

**A STUDY OF WILLIAM CROCKER'S  
PHOTOGRAPHIC AND FILM ARCHIVE  
RELATING TO THE CANELA INDIANS OF  
BRAZIL**

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Volume 2

Fabiola Iuvaro

2017

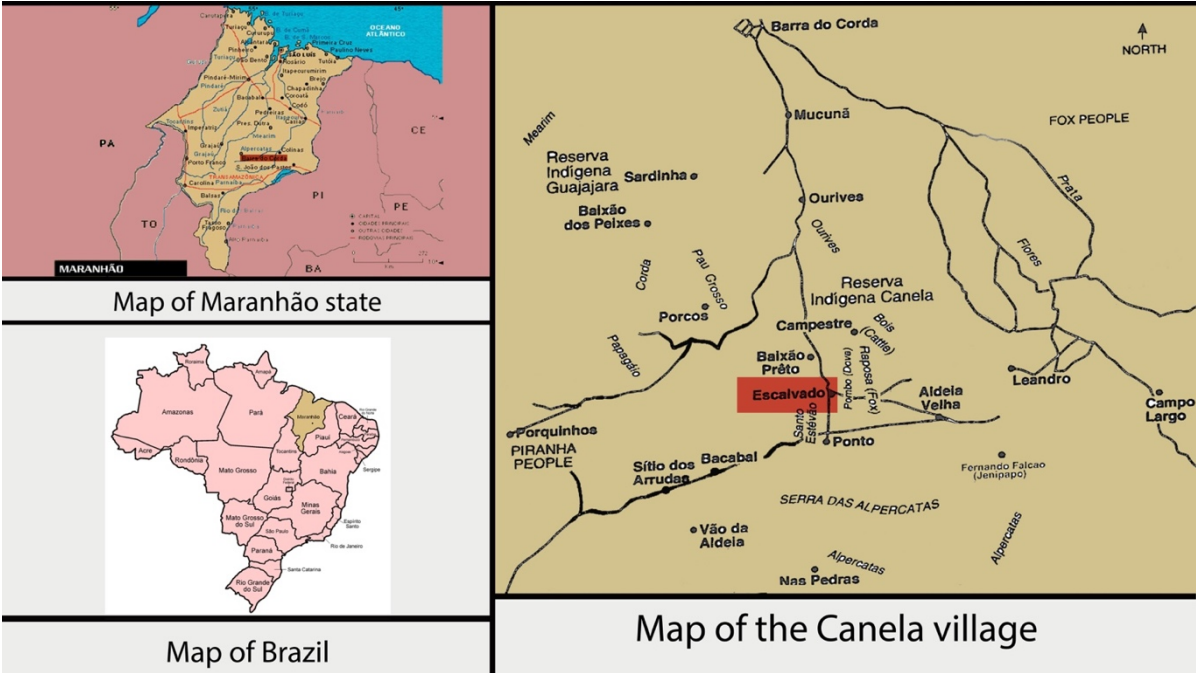
Dissertation Submitted in Fulfilment for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
Sainsbury Research Unit for the Africa, Oceania & the Americas  
School of Art History and World Art Studies  
University of East Anglia

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**All photographs presented belong to Crocker's collection stored at the Department of Anthropology, Natural History Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. They are only a sample of the rich archive of visual data he produced over 54 years, about all aspects of the group's life**

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# Appendix



**Figure 1.1** The Canela (also known as the Ramkokamekra / Timbira group). The Canela region on the right side. The Canela lands were demarcated in 1971, and the borders were legalised in 1982. (Crocker 2004). Since 1968 the Canela have lived in Escalvado village on a reservation of 1,252,120 square kilometers, about 10 percent of their aboriginal lands, in Barra do Corda municipality, Maranhão state, 650 kilometers southeast of Belém.



**Figure 2.1(a)** Photograph showing funeral of *Tekura*, Crocker's favourite adoptive niece, in his Canela sister's house, 1970 Escalvado village. Crocker's intense and familiar relationship with the group enabled him to shoot the rite including views from above and close to the cadaver, while a female relative was crouched on top of *Tekura*, mourning. From the photograph we perceive how the emotion during the mourning was very intense.



**Figure 2.1 (b)** Photograph showing male relatives carrying the body of Tekura away from the mourning room after intense singing and wailing. The body was wrapped within a mat made from palm fibres. From this sequence of photographs in Figure 2.1 (a / b/ c) we perceive Crocker following the Canela during the rite and trying to describe everything that was happening, (Escalvado village, 1970).



**Figure 2.1(c)** This photo is an example of the way Crocker produced detailed documentation of the rite. The images are taken at a short distance from, and right in the midst of the action, while a male relative seems to be responsible for burying Tekura.



**Figure 3.1 (a)** Escalvado village, 1970. Photograph from the air showing how the Canela residences form a circle around a central plaza, which is the site for dancing, singing, ceremony and speechmaking. The circular village form is a notable feature shared by the Gê-groups. The rectangular space outside the community circle at the bottom is where the Indian Service's buildings an old farm immediately below, and school on the far right, are located. These are the Foundation for the Indian (FUNAI), built in Escalvado in 1970, a sizable post building, with eight rooms of bricks and mortar, a roof of red tiles and a plaster and white-washed exterior. The FUNAI in the 1970, erected a substantial school of the same construction and an infirmary. It also constructed roads into the Escalvado reservation, installed a generator for lighting the post and the community (Crocker 1990).





**Figure 3.1 (b)** Close-up photograph showing Canela circular village, in Escalvado, in 1970. The Canela settlement was formed from geometric radial paths, from 3m to 5m in length, which connected each house with the central plaza, with almost perfectly straight roads leading out into the forest in the four cardinal directions. The central plaza and the radial paths were kept free of any growth of grass, especially during the ceremonial season because of the incessant dancing and running in these streets.



**Figure 3.1 (c)** Close-up photograph showing Canela circular village, in Escalvado, in 1970.



**Figure 3.2 (a)** Photograph showing Canela house of palm-thatch construction, Ponto village, in 1960. Crocker took care to photograph both the interior and the exterior of every house in the Canela village circle on every visit.



**Figure 3.2 (b)** Photograph showing Canela house of palm-thatch construction, Ponto village, 1960. This photograph shows a hand-made construction that is used to hang the carcass. The Canela cut portions (of meat) for each member of the village and distribute it, generally during festival season (see also Figure 3.10 (c))



**Figure 3.2 (c)** Photograph showing Canela houses of palm-thatch construction, Canela, Escalvado, 1970. This sequence of photographs in Figure 3.2 (a / b / c) is only a sample of all the Canela's houses photographed by Crocker for the 'Census Taking' project, both in 1960 and in 1970. Figures 3.2 (a / b) were produced in 1960, in Ponto village, Figure 3.2 (c) was taken in 1970, in the new village of Escalvado, where they moved to in 1968. These photographs were intended to obtain quantitative information about how many houses formed the Canela village and their construction material. Figure 3.2 (c) shows also how the houses were situated in close proximity to each other.



**Figure 3.3 (a)** This photograph shows one of the few houses of dried clay walls, that the FUNAI built in Escalvado in 1970. The big suitcase on the left was used by the Canela to conserve the more valuable objects and medicines they received from the nurses visiting the community. Until, the mid-1970s, the Indian Service post personnel and the medical stock and treatment were very precious, so the Canela stored them as valuable possessions.



**Figure 3.3 (b)** Photograph showing the interior of a Canela house, in Escalvado, 1970. In 1970 the village included fifty-two houses (Crocker 1990). Few kitchen utensils and large gourds used to collect water from the river on the left side, a mat made from palm fibres on the right side on the floor, and a metallic bowl.



**Figure 3.3 (c)** This last photograph of the sequence (Figure 3.3 (a / b / c)) shows how Crocker was fairly systematic in taking photographs of each house's interior in Escalvado village, 1970. The close-up shows a few kitchen utensils and a hand-made table. The Canela usually eat on the ground sitting on mats. On the floor, on the right side at the bottom, are a few gourd bowls that they use to eat. The metal fork on the right was used to take the meat while cooking it. Quite a few gourds of different sizes for water, and a few glass bottles are located under the table, where we also see three bottles of kerosene oil, one in the foreground, used for the lamps at night. In 1970, the community had their first diesel generator to provide electricity for the village. This sequence of photographs Figures 3.3 (a / b / c) is also part of the 'Census Taking' project.





**Figure 3.4 (a)** Close-up photograph from the 'Census Taking' showing a few utensils, one gourd for water, a few gourd bowls that the Canela use to eat, a hammock fixed to the wall and baskets made of palm fibres on the right side. The houses of the Canela do not have a specific pavement but they are situated on the foreground sand. The 'Census Taking' project exposed the anthropologist to many people and to what was going on in their houses. In this photograph, we can see how, while collecting quantitative information, he was also able to capture the intimacy of a man sleeping on his own hand-made bed. The man seemed un-disturbed by the presence of the anthropologist and his camera.



**Figure 3.4 (b)** Thanks to Crocker's familiarity with the community he found ample opportunity to casually observe what people were doing without disturbing the family interaction or even a man resting, as is shown in the previous figure. This close-up photograph shows how the Canela sleep on platform beds about 50 to 80 cm high, with their feet exposed to a fire. This is a typical and familiar scene, in the late afternoon, when the man is back from cutting wood in the forest or working at the farm plot, and is spending time with his family. In the photograph we see that while the man and his oldest child seem self-conscious of the anthropologist's presence and are looking at him and making a funny face, the woman seems un-disturbed by the camera, as she is totally absorbed in her thoughts.



**Figure 3.5 (a)** Photograph from Crocker's 'Census Taking' project of the Canela population, Escalvado, 1970.



**Figure 3.5 (b)** Photograph from Crocker's 'Census Taking' project of the Canela population, Escalvado, 1970.



**Figure 3.5 (c)** This photograph, together with Figures 3.5 (a / b) is a clear example of Crocker's systematic methodology of recording technique. For example, in this case, in order to record how many people lived in each house, he wasn't happy to just shoot the people themselves, but also gave us the context in which he shot them. From the photos we see how, in order to record quantitative information about the size of the population each year, he started to shoot from a distance in Figures 3.5 (a / b) so as to provide a wider visual perspective of the overall scene. Then, he went in closer with his camera, as will be seen in the next sequence of photographs below, where he actually photographs each member of the Canela household. Figure 3.5 (b) shows a family on the right hand side at the bottom, standing outside their house, with their hands up to their faces, the sign of seeing someone in the distance, most likely with the sun in their eyes. This attempts to show the family awaiting the visit of the anthropologist.



**Figure 3.6 (a)** Photograph of the 'Census Taking Series' about the Canela population, Escalvado village in 1970. Crocker took two pictures of the whole family. Each family received one Polaroid print while the other was kept for the record.



**Figure 3.6 (b)** Photograph from the Census Taking Series about the Canela population, Escalvado village in 1970.

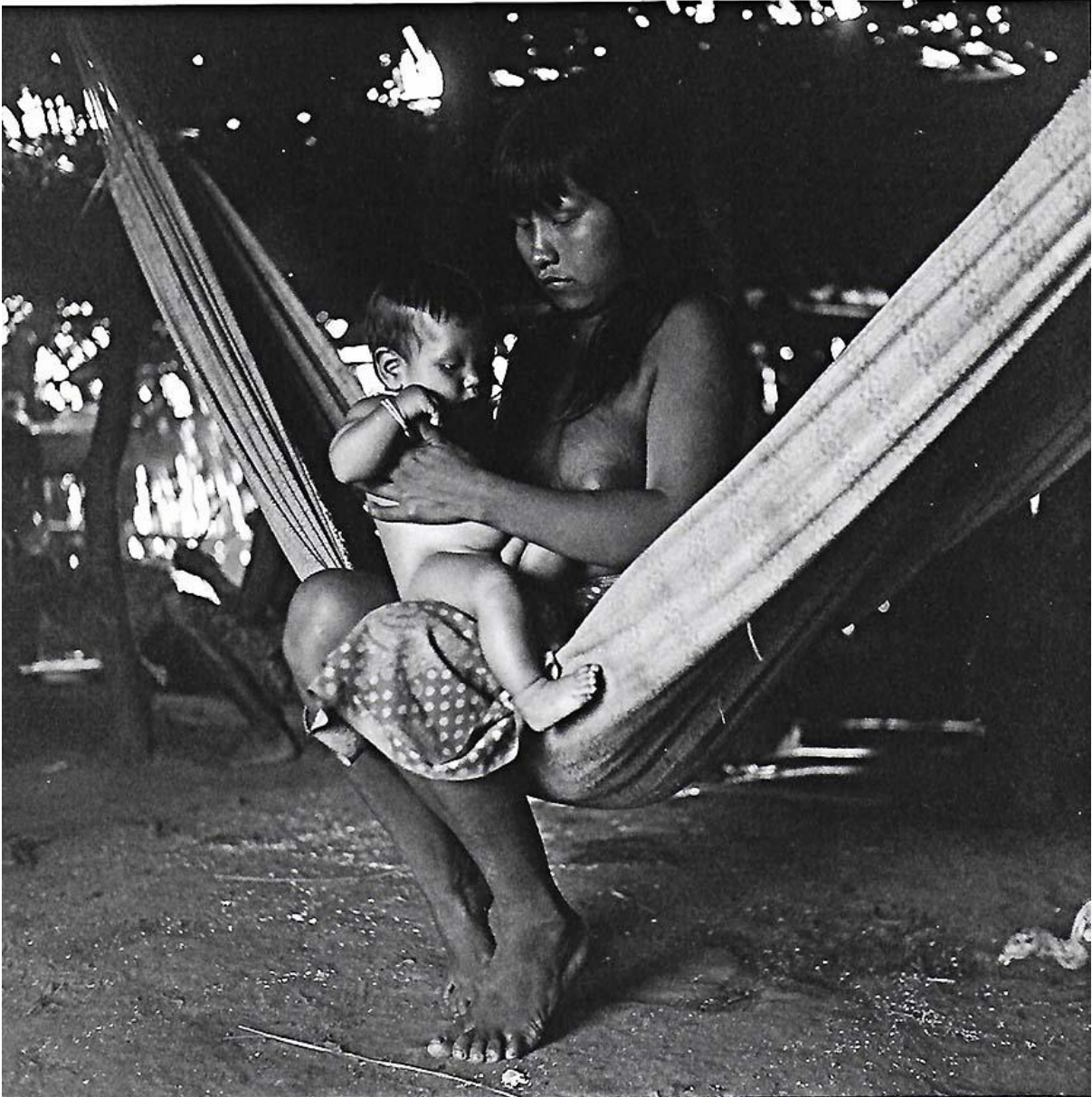


**Figure 3.6 (c)** Photograph from the 'Census Taking' project about the Canela population, Escalvado village in 1970. This sequence of photographs, in Figures 3.6 (a / b / c) provides us with his attempt to communicate quantitative information. The way in which Crocker framed his images gives us clues to his experiences, for example their smile while posing shows Crocker's familiarity with the Canela and how the community was attached to him.





**Figure 3.7 (a)** This photograph, taken at extremely close proximity, shows their familiarity with Crocker. Pukro, the grandmother warms her hand on Atepe's head attempting to keep the baby calm and safe, Escalvado, 1970. This photograph is only a sample of the rich archive of images produced by Crocker about the Canela's affective space of personal relationships centred around everyday care and responsibility towards each other, namely sharing activities, collaborative domestic work and child raising practices.



**Figure 3.7 (b)** This photograph, taken at very close proximity, shows Iom-Tamm who had taken her son Teren to lie on a mat. Usually the children go to the breast for comfort and then they generally fall asleep. Breast-feeding was often accompanied by the women softly singing in a minor key. The quality of these photos is generally higher and engaged, as is the case of most of Crocker's images. This is related to the fact that Crocker was mostly following an unfolding series of Canela activities. The anthropologist writes how, in order to shoot the 'Census Taking' photographs he had to visit all the families in the village, which was usually exhausting, but in such visits he had the chance to observe what people were doing and how. These images are privileged sources of investigation for seeing the particular qualitative method of data collection concerning Canela life, which Crocker employed to describe them. The way he recorded the Canela life for more than fifty-four years, is incredibly unique. Interestingly, some of these data were incorporated into the first official census in 1970 in Brazil, as conducted for the Brazilian equivalent of the Census Bureau, the IBGE, the Government's first ever research and official data about their indigenous population. The importance of recording was also a way of including this traditional population in the National History of Brazil.



**Figure 3.8(a)** Photograph showing the sandy cerrado landscape, where the Canela live in the northeast of Brazil, Escalvado, 1993.



**Figure 3.8(b)** Photograph showing the sandy cerrado, where the Canela have their village, northeast, Escalvado, 1993, Brazil.



**Figure 3.9(a)** Photograph showing a sense of the community sharing activities, consumption of meals, Ponto village, 1960. The centre of the village is the time the men meet to discuss unresolved problems, the activities of certain men's groups and tribal messengers to go to backland communities on buying missions, and ceremonial roles.



**Figure 3.9(b)** This photograph shows the men eating in the centre of the village: the Canela ate together on mats on the earth floor. They ate with fingers and gourd bowl or the modern metallic bowl, in the 1970s.



**Figure 3.9(b)** The following series of photographs depicts a sense of the community sharing activities, particularly the distribution and preparation of food. This photograph showing the Canela men spreading banana leaves where the meat would be positioned. This was usually done by the men sitting and working together (moral economy of intimacy) and positioning the meat on the *farinha*, for the making of the meat pie (*farinha* and meat) that will be distributed during the Festival of Masks, Escalvado, 1970.



**Figure 3.9(c)** Preparation of a large meat pie in Sardinha Village, 1964, for the Festival of Masks. The flour (*farinha*) made from manioc is used to make the large meat pies (*farinha* and pork) as a ceremonial food. Usually women sit in the sand together in front of the houses while preparing the ceremonial food. The meat pies were given out in the plaza and divided among all parts of the village





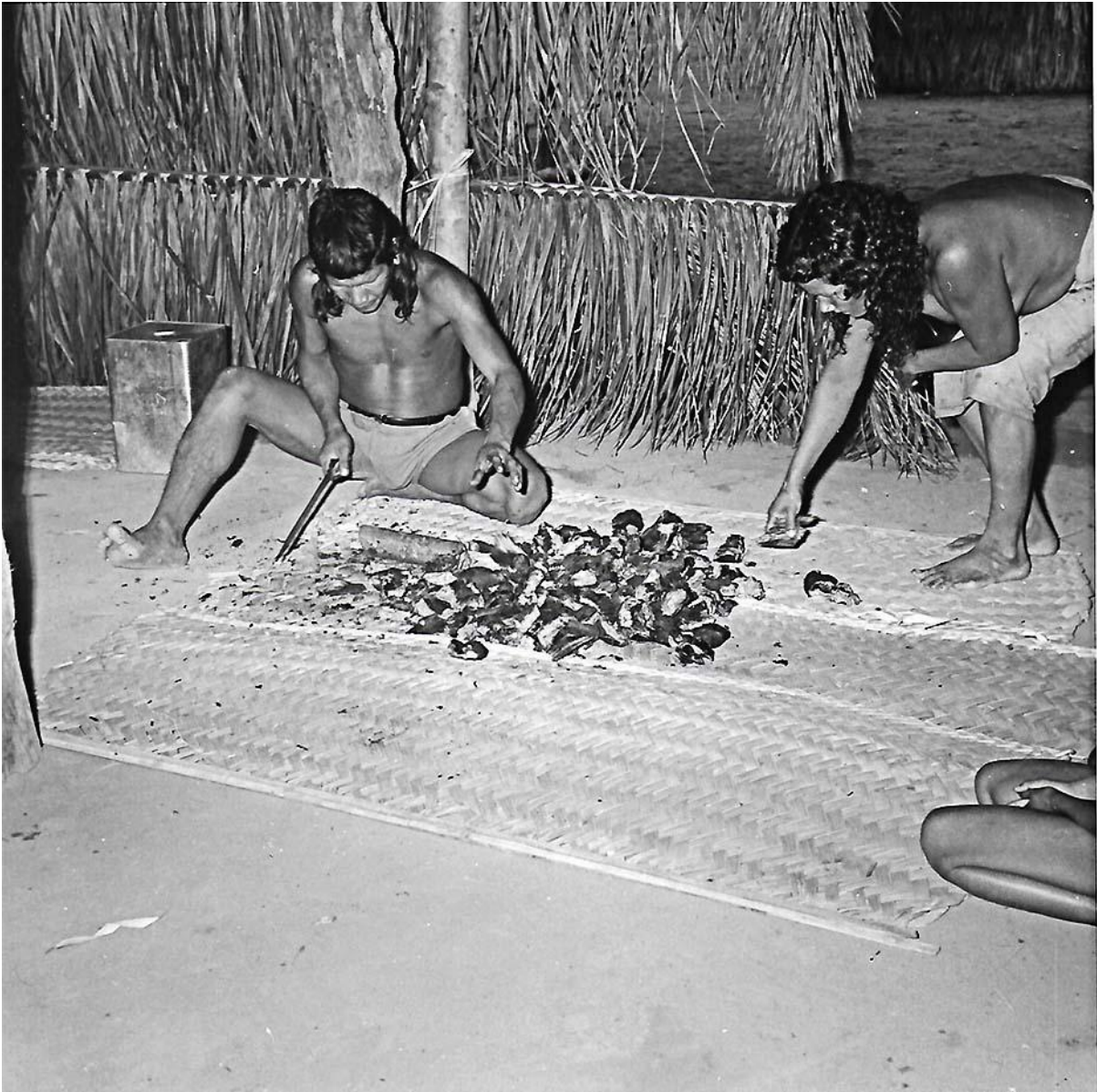
**Figure 3.10(a)** Photograph showing the Canela approaching the meat that would be used to make the meat pies for the Festival of Masks, in Escalvado village, 1970. According to Crocker, Canela men love the excitement and skills of hunting. Crocker in his notes posits how farming doesn't carry the same high prestige as hunting even though in the 1970s, he writes, "Most food these days comes from farm plots maintained by family members. The greater prestige of hunting suggests the earlier reliance on game. Although the Canela spend far more time on farming than hunting, I think they are closer to their hunting and gathering background psychologically than they are to their food producing one, even though they have relied principally on agriculture during the 20th century. The physical activity and skills of hunting are thrilling to the Canela. When somebody comes into the village with a deer across his shoulders the news passes quickly to everybody. It is not easy to shoot a deer and bring it back to the village without being seen, and everybody wants a portion for her or himself. But when people return from their fields with roots, tubers, and grains, nobody notices them, because field products are relatively plentiful and lack prestige" (Crocker 1990:80).



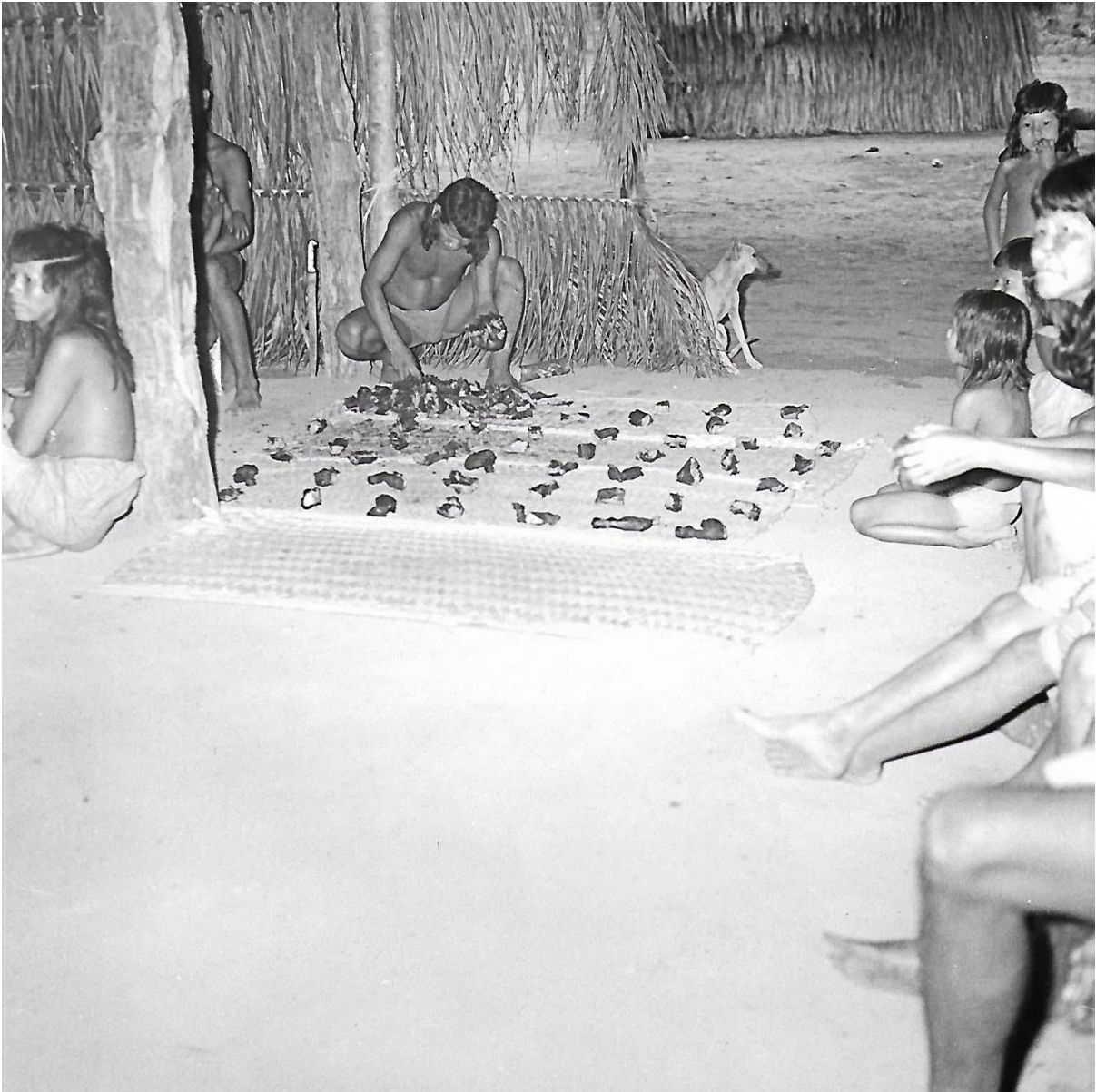
**Figure 3.10(b)** Photograph showing the Canela making piles of meat that would be distributed in the village. This was usually done by the men together, before the Festival of Masks celebration, Ponto village, 1960. This Crocker's wealth of information (visual documentation) made visible how the Canela relied on each other for the supply of food in particular during Festival seasons, such as the Festival of Masks, when abundant quantities of meat were consumed by all members of the community (moral economy of intimacy). Specifically, Figures 3.10(a/b) show how a large quantity of meat that were used by the Canela during the two Festival of Mask's celebrations, in 1960 and in 1970, respectively.



**Figure 3.10(c)** Photograph showing the careful piles of meat would be distributed across the village, Escalvado, 1993. This shows the way the Canela bring the animal into the village and place in a wooden construction in the middle. Once positioned they then cut the pieces for distribution. This photograph clarifies the image Figure 3.2(b) made in 1960.



**Figure 3.11 (a)** Photograph showing the sharing activities and distribution of food at the household level, Escalvado, 1970.



**Figure 3.11(b)** Photograph together with Figure 3.11(a) showing a more intimate moment of household sharing activities and distribution of food, Escalvado, 1970. Crocker (1990) posited how when a great hunter, killed a deer, he usually brought it into his house first, very quietly in the middle of the night and butchered it immediately, sending for certain kin to come and receive their share. He distributed as much as possible as quickly as he could, according to his long-term debt patterns and his desires. Then there would be less for non-kin and perpetual beggars to beg from him the next day when the news of his kill had spread around the village.



**Figure 3.12** This large view of sharing activities is another example of the communality of every moment in the Canela life, ‘a social arena’ around food activities, during the preparation of the meat pies for the Festival of Masks season, that would be distributed among the village, Escalvado, 1970. Crocker’s collection confirms that he was a sensitive and a keen observer of the shared nature of Canela existence: showing how they lived their life ‘in the close company of others’. The women and children, mainly seem unbothered by the anthropologist’s presence while recording the event. Only the children in the middle of the image seem conscious of the anthropologist’s presence and stand looking at him.



**Figure 3.13** Photograph showing the Canela practices of food distribution in the village during a funeral rite, Crocker's collection, Escalvado, 1979. The people usually tend to form a circle with the food in the middle waiting to receive a portion. The food that would be re-distributed among the group consists of manioc flour (*farinha*) with beans, oranges, rice with chicken bits and meat pies *farinha* (manioc flour and pork). Schecter's commentary on the event in the film footage gives us more information about what was going on that morning.<sup>1</sup> "Just outside, the children are playing together, and particularly a group of them captured my attention, as they are all occupied in eating sugar that a nurse from the Indian Post brought for the coffee in the community that morning. I was pretty much amazed by how they were absorbed in the sugar eating while this deep mourning was going on. In particular, I was interested in the way that the oldest child fed the two younger ones from his fingers, but he didn't want them to take it (smaller granules of sugar) with their own fingers. It is a very suggestive scene". Watching this scene in the screening room at the Smithsonian, I could not avoid but be pleased by how it shows a very intimate moment of the sharing activities described by Crocker: a clear example, of how the Canela seek to elicit positive sentiments of helping in others, trusting that they will be taken care of and provided for in their turn, very characteristic of the Canela way of life.

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<sup>1</sup> During my archive research, I established important connections between Crocker's written notes, his photographs, and the film made by Schecter in the years that they were together among the Canela. Only a small sample are reported in this work.



**Figure 3.14** Photograph showing a typical start to the day in the village where at around 4:30 A.M., the Canela is next to a small fire of dried leaves at the coldest hours of the early morning, Escalvado, 1970. The anthropologist posit how this is the time for dancing and singing.





**Figure 3.15** A photograph showing a typical early morning activity. Doninha separating the plates of manioc for the men, meanwhile her grand-son was eating. Some of the names of the Canela depicted in these photographs are identifiable by looking at the Census series photograph, made by Crocker in 1970, where he took care to photograph all the people living in Escalvado village, annotating their names, Escalvado, 1970.



**Figure 3.16** A photograph showing Iom- Tamm making the communal stew of field of manioc flour in the early morning. The Canela, according to the anthropologist, love eating their breakfast slowly and take time to enjoy it with their family, before their morning baths and the start of their daily activities, Escalvado, 1970.



**Figure 3.17(a)** Photograph showing the children morning swim-bathing. The Canela believe the young must bath in the cold water of streams every morning to grow up strong and healthy. This is a time for the children play together where a lots of synchronious activities going on. Usually their attention shifted to catching fish with their hands which is pursued seriously. The children play are very suggestive, showing how the boys splashed and chased each other.



**Figure 3.17(b)** Photograph shows the children returning from their morning swim-bathing. The older children usually go with friends in groups, Escalvado, 1970.



**Figure 3.19(a)** Photograph showing the back-yard of the house, where the women cook manioc after their breakfast, while the men are in the forest cutting wood or working at the farm plots. The scene shows, in a visual way, Canela cooperation, Sardinha village, 1964.



**Figure 3.19(b)** Photograph showing the way children demonstrate tenacity in pursuing an essentially adult economic activity, such as taking great interest in peeling with sharp and grating the manioc. Imitation is a fundamental form of learning how to behave properly. The children in the scene took particular interest in working with manioc or in pursuing adults activities. On the left side, the smaller child seems not interested in grating the manioc as her grand-mother is doing, but more in experiencing this adult activities. In this context, the children while playing together, experiencing all the adult activities, learning and familiarising with these practices. In the photograph they seem all self-absorbed and not disturbed by the anthropologist's presence. Even the children, that usually are the ones that were more easily distracted by the camera. In the photos there is a 'non-interventionist quality', and very few photographs are frankly set up with the exceptions of a very fewer regarding the size of the population.



**Figure 3.20(a)** Photograph showing Canela agriculture practices in the forests beside the streams, Escalvado, 1979. Moreover, extensive agriculture was not a traditional practice, it was intensified by the mid-1960s.



**Figure 3.20(b)** Photograph showing Carampei experimenting with the adult responsibility of planting manioc and also showing it to a little girl. Manioc is found throughout the region where the Canela live, Escalvado, 1979. Another example of Crocker's various portraits which depict the oldest children responsibility of making sure their little brothers and sisters learn how to pursuit an eesentially adult economic activities.





**Figure 3.21** A photograph showing how Canela children are taught by adult the practices of food collection or processing, Escalvado, 1970. On the right side, the two little boys seemed self-conscious of the anthropologist's presence as they looked to the camera ashamed. The sequence of photographs in Figure 3.20 and Figure 3.21 showing how the children participate in the adult activities all together. Crocker's images made visible how the Canela learn to rely on each other at a very young age. The anthropologist's was able to capture this emotional side of the community attitude of doing things together and for each other. Looking at this practice was a visual statement of the ways the Canela expresses their moral economy of intimacy.



**Figure 3.22(a)** Photograph showing the tubers of manioc that were gathered in large quantities among the Canela and provide a starchy diet.



**Figure 3.23** Women sitting together inside the house grating manioc with their hands. On the left side and on the right side, the images shown the presence of two children at the back of the two women, which probably were watching what these two adults female were doing. The children during the day spend much time with women, playing together and usually experiencing adult activities, such as peeling manioc, grating or even cooking the staple. Sardinha village, 1964.



**Figure 3.24(a)** Photograph showing how manioc is strained, and showing how young ladies were teaching the activity to the youngest and working together and having fun, Sardinha village, 1964. Another example that explores the Canela affective space of personal relationships centered around everyday care and responsibility towards each other, namely sharing activities and collaborative domestic work. This female teens and little boys were not disturbed by the anthropologist camera.



**Figure 3.24(b)** Photograph showing how manioc is pressed to remove the hydrocyanic acid, commonly known as prussic acid. Pressing out the acid, the traditional way with a woven *tipiti*, Escalvado, 1970. The images again show how the little girl is helping her mother. Mostly all Crocker's images demonstrated his attention to the details of everyday Canela sharing practices and activities.



**Figure 3.25** Photograph showing how manioc is toasted which results in a fine faintly yellowish flour, called *farina*, village Escalvado, 1979. The *farina* is toasted in a more modern cooker, and in large quantities, as the *farinha* stores well, and is a useful food for reserve.



**Figure 3.26(a)** Images of Carampei, Capael-tuc, Hoy, Pacu and Zhye-pei, playing, Escalvado, 1979. The boys are chasing each other in play in a easy-flowing yet connected manner, while the men resting on the left side, in the late afternoon. The young ladies play shown in Figure 3.24(a/b) was much more work-like related than the boys.



**Figure 3.26(b)** Carampei, Capael-tuc, Hoy, Pacu and Zhye-pei, playing, Crocker's collection, 1979. Only one of the child seems self-conscious of the camera, but he looked at Crocker with a fanny face.

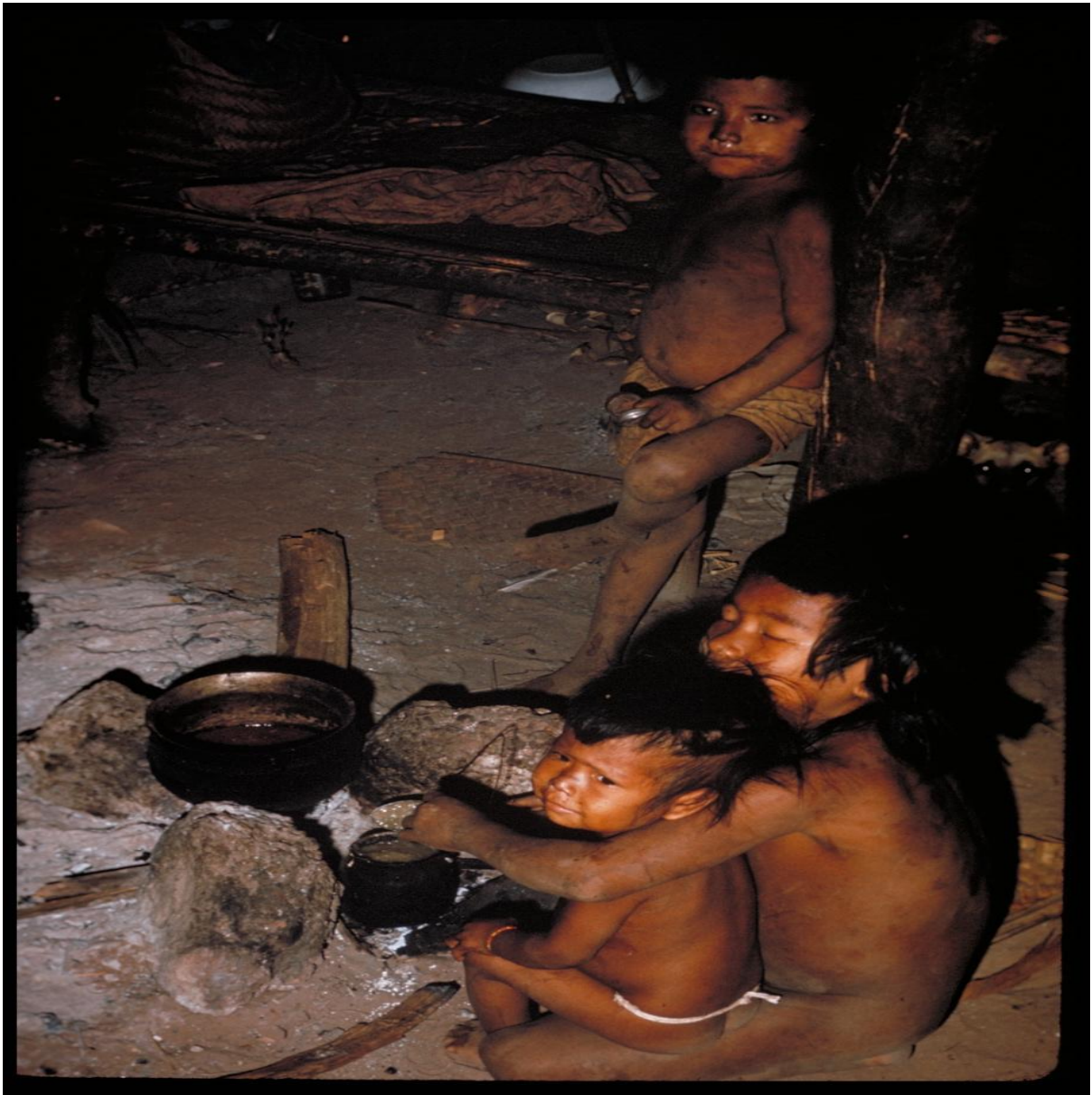




**Figure 3.27** Image of Pepkro and his wife feeding their child Pacu with manioc and meat, Escalvado, 1970. The image depicting a nice family scene, while they were eating with their fingers sharing from a big metallic bowl.



**Figure 3.28** Photos of Karuk-re and his younger daughter Kropo playing together in a very gentle way. This relationship between a son or daughter and parents/ grand-father is characteristic of the Canela. This photo shows the wonderful intimacy it held, expressing the feelings of love, joking, and good -will that characterise much of Canela life. Crocker's own photographs demonstrate 'a nascent methodological and observational model' that can be perceived through a close reading of the images, where he was sensitive to charges of subjectivity and he tried to shoot what happened normally and spontaneously. The shot taken at close proximity shows Karuk-re warming his hand on Kropo and before handing the head to keep the baby calm and safe, Escalvado, 1970.



**Figure 3.29** Photograph showing Canela's communality and attentiveness towards each other which expresses their moral economy of intimacy. The older child experiment with the adult responsibility of taking care of their little brothers and sisters in feeding them, while the women prepared food for men in the aeraly morning, Escalvado, 1970.



**Figure 3.30(a)** Photographs showing older girl, Puciri giving to the youngest, Pacu, a fresh orange, Escalvado, 1975.



**Figure 3.30(b)** Photographs showing older girl, Puciri giving to the youngest, Pacu, a fresh orange then waited, watching until it she starts peeling and then waits that was soft enough for him to work on and eat, Escalvado, 1975. If only from the photographs, one can easily see how the Canela relied upon each other in different forms of mutual services such as raising children and corporate domestic works.



**Figures 3.31(a/b)** These photographs showing a group of children playing and experimenting the adult activities of cooking manioc. In this scene, they are putting dried leaves on to the fire, and fanned it up to flame, Crocker' collection, 1979.



**Figure 3.31(c)** The sequence of photographs in Figures 3.31(a/b/c) show a group of children playing and experimenting the adult activities of cooking manioc, Escalvado, 1979. Another example of Crocker's systematic methodology of recording techniques. These images are privileged sources of investigation as a way to see the particular qualitative method of data collecting about the Canela life, which Crocker chose in order to describe them. The way he recorded the Canela life for more than fifty-four years, is incredibly unique. The strength of Crocker visual documentation lies in its ability to convey Canela ideas about how to live well. He provides ample ethnographic and visual evidence for the particular forms that such living takes among the Canela, amounting to a photographic ethnography of their sociality.



**Figure 4.1** Photograph showing Crocker's original negatives and hand-written notes about the Masks in his drawer at the Smithsonian, in the Department of Anthropology of the Natural Museum of Natural History. Photographer: Fabiola Iuvaro, November, 2015.





**Figure 4.2** Screening room at the National Anthropological Archive. Photographer: Fabiola Iuvaro, National Anthropological Archive, November, 2015.



**Figure 4.3** A layout of Crocker's Festival film collection, that was done in order to facilitate my analysis during the research visit and was made by the archivist Mark White for the occasion. Photographer: Fabiola Iuvaro, National Anthropological Archive, November, 2015.

- 1) CANELA Páipe Festival Rites 1957  
16mm color print (of neg. or end?) @ 750'
- 2) CANELA Pap-Gahak Festival Rites 1958  
16mm color sil 401'
- 3) CANELA Pap-Gahak Festival Rites 1958  
16mm color end 401'
- 4) CANELA CORN, Pap-gahak, and WÉ'É Festival Rites  
16mm color end 365'
- 5) CANELA EAR-FIDRING & KHETUARE RITE FESTIVAL 1959  
16mm col. end 501'
- 6) CANELA 1964  
16mm col. sil 913'
- 7) RAMKOKAMEKRA - CANELA FESTIVAL OF MASKS 1970  
16mm col. sil 304'
- 8) RAMKOKAMEKRA - CANELA FESTIVAL OF MASKS 1970  
16mm col. sil 306'
- 9) MASK ÉPÉP I CANELA W/P  
16mm col. sil 784'
- 10) WC/TS - CAN (Roll #2)  
16mm col. sil 1,642'

**Figure 4.4** Rolling of film; Film Festival of Masks shot in 1970. Photographer: Fabiola Iuvaro, National Anthropological Archive, November, 2015.



**Figure 4.5** Scene from a shot taken in the film in 1970, showing making and weaving the 'Face of the Mask' (W. Crocker in collaboration with Ray Brown).



**Figure 4.6** Shot taken from the film in the 1970's showing weaving procedures (W. Crocker in collaboration with Ray Brown).



**Figure 4.7** Scene showing Paulo Adriano painting a differentiated design around the 'Face of the Mask' which Crocker called the eyes of the Mask to show individualisation. This Mask is called *Espora* (W. Crocker in collaboration with Ray Brown).



POLAROID COS9104N 47

espora - (council  
7/8/70  
no mistakes)

Ramkokamekra-Canela  
village of Escalvado,  
after festival of the  
masks, July 1970  
by William H. Crocker

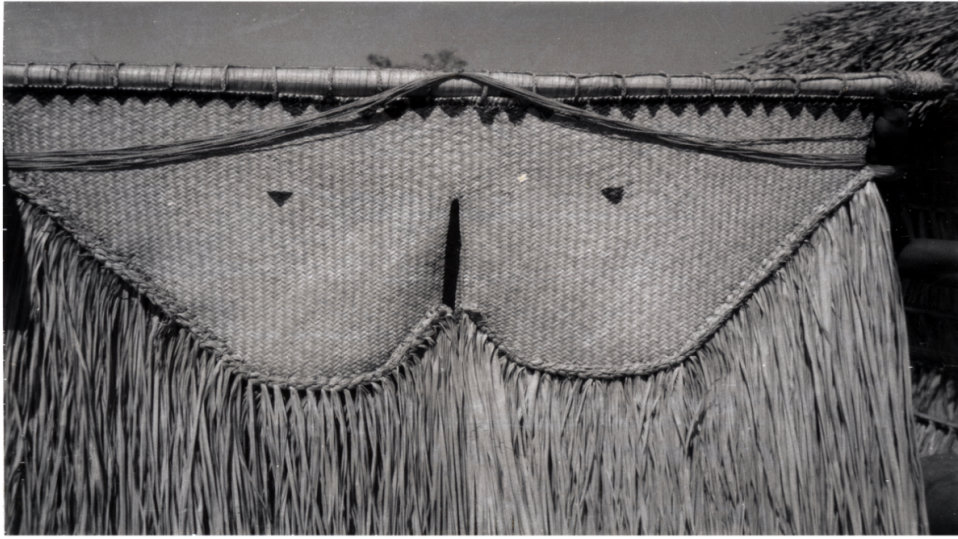
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**Figure 4.8** Photograph showing *Espora* housed today in the Smithsonian offsite storage facility in Suitland, Maryland, 2017. (Photographer of the Smithsonian, James DiLoreto, Size and dimension: 1-3-12C-0370 E 40491. 30x20 cm).



**Figure 4.9** *The Espora*, original negative in Crocker's drawer at the Smithsonian Institution, in the Department of Anthropology at the Natural History Museum.





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POLAROID      COS 910 AN

Ramkokamekra-Canela  
 Village of Escalvado,  
 after festival of the  
 masks, July 1970

c'en pei cahac  
Van one head  
puvhez<sup>ts</sup> for on backside

OK - Council 7/8/70

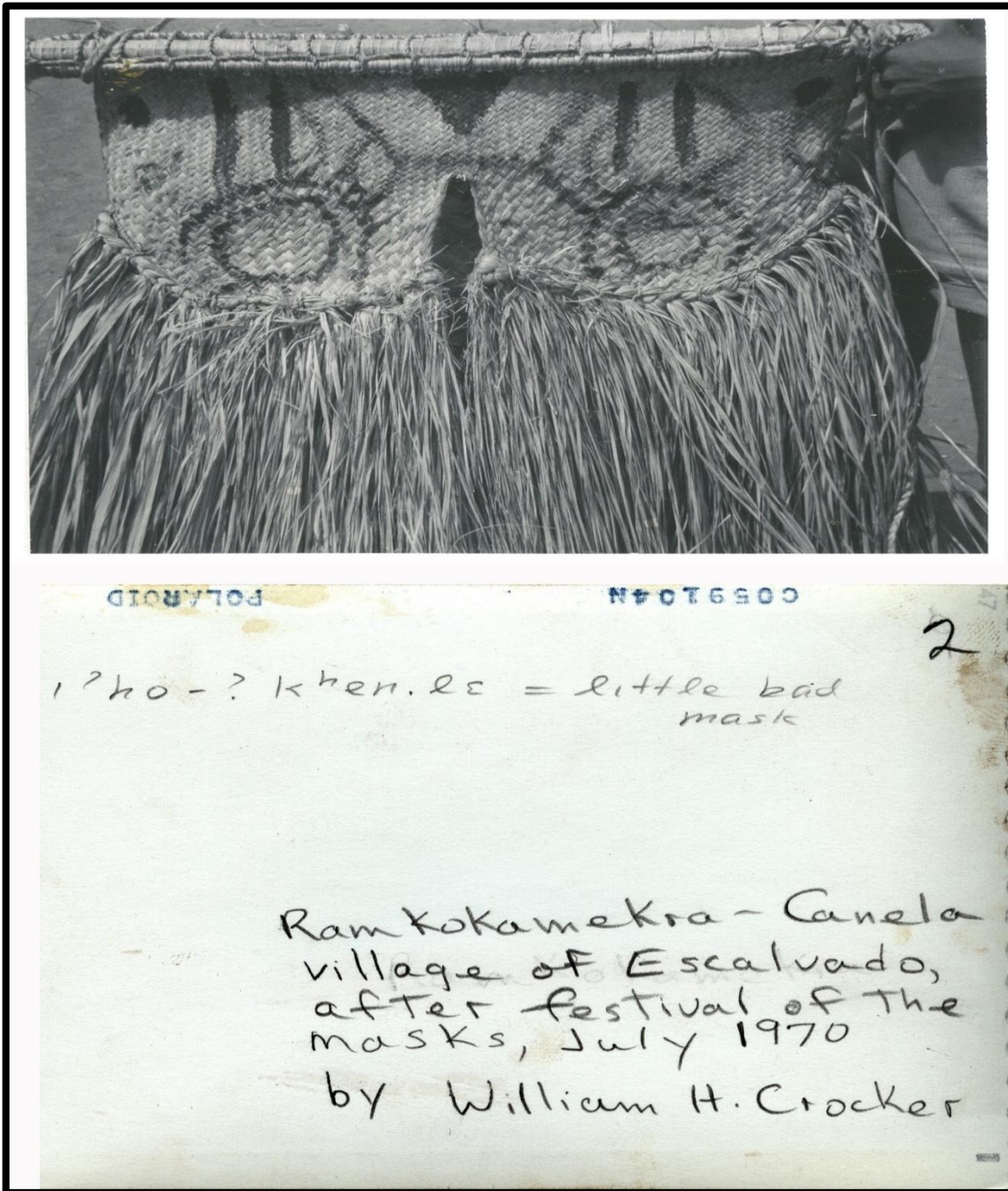
Khen-pey - kahak  
 (lesser Khen-pey)

(Khen-pey = mountain-beautiful)  
 by William H. Crocker

**Figure 4.10** Photograph showing a Mask called *Khen-pey*, original negative in Crocker's drawer, Smithsonian Institution, in the Department of Anthropology at the Natural History Museum.



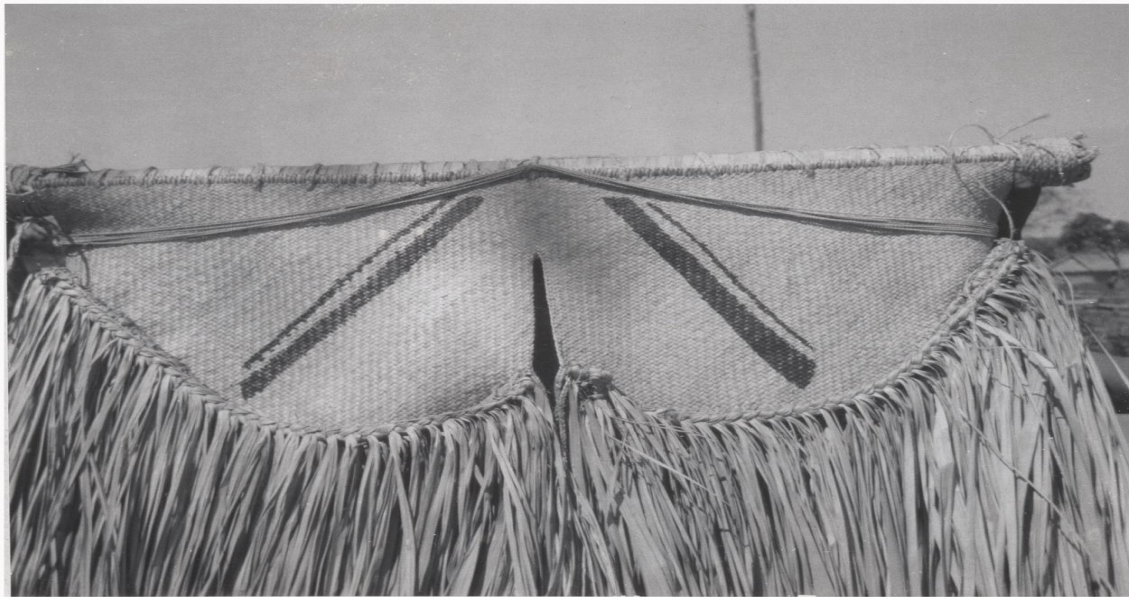
**Figure 4.11** A photograph showing *Khen-pey* at the facility in Maryland. The *Khen-pey* was also called the Masks Leader's group, because according to Crocker's notes, it had two small triangles for eyes. Maryland, November 2017. (Photographer James DiLoreto, Size and dimension: E404909. 30X20cm).



**Figure 4.12** Photograph showing a Mask called the little *Bad Mask*, original negative in Crocker's drawer, Smithsonian Institution, in the Department of Anthropology at the Natural History Museum.



**Figure 4.13** A shot taken from the 1970 Film (W. Crocker in collaboration with R. Brown), showing the little *Bad Mask* depicted with six scraggly vertical lines incorrectly made and the size of the Mask is slightly smaller. According to Crocker, the little *Bad Mask* is made irregularly by the Canela.



POLAROID

COSSIOAN

10

meh c'la - h tã m - tuva

no mistakes (council 7/8/70)

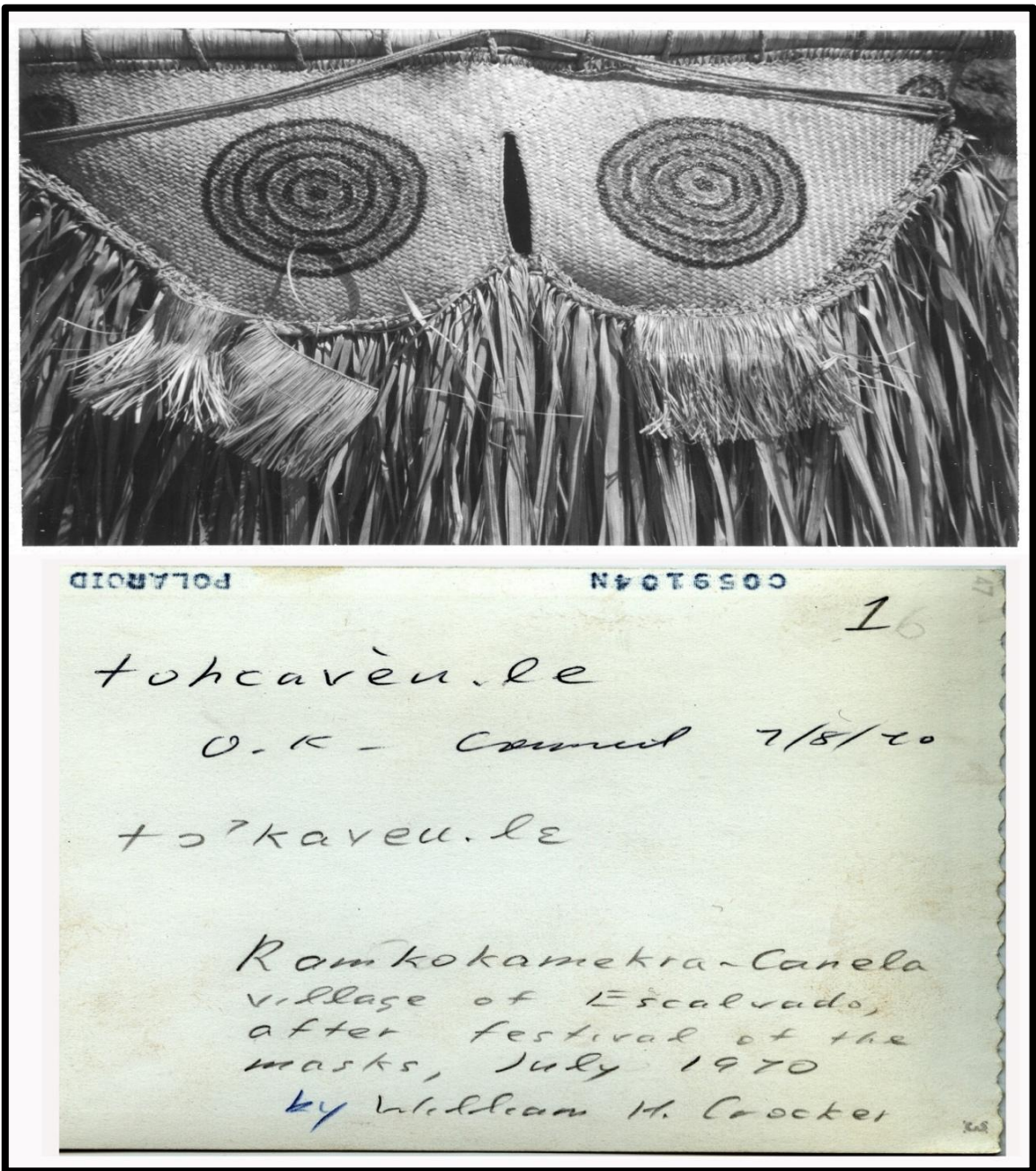
me:k<sup>h</sup>la - tã m - tã wa

Ramko Kamekra - Canek  
Village of Escalvado  
after festival of the  
masks, July 1970  
by William H. Crocker

**Figure 4.14** Photograph showing a Mask called *Mekla-tam-tuwa*, original negative Crocker's drawer, Smithsonian Institution, in the Department of Anthropology at the Natural History Museum.



**Figure 4.15** Photograph showing a Mask called *Mekla-tam-tuwa*, taken by Crocker during the Festival of Masks in Escalvado village, in 1970.



**Figure 4.16** Photograph showing a Mask called *To-kayew-re* original negative in Crocker's drawer, Smithsonian Institution, in the Department of Anthropology at the Natural History Museum.



**Figure 4.17** Photograph showing *To-kaywew-re*, having two big circles as eyes. This is also the most popular painting of the Masks used by the community. Additionally, we can see how this Mask has two smaller circles on the outside edge of the face, which Crocker considered to be ears (in Canela language = *hapak*), Escavado, 1970.



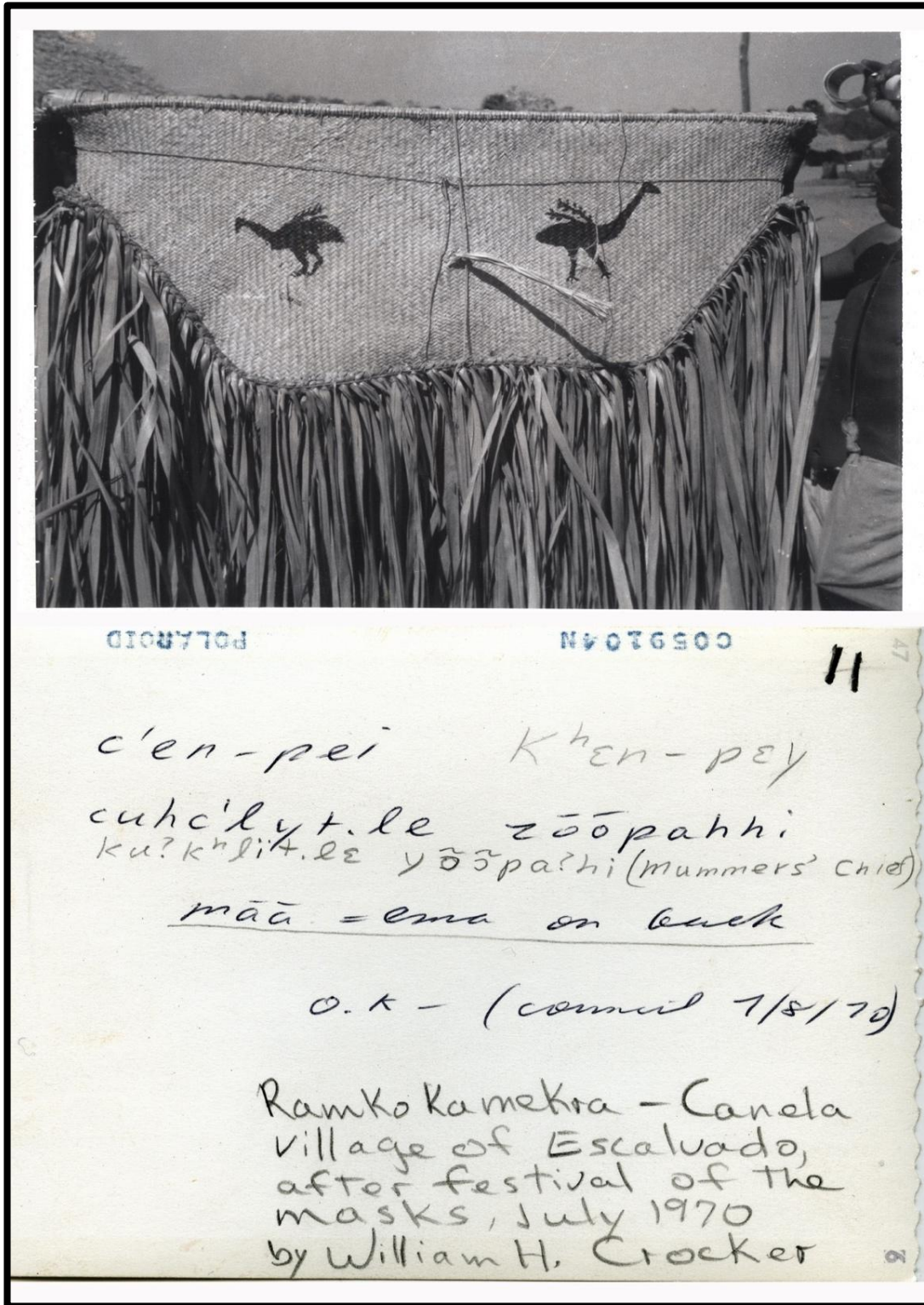
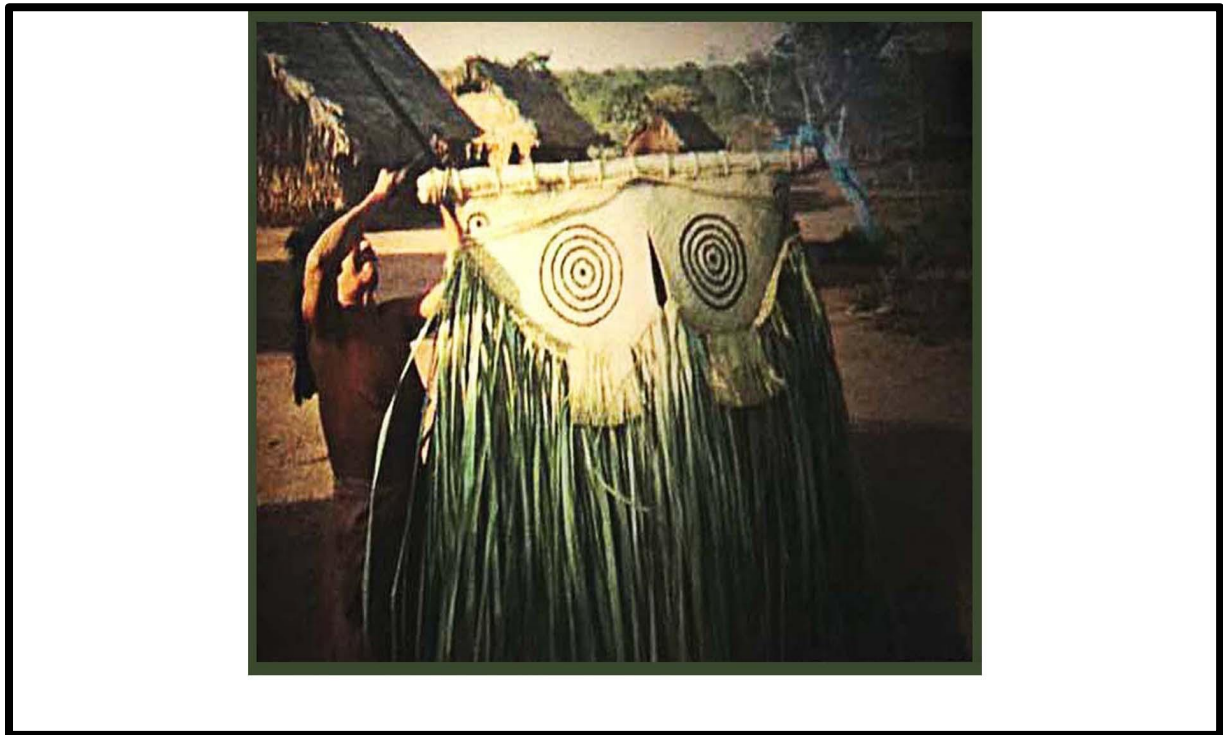


Figure 4.18 Photo showing a Mask called *Khen-pey- zoopahhi*, original negative in Crocker's drawer, Smithsonian Institution, in the Department of Anthropology at the Natural History Museum.



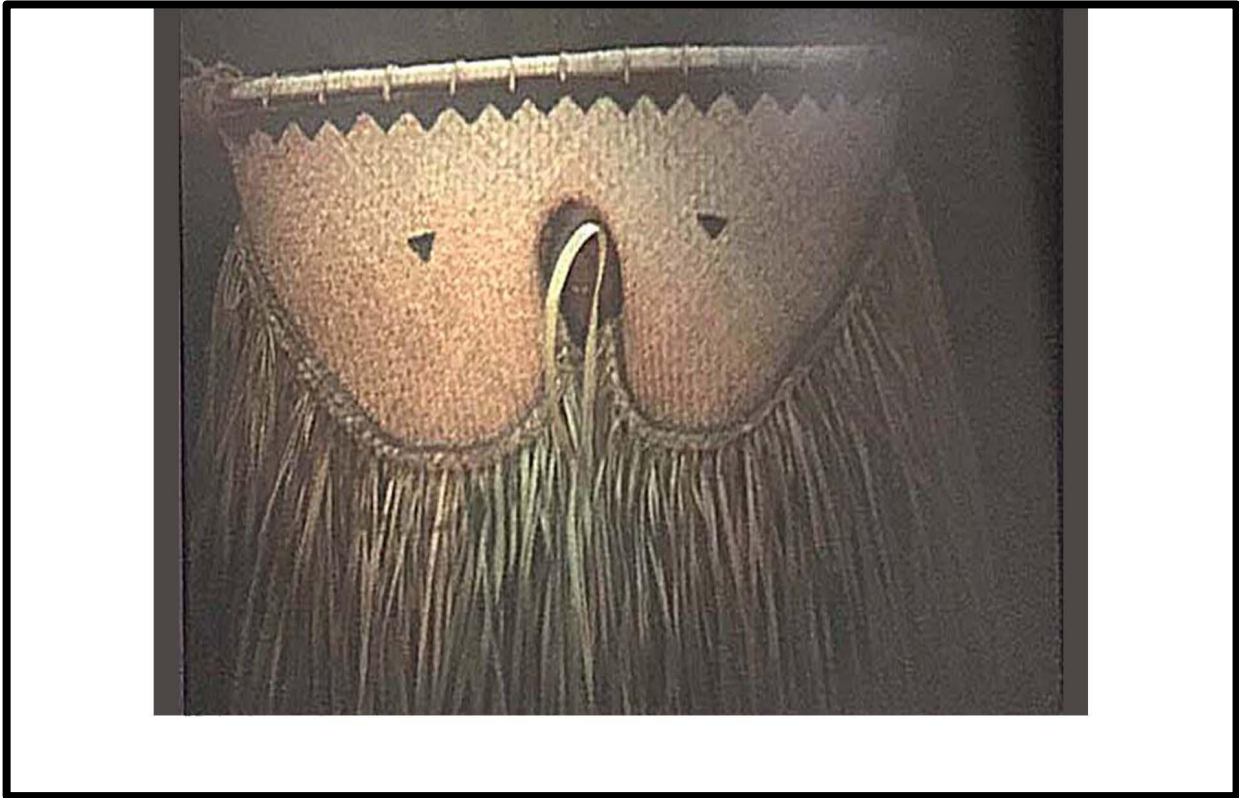
**Figure 4.19** A scene from the shot (film) taken in 1970, (W. Crocker in collaboration with R. Brown), showing spear-like poles of hardwood, about 7 feet long that were tied onto the back of the *To-kaywew-re*, extended diagonally upward to represent horns.



**Figure 4.20** Photograph taken from the offsite storage at the Smithsonian because it shows the back of the *Espora*, which is shaped as a concave polygon with black points to signify that this is the back of the Mask. The Masks at the Smithsonian only have a number series and they are uncaptioned. Photographer: Fabiola Iuvaro, Offsite storage of the Smithsonian Institution, Suitland, Maryland, November, 2015.



**Figure 4.21** The close-up image of the *Espora* was taken from the offsite storage in Maryland, and we can see how the two mats that compound the Mask are more precisely held up and fixed together by a wooden bar about 3 feet long and 1.5. inches in diameter. Photographer: Fabiola Iuvaro, Offsite storage of the Smithsonian Institution, Suitland, in Maryland, November, 2015.



**Figure 4.22** Scene from 1970 Film (W. Crocker in collaboration with R. Brown), showing the vertical slits made in the centre of the ‘Face of the Mask’, used for the masker to appear, to eat and to show emotion during the performance.



**Figure 4.23** Close up photograph of *Khen-pey* showing the donut that supported the horizontal bar from underneath which held up the material of the Mask, and which covered the bearer completely. Photographer: Fabiola Iuvaro, Suitland, Maryland, November 2015.



**Figure 4.24** Scene taken from the film in 1970, (W. Crocker in collaboration with R. Brown) showing the *To-kaywew-re*'s horns and the movement of begging. While in the left close-up scene, *To-kaywew-re* tries to enter the doors of the villager's houses.



**Figure 4.25** Photograph showing the activity of ‘begging’ by the masker when he wants food, as he manipulates and moves the slits in the face of the Mask with his hands from the inside to show the sign for begging, in the Festival of Masks in Sardinha, 1964.





**Figure 4.26** Photograph showing the act of asking for food by the Mask while ‘dancing’ and begging in the Festival in 1964, Sardinia.



**Figure 4.27 (a)** Photograph showing the Mask running before entering the houses of the villagers, in the Festival of Masks in 1970, Escalvado.



**Figure 4.27 (b)** Photograph showing the Masks running one after another, before entering the Canela's houses, Escalvado, 1970.



**Figure 4.27 (c)** Images showing the little *Bad Mask* running before entering the house's door, Escalvado, 1970.



**Figures 4.27 (d)** Photograph showing the little *Bad Mask* trying to enter the door of a villager's house while the Canela were watching the performance, Escalvado, 1970.



**Figure 4.28** All Masks entering village, shot from the Film in 1970, (W. Crocker in collaboration with R. Brown, Film).



**Figure 4.29** Photograph showing the Masks entering the village during the Festival in 1960, Ponto village.



**Figure 4.30** Masks entering the village all together in a line with the *Kenpey* facing the group, during the Festival in 1960, Ponto village.





**Figure 4.31** Scene from the 1970 film, (W. Crocker in collaboration with R. Brown), showing the Masks entering the village all together on the left side, and surrounded by women and children, on the right side, Escalvado, 1970.



**Figure 4.32** Photograph showing the Masks being surrounded by women and children, Escalvado, 1970.



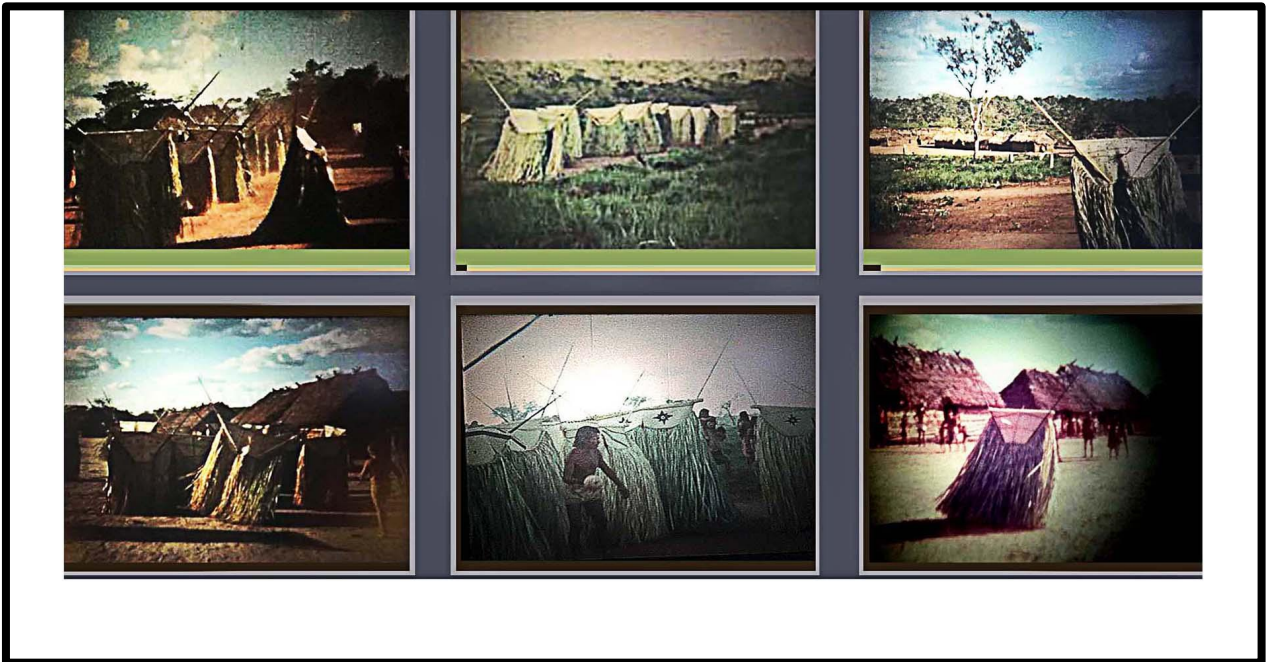
**Figure 4.33 (a)** Scene from the film in 1970, (recording by W. Crocker in collaboration with R. Brown), showing a 'mother' tying on the Mask's little horn ornaments to identify it as hers.



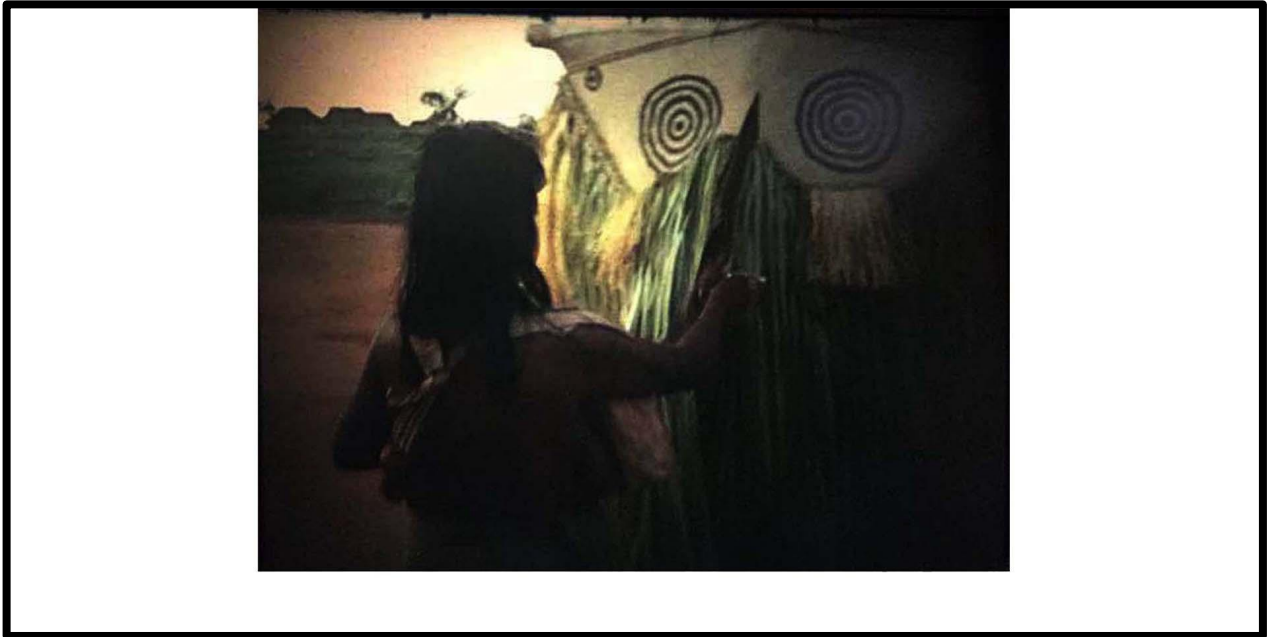
**Figure 4.33 (b)** Photograph showing the Canela women adorning the Mask to identify it as theirs in the Festival in 1960, Ponto village.



**Figures 4.34 (a / b)** Photograph showing how, once adorned by the women, the Masks started ‘running’ and dancing around together, Escalvado, 1970.



**Figure 4.35** Scene from the 1970 Film, (W. Crocker in collaboration with R. Brown), shows the Masks circumnavigation around the village, stopping at all the Canela houses, while dancing, Escalvado



**Figure 4.36** A scene from the 1970 Film, (recorded by W. Crocker in collaboration with R. Brown), shows a Mask receiving food, locating it in a basket underneath his Mask, Escalvado.



**Figure 4.37** Photograph showing the wood piles for the two ovens to be set alight. The meat pies were tossed and cooked on the hot rocks of these ovens, in the Festival in 1964, Sardinha village.





**Figures 4.38 (a / b)** Photographs showing the Masks during the evening coming out from the Mask's shed and moving along the pathways, Escalvado, 1970.



**Figures 4.39 (a / b)** Photographs showing how the Masks started to put the fires out by swishing their skirts over and across each bonfire, Escalvado, 1970.



**Figures 4.39 (c)** Photograph showing how the Masks started to put the fires out by swishing their skirts over and across each bonfire, Escalvado, 1970.



**Figure 4.40** Shot from the 1970 Film, (W. Crocker in collaboration with R. Brown), showing a Canela man killing a cow for the Festival .



**Figure 4.41 (a)** Photograph showing the making of the meat pies, with the women spreading the banana leaves, during the Festival of Masks in 1964, when they lived in exile in Sardinha village.



**Figures 4.41 (b / c)** Photographs showing the making of the meat pies with the women spreading the banana leaves, showing Canela cooperation, during the Festival of Masks in 1964, Sardinha village.



**Figures 4.41 (d / e)** Photographs showing women spreading out the manioc on the banana leaves, while other people were watching, giving advice or playing with children, Sardinha, 1964. Figures (4.41 to 4.45) show how the Canela place meat cubes in a layer of this manioc mush. After that they fold the banana leaves over the mush and meat, they tie them with cords of buriti and bake the pies by placing them on hot rocks and covering them with earth.



**Figures 4.41 (f / g)** Photographs showing women spreading out the manioc on the banana leaves, while other people were watching, giving advice or playing with children. On the right side, at the back, Augusto was cutting the meat on the banana leaves for the meat pies, Sardinha, 1964.





**Figure 4.41 (h)** Close up photograph showing Augusto cutting the meat on the banana leaves for the meat pies, Sardinha, 1964.





**Figure 4.42 (a / b / c / d)** Photographs showing Maria and her sister spreading the meat on the farinha, Sardinha, 1964.







**Figures 4.43 (a / b / c / d / e)** Photographs showing the meat pies being covered and ready for cooking, Sardinha, 1964.



**Figure 4.44** Photograph showing women bringing the meat pie to be toasted, Sardinha, 1964.















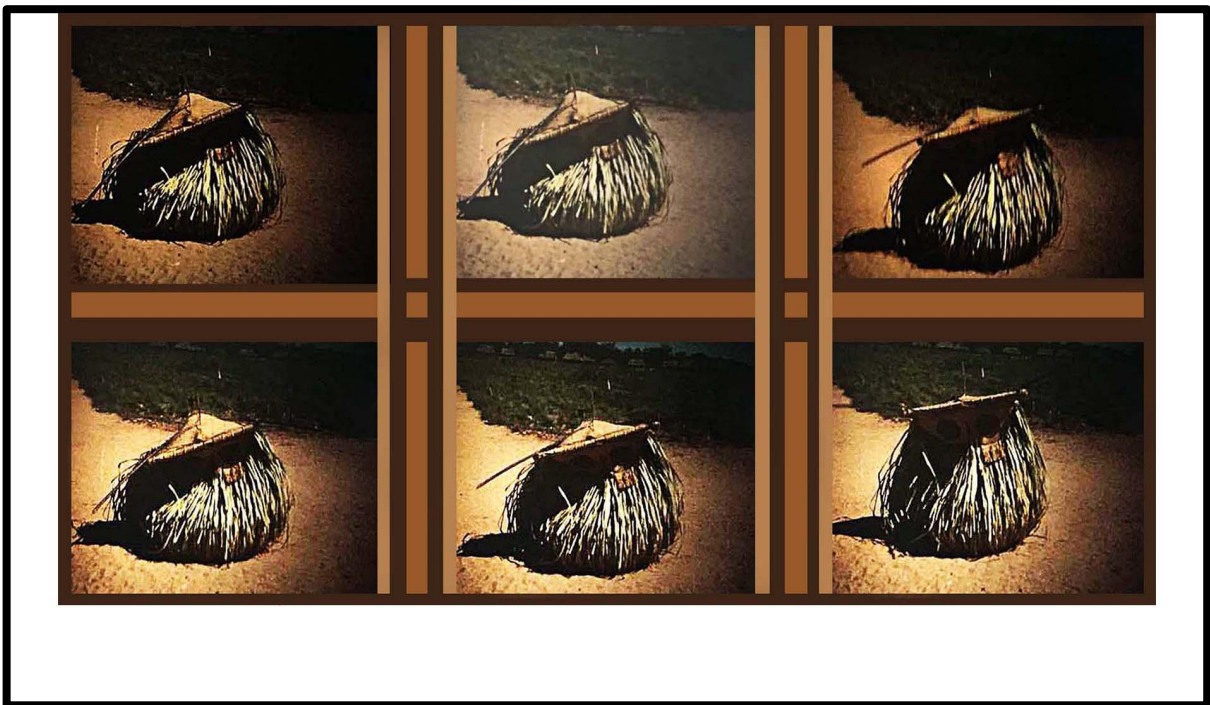
**Figures 4.45 (a / b / c / d / e / f / g / h / i / j / k / l / m)** Photographs showing the preparation of the ‘earth ovens’ for cooking them. Leaves, mats and then sand cover the whole thing so that it will bake Sardinha, 1964. The sequence of images in Figures 4.41 to 4.45 (a / b / c / d / e / f / g / h / i / j / k / l / m) is another good example of Crocker’s methodology of recording practices. His method consisted of a continuous interest in depicting each aspect of the Canela life in the form of sequential photographs.



**Figure 4.46** Scene from the Film, in 1970, (W. Crocker in collaboration with R. Brown), showing 'begging' by the masker when he wants food, as he manipulates and moves the slits in the face of the Mask with his hands from the inside to show the sign for begging. Furthermore, repeated jerking of the face and facial fluttering are continuous movements to express impatience.



**Figure 4.47** Masks scene from Film, in 1970, (W. Crocker in collaboration with R. Brown), showing happiness.



**Figure 4.48** Scene from the 1970 film, (W. Crocker in collaboration with R. Brown), showing how, when the Masks are refused a gift of food from one of the villagers, shame is shown as the Mask makes slow, reserved movements, withering and bowing in a depressive manner.





**Figure 4.49** Scene from the 1970 film, (W. Crocker in collaboration with R. Brown), showing a last Mask's emotion which is compassion. This emotion is shown through fast, twirling movements in one spot until dropping to the ground with the head bowed, moving the slits of the face in a fluttering motion.



**Figure 4.50 and Figure 4.51** Photograph showing the act of begging by the Masks in the Festival of Masks in 1964, Sardinha village.









**Figure 4.52** Photographs showing shame in the Festival of Masks in 1964, Sardinha village .



**Figure 4.53** Photograph showing a Mask's emotion which is compassion in the Festival of Masks in 1964, Sardinha village

## List of Tables

Mask's name	Mask's Symbol	Composition of the material
1. Espora		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Araja and Buriti palm</li> <li>- Face of the Mask's painting</li> <li>- Carbon wood burned mixed with resin glue extracted from the <i>pau-de-leite</i></li> </ul>
2. Khen-pey		
3. To-Kaywewre		
4. Little Bad Mask		
5. Mekla-tam-tuwa		
6. Khen-pey-zoopahhi		

**Figure table 1.1** Typology of the different Face of the Masks