



RESEARCH ARTICLE

THE ORAL AFRICAN CULTURE AND ITS IMPORTANCE FOR “QUILOMBO DO CAMPINHO”

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ABSTRACT

The "Quilombo of the Independence field", located in the municipality of Paraty, in the state of Rio de Janeiro is the subject discussed in this essay. It was sought, initially, to show the importance of public policies developed in Brazil to support the Quilombolas from 1988. Then the way the inhabitants of the Quilombo struggle to preserve the traditions, such as the rituals of historytelling by women, the gastronomy held in the restaurant of the Quilombo and the use of medicinal plants for the treatment of various diseases. And, still, the reverence for the Council formed by the elders, instantiates greater relevance for decision making of the community. The main conclusions of the study are the realization that important aspects of African oral culture brought to Brazil at the time of slavery continue to be preserved and remeanned in that space.

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INTRODUCTION

To begin with, the first intention of this study was to address aspects of affirmative policies implemented in Brazil starting in 1998 to preserve and promote Afro-Brazilian culture, in which the policies directed more specifically to the *quilombolas* were included; however, the visit to Quilombo do Campinho da Independência allowed us to observe some aspects of the *quilombolas* community life (the daily struggle for the sustainability of families, around 16 nuclei, and aspects related to the constitution and experience of the group), which led to the expansion of what was initially imagined. The oral culture of African matrix, in many aspects conserved there, and its importance to the Brazilian cultural patrimony led the researchers to return to the quilombo a few times, so they could live with the inhabitants, talk to the groups that work at the restaurant, the storytellers, the artisans, visit the arboretum and make guided tours in the territory of the quilombo, knowing the medicinal plants and their therapeutic indications. The Quilombo also has web pages (blog, Facebook and Wikipedia) in which you can find general information about the locality, the crafts, the restaurant and cultural activities, among others. Several data in the work about the Quilombo were taken from these pages and also from the website <cpisp.org.br/comunidades>.

The others were collected from the researchers' observation that, qualitatively, will seek to discuss and analyze important aspects of the quilombos theme and of the preservation of Afro-Brazilian culture. The Quilombo do Campinho da Independência has its historical origins in the 19th Century, in the year 1888 (when slavery was abolished), when three women, Antonica, Marcelina and Luiza, slaves in the old Independência Farm, received from their master a piece of land (already worn down by almost a century planting coffee), where they established families and their descendants continued to live until these days. Practically all of the community's inhabitants are descendants from these three women, who wisely managed to maintain the family unity in the territory, despite the lack of support to manage and develop the locality.

From the narrative of the women - "griôs" -, who tell stories of the locality to the visitors in a room above the restaurant intended for such practice, the three women were sisters and worked in the farmer's house, "whose lands were lost on the horizon", doing "privileged" activities such as weaving, embroidering and combing the ladies. The Quilombo do Campinho, constituted since then, has a territory with 287.9461 hectares and is located in the municipality of Paraty, on the Southern coast of the State of Rio de Janeiro, in an area of great natural beauty: Mata Atlântica, rivers, waterfalls and the sea.

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Public inclusion policies of *quilombolas*

In 1988, the Federal Government founded the first public institution to promote and preserve Afro-Brazilian art and culture: the Fundação Cultural Palmares, an entity linked to the Ministry of Culture (Ministério da Cultura, MinC). Since its creation, the FCP works on the valorization of Brazilian black cultural and artistic manifestations as a national patrimony. According to data published on the Fundação website (2015), more than 2,476 certificates were issued for *quilombola* communities. Besides recognizing them as such, these certifications give access to social programs of the Federal Government. It is also a FCP function to promote projects aimed to the preservation of black cultural manifestations and the support and diffusion of the Law no. 10.639/03, which makes the teaching of African and Afro-Brazilian History mandatory. The FCP, created in 1988, was a very important step in guaranteeing the rights of the Afro-Brazilian population, but it is well known that since 2003, the Federal Government has invested in more concrete public policies directed to protect African and Afro-Brazilian culture, as the Law no. 10.639/03, mentioned above and which includes in the educational curriculum the obligatoriness of themes focused on Afro-Brazilian history and culture. The single paragraph of article 26-A indicates that the program's content will include the study of the History of Africa and the Africans, the struggle of the black people in Brazil, the Brazilian black culture and the Negro in the formation of the national society, aiming to rescue the contribution of the black people to the social, economic and political areas pertinent to the Brazilian History.

The Decree no. 4,887, also from 2003, regulates the procedures for identification, recognition, delimitation, demarcation and titling of lands occupied by remaining *quilombolas*, in accordance with the provisions of Article 68 of the Transitional Constitutional Provisions Act. The article 2nd considers, for the purposes of this Decree, ethnic-racial groups, according to self-attribution criteria, but with their own historical trajectory, endowed with specific territorial relations, with presumption of black ancestry related to resistance to historical oppression suffered. The paragraph 3rd of this article considers, for the measurement and demarcation of lands, the territoriality criteria indicated by the remnants of the communities of the quilombos, being allowed to the community interested to present the technical pieces for the procedural instruction. The Law no. 8,313 of December 23,1991, which establishes the system for implementing the National Support Program for Culture, PRONAC, was regulated in 2006 and also provides for the sustainable use of Brazilian cultural heritage in its material and immaterial dimension, as the promotion of affirmative cultural activities that seek to eradicate all forms of discrimination and prejudice and also the development of activities that strengthen and articulate the productive chains and the local productive arrangements that form the culture economy. In 2007, the Quilombola Social Agenda was created through the Decree no. 6,261, which provides a series of actions to be developed in an integrated manner by the various organs of the Federal Government under the coordination of the Special Secretariat for Policies for the Promotion of Racial Equality. These actions are aimed at improving the living conditions of the residents of *quilombola* communities and will encompass the access to land; infrastructure and quality of life; to productive inclusion and local development; and citizenship.

In 2010, the Law no. 12,288 established the Statute of Racial Equality, in which Article 1st reads: "guaranteeing the black population the realization of equal opportunities, the defense of individual, collective and diffuse ethnic rights and the fight against discrimination and other forms of ethnic intolerance". The single paragraph clearly specifies the content of such rule: "For the purpose of such statute, any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, color, descent or national or ethnic origin is considered racial or ethnic-racial discrimination for the purpose of annulling or restricting the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal basis, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural fields or in any other field of public or private life".

The narrative of the fight for ownership of the land

With the Abolition of Slavery, the land stayed with the three ladies. The grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the three women thought they should fight to secure the land, which should not be divided. There, they raised their children and grandchildren (Valentim Martins, descendant - grandson). Data presented on the website <cpisp.org.br/comunidades> diachronically indicate that, from 1960, the population of Quilombo do Campinho da Independência started to face several problems, among them, a fierce dispute over their lands. Several events contributed to the pressure on local residents, especially in the area of tourism, since there is a search for land in the region of the municipality of Paraty for this purpose. The region is highly valued because it has a unique natural beauty, as well as being a cultural and gastronomic hub, and is also located between the major cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. The creation of the Bocaina National Park, in February 1971, and the preservationist demands raised the concerns of the residents, who, forbidden from hunting and gathering in the woods, as they have always done since the 19th century, had to seek alternatives to survive. It is worth mentioning that the presence of *quilombolas* in the lands of Campinho (and their activities of collecting and family farming, practically organic for several generations) contributed to the restoration of the lands received by the three slaves at the time when they were donated, completely degraded by large-scale coffee monoculture. It is known that coffee monoculture brings several environmental imbalances, since it quickly depletes nutrients from the soil and exhausts the lands occupied, in addition to causing the reduction of forests, causing the extinction of species and totally changing the fauna.ⁱ

However, the construction of the highway BR-101 (Rio-Santos), between the years of 1970 and 1973, also constituted an element of pressure, because it cooperated with the difficulties that the *quilombolas* of Campinho had to face to defend their lands, with the overvaluation of the area in which the community is located (15 km from the historic city of Paraty, cultural heritage of humanity). On that occasion, pseudo-heirs of the lands began to claim them in a systematic way, which forced the community to seek the support of organs and institutions, and to seek joint articulations and actions with other *quilombola* and indigenous groups in the region. Led by the older inhabitants and with the support of the Pastoral Land Commission, the *quilombolas* sought legal ways to guarantee their rights. Given that there was still no constitutional predictionⁱⁱ guaranteeing the collective titling of *quilombo* lands back then, nor the public protection policies

implemented since 2003, they had to file individual actions of prescription purchasing, arguing that since the 19th Century they inhabited those lands. However, in 1986, another problem appeared, according to data contained on the <cpisp.org.br/comunidades> website. The Federal Union claimed to be interested in the area due to the creation of the Cairoçu Environmental Protection Area. The community then had to compete for its land not only with the grileiros and real estate entrepreneurs, but also with the government interests in the environmental preservation of the area. For some years, the judicial processes were paralyzed and dispersed by different registry offices, making it difficult for lawyers and residents' representatives to act. In 1980, however, the State of Rio de Janeiro intervened expressing interest in the area and requesting the dispatch of the actions to a Public Treasury Court. In 1994, the Quilombolas of Campinho da Independência founded the Association of Residents of Campinho (AMOQC), beginning to fight for the collective titling of their lands and winning the judicial battle, becoming the first *quilombola* community of the State of Rio de Janeiro to achieve the title to their lands.

On March 21st 1999 they received from the Palmares Cultural Foundation and the Secretary of Land Affairs of the State of Rio de Janeiro the definitive title of their territory, with 287,9461 hectares. Until April 2006, the Campinho da Independência was the only quilombo in the state to have its title registered in a registry office. After receiving the title of the land, according to Wagner do Nascimento, from the AMOQC, the community needed to organize how to achieve sustainability in various dimensions: economic, environmental and cultural. That's when they started having contact with ethno-development theories, which is a type of development driven by sustainability, transparent management of resources and environmental protection. The term ethnodevelopment was created by Rodolfo Stavenhagen (1984) and it means an autochthonous, tribal, or other group that owns the domain over its own lands, resources, social organization and culture, and is free to negotiate with the public power actions according to their interests. The use of this concept by Brazilian autochthonous communities should take into account some indicators, such as: population increase, food security, increase in the level of schooling and full control of relations with the State and government agencies.

The term ethnodevelopment has two major meanings in the specialized literature: (1) the economic development of an ethnic group; and (2) the development of the ethnicity of a social group (LITTLE, 2002). In fact, the two meanings are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, they exist in a constant dialectic relation in such a way that the development of ethnicity without a corresponding advance in the economic plane would only promote the existence of a marginal ethnic group, as an economic development that destroys the bases of the ethnicity of a group would represent a return to the hegemony of "modernization", which has been highly destructive to the cultural diversity. For Linhares (2014), when the problem of development is combined with the recognition of cultural diversity, ethnodevelopment introduces a set of new themes within the public space. The author adds that in economic terms, ethnodevelopment practices tend to take the place of economic "alternatives". Ethnodevelopment makes it possible to think development contrary to rationality, which has forged individualism, private property, unprecedented accumulation and fundamental principles for sustainability.

As Ribeiro points out (apud LINHARES, 2014), development requires a conception that understands time as a linear sequence of stages endlessly advancing to better moments. For him, development is a field of power where the structure and the dynamics of each field of development are marked by different capacities of power and interests that are articulated through historical processes of network structuring. For the inhabitants of Campinho, it was fundamental to create the Association of Residents (AMOQC). According to Wagner Nascimento, community work emerged in the early 2000s as a form of subsistence for the quilombo. "After the titling, we developed tourism in the region, founded a sustainable restaurant, and sought to generate income through handicrafts and festivals aimed at preserving African roots." (GUILHERME JR., 2014, p.2). The cultivation of the Jussara palm, a species threatened with extinction by the great gastronomic value of its palm heart, was also regarded by the community, which created a nursery of seedlings and later served to reforest an important part of the totally green and preserved lands by the system of agroforestry planting. The quilombo lands are rich in vegetables: passion fruit, mango, cocoa, coconut, lemon and others. The principle of internal sustainability is contained in the values of the group.

Daniela, the person responsible for tourism in the Quilombo, says: "In the past, our ancestors fought for freedom. Today, we are fighting for the preservation of our land". (GUILHERME JR., 2014, p.2). Tourism was chosen as an economic way to sustain the group: there is a guesthouse and a camp, properly cared for, that receive tourists looking for rest in the middle of a lush vegetation. Tourists can buy crafts produced in the quilombo, whose raw materials (90%) are taken from the trees, bark and seeds of the quilombo's forest. There are two stores that sell *quilombolas'* handmade products. It is interesting to notice how the site Map of Culture (2016, p.1) refers to the Quilombo:

The place that (...) seeks to keep the black culture alive, with activities like capoeira, jongo, percussion and crafts. It is also where the great party of Black Consciousness takes place. It was there that, at the end of the 19th Century, with the abolition of slavery, they organized themselves around three leaders, Grandmother Antonia, Tia Marcelina and Tia Luiza, to preserve their cultural roots.

The Portal de Paraty (2016) mentions this: "a mandatory stop for those who want to do cultural tourism in the region of Paraty. Nowadays, Campinho da Independência is a place that surprises in what regards differentiated leisure and community organization, and this is not appealing just to the tourist: the locals tend to enjoy good handicraft shopping and the food at the local restaurant, with its whimsical menu, in the line of sustainable gastronomy. Check what else you can see there and schedule to live a different day with the *quilombolas*, a few minutes from Paraty". Still according to Daniela, quilombo tourism coordinator, the history of the community is confused with the history of the Negro in Brazil: "Our ancestors had to fight to get their rights. Today, we are continuing this important work of preserving black culture not only for the state of Rio, but for Brazil as a whole".

The "quilombos" as a cultural patrimony

The term quilombo, as Mariana Prohmann says (2002), is a basic concept for the study of the Afro-Brazilian oral tradition, given that from it and its symbolic representations it is possible

to enter the universe of the oral tradition of African matrix in Brazil. The word has its origins in the Mbundu language and derives from the word kilombo, of the linguistic trunk of the Banto peoples, who were enslaved in Brazil, brought from the regions of Angola and Zaire. According to Kanbengele Munanga (1996), the word is linked to a society of young warriors. The meaning of the term is also linked to a group with a diversity of people who are no longer in their original territories: "The Quilombo was an initiatory society of young Mbundu warriors adopted by the Jaga invaders (or *inbanlagas*), formed by several people of various uprooted ethnic groups in their communities." There is also the definition extracted from the Quilombola Observatory (2016):

The origin of the term quilombo is in the words "kilombo", from the language Quimbunda (from the Bantu group, spoken in Angola), and "ochilombo", from the umbundo language (from the ethnic group that inhabits the central mountains of Angola). There are still other African languages with similar words to designate the original meaning of quilombo, which refers to a resting place used by nomadic populations. According to Abdias Nascimento (1980, p. 32), quilombo is a permanent movement characterized by the following dimensions: the existence of African peoples who refused to submit, to exploitation, to the violence of the colonial system; associative forms that were created in forests of difficult access with defense and socio-economic organization and own politics; African continuity through genuine political and cultural resistance groups. Also in the Observatory Quilombola:

From the text of article 68 of the Federal Constitution of 1988, the term quilombo assumed a new meaning, no longer tied to the concept of groups formed by fugitive slaves. Today, the term is used to designate the situation of the black segments in different regions and contexts in Brazil, making reference to lands that resulted from the purchase by freed blacks; of peaceful possession by ex-slaves; of land abandoned by landowners in times of economic crisis; of the occupation and administration of the lands donated to the patron saints or of lands delivered or acquired by ancient enslaved organized in quilombos. In this context, quilombos were just one of the events that contributed to the constitution of "land of common use", a broader and more sociologically relevant category to describe the communities that make use of the constitutional article. (Observatory Quilombola, 2017, page 3)

The diffuse use of the quilombo category today has a meaning of ethnic affirmation, which transcends, however, the legal idea of repairing historical injustices. In this process we have the social practices and actions aimed at guaranteeing the land represented, *lato sensu*, as a set of natural resources considered essential to the group (ALMEIDA, 1998). Whether in the sense of the Mbundu language - as a group of warrior initiates -, whether in the historical sense of Abdias Nascimento or in the definition of article 68 of the Federal Constitution, quilombos in Brazil must strive to be economically and environmentally sustainable, but also must resist and not let ancestral memory die, which is effectively done by words, since written records are few and lacking. In this sense, oral narratives are part of the ways of being, living and reliving everyday and past experiences.

As shared memory, oral history in traditional communities has the function of recalling the past as part of the individual (PORTELLI, 1997), thus marking the forms of group living. From the perspective of orality, the historian has the possibility to study the present and its dimension, as well as to know the different universes of the human person. The resistance becomes part of the history of the place and the people who live there. As Matos and Senna (2011) affirms, it is not only the memory of a certain individual, but of an individual inserted in a familiar or social context, for example, in such a way that their memories are permeated by collective inferences, moralizing or not. As Almeida and Miranda (2015) points out, the *griô* traditionⁱⁱⁱ arrived in Brazil along with the Africans. Here it was adapted and became an instrument for the conservation of African cultures in Brazilian lands, as well as a tool for resistance and transmission of the knowledge and actions of black communities. Master *Griô* is an older person, an elder, who has the mission of telling stories, and this must be passed down from father to son, from generation to generation, as a legacy. *Griôs* are considered guardians of the memory and oral history of a people or community. They are leaders who have the ancestral mission of receiving and transmitting the teachings of and in the communities. (Almeida and Miranda, 2013).

According to Zuleide Duarte (2014, p. 182), in traditional African societies, "oral narratives form the pillars on which values and beliefs transmitted by tradition are based, while at the same time preventing ethical inversions and disrespecting the ancestral legacy of culture". Still in accordance with the researcher, the performance that accompanies these narratives responds by constantly updating the teachings, becoming a living and interactive exercise among the members of society. The oral text is visual, mimic, imaginative and enchanting and conveys the most legitimate legacy of local cultures through examples that aim to "solidify the bonds between the members of the group and guarantee the discernment of the place of belonging of the individual, allowing him a vision of himself and the other with few conflicts" (DUARTE, 214 p.182). In addition, Laura Padilha (2007, p.35) points out that the symbolic heritage of the indigenous African culture allows it to be maintained and contributes to the same culture being able to withstand the impact of the other culture imposed by the white domineering. The millennial art of orality diffuses the ancestral voices, seeks to maintain the law of the group, besides also being an exercise of wisdom.

The listening of the narrative by the *griôs* at Quilombo do Campinho, in the hall for oral memory activities, above the restaurant, allowed us to verify that the unit of the group of inhabitants of the community passed through fundamental elements, linked to the "roots of the group", still in the 19th Century, in the lands where their ancestors lived and worked. The first of these is the attachment to nature, to the forest and to everything it represents for survival. However, the second is the ratification of oral memory, of telling and repeating the history of the three slaves, matriarchs of all who live there, the way they lived from the end of slavery to the present day. The struggle for land tenure. Respect for nature. Plant-based medicine, dances, music... The linkage to the past, linked to ancestry, is what sediments the union and permits that, despite the immense difficulties, they remain there. As Duarte (2014) says, it is through the constant update of the teachings, becoming a living and interactive exercise among the members of society, that guarantees the affiliation of the individual to the group.

The teachings regard various subjects; they are linked to the care for the land, the handling of plants, the use of medicinal herbs, cooking, handicrafts, dance and music... With the battle for the titling of the land, the Quilombolas of Campinho da Independência had to seek more sustainable ways of working the land, given the rules of preservation. They had to abandon hunting and extractivism. Faced with the new situation, productive activities linked to the land became agroforestry. The main plantations are cassava (used to make flour) and sugar cane (used in *cachaça* mills). In addition, beans, rice and corn are also planted. There was also an increase in the production of handicrafts, and the development of ecological tourism became part of the activities of the community - in addition to the restaurant, a fundamental point and synthesis of the community life of the place. The artisanship is well diversified. It is made with *taboca*, wood, *taquara*, *cipó*, seeds and clay, produced for the commercialization. In 2001, a house was built (in a rustic style, located on the edge of the Rio-Santos Highway) to shelter the handicraft store, where the works are exposed for sale. There are around 30 artisans in the community, but only 15 produce regularly and exhibit in the store. What sells most are plate rests, lamps, necklaces and wooden chickens. The restaurant is one of the main elements of the Quilombo's unity, because there work people from different families and generations, from cookers to waitresses, mostly adolescents from the community.

Opened in 2007, it was awarded the same year by the Eating and Drinking Guide. Today, it is one of the main reference points in the community's organization, as it generates work and distributes income, fosters agroecological production in the region, maintains a solidary relationship with fishermen from surrounding communities and places at the customer's table a typical cuisine produced in a sustainable way, generating income for the traditional families and taking care of the environment. It is a self-managed community enterprise, in which the Principle of Solidarity Economy is guiding the philosophy of work (GUILHERME JR., 2014, p.2). The cuisine practiced in the restaurant is of a very high quality, and the fact that the dishes are made from local products (thus, natural and without pesticides) add an extra value - besides, of course, the unmistakable flavors. The restaurant retrieved recipes from the matriarchs and began to use various ingredients harvested in the forest, such as the fruit of the Jussara palm, which was extinct at the time of titling and was replanted. There is a partnership with the Indians for the acquisition of fresh fish.

As Chef Guga Rocha said: Perhaps the beginning of Brazilian cuisine has been in the quilombo and not in the senzala, because it is impossible to create without ingredients and being chained. Guga thinks that the quilombos gathered not only blacks, but also fugitive Indians and even some Portuguese. "There is historical evidence of this coexistence." For him, the *quilombola* food was "negotiated" to please different palates (JOURNAL OF CULTURE, 2015). In addition to agroforestry products such as the fruits and Jussara palm hearts, the *açaí* and other food produced in the *quilombola* lands, the fish of the best quality (acquired from the indigenous communities and Caiçaras of the region) permits the cooking of delicate dishes, which allow a reasonable income for the Quilombo's economy. The restaurant has a simple and colorful decoration, and the kitchen is open to the public, where you can see the large pans and feel the aroma of peculiar homemade seasoning, the very special *quilombola* fish, grilled with *farofa* of *banana*

da terra, shrimp and *pupunha* in butter, or *famblé* shrimp in *cachaça* with rice, banana and braised *taioba*... It is difficult to choose. The restaurant is in *Guia Brasil Quatro Rodas 2013* and was nationally recognized with the Gold Fork (GUILHERME JR., 2014, p.2). Still in the restaurant complex, in a circular shape built of wood and other natural products, there is the center of the cultural life of Quilombo do Campinho. The meetings, internal debates and storytelling are done in the hall that is at the top of the Restaurant. In the open space where the tables are, there are musical meetings of the Quilombo and intercommunal, in a permanent and rich cultural exchange. In the patio of the restaurant, there are organic monuments made by a visiting architect in honor of the three founders, and also a larger patio used for chats and great festive gatherings of dances and *quilombola* songs. It is also in the space next to the restaurant (a wide passage) that the conversations with the visitors are carried out, and the mainly message is the defense of solidarity and an economy based on the environmental preservation, from a socioenvironmental perspective.

J. Vansina (1981) says that a scholar who works with oral traditions must be aware of the attitude towards discourse, an attitude that is totally different from that of a group that has recorded all important messages. An oral society recognizes speech not only as a means of daily communication, but also as a means of preserving the wisdom of the ancestors, revered in what might be called key utterances, that is, the oral tradition. Tradition can be defined, in fact, as a verbally transmitted testimony from one generation to another. The guided tour, after listening to the storytelling by the *griô*, allowed us to observe the knowledge about medicinal plants, in abundance along the way. And in this regard, the accumulated knowledge is very interesting. The guide accompanying the group that was with us was not an older one, but a young woman in her thirties, who knew not only the names of the plants but their therapeutic indications. This "tour" with visitors informing about the plants is called "ethnic tourism". One can see that even with different ways of narrating the history of the community by each of the groups responsible for their economic activities, there is a fundamental unity in what sediment their lives, which is the history of the group, told and retold. According to one of the *griôs* (they make a rotation in the storytelling to tourists), the story told by them does not pass through the filter of external interpretation, which, as you can see in several documents, does not always reproduce what they actually would like to tell and recount about the Quilombo. Therefore, the oral history of the Campinho community, told to those who enter, also has a political sense of not letting the culture of the community to be expropriated. There resides the consciousness of owning the history, the built and the told.

Final Considerations

Finally, it is important to remember that the ideas of "ethnodevelopment" carried out in Quilombo do Campinho by the AMOQC have contributed substantially to the sustainability of the enterprises made by *quilombolas*, both economically and culturally, since it is visible the presence of the youngest in the economic activities of the locality, as well as an engagement with the elements of the ancestral culture. Also visible is the environmental preservation of the place, surrounded by green, with clean water and lots of edible planting next to the forest trees.

However, some residents still continue to leave to work in luxury condominiums, located near the community, to supplement their family's income. Some women continue to work as maids, and men as houseguards. The greatest challenge of the *Quilombolas* of Campinho continues to be the search for income generation alternatives that could be developed in their own territory. The community maintains a website with information for tourists, where they announce the various activities carried out in the area, such as ecological trails and typical dance performances. The community also has a hostel for visitors. Regarding affirmative policies, it is also worth mentioning that the Palmares Foundation has certified more than 1,500 *quilombola* communities in Brazil, Bahia and Maranhão being the states with the largest number. It is known that without the policies of preservation of the Afro-Brazilian culture, the quilombos would have a great difficulty to maintain themselves, due to the economic pressures of the globalized world, which pushes each one to a place and even deterritorialize families (in the case of quilombos, large families) that are the basis of the *quilombola* group. Quilombo do Campinho shows that oral tradition has particular characteristics, but verbalism and its mode of transmission, which differs from written sources, are the way quilombos remain to this day.

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- BRASIL. Decree n.º 3.912, de 10 de setembro de 2001 - Regulamenta as disposições relativas ao processo administrativo para identificação dos remanescentes das comunidades dos quilombos e para o reconhecimento, a delimitação, a demarcação, a titulação e o registro imobiliário das terras por eles ocupadas - Revogado pelo Decreto n.º 4.887, de 20.11.2003.
- BRASIL. Decree nº 4.883, de 20 de novembro de 2003 - Transfere a competência que menciona, referida na Lei nº 10.683, de 28 de maio de 2003, que dispõe sobre a organização da Presidência da República e dos Ministérios, e dá outras providências.
- BRASIL. Decree nº 4.885, de 20 de novembro de 2003 - Dispõe sobre a composição, estruturação, competências e funcionamento do Conselho Nacional de Promoção da Igualdade Racial - CNPIR, e dá outras providências.
- BRASIL. Decree nº 4.886, de 20 de novembro de 2003 - Institui a Política Nacional de Promoção da Igualdade Racial - PNPIR e dá outras providências.
- BRASIL. Decree nº 5.761, de 27 de abril de 2006 - Regulamenta a L-008.313-1991 - Programa Nacional de Apoio à Cultura - Pronac - Regulamenta a Lei nº 8.313, de 23 de dezembro de 1991, estabelece sistemática de execução do Programa Nacional de Apoio à Cultura - PRONAC e dá outras providências.
- BRASIL. INCRA Normative instruction n.º 57, de 20 de outubro de 2009 - Regulamenta o procedimento para identificação, reconhecimento, delimitação, demarcação, desintrusão, titulação e registro das terras ocupadas por remanescentes das comunidades dos quilombos de que tratam o Art. 68 do Ato das Disposições Constitucionais Transitórias da Constituição Federal de 1988 e o Decreto nº. 4.887, de 20.11.2003.
- BRASIL. Lei nº 12.212, de 20 de janeiro de 2010 - Dispõe sobre a Tarifa Social de Energia Elétrica.
- BRASIL. Lei nº 12.288, de 20 de julho de 2010 - Institui o Estatuto da Igualdade Racial
- BRASIL. PORTARIA INTERMINISTERIAL MP/MF/MCT Nº 127, de 29 de maio de 2008 - Estabelece normas relativas às transferências de recursos da União mediante convênios e contratos de repasse. Condições para áreas quilombolas.
- BRASIL.FCP Ordinance nº 20, de 28 de janeiro de 2010 - Disciplina a transferência voluntária de recursos financeiros da Fundação Cultural Palmares, fixa os critérios de seleção para apoio a projetos e estipula a data de abertura e encerramento do SICONV no âmbito da Fundação para o exercício de 2010.
- BRASIL.FCP Ordinance nº 98, de 26 de novembro de 2007 - Institui o Cadastro Geral de Remanescentes das Comunidades dos Quilombos da Fundação Cultural Palmares.
- BRASIL.Lei nº 10.678, de 23 de maio de 2003 - Cria a Secretaria Especial de Políticas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial, da Presidência da República, e dá outras providências.
- BRASIL.Lei nº 7.668, de 22 de agosto de 1988 - Autoriza o Poder Executivo a constituir a Fundação Cultural Palmares - FCP e dá outras providências.
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SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

ⁱ According to the Brazilian Coffee Industry Association (ABIC, 2016), coffee plantations were founded on large monoculture properties worked by slaves, later replaced by salaried workers. These farms were famous for their typical architecture, their equipment and their slave quarters. The coffee farm, from seed to cup, was a small, almost isolated world.

ⁱⁱ Federal Constitution, Article 68, of the Transitory Constitutional Provisions Act: "To the remnants of the communities of quilombos who are occupying their land, the definitive property is recognized, and the State must issue them respective titles."

ⁱⁱⁱ The word griot is a French name given by the colonizer - in Portuguese, would be the equivalent of "created". These guardians of oral tradition, African myths and legends are present among many peoples such as Mandinka, Fula, Hausa, Songhai, Wolof, Mossi and Dgomba, scattered mainly by West Africa. In countries like Mali, Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea, Niger, Senegal, Gambia and Burkina Faso, it is possible to list many of these representatives. One of Mali's exponents, Amadou Hampat Ba (who died in 1991), said: "In Africa, when an old man dies, a library burns, a whole library disappears without the flames ending the papers ..." (LUZ, 2013, pp. 1-5)
