

Original article

Clara Nunes: Singing as a Mission

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Abstract

This article approaches the importance of religion in the life and works of the Brazilian singer Clara Nunes (1943-1982), presenting the meaning she attributed to her duty, by seeing herself as a missionary: her songs were intended to minorate the suffering of the people she identified herself with. Her work is analyzed through some selected recordings, and gains meaning when articulated with the interpreter's religious experiences, marked by her religious transits, mainly the ones between Catholicism, Umbanda, Kardecism and Candomble rites.

Keywords

mission; religious transits; clara nunes; brazilian popular music

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The importance of religion in Clara Nunes' life and work is analyzed here (1943 - 1982) by showing the whole sense that she attributed to her work. She was seen as a missionary who, through her singing skills, intended to relieve people's suffering which she identified herself with. Thus, one can see her work as a contribution to the health of the population, at least to those who somehow were touched by her music. Health is understood by means of a physical, mental and social welfare state, which if never complete - as it appears in the definition of World Health Organization, 1946 - it can be pursued and related to the individuals' own perception regarding their conditions (RIOS, 1987). Therefore, health is not understood here as opposed to an illness, nor is it thought as a merely individual state, but as a wide-ranging social issue.

So as to develop this article, Clara Nunes' work was analyzed from the perspective of a few of her own compositions, showing how her artwork was linked by her religious experiences, which were marked by passages, especially amongst Catholicism, Umbanda, Kardecism and Candomble.

Singing as a Mission

When I sing
It is to relieve my sorrow
And the tears of those who have suffered so much

When I sing
I'm feeling the light of a saint
I'm kneeling at the feet of God

I sing to announce the day
I sing to soften the night
I sing to report the flagellation
I also sing against the tyranny

I sing because through this melody
I light in the people's heart
The hope of a new world
And the struggle to live in peace

The power of creation
I am a continuation
I want to give thanks
My cry was heard
I am a Musical Messenger
My song is a mission
It has the power of prayer
And I fulfill my duty

Those who live to cry
 I live to sing
 And sing to live

When I sing
 Death runs through me
 And I blow a song from my throat
 That when the cicada sings, it dies
 And when the wood dies, it sings [highlighted words by me]

The samba “My Mission”, composed by Paulo Cesar Pinheiro and João Nogueira, was recorded by the singer Clara Nunes, in 1981, in the vinyl that was named¹ after her. The two composers were very close to the interpreter. The first one, Paulo Cesar Pinheiro, was her husband. The second, João Nogueira, was one of her best friends; he was her “big brother”. The composition seems to have been made from the feelings and thoughts of the singer, or at least, under the inspiration of her striking personality. The reference to the cicada identifies the singer to those who were close to her. Clara had many public codenames (Warrior, Sabiá (Rufous-bellied Thrush) and Clarity) and she used to call herself “cicada” among close friends². Hence, it is likely that the quotation reinforces the intention of a letter written according to the interpreter’s own principles and ideas. The insect, known for its singing, is quoted in the song as one that, after performing its singing mission, dies. It dies because it has already fulfilled what was imposed as a mission: to be a musical messenger.

Even though the idea that samba was composed according to the singer’s principles is questionable, it is undeniable that she appropriated the composition, as she used to do with the songs that fell into her set-list. Paulo Cesar Pinheiro, who was her husband and producer between 1976 and 1982, wrote on the insert of the album **“Song of the Three Races”**: “The good artists feel a strange affection for the composition that they interpret. And when it happens, **the lyrics and the melody are theirs. They become the real author of the tune.** Therefore, Clara Nunes has the caliber of a great interpreter “ [bolded words by me], i.e., the composer had the artist as a partner, which by the way, incorporates with the perception that music goes beyond its purely structural aspect and actually happens during the performance (NAPOLITANO, 2002). Moreover, in several interviews, Clara said she did not choose her set-list corresponding to any market criteria, but to the way that music touched her, by her identification with it. Thus, within this perspective, one can say that “My Mission” expresses the interpreter’s way of thinking.

The values presented in the song identified with those which Clara advocated. The lyrics conveyed a very explicit idea: the song’s mission is to alleviate the suffering of those who sing and those who have already suffered for a long time. Clara identified herself with the people from the suffering perspective. Suffering that began in Minas Gerais countryside, in the district of Paraopeba Town, known as Cedro. Very early, at two years old, she felt the pain of being fatherless, and soon after, motherless. Still a young girl, sacrificially raised by older siblings, Clara worked in a factory called Cedro Cachoeira. Her “Minor Working Papers “ were signed on August 12th, 1956, on the exact day that she turned 14 years old, indicating that she had already been working in the factory beforehand, but only then, the employment contract could be legalized. At 16, she moved with her siblings to the capital where she continued her factory worker life and started her artistic career. The identification that Clara had with the working people, who suffer in the day-to-day struggle for survival, was not only a rhetoric game or a purely political stance.

During the 1960s /1970s, it was common to identify the artist with the people’s cause, seen whether as an element to be educated or as a social change agent, assuming that it is a holder of values which should give sense to national identity. The popular national thinking established a series of initiatives and artistic productions in the period, and music stood out during this whole process (Napolitano, 2001; RIDENTI, 2000). Clara’s career was influenced by that context. Her first recordings in the 1960s did not approach that kind of attitude. The singer sang mainly boleros and loving theme samba songs. However, at the turn of the next decade, due to the commercial failure of the three albums released to that point, the “Odeon Records” invited the journalist Adelzon Alves to produce her. The choice already indicated the direction envisioned to her career. Adelzon was responsible for a successful program on “Rádio Globo Station”, which was dedicated to the so-called “samba de morro”, and had a socialist political stance. From there, the singer’s career started to value popular elements of Brazilian culture. In the producer’s words, the construction of an Afro-Brazilian “audiovisual” image was projected for the interpreter. Clara started to sing samba, frevo, work songs, xotes, among many other genres of Brazilian popular traditions. She was dressed almost exclusively in white and used to publicly state her linkage with Afro-Brazilian religions, including the use of guides. As a result, she took the proposal to be a Brazilian popular singer, to appreciate the traditions of what she considered the authentic national culture, a stance that was kept until the end of her career.

Then, the sense of mission in a samba song was: singing the popular, for seeing in it a way of denunciation and struggle against the flagellation and tyranny. It is then all about a political mission. A mission intended to interfere in the construction of better social conditions for the people's suffering. Suffering that can be relieved by the act of singing, which is constituted as a remedy. The act of singing soothes the sorrow of the interpreter, not only because it releases her sufferings, but also for the reason that it gives meaning to her existence. Like the cicada, she lives to sing. Singing is also the relief for the collective suffering of the people with whom she identified. Art has been considered a way of catharsis for a long time. Aristotle said that tragedy contributed to the purification of emotions, a process that he called catharsis. Nowadays, the term is linked to different techniques, but keeping the sense of releasing tension and discharge of negative feelings (SEAGO, 1987). Music, beyond a shadow of a doubt, can have an important role at this juncture. Kinds of music, such as samba above all, for being a natural producer of joyfulness and excitement and motivator of body movements, would be even better suited to this purpose. Listening to it in collective environments, such as samba jam sessions, tends to maximize this potential. The composers and the interpreter's conceptions tune with the popular saying: "He who sings scares away his woes." However, this act of singing, understood as a remedy for perceived ills of the people, individually and collectively, is far from the simplistic statement of certain left-wing political activists who see the collective manifestations of joy, like football or carnival, an alienating process. Clara's singing intended to alleviate the sorrow, but urged the people to hope for a new world and strive to live in peace. Therefore, social change is seen as a result of struggles for overcoming problems, perfectly consistent ideas corresponding to the Brazilian political context of gradual transition from military dictatorship to a democratic regime. The country was in a moment of hope for a new world, which was built from the struggle of social movements.

This mission of a political nature, however, as explained in the lyrics, had a religious appeal. Singing, which was the interpreter's mission, was a form of prayer. She and the composers are musical messengers. In singing, kneeling at the feet of God and feels as a continuation of the power of creation. This view of her burden as a sacred act is linked to her religious experience. In this sense, the singer's life and work come together in fundamental ways.

Clara Francisca: A Catholic Education

Clara Francisca - the singer's real name - was born into an extremely Catholic family. According to her sister's testimony, Mariquita, her parents were people of great faith and imposed their seven children to participate in praying the rosary at home once a week. The children, however, got tired during prayer, especially once a month when they had to pray the whole rosary. Then gradually, they went to sleep and their mother took them to bed. In Mariquita's evaluation, this familiar experience built a feeling of good faith between the siblings. In her words,

And today I see that this was a very important part of our lives. This feeling of true faith and sacrifice was to propagate faith in him, in his heart. And in ours too, of course.

(...)

I think all that was very important in our lives. I say, not only in mine, but in all of our siblings' lives because the faith is what really sustains, right?

Mané Serrador's faith, Clara's father, unfolded in the participation in the Catholic League and in the accurate frequency to the mass. The Catholic League is a religious association run by laymen. It was brought to Brazil in 1902 by the Dutch Redemptorist Missionaries, who founded the 1st League in Juiz de Fora. Studying the Holy Bible and praying the rosary in the community and family were among their main goals. Thus, it is easy to realize the perfect integration of Mané Serrador's religious practices with the purposes of the association to which he belonged.

The practice of making promises was common among Clara's parents. Mariquita remembers when her mother paid a promise, taking the lead of a Congo suit, carrying her flag, during a procession, which left the Church of the Rosary in Paraopeba. She was accompanied by the whole family, including her little baby Clara, who was carried on her father's lap. This scene must have happened in 1942 or 1943. But that was not the first promise fulfillment in the family performed by manifestations of popular culture. Some years before, Mané Serrador had organized a *Folia de Reis* (Revelry of Kings) in his region as a way to keep a promise made for his wife's health. According to Vera Lúcia Pergo, the revelries are usually organized according to a promise made by the master of the company. In his words,

Commitment is freely assumed, however, the folly would have as obligation to happen at least for seven years in order to achieve the desired grace. The reasons for making the promises are varied, including: the cure of diseases, desires fulfillment, overcoming difficulties, among others (PERGO, s/d.).

According Mariquita, the father

(...) was a person who had true belief inside his heart. He was a very serious person and had deep affection with the Holy Kings, whom he referred as Holy Kings, but were actually the Three Wise Men, right? He studied the New Testament so much and liked to be that pastor who reached the nativity scene, which until today has this folklore, right? And he took part in it very vehemently, with a lot of faith, indeed.

Testimonies by the daughters Mariquita and Filomena indicate that Mané Serrador had prepared to lead the revelry. He studied the scriptures, was sabbathed by the priest and thus obtained permission to leave with his group, which frightened the others. They avoided running into Mané's revelry for fear of losing the alms they had collected as it was the winners' prize in the disputes that were established when the groups met up again. One who lost the duel of knowledge about the sacred texts should pass to another person what he/she had collected. Alms earned during the wanderings of Manoel's revelry were fully dedicated to the church. The Final Touch Party was fiercely funded by the family. The children, since when they were small, accompanied the festive mood during Christmas time. Manoel died when Clara was a year and a half, without fully fulfilling his promise of leading the revelry for seven years.

Making promises and paying them through popular festivals indicates the importance that they had in that society. The realization of promises requires understanding the relationship between man and God, permeated by the concepts of mediation and exchange of favors. Saints, The Three Wise Men, Our Lady are the men's intercessors before the deity, but in order to forward requests to the contentment, they establish an exchange relationship with their followers.

Even though Clara Nunes lived with her father for a short time, she was raised in a religious environment in which the protests were important moments for the expression of faith. Like her sisters, she attended Catholic movements, such as the Eucharistic Crusade³, which brought together children, teenagers and, in addition to religious activities, also promoted tours and entertainment. Clara also took part in the church choir. She sang at church services and processions

of Holy Week. According to her childhood friend, Athayres Magalhães, better known as Dona Sinhá, she along with Clara and her sisters Branca and Vicentina, participated in a group of shepherdess, another Christmas whoopee. Mariquita, Clara's sister, has no recollection of being a shepherdess. The memory of one of the two witnesses also failed in view of that. But more than discovering the "truth", the possibility that this had occurred is really interesting. Even if she was not a shepherdess, Clara lived with great enjoyment in the region, had friends who participated and had great regard for it. After the success on her career, she always returned to her sister's house at Christmastime, in Caetanópolis. On this kind of occasions, she received the visit of group of shepherdess of the town. At Clara Nunes Institute's, there is even a cassette tape in the archives, which was recorded by her, with presentations and songs of this group.

In summary, there were many religious activities in the city, largely linked to a popular Catholicism. The religious world also permeated Clara's playing time. According to Sister Mariquita's testimony, Clara, when she was really small and before she could speak right, she used to like to play crown. She got a cloth saint doll or even one of her sisters and crowned them as Our Lady, as she sang the songs learned in church.

She liked to crown, but it was at home. She was so petite. Whatever she heard there [in church], she sang at home. She did there, got some cloth saint doll, some cloth witch. Sometimes even one of us served as Our Lady for her to sing the songs she listened. She was really into singing the 'Sovereign Queen. "I remember when she sang, she did not know how speak right. At that time, my mother was still alive and took her to see the coronation. When she got home, she kept saying: let me crown, let me crown. And we sometimes sat on a stool or a bench and put another one up for her. She got on it and began to sing what she had heard there. And I remember there was a song that said: "Accept, oh my mother, this wreath ". And when she got to the part that said: 'Oh rainha soberana, rainha mãe do amor' ('Oh sovereign queen, Queen Mother Love'), her tongue still could not speak. So she would say, 'Oh rainha bebelana'. We would roll on floor laughing at her! (MARIQUITA, apud TEIXEIRA, 2008).

Analyzing this attitude, it is feasible to conclude that the practice of popular Catholicism of familiarity with the sacred can be built through children's games. She used to play crown just like most little girls who play with dolls. The song

was associated with these religious games. Almost every manifestation of popular Catholicism is accompanied with music. Clara, since a young age, lived with the notion that singing has a sacred dimension.

Popular religiosity permeated people's daily lives, being exclusively important in relation to health. According to Dona Sinhá, faith healers and beadswomen catered, through their prayers, the lack of doctors or medications. In the city, for example, Seu Bené César was really famous for healing snake and warble fly bites. Thus, if a large part of social life revolved around the church, with its festivals, groups and activities, it is perceived that the popular religion went beyond its limits and marked the cultural and daily life of the population.

It was in this religious environment characterized, on the one hand, by a Catholic orthodoxy - which was present, for example, in masses celebrated in Latin and in the depths of moral control by the clergy, as well as by popular practices such as festivals, promises that were fulfilled publicly and also the intimacy with the holy - that the girl Clara Francisca learned that faith was a mainstay in her life. People who lived with her at different times always indicate this trait: Clara had great faith. She left this characteristic recorded in her musical work and in many interviews she gave throughout her career. The embryo of this faith draws from the family.

Clara's Religious Passages

By 1964, while Clara was living in Belo Horizonte, her older sister, Mariquita, converted to spiritualism, influenced by her husband's cousin. She started to attend spiritualistic studies in Sete Lagoas, and thereafter, to conduct services in her house in Caetanópolis. She then started to act at Paulo de Tarso Spiritualist Center in 1981, on whose board still participates. Clara followed her sister's process at a distance, and according to the latter, she attended spiritual centers in Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, the Mineira Spiritist Union, for example. Even after moving to Rio de Janeiro in 1965, she read spiritualist books regularly, manifesting, according to her friend Dôia, special appreciation for the books written by André Luiz. In an article published in the newspaper **Cinco de Março**, in August 1972, Clara declared she was spiritualist and nurtured great admiration for Chico Xavier (RAMOS, 1972).

According to the musician and composer Jadir Ambrósio, who was responsible for Clara's early artistic career in Belo Horizonte, she went along with him to the spiritualist centers of many different types, from the Kardecists to those which, according to him, are seen as "low spiritualist centers", where gunpowder burning was carried out.

In Rio de Janeiro, Clara began to attend Umbanda and Candomble yards (*terreiros*). In granting an interview on Bandeirantes Radio Station in 1981, she said her relationship with Umbanda was dated 1969. In her words,

I belong to a Spiritualist Kardecist family, and so do all my family members. But when I moved to Rio, I got a closer contact with religion, with Umbanda. And after a trip to Africa, I came back and found myself in Umbanda. It has been like this since 1969. And then people suddenly started to figure out the reason why I speak. I am very pleased, very proud to say, because it is one thing that makes me feel good. I feel good. I have faith. It is one thing that is very strong within me. So I cannot hide, nor is there reason to hide⁴.

The date of this approximation with Umbanda is not consensual. Clara's memory seems to betray her in this aspect. In the testimony above, she associates the fact to her moving to Rio de Janeiro and a trip to Africa, indicating the year 1969. Well, Clara moved to Rio in 1965 and took her first trip to Africa in January 1971⁵. When passed through an initiation rite in Umbanda, with Father Edu in Olinda in 1972, several newspaper articles stated that six years before the singer was already a believer in this religion (SILVA, 1972; LEITE, n.127). Leaving aside, however, a more rigorous search for details of when her relationship originated with Umbanda, it can be stated that this was present in her life from the 1960s in Rio de Janeiro, and in 1972 with her baptism by the water of Capiberibe River, her faith was publicly taken in press statements. The media detailed this initiation rite:

Clara Nunes, who for 6 years has been a daughter of faith in Umbanda, consecrated to Oshun, the Goddess of River Waters, at a ceremony by the Capiberibe River, one of the river that cross the city of Recife. (...) The consecration ceremony was surrounded with the beauty that characterizes festivals like: flowers and necklaces, Bahian women in white penetrating the waters, all controlled by Babalaô Edu, one of the best known in Brazil.

While the songs and sessions were performed, Clara, standing on a rock (the rock symbolizes Shango, her father) poured a liter of cologne in the river to meet the vanity of her protector, who was gradually taking over Clara, then dressed all in white, with her hair down, concluding her baptism. In the end, Clara broke a champagne bottle, symbolizing her power over evil, and the guarantee of success (LEITE, n.127).

Since then, Clara Nunes, who was singing songs with reference to the Afro-Brazilian religions, performed publicly as part of the saint people. Moreover, if the construction in her career, an image linked to popular traditions and the worship of deities dating back to the LP recorded in 1971, references to these religions already appear in the singer's set-list in 1969, the year she recorded the songs "Mandinga" by Ataulfo Alves and Carlos Imperial, in a single compact⁶, and "Guerreiro de Oxalá", by Carlos Imperial, in the LP "**Beleza Que Canta**". In both songs, the religious theme is associated with romance. The arrangement of the first, however, depicts at certain times, especially in its introduction, a typical yard song, with the use of drums and agogos (that means gong or bell in Yoruba). In the second, this musical reference is not present.

The Iemanjá Palace, led by Father Edu, was not the only yard where Clara used to show up. She used to go to the one directed by Nair, Barbosa's wife, a musician and member of *Conjunto Nosso Samba*, which played with the singer. Nair had a House of Candomblé, in Santo Cristo, Rio de Janeiro. According to Gordinho, the percussionist of that band, and her friend Dôia, Clara attended the festivities that were held there, she was a client and practiced purification and cleansing rituals.

Clara was also a Umbanda saint daughter of Vovó Maria Joana, a resident of Serrinha, a district in Rio de Janeiro, in whose house she met obligations, although she didn't go through the process of "Making-of-Head" or "Initiation". Vovó, besides being a saint mother, she was a beadswoman, a midwife, a *jongueira* and a well-respected person in the community. Like Clara, before her initiation into Umbanda, she attended the Kardecism. In the words of her granddaughter, Dely Monteiro,

She was initiated, actually, in a table yard. Maybe it was Bezerra de Menezes... Bezerra de Menezes. She then was initiated. It was a table center there. It was a white coat that the person would put on and sit... The mediums sat at that big table where there was a glass of water on it and everyone got together. But my grandmother's guides wanted her to incorporate - incorporate because they wanted to come to work for charity. To work, indeed. Then my grandmother left that yard and went to another saint father's yard. He was a saint father. I do not remember the name. At that time I was not born. And her mediumship was so early - because my grandmother was also born like that - that she from a saint daughter became a little-mother and, as little-mother, met the obligations to become a saint

mother because the saint father found her mediumship quite advanced. Then, over time, she opened her yard and then bought this one here. She lived here for 50 years. And she made her crib here. It was not very big, but it was a yard where people felt at ease. And she stayed here until she died.

Dely's account is based on stories which were heard from her grandmother. Her perception of continuity between Spiritism and Umbanda - expressed, for example, in the fact that she refers to the spiritual center as a yard - probably reflects on her religious awareness. The difference that justifies the change of religion is the imperativeness of Vovó's guides who incorporated into the medium and dominated the movements of her body. This is the typical form of manifestation of Umbanda and Candomblé entities. Vovó's guides wanted to work. In Umbanda, the elevation of spirits should be given through psychic work, i.e., by providing charity when incorporating into the mediums. Therefore, they give assistance to people in need (CAPONE, 2004).

The perception of continuity between spiritualism, Umbanda and Candomblé is also manifested by Clara in an interview:

I have been a spiritualist since I was fourteen, and my whole family is Kardecist. Spiritualists are Kardecists. After I came to Rio... After I came to Rio, I took that as a greater contact with Candomblé, with Umbanda, you know? And I identified myself a lot with this other manifestation of spiritualism. And I went deep into that. So I say: I am a spiritualist! I am a spiritualist who believes, practices, and shows the due respect. I am very happy with my religion, you know! It is one thing that gives me pleasure, you know! It's one thing that really pleases me⁷.

The apprehension of commonality among religions helps understand Clara's position of changing among them, which most Brazilians do just the same. Unlike the ideas of purity and degeneration used by some intellectuals and the holy people to distinguish the Afro-Brazilian religions, nations and their different homes, anthropologist Stefania Capone believes that there is a *continuum* between religious Kardecism, Umbanda and Candomblé. The French Kardecist Spiritualism arrived in Brazil few years after "Cidade Luz" was founded, which was in the second half of the nineteenth century. Its doctrine is based on the communion of faith and reason, in reincarnation, the communicability between the spiritual planes and yards and the spirits' evolution. In Brazil, through the expression of its adherents, a psychic field

set up from African traditions could already be found. The worship of deities and ancestors was practiced during slavery period, assuming different configurations according to the colonial regions and the dominant ethnic groups in each one of them. Candomblé Nagô was understood by authors, such as Roger Bastide, as a model of tradition that was opposed to the Bantu Cult (southeast voodoo), which would represent a degeneration in relation to African beliefs. Umbanda was seen as a way of laundering the worship of deities, from an admittedly syncretic approach to other religious headquarters, such as Catholicism and Spiritualism (ORTIZ, 1978; PRANDI, 2006). According to Prandi (2006),

(...) The first Umbanda center was founded in mid-1920, in Rio de Janeiro, when it split a Kardecism that rejected the presence of Indians and Black Guides, considered by most orthodox spiritualists as inferior spirits. Soon, many other spiritualist centers were founded by the name of Umbanda Spiritualism.

Thus, according to the author, until the 1950s, Afro-Brazilian religions went through a process of "erasing characteristics of African origin and systematic adjustment to the national culture of European dominance, which is white" (Ibidem). However, in his book about the lives of slaves in nineteenth-century, in Rio de Janeiro, Karasch (2000) brings up an interesting idea about the origin of Umbanda among the Bantus:

(...) Religious traditions prior to 1850 [in Rio de Janeiro] did not come from Nigeria or Dahomey (Benin), but from the south of Equator. That does not mean that Candomblé did not exist in Rio before 1850, or that all deities could (sic) attract the slaves who did not belong to the minority mine in the city, but it is suspected that the Candomblé won a significant number of followers only after Migration from Bahia to Rio, after 1835 and 1850. Therefore, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the dominant religious tradition among the slaves in Rio de Janeiro was not Catholicism, nor the Candomblé, but came from the vast region of Central West Africa. Moreover, it is possible to identify in the last century in Rio and in Umbanda in the 1970s many traits of the religious tradition of Central Africa.

The author acknowledges that his hypothesis needs further empirical evidence to support it, but it seems relevant to the association between Umbanda religion and plasticity of the Bantus, expressed among other things, by incorporating elements of other religions, reworked in the light of their

own cultural universe. Thus, the admittedly syncretic posture of Umbanda may not be interpreted as a deliberate search for whitening, but as resisting in a Bantu cultural tradition. Either way, the religious *continuum* between Kardecism and Umbanda find support even in the account of origin of the latter, which appears as an offshoot of the first. Therefore, communication of ideas between the two religious fields goes back to the founding of Umbanda. In Capone's words (2004),

While 'Africanizing' Kardecism to a certain degree, Umbanda was made a national religion, a symbol of the racial and cultural melting pot myth that gave rise to discussions about the formation process of the Brazilian nation in the 1930s. From Spiritualism, Umbanda regained belief in reincarnation and karmic evolution, as in the practice of charity and direct communication with the 'guides' - the spirits that incarnate into mediums. (...) Another feature that marks the influence of spiritualism on Umbanda is the importance accorded to the formation of the medium through the study of sacred literature. (...) As the Spiritualism, Umbanda gives great value to the book as a source of knowledge and especially as a 'model for action'.

These common points to Umbanda and Kardecism allow the formation of a sort of continuum between the two religions (...). This continuum goes also from the least western polo of Umbanda (its most Africanized forms, such as the Omolocô) to the Candomblé.

The author shows how Kardecists' notions of spiritual elevation and evolution are present in Candomblé, including those considered more traditional in Salvador, as the "Alaketu" and "Axé Opô Afonjá". Thus, one can observe the *continuum* she proposes in order to understand these religious fields.

The biographer of Clara Nunes, Fernandes (2007) characterizes her, in the religious aspect, as a curious person who circulated by different religious universes, and therefore, did not understand them. In his words,

The engagement, almost inconsequential, sometimes in Candomblé and sometimes in Umbanda, would place her at a crossroads of religious signs which she would not be able to decode. The complexity of understanding these signs would increase to the extent that she was getting involved. It should be the opposite. But how could she deepen her knowledge in the midst of so many commitments? She was an artist.

The fact is that Clara had many professional commitments. However, what can be seen in several indications of people

who lived with her is that the religious aspect was not an appendix to her profession or a detail in her life. Faith was a central role in her existence. Incidentally, for the saint people, as there is no separation between religion and everyday life. This is permeated by the sacred. This can be seen in Clara's life. According to Dôia, who was a friend, cousin and the person who took care of the singer's house between 1971 and 1981, "Whenever she would leave home, she went there, to her *Gongá* (a sacred altar), and made all her prayers. Sometimes she stayed there for hours ... She got dressed earlier to have that moment of prayer there! (...) Ah! She wouldn't leave home without going there to make her prayers."

Clara's commitments did not prevent her from fulfilling religious duties, to care for her saints, to light her candles, make her prayers. Her workspaces also deserved religious care, whether in the studio recording, whether in her own theater or other venues. All were previously cared before Clara used them as well. So Stênio, a musician of *Conjunto Nosso Samba*, who played with the singer, states how she took care of the studio before the recordings.

Silvia: At the time of recording in the studio, did she have any rituals or something she always did?

Stênio: Yes, she did. She would treat the ambience with fumes. She would smoke everything. And she took it all prepared!

Silvia: Yeah?

Stênio: She took it all prepared. She smoked the whole studio! She did not let anyone in ... She did it ... and she asked everyone to leave. She smoked the whole studio. Everyone had to leave. No one could be there but her.

Silvia: So she needed to be alone?

Stênio: Yes, she did. After some time, she called us, then everyone ... We entered the studio and she said: "Now the works have already been done ..." Then asked us...

There were... We played the instruments for her and we did the choir along with As Gatas. (...) (...) So let us say a prayer here. Then everyone gathered, holding hands, we had a prayer inside the studio and when it ended, she went like: 'Oh, let's get down to work now!'

On May 5th, 1977, at the opening of her Theatre at Gávea Shopping Mall, Rio de Janeiro, Father João Emílio de Souza, friend and confessor of Clara's, celebrated a mass. In his words,

One day I blessed her theater. Clara Nunes' Theater. You see how much faith Clara had. She called me and said, 'Father João, you come here to bless the theater. "I went there and there were some people sitting in a

nice circle! Chico Buarque, right! Chico is fantastic. A good friend of Clara's! I remember when Chico told me: 'Clara's greatness is immeasurable.'

Clara lived an everyday life permeated by the sacred, even if it were connected to different religions. She perceived the relationship among them and experienced them vigorously without any contradiction or superficiality. Studying them, taking them with the consciousness of the approaching and allowed the religious vehicle, which is so common in Brazilian society. According to the medium Kardecist Maury Rodrigues da Cruz, whose center Clara attended in Curitiba, she was not inconsequential in matters of religion at all. Of course, as Kardec Spiritist, he has an evolutionary view of the world and religions. However, one can see in his testimony that Clara was not only curious about religious matters, but sought to know them and understand the transits among them. In his testimony, Professor Maury said Clara read many spiritual books and talked to him about religion and philosophy. In his words,

"So we used to talk a lot. She would ask me questions. For example: "Tell me a bit of philosophy." "Tell me a bit of Plato and Spiritualism." (...) She was a person who had the flow of thought wide open - very open. She was a very open-minded person."

She was a person who studied and loved to talk about religion, whether to the medium and University Professor Maury or to Dôia - who ran her house and attended the Kardecist Center "*Seara Servos de Deus*", in Copacabana, and read Spiritualist Literature. But Clara's readings were not strictly Kardecist. She sought religious transits. So it was not by chance that she gave Professor Maury a book called "**Africanism and Spiritualism**" by Deolindo Amorim. He said that Clara had found it in a secondhand bookstore in Rio de Janeiro. Note that, even though she had many commitments, she sought ways to satisfy her desire for knowledge.

But the religious transits were not only perceived by Clara in literature. She reached them by being in contact with people and with their religious practices. It is what can be seen, for example, in the view of *Mãe Menininha do Gantois*, from Professor Maury's testimony: "(...) she told me, 'Maury, I want you to meet Menininha! At least one meeting with her. Menininha is like us. (...)Menininha knows spiritualism."

In a Kardecist interpretation, transits are perceived in the light of this universe. But the important point is that Clara was an open person to different religious practices. Again in of Professor Maury's words, "Clara had a clear notion that the doctrine of spirits does not teach what we should think. It

teaches how to think!" This way of living her faith could be a result of the influence of Spiritualism or practices of popular religiosity in Brazil.

It is interesting to draw attention also to the existence of common traits among the Afro-Brazilian religions and popular Catholicism. Some permanencies in the way of experiencing Catholicism in the colonial period - despite all the reforms that took place in the church since the second half of the nineteenth century - can be observed in popular religious practices of the twentieth century and even today. Domestic cults, processions (forms of externalization of faith), promises, seeking the intervention of the sacred in everyday life, festivities, with their devotional and social aspects can be found in Clara's religious formation. Well, in the Afro-Brazilian religions, the festivities are a focal point of the relationship with the sacred. At them, food, music and dances are essential elements for the communication with entities. The intervention of the entities - Orishas, Indians and Old-Blacks - in people's lives is the foundation of these religions. It is seeking this type of intervention that they meet the obligations and do work for the Orishas. It is believed that they can meet the needs of their children in return for being blessed by them with offerings. The principle of exchange that directs these actions is the same as the ones in the Catholic promises. According to Capone (2004), this similarity between the relationship with the Catholic saints and Orishas or African spirits recalls the kind of Catholicism brought by the Portuguese to Brazil. In his words,

It is precisely in the colonial era that we found the roots of the great process of cultural translation that gives rise to the Afro-Brazilian cults. The popular religion, which the Portuguese colonists brought with them to Brazil, was characterized by a very utilitarian approach. The continued demand for all types of goods and material advantages founded the relationship between the faithful and the saints, as if an agreement among men and the representatives of God. Gilberto Freyre (1933) showed the persistence of a popular religiosity marked by extreme proximity and familiarity with the Virgin and the saints, intimate and personal cult objects. This relationship of the follower with his saint of devotion was not different from that which linked the African slaves to their divinities or spirits.

The presence of private rites of devotion is also something common to both worlds. According Dely Monteiro, Clara took care of her Umbanda "little saints" at home. Moreover, she kept - like wealthy families from the colonial period, which had

a room for the saints (MOTT, 1997) - in her dressing room, a room for her prayers, with oratorical and Gongá (sacred altar). There, baroque images flanked others of Old-Blacks and Orishas, always illuminated by candles. In Dôia's words,

She was in her dressing room, there was a small table. There, she said her prayers. Every day she got up and went there to pray. She would not leave the room until she had finished her prayers. And the 7-day candle had already been on, everything had been done. When she traveled, she taught me. And she said: 'you see, Dôia, do not let the candle go off, ok?

(...) If it went off, I would go there and lit it. I grabbed another one, lit it... It was usually a white candle. Oxalá, right?!

(...) It was lit all the time. Or sometimes it was a green one. She also kindled the colors. Or depending on the time of the saint, there actually is a saint day, she also lit the candles. They were lit there. She usually... I remember there were two candles. There was a white one and the other... I think it depended on the time of the saint. I mean, if it is an Indian, an Old-Black.

It was a reserved space where the singer practiced her devotions. Among the religious images that Clara had at home, at least some of them are currently in the collection of Clara Nunes Institute⁸. Through them, we can get an idea of the singer's devotional universe. Altogether, there are 48 religious images in the library today, distributed as shown in table below.

St. Anthony is by far the most present saint, corresponding to his popularity in Brazilian society since colonial times. The saint is the patron of Portugal and his worship was diffused quite broadly by the Portuguese missionaries in Portuguese America and Africa (SOUZA, 2001). After independence, he also became patron of the Brazilian Empire. If his worship was common among the settlers, it was intensely adopted by Black Bantus in Africa and Brazil. Mary Karasch says St. Anthony, known for curing illnesses, finding lost objects, bringing rain and fertility to the soil, arranging marriages, may have been interpreted by Africans in the perspective of the "fortune-misfortune"⁹ complex, which states that "goodness predominates in the natural order. But there are also, in the universe, malevolent forces that cause all sorts of disease, death, impoverishment, etc... The restoration of a happiness state depends on the intervention forces of nature spirits, ancestors, witches, and amulets. The author suggests that the images of Catholic saints may have been used by slaves in Rio de Janeiro in the nineteenth century (Karasch, 2000). Slenes

Table 1 – Clara Nunes' Religious Images

Devotions	N.	%
Saint Barbara	4	8,3
Saint Anthony	8	16,6
The Crucified Christ / Crucifix	4	8,3
Sacred Heart of Jesus	2	4,2
Immaculate Conception	4	8,3
Saint Anne	3	6,2
Saint Benedict	3	6,2
Holy Spirit	1	2,1
Saint Ignatius	1	2,1
Saint John Baptist	2	4,2
Saint John Nepomuk	1	2,1
Saint Joaquin	1	2,1
Saint Sebastian	2	4,2
Saint Teresa	1	2,1
Saint Clara	1	2,1
Our Lady - Pieta	1	2,1
Moses	1	2,1
Our Lady Of Grace	1	2,1
Ogum	2	4,2
Old Blacks	2	4,2
Saint Cecilia	1	2,1
Boy Jesus	1	2,1
Saint Joseph	1	2,1
Total	48	100

SOURCE: Religious Images appurtenant to the collection of Clara Nunes Institute.

(1992) shows, from a narrative by the traveler Ewbank, in 1846, how the story of St. Anthony had elements particularly sensitive to the Bantu's worldview.

One day, preaching in Pavia, Italy, St. Anthony senses that his father is threatened to be hanged in Portugal for a murder he did not commit. In the midst of a prayer, the Holy Spirit leaves his body and flies to Portugal, where he saves his father and discovers who the actual killer is (by waking the dead so that he speaks the name of the guilty). Then his spirit goes back to Pavia, returning to his body in time for the final prayer, without anyone having noticed his absence. That story may have been paradigmatic for the sensitivities of Bakongo - especially if they came to know that flying from Italy to Portugal through the shortest line meant to cross the sea. However, a saint who 'flies like a witch', and who has enormous powers of divination to solve a murder, making a corpse talk, appealed to people from many other ethnic groups in Central Africa, not only to the Bakongo.

The sea, the *Kalunga*, represented the boundary between life and death according to the Bakongo. Thus, crossing the sea was the same as entering the world of spirits and ancestors. It is not difficult to understand the reasons for the wide acceptance of St. Anthony among the slaves. He was even considered the saint of the slave quarters. Free Black

Slaves in the region of Vale do Paraiba, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, had small statues of the saint, usually made of pine-knot, taken as true fetishes that could ensure happiness and even bring misfortune to others (SOUZA, 2001).

In Umbanda, St. Anthony is associated with Exu, responsible for forwarding requests, intermediary of the relationship between men and Orishas. Without him, it is said that nothing happens. The sessions begin by greeting to him, and his settlement in general is at the entrance of the yards. It is the lord of the paths and is greeted at the crossroads. In addition, in Bahia, St. Anthony is associated with Ogum, one of the Orishas whose Clara had two plaster images. No wonder, there is the remarkable presence of St. Anthony at the singer's *Gongá*.

After him, the most represented devotions are Saint Barbara, Immaculate Conception and the Crucified Christ. The first is associated with Iansã, whose daughter was Clara. The second relates to both Iemanjá and Oshun, ladies of the sea and freshwater, respectively. The representations of Jesus appear in different forms: a Boy Jesus, two Sacred Hearts and four Crucifixes. Christ is associated with the supreme deity of creation, the father of all Orishas (CASTRO, 2001). In Umbanda, He is considered the supreme medium. The frequency of His representation in the form of a crucified man may be linked to the symbolism that cross has among Africans, in particular, the Bakongo. According to Souza (2001), "The

cross, from the Bacongós' point of view, refers to the idea of life as a continuous cycle, similar to the rotation caused by the sun, and the possibility of connection between the two worlds [of the living and the dead]." The cross is currently present at the beginning of the sessions in Umbanda. In a ceremony of purification in order to ward off evil, which is called Encruza, the little-mother makes crosses with the *Pemba* (chalk) in mediums' and customers' hands (MAGGIE, 2001).

Clara's devotion to Jesus is also the testimony of her friend and godmother Alaíde Araújo: "(...) in her house, when she opened the window, she saw Christ the Redeemer. She used to say, 'Alaíde, every day I open the window, I talk to him.'" A very direct relationship and intimacy with the deities becomes evident. More than praying, Clara talked to Jesus. Here is the strong mark of popular religiosity of how the singer was experiencing her faith, whether in African-Brazilian religions, or in Catholic devotions.

Clara's faith populated her life and her singing.

Song of Faith

Throughout her career, among the 195 recorded tracks on LPs, 25 present religious aspects as primary or secondary theme of her lyrics. Among those, 18 refer to African-Brazilian religions. Moreover, eleven more songs address some religious aspect, although they do not have them as theme. Since 1969, all of her LPs had at least one song with that kind of reference. One can, thus, affirm the importance of religion in Clara's singing.

Among all these songs, it is worth mentioning "Banho de Manjeriçã" (Basil Bath) - recorded on LP "**Esperança**", 1979 - which refers to different practices of Afro-Brazilian religions, usual in Clara's daily routine.

I'll take a basil bath
 I'll shake the dust off my body with my hands
 I'll go back to my *Congo* Repeat
 To ask the saint
 To pray against despondency
 To ward off the evil eye

And I'm gonna knock on wood three times with the
 finger crossed
 I'll put an amulet in my steel cord
 At home a cutting branch of rue
 A glass of water in the corner of the door
 A candle and a pepper tree by the gate

I'll take a basil bath
 I'll shake the dust off my body with my hands

I'll go back to my Congo
 To ask the saint
 To pray against despondency
 To ward off the evil eye

It is with Vovó Maria who has sympathy for closed body
 It is with Pai Benedito who blesses the afflicted ones
 with a touch of his hand
 And Father Antonio cures disillusion
 And there is St. Cyprian's prayer
 And there are herbs that open the way for Christians

I'll take a basil bath
 I'll shake the dust off my body with my hands
 I'll go back to my *Congo* Repeat
 To ask the saint
 To pray against despondency
 To ward off the evil eye

According to Dely Miller, Vovó Maria Joana's granddaughter, one of Clara's saint mothers, the song was composed by Paulo Cesar Pinheiro and João Nogueira, as a tribute to his grandmother. It goes like: "It is with Vovó Maria who has sympathy for closed body! [And Dely continues:] 'It is with Pai Benedito...'"¹¹ Then, he spoke of Father Antonio, who was my grandmother's grandfather. And so, he did it as a tribute to her and my grandmother's Old Black, who was Father Antonio." In addition to this honor, the lyrics shows that the world of Afro-Brazilian religions offers a range of resources that are related to elements of nature, such as herbs, and to actions of entities, such as the Old Blacks - for protection and care of their followers. All these were present in Clara's daily routine. She resorted to them for her strengthening and to defend herself from the problems that she faced. Basil, in Umbanda, is considered an herb with great power of spiritual elevation. It is associated with Oxalá.

Although references to African religions predominate in the Clara's set-list, she also recorded songs related to other religious universes. In "Menino Deus", composed by Paulo Cesar Pinheiro, Mauro Duarte, recorded by Clara on the LP **Alvorecer**, 1974, the narrator states that the birth of Baby Jesus caused a mood of peace and happiness, giving him desire to sing for his love. "Juízo Final" (Doomsday), a samba song made by Nelson Cavaquinho and Elcio Soares, which supports the victory of good over evil, with love becoming everlasting again during the doomsday. Another samba by Nelson Cavaquinho, this in partnership with Guilherme de Brito, "Tenha Paciência" (Have Patience)¹² also studies the opposition - good *versus* evil - saying that God as the "creator

of heaven, earth and sea” will give the narrator and his loved one strength to overcome the envy of others. In these songs, the influence of Christian religions can be observed.

Others, such as “Ai quem me dera” (Oh I wish), “As Forças da Natureza” (Forces of Nature) and “O Bem e o Mal” (Good and Evil)¹³, even without a religious focus on the theme, by constructing a polarization between good and evil, they refer to elements of Christian moral. The frequency of the compositions by Nelson Cavaquinho in this universe is explained. According to Novaes (2003):

In several songs, Nelson Cavaquinho presents a very sharp distinction between two categories, the Good and Evil. There's a huge gap between the two of them, and no doubts about the choice one can make; Nelson has already made, like in 'The Good and Evil': '(...) If I have faults / God made me this way / But I know what I must do / Between good and evil (...): 'The work where this radical separation is clearer is the brilliant 'Doomsday', which shines a hopeful note, which is difficult to be found in Nelson's work (...).

Symptomatically, the author mentions the two songs recorded by Clara Nunes. This polarization and Good X Evil is a salient characteristic of Christian morality of the West. However, there is a guiding principle of the Afro-Brazilian religions. Good and evil are not categories that guide the Orishas' actions. The presence of such messages in Clara's recordings seems to be linked more to her Catholic upbringing. In Kardecism and in Umbanda, charity is a fundamental value. These Christian references in Clara's work indicate that, as in her life, there is no religious purism in her music.

The importance of religious feeling for Clara was such that she even identified herself from this universe. In the biographical samba “ Guerreira,” (Warrior) recorded in the eponymous LP, in 1978, composed for her by Paulo Cesar Pinheiro and João Nogueira, she sang:

“I am the Warrior from Minas Gerais / Daughter of Ogum with lansã [and:] Singing throughout the seven corners / I do not fear despondency / Because I am a warrior.”

Clara - who wanted help with her singing build a peaceful world and because of that she would sing anywhere (in the hottest stages of Europe and Japan, at the block of Portela Samba School or in her hometown, in Minas Gerais Countryside, for example) – she knew this building would not happen without conflict. But she had no fear. The evil eye, defined as capable of causing illness, dejection and even death, would not affect her, for she knew the art of war, since she was the daughter of two fighting Orishas: lansã, the

goddess of fire, thunder and storms and Ogum, deity of iron and war.

Like Clara, many sang the religions of Orishas. According to Marcos Napolitano (2001, p.218), the songs included in the Third Festival of MPB, by Record Television Company, in 1967, 191 songs made reference to Umbanda or Iemanjá. Prandi (2005) mentions approximately a thousand songs with references to Afro-Brazilian religions, recorded in the twentieth century. The Afrossambas by Vinicius de Moraes and Baden Powell were recorded in 1966. Songs with these invocations are sung, among others, by Nara Leão, Elis Regina, Gilberto Gil, Maria Bethânia, and Gal Costa. According to Prandi (2006), the propagation of the Afro-Brazilian religions in popular music contributed to reduce marginalization in society, and Clara Nunes and her singing played a prominent role in this context.

The crystallization of her public image as a true “Goddess of the Orisha” is explained by a deliberate targeting of her career and the construction of an audiovisual image in this sense. Thus, when talking about Clara Nunes, imagine her presence in white, with curly and bulky hair, using religious guides. On the other hand, however, it is clear that Clara did not sing these songs with entertainment or political activism purposes. Clara took the religion of the Orishas and made the stage and LPs her temples (BRÜGGER, 2008). No wonder that, as seen, her presentation and recording spaces needed to be prepared personally by her. Father Edu¹⁴, who was her saint father, said she was a saint mother on the stage. This means that she understood her career as having a religious function, which went beyond mere disclosure. Saint Fathers and Mothers are those who decipher the patron saints of African religions and who decode the messages from Orishas to men. Maybe that was the sense that Clara commanded her singing. The identification as a saint mother also appears on the testimony of Josival Dória da Silva, Mother Celina's son, whose house in Salvador, Clara attended. He said that once she was there, she made herself comfortable, took off her clothes and shoes, and “put the ialorixá on.”

This attitude gave Clara's career a meaning of priesthood, which went beyond the purely political sense, although both were closely related. Hence, it may help explain the strength and permanence of the constructed image of her relationship with the religions of the Orishas. According to the medium Maury Rodrigues da Cruz, she made that perception explicit: “She told me she was sure she was a missionary.”

This religious sense of her career was perceived by her audience. One could say that with the unexpected death of Clara - young and at the peak of her career - the scale of

sacredness was enhanced and became more explicit. If she faced her work and her career as a mission and passed the image of a priestess on stage, it is possible to affirm that after death, she went through a process of popular beatification. "There are many people who search for her grave at São João Batista Cemetery in Rio de Janeiro, to make promises and leave offerings. These searches were reported the next day to her burial:

"That girl will do miracles. I feel it inside me, just look at a picture of her and see that the light and strength of the Gods surround this girl". The statement is by D. Creusa Dias Cavalcante, (...) one of the numerous people who were yesterday at the grave of Clara Nunes, at São João Batista Cemetery. The pilgrimage began at 5 o'clock in the morning (...)

Even before D. Creusa's prophecy is confirmed, more than one hundred calls have been made to the singer. One visitor, João Fernando Lima Junior, 20, has the chance to bury a wish note inside the grave. Norma Aguiar de Oliveira, 30, asked Clara to heal a perennial sore throat that has accompanied her since childhood. (...)

Lúcio Dias, who came from Juiz de Fora and says he is Spiritualist Kardecist, asserts that the soul of Clara is coming to perfection. For him, even at a point to benefit people. Perhaps for this reason, he did not fail to make two wishes, write a piece of paper and stick the note through the cracks of the grave. In one of the wishes, he asks the singer to help him get a job promotion, and the other for the health of a sick sister (Jornal O Dia, Rio de Janeiro, 04/04/1983, p.6).

I do not know if this kind of manifestation is in relation to other singers who died, who also sang songs related to Afro-Brazilian religions, for example, Elis Regina and Nara Leão. Thus, Clara, who through her singing meant to help relieve the cry of the sufferers, is seen after death by her fans as being able to miraculously help them solve their problems. For the people who perceived in Clara's singing a way of relieving their pain and help them have a state of physical, mental and social welfare, after her death, her power to act in this matter would be even stronger. This kind of popular view can be understood by the dimension of priesthood that Clara built, consciously or not, in her work. The explanation of this process goes through the meaning given by Clara to the act of singing: it was a mission for her, and therefore, it had a sacred dimension.

Singing a Popular Mestizo and Black Brazil was what Clara understood to be her mission. So for her, his work was religious in nature. Her singing was full of faith!

Notes

1. "My Mission" was also recorded by the composer João Nogueira, on his vinyl called O Homem dos Quarenta, in 1981.
2. She identified, for example, with her friends Dóia and Elza Alabarce Gonçalves. The first one worked for 11 years at Clara's house, she was her godmother and friend. The second was a close friend of Clara's, considering themselves as sisters. According to Dóia's testimony, she wrote notes to Clara, treating her as "Dona Cigarra (Lady Cicada)." In her interview, Elza Alabarce stated that Clara called herself cicada, citing, for example, the time when she acquired the theater that was named after her and called Elza a little shaky with the negotiation, saying that "this cicada will have to sing a lot", to honor the commitment. All of the statements mentioned in this article - unless otherwise specified - were taken from interviews conducted especially for this research, which are registered at the end of the text.
3. This movement was founded on the appeal made by Pope Pius X's who, during the First World War, asked children and young people to join a crusade, praying for peace. The peace for which Clara Nunes exhorted the people to fight, and in the song "My Mission," it was the object of her prayers.
4. Interview granted by Clara Nunes to Antonio Celso, Cunha Neto and Edson Guerra, at Bandeirantes Radio Station, in December 1981.
5. Clara Francisca Gonçalves' passport, No 717810, issued on 02/20/1969. Collection of Clara Nunes Institute, code: 6.17
6. This song was supported by Clara at the Second Festival of Brazilian Popular Music of Juiz de Fora, winning alongside with "Casaco Marron". The compact single that was recorded in "Mandinga" presents on the other side, the song "Você não é como as flores," by the same composers. Clara had goose bumps during when she was recording this album, since she was registering the two last compositions recorded by Ataulfo Alves, who died in April of that year. "Clara Nunes do let Ataulfo be forgotten. Revista do Rádio, No 1082.
7. Interview with Clara Nunes, displayed on "Clara Guerreira", by "Rede Globo" on 03/04/1983.
8. We cannot know how many there were in total and how many have been lost over time. So we work with those currently existing in the collection.
9. The cultural complex "ventura-desventura" was studied by Craemer, Vansina and Fox, 1976.
11. Singing.
12. Recorded by Clara Nunes on the LP Canto das Três Raças, Odeon Records, 1976.
13. "Ai quem me dera", by Vinicius de Moraes, recorded on the LP Canto das Três Raças, Odeon Records, 1976; "As Forças da Natureza", by Paulo César Pinheiro and João Nogueira, recorded on the LP As Forças da Natureza, Odeon Records, 1977; "O Bem e O Mal", by Nelson Cavaquinho and Guilherme de Brito, recorded on the LP Guerreira, 1978.
14. Father Edu responsible for Iemanjá Palace in Olinda, a yard of Candomble Nagô, initiated Clara in Umbanda, as a daughter of

Oshun in 1972. When he was questioned about this fact, he gave us an explanation that is consistent with the work of Capone: "No one is pure anymore. Since the period when the Roman Catholic Church was reading the Mass in Portuguese in front of its followers, then the Umbanda is exactly that. The church translating Latin into Portuguese and Umbanda translating Africa into our language. Then everyone draws. You look at the Bahia that has no such thing as closed Candomblé. Everything is drawn with Umbanda because that is where ... In closed Candomblé, Pombagira is not mentioned and now everyone wants to have Pombagira because everyone wants to be a whore." CAPONE, 2004.

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