007, p.169). The emphasis on these criteria of self-definition and self-attribution was fundamental in the political struggle in defense of quilombola rights.

This updating of the concept of remnants of quilombos has provoked tensions within many Afro-descendant communities in Brazil, because in a way, to guarantee the right to the titling of their territories these communities need to fit the concept of remnants of quilombos communities, as such, although they are not seen as "remnants" nor as "quilombolas."

The concept of "remnant of quilombo" enshrined in the 1988 Constitution is questioned by the anthropologist Almeida, since "what is left is recognized, what is seen as residual, what remains, that is, what is already accepted" (2002, p.53).

It is a vision that contemplates only the remote past. Therefore, the author proposes "that, on the contrary, one should work with the concept of quilombo considering what it is in the present. It is

not to discuss what it was, but to discuss what it is and how this autonomy was being built historically "(ALMEIDA, 2002, 53). He further states that,

It is an impropriety to deal with this process as "survival", as "remnant", as a leftover or residue, because it suggests to be just the opposite: it is what has achieved a reproduction, is what has remained more preserved, is what kept the picture natural state in better conditions of use and is what guaranteed these social groups the conditions to live independently of the favors and benefits of the State (2002, 77).

In this theoretical perspective, the Brazilian Association of Anthropology (1994) establishes guidelines for the theme, about the definition of "remnants of the quilombos" and defines that:

"The term does not refer to archaeological remains or remnants of temporal occupation or biological proof. Nor are they isolated groups or a strictly homogeneous population. In the same way they were not always constituted from a common historical reference, constructed from experiences and shared values. In this sense, they constitute ethnic groups conceptually defined by Anthropology as an organizational type that confers membership through norms and means employed to indicate affiliation or exclusion.

Today, in Brazil, it is estimated that there are more than 1,276 quilombola communities, distributed in all regions. Although there is no precise census, the quilombola population can total about 2 million individuals.

Even indicating the need for more research, these data inform us about the existence of a significant part of the Brazilian population, which has been systematically ignored throughout the country's history regarding its identity, social organization and cultural specificities.

3. HISTORICAL AND SOCIOCULTURAL ASPECTS OF THE KILOMBOLA COMMUNITY OF SANTA FE DE GUAPORÉ.

The Remnant Community of Quilombos de Santa Fe has a diverse human group, originating in the locality and other places and communities along the Guaporé River. One can highlight Pedras Negras and Laranjeiras, who recognize themselves as members of the same social group, both recognized as remnants of quilombos.

The community of Santa Fe consists of 19 (nineteen) families, composed of 88 (eighty-eight) people, with social roles defined according to gender and age group.

The structure of local families is an important factor in the affirmation of ethnic identity and the organization of space given to extended families. In the field research carried out in the community it was found that the most important families due to the historical continuity of the presence in the place and the amount of children, sons-in-law and daughters-in-law are those of Mafalda da Silva Gomes, Sofia Flores Rodrigues and Cristina Sales Batista. Around these families revolve the memories of the Quilombola Community of Santa Fe.

There are marriages that were carried out between the members of these families and with people of other origins, often from the Guaporé region, from Costa Marques in Rondônia to Vila Bela da Santíssima Trindade in Mato Grosso, both on the Guaporé River. Community members believe that the family is their strongest institution and the formation of a kinship within the community is the most important and visible social characteristic of the community.

Thus, culturally and historically constructed traditional values presuppose a family-based society whose ethnicity and ancestry refer to the period of slavery and quilombos and the relations of alterity between whites and blacks, and particularly in the community of Santa Fe, of other traditional peoples belonging to a region of indigenous, northeastern and cross-border origin.

The quilombolas of Santa Fé built methods of social organization that privileged equality and reciprocity among their members, with strong ties that are preserved by the social solidarity existing among members of the community.

The various cultural transformations that the community has undergone in the course of history have resulted from its continued adaptation to the conditions of space and the pressures of the surrounding society. Thus, Santa Fé, formed from a quilombola identity, became a peasant community,

with ethnic differences, currently inserted as small rural producers and artisanal fishermen in the rural zone of Costa Marques.

The community was built through solidarity and reciprocity, which became the main aggregators that generated links between the members and offered the historical conditions of perpetuation of their existence amidst the greatest adversities of the tropical, socioeconomic and political environment of the Guaporé Valley .

The egalitarianism constructed historically by the members of this social group allowed them to have access to the goods, which guaranteed on equal terms among their peers. Reciprocity practices have determined the ways in which the community has promoted and secured access to assets that ensure their survival and the dignity of each individual.

Reciprocity is an element that, according to Levy-Strauss (1976), conveys elements of other orders such as power, sympathy, position and emotion. Thus, this reciprocal distribution allows the circulation of goods and supports the physical and emotional needs of the community.

The Durkheimian perspective of mechanical solidarity existing in Santa Fe guarantees its members the certainty of access to the minimum goods necessary for their continuity and allows those facing difficult situations to be socially protected. That allows the reorganization and recovery of those who are experiencing adversity.

For Bandeira (1991), this type of exchange has as its main objective the restoration of family minimum subsistence, therefore, it plays a fundamental role in the conjunction of the forces that guarantee the balance and stability of social life.

The family structure is the main responsible for the values of solidarity and reciprocity that are established in the social fabric of the town. Kinship is the mechanism that drives this value. Besides the consanguineous bonds, the compadrio is another form of kinship, that establishes between the members of the collective. Following are the relations of friendship, proximity and prestige.

Determined by the necessity of charity, as an important religious and moral duty, solidarity must extend even to members external to the community and even to strangers.

3.1 TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE IN THE TREATMENT OF LOCAL DISEASES IN SANTA FE.

The Brazilian elites until the beginning of the twentieth century did not create any public policy that reversed the bad conditions of life on the unhealthy shores of Guaporé. Thus, the traditional populations of the Amazon, indigenous, black and caboclos, did not measure their efforts to escape the diseases.

As an alternative method to combat diseases were the popular treatments of indigenous, African and cabocla origin (natural remedies, prayers and magic formulas) that are composed of the traditional knowledge developed by these peoples, related to the natural environment.

For the remaining quilombola communities of the Guaporé Valley, between the eighteenth and early twentieth centuries, diseases have a double aspect. On the one hand they are physical evils caused by thorns, insects and water and, at the same time, are also provoked by dangerous spiritual entities in forests, rivers, plants or marshes.

In the Amazon, they merge into elemental creatures - supernatural beings or spirits who embody the strength of elements of nature, such as canopies, curupiras, forest owners, fairies, elves and gnomes - linked to the environment. For members of Santa Fe, even Catholic saints, if contradicted, would be capable of promoting the spread of evils, but Catholic indoctrination inhibited discussions of spiritual causes of disease and beliefs in general.

The knowledge of the effects of herbs, roots, foliage and other products of nature, used in treatments and in prayers for curing diseases, is more common in women than in men.

In the Quilombola Community of Santa Fe, the ladies Mafalda and Sofia have traditional knowledge regarding the prescriptions and use of domestic plants and the forest, used for the cure. This has made them prestigious, loved and required in their territory.

This social group, even if it seeks and desires care by the municipal and state medical-hospital health network, finds access difficulties, making these groups preserve the elements of the community

itself or of nearby regions, to minimize pain and production and reproduction of social misery. Thus, they resort to the practices of solidarity and reciprocity that mobilize the groups that are closest and according to the needs, to the most distant.

3.2 THE RIBEIRINHA CULTURE OF THE KILOMBOLA COMMUNITY OF SANTA FE

For Hall (2005), "cultural identities" as aspects of our identities arise from our "belonging" to ethnic, racial, linguistic, religious, and, above all, national cultures.

An important conception of identity for Hall (2005) is the identity of the sociological subject, which he considers as a complexity of the modern world and recognizes that this inner core of the subject is constituted in the relationship with other people, whose role is mediation of culture .

Thus, in the classical conception of the subject in Sociology, the subject is constituted in the interaction with society, in a continuous dialogue with the inner and outer worlds. The inner core still remains, but it is constituted by the social, while at the same time constituting it. Thus, the subject is, at the same time, individual and social; is part and is everything.

In this perspective, the quilombolas of Santa Fé define themselves as blacks coming from the former local quilombos and lords of the land in which they live. Local identity results from the recognition of its territoriality and the cultural values that were formed from its relationship with the environment and its territory.

The Nature for the community is culturally perceived as an extension of the house, which has suffered a drastic reduction with the deforestation promoted in the region by the installation of livestock.

The residents of Santa Fe form a remnant community of quilombos that congregates characteristics of extractivists, fishermen, farmers and collectors. The idea of territory as an individual frontier for Bhabha (2010, pp. 20-21) deals with the places of culture, referring to culture as a field of struggle, in which the subject can manifest itself in two ways: by positioning himself as an antagonist or affiliated with the movement.

Due to the proximity to the urban center of Costa Marques, the community has built a dichotomous, conflictive / peaceful relationship with the urban space, because, while residents have a good relationship with a portion of the city's residents, they suffer from harassment land, for the installation of large enterprises of livestock, in addition, the area they occupy are considered as farms, which arouses competition and speculation.

An important factor to be emphasized by the community of Santa Fé is that all members of the community are inserted in the Brazilian social, political, historical and cultural context, since they participate in activations of civic events, including in the celebrations of Sete de Setembro and in the Black conscience day.

3.3 THE ROLE OF RELIGIOSITY IN THE COMMUNITY QUILOMBOLA DE SANTA FE DE GUAPORÉ

Bauman (1998, p.208) summarizes religiosity, that is, religious behavior, as "nothing more than the intuition of the limits to which human beings, being human, can act and understand."

The Church, by offering responses to the human spirit for the "fundamental questions" of life's purpose and to alleviating the fear of the lack of answers, manages to control the activities of human life performed by its followers. Bauman (1998, p.212) proposes that

[...] not all the strategies of being in the world of human beings must be fundamentally religious, and that not all were. [...] Humans are alone to deal with human things, and so the only things that matter to humans are things that humans can deal with.

From this perspective, Catholicism has consolidated itself as the religious expression of the families of Santa Fe, historically and nowadays. Religion was important to the community, as it was a factor of resistance to the advances of the agropastoral colonization front and the withdrawal of the community from its area, by the fronts of expansion.

The formation of Catholicism in the community of Santa Fe followed the general lines of popular Catholic practice in the Amazon. Thus, the communities of the Guaporé Valley had their religious

formation determined by Catholicism, received from the colonizers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and from the migrants of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

3.3.1 FEAST OF THE DIVINE HOLY SPIRIT

For Lima & Souza (2015), one can consider the Feast of the Divine Holy Spirit as a cultural expression of a hybrid nature, of Catholic religious devotion and of Portuguese tradition. It is linked to colonial religiosity, in different regions of Brazil, marked by rituals and spectacles that resemble and resemble grandeur.

The feast has prayers, dances, sounds of instruments, the flag with the Holy Spirit (the dove) and other adornments both in the vestments of the faithful and in the space in which it is performed.

With all these varied events, the Feast of the Divine brought together eight ingredients of the city's most popular party: spectacular attractions and illusionists challenged the simplicity of the day, there was plenty of music, dancing, sensuality, food and games complete the profane environment of a religious festival. The presence and the experience of the party by different social sectors also guaranteed that it was a place of meeting and, mainly, of exchange and circulation between the different cultural manifestations (ABREU, 2003, p.12).

This cultural and religious manifestation, in the Guaporé Valley, is divided into two phases: the preparatory phase [one year before the feast] and the celebration of the 45-day celebration, when the barge sails the entire river and ends the pilgrimage in local town, venue of the celebration.

In order to speak about the Feast of the Divine, it is especially important to touch upon the issue of territoriality (s), for for Lima & Souza (2015), its various and different dimensions, be they of a historical, spatial, social or of belonging, surpasses the profane and revels and reaches the religious, the practice of faith, the celebration.

We may be tempted to explain the decline of old sports and festivals simply by replacing "rural" values with "urban" ones, but that is illusory. Ruder entertainment, from the more sociable parties to the most brutal parties, such as boxing and animal fights, could be observed as (or more) frequently (sic) in London or in large cities as in the countryside, during the XVIII century. They persisted throughout the nineteenth century with vigor reminiscent of the indomitable traditions of London apprentices in the Tudor era and the fact that a high proportion of Londoners had emigrated from the villages. The largest of all festivals was the Bartolomeo Fair, with its wildlife exhibitions, pickpockets, Harlequin and Faust pantomimes, theatrical performances, riding exhibitions, and the presence of card cheaters (Thompson, 2012, p. 371).

The party represents a space of dignity and visibility of the Negro. A form of religious ascension and in the system of social stratification, a substitution of values when the brotherhoods showed themselves and showed themselves with representational power, with autonomy, with social meanings, with "well defined" individual boundaries, making it one of the greatest practices of religious popular culture spread, even today, in various parts of the country.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The Quilombola Community of Santa Fe has several characteristics that make up its identity and its territoriality as its dependence and preservation of the environment, using the techniques of management of renewable natural resources, which consolidated the basis of its way of life, as farmers engaged in planting cassava and fishing activities.

It is important to emphasize the traditional knowledge of the natural spaces, as well as the nature cycles in which they are inserted, which guarantees the group a strong identification with the family-based economy, with an emphasis on agriculture, currently restricted by the difficulty of access to land, as well as to fishing activities.

Other important factors that distinguish the cultural identity of Santa Fe are: Oral transmission of traditional knowledge of the community, carried out by the older members of the community for the youngest throughout the process of consolidation and family constitution, a fact that established its own identity, allowing -to identify and be identified by other groups as a differentiated community;

Notion of territoriality and ethnic identity. The interviewed members recognize themselves as descendants of former slaves, who have survived in the region, as farmers and fishermen;

The traditional practices of sustainable management have not changed much over the years, and this means that the community preserves the natural environment to which it is inserted;

The agricultural work is used based on the production techniques for the maintenance and reconstitution of soil fertility;

The family in the community of Santa Fe is the social institution fundamental to the productive system, and access to material and natural resources is available to all members of the community.

Already the work is divided according to its division by gender, age and possibilities of each member of the family unit;

The production of cassava, is mainly intended for domestic consumption, but a portion a portion of the production is marketed, held in the city of Costa Marques;

Two elements are striking in the Quilombola territory of Santa Fe. First, the mechanical solidarity that constituted an efficient form of distribution of available resources and guaranteed the members of the community access to the means indispensable for their survival and for their physical, socioeconomic reproduction and cultural.

Secondly, religiosity, which is one of the defining elements of the social identity of the community, present in Catholic practices, in addition to the growth of religious practices of an evangelical nature.

As an effort to synthesize what was discussed and analyzed, it was verified that the size of the territory is compatible with the number of families, considering that the quilombolas of Santa Fe have been undergoing a long adaptation to the restrictions of access to native forest areas, developing forms adapted and specific family farming practices with sustainable management of natural resources and fishery resources.

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