

CIAS Discussion Paper No.64

アフロ・ブラジル文化の カポエイラ・アンゴラ

対話する身体がつなく世界

アンドレア・ユリ・フロレス・ウルシマ／荒川幸祐／王柳蘭 編著

Capoeira Angola, an Afro-Brazilian Culture: The World Connected through Bodies that Dialogue



京都大学地域研究統合情報センター

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CIAS Discussion Paper No. 64

Andrea Yuri FLORES URUSHIMA, Kosuke ARAKAWA and Liulan WANG-KANDA (eds.)

Capoeira Angola, an Afro-Brazilian Culture:

The World Connected through Bodies that Dialogue

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刊行にあたって

アンドレア・ユリ・フロレス・ウルシマ

本報告書では、①アフリカン・ディアスポラ、②アフリカ文化と黒人文化の世界への伝播、そして③ブラジルの文化と社会の形成という三つのテーマのもと、カポエイラ・アンゴラというアフロ・ブラジル伝統文化の歴史的背景とこれまでのあゆみに注目します。

カポエイラは、16世紀よりアフリカからブラジルに奴隷として連れてこられた黒人によって創出されました。戦闘・遊戯・舞踊の要素を併せ持つカポエイラは、アフリカ起源の楽器が奏でる音楽に合わせて行なわれます。奴隷が集い、団結力を育むものとして支配者から危険視され、法律で禁止された時代もありました。

また、男性中心の芸能として発達したことから、女性が男性と同等の身体表現をすることに対する偏見は根強く、女性が積極的に参加できるようになったのは最近のことです。この伝統芸能は、ブラジルにおける民主主義の浸透に貢献するとともに、人種やジェンダーの問題とも真摯に向き合ってきました。つまりカ

京都大学地域研究統合情報センター研究員

ポエイラは抵抗と解放の担い手として、ブラジル社会において重要な役割を果たしてきたと言えます。

二部からなる本報告書は、上記の問題意識に基づく枠組みの中で構想されました。第一部では、京都大学地域研究統合情報センター、地域研究コンソーシアム(JCAS)「地域研究次世代ワークショップ・プログラム」、京都大学学際融合教育推進センター「分野横断プラットフォーム構築企画」という三つの組織との協力で2014年度に行なった民間と大学による共同企画『カポエイラ・アンゴラ国際交流イベント2014——ジンガ・インズィンガ』の成果を報告します。

第二部は、この共同企画に参加した研究者の論文によって構成されています。議論をより深めるため、ここには歴史学、社会学、ジェンダー学と文化学という多角的な視点から、本報告書の主題に関連する考察を収録しました。

この共同企画は、2014年9月5日から14日まで

Preface

Andrea Yuri FLORES URUSHIMA

Center for Integrated Area Studies, Kyoto University
Science Research Fellow

This volume addresses themes largely related to the African diaspora, the global transmission of the African and Black culture, and the formation of the Brazilian culture and society. More specifically, it focuses on the historical and recent development of the Afro-Brazilian traditional performance art, Capoeira Angola.

Capoeira begun during the 16th century created by the Black people that were forcedly brought in Brazil as slaves from Africa. Capoeira combines elements from fight, play and dance traditions accompanied by the music played with instruments of African origin. For a while the law prohibited the practice of Capoeira due to the fact that the rulers regarded as dangerous the congregation and the solidarity among slaves. Moreover, because this performance art developed as a male-centered practice, there existed a strong prejudice against the equal use of body's expressions by men and women. It is just recently that women began to actively participate in its practice. This performance art

contributed to the diffusion of democracy in Brazil, and in parallel, it has seriously faced issues of gender and race. Finally, we can probably affirm that capoeira has played an important role in supporting the resistance and liberation of the Brazilian society.

This view frames the organization of the two sections of this volume. The first gathers the results of a project organized in 2014, in collaboration with the Center for Integrated Area Studies (CIAS), Kyoto University. The second enriches the discussion with the research articles written by scholars that participated in that project. The latter incorporates a deepened reflection about the above-cited topics with a multidisciplinary standpoint from history, sociology, gender and cultural studies.

In 2014, the project of international exchange: “Capoeira Angola 2014: Ginga Nzinga”, took place in Tokyo and Kyoto, between 5-14 September. This project counted with the participation of about 340 people in the activities of five workshops, one round table and



の日程で開催し、カポエイラを実践的に学ぶワークショップを計5回、カポエイラの歴史や社会的役割を考察するシンポジウムを東京と京都でそれぞれ開催し、合計340名が参加しました。

講演者及び指導者として、カポエイラの維持・発展に尽力されている師範をブラジルから招待しました。パウロ・バハット氏(グルーポ・インズィンガ・サルバドル本部長)、ホザンジェラ・アラウージョ氏(バイーア連邦大学教育学部准教授/NEIM女性学際研究センター長)、パウラ・バハット氏(バイーア連邦大学社会学部准教授/大学院教育プログラム「バイーアの色——人種関係、黒人文化とアイデンティティ」コーディネーター)の3名です。

彼らはNPO INCAB(NPOインズィンガ研究所、カポエイラ・アンゴラとブラジルにおけるバンツー伝統教育、以下、グルーポ・インズィンガ)の創立者として知られ、カポエイラの実践世界では、それぞれポロッカ(パウロ)、ジャンジャ(ホザンジェラ)、パウリーニャ(パウラ)という通称で知られています。

3名の指導者たちは、東京で9月5日から7日まで

の3日間、京都で9月13日～14日の2日間、ワークショップを指導しました。ワークショップでは、カポエイラのデモンストレーションを行ない、実際に楽器の演奏と歌、カポエイラの動きを経験してもらうことを目的としました。

9月9日には、東京で講演会「カポエイラの身体知——ノルデスチ(ブラジル北東部)文化のなかの女性」を開催しました。ここでは、ジェンダーの視点から女性とカポエイラとの関わりや女性がカポエイラに主体的に参加するに至るまでの歴史などに着目しました。この講演会には、ホザンジェラ・アラウージョ氏とパウラ・バハット氏に加えて、北東ブラジルに10年にわたって在住し、母子保健に関するフィールドワークを実施した三砂ちづる氏(津田塾大学国際関係学科教授)が参加されました。

9月12日には、京都大学稲盛財団記念館において、国際シンポジウム「抵抗と解放の身体——ブラジル伝統芸能『カポエイラ』による対話と実践」を実施しました。シンポジウムの開会に先立って、開催地構内にある中庭で、カポエイラのデモを行ないました。

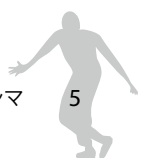
one symposium. As lecturers and coaches to these activities, were invited three people dedicated to the research and preservation of this art: the founders of the NPO INCAB (Nzinga Institute of Capoeira Angola and Bantu Educational Traditions in Brazil), generally known as the Grupo Nzinga. The invited participants from Brazil were Paulo BARRETO (Coordinator of the Grupo Nzinga Salvador Center), and two scholars from the Federal University of Bahia -UFBA: Rosangela ARAUJO (Associate professor, Faculty of Education / Coordinator of the Nucleus of Interdisciplinary Women's Studies -NEIM) and Paula BARRETO (Associate Professor, Department of Sociology / Coordinator of the Postgraduate Program "A Cor da Bahia": Racial Relations, the Black Culture and Identity). Inside the universe of the capoeira practice the three invited Brazilians are masters known as Poloca (Paulo), Janja (Rosangela) and Paulinha (Paula)

In Tokyo, September 5-7, and in Kyoto, September 13-14, the Grupo Nzinga founders coached the workshops that aimed at providing a practical experience and demonstration of the Capoeira practice

(movements, singing and playing of instruments).

In Tokyo, September 9, the round table discussion entitled *Capoeira's body knowledge: Women from within the Brazilian culture*, focused on the inclusion of women in the universe of capoeira. In this event participated the two invited Brazilian scholars and the professor at Tsuda College, Chizuru MISAGO, an epidemiologist specialized in childbirth, who used to research about procured abortion in Fortaleza, Brazil.

In Kyoto, September 12, took place at the conference room of the Inamori Foundation Memorial Building the International Symposium '*Resistance and Liberation of the body through the dialogue and practice of Capoeira, a Brazilian cultural expression*'. Before the symposium, in the open courtyard of the conference premises, a Capoeira demonstration briefly inaugurated the activities. Under the moderation of Hiroshi FUKUDA, former assistant professor at CIAS, the symposium opened with the greetings from Shōichirō HARA, director of CIAS, followed by the keynote lectures given by the two invited Brazilian scholars. The lectures exposed the influence of the social and



シンポジウムでは、福田宏氏(当時、京都大学地域研究統合情報センター助教/現・愛知教育大学地域社会システム講座講師)が司会を担当し、原正一郎氏(京都大学地域研究統合情報センター長)による挨拶のあと、ホザンジェラ・アラウージョ氏とパウラ・バハット氏による基調講演を行ないました。ここでは、アフリカの各地から奴隷として連れてこられた人々による固有の音楽や宗教、文化などの混淆から生まれたブラジル特有の文化について取り上げられました。

その後、身体論についてブラジルで研究書を出版している宇野邦一氏(立教大学現代心理学部名誉教授)、アフロ・ユーラシア大陸に広がる文化と文化遺産の保存に関心を持つウスピ・サコ氏(京都精華大学人文学部長)、ブラジルの音楽も含めて大西洋を越えて拡がる大衆音楽を研究する輪島裕介氏の3名の研究者が、アフリカや日本も交えたグローバルな視点からカポエイラについて議論しました。

活発な議論の後、パウロ・バハット氏、ホザンジェラ・アラウージョ氏、パウラ・バハット氏から、会場参加者に対してカポエイラの実技のデモンストレーションと

指導がありました。最後は、カポエイラの文化的習慣上で最も重要な儀式であるホーダ・ジ・カポエイラ(カポエイラの円)を行ない、シンポジウムを閉会しました。

本企画は、実行委員会を中心に多くの方がたによる協力と運営によって実現できました。東京の企画では荒川幸祐氏(グルーポ・インズィンガ・委員:ブラジル映像作家)と永井佳子氏(カポエイラ実践者:キュレーター)が、京都の企画では都留Devaux恵美里氏(カポエイラ実践者:京都大学大学院人間環境学研究所後期博士課程)とアンドレア・ユリ・フロレス・ウルシマが責任者となりました。

また、企画アドバイザーとして、王柳蘭氏(京都大学地域研究統合情報センター/京都大学白眉センター特定准教授)と福田宏氏が加わり、JCAS社会連携「女性地域研究者のライフ・キャリアネットワークプロジェクト」、NPO平和環境もやいネットとの共催による幅広い協力体制のもとで、実施することができました。関係者のみなさまに、この場を借りてお礼を申し上げます。

cultural practices of African slaves to the formation of the Brazilian culture. Moreover, the lecturers critically reassessed the role of the body in the transmission, production and transformation of knowledge within processes of political, social and cultural interactions. A round table followed with the participation of the emeritus professor at Rikkyo University, Kuniichi UNO, specialized in philosophical approaches of the body, which writings were published in Brazil; the dean of the Faculty of Humanities at Kyoto Seika University, Oussouby SACKO, interested in the Afro-Eurasian heritage and cultural conservation; and the Associate Professor of the Graduate School of Letters at Osaka University, Yusuke WAJIMA, specialized in the transatlantic connections in popular music, including the Brazilian music. The symposium closed with a 'Roda de Capoeira' (Capoeira Circle), the most important event of the cultural practice of Capoeira, under the coordination of Poloca, Janja and Paulinha.

This project was idealized and organized by the executive committee composed of Kosuke ARAKAWA (Grupo Nzinga Member) and Yoshiko NAGAI (Capoeira

Practitioner), Tokyo main representatives; Andrea FLORES URUSHIMA (Researcher, Kyoto University) and Emilie TSURU DEVAUX (Capoeira Practitioner and Doctoral Candidate at Kyoto University), Kyoto main representatives; under the advisory support of Liulan WANG-KANDA (Associate Professor, Kyoto University) and Hiroshi FUKUDA (Lecturer, Aichi University of Education). The project counted with the institutional support from the Center for Integrated Area Studies (CIAS), Kyoto University; the JCAS Social Collaboration Project 'Life-Career Network of Female Researchers on Area Studies'; and the NPO Partner for Peace and Environment. Moreover it counted with the financial support from the Program of Next Generation Workshop on Area Studies of the Japan Consortium for Area Studies (JCAS), and the Project of Construction of Transdisciplinary Platforms, Center for the Promotion of Interdisciplinary Education (CPIER) of Kyoto University.



第1部
シンポジウムと
講演会の記録

アフロ・ブラジル文化の表現

Afro-Brazilian Cultural Expressions

パウラ・バヘット

バイーア連邦大学社会学部准教授／カポエイラ・アンゴラ グループインジガ・共同設立者

今回このような講演の機会を与えていただいたことに、感謝の意を示したいと思います。また、東京と京都で実施しているこの企画の準備に携ってくださったみなさんに感謝します。

詳細な内容に入る前に、ここにはさまざまな分野の方が参加されていると思いますので、まずは「アフロ・ブラジル文化」というものがどのようなものかについて、簡単に説明するところから始めます。

アフロ・ブラジル文化をどう定義するか

アフロ・ブラジル文化がどのようなものか一言で言うのは難しいことです。ここではアフロ・ブラジル文化がブラジルにどれだけ深く根付いているのかについて、お話ししたいと思います。

ブラジルにおけるアフロ・ブラジル文化、黒人文化は、ブラジル全体の人びととすでに混ざり合っていて、切り離せるものではありません。そのことを納得していただくために、みなさんがブラジル特有だと思っているものがいかにアフリカと関係あるのかを、まずはお話しします。

その第一の例が言語です。ブラジルではポルトガル語が話されていますが、そのポルトガル語もブラジルでは特有の、ポルトガルとは違う、アフリカ文化の影響を受けたポルトガル語を話しています。

二つ目の例はサッカーです。ブラジルというとサッカーだとよく言われますが、ブラジルのサッカーのプレーの仕方にも、アフロ・ブラジル文化の影響が見られます。アフロ・ブラジリアンは完全にブラジル全体と混ざり合っていて、不可分のものとなっているのです。

だからといって、アフロ・ブラジルのことを話さなくていいかということ、そうではありません。アフロ・ブラジル文化がどのように生まれてきたのか、どのように「アフロ・ブラジルの烙印」が黒人に捺されて、どの

ように文化のなかに統合されていったのかについて、私たちは目を向けないといけません。

「ブラジルとはなにか」を考えたときに、混血であるメスティソの人びとや黒人は、その議論から除外されてきた、社会から除外されてきた歴史があります。それは白人層、支配者層がどのようにブラジルを表象したいか、ブラジルに対してどのようなイメージを持ってもらいたいかということと、深く関係しています。

ディアスポラと奴隷貿易のことについては、ご存じの方も多いと思います(資料1-1)。ブラジルはもっとも黒人を多く受け入れた国で、現在でももっとも黒人が多い国です。アフリカ系の人びとが、ブラジルのほとんどすべての面で労働を担っていたと言えます。

多様な要素の統合としての「アフロ・ブラジル」

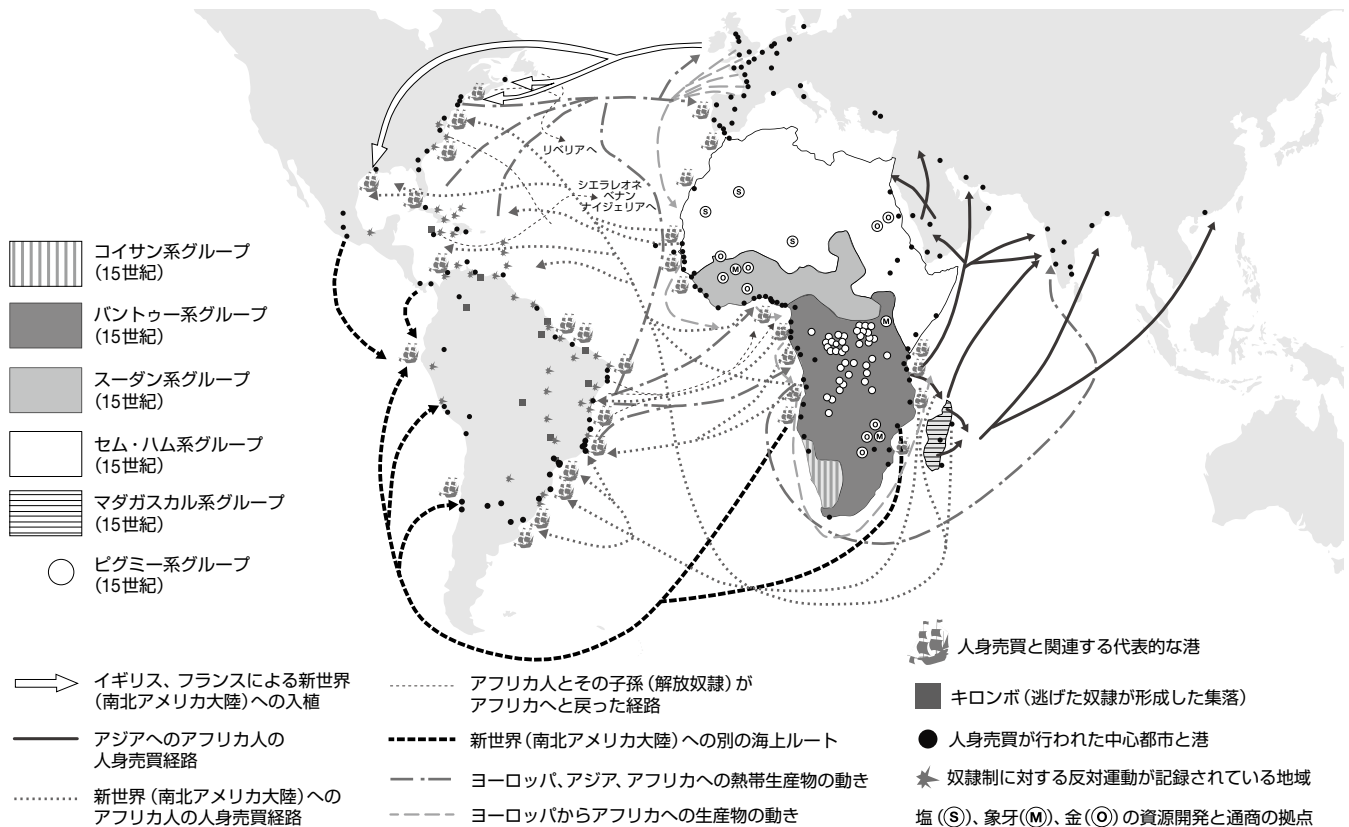
これからアフロ・ブラジル文化の表現についてお見せします。まずは19世紀についてです。そのあと少しだけ20世紀についてお話しします。

アレイジャジーニョという名前でも知られている、アントニオ・フランシスコ・リスボアという黒人のアーティストとして知られている方がいます。彼は奴隷の息子でした。ブラジルのミナスジェライス州の教会で、彼の作品が数多く見られます(資料1-2)。

アフリカ起源のブラジルの宗教にカンドンブレというものがありますが、その古いかたちの表象がカルンドゥー(CALUNDU)です(資料1-3)。絵を見るとわかるように、ブラジルの主たる宗教のキリスト教とはかなりはずれた、黒人特有の、奴隷たちがもってきた宗教と表象も、ブラジルにはたくさん残っています。

とくにブラジルの北東部、バイーア州には、アフリカ人や奴隷たちの文化的表象がたくさん残っています。それは19世紀の前半にとくに発展しました。

バイーア州の州都であるサルヴァドールには、奴隷制度が終わる直前に奴隷が大量に集中的にやってき



資料1-1 アフリカ、アメリカ、ブラジルにおけるディアスポラの地政学 (15世紀～19世紀)

Rafael Sanzio Araujo dos Santosらによる図を元に作成

(●原図制作……Cartographic project organized by the Geographer Rafael Sanzio Araujo dos Santos. AfroBrazilian geography project at the Applied Cartography and Geographic Information Center of the University of Brasilia (CIGA-UNB). Cartographic drawings elaborated by Rafael Farias, Rodrigo Vilela and Washington Oliveira, Brasilia-DF. Email: cartografia@unb.br ●原図制作の参考文献……Anjos, R.S.A. Coleção África-Brasil: Cartografia para o Ensino-Aprendizagem, Brasília, 2007/ Anjos, R.S.A. A Utilização dos Recursos Cartográficos conduzida para uma África Desmesticada, Brasília, 1985/ Silva, D.B.D. Parceiros no Tráfico, Rio de Janeiro, 2011/ Beckles, H.M. & Shepherd, V. Trading Serils/ Thomas, H. The Slave trade, USA, 2007/ Harris, J.E. Global dimension of the African Diaspora, USA, 1982/ Fage, J.D. An Atlas of African History, Londres, 1958/ Anville, Carte de l'Ethiopie Occidentale, Paris, 1732/ Le Monde Diplomatique - Supplement Historique, Paris, 2007/ NGM, The grand exchange, Washington, 1992/ Grosselein-Delamanché, Atlas de Géographie - Nouvelle Edition, Paris 1907



資料1-2 アレイジャジーニョの作品



資料1-3 カルンドゥーの絵

ました。そこでは今日でも彼らが残した文化的表象が多く見られます。

ここからは、19世紀のあいだにアフリカ人とその子孫たちによって作られた、さまざまな芸術、文化表象をお見せします。彼らは団結して、文化を通してさまざまな抑圧に抵抗する方法を見出していきました。なかでも労働と宗教は、彼らにとってたいへん重要な

ものでした。

アフリカから奴隷として連れてこられた人びとは、アフリカのさまざまな地域からやってきました。そのなかでもナゴー (Nagô) とよばれるグループが、いまだに有名です。

私たちが「アフロ・ブラジル」と言うときには、それはすでに総合的な表現になっています。たとえば「ナ





資料1-4 カトリックのブラザーフッドによって行なわれていた祭りのようす

Carlos Julião. Garments of the begging slave women at the "Festa do Rosário". Watercolored drawing. National Library Foundation. In: Mostra do Redescobrimento: Black in body and soul. Aguilar, Nelson (Org.). São Paulo: 2000. 560 p.

ゴー]や「アンゴラ」など、いろいろなところからいろいろな部族が集まってきていたのを総称して「アフロ・ブラジル」と呼んでいることは、念頭に置いておかななくてははいけません。

また、アフロ・ブラジル文化を考えるうえで特筆しておきたいのが、ブラザーフッドという友愛の団体とイスラム教徒のグループ、そしてカンドンブレです。この三つについて憶えておかないといけないことがあります。

ブラザーフッドとムスリム・グループ、カンドンブレ

まず、アフリカ人によるキリスト教のカトリック団体のブラザーフッドについてお話しします。かなり多くのカトリックのキリスト教のブラザーフッドが、黒人によって19世紀に作られました。

資料1-4はブラザーフッドによって行なわれていた祭りの絵です。これらのブラザーフッドは、基本的に民族ごとに組まれていました。こうした団体は、彼らが団結するのにたいせつなものでした。こうした場は、黒人の子どもたちが教育を受ける場、読み書きを学ぶ場にもなっていました。資料1-5に挙げたのは、男性だけのブラザーフッドの名前です。このように男性のブラザーフッドは、すでに18世紀から萌芽的に形成されていたことがみとれます。

資料1-6はノサ・セニョーラ・ダ・ボア・モルチ(Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte)という友愛の団体に所属する女性たちの写真です。この団体の儀式に来るために、世界中の方がたがかなり多く集まっているそうです。

資料1-5 男性ブラザーフッドの名前

Our Lord of Martyrdom (in the city of Cachoeira): since 1765

Our Lady of Rosario (in the city of Salvador)

Our Good Lord of Necessities and Redemption: since 1752



資料1-6 ノサ・セニョーラ・ダ・ボア・モルチの女性

Adenor Gondim. The Ladies of the Good Death Series. 1990's. Colored Photograph. Private Collection. In: Mostra do Redescobrimento: Black in body and soul. Aguilar, Nelson (Org.). São Paulo: 2000. 560 p.



資料1-7 イスラム教徒の黒人奴隷が隠し持っていた小冊子

Booklet with Islamic writings found tied to the neck of a Muslim Negro dead during a Malês insurrection, Bahia, 1835. In: Mostra do Redescobrimento: Black in body and soul. Aguilar, Nelson (Org.). São Paulo: 2000. 560 p

この時期にイスラム教徒のグループがあったことにも触れておきたいと思います(資料1-7)。イスラム教徒のグループは、奴隷のなかでも抵抗するグループに関連づけられていました。

こうした団体のなかで、今日でも一番活動しているといえるのは、カンドンブレだと思います(資料1-8)。カンドンブレは、もともとアフリカにあった宗教が奴隷とともにブラジルに到来して、独自の発展を遂げたものです。そのカンドンブレの一部として、カポエイラがあります(資料1-9)。



資料1-8 現代に残るカンドンプレの儀式

https://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E3%82%AB%E3%83%B3%E3%83%89%E3%83%B3%E3%83%96%E3%83%AC#/media/File:Orixa_Yemanja_Orossi.JPG



資料1-11 フレーヴォ

<http://carnaval.olinda.pe.gov.br/historia/homenagem-ao-frevo/dobradica-tesoura-os-passos-basicos-do-frevo>



資料1-9 かつてのカポエイラの様子

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capoeira>



資料1-12 イレ・アイエの女性たち

<http://blackwomenofbrazil.co/2013/12/17/ile-aye-bahias-oldest-bloco-afro-celebrates-40-years-opens-registrations-for-2014-ebony-goddess-contest/>



資料1-10 マラカトゥ

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Caboclos_de_Ilan%C3%A7a.jpg

20世紀以降、現代に残るアフロ・ブラジル文化

アフロ・ブラジル文化は、20世紀以降もたいへん豊かに残っています。20世紀に入ると、アフロ・ブラジル文化のなかで、より社会的・政治的な活動も増え、黒人による演劇集団などが誕生しました。

その他、たくさんの豊かなアフロ・ブラジルの文化

表現が、今日も残っています。それらの多くがカーニバルに内包され、現在でもその文化表現が行われています。資料1-10は、ブラジル北東部のペルナンブーコでよく見られるマラカトゥ (Maracatu) という民族芸能をするカーニバルのようすです。

資料1-11は、ペルナンブーコ州のシンボルとなっているフレーヴォ (FREVO) というカーニバルでの踊りのようすです。この踊りで見られる動きは、カポエイラともかなり大きく関係しています。

資料1-12は、イレ・アイエ (Ilê Aiyê) というアフロ・ブラジルのグループです。このグループは、1970年代に、ブラジルの黒人の文化が再評価されていった、すなわち、黒人たちによって価値が再獲得されていったときから始まっています。

資料1-13は、カンドンプレの女性の聖職者たちとよく関連づけられる、バイーアの伝統的な服装をした女性たちです。こうしたバイーアの女性たちの姿は、すでにバイーアのイメージ、シンボルとして、世界中



資料1-13 バイアーナ(バイアの女性)

<https://alemdastendencias.wordpress.com/tag/traje-tipico-das-baianas/>

に流布しています。

バイアの文化のなかでもとくに重要なものとして食文化があります。彼女たちは食文化にも深く関わっていますが、今回は残念ながらお話しする時間がありません。

解放の原動力となる アフロ・ブラジル文化のポテンシャル

これまで見てきたアフロ・ブラジルの文化はすべて、身体に関連するものです。ノブレガという研究者は、「哲学者のメルロ＝ポンティは、身体性が欠如した思考を優先しすぎるあまりに、私たちが感覚を体験する身体の実現を置き去りにしてきてしまったことを私たちに教えてくれている」と指摘しています。このような指摘に対して、現在の観点あるいは理解から、身体に関する知識を、救い出すこともできると考えています。なかでもアフロ・ブラジルの文化表現の実践は、カポエイラも含めて解放の原動力となる大きなポテンシャルがあります。この「身体の道」を辿って、アフロ・ブラジルの伝統的な世界観や主体性が伝承されてきましたし、今日もカポエイラなどを通して、後世に伝え続けられています。

エッセイ

カポエイラの女性マスターたち、初来日

石井 結 FICA-Japão 練習生

✕ ストラ・ジャンジャとパウリーニャの存在は私に勇気を与えてくれる。カポエイラではいろんな出会いがあるが、今の自分を形成してきた人たちの数はそれほど多くないと思う。彼女たちは心の慈母たちだ。遠く離れていても、グループの違いがあっても、彼女たちがカポエイラの世界に「いる」という安心感はとても大きく、力にもなります。グループを越えてお互いの経験を感じ合い、助け合い、成長し、共に進んでいくことが女性たちには出来るのだと、気づかされました。彼女たちが切り開いてくれた道をただ、なんとなく歩むのではなく意識することで、これからもその道は保たれていくと、私は思います。GINGA NZINGAのイベントの中でメストラ・ジャンジャ、パウリーニャ、メストレ・ポロッカがカポエイラを通して伝えてくれたことをこれからも大切にしていきたいと思います。先生たちが蒔いてくれたカポエイラの種が、これから日本の大地の上で成長していくのが楽しみです。



In Search of You, in Search of Me

When Capoeira Starts to Function

Yoshiko NAGAI Curator and member of Grupo Nzinga

When I visited Salvador in Brazil last year, I met Mestre Janja, the capoeira professor who came to Japan a year before. Not long after we met, she said to me as if she was waiting to say that sentence, 'I remember every detail of Japan so well'. Then she showed me the photos of the trip and talked as if she was revisiting the country. 'You know, I found the same deity as in our religion, Candomblé'. In one of the photos, there was the *cetaka* statue with sword in the quiet temple of Kyoto. Candomblé is an Afro-Brazilian religion which contains plural deities with different characters. One of the deities is called Ogun, that of the warrior with an arm. I exactly knew what she meant.

In 2014, the three capoeira professors, Mestre Janja, Mestre Poloca and Mestre Paulinha from the Grupo Nzinga visited Japan. The workshop was held both in Tokyo and Kyoto, and I was involved as one of the organizers. This trip was not only about physical workshops but the importance was in mutually understanding culture.

I myself have trained Capoeira for a few years, and as I continue, I could not help feeling the need to bridge this Brazilian culture of diaspora and my own culture in order to understand it deeper. Capoeira, at a first sight, looks like a martial art of physical beauty. But as you continue to practice, it actually starts to function as a tool for understanding our own culture since many aspects of the art of capoeira touches our cultural instinct as human beings. The lyric of its songs contain the memory of Africa where slaves in Brazil had dreamed of, its movement mimics the walk of animals in the untouched forest, and the sound of music, especially that of Berimbau, vibrates deep inside of our physical sensibility. The motivation for organizing this event, therefore, started with the desire to share with the professors what we have as Japanese culture.

Capoeira originally started as a dance / fighting practice of the slaves forcedly brought from Africa during the colonial period in the 16th century. Africa, since that time, was rich in its diversity of culture and languages. However, the slaves were brutally taken to the unknown land, Brazil, by being separated from their family and cultural roots. This complex background made Capoeira more than a physical enjoyment of people of African origin. It functioned to remember their identity by involving their cultural roots via physical movement, language and music. Knowing these deep historical facts, I cannot help feeling that the nature of this art let us think about where we came from.

The uniqueness of culture could be hidden within a mass of information in this 'global society'. In such a situation, people seem to know better and experience more, however, it is becoming more and more difficult to know about themselves, their own culture and its uniqueness. Also, the lack of human interaction might have accelerated this phenomena. It has become easy, to apparently about a different culture without going and meeting with local people. But what is remarkable about capoeira is that, as Mestre Paulinha mentioned in the symposium during this event, 'it traveled all around the world and inspired various people without any help of authority. It expanded solely with the power of people'.

Mestres of Grupo Nzinga spent entire two weeks observing, asking, speculating about the Japanese culture. Every time I explained about my culture, I felt like I understood better about my own culture. The questions they posed were the answers to my existence. This is when the roda, the circle of the capoeira, has expanded and played in its full meaning.



身体と伝統文化——異文化間の文脈から

Body and Traditional Cultures in Intercultural Contexts

ホザンジェラ・アラウージョ

バイア連邦大学教育学部准教授／カポエイラ・アンゴラ グループインジンガ・共同設立者

京都大学に来ることができて、このような機会を与えていただきありがとうございます。また、関西をはじめ各地から日本のカポエイラを愛するみなさんが集まっていたことにお礼を申し上げます。

パウラ先生の講演に続けてお話をしますと、ブラジルのイメージというものが、アフリカから奴隷として連れてこられた人たちによって影響を強く受けていることは、忘れてはいけません。とくにブラジルにおける身体性については、奴隷として連れてこられた人たちに重要性があります。

カポエイラとはなにか——その起源と歴史

ここにおられる方たちには、カポエイラを知らない方もおられますので、まずカポエイラとはなにかという定義づけの話をしましょう。

植民地時代のブラジルにアフリカから連れてこられた黒人たちは、「アンゴラ」という総称で呼ばれます。現在、私たちが「カポエイラ」と呼んでいるものは、以前はそのような名前ではなく、「アンゴラのダンス」、「アンゴラのゲーム」、「アンゴラの遊び」と呼ばれていました。

先ほどのパウラ先生の話のとおり、アフロ・ブラジル文化は多様性がありますが、そのなかでも、アフリカのバントゥ系の文化がカポエイラに強く影響を与えています。アフリカ各地から連れてこられた奴隷たちは、センザーラという奴隷居住地にまとまって暮らしていました。そこでは同じアフリカでも出身地が異なる人たちが一緒に暮らしていたため、文化が混ざり合うことになりました。

奴隷としての暮らしに耐えられなくなった人たちは、支配者に抵抗して逃亡することに成功し、キロンボ(奴隷逃亡集落)という独自のテリトリーを作りあげました。このセンザーラとキロンボが、カポエイラの成立に大きく関係しています。

やがて奴隷制が終わったあと、カポエイラは禁止になりました。奴隷制がなくなったことで、奴隷ではなく、白人でもなく、仕事がない、教育がないという「バジウ」という存在が生まれます。彼らは奴隷の身から解放され、自由の身になっても、政府からは無法者のように扱われていました。彼らのするカポエイラは、無法者によって行なわれる支配層を脅かすものとして捉えられたのです。

カポエイラの起源がいったいどこから来るのか、アフリカ起源なのかブラジルで生まれたものなのかについては、現在でも議論があります。

私たち「カポエイラ・アンゴラ」を継承する者のことを「アンゴレーロ」と呼んでいます。私たちアンゴレーロは、カポエイラはアフリカが母体であると考えています。

体に記憶された身体表現としてのカポエイラ

アフリカからブラジルに連れてこられた人たちにとって、奴隷制は歴史的なものではないという考え方があります。そして彼らは見た目が黒人であるというだけではなく、「アフロ・ブラジリアン」というアイデンティティを強くもっています。

資料2-1に、1908年から1925年のあいだに登録されたカポエイラの使い手を示しています。左側は名前で、肌の色も書かれています。識字の有無、職業についても書かれています。

この資料から読み取れることは、まず、ほとんどの人が男性だということです。1920年代まで、ブラジルの黒人男性、メスティソのほとんどの方が読み書きができませんでした。そして彼らの職業はほとんどが路上、道などで行なわれる肉体労働でした。

「カポエイラ」という言葉自体は、もともとブラジルのインディオ、先住民の言葉で、「自然」または「森の中」という意味です。



資料2-1 カポエリスタ(カポエイラの使い手)たちのプロフィール(1908-1925)

Nome ou apelido (Names or Nicknames)	Cor (Color)	Instrução (Instruction)	Ocupação (Occupation)
Agripino M. Oliveira		analfabeto	carregador
Tripas ao Sol		analfabeto	pequeno comerciante
Caboclinho		analfabeto	marítimo, saveirista, estivador
Boca de Fogo/Antonio Boca de Porco	mestiço	analfabeto	estivador, marítimo, capanga
Aristides José de Santana	negro		estivador
Argemiro Olho de Pombo	negro		estivador
Artur dos Santos		alfabetizado	operário, ex-aprendiz de marinho
Tibiriri			marceneiro
Eutyquio Alves da Silva	pardo		carregador
Gregório Bispo dos Santos	pardo	alfabetizado	carregador
Inocêncio Sete Mortes	negro	analfabeto	carregador, policial, capanga
Cou	negro	analfabeto	pedreiro
João Gulodice	mestiço	analfabeto	pescador, dono de casa de jogo
Três Pedacos	negro	analfabeto	carregador, peixeiro
Zebedeu	pardo	alfabetizado	policial, vigia, sapateiro, capanga
Tico	negro	analfabeto	carregador
Besouro Mangangá	negro	analfabeto	soldado do exército, saveirista
Manoel Raymundo da Silva	mestiço	alfabetizado	marítimo
Martins Silveira Lima	mestiço	alfabetizado	pedreiro, carregador, trapicheiro
Miguel Ferreira dos Santos		analfabeto	engraxate
Pedro Porreta	negro	analfabeto	peixeiro, carregador, trapicheiro
Pedro Piroca	negro	alfabetizado	peixeiro
Pedro Mineiro	negro	alfabetizado	carregador, marítimo, policial, capanga
Samuel da Calçada	negro	alfabetizado	carpinteiro, capanga
Bastião	pardo		policial, capanga
Percê			engraxate
Duquinha	negro	alfabetizado	estivador, fabricante de carroça mecânico,

カポエイラに類似した表現は、ブラジル以外にも見られます。たとえばマルティニークの「ラジャ(Ladja)」とキューバの「マニー(Mani)」が挙げられます。

こちらから読み取れることは、奴隷制による暴力のなかでも、アフリカ起源の身体表現は、彼らの体のなかに記憶され、受け継がれていたということではないでしょうか。カポエイラの動きとよく似ているマルティニークのラジャの映像からは、そのことが読み取れます(資料2-2)。

格闘技から人生の哲学へ ——カポエイラの変遷

20世紀の初めごろ、「無法者」というネガティブな名前で呼ばれていたカポエリスタたちは、それに対する抵抗として自分たちの服をきれいにしていました。そのころの映像を見ると、カポエイラをするときに、靴を履いているのも見受けられます。靴を履いているということは、「自由の身である」という表象です。奴隷の身分では、黒人は誰一人として靴を履くことは許されていませんでした。

カポエイラでは、格闘の要素をカモフラージュし



資料2-2 マルティニークのラジャ

て、ダンスのように見せています。時代の流れとともに、カポエイラのこの動きは洗練されていき、スピードも速くなっていきます。

やがてカポエリスタたちは集まって、「マウタ(Malta)」と呼ばれる秘密組織を作りました。それはブラジルの北部と南部に集落として存在しました。

19世紀にブラジル政府によって、カポエイラをすること自体が法律で違法になります。カポエイラをしているところを見つければ捕らえられると、公共の場



資料2-3 アンゴラとヘジヨナウの違い

Capoeira Angola
African origin: enslaved
Criminal misdemeanor
Woods and spaces of playing
Philosophy of life
Ancestry: continuum African or Afro-Brazilian diaspora;
Globalization: new Africanization
Capoeira Regional
Brazilian origin: slaves;
National Sport: Brazilian gymnastics
Physical activity: competitive sports
History: struggle against slavery;
Globalization: new Brazilization

で刑罰を受けさせられました。牢獄に入れられるか、もしくは処刑されてしまいました。

このような「カポエリスタは無秩序である」というカポエイラのイメージを変えるために、カポエリスタたちは変化を遂げていきます。地域のコミュニティやカポエリスタたちによって、カポエイラは人生の哲学のように変わっていきました。このときに、私たちが今日までカポエイラを続けてきた、そして続けていくうえで重要な要素である祖先への尊敬の精神が生まれます。

芸術表現としてのアンゴラ スポーツとしてのヘジヨナウ

バイーアでは、1930年代からカポエイラの新しいかたちが作られました。「ルータ・ヘジヨナウ・バイアナ」、「バイーアの地域の格闘技」という名前で、「カポエイラ」とは言わずに、そういう名前と呼ばれていました。外からはカポエイラ・ヘジヨナウと呼ばれています。

ブラジル政府によってカポエイラが容認・合法化されたのは、1937年のことでした。ここで初めてブラジルの文化として認知されることになります。

そしてそのころから、カポエイラのスタイルとして「ヘジヨナウ」と「アンゴラ」という呼び名が生まれました。資料2-3に示したのは、それぞれの特徴です。カポエイラ・アンゴラは芸術的な表現として行なわれ(資料2-4)、カポエイラ・ヘジヨナウはスポーツとして行なわれます(資料2-5)。

やがて20世紀にカポエイラは全世界に拡がっていきますが、このような二つのスタイルがあったからこそ、世界中に拡がったと言えます。

資料2-6は、カポエイラがどのようなかたちで

資料2-4 芸術表現としてのカポエイラ・アンゴラ

Capoeira Angola: Capoeira as Art
Malice: To be ladino, to be "closed", the mandinga
Complementary: play, and let play
Play low: predominance of hands
Absence of violence: playing as a game.
Relaxation, pleasure, fun(laughter). Tacit agreement
Duration of the longest game
Rejection of betrayal
Displacement of the art form to other transformations;
•Beauty is not defenceless;
•Slow music: body and mental domination;
•Ritual importance: rules governing diverse aspects;
•Knowledge of these rules: "to be inside"; pride and prestige in the group;
•Theatricality: pretense, dramatization
•Beautiful Movements: importance of establishing a unique aesthetic;

資料2-5 スポーツとしてのカポエイラ・ヘジヨナウ

Capoeira Regional: Capoeira as a fight
Brazilian Martial Art: regulation, championships;
Changes in the concept of capoeira;
Bureaucratized associations: single regulation;
Incorporation of elements of the oriental martial arts: legitimacy through movement of socially accepted martial arts;
•Political and ideological co-optation of the system: erasing the ethnicity for the sake of civility, health, education and culture (folklore);
•Relax: Sociability, courtesies;
•Militaristic;
•Tacitly racist.

→To which concludes the author: As a culture, capoeira is black. As a sport, it's white.

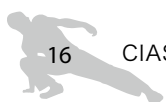
オーガナイズされてきたか、師範がだれであったか、どの人に教えてもらったかを示す系図です。この資料のうちグレーの四角で示したものが私たちの系統です。

世界に飛び立ち、拡がったカポエイラ

資料2-7は、私が国際カポエイラ学会のために作成した資料で、カポエイラを教えているブラジルの方がたです。現在、全世界160か国でカポエイラが練習されていると言われています。

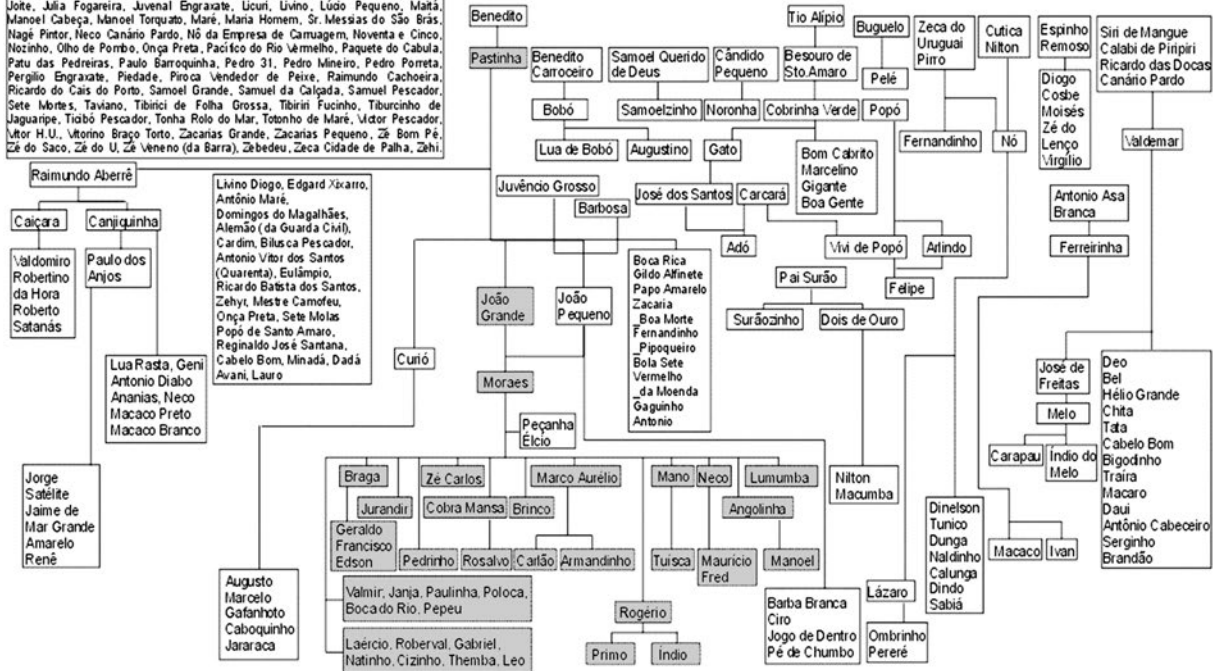
先ほどお見せした、カポエイラのかつての担い手を示す資料2-1とくらべると、ずいぶんとそのプロフィールが変わっていることに気づきます。こちらの名前のなかには男性と女性が入り交じっています。白人と黒人、高い教育レベルの人、大学院生など、職業はブラジルのなかでも特別よい職業と言われているものに就いています。

資料2-8は外国人のカポエリスタです。こちらも



Agê Pintor, Ajé, Alario Chapeleiro, Alfredo Raposa, Algimiro Grande, Américo Gêndia, Amozinho, Antoninho da Barra, Antônio Boca de Porco, Antônio Galindeu, Antônio Maré, Aurélio Dizerleiro, Babino Carneiro, Bastão, Bacião Camagador, Bemor do Correio, Federal, Benedito Cão, Bichiguiinha, Bigode de Seda, Bilusca Pescador, Borra Nome, Bugalho, Caboquinho, Cabodo (irmão de Bilusca Pescador), Cara Queimada, Casarongo, Casaca, Cassiano, Balão, Cento e Cinco, Chico Capurmino, Chico Cazumbá, Chico da Barra, Chico Me Dá, Chico Três Pedações, Cimento de Itapuí, Curió, Dadá, Daniel Coutinho, Daniel Reis, Denê, Dinamite, Doze Homens, Duquilha (irmão de Veneno), Edgar Chicharro, Edgar Carrocinha, Eduardo Tranpe, Fitone, Escalvino, Espendão, Eutique, Feliciano Bigode, Galindeu, Galinho, Gasolina, Geraldo, Pé de Abêlha, Geraldo Chapeleiro, Gôme, Governador, Henrique, Hilário Chapeleiro, Inimigo Sem Tripa, Inocência 7 Montes, João Coqueiro Joste, Jília Fogareira, Juvenal Engraxate, Licuri, Livino, Lúcio Pequeno, Mãitã, Manoel Cabeça, Manoel Torquato, Maré, Maria Hornem, Sr. Messias do São Brás, Nagê Pintor, Neco Canário Pardo, Nô da Empresa de Camuagem, Noventa e Cinco, Nozinho, Ôlo de Pombo, Onça Preta, Pacífico do Rio Vermelho, Paquete do Cabula, Patu das Pedreiras, Paulo Barroquinha, Pedro 31, Pedro Mineiro, Pedro Porreta, Pergílio Engraxate, Piedade, Piroca Vendedor de Peixe, Raimundo Cachoeira, Ricardo do Cais do Porto, Samuel Grande, Samuel da Calçada, Samuel Pescador, Sete Montes, Taviano, Tibirici de Falha Grossa, Tibirici Fuchinho, Tiburcinho de Jaguanipe, Tiobô Pescador, Tonha Rolo do Mar, Totinho de Maré, Vitor Pescador, Vitor H.U., Vitorino Braço Torto, Zacarias Grande, Zacarias Pequeno, Zê Bom Pé, Zê do Saco, Zê do U, Zê Veneno (da Barra), Zêbedeu, Zeca Cidade de Palha, Zehi.

Reproduzida de original compilado por Sylvia Robinson e publicado em 2002 por The International Capoeira Angola Foundation



資料 2-6 カポエイラの系図

資料 2-7 ブラジル人カポエリスタのプロフィール Profile of capoeiristas - Brazilians (amostra)

Sexo	Cor	Escolaridade	Ocupação principal
Feminino	Branca	Superior incompleto	Estudante
Feminino	Branca	Pós-Graduação	Fotógrafa e designer
Feminino	Morena	Superior completo	Designer de Interiores
Feminino	Branca	Pós-Graduação	Estudante
Feminino	Preta	Superior completo	Funcionária Pública
Feminino	Parda	Ensino Médio	
Masculino	Caboclo	Superior incompleto	Artista Plástica
Masculino	Branco	Superior incompleto	Estudante
Masculino	Branco	Superior incompleto	Auxiliar de Musculação
Masculino		Superior completo	
Masculino	Negro	Ensino Fundamental	Artesão
Masculino	Moreno	Pós-Graduação	Publicitário
Masculino	Branco	Superior completo	Economista
Masculino	Branco	Pós-Graduação	Ator
Masculino	Negro	Superior completo	Professor

資料 2-8 外国人カポエリスタのプロフィール Profile of capoeiristas - foreigners (amostra)

Sexo	Cor	Escolaridade	Ocupação principal
Feminino	Marron	Pós-Graduação	Pesquisadora
Feminino		Pós-Graduação	Estudante
Feminino		Pós-Graduação	Monitora
Feminino		Superior Incompleto	Professora
Feminino		Superior Completo	Professora
Masculino		Superior Incompleto	Ator
Masculino		Pós-Graduação	Estudante
Masculino		Superior Incompleto	Jardineiro, barman e motorista
Masculino		Superior Incompleto	Programador de Computação
Masculino		Pós-Graduação	Professor
Masculino		Pós-Graduação	Designer
Masculino		Superior Completo	Instalação de piscinas
Masculino		Pós-Graduação	Tradutor/intérprete
Masculino		Pós-Graduação	psicólogo

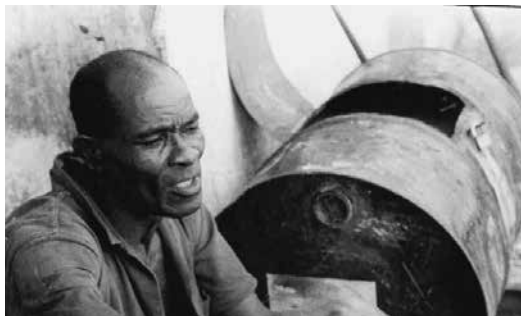




資料2-9 JOÃO PEQUENO師範(左)と
JOÃO GRANDE師範(右)



資料2-11 現在のカポエイラのように



資料2-10 JOÃO GRANDE師範



資料2-12 子どもたちの参加

同じように、教育もしっかりと受けていて、そしてしっかりとした職業に就いているという点では、以前とは違う結果が出ています。

これはよく現在のカポエイラの状態を表しています。ブラジルではカポエイラに対する偏見が強く評価が低かったにもかかわらず、カポエリスタはブラジル外の全世界に飛び立ち、さまざまな国でコミュニティを作ったりカポエイラを広めています。

資料2-9の二人は、JOÃO PEQUENO、JOÃO GRANDE師範です。JOÃO PEQUENO師範はもうお亡くなりになっていますが、JOÃO GRANDE師範は現在ニューヨークに住んでいます。

資料2-10は現在ニューヨークに住んでいるJOÃO GRANDE師範が、ニューヨークに移る前の写真です。移られる前の仕事場のようすが、どのような生活環境だったかがこちらでよくわかります。アメリカに移ったジョアン・グランデ師範は、博士号をとっています。

資料2-11、2-12は、現在のカポエイラの様子です。子どもたちの参加がよく見受けられます。

それはアフリカ大陸においても同様です。アフリカを起源とするカポエイラは、近年アフリカ大陸に再び戻りました。資料2-13は、モザンビークのマプトで



資料2-13 マプトのカポエイラ

活動している私たちのグループ「Nzinga」のカポエイラの様子です。

近年のカポエイラ界でとくに重要なこととして、日本でもヨーロッパでも、女性の参加が多く見られることが挙げられます。



「抵抗と解放の身体—— ブラジル伝統芸能『カポエイラ』による対話と実践」によせて

都留 Devaux 恵美里 京都大学大学院人間・環境学研究科博士後期課程、Nzingaメンバー

2014年9月、ブラジルから三人のカポエイラ師範を招聘して東京と京都で「Ginga Nzinga」というカポエイラのワークショップおよび講演会を行った。招聘したのは、ホザンジェラ・アラウージョ師範(バイア連邦大学教育学部准教授)とパウロ・バハット師範(同大学社会学部准教授)、そして彼女たちとNzingaというカポエイラ・アンゴラの団体を立ち上げ、組織しているパウロ・バハット師範であった。

東京、京都とそれぞれの地でカポエイラ・ワークショップ(動きと音楽の練習)とホーダ(カポエイラの実演)、東京では三砂ちづる氏(津田塾大学国際関係学科教授)を交えて『カポエイラの身体知——ノルデスチ(ブラジル北東部)文化のなかの女性』と題した鼎談、そして京都では福田宏氏(当時京都大学地域研究統合情報センター助教)が司会を務めた『抵抗と解放の身体——ブラジル伝統芸能「カポエイラ」による対話と実践』と冠したパネル・ディスカッションを行った。京都でパネリストとして参加したのは宇野邦一氏(立教大学現代心理学部名誉教授)、ウスビ・サコ氏(京都精華大学人文学部長・教授)、輪島裕介氏(大阪大学文学部文学研究科准教授)であった。

ブラジルという国は、ワールドカップやオリンピックの開催国として、日本でも近年メディアでさまざまな形で取り上げられ、頻繁に耳にするようになってきた。また、カポエイラに関しても、さまざまな流派や団体はあるが、毎年何人もの師範(メストレ)や講師たちが来日し、ワークショップを開いている。ブラジル一般への関心と、カポエイラを学ぶ人たちのこの伝統芸能への関心が総合的に強まるなか、今回初めて、女性のカポエイラ・アンゴラ(より伝統的とされるカポエイラの流派)師範の招聘にいたった。また、私の記憶が正しければ、三人もの師範が同時に来日したのも、初めてのことである。近年、ブラジルでもヨーロッパでも学術的に取り上げられる機会が増えているカポエイラだが、日本での、この伝統芸能に特化した学術的なシンポジ

ウムも、初めての試みであった。

私がこのブラジルの伝統芸能と出会ったのは京都で、10年近く前のことである。当初は、体を楽しく動かす手段をみつけたと思ったのを憶えている。その後、生活環境の変化に伴い何度かあまり練習できなくなった時期もあるが、それでも、住む所が変わる都度、その土地のカポエイラのグループを探して、頻繁にはと言えないながらも、完全にカポエイラから離れることなく続けてきた。そして今では、スポーツという感覚は後

退し、私の生活のなか、さらには私自身のなかに〈在る〉ものとして捉えるようになっていく。

その大きな転換の決定打となったのが、研究(美術史)でブラジルに滞在していた2013-2014年に会ったNzingaというグループと、その師範たちとの出会いであった。彼らを介して、いかにカポエイ

ラが体を動かすという意味のみでの「スポーツ」ではなく、社会活動であり、今日のブラジル文化形成の一端を担っている、あるいは体現しているのかに気づかされたのである。

Nzingaというグループ自体が、社会的問題意識を比較的強く持ったグループではあるが、今日のカポエイラ団体は、多かれ少なかれ子供の教育や貧困、性差別などの問題に取り組んでいるところが多い。ブラジルの伝統芸能でありながら、現代の社会問題を真っ向から受け止め、独自の解決法を模索するカポエイラの在り方を目の当たりにするにつれ、日本というコンテクストに置き換えた場合の可能性に思いを馳せるようになり、さまざまな示唆に富んでいるのではないかという思いが募っていった。そのようななか、Nzingaメンバーの荒川幸祐氏の呼びかけのもとにこのような機会を得たのである。

今回のテーマのひとつとして、「身体とその解放」というものがあつた。ブラジルを語るうえで、「身体性」はしばしば使われるキーワードである。それはおそらく、この国の文化を研究する者、カポエイラやサンバを踊



り、演奏する者、さらに広義にはブラジルを訪れたことのある者が共通して、なにかしらブラジル特有の身体性なるものを感じ取るからであろう。

カポエイラは周知の通り、ブラジルに連れてこられた黒人たちが、奴隷という劣悪な環境にありながら生み出した、格闘技の要素を含む踊りである(個人的には「舞」と「闘い」であることから「舞闘」という言葉が最もしっくりくる)。今でこそ、カポエイラの「ホーダ」と呼ばれる実演がブラジルの無形文化遺産としてユネスコに登録されているが、長年、反乱や反抗の意志を表す活動として禁止されてきた過去がある。今日、カポエイラがその音楽や動きの独自性と美しさから評価されているのはさることながら、そうした抑圧の過去を乗り越えた、解放の象徴としてとらえられていることも忘れてはならない。

「解放」というときに、大きく分けて二種類あるといえるだろう。一つが、社会的解放で、もう一つが、今回のテーマでもある身体的解放である。

先に述べた「解放」の象徴としてのカポエイラは、もちろん奴隷という立場からの解放で、社会的な解放である。しかしながら、この社会的解放は身体的解放と不可分である。禁止されてきたカポエイラやカンドンブレ(アフリカ起源の宗教)は、身体を伴って表現されるものである。これらの踊りを踊る、歌を歌う、音楽を奏

する身体を、自由に、抑圧されることなく解き放つことが可能になることこそがまさに「解放」なのである。

ブラジルで奴隷制度がなくなったからといって、偏見や格差などの問題が解消されたわけではない。しかしながら、奴隷制度のあった時代から、黒人たちは自分たちのアイデンティティを守りながら、抵抗する手段としてカポエイラという文化を紡いできた。禁止されるまでに、カポエイラを通して当時の制度を脅かし、その制度に対する批判と再考を促してきた。そして今日でも、私たちを取り巻く社会問題に対して、常に再考の必要性を突きつける機能を発揮しているように思われる。

講演会やシンポジウムでは、こうした可能性を持つものとして、カポエイラを身体的、文化的、社会的な側面から、さまざまな分野における研究者の見解を交えて議論することができた。女性の身体と社会との関わり、日本から見たブラジル文化、アフリカから見たブラジル文化など、日本で開催されたからこそその見解も少なからず提示された。そうした意味では、ブラジル文化という他者を見つめることにより、私たち自身の生きる日本社会を見つめなおす作業でもあった。

今回のワークショップと講演会は、これからの更なる対話と議論の皮切りになっただろう。そしてそのことが、今回の最大の功績ではないかと、今後のために、喜ばしく思う次第である。

GINGA NZINGA 2014

風間 雄太 FICA-Japão 準師範

GINGA NZINGAは、楽しみにしていたカポエイラのイベントだった。しかし、開催前は楽しみな反面、若干不安な部分もあった。それは、4才と2才の息子二人を連れて参加する事を予定していたからだ。初日に先生方に挨拶をする際に、「イベントに子ども達を連れて参加したいと思っています。問題無いでしょうか?」と聞くと、すかさず、「何も心配無いよ!! 連れてきてよ!! お願いね!!」と優しく、笑顔で言ってくれた。その瞬間に不安は完全に無くなり、子ども達と一緒に最大限イベントを楽しもうという考えに変わった。

休憩時間に先生と子ども達が楽しげに、カポエイラをして遊んでいるのを見かけた。そのカポエイラは一般的に言われている「戦い」でもなく、「踊り」でもなかった。その自然な姿はまるで会話で遊んでいるようであった。

カポエイラは、アフリカ大陸から奴隷として連れてこられた多様な人種と文化が混ざりあい、ブラジルで生まれた。その過程では、言語が違う人種同士が同じ時間と場所を共有する必要があっただろう。人種ごとに異なる踊り方や楽器の叩き方もあったと思う、言葉が通じない彼らは、楽器、歌、踊りでコミュニケーションを取り合い、その一つとしてカポエイラが生まれたのかも知れない。

子ども達とブラジルの先生が言語と世代を超えて、カポエイラでコミュニケーションを取り合っていた。カポエイラが持つ多様な可能性と魅力を再確認したひと時だった。

ジャンジャ師範、パウリーニャ師範、ポロツカ師範。三人と共に過ごせた時間に感謝します。



コメント1

宇野 邦一

立教大学現代心理学部名誉教授

はじめにみなさんに『O Pagador de Promessas』という1962年のブラジルの映画の一部をご覧ください。『O Pagador』は、罪を償うもの、約束を果たすものということです。これは約束を果たし、キリストのように罪を贖う男の話で、すごくいい映画です。1962年に、カンヌ映画祭でパルム・ドールを獲得しました。

映画『O Pagador de Promessas』にみる カンドンブレとカポエイラ

資料3-1に示した映画の一場面では、主人公の男が大きな十字架を背負っています。サルヴァドールのバイアの教会に、この十字架を運んできたのです。

主人公の男は、アフリカ由来の黒人たちの宗教、呪術的な面がある宗教の儀式にすぎなくて、自分がとても大事にしているロバが死にそうになっているのを助けてもらおうと神様にお願いして、実際にロバは助かりました。そのとき「ロバが助かった暁には、等身大の十字架を持ってサルヴァドールの教会に徒歩でお参りする」と誓ったので、この教会まで十字架を背負って歩いて運んできたわけです。

ところが、その事情を聞いた資料3-1の左側にいる教会の司祭は、まるでなにか恐ろしい言葉を聞いたかのように、「カンドンブレ！」と言って、「十字架をかついで歩くのは冒涇だ。教会に入れてやるわけにはいかない」といって、願いを聞き入れてくれません。

そのあと、祭りに集まってきた人々のあいだで「この人はもしかして現代の聖人じゃないか」とか「いや、ただの詐欺師じゃないか」など噂が噂をよびます。ついにはジャーナリストなどが詰めかけて、大騒ぎになります。そこでのお祭りのなかでカポエイラが行なわれています(資料3-2)。

この映画には字幕が付いていませんが、YouTubeで見ることができます。私はサンパウロで、ブラジルの映画になにか面白いのではないだろうかと、まちの屋台みたいところでまったく無作為に買ったも



資料3-1 映画『O Pagador de Promessas』の一場面
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WLqFa-61tkM>



資料3-2 映画『O Pagador de Promessas』での
カポエイラ

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WLqFa-61tkM>

のを次々見ていて、この映画に出会いました。私はポルトガル語ができませんが、字幕がなくても最後まで見入ってしまいました。それぐらい映像に力があります。

メルロ＝ポンティ以降の身体論と ジル・ドゥルーズのマイノリティ哲学に着目

本日、私がここにいるのは奇妙なことだと思われる方が多いと思います。私はフランス文学や思想を専攻していてブラジルについては疎いのですが、2006年

ごろから何度もブラジルに行って、セミナーやレクチャーをしました。

そこでの講演が契機となって、ブラジルで、ポルトガル語と英語のバイリンガルの本を出版しました。『知られざる身体の発生』というタイトルです。今日はまさに身体の問題になりましたが、私の長い間のテーマが身体です。先ほども名前が出たメルロ＝ポンティ以降の身体論に、興味を持ってきました。

私はブラジル研究者ではありませんので、ブラジルでは三つぐらいのテーマで話します。一つはジル・ドゥルーズの身体哲学の話です。なぜジル・ドゥルーズの話がブラジルで熱心に聞いてもらえるのかについて、私はずっと意識してきました。

ジル・ドゥルーズの哲学の大きなテーマがマイノリティで、彼の哲学は「マイノリティの哲学」と言えます。マイノリティ・グループは、それぞれの国に存在します。その際のマイノリティというのは、人口の数に由来するものではありません。たとえばブラジルでカポエイラをする人は、数としてはマイノリティとは言えませんが、これだけカポエイラについて話題になるのは、それがマイノリティ・グループのものだからです。

しかし、マイノリティの哲学では、マイノリティ集団とか社会的・歴史的な意味を持つマイノリティの域をはるかに越えてゆきます。たとえばヨーロッパの精神と身体をまっ二つに分けて考える思想の伝統では、身体そのものがマイノリティになります。また、女性や子どもがマイノリティです。さらに世界ではヨーロッパ系の白人が、そして大人がマジョリティだったりするわけです。

マイノリティという考え方では、まさに身体がマイノリティになる。普段我々が知覚している、感じている、思考している大部分のカテゴリから身体の次元が逃れてしまうことです。そういう目に見えない世界、知覚しがたい世界がマイノリティである。このマイノリティの次元をジル・ドゥルーズ＝フェリックス・ガタリはどんどん拡げていったため、今日とても重要な、世界的な案件になっているマイノリティの問題を本質的に考える機会を作ったと言えると思います。

演劇に身体を発見した アントナー・アルトの思想遍歴

もう一つの私の研究テーマは、アントナー・アルトというフランスの演劇人です。この人は、演劇のなか

に身体というものを発見する。「身体の演劇」という表現は今日ではほとんど古くさいものになりましたが、1920年代、30年代にこんなことを言った人はほとんどいませんでした。そんななかで彼は、「演劇というのは身体の実験だ」、「身体を発見する芸術だ」ということを言い続けた人です。

そして、ヨーロッパ・モデルの演劇ではなく、インドネシアのバリ島やメキシコのタラウマラ・インディアンに興味を持って、実際にメキシコにも行きました。ブラジルには残念ながら行っていませんが、彼なりに演劇と身体という問題を、とても大きな本質的なスケールで考えて、バリ島、さらにはメキシコと、画期的な思想的移動を行なった人として知られています。

身体について真剣に考えた ダンスの改革者・土方巽の足跡

もう一つ私がブラジルで話をするテーマは、土方巽という、私が彼の晩年に知り合った偉大なダンサーについてのことです。彼は1960年ぐらいに日本のダンスの概念をまったく変えてしまった、たいへんなダンスの改革者です。

それと同時に、彼はダンサーにしてはずいぶんたくさん文章を書きました。『土方巽全集』という著作集が、2冊出版されています。そのなかで彼は、言葉の問題、身体の問題、表現の問題、それからこの社会のなかでダンスがなぜ必要なのかということ、とても本質的なレベルから考えています。

今日、「舞踏」という言葉は世界中で使われています。舞踏とカポエイラにどんな関係があるか、考えてみると興味深いかも知れません。そして、そもそも舞踏とはなにかを考える必要がある。「舞踏」という言葉はあまりに安易なキャッチ・フレーズになってしまったので、修正しなくてはいけないのではないかなど、ダンサーのあいだでも議論が巻き起こっています。

そうしたことに関連して、土方巽という人が、日本の1960年代という文脈で身体について真剣に考えた足跡を、ブラジルではお話ししてきました。

ブラジルのルーツを探る グラウベル・ローシャの作品世界

このようなことを考えながら、私が徐々に発見してきたものの一つがブラジルの映画です。グラウベル・ローシャは日本でもDVDのボックス・セットがあるので、見ることができます。1960年代から1980年代ぐらいまで、フランスのヌーベルバーグにあたるよ



うなブラジルの「シネマ・ノーヴォ」という流れを作った張本人と言える映画監督です。

グラウベル・ローシャの初期の映画に『Barravento』という1962年の作品があります。先ほど紹介した『O Pagador de Promessas』も1962年の作品でした。このころは、もう少ししたらブラジルがファシズム体制に入る時期です。全体主義支配に向かう、軍政に入っていく時期ですが、その前にこういう映画ができています。これらはすでに激しい抵抗の意識が表現されている映画でもあるわけです。

グラウベル・ローシャの『Barravento』も、やはり舞台はバイアアで、カンドンプレの文化が背景にあります。そこで暮らす漁師たちは、カンドンプレの予言で毎日生きている。そこに黒人の若い男性が都会から帰ってきて、「こんな生活をしていたら、おまえたちは絶対に貧困から抜け出せないぞ」と言い始める。「どうにかこういう生活を変えなきゃだめだ」という葛藤をテーマにした、すばらしい映画です。

自分のことを白人だと認識しているブラジル人でも、祖先に黒人がいるケースはとて多いようです。しかし、ローシャはおそらくヨーロッパ系だと思います。ローシャは40歳ぐらいで亡くなりますが、1962年、23歳という若さで、バイアアの黒人たちの生活に密着して、しかもドラマチックな作品を作りました。

彼の映画を見たことがある方もおられると思いますが、イタリアのパゾリーニやゴダールの影響を受けていて、当時としては斬新な表現意識を持ちながら、バイアアのアフリカ系の人たちの生活に密着して、いわばブラジルのルーツを探る映画を作っている。このようなところからも、ローシャは評価されていきました。

他にも彼は、ブラジルのある時代の義賊の映画も撮っています。ブラジルの貧民層から現れた義賊と、その義賊を討伐するために遣わされた刺客の映画で、ウエスタン仕立てと言えばそうですが、映画の作り自体はアメリカの西部劇とはまったく違う技法で作られたすばらしい映画があります。

このように私のブラジルへの興味は広がってきました。今回はカポエイラのお話をたくさんおうかがいできて、とてもうれしく思っています。

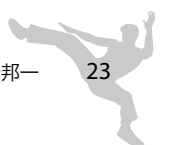
ドゥルーズ＝ガタリの生成変化の重要性と マイノリティを万人の問題とした土方巽

ドゥルーズ＝ガタリのマイノリティの哲学の重要な点は、けっしてアイデンティティの擁護ではないと

いうことです。たとえば「黒人の文化は白人よりもはるかにすぐれている」とか、そういう話ではありません。ドゥルーズ＝ガタリのマイノリティというのは、「マイノリティになること」がとても重要なのです。フランス語で『Devenir』、「生成変化」というややこしい言葉を使う場合もありますが、マイノリティに「なる」ということが大事です。

つまり、その場合は、白人や日本人が黒人になってみようとか、アントナー・アルトーがメキシコのインディアンになってみようとか、バリ島のダンサーになってみようとか、そういうことが目覚ましいのだと言うわけです。ですから、女性も女性であるだけではなくて、女性への生成変化を遂げないとマイノリティ哲学の意味はないと言っています。

土方巽の最後の仕事は『病める舞姫』という本です。これは全編、自分が子どもであった、その子どもの身体を追求するというを10年ぐらいかけてていねいにしているものです。晩年、土方巽は踊りませんでした。踊らずに、子どもになるということを一所懸命にしていました。ですから、彼のマイノリティ哲学というのは、「舞踏」を通じて、とてもダイナミックに、しかも万人の問題、みんなの問題としてマイノリティという問題を立てた。これがとてもおもしろいことだと思います。



コメント2

ウスビ・サコ

京都精華大学人文学部長・教授

私はマリ共和国の出身で、ブラジルとはそれほど縁がなく、行ったこともありません。また私の専門は建築で、身体もダンスも直接には関係ないのです。ただし、建築のなかでも人の行動や関係性、空間と人との関係を研究対象にしている、人や文化そのものに、個人的に関心があるので、その方面で話ができたと思っています。

アフリカではブラジル生まれのサブ・カルチャーとして認識されているカポエイラ

カポエイラの起源などについてコメントをしてほしいと言われたとき、まずはインターネットなどで探ってみました。じつはアフリカの視点からカポエイラを見ることは、あまりありません。今日のみなさんの話では「アフロ・ブラジリアン」とか「アフリカ原産である」という話はありませんでしたが、アフリカでのカポエイラの認識は、じつは低いのです。これについては複雑なものが見方があるかと思われま

す。先ほどカポエイラの起源の話がありました。じつはこれについてアフリカの解釈から言うと、言葉は悪いですが、カポエイラはブラジル生まれの一つのサブカルチャーだという見方をすることもあるのです。

というのは、先ほどアフリカからブラジルに奴隷が連れて行かれたという話がありました。じつは奴隷たちを連れて行くと、同じ文化や民族の人たちを集めるのではなく、できるだけバラバラにして、いろいろなグループを混ぜていたのです。ですから、そこから生まれてくる文化がどこを軸として生まれたのかについては、探るのが難しいわけです。

講演でも話が出ましたが、コンゴやアンゴラあたりの昔の戦士たちのトレーニングにあった動きに、カポエイラが似ているという解釈もなくはありません。しかし当然ながら、ブラジルで独特の変化を遂げています。自分たちのアイデンティティを持たなくてはいけない一方で、その動き自体が支配者たちから戦力とし

て見られないようにダンス風に見せたりしてきたことが、カポエイラの背景にあると言われます。

現在のブラジルのカポエイラにみえる植民地支配による影響

先ほど宇野先生からマイノリティ哲学という話がありました。私はもう一つ、ポストコロニアル的なものの見方もあるのではないかと思います。

マルティニーク出身で、ネグリチュードという黒人解放運動、もしくは黒人固有の文化を高揚する運動をしたフランツ・ファノンという人がいます。その人の話で印象に残っているのが、「アリエネーション(alienation)」、フランス語で言うと「アリエナシオン(疎外)」ということです。じつは植民地主義のなかで支配されている人は、支配する人にどうしても似ようとす

る心理が働くところがあるのです。いまアフリカの立場からカポエイラなどを見ると、「極めてい

る」ところがあります。純粋な儀式でもダンスでもなく、どちらかという西洋風味のアフリカ文化ではないか

「極めて」ものとして逆輸入されるアフリカ起源の文化

と見えるかと思われま





資料4-1 マダガスカルやレユニオン島のモラング

は、キューバ音楽をベースにしている部分が多いのです。キューバの人たちに聞くと、「我々はアフリカのリズムに乗ってやっています」と言います。しかし我々アフリカではキューバのリズムに乗って音楽を作っているのが現状で、当然ながらその逆輸入の過程では、我々はそのキューバのリズムは「極めた」もの、もう少し進んだものとして見てしまいます。

カポエイラも、我々が持っている格闘技や身体的な要素をもう少し「極めた」もの、システム化されたものに見えてしまうということがあって、我々にとってある種のポピュラー・カルチャーになるのです。みなさんは伝統を主張されていますが、我々はポピュラー、もう少し現代のものとして見ているように思います。

これには一つのフィルターがあると思います。先ほどのファノンの話と同じで、西洋がものをどう見ているかということとも関連します。エドワード・サイードのオリエンタリズムのような話でもあると思いますが、ある種西洋を軸に物事を見てしまう。我々はそれも一つのコンプレックスなので、ブラジルとのつながりが西洋経由でしか存在しないことになってしまっている部分があるのです。

今日はグローバル化の話も出て、宇野先生の話でもカンドンプレの話が出ました。カンドンプレの文化も武闘の文化に似ていますが、やはりもう少し「極めて」いる部分があります。

ポストコロニアルから生まれた 新しい文化としてカポエイラを捉える

資料4-1はモラングというダンスで、マダガスカルやレユニオン島などでよく見られます。その動きは

カポエイラに似ています。先ほど講演でラジャの話がありましたが、似たようなところがあって、我々にとっては逆輸入的なものがあると思います。

我々にとってダンスとはなにか、あるいは格闘技とはなにかというと、必ず三つの要素が出てきます。一つは音的な要素。必ず音があります。もう一つは、儀式、儀礼です。そして三つ目はリズム、ある種の伝統的な文化的な動きがあります。

我々が集まって格闘技やダンスをしているときには、必ず儀式的流れになるわけです。ただのエンターテインメントではありません。たとえばセネガルで行なわれている相撲も、もともとは収穫祭でしていた格闘技です。

伝統的な格闘技がスポーツ化するのはほんとうに新しい文化で、一つのポピュラー・カルチャーでもあるという意味です。カポエイラというのは、アフリカ起源の文化がアフリカに戻ってきたのではなく、いわゆるある種の *aliénation* のなかで生まれた新しいかたちです。作ったのはアフリカ出身の黒人たちかもしれませんが、その人たちが持ったものを寄せ集めて作っていると考えられます。一つのポストコロニアル現象としてのカポエイラの見方についてみなさんが触れていなかったのも、その方面でこのあと議論ができたらと思っています。

専門家ではない立場で失礼なことを言ったかもしれませんが、この方面で私が直感として思うことで、もともと奴隷やアフリカから来た黒人の文化だったものについての見方をお話しさせていただきました。



カポエイラを出来る喜び、感謝を感じた3日間

月城 好生 (Lua Cheia) Grupo de Capoeira Kadoshi Capú Japão

2014年の9/12～9/14の3日間、京都にてカポエイラ・アンゴラのグループ「Nzinga」によるイベント「Ginga Nzinga」に参加しました。このイベントではブラジルのサルバドールに本部があるNzingaのメストレ達3人 (Mestra Janja, Mestre Poloca, Mestra Paulinha) を日本に招待し、東京と京都で講義やワークショップなどが開催されました。私は京都でのワークショップに3日間参加しました。ワークショップの中で印象的だった出来事を書き連ねます。

まずは京都の初日、この日は京都大学とのコラボレーションで講義やカポエイラの実演が行われました。始めに大学内の広場にてオープニング・ホーダ。平日にも関わらずこの時点で関西を中心に多くのカポエリストが集っており、イベントの期待感が否応にも膨らみとてもワクワクしました。メストレ達もとてもリラックスした表情で旅の疲れを感じさせないエネルギーがあり、ホーダもとてもいい雰囲気で行われました。

次に、初日の大学内での講義。

「抵抗と解放の身体——ブラジル伝統芸能『カポエイラ』による対話と実践」というテーマで、他大学から参加した先生を交え、それぞれのカポエイラに関するお話を伺いました。

なかでも京都精華大学のウスビ・サコ先生のお話が印象的で、アフリカ地方の伝統的な格闘技などの映像を交えながら、アフリカにおいてカポエイラがどう捉えられているか？というお話をされておられ、とても興味深く聞かせて頂きました。

このサコ先生、マリ出身ながら日本語がとても堪能で、日本語の表現がとてもすばしかったです。中でもアフリカにおいてのカポエイラの受け取られ方は「新しいスポーツ、文化」として捉えられており、アフリカの人たちはカポエイラの中にいわゆる「アフリカ性」の様なものは感じていない、といった趣旨のお話をされていました。カポエイラの中におけるブラジルからア

フリカへの郷愁、思いを「片思い」というキーワードで仰っていたのがとても衝撃的でした。

また、質疑応答の時間でも聴衆はもちろん、先生達からもお互いに質問が飛び交い、もっと時間が欲しいなと強く思いました。

二日目以降のワークショップもとても充実していました。中でも子供向けのワークショップでのメストレ・ポロッカのレッスンが強く印象に残りました。メストレがビリンバウにまつわるおとぎ話を子供達に聞かせて、次に子供達がメストレから聞いたお話を周りに発表しました。子供達が一生懸命ビリンバウを手に取って話す姿がとても頼もしく、微笑ましかったです。メストレ達もうれしそうでした。

そして、ワークショップ最終日、鴨川べりで日が暮れるまでカポエイラのホーダ。ゆっくり日が落ちて行く中、鴨川でのカポエイラはとても贅沢ですばらしい時間でした。

私はカポエイラを始めてから随分たち、私自身の立場も学ぶ側から、伝える側になりました。ただ先生の教を聞いていた時と違い、人を教え導く立場と言うのは想像以上に難しく、また責任ある役目なのだと思います。今回のメストレのワークショップを通じて思ったのは、そうした責任、重圧の中にあっても、何よりも自分が楽しむ事を忘れてはならないな、というのを強く思いました。

また、ワークショップ中では、不思議と自分がカポエイラを続けて来た中での色んな思い出が蘇ってきました。自分自身の不甲斐なさに落ち込んだり、自分の実力と帯の差に違和感を感じたり、周りと比べて落胆した事、そうした気持ちに対して一つの答えを導いて、立ち直った事、自分たちのグループで仲間とともにカポエイラを続けている事、そうした一つ一つの思いが溢れてきました。

あらためてカポエイラを出来ることの喜び、感謝を感じる事が出来た3日間でした。



コメント3

輪島 裕介

大阪大学大学院文学研究科准教授

まずは自分の話から始めようと思います。そのことは、おそらくフロアのみなさんと、今日お話しくださった二人のプロフェッサーのあいだをつなぐ仕事になるかもしれないと期待しています。

現実のアフリカと関係が強まるなかで ブラジルのアフリカ性はどうか再定義されるか

自分の話とは違うことで、今日お話ししようと考えていたことはあったのですが、それはサコ先生の話で言い尽くされています。ごく簡単に申しますと、アフロ・ブラジル文化における身体的な記憶のなかで継承されたアフリカ性というものが、現代において現実のアフリカとの関わりが出てきているときに、どのように変容しうるのであるかをお尋ねしたかったのです。

アフリカにおけるカポエイラを受容のコンテキストをサコ先生に見事にお話しいただいたので、もう一つの質問として、現実のアフリカとの関係が強まっているなかで、カポエイラにおける、またはアフロ・ブラジル文化あるいはアフロ・バイーア文化におけるアフリカ性が、どのように再構築されるのか、再定義されるのか、お尋ねしてみたいというのが一つです。

異文化に属しつつ他者の文化を担う存在と それがブラジル性、バイーア性に与える影響

次の話と関連しますが、まずは自分の話から入ります。私は今日はイレ・アイエのTシャツを着てきました。最初に部屋に入ったときに、パウラ・バハット師範が「イレ・アイエ」と反応してくださったので安心しました。先ほどの講演でもイレ・アイエの話が、アフロ・ブラジル文化の現代的な側面として出ていました。

私はいまを去ること20年ほど前、大学時代からしばらくのあいだ、バイーア音楽に骨の髄まではまり込んでいたのです。それが嵩じて大学院で音楽研究を始めました。修士論文まではブラジルのことについて書いたのですが、博士課程に入ってフィールド調査をする

ときに、そこである種の壁にぶつかって、そこから日本の大衆音楽の研究に方向転換したのです。

それはどういうことか、いまの立場から煎じ詰めて言うと、他者の文化にはまり込む、耽溺する、あるいはそれを研究しようとするということは、結局なんなのかという話です。それはおそらく日本でカポエイラ・アンゴラを実践しているみなさんにとっては日常的な問題なのかもしれないし、むしろそんなことはとりにあえずいったんカッコに入れて、とにかくやるという関わり方をされているのかもしれない。

講演では「アフロ・ブラジル文化は、リアル・ブラジリアン・カルチャーだ」という話がありましたが、それが日本やヨーロッパ、アメリカ、アフリカで実践されるときに、そこでのアフリカ性やブラジル性あるいはバイーア性といったものが、どのように変化するか。

とくにそれが異文化に属するとされる人たちによって担われる。そして、おそらく現在のバイーアのアフロ・ブラジル文化を考えるなかでも、そういうブラジルやバイーア以外の世界からある種の巡礼のようなかたちでやってくるツーリストとは言い切れないような熱心な参加者たちが、いまや現実のアフロ・ブラジル文化の重要な構成要素であることは間違いないわけです。

であるならば、そのときに、アフリカやブラジルの内実がどのように変化していくのか。そしてそれを実践する日本人というのはなんなのかということです。この最後の問いについては、むしろフロアのみなさんのお考えをうかがいたいところです。

やや挑発的な、論争的な言い方に聞こえるかもしれませんが、現在起こっていることは、アフロ・ブラジル文化、アフロ・バイーア文化のかなり中心的な特徴である抵抗、解放という契機が、皮肉な言い方をすれば、かつて抑圧者であった人たちによって実践されている状況にあるとも言えるわけです。それは簡単に抵抗・抑圧と分けられるものでは当然ないわけですが、その

なかで、アフロ・ブラジル文化の身体的な記憶のなかで伝承されてきた抵抗という契機は、どのように再定義されるのだろうかということも考えます。

さらに複雑なのは、日本でそれを実践することになった場合、コロニアルな関係のなかにおける支配・被支配とは別の、ある種の人種的な秩序のなかにアジア人とアフロ・ブラジル系の人びとというのは属すると考えることもできると思います。そこで日本でカポエイラ・アンゴラが実践されるときに、アフロ・ブラジル文化、アフロ・バイア文化にどんな変化が起きているのか。それは日本の文化的な状況のなかで、どのような位置づけになるのか。なんらかの変化をもたらす契機になり得るのかということを考えています。

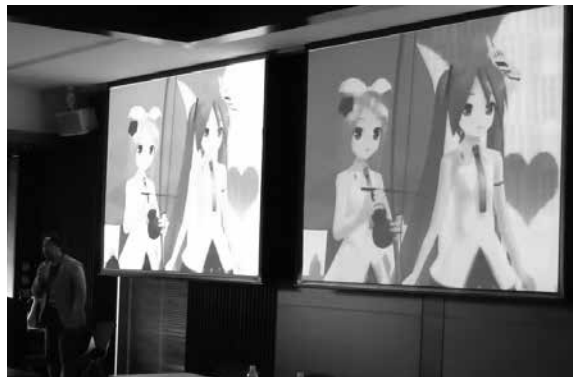
他者の文化を身体的に実践するとは どのようなことなのか

「日本人がなぜブラジルの音楽を好きになって、研究しようとするんだ」と、現地にいるといやほど聞かれますが、うまく答えられないのです。「好きだから好きだ」というのは、研究者としては答えにならない。それをどう考えるかというときに、なぜ自分は他者の音楽、異文化に魅惑されるのかという視点から、日本での外来音楽の受容の歴史や、そのなかで日本らしさが再定義されるプロセスなどを手始めに考えてみようと思っていたら、10年ぐらいたってしまったわけです。

その成果として、演歌という音楽ジャンルについての本を書きました。この中身の話をしはじめるときりがないですが、ここでも、もともとは他者の文化であった、異文化であったかもしれないものが、さまざまな過程のなかでいろいろなかたちで意味づけられていて、とくに被抑圧的なポジションにある人たちの「抵抗」としての意味を与えられ、そのことが、音楽文化のなかで真正性を獲得する一つの重要なきっかけになったという話を展開しています。

そういう過程は、たとえばサンバであったり、キューバであればソンであったり、アルゼンチンであればタンゴであったり、そういうものとかかなり共通している部分があります。そこでまた一つつながったかなということを感じました。

先ほど宇野先生がアイデンティティの擁護ではないマイノリティ哲学という話をしましたが、他者の文化としてのなにかを身体的に実践するということは何なのだろうかという、とうてい答えが出るはずのない問いですが、そのことをお尋ねしたいと思います。



資料5-1 カポエイラの歌を演奏するアニメ

自文化とは、異文化とはなにか それが変容する現場ではなにが起こるのか

コメントですので、私自身が答えをもっているわけではありません。ですから、ここまでの話と関係があるのかなのか微妙ですが、この話をするにあたって、最近見つけた例を見ていただきたいと思います。

資料5-1のような状況では、なにが起きているんだろうか。当然笑いが出ることは想像していましたが、じゃあこれはアフロ・ブラジル文化の搾取なのだろうか。これをカポエイラを実際に行っている人たちはどう見るのだろうか。とくに日本でやっている人たちはどう見るのだろうかということも、ちょっと聞いてみたいと思います。

これはジョークのようにしか見えないかもしれませんが、ここでなにが起きているかを考えることは、じつは自文化と異文化とはそもそもなんなのか、とくにそれが現代のポピュラー・カルチャーの文脈のなかで変容するときにはなにが起きているのかを考えるうえで、かなり複雑なかつ本質的な問題提起を含んでいるのかもしれないと考えています。

これは無理やりつけた理屈というところもあって、やはりこの見た目のインパクトに私自身も衝撃を受けました。ということで、話を開いたかたちで終わりたいと思います。



総合討論

※所属・役職等は2014年時点

●討論参加者

パウラ・バハット(バイア連邦大学社会学部准教授)／ホザンジェラ・アラウージョ(バイア連邦大学教育学部准教授)／
宇野 邦一(立教大学現代心理学部名誉教授)／ウスビ・サコ(京都精華大学人文学部長・教授)／
輪島 裕介(大阪大学大学院文学研究科准教授)

●司会

福田 宏(京都大学地域研究統合情報センター助教)

福田宏(司会) 3人の方からのコメントを踏まえて、まずはパウラさんからお願いします。

パウラ・バハット コメントしていただいたみなさん、ありがとうございます。新しいアスペクトをいろいろなかたちで出していただいて、議論が豊かなものになったと思います。

■ ジル・ドゥールズの身体論から

カポエイラを見直す可能性

パウラ まず宇野先生のお話しされたことについて、現在のカポエイラの現状を鑑みると、ジル・ドゥールズの身体論を通してカポエイラについて考え直すことは、私たちにとってもたいへん興味深いことだと思いました。アイデンティティに固執するのではなく、身体というものに立ち返るということに関して、ドゥールズの考えは私たちに大きなヒントを与えてくれるのではないかと思います。

輪島先生とウスビ・サコ先生がお話しいただいたことは、現在のグローバリゼーションのなかでのカポエイラの問題をよく反映していると思います。カポエイラがどこからきたのか、そしてどこに行ったのか、そしてこれからどこに行くのか、そうした流れに関して、それらが実際に伝統なのか、それとも新しい文化なのかということは、たいへんおもしろいことです。

フランツ・ファノンの議論を引用されましたが、たしかに彼の著作はブラジルでもよく読まれていて、私たちにとっても興味深い著作が多くあります。ブラジルでもたいへん関心が高いです。

■ 壁を伝い流れ落ちる水のように

文化は境界線をなきものとする

ホザンジェラ・アラウージョ パウラ先生と同様のバックグラウンドをもっていますから、話の内容に重複が

あるかもしれませんが、カポエイラの位置づけについて、みなさんがお話しされたことも踏まえたうえで話ししたいと思います。

まずは輪島先生の話です。別の文化の人が他の文化を解釈する、理解するということはどのようなことなのか、どのようなことが起こるのかということに関してです。

宇野先生が紹介された『O Pagador de Promessas』という映画は、テレビ用に編集されたものが作られています。Tizuka YAMAZAKIさんという日系人が監督をしています。

また、最近ガタリの研究の再解釈を、ブラジル人の研究者のチームが行ないました。私はそのチームに参加することができたのですが、そのときにもカンドンブレとカポエイラは重要な話題でした。このことに関連して、私たちはドキュメンタリーを作成しました。

今回のワークショップは、他者の文化の可視性というものについて考えるのに、いい機会だと思います。文化は壁を伝って流れ落ちる水のように、その水は境界線をすべてなぎ倒して、なきものにしてしまいます。

■ アンゴラ、コンゴの調査で明らかになったカポエイラの宗教的起源「ンゴロ」の存在

ホザンジェラ 次にサコ先生のコメントに関してお話しします。ブラジルにおけるアフリカ性というのは、地域性のものでなく、より神話的なものであると言えます。南アメリカにおける研究の文脈においては、ブラジルとアフリカの相互理解はどんどん深まっています。私たちも実際に、カポエイラの起源に関して、アフリカに行って研究しています。

マティアス・ホーリーという歴史研究家とカポエイラの師範であるコブラマンサという方が、アンゴラ、





ホザンジェラ・アラウージョ

コンゴの内陸の地域に行き、6か月間いろいろ研究をされました。そこでさまざまな起源が見えてきたのですが、そのなかで宗教的なものに関して、「ンゴロ」という起源が一つ見えてきました。それはカポエイラの神秘的・神話的な起源の一つです。

そこで聞けた話は、ンゴロで亡くなった人については、悲しまれることがない。なぜかと言うと、ンゴロという儀式的なかで亡くなってしまったというこ

とは、それに十分な準備ができていなかった、そのため準備が調っていないからというところからです。

輪島先生には、グアラニー族のラップ(rap do guarani)のビデオをぜひご覧いただきたいと思っています。アマゾンの先住民のグループがラップを歌っているビデオです。それはまた、文化というものが境界線や壁を再考させるものであることを提示してくれます。

■ 篡奪、模倣、換骨奪胎、翻案、逆輸入……

生成変化が炸裂し増殖する文化のありよう

宇野邦一 コメントの最後に輪島先生が出されたアニメのカポエイラのパロディのような表現は、なにに関しても必ず出てきます。たとえばこのごろフランスのラジオを聞いていると、ブラジルのボサノバ以降、1980年代ぐらいから、リオデジャネイロのファヴェーラで次々新しい音楽が生まれたという特集がありました。それは「ファンク・カリオカ」とか「ファンク・バイリ」などです。

この音楽はもちろんアフリカ系で、アフリカ系の人たちが大きな役割を果たして作ったあらゆるジャンルのミックスとも言えるし、ラップに近いところがあ

Surpresa no Japão: o reencontro com a Capoeira

Glícia Maria DE ALMEIDA Doutoranda em Ciências da Vida, Universidade de Kyoto

Sou Glícia Maria de Almeida, natural de Porangatu Goiás, Brasil. Cheguei ao Japão em Abril de 2009 para fazer doutorado em medicina na Universidade de Kyoto. Depois de anos longe do Brasil, desenvolvi um melhor apresso pela cultura Brasileira. Parece que longe do país aprimoramos o gosto pelo que antes parecia ser corriqueiro, mas que agora só presenciamos em raríssimas ocasiões. De longe passamos a perceber quão culturalmente rico é o Brasil e assim aproveitamos todas as oportunidades culturais que ressaltam nosso vínculo e identidade histórica.

Dia 12 de Setembro de 2014 tive a oportunidade de prestigiar o evento que se realizou no jardim interior do edifício Inamori Foundation Memorial Building da universidade de Kyoto. Na oportunidade presenciei a apresentação de capoeira do grupo

Nzinga, sobre a coordenação dos mestres Janja, Paulinha e Poloca. Minha relação com a capoeira foi sempre de expectadora. Assisti à apresentações de amigos e familiares e apesar de considerar a capoeira um esporte interessante, nunca a pratiquei.

Para mim, esse evento foi surpreendente. Como um dos fortes e belos componentes da cultura brasileira, nunca imaginei que veria uma performance aqui, dentro da Universidade de Kyoto, ainda mais apresentado por professores originários do Brasil. Foi um momento de alegria, não só pela reaproximação com algo que corriqueiramente via pelas praças de minha cidade, mas também pela energia positiva inerente a capoeira. Transmitida em seu ritmo e seu canto e transmitida pelo grupo cheio de bom humor e alegria.



左からホザンジェラ・アラウージョ、アンドレア・フロレス・ウルシマ(通訳)、パウラ・バハット、宇野邦一、ウスビ・サコ、輪島裕介

りますが、こういう音楽にアメリカのプロデューサーなどが注目して、この新しいコマーシャルなバージョンがアメリカで出る。今度は逆にその影響を受けてファヴェーラのまた新しい音楽ができるわけです。この音楽家のなかのひとはファヴェーラのなかで薬の密売をやっているマフィアをヒーローと考えて、そのヒーローがすばらしいという歌を歌ったりする。それが一時期は監視の対象になったりもして、実際に捕まったりしています。こういうような行き来や突発事が起こるわけです。

先ほどのアニメでそういうことが起こるとは思いませんが、いまのカルチャーというのはこのように篡奪され、パロディが作られ、そしてそれがまた逆に輸入される。そういうなかで、生成変化、「なる」ことが、両方向で炸裂して増殖していく。そういうなかにあらゆる分野が、音楽も芸術も、もちろん映画も巻き込まれていく。このことはしかし我々も目覚めて、気をつけているべきであると同時に、ここからなにが出てくるか、知られざる身体が発生するかもしれないということがとてもおもしろいのです。

■ クレオール文化に興味を示して文学を作り

日本のイメージを世界に示したラフカディオ・ハーン
宇野 このような話になったときに思い出されるのが、日本のことを一所懸命に紹介したラフカディオ・ハーン、日本名・小泉八雲という作家です。彼はいわゆる「美しい」日本を世界に紹介した功績から、日本人にずっと愛されている作家です。彼はアイルランド人とギリシア人の両親のあいだに生まれて、二十歳のころにアメリカに渡って、アメリカでずっとジャーナリス

トをしていました。

アメリカで彼は、クレオール文化に目覚めます。先ほども話に出たブードゥーなどの文化に触れて、彼はニューオリンズに住みます。日本に来る前に、彼はいわばニューオリンズのイメージを作りあげるような文章を書いていました。『Inventing New Orleans: Writings of Lafcadio Hearn』という評論集が出ています。日本に来る前にニューオリンズという当時のアメリカのクレオール的な、黒人文化も含めて文化が混交した世界に興味を持っているのです。

そのあとはさらにブラジルに近づくようにして、マルティニク島に渡って約1年半生活して、マルティニク島のクレオール文化に関して一大文学を作り上げ、それから日本に来て、同じようなことを日本についてするわけです。そういう人が作り上げた日本のビジョンの恩恵を我々が被っている。それ以前には、「日本はこういうところだ」、「こういう国だ」というイメージは、もしかしたらなかったかもしれない。

ラフカディオ・ハーンのした仕事については、オリエンタリズムやポストコロニアルの観点からすると、やはりヨーロッパ人がある種エキゾチックに日本という他者を発見して、一方的な理解ででっぴあげたもの^{こうこう}のだとして、彼の仕事はだめだという批判が響々と巻き起こっています。日本の批評家でもそういう本を書いた人もいます。

ハーンの記憶の流れのなかにはマルティニク島があり、ニューオリンズがあり、そのあいだに日本があるわけです。それと同じような目でたとえばカポエイラが日本でどういうことになっているかを見て



みたいと思っています。

■ カポエイラを無理にアフリカに関連づける 必要はないのではないか

ウスビ・サコ いろいろなコメントをありがとうございます。ホザンジェラ先生の話で出てきた「ンゴロ」の話は、以前読んだ文献に書いてありました。その儀式・儀礼は戦士が準備をするためのものでした。植民地支配者や、それ以前の支配者がやってくる時にどう対抗するかという儀式・儀礼があって、それとカポエイラが関係性が強いのではないかという説があるのはたしかです。

ただし、一方では、それは無理やり関連づけているのではないかとする研究もあります。先ほどのホザンジェラ先生のコメントを考えると、やはり立場を分けて検討する必要があります。ブラジルの人たちは、カポエイラのアフリカ性のために意味づけをしようとしている。「アフリカと関係があるんだよ」、「アフリカから来ているんだよ」と。しかし、それをなせしなくてはいけないのか、私はすごく疑問に思っています。

私たちから見たら、べつにそこに意味づけする必要はない。ブラジルに連れて行かれた奴隷や黒人たちが作ったものである。これは変わりはないわけです。起源がアフリカにあるかないかに関係なく、作った人に重点を置くことが、一つのものの見方ではないかと思えます。ですから、先ほどの身体性のお話で言うと、アフリカに残っている人たちのある種の身体性には環境



シンポジウムには、カポエイラの実践者、ブラジル研究者などさまざまなバックグラウンドをもつみなさんが参加

の違いがあるので、少しその見方が違うんじゃないかなということが一つあります。

■ グローバルなスケールで 文化の輸入、逆輸入、混交を捉える可能性

サコ もう一つ、いわゆるアフリカの現代文化について、我々から見たらかなり「極められた」踊りや格闘技などが逆輸入されてアフリカの現代文化を支えていると思っています。先ほどキューバ音楽についてもそういうことを言いました。

もう一つ興味深い現象がアフリカにあります。日本でも美容整形の話がありますが、アフリカでは皮膚の脱色が流行しています。とくにコンゴなどの地域では、みんな白くなりたいという思いがかなりある。それがいろいろな皮膚の病気につながったりしてい

体験講座で感じたアフリカの歌や踊りとのつながり

大石 高典 総合地球環境学研究所プロジェクト研究員

カポエイラのワークショップ、シンポジウムには仕事の都合で参加できませんでしたが、9月13日の「楽器と動き」の体験講座に参加させていただくことができました。GCAPのメンバーの方からレクチャーを受けながら、ジンガの基本姿勢、攻撃のよけ方、蹴りの基本を手取り足取り教えていただきました。汗をいっぱいかけたのがとてもよい思い出です。攻撃が同時に守備でもあるという考え方も新鮮でした。

講習の中で、特に記憶に残っているのは、メストレがおっしゃった「どんな姿勢を取っていても、どのような

状況でも、相手をよく見るようにしなさい」という教えです。ちゃんと相手が見えていないと、自分も相手も怪我をしてしまう。安全に楽しく技をかけるには相手を見ることがとても大事であると。強い、弱いを見せつけるようなタイプのカポエイラや時として相手を殺してしまうことさえある格闘技としてのカポエイラもあるけれども、メストレの流派のカポエイラは相手を傷つけることが目的ではないのだとおっしゃっていました。どんな相手であっても、相手をよく見て、力を加減しながら一緒に踊ることができるというあり方に感銘



へんなのですが、なぜそんなことをするのか、いつからそんなことを始めたのか。その流れを見ていくと、アメリカからの逆輸入の文化の一つなんです。

アフリカから連れて行かれた人たちからすると、アフリカとのつながりは強く見出したい。しかし我々からしたら、彼らは最先端に近い。アリエネーションの話をしました。いわゆる支配者のそばにいる人たちは、支配者の直接の影響を受けて「極められて」いるものを持っているから、我々は彼らに憧れをもってしまうのです。そういう矛盾があります。

離れた地域についてはそういう話はしやすいのですが、グローバル化のなかで垣根がなくなったときにこれをどう見るのかということが、興味深いと思います。地域ごとの文脈で見ると、オリエンタリズムに持っていったりする解釈はあるかもしれませんが、世界的な規模でものを見ていくと、また違うものの見方、文脈が出てくるのではないかと思います。そのときは日本人であろうがだれであろうが、あまり関係がなくなるのではないかと私は思います。簡単にまとめると、カポエイラはブラジルのアデンティティをもって、世界的に行われている格闘技であり、その際は起源がどこであるかは関係がないかと思います。

■ カポエイラの存在を支える

留め金としてのアイデンティティ

輪島裕介 大方重要な論点は語り尽くされている気がします。私なりに話をまとめると、文化というのが、

変化をする、境界を越えていくことは、現代に始まったことではないし、当たり前前の状態だと思います。それはむしろ結論というよりは前提の話です。そのなかで、それを切り分けていく振る舞いも、やはり同時に起こっているわけです。

それはある種の固定的なアイデンティティに囲い込むことなのかもしれませんが、そのなかでの矛盾という緊張関係が常に起こっているということなのでしょう。それについてなにか結論的なことを言えるかということ、そうでもない。

今日のアフロ・ブラジル文化をめぐる話のなかで繰り返し出てきたのは、それはかならずしも地理的な、テリトリアルなものではないということが一つありました。むしろ神話的なものであるという話です。それから、講演でも出てきたと思いますが、単に肌の色の話でもない。血統の話でもない。

ただし、すべてなんでも流動しているということであれば、それはカポエイラである必要もないし、アングラである必要もないし、アフロ・ブラジル、アフロ・バイアである必要もなくなってしまふ。それはたぶん違うだろう。その意味では、ある種の留め金というか重し、そのようなものとしてのアイデンティティは、やはり必要だろうという気がするのです。

これは流動的ではないものなのかもしれませんが、どのようなかたちで経験され、生きられるのかみたいなことを考えたとき、やはりそこに身体が顕れて



を覚えしました。起源は奴隷解放の闘いにあるのかもしれませんが、地域や民族を問わずにカポエイラが受け入れられ、多様な形態に展開していること自体が興味深く思われました。

私はカメルーンで人類学の研究をしています。カポエイラが同じアフリカ大西洋沿岸のアンゴラと深く関

連するということを知って、アフリカで見聞きしている歌や踊りとのつながりにも目がゆきました。

円形に人が輪を作って、その中から順番に輪の中心に出て行って試合を行ない、ひとしきり掛け合いが終わると輪の中にまた戻ってゆくという形式は、私の調

査している村でよくみられる踊りのやり方ともよく似ているなと思いました。

ちなみにそれは、極めて単純な踊りなのですが、いつまでもいつまでも続けることのできる踊りです。また、格闘技ではありませんが、踊り手が、各々に動物やハンターの真似をしながら掛け合いをする踊りがあるのですが、それに似たものを感じました。一方で、私は逆立ちをしながら回転する踊りや格闘技をカメルーンで見たことはありません。また、カポエイラは、男女ともに平等に参加できるのも魅力だと思いました。

わずかな時間でのカポエイラ経験でしたが、カラダのやわらかさだけでなく、アタマやココロもやわらかくないと華麗な技の掛け合いは難しそうです。いま、私は近い将来にカポエイラに本格的に挑戦できるように、まずはヨガを習って身体をやわらかくしているところです。



くるのかなと思いました。あまり応答にはなっていないかもしれませんが、むしろこのあとフロアのみなさんの話をうかがいたいと思います。

司会 せっかくの機会ですので、会場からの質問をお受けします。どんな質問でもけっこうですので、手を挙げてお願いします。

■ 異文化への愛と原点への憧れ、

そしてアフリカに逆輸入されたカポエイラのゆくえ

月城好生 たいへん興味深くお話を聞かせていただきました。ぼく自身もカポエイラを始めたとき、ブラジル人のような肉体的な頑強さもなく、言葉のハンディもあるけれども、カポエイラをする以上はブラジル人になろう、なりたいみたいな気持ちがありました。そのためになかにはブラジルに行く人や、そこで暮らす人もいます。

サコ先生がおっしゃったように、ひょっとしたらカポエイラをしている人たちやアフロ・ブラジル文化を担っている人たちも、ブラジルでカポエイラをしていても、そこにはアフリカへの憧れや回帰の気持ち、あるいはアフリカ人になりたい気持ちがあるんじゃないか。一方で、アフリカの人立場からしたら、それに対してアフリカを感じるかという、異文化としては捉えられても、アフリカを感じるかどうかわからないという話でした。

しかし、いまはまだアフリカでカポエイラが受け入れられて日も浅いと思います。芸事は最初は趣味のつもりでも、長年やっているうちにどんどん深い考えになっていって、哲学的な部分も出てくると思います。



京都でのオープニング・イベントには40名、ワークショップには89名、シンポジウムには70名が参加した

アフリカの人がこれからも何十年もカポエイラをしていくうちに、アフリカの人たちはどのようなかたちを思うだろう。ひょっとすると、種の起源のほうまでアフリカの人たちは考えるのかもしれない。

みなさんからいただいたたくさんの言葉は、自分自身がこれからカポエイラなどを考えていくうえでのキーワードというかヒントになりました。ほんとうに今回参加できてよかったです。質問ではないですが、感じたことを言わせていただきました。ありがとうございました。

逐次通訳…… 都留Devaux 恵美里／荒川幸祐／
アンドレア・ユリ・フロレス・ウルシマ
編集・補足 … 都留Devaux 恵美里



左からウスビ・サコ、宇野邦一、パウラ・バハット、ホザンジェラ・アラウージョ、輪島裕介、福田宏(司会)



The Discovery of Capoeira: Children and the Multicultural World

Akane GODA Intaglio Artist

I was born and grew up in Osaka. I moved to the States after I graduated from high school and lived there for a long time. My family and I came back to Japan six years ago. My husband and I decided to send our daughter who was 3 years old at that time to the French School in Kyoto. Our family friend, Andrea Urushima, whose daughter goes to the same school with my daughter at that time, invited us to the capoeira workshop in September 2014. My husband and I took our twelve year-old son and nine year-old daughter. Several French-Japanese families from my daughter's school also participated, and I saw other couples of mixed nationalities and their children.

I didn't know much about capoeira. All that I knew was that capoeira has multiple features that came from fight, dance and play. The main instructor and his interpreter started talking to the children in order to form a circle. The workshop had begun without any previous acknowledgement. The instruction was simple, like "imagine that you are animals, trees and even wind or water and express it by moving your bodies." My children were confused in the beginning, but as time went by they started getting into what the instructor and



the other children were doing. I could see that they had been captivated by it.

In the second half of the session, capoeira members played the music with their traditional instruments. I heard there that it wasn't meant for the new-comers, but they welcomed the children to participate with them. It was the most fun part of the workshop for our children.

I was a little surprised by the informality of the workshop, because I'm so used to the well-organized Japanese style ones. But after I saw how much my children were enjoying to play capoeira, I realized that it shouldn't be too up-tight and we should let children to be free in the class so that they will have chance to open-up themselves. Capoeira is not very known in Japan. I hope that people will have chance to know what capoeira is.



Capoeira for a Global Understanding of the Idea of Difference

Andrea FLORES URUSHIMA Grupo Nzinga - Sede São Paulo (former member)

In 2002, I left in Brazil many esteemed people when I first arrived in Kyoto. Among them, the Grupo Nzinga that I used to meet, since 1995, for three times a week during the six years period before my arrival in Japan. I participated in the early stage of the group's foundation at the Psychology Department of the University of São Paulo. When I arrived in Japan, only few people practiced Capoeira Angola far away in Kanto region. Thus, I stopped the practice, but it remained in my heart. In 2007, a friend announced a new funding call for cultural exchanges from the Brazilian Ministry of Culture. My desire to meet again the Grupo Nzinga founders led me to engage in the preparation of a project to invite them to Japan, which unfortunately did not happen.

It was in January 2014 that Kosuke Arakawa first contacted me. This young Japanese enthusiastically joined the Grupo Nzinga during his Master studies in Brazil and was living there when he first contacted me. He asked my collaboration to prepare a funding proposition with the Brazilian Ministry of Culture. My previous unsuccessful experience led me to decline at first, but I offered my support to the extent possible. Arakawa was determined to bring the Nzinga masters to Japan, and if necessary, he was ready to cover part of the expenses privately. However, two Capoeira masters who are also professors at Brazilian public universities needed formal invitations in order to be able to temporarily leave their teaching duties. To solve this question, in 4 May 2014, Arakawa asked again my support. This time we would start a social-academic collaboration negotiated inside CIAS at Kyoto University.

At that moment, joined in two fundamental partners: Emilie Tsuru Devaux, who practices capoeira and researches about Brazil, and Liulan

Wang-Kanda, a cultural anthropologist specialized in diaspora. Since January 2014, Devaux, Arakawa and Yoshiko Nagai had started discussions about the organization of practical workshops. For the establishment of this social-academic collaboration, together with Devaux, Wang-Kanda and Hiroshi Fukuda, then an assistant professor at CIAS, we started intensive discussions. For making the project fit the academic interests of the department, we worked together over the first draft of the practical workshops' rationale and program brought in by Devaux. The result of this discussion successfully allowed the project to receive funds from the Japanese Consortium for Area Studies (JCAS). Moreover, under Devaux's suggestion, and the skillful negotiation of Wang and Fukuda, the project also received funding from the Kyoto University, Center for the Promotion of Interdisciplinary Education and Research (CPIER). It was through the enthusiastic initiative of Arakawa, the extensive and permanent efforts of Devaux and Nagai, and the crucial support from Wang and Fukuda, that this project has been successfully realized.

A lot has changed since my early participation in the Grupo Nzinga. The beauty and passion of their Capoeira teaching allowed a vigorous expansion of their activities. Moreover, the serious issues raised in the practical and academic activities of their members are actual and relevant in Brazil and internationally. The discussion of these issues are also valid for a country undergoing fast changes, such as Japan, where nowadays occurs a heated debate about internationalization, multicultural interactions and the reinforced integration of women in the workplace. I hope our efforts will contribute to the continued expansion of this art practice and to promote a global understanding of the idea of difference in its varied systems, forms, and colors.



カポエイラの身体知

ノルデスチ(ブラジル北東部)文化のなかの女性

話し手……………ホザンジェラ・アラウージョ バイアー連邦大学教育学部准教授

パウラ・バヘット バイアー連邦大学社会学部准教授

聞き手/通訳…三砂ちづる 津田塾大学国際関係学科教授

三砂ちづる 会場には、ほとんどカポエイラのことは知らない方も来ておられるので、まずカポエイラとはどのようなものかという話から始めます。

私は母子保健、お母さんと赤ちゃん、女性のことを研究していて、それに関する本もたくさん書いている者ですが、私が今日ここに呼ばれたのには理由があります。私は2000年の終わりまで約15年のあいだ海外で暮らしていて、そのうち10年ほどをブラジルですごしました。

■ 日本の東北地方とイメージが重なる ブラジルの北東部(ノルデスチ)

三砂 ブラジルは地域によって文化や風土がまったく異なります。カポエイラが盛んな地方、そして今日のメストラたちがいる地方は、ブラジル北東部(ノルデスチ)です。日本の方にはブラジルの北東部のイメージが湧かないかと思いますが、ちょうど南アメリカ大陸の肩ぐらいにあたる部分、赤道からわりと近い大西洋沿いの地域です。2014年のサッカーのワールドカップで日本が試合をしたレシフェやナタール、ネイマールがけがをしたセアラ州のフォルタレーザがノルデスチにあるまちです。

ブラジルのノルデスチのイメージは、日本の東北地方とよく似ています。日本の東北は自然も文化も豊かで、そこに暮らす人びとは人情もあって、食べ物もおいしい。ただし気候が厳しくて、日本のなかでは辺境と言われるところです。ブラジルのノルデスチも似たイメージです。早い話が、中心に収奪される周縁です。日本でもブラジルでも東北は、東京あるいはサンパウロ、中心から収奪されていた地方というイメージがあるところです。

私はブラジルにいた10年のあいだ住んでいたのもノルデスチのフォルタレーザでした。ノルデスチに10年住んでいて、しかも女性の体、お産に関する仕事を

していたので、今回メストラたちがおいでになった機会に呼んでいただいた次第です。

私の息子二人も、フォルタレーザにいたときに、ヘジロナウのほうですが少しカポエイラをしていたこともあって、見たことはありますが、自分で実践したことはありません。

常にカポエイラには敬意と興味をもって拝見していましたので、メストラたちをお迎えしてほんとうにうれしく思います。今日は私が日本の代表として、みなさんが聞きたいことをメストラたちに聞いていくという役割で参加させていただきます。どうぞよろしくお願いします。

■ カポエイラの発祥と変遷および カポエイラ・ヘジロナウの誕生

ホザンジェラ・アラウージョ 現在カポエイラには、大きく分けて二つの流派、カポエイラ・アンゴラとカポエイラ・ヘジロナウがあります。本日は、カポエイラ・アンゴラにおける女性にとくに焦点を当てて話をします。昔は、カポエイラ・アンゴラの師範やそれを練習する人たちのほとんど、99パーセントが男性でした。その男性たちは、奴隷としてアフリカに連れてこられた人の子孫です。カポエイラを練習していたのも公式な場所ではなく、道などでした。

まずはカポエイラとカポエイラ・アンゴラについて説明します。16世紀に奴隷としてブラジルに連れてこられたアフリカ人によって「カポエイラ」という名前が運ばれたわけではありません。もともとブラジルにあったカポエイラという現地の言葉が、アフリカ人が持ってきた動作、風習などに関連づけられて、「カポエイラ」と呼ばれるようになりました。

カポエイラをしていた人たちは奴隷たちで、彼らが管理をされていた主人たちに、それが何かわからないようにしていました。彼らはそれを森のなか、自然の





ホザンジェラ・アラウージョ

なかで行なっていました。

19世紀には、カポエイラをしている男性たちが、「マウタ (malta)」という名前でもカポエイラをオーガナイズしはじめます。そのマウタはアフリカ系の子孫が生活している場所でオーガナイズされており、もちろん政治的なメッセージ、政治的な戦いがその地域に存在していました。

19世紀末にはブラジルの支配者が、法律によってカポエイラを禁止しました。もしカポエイラをしていて捕まると、公共の広場などで見せしめのように鞭打ちの刑にされました。

バイアアでは20世紀初頭、1930年に現在のカポエイラ・ヘジヨナウの原型となるものが「バイアアの格闘技」という名前でも生まれ、のちのちそれがかたちとなります。そのカポエイラ・ヘジヨナウが白人層や富裕層に浸透していった、ブラジルの国民的なスポーツになります。

■ カポエイラのシステムに顕著にみえる 日本の武道や文化の影響

ホザンジェラ じつは、カポエイラが政府に認められたり社会に認められるにあたって日本が大きな役割を果たしていることは、みなさんご存じないと思います。1930年代、20世紀の初頭から、ブラジルにおける日本人移民がカポエイラにも大きな影響を与えました。たとえば日本における空手などの表現、格闘技の要素などが影響を与えます。着物のような形式の白い柔道着、あとは帯に色がついていてそれが段位を表したり、師範と弟子との関係性があったり、このようなことは日本が影響を与えたのです。

空手で段位が上がると帯の色を変えていく段式をカポエイラでも始めたわけですが、そのなかで、帯に「コルダオン (Cordão)」という名前をつけました。ブラジルの国旗の色を思い出していただければと思います

すが、外が緑から始まり、中に黄色い菱形があって、さらにその中に青い丸があって、丸の中に真っ白の線があります。段が上がっていくと国旗の中心に向かう順番で帯の色が変わり、師範に向かっていきます。

■ スポーツとして全土に拡がったカポエイラを 抵抗の文化・運動として取り戻すアンゴラの戦い

ホザンジェラ こうしてカポエイラにおける二つの流れが生まれました。一つはアフリカ性、自分たちがどこから来たのかという起源、そして自分たちの舞闘・ダンスがどこから来たのかという起源や、アフリカを母と認識してカポエイラを学ぶ側面と、もう一つはスポーツであり、現代的なものであるという側面とに分かれます。

こうしたヘジヨナウの動きによってカポエイラがブラジル全土に拡がることとなり、多くのみなさんが実践することになりました。その後1980年代からはカポエイラ・アンゴラが、ブラジル全土に拡がったカポエイラを変えるために、とくにメストレ・モライスという師範がメストレ・パステリーニャの思想を復活させる運動を始めました。

そこには強い政治的なメッセージ、強い運動がありました。ブラジル政府の卑劣な行為、卑劣な思想がまずカポエイラを禁止したという事実。そしてカポエイラをエリート、白人であったり富裕層のものにしていこうとしたり、スポーツ化しようとしたなどのことです。

1980年代から政治のなかで独裁政権に対する戦い、社会的抑圧、そして凝縮された社会の戦いのなかで、私やメストラ・パウリーニャ、メストレ・ポロッカが力を合わせて戦いました。この時代から、カポエイラ・アンゴラは再認識されるようになりました。カポエイラとして世界的に拡がってしまったイメージを、「カポエイラ・アンゴラというものはこういうかたちだ」ということで取り戻す運動をしたり、思想をみなさんに広めるのは1980年代からになります。

■ 1980年代における軍政への抵抗手段だった カポエイラ・アンゴラ

三砂 質問をしながら進めます。カポエイラはもともとアフリカからきたもので、それがブラジルのなかでスポーツとしてのカポエイラ、「カポエイラ・ヘジヨナウ」になっていったのです。1980年代はブラジルは軍事政権でしたので、その時代に抵抗の一つの方法として、もともとあった伝統的なカポエイラをカポエイラ・アンゴラとして、このグループの人たちが作り





東京講演会には50名が参加

上げようとしてきたという理解でいいですか。

ホザンジェラ 概ね、よいと思います。でも、作ったわけではなくて、もともとあった伝統的なものを取り戻そうとしたという感じです。

カポエイラは住むところがないような人たちが陰でしていただけだったので、まったく注目されていなかったし、表に出ていない部分がありました。カポエイラを教える場所もありませんでした。

サルヴァドールに「フォルチ・ダ・カポエイラ」というところがありますが、そこで初めて目に見えるようなかたちになりました。そこはもともと牢屋で、その当時は使っていなかったのに、軍政下のブラジルでそこを使って伝統的なカポエイラ、カポエイラ・アンゴラというものを見えるようなかたちにしようと思いました。その場所はほとんど使われていなくて、あまりいいところではなかったのですが、そこを抵抗の拠点にしていきました。

三砂 1980年代というのはついこのあいだのことで私たちにそのような状況は想像できませんが、1980年代のブラジルは軍政時代でした。そのときの抵抗の一つの方法として作られていったということです。

ホザンジェラ バイーア州は、ブラジルでもアフリカ出身の方が多い地域です。1980年代は、その人たちが自分たちの権利や女性たちの権利、自分たちの存在を表に出していこうとした時代でもありました。

三砂 自分たちがカポエイラ・アンゴラを作り出したわけではなく、カポエイラの伝統的なかたちを1980年代の抵抗運動のなかでかたちにして見せることを

していくようになったということですね。

■ 抵抗の文脈のなかで

女性を大切にしてきたカポエイラ・アンゴラ

ホザンジェラ スポーツとしてのカポエイラには、男性的、マッチョなイメージがありました。私たちはカポエイラ・アンゴラを始めてそのことを可視化したので、抵抗運動の文脈において私たちカポエイラ・アンゴラのなかでは、女性の存在を大切にしました。このことについてはすべてのメストラたちが、みなさんに理解してもらいたいと思っています。

カポエイラの師範のひとりコブラマンサという男性のメストレが、アメリカでカポエイラの会議があったときに、「女性たちをメストラにしていく、カポエイラを女性たちのものにしていく」と会議でも発言するようになりました。抵抗の文脈のなかにおける伝統的なカポエイラ・アンゴラは女性の存在を大切にしていたのです。

1980年代にメストレ・コブラマンサがそういうことを言い始めました。「ここにいるのは男性でも女性でもなく、カポエイラをやっている人たちなんだ」という言い方で私たちを紹介してくれるようになったことは、たいへんな喜びでした。

■ カポエイラのなかで女性が成長することを阻む 社会的問題とカポエイラ自体の構造の問題

ホザンジェラ しかし、そのあとは、そんなにうまくいきません。やはり男の世界なのです。「カポエイラをしている人」ではなく、「カポエイラをしている女」と見られるので、なかなかメストレが理想的に言うように



は動きませんでした。

私は、カポエイラというもののなかには、女性に関わる課題そのものが存在すると考えています。しかし、そういうことは、男性にはよくわかってもらえない。カポエイラのなかに私たちは女性の本質のようなものを見出したいのですが、そういうところは男性には理解されない部分があると思います。

表面では同じだと言いますが、やはりカポエイラのなかで女性として成長していくことは、とても難しいことでした。その理由の一つは、ブラジル社会の女性に対する先入観、ジェンダーの問題です。「女性は弱い」とか「女性は子どもだけ見ている」というブラジル社会におけるジェンダーの問題がありました。

もう一つは、カポエイラのなかの問題として、女性として活動をしていたいろいろな役割が、カポエイラのなかでの基本的な役割ではなかったことが挙げられます。やはり女性は大切な役割に入れなかったのです。カポエイラのなかで、たとえば女性はビリンバウという楽器を弾かせてもらえないなど、カポエイラ自体の構造の問題もあったのです。練習場でも、女だから「トイレを掃除しろ」とか「道場をきれいにしろ」とか言われてしまう。それがカポエイラのなかでの大きな問題でした。

また、これは日本でもよくあることだと思いますが、たとえば夫婦でカポエイラをしていても、子どもができたなら、子どもの世話をするのは女性になってしまうので、男の人はずっとカポエイラを続けられますが、女性は子どもを育てなければいけない。これは女性がカポエイラをしていくことの困難の、ちょっとした例にすぎません。ほんとうはもっとややこしくて難しい問題が、女性としてカポエイラを続けるためには存在しているのです。

女性への暴力反対という意味から、この問題に取り組むこともできると思います。このような問題は存在しないことにされているので、女性たちが一丸となってこの問題について議論して、女性としてどう生きるか、カポエリスタとして自分がやっていくことが難しいということをもっと可視化していくべきです。

カポエイラのなかでさまざまな役割を果たしてきたことが、きちんと価値を与えられていない。いろいろな女性が一所懸命にしていることが認められていないことを、もっと目に見えるようにしていくべきじゃないかと思います。

19世紀から女性がカポエイラを実践していたこと

については、明確な資料が残っています。その資料は、19世紀にカポエイラをしていたために牢屋に入れられていた女性たちについての記録です。ブラジルが共和国になる前から女性がカポエイラのなかに存在していたことを示しています。

19世紀にカポエイラをしていたために牢屋に入れられていた女性たちがどのような言い方をされていたかという、それはひどい言い方です。「男性のような女性」という言い方で、「脇毛が生えている女」というような表現をされています。女性を侮辱するような言い方ですが、19世紀からカポエイラをやって牢屋に入れられた女性の存在が書かれていて、歴史には残っている。昔から女性でカポエイラをする人はいたという記録はあるのです。

■ 女性だけのグループの創出と カポエイラ女性会議の開催

ホザンジェラ 1980年以降には、女性たちは女性だけのカポエイラのグループを作り始めました。世界中で、女性だけのカポエリスタの会議というものもしています。

シアトルでも女性のカポエリスタを集めた会議をしましたが、日本の女性が参加して下さったことがありました。私たちは女性のための会議も世界中でやっています。いろいろなカポエイラのグループのなかに、必ず女性のための場所を作ってきたのです。

現在はインターネットを通じて、それぞれの女性のカポエリスタが集まったグループが、「こういう差別があった」とか「こういう問題があった」と、カポエイラのグループのなかであった問題を共有できるようにもなっています。

現在では、かつてはカポエイラのなかで男性だけがしていたことも、女性がすべてできるようになっています。いまではビリンバウも演奏しています。

ブラジルのなかの女性たちのグループは、リオ、フォルタレーザ、サルヴァドール、マセイオなど、いろいろなところでできています。マセイオは、ノルデスチのなかでもとりわけ辺境の地域です。サルヴァドールやフォルタレーザはまだましで、マセイオはほんとうに田舎ですが、そこでは女性のカポエイラのグループは、自分たちをフェミニスト・グループだと呼ぶぐらい活発に活動しています。

ブラジル全土のなかでのカポエイラ・アンゴラのネットワークも作っています。インターネットでつながっていて、38か国の女性たちが、このネットワーク



に参加できるようになりました。

カポエイラのスピリットとしても、アフリカからやってきた伝統としても、女性の存在はよく見えない状態になっている。女性がカポエイラのなかで見えない状態になっています。

ブラジル北東部、サルヴァドールには、カンドンブレというアフリカの呪術的な影響を受けた宗教があります。そこで祀られる神様のことをオリシャ(Orixá)と呼び、そのなかに海の神様であるイエマンジャ(Iemanjá)というカンドンブレのなかでも人気のある女神様がいます。カポエイラでもその女神様のことをよく歌いますが、その他の歌のなかには女性がぜんぜん出てきません。

■ 女性への暴力反対キャンペーンを展開し アフリカの女性の救済もめざす

ホザンジェラ 女性のグループでいろいろな活動もしていきま。世界の女性への暴力反対のキャンペーンにも参加しました。

私たちカポエイラをしている女性グループは、女性への暴力の禁止を求めて、マニフェストや宣言も作っています。そのベースになっているものの一つが、ブラジルにある「マリア・ダ・ペーニャ法」という法律です。マリア・ダ・ペーニャという女性は、東北部のセアラ州で家庭内暴力を受けて、現在では車椅子に乗っていなければいけない女性です。彼女が家の中での暴力によってそういう状態になったことを忘れないためにブラジル政府がそういう名前をつけました。私たちはこのような法律を紹介しながら、自分たちは女性への暴力を許さないとか、女性の売買を許さないとか、そういうことについて強い宣言をしているんです。

ヨーロッパのカポエイラ・アンゴラの師範がカレンダーを作っています。ピリンバウなどを使って、女性への性的な搾取や女性への性的な抑圧を許さない



パウラ・バヘット

というメッセージをこめて作りました。しかしそのカレンダーは、女性に対する暴力に反対する強い、過激な宣言をしたために、ヨーロッパでは発売禁止にされてしまいました。

カポエイラはアフリカからきたものですが、いま私たちカポエイラをしている女性たちのグループは、ぜひこのカポエイラを持ってアフリカにもう一度戻っていき、アフリカに入っていきたいと考えています。アフリカは、女性をもっともっと厳しい状態にあると思いますので、アフリカに戻っていきたくています。

■ カポエイラには 女性を抑圧し、侮蔑していた過去が存在する

19世紀から20世紀にかけて、カポエイラをしていた女性に男性がつけた名前を見ると、女性がどのように扱われていたかがよくわかります。

それは男性が見た女性というかたちで付いた名前、たとえば「おじょうちゃん」、「小さい子」とか、なかには「だれだれの女」、「12人の彼氏をもっている女」といった名前も見えます。ようするに女性をバカにするような言い方で、記録に残っているのです。

カポエイラをしていたというだけで、19世紀から20世紀には、こんなひどい名前を付けられている。「悪魔」とか「電車を止めるマリア」というものもあります。電車を止めるくらい強いという……。どれもひどいニックネームをつけられています。これを見ても、男性化されている、男性の好きなようにされてしまっていることがうかがわれます。

このようなものを見ると、女性がどのように扱われていたかが明らかになると言えます。それがカポエイラの歴史でもあるわけです。

■ 宗教・文化に根ざしたカポエイラは 世界に出てどう受け止められたのか

パウラ・バヘット ホザンジェラさんが概略を話してくれましたが、私はカポエイラの世界への拡がりについてお話しします。

1960年代から、カポエイラはどんどん世界に出て行っています。カポエイラ・ヘジヨナウというスポーツとしてのカポエイラ、白い服を着てやっている武道みたいなカポエイラが先に有名になって、アメリカなどに出て行くことになりました。

1980年代以降は、私たちがしているカポエイラ・アンゴラという伝統的なカポエイラも世界中に出て行っています。アジアにも拡がって行って、日本にま





三砂ちづる

で来ました。

カポエイラは、宗教的・文化的なものと同様に繋がっています。アフリカの宗教的・文化的なものがブラジルに入っている。そのなかで、ダンスや武道の要素やスポーツの要素などがいろいろ出てきたのですが、それがグローバル化されて世界に出て行ったときに、いったいどのような文脈で受け取られるのかについては、興味があることです。ブラジル、アフリカの宗教的な文化に根ざしたのですが、その踊りやプラクティスだけが外国に出て行くのはどういうことなのかについては、考えるに値することだと思います。

カポエイラをしているみなさんはご存じのように、たとえばカポエイラの音楽で使っている言葉はすべてブラジルのポルトガル語です。カポエイラの音楽の詩の内容は、ブラジル文化に根ざした詩です。しかもバイーアやブラジル北東部に関する内容です。カポエイラで歌われる歌にも女性が出てきますが、その女性の描き方にも差別的な部分があるわけです。

ブラジルからカポエイラが世界中にどんどん広がっていくことは、カポエイラのプラクティスと同時に、カポエイラに込められたブラジルの独特の文化がだんだん外に出て行って、よく知られるようになっていくとも言えます。

■ カポエイラは日本でどのように受容され どう変わってこうとしているのか

パウラ いまカポエイラはあちこちに広がっていますが、ブラジル政府などのサポートがあったわけではなくて、カポエイラをしている女性や男性が、自分たちで広めていきました。それはある意味で言えば、ブラジルの文化、しかもブラジルの文化のアフリカ的な部分がカポエイラに乗って世界中に広がって、世界中の人が知るようになってきているとも言えます。

同時に、カポエイラはその土地ごとの文脈のなかで

違ったかたちになって広がっているところもあります。カポエイラを日本でしておられる人に話してもらうといいと思いますが、このブラジル文化であるカポエイラが日本に入ってきたとき、日本のなかでどのようにモディファイされて、日本のなかでどのように受け取られているのか、日本の文化のなかでどんなふうに変わっていくと思うのか、実践している人に話を聞いてみたい気がします。日本でカポエイラをすることがどういうことなのか、ぜひ話していただきたいと思っています。

少し付け加えると、興味深いのは、ブラジルをいったん出たら、カポエイラをしている人は圧倒的に女性のほうが多いのです。日本でもヨーロッパでもそうです。女の人ばかりです。マジョリティが女性という、これまで話してきたブラジルとは逆の現象が起こっています。他の国で女性たちが増えていることは、カポエイラ自身にも変化をもたらしていると思います。

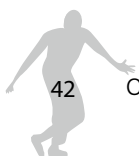
■ カポエイラをする女性は増えているが 女性の占める位置・役割についてはどうか

パウラ 日本という文脈のなかでカポエイラをするのがどういうことか知りたいというのが質問の一つ目で、もう一つ質問があります。カポエイラはもともとほとんど男性がしていて、女性が始めたのは最近です。ですから、男ばかりの世界だったところに女性が増えてきた。医者などもそうですが、かつては男ばかりしていて、いまは女の人が入ってきている。カポエイラもその一例だとも思います。

とにかくカポエイラをする女性の数が増えていくのは重要で、それはカポエイラ全体を変えるためにも大切なことだと思います。しかし、数だけではないですね。クオリティという意味もあると思います。女性がカポエイラのなかでどのような位置を占めているか。数は増えているけれども、いまは数だけではなくクオリティも重要視しなくてはいけない。

たとえばグループのリーダーシップの取り方などです。女性はたくさんいるのに、いざリーダーを選ぶとなったら男になるということもあります。クオリティというのはそういうことを申し上げています。

日本のなかでカポエイラをすることを、みなさんは文化的にどのように受け止めているのか。日本でカポエイラをすることは、よそですのと同じく違うのか。文化として外に出て行くアспектという部分についても聞きたいと思います。また日本では女性が多いようですが、そのなかで女性がリーダーシップをとれ





参加者はカポエイラの実践者、研究者、学生など。とくに女性の姿が多く見られた

ているのかについても聞きたい。あるいは、みなさんが私たちに聞きたいこともあると思いますので、質問をしていただきたいと思います。

■ 生きづらい人に示唆を与える

ノルデスチ文化を体現するカポエイラ

三砂 私は今日は補助的に入っているので、自分の話をする気はないのですが、カポエイラのことを知らない方も、カポエイラのことになりましたでしょうか。私は今日の講演会で、みなさんにカポエイラのことを理解していただくと同時に、ノルデスチという地方の文化にも興味をもってもらいたいと思っていますのです。

ブラジルはまさに移民の国です。もともとブラジルにいた人は、いわゆるインディオとよばれる人だけで、いろいろな人たちが入っていろいろな文化を作っていて、地方によってそれがまったく異なります。

私はブラジルのことを、21世紀のリーダーになる国だと思っています。それはなぜかという、一つには、ブラジルが経済的に成功していることもあります。ブラジルは、いわゆる近代化を達成した近代社会であるにもかかわらず、人びとのコミュニケーションが豊かであって、人間性が損なわれていない。そこがブラジルが次の世紀を担っていくうえで重要なことだと思います。近代的な社会になると同時に人間関係は薄くなりますし、人間関係が難しくなりますが、ブラジルはそのあたりに前近代のよさみたいなものをすごく残しているところがあるんです。

ノルデスチというのはブラジルのなかでも開発が遅れた地域と言われてきたのですが、こうした人間のあり方とか、コミュニケーションのあり方とか、前近代的なものとのつきあい方とか、そういうことについ

て、私はこのノルデスチという地方がブラジルという国を豊かにしていると考えています。

カポエイラは、そういうブラジルのノルデスチの文化の代表のような現れの一つだと思っています。ですから、おそらく日本でカポエイラをする人たちは、近代的な社会になってしまった日本のなかで、どこか生きづらい、どこかしんどい、どこか苦しい、仕事だけしていてポロポロになったとか、そういう人たちに大きな一つの示唆を、インスピレーションを与えるものになっているのではないかと思います。

ですから、ノルデスチの文化がブラジルの文化の一つの大きな深みを与えているのと同じように、その一例としてカポエイラが日本の、生きづらさを抱えているとくに女性たちに、大きな意味をもってきているのではないかと私は想像しているのです。

ということで、日本の女性たちで——男性でもいいですが、「私にとってカポエイラをするとはどういうことか」について、質問でもコメントでもいいので、ぜひメストラたちに話していただきたいと思います。

■ カポエイラで相手と折り合っていく動きから コミュニケーションにおける体の使い方を学ぶ

参加者1 私は1回しかカポエイラをしたことがなくて、ふだんはヨガをしています。ヨガをしていると、よく「人とのコミュニケーションにヨガを役立てよう」みたいなことを言うのですが、私はマットの上でしているヨガのことを、ふだんの生活に活かすということがどんなことか、あまりわからないというか実践に移せていなかったのです。カポエイラをしてみると、カポエイラはヨガと違って相手があります。相手の動きだったり、相手の空気を受け止めて、否定せずにそれと折り合って自分もまた動いていくということが、す



ごく日常生活に近いなと思いました。

いまの日本人は、体を使ったコミュニケーションがあまり得意じゃない人が多いと思います。そういう日本の社会においてカポエイラをするということは、自分の体をどのように人との関わりにおいて使っていったらいいかということを学ばせてくれるすごいツールだなと思いました。

■ カポエイラから感じられる

「なにか得られるものがある」という予感

参加者2 私がカポエイラと出会ったのは10年ほど前で、メストレ・コブラマンサが最初に来たときです。最初はすごくアクロバティックな動きをなにかのメディアで見て、興味を持ちました。おそらくヘジヨナウカコンテンポラニアだと思います。

でも、私がたまたま出会ったのはコブラマンサの弟子の方で、縁があってアンゴラを学ぶことになりました。最初の印象とは違いましたが、とても惹かれるものがある、コブラマンサが来て、「うわ、なんだこれは」とよくわからない、難しい感じで、すてきなだけれど「なんなんだろう」というクエスチョンがたくさんありました。私は10年前に出合って、1年とかもっと長い間しなかったこともありましたが、いまは仲間たちができて環境に恵まれて続けています。

ポルトガル語だし、難しいことがたくさんあって、挫折してしまっただけれども続けていたのは、カポエイラを続けていたらなにかいいことがあったり、得るものがあるという予感がしたので、ずっとやめないうでいました。日本は社会が、やはり仕事がメインになったりして、どうしてもそちらに偏った生活になってしまうのですが、でも、いい予感がしたので、これからもその予感を信じて続けていきます。

最後に、私はそのカポエイラで旦那さんを見つけました。(笑)

■ カポエイラは体を使った

非言語のコミュニケーション・ツール

パウラ カポエイラは、やはりコミュニケーションのツールだと思います。言葉のコミュニケーションだけでなく、ノンバーバルなコミュニケーションのツールのように考えています。

私たちはメストレに習った最初から、「カポエイラは体を使った対話である」と学んできました。体のいろいろな学際的な研究のなかで、カポエイラのプレイ、カポエイラをすることが、言葉だけではないノンバーバルなコミュニケーションのなかでどのように



講演会の最後にはピリンバウの演奏も行なわれた

使われているのか、どのようにノンバーバルなコミュニケーションができあがっていくのかということについて、ずいぶん学際的・国際的な研究もされていると思います。

他の人とのコミュニケーションは、いつもうまくいくとは限りません。うまくいかないこともよくある。でも、それは言葉だけのことではないのです。やはり社会のなかでのコミュニケーションの重要な部分は、じつはノンバーバルな部分だと思います。

その意味では、カポエイラはその人のありようについてもいいことを提供できるし、社会のなかでの人間の関係性についても、カポエイラはとても重要なことを提供できるのではないのでしょうか。たとえば学校での教育です。学校の教育はほとんどがバーバルなものです。カポエイラ・アンゴラはノンバーバルな教育をしていくうえで、提供できるものがたくさんあるだろうと思っています。

■ カポエイラの動き、歌、演奏すべてによって

人間の複雑な要素を表現し、感じることができる

ホザンジェラ コミュニケーションという文脈のことで、私も少しコメントしたいと思います。

カポエイラそのものが、私たちの人間性の複雑さみたいなものを表しているとも言えます。カポエイラは、そのときのあなたのようすを表に出していくもの



です。そのときのカポエイラには、いろいろな表現が、同時にたくさん入っているとも言えます。

自分の複雑な中身をカポエイラを通じて表現する方法には、いろいろあります。舞闘、ダンスの動きだけではなく。楽器を弾くときにも、歌を歌うときにも、個人的な要素、情報を表現できると思います。ちょっとしたリズムやわずかな動作のなかに、さまざまな表現がすべて昇華されていると感じます。

カポエイラのホーダのときのカポエイラの歌も、一つのコミュニケーションの複雑なありようだとも言えると思います。その歌は、そこに集まるカポエリスタのみのために向けられたメッセージなので、カポエイラをされない方がそのときその場所にいても、その言葉や歌の内容、表現方法を理解するのはとても難しいことです。不可能に近い。

たとえば、私が今日ワークショップをしたときの歌の内容を紹介したいと思います。

見たことのない人は
ぜひ見に来てください
リクリ(小さな椰子の実)が
デンデー(大きな椰子の実)をつぶすのを
見に来てください

リクリは小さな椰子の実、デンデーは大きな椰子の実です。「小さい椰子の実が、大きい椰子の実をつぶしているのを見に来て」と歌っています。大きな人を倒すというメタファーです。「大きいからといって強い

とは言えない」ということです。「あなたは大きいけど2倍じゃないし、私は小さいからといって半分でもない」という言い方もありますが、大きさではないということをして言っているわけです。

■ 多様な言語で自分を表現するカポエイラは洗練されたコミュニケーション法

ホザンジェラ カポエイラの歌では、音楽、楽器での演奏などといっしょになって、そのときにあなたの体が何を語りたか、あなたの体が伝えたいことが歌と楽器によって表されます。ですからカポエイラでのコミュニケーションには、動いている二人のあいだだけではなくて、歌を歌っている人、楽器を弾いている人の個人的な要素も影響を与えます。

カポエリスタはさまざまな言語を持っています。歌や体の表現や楽器など、いろいろなものがあります。人間のコミュニケーションの洗練された方法を、カポエイラのなかに見ることができます。体のことをいろいろな言語でさまざまに表現するものになっているのです。

ですから、カポエイラをしていないときでも、相手と会ったときに、その話し方や動きを見ながら、いろいろなことが早くわかるようになる。カポエイラからは、そんな学びがあると言えます。

通訳補助…… 荒川幸祐／
アンドレア・ユリ・フロレス・ウルシマ



左から都留Devaux恵美里、アンドレア・ユリ・フロレス・ウルシマ、パウロ・バハット、ホザンジェラ・アラウージョ、三砂ちづる、パウラ・バハット、永井佳子、荒川幸祐



カポエイラは、みんなと会える場しょだと思います

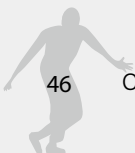
藤原 太郎

ぼくは、はじめで、メストレとのワークシ
 ョップに行きました。まず、いっそのアング
 ーラの人に会いさつをして、その後、メスト
 レに会った時、ぼくは、なぜか、ないてしま
 いました。なぜかというところ、ぼくは、ポルト
 ガル語が話せないからです。こうしてぼくの
 インジアンワークショッポがはじまりまし
 た。
 さいしょに、カポエイラのはじめ、た時の
 お話と、ゴリンバクにまつわるお話を聞かせ
 てもらいました。メストレのお話と、ジエス
 ナーで分かりやすくせつめいしてくれたの
 がよかったです。
 そのあと、どうぶつのお話をしました。ま
 めは4つあります。①とりの ②ライオン、③
 バックフアロー、④さるがおります。ぼくが一
 ばんとくいなれざはバックフアローとさるです。
 それがおれて、三点とら立ちました。三
 点しつりつは、二しつりつあります。一つは
 「見せかけ」もう一つは「おいかけ」です。

二二 藤原太郎

た。
 午後のホーダの時さいしょにメストレに、
 「ラダイーニヤは歌えますか」
 と聞かれて、
 「チウー
 と言いました。今は、歌えるようになったの
 で、今どは
 シェルト
 と言えようになりたいです。うぶきは100点と
 自分は思っています。
 ぼくは、ようちの年中から、カポエイラ
 をやっていきます。入った時は、まだ、ジんガ
 や歌も大きな声で歌えませんでした。がもうす
 ぐ三年生になる今、やっど、大きな声で歌え
 るようになりました。ぼくは、カポエイラは、
 みんなと会える場しょだと思います。これか
 らもかんげります。

二二 藤原太郎



カポエイラを通じた日本への還元

荒川 幸祐 カポエイラ・アンゴラ グループインジンガ京都代表

自己紹介

京都出身、写真家。幼少期に数年間アメリカで過ごしたことや、大学でスペイン語を専攻するなど、他言語や多文化に強い関心を持って育ちました。スポーツや身体を動かすことと、多様な国の音楽にも興味を持っていたことから、身体表現と音楽の融合性のあるカポエイラを知ったときは心がすごく躍動したのを覚えています。2002年から京都でカポエイラを学び始め、その後幾度もブラジルへと渡り、理解と関心を深めていきます。2009年からサンパウロで写真の仕事と勉強をするために現地へと渡り、同時期にカポエイラ・アンゴラのグループインジンガに入門、2013年は本部のあるサルバドールに滞在しカポエイラの修行に励みました。

カポエイラとは

格闘技とダンス、音楽と遊戯、さまざまな要素が融合した、ブラジルの伝統文化。輪になった人が、楽器を演奏し長いあいだ歌うなかで、二人のプレイヤーがリズムに合わせて、即興の駆け引きを繰り返します。

カポエイラの歴史は古く、16世紀にはその存在が確認できます。当時アフリカからブラジルに奴隷として連れて来られた人びとが、自由を勝ち取るための術として独自に育んできました。その後、弾圧の時代を乗り越えて、現在では人種や老若男女を問わない幅広い層に支持され、ブラジルを代表する文化となっています。

現在カポエイラには、大きく分けて「カポエイラ・アンゴラ」と「カポエイラ・ヘジョナウ」の二つの流派があり、世界170か国以上に愛好者がいます。

カポエイラ・アンゴラとは

1930年代当時、あらゆるアフロ・ブラジル文化と行事は弾圧され禁止されていました。当時は公共の場所でカポエイラをすると警察に捕まりその後の釈放は約束されないなど、不平等な世の中でした。そういった中、カポエイラという名前を使わずに、「パイア地域の格闘技」という名称で世に紹介し学校を開いた人物、メストレ・ピンバがいます。そのスタイルは瞬く間に白人層、アカデミックな分野と富裕層の理解に繋がり、カポエイラ界に大きな影響を与えました。

1940年代に入ると、その新しい流れとは逆に、元々その土地で古くから行われていたカポエイラを残し、価値を与えようとする派閥に分かれ、それを当時のメストレ・パスチーニャがカポエイラ・アンゴラと名付けます。彼は格闘性や身体性を重視したカポエイラに移行していく中で、文化伝承としてのカポエイラを残すことに生涯をかけました。

カポエイラを学び始めたのは

初めて音楽を聴いたときに、体全体で感じた感動を覚えています。衝撃が走ったといいましょうか。とても良い音楽、好きな音楽を聴く時のように、身体の中を心地よい感覚が流れていくのです。その音楽の中で踊り、闘い、身体を動かすことは、自分にとって悪いはずがないと思いました。あれから14年経ったいまでも、良いカポエイラの音楽が流れたときは身体から自ずと力が湧き出て、ずっと動いていられる感覚になります。自分にとってこれは良いことなのではないか、という直感を信じた結果、今まで続けているのだと思います。

カポエイラ・アンゴラとの出会い

元々京都で始めたカポエイラは、カポエイラ・ヘジョナウとアンゴラをどちらも行うグループで、アンゴラの存在はとても気になっていました。どちらかといえばカポエイラ・ヘジョナウのグループでしたので、アンゴラの練習は少なく、理解もそれほどできて



いなかったのかもしれませんが。しかし、幾度もブラジルを訪れ現地のカポエイラに触れるなかで、特にカポエイラ発祥の地とも言われるサルバドールで、自身の道の方向を変える出来事がありました。

現地に行くと、両方の流派をしているということでも苦笑されたり、差別されるようなこともありました。しかしそれぞれの流派の根源にいくと、それぞれが守ってきているものや、長年続けているものがとても強く感じとれ、現地を離れて特に大都市であったり外国に渡っていくカポエイラ概念が、まったく違うものに変化していることに気がつきました。カポエイラ・ヘジヨナウもカポエイラ・アンゴラも同じカポエイラから来ている、という単純なことがとても明白に見え、感じられたのです。

そして動きだけでなく、その音楽性やメストレ達からの知識と知恵が、生きていく中でのとても価値のあるものだと気付かされました。京都に戻ると元々のグループで活動はしていましたが、やはり何度もブラジルに渡るに従って「一度今までのスタイルから離れ、カポエイラ・アンゴラを一から学びたい」という強い気持ちが芽生えました。そしてサンパウロにあるグループインジンガの支部を偶然見つけた時には、すでに学んでいく気持ちが固まっていたのです。

メストレ達とのイベントを企画することになった契機

幾度となくブラジルへと渡っては日本へ戻ってくる間、カポエイラとは自分だけが学ぶ場であり、自分の喜びでした。しかし徐々に日本になんとか還元できないかと思うようになりました。グループインジンガの師範3名一同を日本に招待することが、日本でのさらなるカポエイラ・アンゴラの普及と発展、理解へとつながると、現地にいた時に強く感じました。カポエイラを学ぶ人達、日本のカポエリスト達は真面目で積極的に活動しています。自分の学ぶカポエイラ・アンゴラとその師範達を日本に招待することで、より多くの方にカポエイラ・アンゴラを実感して頂き、肌身でふれて感動する場面を作り、より多くのカポエイラ理解者と愛好者を増やす手助けがしたいと思いました。

異文化の理解を自身の文化への理解へとつなげられることや、身体を動かして相手とコミュニケーションをとるといった人間味のあることを学ぶことができるのは、大変重要な経験です。カポエイラは人種と国籍、性別と文化の壁を越え、人と人をつなげるツールです。長年にわたって教えを説かれている師範達を日本に招待できるのはとても稀な機会でもあり、それだけ重要なことだと思いました。

イベントの成果とこれから

ブラジルでも日本でも、カポエイラの中で師範達が集まる機会は珍しく、想像を超えたエネルギー、喜びと感動が起きるものです。そこではカポエイラの教えや教訓、人生をより幸せに生きていく中での答えが少しずつ伝授されていきます。

現地でもよく言われる言葉があります。「本当に良いカポエイラを学ぶためには、メストレの近くにいなさい」。日本の皆さんが幾度なくブラジルに行かれるのも、メストレが来日したときにわざわざ足を運ぶのも、その理由は、動きや音楽だけでなく様々な知恵を伝授してもらえるからです。それは秘伝の術のような繊細で非常に意識の高い修行の積み重ねが織りなす技なのです。それを学び、人生をより自分らしく生きていくのがカポエイラの中に隠された本当の自身との戦い、遊び、護身術なのではないかと思えます。

日本では20年間カポエイラを学んでいる方はほとんどいませんが、今回ブラジルで30年以上学び、教える師範を招待することで、私たちのカポエイラとともに生きる長い人生の中に、ある道標を伝えて頂けたのではないのでしょうか。今回はその奥深さや楽しみ方を日本で実感し体験していただく場を設けることができ、大変嬉しく思います。今後も日本に師範を招待するイベントを開催し、このような場を増やしていくことの重要性に気づくこともできました。

男性中心の文化であったカポエイラが、現在はほぼ半数が女性となり、女性の師範もいる中、今回のイベントで女性師範を2名迎えられたのは重要なことだ考えています。女性としての見本となるような人物が1人でも多くいることは、強い心の支えになると思います。私一人だけでなく、私の学ぶグループインジンガのすべてのメンバーが実感し、信じている、愛のあるカポエイラ、差別と暴力のないカポエイラを目指して、私たちは伝統的なカポエイラ・アンゴラをこれからも享受しつつ学び続け、伝えていくことができればと思っています。

今回のイベントを開催するにあたって、たくさんの方々のご協力とご支援を頂きました。さらに関係者のお力により出版物やDVD制作まで実現することができたことを大変光栄に思います。この場を借りて皆様に感謝の気持ちと、今後とも末長く関係を続けて頂きたいと願っていることをお伝え申し上げます。皆様、ありがとうございました。



Ginga Nzinga(ジンガ・インズィンガ) カポエイラ・アンゴラ 国際交流イベント 開催概要

2014年9月5日～14日(東京・京都)

●9月5日～9月7日●

東京のオープニングセレモニーと実演ワークショップ:
カポエイラ・アンゴラの実践で使う楽器と動きの練習と講義

●9月9日(火)東京講演会●

講演会『カポエイラの身体知——ノルデスチ(ブラジル北東部)文化のなかの女性』

ホザンジェラ・アラウージョ(バイーア連邦大学教育学准教授)

パウラ・バハット(バイーア連邦大学社会学准教授)

ゲスト:三砂ちづる(津田塾大学国際関係学科教授)

時間:19:00～21:00

場所:kurkku home(渋谷区神宮前2-18-21)

●9月12日(金)●

京都の実演とシンポジウム、オープニングセレモニー

パフォーマンス実演

時間:12:30～13:00

場所:稲盛財団記念館中庭(雨天:エントランスホール)



シンポジウム『抵抗と解放の身体——ブラジル伝統芸能「カポエイラ」による対話と実践』

ホザンジェラ・アラウージョ(バイーア連邦大学教育学部准教授)

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司会:福田宏(京都大学地域研究統合情報センター助教)

時間:14:00~17:00

場所:京都大学地域研究統合情報センター・稲盛財団記念館333号室

オープニングセレモニー(Roda)

時間:18:00~21:00

場所:京都大学地域研究統合情報センター・稲盛財団記念館333号室

9月13日~9月14日

京都の実演ワークショップ:

カポエイラ・アンゴラに関連する楽器と動きの実演と講義

共催

NPO グルーポ・インズィンガ・カポエイラ

ジンガ・インズィンガ実行委員会

京都大学地域研究統合情報センター(CIAS)

地域研究コンソーシアム(JCAS)「地域研究次世代ワークショップ・プログラム」

京都大学学際融合教育推進センター(CPIER)「分野横断プラットフォーム構築企画」

JCAS社会連携プロジェクト「女性地域研究者のライフ・キャリアネットワークプロジェクト」

NPO法人平和環境もやいネット



第2部

カポエイラから 考える身体

歴史、社会、文化、
ジェンダーの視点から

Tensions Around the Definition of *Capoeira* as Black Cultural Expression: Rebuilding the Bridges Between Brazil and Africa

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Summary

In this article I highlight that *capoeira* has been considered a form of resistance in many interpretations that assert it as a “Black” cultural expression -- not just a “Brazilian” one -- and refuse the limitation of *capoeira* within the field of “sport” or “fight”. Be it associated with riots and fights for the liberation of enslaved African descent enshrined in maroon communities (*quilombos*), or associated with the most recent manifestations of African descent organized into groups, *capoeira* became a symbol of black resistance in Brazil, and from there, inside the African Diaspora. Despite the fact that such understanding has become more influential from the 1980s onwards, there remain disagreements and tensions around the definition of *capoeira*, to which contributes the increasing number of practitioners who are situated in varied national, social and cultural contexts.

I - Introduction

In 1981 Vicente Ferreira Pastinha, known as Master Pastinha, died in Salvador. Shortly before his death, he was the head of a school of *Capoeira Angola* located in Pelourinho, the historical downtown area. After decades of experience dedicated to the practice and dissemination of *capoeira*, he had become a well-known figure. Although not the only *Capoeira Angola* master, Pastinha gained notoriety for his initiatives of systematic documentation of the *capoeira* teaching and learning, which included the publication of a book (PASTINHA, 1988; BARRETO, 2015).

However, despite having achieved great prestige, Master Pastinha lost the space where his *capoeira* school was installed in the historical center and died very poor and in precarious circumstances. During this period, many *Capoeira Angola* groups with regular activities in Salvador were affected, and many *capoeiristas* who learned from Mestre Pastinha and others abandoned the practice of *Capoeira Angola*, or joined the *Capoeira Regional*¹⁾. The evidence seemed to confirm that such style of *capoeira*, as vagrancy, which emerged in the first decades of the

twentieth century in Bahia would actually disappear and become part of the *capoeira* memory.

The struggle in defense of *Capoeira Angola*, and against its disappearance, led to the creation of a *capoeira* group in 1982 (*Grupo de Capoeira Angola Pelourinho* - GCAP), giving rise to what was to become a broader movement placing the *capoeiristas*, or the *capoeira* practitioners, on the political scene (Araújo, 2015). I was among the first members of that group and participated directly in the group’s activities until late 1990s. The initial phase of this movement occurred through the interventions of this group, led by Mestre Moraes and his disciple Cobra Mansa, whose activities took place on two fronts: on one hand, seeking to attract new practitioners in order to make *Capoeira Angola* better known; on the other hand, vehemently denouncing the deleterious implications of the apparition of the *Capoeira Regional*, which directly influenced the misfortunes of *Capoeira Angola*.

The practical activities were carried out in a public space - *Forte Santo Antônio Além do Carmo* - holding regular classes and a weekly *capoeira* circle open to the public. In terms of mobilization, even with a small number of people, the organization of events propitiated access to the media in order to disseminate their ideas, and brought together old

1) There are two 'styles' of capoeira: Angola and Regional. These styles historically developed from different orientations that led to subtle variety in terms of movements, body expressions, musical rhythms, indumentary customs, and teaching traditions.



masters of *Capoeira Angola*, on commemorative dates, such as the anniversary of Master Pastinha and others. The provocative way utilized to expound upon several issues raised controversy and contributed to broaden the effects of the activities of these few activists. The defense of *Capoeira Angola* was mainly effected through discourses that attacked the racial configuration of *Capoeira Regional*. These discourses sustained that the creation of *Capoeira Regional* by Master Bimba implied in the elimination of some (social and aesthetic) features that linked *capoeira* directly to slavery, to Africans and their descendants, those features that led to its stigmatization and persecution during the nineteenth century. As a reaction to this attempt to redefine values, it was very important to assert the black and African origin of *capoeira*, through valuing some specific characteristics of *Capoeira Angola*.

These defense arguments were supported by research and studies on the history of *capoeira* in Brazil, and in particular, about the history of slavery and blacks, and this was an important activity within that group of *Capoeira Angola*. Although, the study of these subjects was not part of our basic training, the *capoeira* group finally became also a study group. The results of this research were presented at internal seminars and open to the community.

The evidence produced by the studies about black slavery in Brazil, in particular about the black culture, slave resistance and about *capoeira* during the nineteenth century were important in this debate. There was an ample documentation proving that *capoeira* practitioners were arrested, punished by whipping, and that the practice of *capoeira* became a misdemeanor and it was then criminalized (ASSUNÇÃO, 2005; SOARES, 1994).

In the face of evidences that the association between play and fight, a practice accompanied by musical instruments that were striking features of *capoeira*, the practice resurfaced in Salvador in the early decades of the twentieth century (SCALDAFERRI, 2015). These features were present in *Capoeira Angola*, although this tradition was disappearing during the 1980s, while the style of *Capoeira Regional* begun to gain hegemony among the practitioners of *capoeira*.

In a context marked by the emergence of other cultural organizations such as the Afro-music groups known as *blocos afro*, which also asserted their African roots and blackness, we sought to create links with these and other organizations of the black movement in Salvador (CROOK & Johnson, 1999). Among the *blocos afro*, two of the most important were created in the 1970s: the Ilê Aiyê in 1974 and Olodum in 1979. Our approximation to these and other black cultural and political organizations of Salvador occurred gradually and the process reached its apex in 1988, when many debates and actions occurred in light of centenary of the abolition of slavery in Brazil.

In the next section, I will provide a brief reflection on the notions of nation, nationalism and black culture in Brazil, which is necessary to understand the meanings of the “re-africanization” of the *capoeira* process which started in Salvador in the 1980s, which thematic complexity has been highlighted in previous studies (GUIMARÃES, no date; PINHO, 2005). In the next session, we focus on the specific characteristics of *Capoeira Angola*, highlighting its internal heterogeneity and complexity, with the purpose of deepen the discussion about the black culture.

II – Nation, Nationalism and Black Culture in Brazil

In order to understand the meaning of the “re-Africanization” process that began in Salvador in the 1980s, we must place it into a wider context, in order to highlight the overlap between projects that represent Brazil as a nation, and the forms of political and cultural mobilization of blacks. This context, even if briefly addressed in this article, will elucidate the background for the emergence of a movement to which we belonged in Salvador, set forth in Brazil from the 1970s onwards. It was innovative because it conjugated the redefinition of cultural practices formerly considered to be Brazilian, as black or Afro-Brazilian practices, that evolved along with denunciations of prejudice, discrimination and inequality. Moreover, the celebration of the African origins of these cultural practices was much more



present in Bahia, while the political mobilization by civil and social rights occurred mainly in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, prevailing a relative separation between these two black traditions (GUIMARÃES, no date).

It is known that, after centuries of colonialism and enslavement of Indians and Africans in Brazil, during the nineteenth century, when emerged a number of changes that aimed at building a modern nation, the existing social structure was profoundly unequal. On one hand, there was a white minority that included the ruling elite, whose main cultural references were European. On the other hand, a great majority made up of mestizos, blacks and indians composed the so-called Brazilian society. Between 1822 (the year of Brazil's independence from Portugal) and 1888 (when slavery was officially abolished) two legal and different value systems coexisted in Brazil, one of them valid only for "Brazilians", and another valid for the "Slaves". The latter, the period that followed the abolition, and that marks Brazil's entry into modernity, formally assured the Brazilian citizen status for Africans and their descendants who were once enslaved, but also brought new and greater difficulties.

In dealing with the relationship between black identities and citizenship in Brazil, Guimarães (2013: 1) states that in modern Brazil:

"there are some critical moments in which racialization – the designation of human groups as races – were the basis for social identities from which political ideals such as economic redistribution, national belonging and social equality were built. During these periods, the idea of race became a self-defined identity, rather than an identity imposed by others from outside."

The periodization proposed by Guimarães indicates the existence of four distinct periods, namely: the abolitionist movement, black protests in the 1930s, the democratization process in post-World War II, and the democratic movement against the military dictatorship in the 1970s. According to the author, in each of them it is clear that the intersection of nation, social relations, class and race influenced both the categories used to label people, and the definitions

of the ways to overcome inequality.

Regarding the post-abolition period, it is noteworthy that the most valued positions in the free labor market, which has grown in the years that followed the end of the slave regime (1888), in São Paulo, for example, located in the Southeast, were occupied by foreign immigrants (largely European). They started to arrive to work in the country from the second half of the nineteenth century, while blacks faced unemployment and the degradation of their living conditions. Studies such as Nogueira (1988) ratify that European immigrants who arrived in São Paulo with few financial resources and social capital experienced a strong upward mobility in five decades, while in the same period the situation of blacks remained stable and even worsened.

It is worth remembering that in this time period, the theories that ensured the existence of a race hierarchy, defining 'race' according to biologically scientific theories, which arose in Europe in the late nineteenth century, became influential in Brazil and served as justification for the maintenance of the slavery system. Those theories grounded on the alleged racial inferiority of Africans and blacks, and served to explain this lower social position in the Brazilian society. As occurred in other Latin American nations, elites saw themselves as white, but were perceived by Europeans as blacks, which led to a constant self-esteem crisis (TELLES; FLORES, 2011). The refusal from middle classes and intellectual elites in these countries in what regards to the fact that they were mestizo was described by Ramos (1957) as the "social pathology of the white Brazilian". In general, countries like Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay and others, ethnic and racial subcultures were incorporated as "popular" in nation-building projects. An extensive literature shows that interbreeding was central in this national project, which has overcome the pessimism and the racism that was significant in the nineteenth century (WADE, 2005; PINHO, 2004).

When the emergence of the first political and cultural organizations formulating specific demands for "blacks" in Brazil during the 1920s and 1930s, for example in São Paulo, blacks competed with



other ethnic groups, mostly made up by foreign immigrants, including Japanese nationals. From the perspective of several of these groups, the African and slave origin, on one hand, left as a legacy the moral, intellectual and cultural unpreparedness for integration of former slaves into the modern industrial world. On the other hand, those origins served to explain the social position of blacks, marked by prejudice and degradation of their living conditions.

After the World War II, the positive recognition of the cultural background specific to the black people gained more space in black organizations, particularly the African origins, but these were referred to as Afro-Brazilian culture. The presence of traits that were considered more or less untouched, or the survivals of the African cultural elements, the “Africanism”, continued to be rejected by black leaders. For example, in São Paulo because these were considered as “exoticisms” or “superstitions”, maintained within the popular culture and associated to uneducated layers of the Brazilian society. And Salvador, located in Bahia, in the northeastern region of Brazil, was already known at that time as a city where there was a strong presence of these “Africanisms”, which is proved by the great number of *Candomblés* (Pierson, 1971).

During this period, there have been criticisms of the theories that defended the racial inferiority of blacks, which were grounded on the results of the first studies based on the scientific research on “race relations” in Brazil, conducted from the 1940s onwards. By stressing that the historical and social factors, instead of racial ones, explained the current problems of people of African descent, as well as blacks and mestizos, several studies have produced evidence of the disadvantages of blacks in relation to whites inside the Brazilian society. Hence, disagreement arose as to whether such disadvantages should be interpreted as a class or a race problem (COSTA PINTO, 1998). The interpretation that denied the existence of a “race problem” in Brazil prevailed, and few studies have argued that the racial prejudice and discrimination explained the disadvantages of blacks in Brazil. It is noteworthy, however, that even these studies have reiterated the failures, defects and limitations of blacks themselves, which hindered

their integration into the modernity, producing what might be called “deficit theories “ (BASTIDE; FERNANDES, 1955).

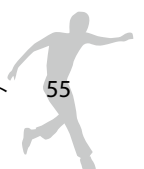
In the 1970s, when the prevailing nationalist model was questioned, the focus of black leaders shifted to the existence of racial inequalities between blacks and whites, which would result in lesser access of blacks to social opportunities. From that point onwards, the process of ethnic and racial formation started to focus on the foreign context, which included a reassessment of the historical and current ties with Africa, no longer limiting itself to the strengthening of the Brazilian nationality. This shift in the national perspective is explained both by international changes - such as the increased circulation of ideas that facilitated the dialogue among blacks around the world – as well as domestic, especially due to the Brazilian national identity crisis caused by the postwar crash in the system of “replacement imports of capital goods” and the decrease in its relative cultural isolation.

It is in this context that the “black culture” claim emerged with a strong international connotation, built from the dialogue with other regions such as the United States, the Caribbean, Africa and Europe, very close to what has been referred to as the Black Atlantic (GILROY, 2000), and no longer of an Afro-Brazilian culture.

In short, in order to understand the practical changes and the ways to define *capoeira* that have occurred over time, as well as in different moments of the Brazilian history, it is essential to consider the changing conceptions of Brazilian nationality mentioned above.

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In the nineteenth century, Rio de Janeiro was the city where *capoeira* was more widespread. Soares (1994) analyzed documents found in police archives in Rio de Janeiro, in the second half of the nineteenth century, a period in which *capoeira* was still not a widespread practice, but was mainly used by Africans as a “significant channel of slave resistance.” The “*capoeiras*”, or *capoeira* practitioners, acted in the streets of Rio de Janeiro, individually



or in groups called “*maltas*”, and were subjected to constant repression by the police.

In addition to slave resistance, produced in response to the violence and harassment these have suffered in the cities, there is evidence that the “*capoeiras*” sought their own cultural identity. The “*maltas*” competed for spaces in the city and used symbols such as colors, clothing, and their own forms of communication, in order to mark the differences between them. The intensity of these disputes can be exemplified by the creation of two major *maltas*, gathering smaller ones, called *nagoas* and *guaiamuns*. The *malta nagoas* (derived from Nago) was more associated with the Africans, and the symbol color was white, while the *guaiamuns* (name of a local crustacean) was more associated with mestizos, and the symbol color was red.

For Soares, the emergence of *guaiamuns* and *nagoas* was the most important event of the history of *capoeira* in Rio de Janeiro in the second half of the nineteenth century and it is related to changes that occurred in the slave society. Upon the end of the slave trade to Brazil, the internal displacement of a large contingent of slaves to the coffee region, and the intensification of Portuguese immigration, changed the composition of the population of the city of Rio de Janeiro: the reduction in the number of Africans, and the increasing number of Portuguese, free blacks, poor whites, mixed races and *crioulos*. The *maltas* have become more heterogeneous since people of all these categories began to integrate them, losing their markedly African character of the first half of this century.

The rivalry between *nagoas* and *guaiamuns* persisted until the late nineteenth century and represents, according to Soares, the cleavages that previously existed between African slaves and those born in Brazil. And even with the change in composition of the *maltas*, which was intensified in the second half of the century, this opposition continued to be affirmed symbolically through the conflicts between *nagoas* and *guaiamuns*.

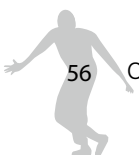
The *maltas* participated in the political life, supporting distinct currents, royalist or republican, conservative or liberal. They tried to maximize the

benefits they had achieved in an attempt for not losing their autonomy. It is also noteworthy that, in the 1870s and 1880s, the Republicans were the ones who supported the full force clampdown on *maltas*, which explains the support of *capoeiras* to monarchists. The inception of the First Republic in 1889 marked the beginning of the most violent persecution of *capoeiras* that put an end to four decades of *maltas*' interventions, destroyed with the deportation of *capoeiras* to the island of Fernando de Noronha.

The fact that the numerous unsuccessful attempts by the police to withdraw these *maltas* from the streets between 1850 and 1890 were documented, and that only at the beginning of the republic, as a result of illegal and arbitrary methods the *maltas* were destroyed, proves that *capoeira* was deeply rooted in cities. In addition, it illustrates the difficulties faced by former slaves, blacks and mestizos in Brazil, in the period that followed the abolition in 1888. Without the slave status or citizen, the descendants of Africans were at the mercy of all sorts of arbitrariness, a situation that has worsened with the onset of the republic (BASTIDE; FERNANDES, 1955).

These evidences suggest that the origin of *capoeira* occurred in urban areas, not rural, based on experiences and relationships woven during slavery, in cities such as Salvador, Recife and Rio de Janeiro (SOARES, 1994). However stating that *capoeira* emerged in urban areas from the slave condition does not imply in the rejection of the thesis claiming that *capoeira* originated in Africa, being correlated to dances and acrobatic games from the Bantu region (ASSUNÇÃO, 2005). The two interpretations are compatible as it is reasonable to assume that African slaves, who integrated the population of Brazilian cities, would also use African sources or references in order to create new forms of expression. *Capoeira* resulted, therefore, from a synthesis of information from several parts of Africa made by African slaves in Brazil, which merged with other elements from the local reality.

The resurgence of *capoeira* in the beginning of the twentieth century occurred in another region of Brazil, the Northeast, and another major city, Salvador, located in the Recôncavo Baiano. Documentation of *capoeira* in Salvador in the nineteenth



century is scarce (DIAS, 2015; ABREU, 2005). The oldest pictorial record is Rugendas frame, which depicts a scene similar to *capoeira* movements entitled “San-Salvador” in 1827 (ASSUNÇÃO, 2005). The documentary sources on *capoeira* increased in the twentieth century, and during the 1920s - 1930s, there were constant news in the newspapers as well as oral accounts. In these records, *capoeira* was referred to as “vagrancy” (*vadiacão*), i.e. as a leisure activity, which practice took place in the workplace, on Sundays and in the markets during the popular and religious festivals (DIAS, 2015). The *capoeira* practitioners were basically men, laborers, as stevedores, porters, doormen etc. The game, or play, occurred in places such as the waterfront and in popular neighborhoods on Sundays, when the *capoeiristas* gathered in “barracks” (*barracões*) (SCALDAFERRI, 2015; ABREU, 2003). The photographic records of Pierre Verger in the 1940s help to confirm that *capoeira* was practiced in the streets, but accompanied by musical instruments like *berimbau* and tambourines, something that had not occurred in the nineteenth century (BARRETO, 2008).

Capoeira Regional was created in the late 1930s by Master Bimba (Manuel dos Reis Machado), and became popular as a national, Brazilian fight. Master Bimba deliberately aimed at attracting a more diverse audience to *capoeira*, in terms of class and race/ethnicity, such as white and middle-class college students. Furthermore he introduced changes in the practice of *capoeira* in order to increase its combative fight like character, and lessen its playful aspects, the mimics and plays about which he disagreed. He created also a teaching methodology with sequences of movements and proposed a new name for *capoeira*: Bahia Regional Fight (SILVA, 2015; ASSUNÇÃO, 2005).

From these innovations introduced by Master Bimba, *Capoeira Regional* has become more combative and the efficiency of strikes or counter-strikes gained more importance. The game became faster, with movements being carried out for most of the time in an upright posture (high game). The musical part lost importance and, although it has not disappeared, it became a secondary part in *capoeira*.

As the *Capoeira Regional* was popularized as a

genuinely Brazilian fight and, therefore, not as an African or black cultural practice, this has gradually become the major reference for what *capoeira* ought to be, which may be exemplified by the assertion that ‘*capoeira* is just one’. In this perspective, there was no recognition of many styles, languages, approaches to the *capoeira* appropriations. Consequently, adhesion to the concept of *capoeira* as a national sport started to become unavoidable to masters and *capoeiristas*. That concretely resulted in attempts to define normative patterns and to require the affiliation of teachers and *capoeira* groups to *capoeira* ‘Federations’ and ‘Confederations’, similar to what happens with other sports (MAGALHÃES FILHO, 2015; BARRETO, 2005).

In summary, the statement that ‘*capoeira* is just one’ meant for *Capoeira Angola* practitioners that the only choice left was that of abandoning such style, described as old and outdated, that exemplified a conception of “Africanism” and that was destined to disappear. The only alternative for many practitioners of *Capoeira Angola* in order to maintain its practice was in trying to insert it in the very lucrative world of tourism activities. Within that context, *capoeira* presentations are known for being part of folklore shows that in general present several expressions of Afro-Brazilian culture in a decontextualized way (SANTOS, 2005).

III – The combination of the playful and the agonistic in *Capoeira Angola*

As noted in the previous section, in order to understand the emergence of a movement of advocacy for the *Capoeira Angola* in the early 1980s, we must place it in the broader context marked by changes in the conception of the Brazilian nationality, which made it possible to accept that, aside from being Brazilian, or Afro-Brazilian, *capoeira* was also black. Hence, it is important to turn your attention to the specific characteristics of *Capoeira Angola* in order to deepen reflections on black culture, and in particular highlighting its internal heterogeneity and complexity.

Over the past three decades, the number of *Capoeira Angola* groups has increased, and so did the number





Photo: Pedro Campos. Photography of Mestre Pastinha playing Capoeira with his students. Archival collection of MAFRO/UFBA N° E19. Original photo enlarged by Renato Marcelo de C. Assis. In: FREITAS, J. M. (Org.). Uma coleção biográfica: os mestres Pastinha, Bimba e Cobrinha Verde no Museu Afro-Brasileiro da UFBA. Salvador: EDUFBA, 2015. P.324.

of practitioners. This increase highlighted the internal differences, whether in political positioning, or on the understanding of the characteristics that define the *Capoeira Angola* and the practitioners of this style, the *angoleiros*. For example, the elevation of Master Pastinha's name as the main representative of *Capoeira Angola* was questioned by groups that had other masters by reference. Hence, the options in terms of clothing and composition of the orchestra of musical instruments have become a subject of discussion.

In the case of the *Capoeira Angola Pelourinho Group* (GCAP), the clothing worn by *capoeiristas* was a yellow shirt and black pants, very similar to the ones worn at Master Pastinha's school. The reference to the formation of the disciples, in terms of the movements, characteristics of the game and the orchestra of musical instruments, under the responsibility of Master Moraes was Master Pastinha. And the teachings were legitimated by Master Moraes' assertion that he reproduced what he had learned with Mestre Pastinha without introducing innovations. In that way, the tradition of *Capoeira Angola*

and the school of Master Pastinha was kept alive by new generations of male and female capoeira angola practitioners (*angoleiros* and *angoleiras*) that were being trained. The position taken by these defenders of a "true *Capoeira Angola*" group was criticized later and it became clear that the defense of *Capoeira Angola* would lead to the imposition of a single model that would be accepted by all groups. The result exposed the existing differences between masters and *Capoeira Angola* groups, and variations within that style, which are evident in theory and practice (MAGALHÃES FILHO, 2012).

Capoeira Angola features continue to be reaffirmed in the daily lives of the groups that were created, but some of them use the yellow and black colors in clothing, some not, and in general the footwear was maintained for the practice of *capoeira*. Moreover, it is common to value the orchestra of musical instruments, as well as chanting *ladainhas*, *chulas* and *corridos*²⁾, and the maintenance of the recreational aspects of *capoeira*, although there are variations in the position and quantity of instruments, and the names given to tunes executed by the *berimbau*. The result is that, in aesthetic terms, visually, *Capoeira Angola* continues to distinguish itself strongly from the *capoeira regional* practiced nowadays, but there are differences between the *Capoeira Angola* groups.

Some of these groups have grown exponentially, and they have created centers in different Brazilian cities and in other countries, while many instructors have been trained and have moved from their places of origin to work elsewhere. *Capoeira Angola* also spread nationally and internationally. In this scenario, issues related to the formation and maintenance of *Capoeira Angola* groups rose to prominence at the expense of ties with other cultural groups, or broader

2) *Ladainha*, *chula* and *corrido* are styles of song that set the rhythm, the style of play and the energy of a game in a capoeira circle. *Ladainha* (litany) is a solo song usually sung by the senior member of the orchestra who also plays the lead *berimbau*. It opens the activities of a capoeira circle, calling for the attention and respect of the participants and audience. *Chula* and *corrido* are sequences of call and response songs typical of the traditional African singing. The difference between them is that the *chula* usually follows the *ladainha* and introduces the participants in the singing, by paying a tribute to Masters, God or any other respectful figure to which it is dedicated. The *corrido* is the basic song style that structures the activities of the capoeira circle.



social movements, something that happens from individual initiatives. There is great internal diversity in terms of color, class, nationality etc.

Topics that were irrelevant to the debates in previous decades gained importance, such as gender relations within the *Capoeira Angola* groups. Women had prominent performances in *Capoeira Angola* groups created from the 1980s, and in some cases they became important leaders. Debating the issue of women's presences in *capoeira* entered the agenda, especially in the reflections during the International Women's Day. However, recurring situations in which the behavior of masters, instructors, as well as, other participants of the groups, was openly sexist towards women --black or not --has resulted in increased criticism from many women who participate in these groups.

Another noteworthy aspect is the growing recognition that the combination of aesthetic, instrumental and improvisational elements, makes *capoeira* a corporeal practice of great complexity, which can be seen in studies in different fields of knowledge, and initiatives that insert *capoeira* within sports, education, as well as, in several artistic contexts. In order for such recognition to occur, it was crucial that *Capoeira Angola* continued to be practiced, keeping as its main characteristic the combination of entertainment and agonistic elements (ARAÚJO, 1994).

The previous section demonstrated that the *capoeira*'s characteristics practiced in the nineteenth century have changed during the twentieth century, when the playful components have become more present in the game and the accompaniment of musical instruments was introduced. The fight was already rhythmic (the dance-fight) and it became a game that combines fight and dance. This combination of fight, dance and game presented challenges for the categorization of *capoeira* because in the Western world, these three activities have been defined as separate categories. In academic institutions this separation is repeated in different areas of knowledge concerned with the study and practice of fights and games associated with the competition, and dance associated with art. The same separation remains in official institutions as well as in public policies.

In the *Capoeira Angola* currently practiced, the game switches between slower and accelerated moments, and the movements are performed in a standing position, but also with one's hands resting on the floor (low game). The musical part is very important and in *capoeira* circles, it determines the pace of the game. In *capoeira*, games (*jogos*) have varying lengths, and the player's attitude is to disguise the intention of attack against the opponent, using different movements, that are marked by stylistic concerns. In this style, "malice" is very important and it is present in the motion, music and singing, rendering more evident that *capoeira* is a set of different forms of deceptive discourse (LEWIS, 1992). The most important one is that which takes place through corporeal movement executed by two *capoeiristas* in the *capoeira* game.

The strokes used for attacking are not executed directly and the defense movements limit body contact, enabling the interaction to occur fluidly. The "malice" in the game implicates in deceiving the opponent by creating expectations that will not be met by breaking an existing standard. The competition and malice are in the foremost in the game, and yet the existence of cooperation is needed. Within the musical aspect, cooperation prevails over competition. In *Capoeira Angola* there is a wide repertoire of tactics that are used by the *capoeiristas* who want to dominate the opponent resorting to mischief, such as manipulating the context (time and game speed), intimidation, ridicule, use of facial expressions, emotional control, the simulation of flight, among others.

From this opposition between competition and cooperation, it is possible to understand why in the agonistic style of the *Capoeira Regional*, the musical component is not emphasized because the main interest is the fight, while in *Capoeira Angola*, playful style, music plays a central role (LEWIS, 1992). From this perspective, it is clear that the balance between competition, the most striking feature of the game, and cooperation, which predominates in the music, has remained more present in *Capoeira Angola*, and decreased in the *Capoeira Regional*. Thus, there has been an increase in the chances of *capoeira* becoming a violent and deadly combat,



and no longer an elegant dance. Currently, in the *Capoeira Regional* circles, it is common for participants to stand up, witnessing a rapid succession of games in which players adopt an openly aggressive attitude, striking blows against the opponent, which defends and does the same. In these circles, there are frequent fights and widespread violence.

It is possible to establish a correlation between malice, as a basic element of *Capoeira Angola* and social interactions. The movements performed in the game of *capoeira* in order to convince the other person of something that will not materialize, hide and show, like a game of concealment and discovery, similar to social interactions, especially with regard to non-verbal communication (GOFFMAN, 1985). The relationship between what happens in the *capoeira* circle and in other contexts of everyday life is emphasized by practitioners themselves, as an aspect that was present in the systematization made by Master Pastinha. The correlation between malice and social interaction follows along the lines of previous reflections presented in this text.

A characteristic movement of *capoeira*, which is part of this malicious repertoire is the *ginga* (swing movement). Without being a strike per se, the *ginga* movement is done while the *capoeiristas* are standing, following the music's rhythm, and serves as a preparation for the strikes and counter-strikes. From its use in *capoeira*, the term came to be used in other contexts associated with flexibility, malleability and rhythm, which are pointed out as remarkable in the peculiar body movements of Brazilians.

In Rosa (2010), a study that deals with the presence of the swing movement in three practices cultivated in Brazil - *capoeira*, samba and scenic dance - , it is stated that the term "swing" refers to "a particular form of syncopated body movement, centered on Afro-Brazilian matrix", whose aesthetic "is linked to a series of principles such as polycentrism and polyrhythm, which circulate within the Black Atlantic universe". In all three cases, Rosa analyzed the way in which "the swing disciplines bodies to produce and transmit a particular way of understanding and interacting with the world, with others and with oneself". The study presented a genealogy of the swing in each of these practices, highlighting

its relationship with the performances of blackness. According to the author, the swing, as a syncopated movement has helped both in decolonization and in the re-colonization of individuals and communities located in Brazil.

Dealing specifically with the *Capoeira Angola*, Kurtz (2014) highlights the "body oratory" of *capoeira* in the sense that the bodies are used to establish dialogues. This expression was coined by the dance researcher Thomas DeFrantz who used it to refer to communication systems found in the actions of the black music and dance. For Kurtz, this form of body language is a central mode of transmission of knowledge in the Afro-Brazilian communities. Body oratory articulates, or choreographs an "embodied pedagogy of resistance," i.e., through their practices *angoleiros* are communicating embodied knowledge on how to resist the dominant values of a society that continues to devalue and marginalize the low socio-economic status of Afro-Brazilians.

The centrality of the playful aspects of *Capoeira Angola*, and the fact that it is seen as a form of leisure and entertainment, does not mean that its practice is regarded as something of minor importance for *capoeiristas*. Rather, it is widely recognized that what is learned in *capoeira* is for everyday life, not just in terms of the use of the strikes for self-defense, but in the broadest sense of the values that guide the *capoeiristas* conduct. As Lewis (1995) reminds us, the understanding that the leisure or game worlds may become central in the lives of people (practitioners, consumers etc.) forced analysts to revise the opposition between leisure and work, in which leisure was devoid of the instrumental character that defines the work. And revising this dichotomy between leisure and work has led to criticism of the aesthetic theories of embodiment that relied on the distinction between instrumental and non-instrumental.

In interpretations that rely on mediations, such as Lewis (1995), the combination of instrumental and non-instrumental elements featuring *capoeira* has placed this body practice in evidence. Utilizing Leder's distinction between two forms of embodiment, one in which the body is missing (process of using the body for action in the world, the body becomes invisible in relation to the work being



performed), and another in which the body is present (the body is at the forefront; in cases of illness), Lewis will focus on mediation between presence and absence of the body, not in opposition. According to him, in situations where the activities are carried out by one's own body, such as dancers and athletes, an intermediate situation between presence and absence prevails. And *capoeira* is an extreme case of mediation because "it is openly aesthetic and instrumental, and is also improvised" (1995).

IV – Conclusions

The transformations that have occurred in *capoeira* throughout history are related to more general changes in the Brazilian society, and in other parts of the world. The opposition between *nagoas* and *guaiamuns* marked the nineteenth century, reflecting the conflicts and internal rivalries to the black and mestizo population, which ended with the violent persecution of institutional character in Rio de Janeiro. In the twentieth century significant changes have occurred, summarized in three moments that place Salvador in the center of events: the resurgence of *capoeira* as a combination of fight and game, which became known as *Capoeira Angola*; the creation of *Capoeira Regional*; and the revitalization of *Capoeira Angola*. In order to understand these changes, one must take into account the trend that prevailed until the 1960s, of including African and black cultural practices as national. The prevailing nationalism in the black social movement that was being formed at that time, especially in Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, led to an interpretation that devalued the oldest cultural practices, and the strong association with Africans, many of them present in Bahia, particularly in Salvador. Only with changes in the conception of the Brazilian nationality which took place from the 1970s onwards it became possible to accept that, aside from being Brazilian, or Afro-Brazilian, *capoeira* was also black.

By focusing on the recent history of *Capoeira Angola*, I have highlighted the internal heterogeneity and complexity, both in terms of composition and characteristics of the groups, and in terms of the specific characteristics of *Capoeira Angola* as

a corporeal practice. Over the past three decades, *Capoeira Angola* groups have attracted people of different classes, colors, gender and nationalities, and issues of gender, education and environment became part of the agenda of these groups. Moreover, there has increased the acceptance that there are variations within that style, which are evident in theory and practice, and result in different interpretations and preferences of instructors and group members on the specific characteristics of *Capoeira Angola*. The existence of these internal variations results in tensions and disputes that are part of everyday life in relationships between the different groups, and are also internal to each of them. The complexity of *Capoeira Angola* as a corporeal practice has been even more evident when considering the combination of entertainment and agonistic elements.

It is important to consider this evidence that *Capoeira Angola* is a heterogeneous and complex black cultural expression, and it has specific characteristics, within the broader discussion on black culture. The "black culture" expression has become popular in Brazil in recent decades, and institutional spaces to design and implement public policies in this area have been created. However, the recognition of the complexity of the Brazilian culture does not seem to withstand, or facilitate the admission of black cultural practices, especially when they have become symbols of the national culture, such as in the case of *capoeira*. To that extent, critical interpretations to group initiatives and cultural organizations that redefine "national" cultural practices as "black" contribute to reinforce this trend. This critique emphasizes that these redefinitions resort to racial essentialism and defend the existence of pure forms in black culture (PINHO, 2010; AGIER, 2001).

However, we defend that in the recent history of *Capoeira Angola* strict conceptions had not prevailed, based on notions of purity, but a field marked by heterogeneity and complexity has been created. This is much better described by interpretations such as Hall, who taught us that:

"... In black popular culture there are no pure forms. All these forms are always the product of partial synchronization, of an engagement that cross cultural boundaries, of the confluences of more than



one cultural tradition, of the negotiations between dominant and subordinate positions, of the subterranean strategies of recoding and transcoding, of critical significance and of the act of signifying from pre-existing material”(Hall, 2003).

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Tensões em torno da definição da capoeira como expressão cultural negra: reconstruindo as pontes entre o Brasil e a África

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RESUMO

Nesse artigo destaco que a capoeira tem sido considerada uma forma de resistência em muitas interpretações que a afirmam como expressão cultural “negra”, e não apenas “brasileira”, e que recusam a limitação da capoeira ao campo do “esporte”, ou da “luta”. Seja associada às rebeliões e lutas pela libertação dos afrodescendentes escravizados consagradas nos quilombos, ou associada às manifestações mais recentes dos afrodescendentes organizados em grupos, a capoeira se tornou um símbolo da resistência negra no Brasil e, a partir daí, da diáspora africana. Apesar desse entendimento ter se tornado mais influente a partir da década de 1980, persistem as divergências e tensões em torno da definição da capoeira, com as quais contribui o aumento do número de praticantes que estão situados em contextos nacionais, sociais e culturais distintos.

I - Introdução

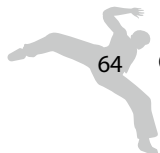
Em 1981 faleceu em Salvador, Vicente Ferreira Pastinha, conhecido como Mestre Pastinha. Até pouco tempo antes da sua morte, ele estava à frente de uma escola de capoeira angola situada no Pelourinho, Centro Histórico, e após décadas de atuação dedicada à prática e divulgação da capoeira, ele havia se tornado uma figura bastante conhecida. Apesar de não ser o único mestre de capoeira angola, Pastinha ganhou notoriedade por suas iniciativas de sistematização do ensino e da aprendizagem, inclusive com a publicação de um livro (MESTRE PASTINHA, 1988; BARRETO, 2015).

No entanto, apesar de ter alcançado grande prestígio, Mestre Pastinha perdeu o espaço onde funcionava a sua escola de capoeira no Centro Histórico e faleceu muito pobre e em condições precárias. Nesse período, eram raros os grupos de Capoeira Angola com atividades regulares em Salvador, muitos capoeiristas que aprenderam com o Mestre Pastinha e com outros contemporâneos abandonaram a prática da Capoeira Angola, ou aderiram à Capoeira Regional. As evidências pareciam confirmar que esse estilo de capoeira, como vadiação, que ressurgiu nas primeiras décadas do século XX na Bahia iria mesmo desaparecer e se tornar parte da memória da capoeira.

A luta em defesa da Capoeira Angola, e contra o seu

desaparecimento, motivou a criação, em 1982, de um grupo de capoeira (Grupo de Capoeira Angola Pelourinho – GCAP), dando origem ao que veio a se tornar um movimento mais amplo recolocando os capoeiristas na cena política (ARAÚJO, 2015a). Eu estava entre os primeiros integrantes desse grupo e participei diretamente das atividades do grupo até o final da década de 1990. A fase inicial desse movimento se deu através das ações desse grupo, liderado por Mestre Moraes e seu discípulo Cobra Mansa, cuja atuação ocorreu em duas frentes: por um lado, buscando atrair novos praticantes, de maneira a tornar a Capoeira Angola mais conhecida; por outro lado, denunciando de maneira contundente as implicações nefastas da criação da capoeira regional, que estava diretamente relacionada aos infortúnios da Capoeira Angola.

As atividades práticas eram realizadas em um espaço público – o Forte Santo Antônio Além do Carmo -, com aulas regulares e uma roda de capoeira semanal aberta ao público. Em termos de mobilização, mesmo contando com um número pequeno de pessoas, a organização de eventos que reuniam mestres antigos da Capoeira Angola, em datas comemorativas como o aniversário de Mestre Pastinha e outras, propiciava o acesso aos meios de comunicação para divulgar as ideias defendidas. O modo provocador de colocar as questões suscitou polêmica e contribuiu para ampli-



ficar os efeitos da atuação desses poucos ativistas. A defesa da Capoeira Angola se deu, principalmente, por meio do discurso que atacava o componente racial formativo da Capoeira Regional. Este discurso afirmava que a criação da Capoeira Regional por Mestre Bimba implicou na retirada de algumas características (sociais e estéticas) que associavam a capoeira diretamente à escravidão, aos africanos e descendentes, e que motivaram a sua estigmatização e perseguição durante o século XIX. Como reação a essa tentativa de redefinição de valores, foi muito importante afirmar a origem africana e negra da capoeira, valorizando as características da Capoeira Angola.

Esses argumentos de defesa eram apoiados em pesquisas e estudos sobre a história da capoeira no Brasil, e sobre a história da escravidão e dos negros, e esta era uma atividade importante dentro desse grupo de Capoeira Angola. O estudo destes temas não fez parte da nossa formação básica e o grupo de capoeira se tornou um grupo de estudo. Os resultados dessas pesquisas eram apresentados em seminários internos e abertos à comunidade.

As evidências produzidas por estudos sobre a escravidão negra no Brasil e, em especial, sobre a cultura e a resistência escrava, e sobre a capoeira no século XIX, foram importantes nesse debate. Havia muita documentação comprovando que os praticantes de capoeira eram presos, castigados com chicotadas, e que a prática da capoeira se tornou contravenção e depois foi criminalizada (ASSUNÇÃO, 2005; SOARES, 1994).

Diante das evidências de que a associação entre jogo e luta, praticada com o acompanhamento de instrumentos musicais, eram características marcantes da capoeira que ressurgiu em Salvador nas primeiras décadas do século XX (SCALDAFERRI, 2015), e que estavam presentes na Capoeira Angola, não entendíamos porque, no início da década de 1980, essa vertente estava em vias de desaparecimento, enquanto a Capoeira Regional se tornava o único estilo existente.

Em um contexto marcado pelo surgimento de outras organizações culturais, como os blocos de música afro, que também afirmavam as suas raízes africanas

e a negritude, buscamos criar vínculos com estas e outras organizações do movimento negro de Salvador (CROOK; JOHNSON, 1999). Entre os blocos afro, dois dos mais importantes haviam sido criados na década de 1970: o Ilê Aiyê, em 1974, e o Olodum, em 1979. A nossa aproximação a estas e a outras organizações culturais e políticas negras de Salvador foi ocorrendo gradativamente e chegou ao ápice em 1988, quando muitos debates e ações ocorreram em razão do centenário da abolição da escravatura no Brasil.

Na próxima sessão, faço uma breve reflexão sobre nação, nacionalismo e cultura negra no Brasil, que é necessária para entendermos os significados desse processo de ‘reafricanização’ da capoeira que teve início em Salvador, na década de 1980, cuja complexidade já foi destacada em estudos anteriores (GUIMARÃES, s/data; PINHO, 2005). Na sessão seguinte, focalizo sobre as características específicas da Capoeira Angola, destacando a heterogeneidade interna e a complexidade, visando aprofundar o entendimento sobre a cultura negra.

II – Nação, nacionalismo e cultura negra no Brasil

Para compreender os significados do processo de ‘reafricanização’ que teve início em Salvador, na década de 1980, é preciso situá-lo no contexto mais geral de maneira a destacar a imbricação entre os projetos de formação do Brasil como nação e as formas de mobilização política e cultural dos negros. Essa contextualização, mesmo que feita de maneira breve nesse artigo, permitirá elucidar que o surgimento de um movimento no Brasil, a partir da década de 1970, do qual fizemos parte em Salvador, pode ser considerado inovador por ter conjugado a redefinição como negras de práticas culturais consideradas brasileiras, ou afro-brasileiras, às denúncias do preconceito, discriminação e desigualdades. Antes disso, a celebração das origens africanas era muito mais presente na Bahia, enquanto que as mobilizações políticas por direitos civis e sociais ocorriam, principalmente, em São Paulo e no Rio de Janeiro, prevalecendo uma relativa separação entre estas duas tradições negras (GUIMARÃES, s/data).



É sabido que, depois de séculos de colonialismo e de escravização de indígenas e africanos no Brasil, quando teve início, no século XIX, um conjunto de transformações que visavam construir uma nação moderna, a estrutura social existente era profundamente desigual, existindo, por um lado, uma minoria branca que integrava a elite dominante, cujas principais referências culturais eram europeias, e, por outro lado, uma grande maioria formada por mestiços, negros e indígenas. Entre 1822 - ano da independência do Brasil de Portugal - e 1888 - quando foi abolida oficialmente a escravidão - coexistiram no Brasil dois sistemas legais e de valores diferentes, um deles válido apenas para os “brasileiros”, e outro válido para os “escravos”. No caso destes últimos, o período que se seguiu à abolição, e que marca o ingresso do Brasil na modernidade, assegurou formalmente o status de cidadão brasileiro para os africanos e seus descendentes que antes eram escravizados, mas também trouxe novas e maiores dificuldades.

Ao tratar da relação entre identidades negras e cidadania no Brasil, Guimarães (2013:1) afirma que no Brasil moderno:

“existem momentos nos quais a racialização - a designação de grupos humanos como raça - foi a base para identidades sociais a partir das quais ideais políticos tais como redistribuição econômica, pertencimento nacional e igualdade social foram construídos. Durante esses períodos, a ideia de raça se tornou uma identidade auto-definida, mais do que uma identidade imposta pelos outros de fora”.

A periodização proposta por Guimarães aponta a existência de quatro períodos distintos, quais sejam: o movimento abolicionista, os protestos negros nos anos de 1930, o processo de redemocratização no pós-segunda guerra mundial, e o movimento democrático contra a ditadura militar nos anos de 1970. Segundo o autor, em cada um deles é possível constatar que a intersecção entre nação, relações sociais, classe e raça influenciou tanto as categorias usadas para rotular as pessoas, quanto as definições dos modos de superar a desigualdade.

Em relação ao período pós-abolição, vale destacar que as posições mais valorizadas no mercado de tra-

balho livre que se ampliou nos anos que se seguiram ao fim do regime escravista (1888), em São Paulo, por exemplo, situada na região Sudeste, foram ocupadas por imigrantes estrangeiros (em grande parte, europeus) que chegaram, a partir da segunda metade do século XIX, enquanto que os negros enfrentaram o desemprego e a degradação das suas condições de vida. Estudos como o de Nogueira (1988) comprovam que imigrantes europeus que chegaram a São Paulo com poucos recursos financeiros e capital social experimentaram uma forte ascensão social em cinco décadas, enquanto que no mesmo período a situação dos negros se manteve estável e até mesmo piorou.

Cabe lembrar que nesse período as teorias que asseguravam a existência de uma hierarquia de raças, definindo ‘raça’ em termos biologizantes, que surgiram na Europa, no final do século XIX, se tornaram influentes no Brasil e serviram de justificativa para a manutenção do sistema escravista ao afirmar que a suposta inferioridade racial dos africanos, e dos negros, é que explicaria a posição social inferior destes na sociedade brasileira. Assim como ocorria em outras nações latino-americanas, as elites se viam como brancas, mas eram vistas como negras pelos europeus, o que ocasionava uma constante crise de auto estima (TELLES; FLORES, 2011). A recusa por parte das classes médias e elites intelectuais desses países do fato de que eram mestiças foi descrita por Ramos (1957) como a “patologia social do branco brasileiro”. De maneira geral, em países como Brasil, México, Venezuela, Colômbia, Peru, Bolívia, Paraguai e outros, as subculturas étnicas e raciais foram incorporadas como “populares” nos projetos de construção da nação. Uma ampla literatura mostra que a mestiçagem era central nesse projeto nacional, que permitiu superar o pessimismo e o racismo que foi marcante no século XIX (WADE, 2005; PINHO, 2004).

Quando ocorreu o surgimento das primeiras organizações políticas e culturais formulando demandas específicas para os “negros” no Brasil, nas décadas de 1920 e 1930, em São Paulo, os negros competiam com outros grupos étnicos, constituídos principalmente por imigrantes estrangeiros. Na perspectiva desses grupos eram as origens africana e escrava



que, por um lado, deixaram como legado o despreparo moral, intelectual e cultural para a integração no mundo moderno e industrial, e que por outro lado, explicavam a posição social dos negros, marcada pelo preconceito e pela degradação de suas condições de vida.

Depois da segunda guerra mundial, ganhou mais espaço nas organizações negras o reconhecimento positivo das origens culturais próprias aos negros, principalmente africanas, mas estas eram referidas como cultura afro-brasileira. A presença de traços que eram considerados sobrevivências mais ou menos intocadas de elementos culturais africanos, os “africanismos”, continuaram a ser rejeitados pelas lideranças negras, por exemplo, em São Paulo, pois eram considerados “exotismos” e superstições associadas às camadas incultas da sociedade brasileira. E Salvador, situada na Bahia, região Nordeste, já era conhecida nessa época como uma cidade onde havia uma forte presença destes “africanismos”, o que se comprovava pelo grande número de candomblés (PIERSON, 1971).

Nesse período, surgiram críticas às teorias que defendiam a inferioridade racial dos negros que se apoiaram nos resultados dos primeiros estudos baseados em pesquisas de caráter científico sobre as “relações raciais” no Brasil, realizados a partir dos anos de 1940. Ao destacar que fatores históricos e sociais, e não raciais, é que explicavam os problemas atuais dos descendentes de africanos, negros e mestiços, diversos estudos produziram evidências sobre as desvantagens dos negros, em relação aos brancos, na sociedade brasileira, e surgiram divergências sobre se tais desvantagens deveriam ser interpretadas como um problema de classe, ou de raça (COSTA PINTO, 1998). A interpretação que negava a existência de um “problema de raça” no Brasil prevaleceu, e poucos estudos defenderam que o preconceito e discriminação raciais explicavam as desvantagens dos negros no Brasil. É digno de nota, porém, que mesmo estes estudos tenham reiterado sobremaneira as falhas, defeitos e limitações dos próprios negros que dificultavam a inserção destes na modernidade, produzindo o que se poderia chamar de “teorias do déficit” (BASTIDE; FERNANDES, 1955).

Na década de 1970, quando o modelo naciona-

lista vigente até então foi questionado, o foco das lideranças negras se deslocou para a existência de desigualdades raciais entre negros e brancos, que resultariam em menor acesso dos negros às oportunidades sociais. A partir daí, o processo de formação étnico-racial passou a se voltar mais para o exterior, o que incluiu a revalorização dos vínculos históricos e atuais com a África, deixando de se limitar ao reforço da nacionalidade brasileira. Esse deslocamento da perspectiva nacional se explica tanto por mudanças internacionais - como a maior circulação de ideias que facilitou a interlocução entre negros de várias partes do mundo - quanto nacionais, com destaque para a crise da identidade nacional brasileira ocasionada pela queda do sistema de “substituição de importações” do pós-guerra, e pela diminuição do seu relativo isolamento cultural (GUIMARÃES, s/ data).

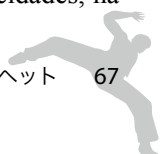
Nesse contexto, é que surgiu a reivindicação de uma “cultura negra”, com forte conotação internacional, construída a partir do diálogo com outras regiões, como os Estados Unidos, Caribe, África e Europa, muito próxima do que tem sido referido como Atlântico Negro (GILROY, 2000), e não mais de uma cultura afro-brasileira.

Em suma, para compreender as mudanças práticas e os modos de definição da capoeira que ocorreram ao longo do tempo e nos distintos momentos da história brasileira é imprescindível considerar as transformações das concepções de nacionalidade brasileira mencionadas acima.

XXX

No século XIX, o Rio de Janeiro era a cidade onde a capoeira estava mais difundida. Soares (1994) analisou uma documentação encontrada nos arquivos policiais do Rio de Janeiro, da segunda metade do Século XIX, período em que a capoeira ainda não era uma prática generalizada, mas utilizada, principalmente, por africanos como “canal expressivo da resistência escrava”. Os “capoeiras” atuavam nas ruas do Rio de Janeiro, individualmente, ou em grupos chamados de “malts”, e eram alvo de repressão constante por parte da polícia.

Além de resistência escrava, traduzida em resposta às violências e hostilidades sofridas nas cidades, há



evidências de que os “capoeiras” buscavam uma identidade cultural própria. As “maltas” disputavam os espaços ocupados na cidade e usavam símbolos, como cores, indumentária e formas de comunicação próprias, para demarcar as diferenças entre eles. A intensidade destas disputas pode ser exemplificada pela criação de duas grandes maltas, reunindo outras menores, denominadas de *nagoas* e *guaiamuns*. A malta *nagoas* (corruptela de nagôs) era mais associada aos africanos, e a cor símbolo era o branco, enquanto a *guaiamuns* (nome de um crustáceo local) era mais associada aos mestiços, e a cor símbolo era o vermelho.

Para Soares, o surgimento das maltas *nagoas* e *guaiamuns* foi o fato mais importante de toda a história da capoeira no Rio de Janeiro, na segunda metade do século XIX, e está relacionado às mudanças que ocorreram na sociedade escravista. Com o fim do tráfico de africanos para o Brasil, o deslocamento interno de um grande contingente de escravos para a região cafeeira, e a intensificação da imigração portuguesa, ocorreram alterações na composição da população da cidade do Rio de Janeiro: a redução do número de africanos, e o aumento do número de portugueses, negros livres, brancos pobres, pardos e crioulos. As maltas se tornaram mais heterogêneas uma vez que pessoas de todas essas categorias passaram a integrá-las, perdendo o caráter marcadamente africano da primeira metade deste século.

A rivalidade entre *nagoas* e *guaiamuns* persistiu até o final do século XIX e representa, segundo Soares, as clivagens entre escravos africanos e nascidos no Brasil que existiam anteriormente. E mesmo com a alteração da composição das maltas que se intensificou na segunda metade do século essa oposição continuou a ser afirmada simbolicamente através dos conflitos entre *nagoas* e *guaiamuns*.

As maltas tiveram participação na vida política, apoiando as distintas correntes, monarquistas ou republicanas, conservadoras ou liberais, tentando maximizar as vantagens alcançadas, sem perder a autonomia. E chama a atenção que, nas décadas de 1870 e 1880, os republicanos eram os que defendiam a repressão aberta e frontal às maltas, o que explica o apoio dos capoeiras aos monarquistas. O advento da Primeira República, em 1889, marcou o início da

perseguição mais violenta aos capoeiras que pôs fim a uma história de quatro décadas de ação das maltas, destruídas com a deportação dos capoeiras para Fernando de Noronha.

O fato de estarem documentadas as inúmeras tentativas mal-sucedidas por parte da polícia de retirar das ruas estas maltas, entre 1850 e 1890, e que somente no início da república, recorrendo a métodos ilegais e arbitrários, as maltas tenham sido destruídas comprova que a capoeira estava profundamente enraizada na cidade. Além disso, ilustra as dificuldades enfrentadas pelos ex-escravos, negros e mestiços no Brasil, no período que se sucedeu a abolição, em 1888: sem o status de escravo ou de cidadão, os descendentes de africanos ficaram à mercê de toda a sorte de arbitrariedades, situação que se agravou com o início da república (BASTIDE; FERNANDES, 1955).

Estas evidências sugerem que a origem da capoeira se deu no meio urbano, e não rural, com base em experiências e relações tecidas na escravidão, em cidades como Salvador, Recife e Rio de Janeiro (SOARES, 1994). No entanto, o fato de afirmar que a capoeira surgiu no meio urbano, a partir da condição escrava, não implica em rejeição das teses que afirmam que a capoeira tem origem na África, sendo correlata de danças e jogos acrobáticos existentes na região Bantu (ASSUNÇÃO, 2005). As duas interpretações são compatíveis já que é razoável supor que os escravos africanos, que integravam a população das cidades brasileiras, utilizassem, também, as fontes, ou referências, africanas para a criação de novas formas de expressão. A capoeira resultou, portanto, de uma síntese de informações oriundas de várias regiões da África, que se juntaram a outros elementos oriundos da realidade local, feita por escravos africanos no Brasil.

O ressurgimento da capoeira, no século XX, se deu em outra região do Brasil, o Nordeste, e em outra grande cidade, Salvador, situada no Recôncavo Baiano. A documentação sobre a capoeira em Salvador, no século XIX, é escassa (DIAS, 2015; ABREU, 2005). O registro pictórico mais antigo é o quadro de Rugendas, que mostra uma cena retrata movimentos similares a capoeira, cujo título é “San-Salvador”, de 1827 (ASSUNÇÃO, 2005). As fontes documen-



tais sobre a capoeira aumentaram no século XX, e, durante as décadas de 1920 e 1930, eram constantes as notícias em jornais e os relatos orais. Nesses registros a capoeira era referida como “vadiação”, ou seja, como uma atividade de lazer, cuja prática ocorria nos locais de trabalho, aos domingos e nas praças durante as festas populares e religiosas (DIAS, 2015). Os praticantes da capoeira eram, basicamente, homens, trabalhadores braçais, como estivadores, carregadores, porteiros etc. O jogo, ou a brincadeira, ocorria em locais como a zona portuária e em bairros populares onde, aos domingos, os capoeiristas se reuniam em “barracões” (SCALDA-FERRI, 2015; ABREU, 2003). Os registros fotográficos de Pierre Verger, na década de 1940, permitem constatar que a capoeira era praticada na rua, mas com o acompanhamento de instrumentos musicais, como berimbaus e pandeiros, algo que não ocorria no século XIX (BARRETO, 2008).

A Capoeira Regional foi criada no final da década de 1930, por Mestre Bimba (Manoel dos Reis Machado), e se popularizou como uma luta nacional, brasileira. Mestre Bimba visava, deliberadamente, atrair para a capoeira um público mais diversificado, em termos de classe e raça/etnia, como estudantes universitários, brancos e de classe média. Além disso, introduziu mudanças nas características da capoeira no sentido de aumentar o caráter combativo, de luta, e diminuir os aspectos lúdicos, as mímicas e brincadeiras, com as quais discordava. Ele criou, ainda, uma metodologia de ensino com sequências de movimentos e propôs uma nova denominação para a capoeira: Luta Regional Baiana (SILVA, 2015; ASSUNÇÃO, 2005).

A partir destas inovações introduzidas por Mestre Bimba, a Capoeira Regional se tornou mais combativa, quando a eficiência dos golpes e contra golpes adquiriram mais importância. O jogo se tornou mais acelerado, com os movimentos sendo realizados durante a maior parte do tempo em postura ereta (jogo alto). A parte musical perdeu a importância e, embora não tenha desaparecido, se tornou parte secundária na capoeira.

À medida que a Capoeira Regional se popularizou como uma luta genuinamente brasileira e que, portanto, não era africana, ou negra, esta foi, gra-

dativamente, se tornando a única referência para a capoeira, o que pode ser exemplificado pela assertiva de que ‘a capoeira é uma só’. Nesta perspectiva, não havia reconhecimento da existência de diversos estilos, linguagens, abordagens e apropriações da capoeira, e a adesão à concepção da capoeira como esporte nacional foi se apresentando para os mestres e capoeiristas como algo inevitável. Isso se traduziu, concretamente, em tentativas de exigir a filiação de mestres e grupos de capoeira às ‘Federações’ e ‘Confederações’ de capoeira, nos moldes do que acontece com outros esportes (MAGALHÃES FILHO, 2015; BARRETO, 2005).

Em síntese, a afirmação de que ‘a capoeira é uma só’ significava para os praticantes da Capoeira Angola que a única escolha possível era abandonar tal estilo, descrito como antigo, ultrapassado, que exemplificava bem uma concepção de “africanismo”, que estava destinado ao desaparecimento. A única alternativa, para muitos praticantes, era tentar inserir a capoeira no também lucrativo mundo das atividades turísticas e, nesse caso, é conhecida a presença de apresentações de capoeira como parte dos shows folclóricos que, em geral, apresentam de maneira descontextualizada e condensada diversas expressões da cultura afro-brasileira (SANTOS, 2005).

III – A combinação entre o lúdico e o agonístico na capoeira angola

Como foi visto na seção anterior, para entender o surgimento do movimento de defesa da Capoeira Angola, no início da década de 1980, é preciso situá-lo no contexto mais amplo marcado por mudanças na concepção de nacionalidade brasileira, e que tornou possível aceitar que, além de brasileira, ou afro-brasileira, a capoeira também era negra. A partir daí, é importante voltar a atenção para as características específicas da Capoeira Angola visando aprofundar as reflexões sobre a cultura negra, em especial, destacando a heterogeneidade interna e a complexidade.

Nas últimas três décadas, o número de grupos de Capoeira Angola cresceu, assim como o número de praticantes. Esse crescimento evidenciou as diferen-



ças internas, seja no posicionamento político, seja no entendimento sobre as características que definiriam a Capoeira Angola e os(as) angoleiros(as). Por exemplo, a elevação do nome do Mestre Pastinha à posição de principal representante da Capoeira Angola foi questionada por grupos que tinham outros mestres como referência. A partir daí, as opções em termos de indumentária e de composição da orquestra de instrumentos musicais se tornaram objeto de discussão.

No caso do Grupo de Capoeira Angola Pelourinho (GCAP), a indumentária usada era camiseta amarela e calça preta, de maneira similar àquela usada na escola do Mestre Pastinha. A referência para a formação dos discípulos, em termos dos movimentos, das características do jogo e da orquestra de instrumentos musicais, sob a responsabilidade do Mestre Moraes, era o Mestre Pastinha. E o que era ensinado tinha a sua legitimidade assegurada pela afirmação por parte do Mestre Moraes de que ele reproduzia o que havia aprendido com o Mestre Pastinha, sem introduzir inovações. Dessa maneira, a tradição da Capoeira Angola e da escola do Mestre Pastinha foi mantida viva através das novas gerações de angoleiros e angoleiras que estavam sendo formados(as). A posição assumida por esse grupo de guardião da “verdadeira Capoeira Angola” foi criticada, posteriormente, e ficou evidente que a defesa da Capoeira Angola não deveria conduzir à imposição de um modelo único que deveria ser aceito por todos os grupos. O resultado tornou evidente as diferenças existentes entre os mestres e os grupos de capoeira angola, e variações dentro desse estilo, que se evidenciam na teoria e na prática (MAGALHÃES FILHO, 2012).

As características da Capoeira Angola continuam a ser reafirmadas no cotidiano dos grupos que foram criados, mas alguns deles usam as cores amarelo e preto na indumentária, outros não, e em geral o uso de calçados foi mantido para a prática da capoeira. Além disso, é comum a valorização da orquestra de instrumentos musicais, assim como do canto de ladainhas, chulas e corridos, e a manutenção dos aspectos lúdicos do jogo da capoeira, apesar de haver variações na posição e quantidade dos instrumentos, e nos nomes dados aos toques executados



Fotografia de Pedro Campos. Estandarte em tecido, com borda inferior ornada com franja. Acervo do MAFRO/UFBA nº E20. In: FREITAS, J. M. (Org.). Uma coleção biográfica: os mestres Pastinha, Bimba e Cobrinha Verde no Museu Afro-Brasileiro da UFBA. Salvador: EDUFBA, 2015. P.319.

pelo berimbau. O resultado é que, em termos estéticos (visuais), a Capoeira Angola continua a se distinguir fortemente da Capoeira Regional praticada atualmente, mas existem diferenças entre os grupos de Capoeira Angola.

Alguns destes grupos cresceram muito, criaram núcleos em diferentes cidades brasileiras e em outros países, muitos mestres foram formados e se deslocaram do local de origem para atuar em outros locais. A Capoeira Angola também se difundiu nacional e internacionalmente. Nesse cenário, as questões relacionadas à formação e manutenção dos grupos de Capoeira Angola ganhou destaque em detrimento das articulações com outros grupos culturais, ou movimentos sociais mais amplos, algo que acontece a partir de iniciativas individuais. Há grande diversidade interna em termos de cor, classe, nacionalidade etc.

Temas irrelevantes aos debates nas décadas anteriores ganharam destaque, como as relações de gênero no interior dos grupos de Capoeira Angola. As mulheres tiveram uma atuação destacada nos grupos de Capoeira Angola criados a partir da década de 1980, em alguns casos, se tornando lideranças importantes. A discussão da mulher na capoeira entrou na agenda, especialmente, nas reflexões durante o dia internacional da mulher. No entanto, as repetidas situações em que o comportamento dos



mestres e demais participantes dos grupos era abertamente sexista, em relação a mulheres negras, ou não, fez com que aumentassem as críticas por parte de muitas mulheres que integram esses grupos.

Outro aspecto digno de nota é o crescente reconhecimento de que a combinação de elementos estéticos, instrumentais e de improvisação tornam a capoeira uma prática corporal de grande complexidade, que se pode observar em estudos realizados em áreas distintas do conhecimento, e em iniciativas que inserem a prática da capoeira em contextos esportivos, educacionais e artísticos os mais diversos. Para que tal reconhecimento ocorresse foi fundamental que a Capoeira Angola continuasse a ser praticada, mantendo como característica principal a combinação dos elementos lúdicos e agonísticos (ARAÚJO, 2015b; ARAÚJO, 1994).

Na seção anterior, foi visto que as características da capoeira praticada no século XIX mudaram no século XX, quando os componentes lúdicos se tornaram mais presentes no jogo e foi introduzido o acompanhamento de instrumentos musicais. A luta já era ritmada (a luta-dança) e se tornou um jogo que combina luta e dança. Essa combinação de luta, dança e jogo colocou desafios para a categorização da capoeira uma vez que, no mundo ocidental, estas três atividades têm sido definidas como categorias separadas. Nas instituições acadêmicas esta separação é reiterada nas distintas áreas do conhecimento voltadas para o estudo e a prática das lutas e dos jogos, associadas à competição, e da dança, associada à arte. A mesma separação se mantém nas instituições oficiais e nas políticas públicas.

Na Capoeira Angola praticada atualmente, o jogo alterna momentos mais lentos e mais acelerados, e os movimentos são feitos em pé, mas também com as mãos apoiadas no chão (jogo baixo). A parte musical é muito importante e na roda de capoeira determina o ritmo do jogo. Na roda de capoeira, os jogos se sucedem com duração variada, e a atitude dos jogadores é de disfarce da intenção de atacar o adversário, usando movimentos variados e de preocupação estética. Nesse estilo a “malícia” é muito importante e está presente no movimento, na música e no canto, e se torna mais evidente que a capoeira é um conjunto de diferentes formas de discurso enga-

nador (LEWIS, 1992). O mais importante deles é o que acontece através da movimentação corporal realizada por dois capoeiristas no jogo da capoeira.

Os golpes usados para o ataque não são executados de maneira direta e os movimentos de defesa limitam o contato corporal, tornando possível que a interação ocorra de maneira fluida. A “malícia” no jogo implica em enganar o adversário criando expectativas que não serão atendidas, quebrando um padrão existente. A competição e a malícia estão em primeiro plano no jogo, mas mesmo assim é necessária a existência de cooperação. No domínio musical a cooperação prevalece sobre a competição. Na Capoeira Angola, existe um amplo repertório de táticas que são usadas para o capoeirista que quer dominar o oponente recorrendo à malícia, como a manipulação do contexto (duração e velocidade do jogo), intimidação, zombaria, uso de expressões faciais, controle emocional, a simulação de fuga, e outras.

A partir dessa oposição entre competição e cooperação, é possível entender porque na Capoeira Regional de estilo agonístico, o componente musical não é enfatizado, pois o interesse principal é a luta, enquanto que na Capoeira Angola, estilo lúdico, a música ocupa um lugar central (LEWIS, 1992). Dessa perspectiva, fica evidente que o equilíbrio entre competição, mais marcante no jogo, e a cooperação, que predomina na música, se manteve mais presente na capoeira Angola, e diminuiu muito na Capoeira Regional, e com isso aumentaram as chances da capoeira se tornar um combate violento e mortal, e não mais uma dança elegante. Atualmente, na roda de Capoeira Regional é comum os participantes ficarem de pé, assistindo a uma sucessão rápida de jogos, nos quais os jogadores adotam uma atitude abertamente agressiva, desferindo golpes contra o adversário, que se defende e faz o mesmo. Nestas rodas, são frequentes as brigas e a violência generalizada.

É possível estabelecer uma correlação entre a malícia, como elemento básico da Capoeira Angola e a interação social. Os movimentos executados no jogo da capoeira de maneira a convencer a outra pessoa de algo que não vai se concretizar, ocultar e mostrar, como um jogo de encobrimento e descobrimento,



similar à interação social, especialmente, no que diz respeito à comunicação não verbal (GOFFMAN, 1985). A relação entre o que acontece na roda de capoeira e em outros contextos da vida cotidiana, é enfatizada pelos próprios praticantes e algo que estava presente na sistematização feita por Mestre Pastinha. A correlação entre a malícia e a interação social segue essa pista já existente nestas reflexões anteriores.

Um movimento característico da capoeira e que faz parte desse repertório malicioso é a ginga. Sem ser propriamente um golpe, a ginga é o movimento feito enquanto o(a) capoeirista está de pé, no ritmo da música, e que serve de preparação para os golpes e contra-golpes. A partir do seu uso na capoeira, o termo passou a ser usado em outros contextos associado a flexibilidade, malemolência e ritmo, que são apontados como marcantes na movimentação corporal peculiar dos(as) brasileiros(as).

Em um estudo que traça a presença da ginga em três práticas de movimento cultivadas no Brasil - a capoeira, o samba e a dança cênica-, Rosa (2010) afirma que o termo “ginga” refere-se a “uma forma particular de movimento corporal sincopado, centrado em matrizes afro-brasileiras”, cuja estética “está ligada a uma série de princípios, como o policentrismo e a polirritmia, os quais circulam dentro do universo do Atlântico Negro”. Nos três casos, Rosa analisou a maneira pela qual “a ginga disciplina corpos a produzirem e transmitirem uma maneira particular de compreender e interagir com o mundo, com o outro, e consigo mesmo”, e apresentou uma genealogia da ginga em cada uma destas práticas, destacando sua relação com as performances da negritude. Segundo a autora, a ginga, como um movimento sincopado, tem auxiliado tanto na descolonização quanto na recolonização de indivíduos e comunidades situadas no território brasileiro.

Tratando especificamente da capoeira angola, Kurtz (2014) destaca a “oratura corporal” da capoeira no sentido de que os corpos são utilizados para estabelecer diálogos. Essa expressão foi cunhada pelo pesquisador da dança Thomas DeFrantz que a usou para se referir aos sistemas de comunicação encontrados nos gestos da música e da dança negra. Para Kurtz, essa forma de expressão corporal é um modo

central de transmissão de conhecimento nas comunidades afro-brasileiras. A oratura corporal articula, ou coreografa, uma “pedagogia de resistência corporificada”, ou seja, através de suas práticas os angoleiros estão comunicando um conhecimento corporificado sobre como resistir aos valores dominantes de uma sociedade que continua a desvalorizar e marginalizar os afro-brasileiros de baixo status sócio-econômico.

A centralidade dos aspectos lúdicos na Capoeira Angola, e o fato desta ser vista como uma forma de lazer e de entretenimento, não significa que a sua prática seja considerada como algo de menor importância para os(as) capoeiristas. Pelo contrário, é amplamente reconhecido que o que se aprende na capoeira serve para a vida cotidiana, não apenas no sentido de uso dos golpes para a defesa pessoal, mas no sentido mais amplo relativo a valores que guiam a conduta. Conforme lembra Lewis (1995), o entendimento de que os mundos do lazer ou do jogo podem se tornar centrais na vida das pessoas (praticantes, consumidores etc.) forçou os analistas a rever a oposição entre lazer e trabalho, segundo a qual o lazer era desprovido do caráter instrumental que define o trabalho. E a revisão desta dicotomia entre lazer e trabalho conduziu à crítica das teorias estéticas sobre a corporificação que se apoiaram na distinção entre instrumental e não-instrumental.

Em interpretações que apostam nas mediações, como a de Lewis (1995), a combinação de elementos instrumentais e não instrumentais que caracteriza a capoeira colocou esta prática corporal em evidência. Recorrendo à distinção de Leder entre duas formas de corporificação, uma em que o corpo está ausente (processo de usar o corpo para a ação no mundo, o corpo se torna invisível em relação ao trabalho que está sendo realizado), e outra em que o corpo está presente (o corpo está em primeiro plano; casos de doença), Lewis vai se concentrar na mediação entre presença e ausência corporal, e não na oposição. Segundo ele, nas situações em que as atividades são realizadas com o próprio corpo, como acontece com dançarinos e atletas, prevalece uma situação intermediária entre presença e ausência. E a capoeira representa um caso extremo de mediação, pois “ela é abertamente estética e instrumental, e além disso é improvisada”(1995).



IV - Conclusões

As transformações que ocorreram na capoeira ao longo da história estão relacionadas a mudanças mais gerais na sociedade brasileira, e em outras partes do mundo. A oposição entre *nagoas* e *guaiamuns* marcou o século XIX, traduzindo os conflitos e rivalidades internos à população negra e mestiça, que se encerrou com a perseguição violenta de caráter institucional no Rio de Janeiro. No século XX, ocorreram grandes mudanças, sintetizadas em três momentos que colocaram Salvador no centro dos acontecimentos: o ressurgimento da capoeira como uma combinação de luta e jogo, que se tornou conhecida como Capoeira Angola; a criação da Capoeira Regional; e a revitalização da Capoeira Angola. Para entender estas mudanças é preciso levar em conta a tendência que predominou até a década de 1960 de inclusão de práticas culturais africanas e negras como nacionais. O nacionalismo predominante no movimento social negro que estava se formando naquela época, principalmente, em São Paulo e no Rio de Janeiro, conduziu a uma interpretação que desvalorizava práticas culturais mais antigas, e com forte associação com os africanos, muito presentes na Bahia e, em particular, em Salvador. Somente com as mudanças na concepção de nacionalidade brasileira, que ocorreu a partir da década de 1970, é que se tornou possível aceitar que, além de brasileira, ou afro-brasileira, a capoeira também era negra.

Ao focalizar a história recente da Capoeira Angola, destaquei a heterogeneidade interna e a complexidade, tanto em termos da composição e características dos grupos, quanto em termos das características específicas da Capoeira Angola enquanto prática corporal. Nas últimas três décadas, os grupos de Capoeira Angola atraíram pessoas de classe, cor, gênero e nacionalidade diferentes, e outros temas, como a questão de gênero, educacional e ambiental, passaram a fazer parte da agenda destes grupos. Além disso, cresceu a aceitação de que existem variações dentro desse estilo, que se evidenciam na teoria e na prática, e resultam de diferentes interpretações e preferências dos mestres e integrantes dos grupos sobre as características específicas de Capoeira Angola. A existência destas variações internas resulta em tensões e disputas que fazem parte do

cotidiano nas relações entre os diferentes grupos e internas a cada um deles. A complexidade da Capoeira Angola como prática corporal tem sido ainda mais evidenciada quando se considera a combinação de elementos lúdicos e agonísticos.

É importante considerar estas evidências de que a Capoeira Angola é uma expressão cultural negra heterogênea e complexa, e que tem características específicas, para o debate mais amplo sobre a cultura negra. Embora a expressão “cultura negra” tenha se popularizado no Brasil nas últimas décadas, e tenham sido criados espaços institucionais para delinear e implementar políticas públicas nessa área (SILVA, 2014), o reconhecimento da complexidade da cultura brasileira parece não comportar, ou não facilitar, a admissão de práticas culturais negras, principalmente, quando estas se tornaram símbolos da cultura nacional, como é o caso da capoeira. E com isso contribuem interpretações críticas às iniciativas de grupos e organizações culturais que redefinam práticas culturais “nacionais” como “negras”, por entender que estas recorrem ao essencialismo racial e defendem a existência de formas puras na cultura negra (PINHO, 2010; AGIER, 2001).

No entanto, defendendo que na história recente da Capoeira Angola não prevaleceram concepções rígidas, baseadas em noções de pureza, mas se criou um campo marcado por heterogeneidade e complexidade que é muito melhor descrito por interpretações como a de Hall (2003), que nos ensinou que:

“...na cultura popular negra não existem formas puras. Todas essas formas são sempre o produto de sincronizações parciais, de engajamentos que atravessam fronteiras culturais, de confluências de mais de uma tradição cultural, de negociações entre posições dominantes e subalternas, de estratégias subterrâneas de recodificação e transcodificação, de significação crítica e do ato de significar a partir de materiais preexistentes” (Hall, 2003: 343).



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The Meaning of *Gingar*¹⁾ for Women within Capoeira Angola

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One may not be your friend if demanding your silence or hindering your growth.²⁾

This text proposes some reflections about the possibilities of the presence of women inside the capoeira, taken here as a phenomenon of specific characteristics, in order to update the discussions about one of the most comprehensive Afro-Brazilian cultural expressions that is now present in over one hundred and sixty countries.

Whereas the complex universe of capoeira remains linked to masculine representations, we seek to understand what changes are debated and/or operationalized in the context of gender relations. This is because capoeira today involves networking in new cultural contexts that is a consequence of concomitant and different forms of delivery and internationalization.

Being a territory ostensibly heteronormative, we can say that sexism (misogyny, lesbophobia, homophobia, transphobia ...) prevents capoeira from accomplishing its goals of freedom. Likewise, we identify within its realms, disputes between gender representations (with intersectional implications to ethno-racial class and sexual diversity debates), which are now involved in new discursive dimensions of the establishment and maintenance of segregating practices. The segregating practices have also an influence in the restructuring of power relations in the midst of the capoeira economy, maintaining the imbalances that result in a concentration of power and privilege in *capoeiragem* to only a few men. Activism was mostly linked to the various “missions” socially “attributed” to Capoeira, including the struggle against poverty, violence, racism, and more recently, sexism.

There are many fields of knowledge that currently include capoeira as a topic for investigative purposes. Many are also the possibilities for new approaches and studies, especially with interdisciplinary perspectives that enable expanded notions about capoeira’s complexities as a multi-referential, intercultural, polysemic, and polilogical³⁾ field of knowledge. Here, a major challenge relates to stress the cadence -- according to those who practice it -- or the elements that structure the fundamentals; capoeira is in its own metaphor a circle (*roda*) in movement, endowed with resourcefulness, and therefore renewals. Being an area of intense exchanges, it is at the *roda* that values are traded, strategies are made / unmade / remade, assigning significance to communication processes that structure, through the oral tradition, the collections of times that merge and interpenetrate in that sphere.

Some issues are currently able to update cultural studies in light of its capillarity, and we emphasize the intercultural perspectives, especially those set out in provocations of the *new* epistemologies of the twenty-first century. One such example are intersectional studies of the categories race, gender and sexuality, especially when located in studies on ancestry, body and belonging, among others. Ranging as the category of greatest tension, what interests us here arises from an understanding that amid *capoeiragem* some of these issues are often taken as true taboos. We speak beyond the displacement of ordinary emphasis of the symbolic universe of Africanities⁴⁾ versus Brasilities (*Brasilidades*). We bring to the center of the discussions, also within the different ideological currents of Angola and Regional styles, the many

1) Ginga (swing) is a fundamental footwork that allows the preparation of the movement variations of capoeira.

2) WALKER, Alice. In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens: Womanist Prose - Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983 - p. 36

3) GALEFFI, Dante (2011)

4) In a lecture, the professor and linguist Ieda Pessoa de Castro recommended the use of the term *africanias* instead of *africanidades* (africanities), by taking into consideration the fact that these are African references from outside the African continent. She emphasized that africanities are references that we look at and think over from within the African continent.



beliefs deposited in capoeira as a space of interconnected areas: culture, sports, education, body arts, physical culture, music, theater, martial arts, among others, which demonstrate the diversity, difference and multiplicity of new categories for struggle that are currently incorporated in capoeira.

From within the richness of this debate, it is worth explaining that the choice of the term Africanities is made to better communicate the African cultural foundations in Brazil. On this issue, we highlight here an important message registered in the electronic magazine “*Africanias.com – Científico Cultural*” at the University of Bahia / UNEB:

Following a definition of Nina Friedemann in “Cabildos negros, refugios de africanias en Colombia” (Journal Montalbán, Caracas: Catholic Andrés Bello University, 1988), we can understand africanias as the cultural lot submerged in the unconscious iconography of enslaved black Africans who perform noticeably in music, dance, religion, poetry, in their way of being and seeing the world, their language; and that, over the centuries as a means of resistance and continuity in oppression were transformed and became matrixes to a new cultural and linguistic system that identifies us as Brazilians.”

Such discussions are welcome in this work because we believe in the relevance of discussions on the African matrixes of capoeira, drawing attention to the mythical and ontological bases that highlight the existence of another worldview (*Weltanschauung*) that, for the new experiential practices marked by the suppression of freedom, reinterpreted and re-elaborated themselves through the possibilities of dialogue and negotiations. This is where the swing and sway is taken as a meta-language with ability to articulate, in an ad-artistic, ad-linguistics way, recursive aspects of a struggle that is carried within the context of many others. It is in the scenario of these struggles that we want to draw attention to the place destined and occupied by women.

Taking into account the multiple expressions of violence, we want to start highlighting the dismay already produced by low expectations around the formation of these with regard to learning capoeira. These reassert the continued belief in women’s fragility and hence in the (de)limitation of the areas

to which they are allowed to reach and transit. This may enable us to reaffirm the existence of a dominant masculinity, whose hegemonic standards establishes valuing conducts of concrete and imaginary practices of a heroic compulsory virility, regardless of conceiving it framed or not within the dynamics of social and political order in the big circle (*grande roda*). These dynamics demonstrate a community that, originally considered an exclusive space of poor black men with low levels of formal education, has become a more heterogeneous space. Marked by the strong presence of non-black people (in many places they are not even present or at most, they are an absolute minority), the new community presents the most diverse socioeconomic and professional profiles, a result of rising education levels among the total population, in new dynamics marked by the increasing presence of women. In this case, if the number of black men in capoeira has been reduced as capoeira moves towards new social spaces induced by the rise of a capoeira economy (mainly including the territories outside Brazil), the meager presence of black women is now subject of much debate. In almost unbelievable ways it is already discussed affirmative strategies of permanence of black people inside capoeira, including, especially black women.

Conducting a study on contemporary sport as a privileged form of body organization, VAZ (2011, p.849) draws attention to the little transgressive character of capoeira. This is described as a practice that reproduces aspects of the standard male and patriarchal world, stressing that they serve to exalt “elements such as virility, sexism, performance, excess”. Thus, although agreeing with the author’s argument, we want to collaborate to emphasize here the feminine transgression when entering all-male spaces, especially in the case of a space commonly considered as marginal, being therefore the target of difficult stereotypes to be faced by the idiosyncratic model of our race relations.

Drawing attention to the fact that sport and physical practices are not exempt from “gendering speeches”, emphasizing women’s participation in chosen modalities or even expressed masculinities in different modalities and their competitions, the author reinforces his understanding of the ways in which



the body gains prominence, taking into account the case of performances, namely:

(...) *body experiences - and therefore crossed by language and culture - and are expressing less and less fixed identities, accompanying and simultaneously determining the negotiations around gender, nationality, ethnic, generational discourses, among many others.*

About capoeira, perhaps because there is still no unanimity on its sporting character, the studies on gender and capoeira are incipient. The researcher Maria José Somerlate Barbosa, in her article *Women in Capoeira* (BARBOSA, 2005), drew attention to the difficulty of perceiving the women's influence on capoeira, both for failure to register as well as because this is admittedly a space "almost exclusively of male domain." However, the same author proceeds by drawing attention to the existence of a belief about the origin of capoeira that identifies with the practice of *NGOLO*, or Dance of the Zebras, a former female rite of passage performed during *efendula*, recorded by Krab (2001) as the girls move on from puberty into the condition of women, therefore, when they are considered to be ready for marriage and procreation. Although here we have an apparent place of subordination, or "indirect interest" as preferred by the author, we want to reflect about this place, taking into account that this is another cosmogony, as one in which the "majesty" of these young women situates the action body deification as evidenced, rendering them above all, disputable. We must also remember that according to the information we have of *Ngolo*, at the end, the women are the ones who establish the choice among suitors.

Our intention here, rather than seek historical references to capoeira as an expression of African cultures in Brazil, is to also deal with the female presence through mythological, symbolic and analytical aspects of the organizational structure of capoeira, focused on the participation and comments on their ways to represent, fight and adopt its own aesthetic that allows for the dismantling of the elements of subalternities linked to gender. As we begin focusing on some mythological aspects we seek to value the prospective memory that, composing our oral col-



Fig. 1 Street demonstration during the International Women's Day (March 8, 2016). Photo: Rita Barreto
<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10153992990134921&set=a.10151081405424921.456538.704539920&type=3&theater>

lection, emphasizes the very place of Africa in the imagination of *capoeiristas*. With equal weight we highlight here another myth circulating in *capoeira-gem*, which can also help to accentuate this phenomenon. This is the *berimbau* legend, which tells the adventures of a girl who, having disappeared after the action of a "bad man" had her body transformed into the *berimbau*.

Thus, after we recognize the historical experience of these women is that we can stimulate the rewriting of the history of capoeira in Brazil through the specificities obtained in the trajectories of female figures like Maria Doze Homens (Maria of Twelve Men), Maria Para o Bonde (Maria Stops the Tram), Rosa Palmeirão (Rosa Huge Palm), Satanás (Satan), Nega Di Calça Rala (Black Woman of Sparse Trousers), Julia Fogareiro (Julia Stove), Pau de Barraca (Tent Pole⁵), Ana Angélica (ou Angélica Endiabrada, Devilish Angelica), Cattu, Almerinda, Adelaide Presepeira (Adelaide Braggard), Chica, Menininha, among others. Transiting in public spaces of the streets, and working in various professional activities, these women experienced the sanctions on the breakdown of moral propriety, therefore acting with and "like" men, they were believed to be

5) In Brazil, there is an expression 'Chutar o pau da barraca (to kick the tent's pole)', which means to get really angry and ready to take extreme measures.

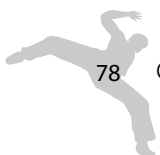




Fig. 2 Photo taken during the event “Chamada de mulher (2013)”. From left to right: Mestre Gegê, Mestre Cobra Mansa, Mestre Paulinha, Mestre Janja, Cibele Alvarenga, Mestre Poloca, Tião Carvalho.

<http://ficamundo.org/projetos/mulheres-na-capoeira/>

dangerous, “*de cabelinho na venta*”⁶), therefore, unworthy to occupy the domestic spaces or being under male protection and guardianship. Actually Carneiro (2003), drawing attention to the “theoretical failure and political practice to integrate the different feminine expressions built in multiracial and multicultural societies,” highlights the ignored legitimacy of resistance practices of black women to expand the recognition of the woman category whose abstraction also plays a secondary academic feminism, dependent on simplifying analytical categories. Thus, the author also suggests the need for imprinting both the knowledge and the fight against gender inequality and intragender:

(...) [we] affirm and give visibility to a black feminist perspective that emerges from the specific condition of being a black and generally poor woman, we finally outline the role that this perspective has in the fight against racism in Brazil.

The need to expand studies of the diverse female presence in the context of Afro-Brazilian culture is key to strengthening the studies that present themselves as contemporary feminism. These are articulated in network, which analytical foundations expose the fragility and risk existing in exclusive representations without transversalities of the female presence in socio economic, territorial, generational, religious, body, among others.

6) Hairy nosed is an expression that is usually applied to women who display behaviors usually attributed to men.

Thus, even in spite of the impact produced by the release and contemporary reinterpretations of “A cidade das mulheres (City of Women, 2005)”, few studies have shown interest in these in the context of cultural knowledge, and yet those that did, chose to emphasize the priestesses of *terreiro* communities, sheltered in norms and their own spiritual values, instead of the “exposed” ones, or those who had in street spaces and in public settings, their ways of resisting by being women. Treated as *pá virada* (bad tempered) women, *mulheres de cabelo na venta*, as *desasnadas* (the less stupid), as *mulheres-homens* (manish women), *mulheres valentes* (valiant women), *azedadas* (the sourish), such treatments show that they were, in some way, involved with the streets and in these, with the prohibitive and complex universe of capoeira. Both in journalistic editorials and in the case of prisons, we are pointing to the need for studies that support their special features (although not exclusive), because they are in a living space with physical violence, the courage, the antics and tricks that positioned capoeira on the threshold of order / disorder. The streets as a busy space for gains and the *ganhadeiras* (those who gain) were often fought against “at blows’ razors, clubbing and kicking against whom they represent a threat”.

Unlawful ones, treated by SAFFIOTI (1989) as “male supremacy”, those women advanced over the binary representations in gender relations, changing the landscapes of recent urban centers, conciliating various activities and attitudes in the acquisition and defense of spaces to be and to circulate. As working women, they performed household chores as well as various other economic activities performed on public roads (or from them), as sellers, loaders, florists, seafood collectors and fisherwomen, florists, *fateiras* (those who cleaned animals’ viscera in public slaughterhouses), seamstresses, embroiderers, prostitutes, among others, exposing them to situations of permanent tensions, increased by the breakdown of moral propriety in the form of being a woman.

And what to say of these women nowadays? How to proceed in building a multi-referenced and polilogical research field that incorporates in an intersectional way, these terrains of multiple temporality and cognizant performances, ontological and epistemo-



logically supported on the roots of our Africanities, whether or not being African-descendant? To what extent their benchmarks of distinct struggle are able to update in the field of social movements, other policy approaches, integrating body makings? What conducts bring up to date before the eyes of new patriarchates, their conditions of disorderly, rowdy, fearless, or in other words, women “da pá virada”?

Well, even today capoeira is practiced within specific communities (groups, fitness centers and capoeira organizations), and no longer having as priority the space of a “marginal” occupation of the street, which is linked to the occupation of certain territories, where an updated *ethos* on street culture is perceptible, or carrying a potential to be as such. Thus, women move between secure and insecure spaces, the latter being the result of different forms of domination and subordination, including in this context broader taboo issues involving them in interpersonal relationships, or romantic relationships.

So we can have an idea of the use (and abuse!) directed to the female body inside the capoeira, specially worth of mention the treatment that certain specialized medias around the late 1990s, gave to the female presence in capoeira. It was the recommencement of yet another attempt to set up a specialized media that voiced the universe of capoeira. This was a period marked by the emergence of several magazines devoted to (the) *capoeiristas*, which recurrently exposed women’s bodies to the presumed hormonal auspices of boys and men, in ways that inferred messages prone to be translated into sexual abuse issues. Arose in the field of media representation, the objectification of the body of the capoeira woman that integrated other stereotypes of exploitation of this topic, by presenting youth television celebrities on the covers of these magazines, or by valuing caricatures of female characters whose fame was assigned through the appeal to the sexual exploitation of these, especially in the case of a universe hitherto undervalued to the practice of capoeira.

However, if we think the capoeira between the traditions that insert Brazil in the context of the so-called African diaspora, we can think about both the vilifying ways of body insertion, as well as, the female

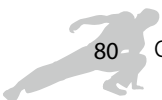
representation in these. These traditions based on the very place of older people as essential links with ancestries. More than a body exposed to use, we emphasize a body that conducts senses of belonging, of the transduction of memories that connect in the present, the past. A body that assigns meaning to referrals of future changes. By this way of interpretation, we adhere to Eduardo Oliveira assertion that points out to the centrality of the body in the ethical dimension of ancestry:

The constructed body is erected as a sign of identity of the African tradition: it is a black body, an architect in itself. However, the context in which all this happens, the sign of Africanity is another de-creator rather than a regime builder. See: based on the general idea of Africanism, which here functions as a floating signifier, this idea disrupts one’s body from the modern Western rationality (vertical, static, linear, rigid, teleological, that focuses on the cognitive) to claim the body of the African ancestry, which emphasizes the horizontal, the folded, the low-body and the movement. (...) It calls for more improvisation and program than for repetition and scheme. Oliveira (2007a, p.119)

In an interview with one of these magazines, when I was inquired about the presence of women in capoeira, I remember having said that even then it no longer caused strangeness and, similarly, it was possible to state that no group could do without their presence and achievements. In that article, which inaugurated a column dedicated to capoeira woman, there was a paradigmatic construction untested until then, presenting the treatment and understanding of women’s voices as capoeira practitioners.

I was also struck by the image chosen to give “expression” to such a novelty. The drawing of a young woman and her athletic body, identified by a type of clothing that marks her as non practitioner of Capoeira Angola (practitioners of this school wears different garments from that depicted in the image). This means that even though the magazine knew that I belonged to another formative field, the magazine chose as visual representation a standard, hegemonic and salable image.

In this edition, this woman-illustration is young, wears garments adopted by modern capoeira with



which it is possible for women and men the opportunity to play capoeira with parts of their bodies uncovered. In modern capoeira shirts and T-shirts can be eliminated as much as the footwear, all of these which are indispensable to *angoleiros*, capoeira Angola practitioners, a capoeira style in which I was initiated since 1982. Here too it is important to highlight the stereotypical image of a standard masculinity in a way of incorporating an imagetic construction capable of acceptance, that can be observed in the figure below.



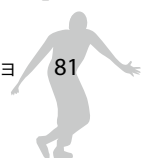
However, the 1990s have also demarcated the beginning of employing the internet in the formation of new “communities” of capoeira that, with its many “*virtual rodas* (virtual circles)”, opened and expanded spaces made up of debate between these and the former. It was from these spaces that the capoeira community began to express their discontentment about such appealing procedures. This led publishers to understand capoeira as a knowledge field in need of documentation, studies and debates in order to contribute to the expansion of the historical knowledge, philosophical and aesthetic understanding of its features as an art-fight, which processes have been constructed in dashed maneuvers. After a few “denunciations” the editors then could “risk” and experience the launch of the following numbers that presented in the cover, a picture of Mestre João Grande, what generated great repercussion, which led to the fast disappearance of the issue in newsstands. Moreover, in addition to the many surprises that such cover produced, its impact

could be immediately extended to other goods and articles, with considerable sales, both in several Brazilian regions as much as abroad.

From within these reflections is that we assert the need for research that provide follow up approaches that are structural, and that analyze the presence, the placement and the visibility of women in capoeira. Also are welcomed approaches that are epistemological, and that verify the modes of production, management and transmission of knowledge from the point of view that incorporates a critique of sexism within the capoeira universe. Finally, of similar importance are the speech analysis, the practice and the representation of women in / from / with capoeira, identifying gender metaphors and their consequences, which directly links to the difficulties of access women to the position of master. If today some names are listed in the past history of capoeira, we are yet to know to what extent these women have achieved respectability among the *capoeiristas*.

We also want to promote the changes needed to the sharing of these spaces, in order to the benefits for both the small *roda* (the small circle of the capoeira practice) and for the great conscious *roda* (the great circle of the life circle), of which, as discussed above, any group or capoeira organization can do without. It includes the presence (knowledge) and actions (doings) thereof and in all areas of today’s knowledge focused on Capoeira. In this process, would be revealed the universes and performances from those female figures such as Palmeirona, Júlia Fogareiro, Catu, Maria Pernambucana, Maria Cachoeira, Maria Pé no Mato, Maria Homem, Odília, Maria 12 Homens, Júlia Endiabrada, Júlia Satanás, among others. It would also initiate a reparation process based on the affirmative action of the historical value of those women in the recent structuring and occupation of concrete and symbolic spaces for women, with special attention to the trajectory of black women.

Capoeira Angola, that has restructured itself since the 1980s onwards in a context of a cultural resistance that reaffirmed blackness, to combat racism and struggle for national democracy, demonstrates through the mistrust and rejection of the hegemonic routes, the revolutionary dimension of black corpo-



reality, with the incorporation of *folgar* (play) and *vadiar* (loiter) (Araújo, 2015). In this moment, the *pastiniana* philosophy (the philosophy of Pastinha, the founder of capoeira angola), in its great legacy will provoke debates to evidence the above among the several generations of *angoleiros* and *angoleiras*.

Here, we dare to begin featuring a kind of supra community, which are collectives of *capoeiristas* today spread throughout Brazil and in other countries. These collectives that go beyond the insulation of groups and capoeira organizations, bringing together women from various groups and organizations, turning the organization of specific events of capoeira practices also into the opportunity to create permanent forums of complaints, debates, confrontations, in-person and virtual meetings, strongly reflecting the organizational models of groups. On the other hand, these also promote the approach or entry of *capoeiristas* to various spheres of feminist formulations, enabling a new reading on the power relations inside capoeira.

A strategy that today is observed, as a result of discussions and collective actions, concerns the promotion of women to master positions, and how these places have been disputed within the groups. In several occasions women have reached these positions, when they take it upon themselves to this promotion through a collective recognition of their value and effort.

However, the treatment of women in the capoeira universe expands its awareness beyond dealing with the issue of violence, when it also serves as an exchange of experiences translated in other disputes. In the example below we can get a sense of the changes that these encounters have led, for example, in the impact of complaints made in the manifesto by the Collective Mandinga Woman Group (Bahia) against a calendar known as “*As Bonecas da Capoeira* (The dolls of capoeira)”. Launched in Europe, this calendar exposed a small number of women on a deserted beach using the berimbau in sexual exploitation scenes. Among other things, the manifesto condemns the exploitation of the image of Brazilian women abroad as prostitutes.

Capoeira events (thematic meetings, national and international conferences, women’s conferences, trips and recreational activities, travel, etc.) also appear as essential supports to the exchanges needed to strengthen this community. Recurring themes in all of them, as culture, autonomy, preservation, distortion, violence, spirituality, motherhood, childhood, youth, racism and racial discrimination, African-*Brasildades*, aging, community, were found at the base of the various actions undertaken by these collective.

It is noteworthy that among these, the understanding of ancestry of people and /or of Capoeira Angola is not relinquished to an African presence that orients a shared imaginary and resubmits ancestry in totemic constructions of a mythologized or invented belonging. It is this African presence that permeates, no doubt, the factual swing and sway of capoeira (Araújo, 2004). Importantly, the various international meetings represented an important field for the exchange of this information, presenting as a result the strengthening of the *grande tronco* (large trunk), i.e. that of the *pastiniana* lineage.

The above and shared understanding within an international dimension of what the symbols of capoeira communication are, once positioned in this genealogy, they advance in charges about capoeira itself as “an instrument of struggle against all forms of oppression”. And the recognition and acceptance of this consecrated source of transformation allows pursuing the occupation of spaces in a qualified and autonomous way.

We are talking about a reality that involves women characterised as mostly white, urban, middle class, of between 20 to 30 years old, with university education (similar to at least one of their parents), with access to cultural goods and to opportunities offered by the contacts with other cultures, languages and artistic experiences. Taking into account that most of the people joins the capoeira groups by seduction and network through very close people, we will be able to understand the concentration of the features and age of the women in question.

Here the most important thing is that we can assert the goal of safeguarding certain principles of edu-



cational systems of Afro-Brazilian traditions which, among other affinities have as characteristics the fact of being an endogenous, global system, taught by all, everywhere and all the time, integrated with the production of a daily collective, through learning, participation, and experience.

If, on the one hand, we recognize here possible explanations to the fact that most women play leadership roles in the organizational structures of these groups, unfortunately these qualities do not ensure them evincing and leadership in other spheres of these same groups, especially those related to the transmission of capoeira knowledge. Thus, there still remains a very small number of women promoted to master and counter-masters position. This is because it is known the demands they face in other activities of their daily lives. We recognize that their trajectories are hampered both by no equity in the promotion requirements, but also because of the unequal sharing of care for children during the capoeira practice, even when the father is also part of the same group.

However, after entering into and occupying spaces through their complaints, the *capoeiristas* started to invest in their education and empowerment. At the same time they started to demand that masters change their behaviors, being communication through the internet (web) an effective channel for this.

Of course we can think of the weight that this female segment has, not only in the organization of these communities, but also in terms of its composition as an increasingly demanding segment. A proof of such fact is that nowadays in some events of Capoeira Angola (not just in women's events), the presence of professionals hired to take care for and develop educational activities with children, where the community deals with children during capoeira practice time, without separating areas for adults and children. Instead, the care of children become a shared responsibility and demands about are made about their specific needs.

We see then that topics such as pregnancy, responsible parenthood, construction of gender roles, the capoeira group's role in the education of children,

pre-menstrual syndrome (PMS), domestic violence, autonomy, etc., gain presence at these meetings, nationally and internationally. Importantly, even with a significant number of men participating in women's meetings, this does not mean that we are dealing with the absence of conflict.

It is true that we also find among the *capoeiristas* an awareness of the fact that there are some women (very few!) taking on leadership positions, which is something considered very important. It is relevant not only for breaking a historically constituted condition but also because many women feel prevented (and, therefore, do not even try) to learn capoeira because they believe (and reject) the forms of male domination, usually present in the relationship between the instructors and students, or between them and the other members, men and women inside the capoeira universe.

It is important to highlight that these inquiries transcend the merely physical embodiment and become verbalized through important elements that interconnect aspects of personal satisfaction with personal stories of life. Spirituality, tradition, and female leadership are some of the aspects that also engender their searches in the *grande roda*. Finally, we realize that many of these women mingle aspects of the bodily conditions that constitute the foundations of Capoeira Angola with the definitions of their own personal strengths and difficulties. However, what can be understood as individual facility shall be considered an aspect of difficulty when incorporated into the collective ethics and values. *Ginga* here is used as a metalanguage in itself because one learns through it that only in motion the changes are and will be evinced.

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Elas *gingam!*

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Não pode ser seu amigo quem exige seu silêncio ou atrapalha seu crescimento¹⁾.

Este trabalho levanta algumas possibilidades reflexivas sobre a presença da mulher no interior da capoeira, aqui tomada como um fenômeno específico a atualizar os debates sobre esta que é uma das mais abrangentes expressões culturais afro-brasileiras. Considerando que o universo complexo da *capoeiragem* mantém-se atrelado a representações masculinizadas, buscamos saber que mudanças são debatidas e/ou operadas no contexto das relações de gênero, uma vez que a capoeira hoje envolve, em rede, novos contextos culturais, resultado de concomitantes e distintas formas de difusão e de internacionalização. Sendo um *território* declaradamente heteronormatizado, podemos afirmar, portanto, que o sexismo (misoginia, lesbofobia, homofobia, transfobia...) impede que a capoeira conclua sua missiva libertária e que, da mesma forma, encontramos nas disputas entre as representações dos gêneros (e sempre atentas às implicações interseccionais aos debates etnicorracial e da diversidade sexual), novas dimensões discursivas ao estabelecimento de práticas segregadoras, decisivas nas reestruturações das relações de poder em meio à economia da capoeira, que emergem cada vez mais vigorosos.

São muitos os campos de conhecimento que na atualidade tomam a capoeira com propósitos investigativos. Muitas também são as possibilidades de novas abordagens e estudos, sobretudo com perspectivas interdisciplinares, que possibilitem noções mais ampliadas sobre as complexidades desta como um campo de conhecimento próprio, multirreferencial²⁾, intercultural, polissêmico e polilógico³⁾. Aqui, um dos maiores desafios refere-se a tencionar o cadenciamento, ao modo dos/as seus/suas praticantes, dos elementos que lhe estruturam os *fundamentos*,

sendo ela a sua própria metáfora enquanto *roda*, o que está em movimento, dotado de recursividades e, portanto, de renovações. Sendo um espaço de trocas intensas, é na *roda* que valores são negociados, que estratégias são refeitas/desfeitas, atribuindo sentido e significado aos processos comunicacionais que estruturam, pela oralidade, os acervos dos tempos que ali se fundem, se interpenetram.

Se alguns temas hoje são capazes, pela sua capilaridade, de atualizar os estudos culturais, ressaltamos as perspectivas interculturais, sobretudo aquelas enunciadas nas provocações das *novas* epistemologias do século XXI, à exemplo dos estudos interseccionais das categorias raça, gênero e sexualidades, sobretudo quando situadas nos estudos sobre ancestralidade, corpo e pertencimento, entre outros. Podendo variar de acordo com a categoria de maior tensão, o que nos interessa aqui parte da compreensão de que em meio à *capoeiragem* alguns destes temas muitas vezes são tomados como verdadeiros tabus, possibilitando mesmo o deslocamento do universo simbólico das africanidades⁴⁾ e das brasilidades, para o centro dos debates ideológicos sobre os estilos Angola e Regional, seja desde dentro das crenças e explicações sobre as origens da capoeira até o seu lugar, hoje, em áreas interligadas: cultura, esporte, educação, artes corporais, cultura física, lutas marciais, entre outros.

De dentro da riqueza deste debate, cabe explicar que a escolha feita pelo termo *africanidades* se dá pelo uso corrente do mesmo, portanto, com maior capacidade de comunicar os aportes culturais africanos no Brasil. Sobre este tema, destacamos aqui uma importante mensagem registrada na página da revista eletrônica “Africanias.com – Científico Digital”, da Universidade do Estado da Bahia/Uneb, onde encontramos:

1) WALKER, Alice. In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens: Womanist Prose. - Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983 – p. 36

2) FROES-BURNHAM, Teresinha. (2012)

3) GALEFFI, Dante (2011)

4) Numa palestra proferida pela professora e linguísta Ieda Pessoa de Castro, ouvi-a recomendar o uso do termo africanias, em lugar de *africanidades*, por tratar-se de referenciais africanos fora do continente. Segundo esta, africanidades são os referenciais, olhados e refletidos por nós, no interior do continente africano.



Seguindo uma definição de Nina Friedemann em “Cabildos negros, refugios de africanias en Colombia” (Revista Montalbán, Caracas: Universidade Católica Andrés Bello, 1988), podemos entender africanias como a bagagem cultural submergida no inconsciente iconográfico dos negro-africanos escravizados que se faz perceptível na música, na dança, na religião, na poesia, no modo de ser e de ver o mundo, na língua, e que, no decorrer dos séculos, como forma de resistência e de continuidade na opressão, se transformaram e se converteram em matrizes para um novo sistema cultural e linguístico que nos identifica como brasileiros.”⁵⁾

Estes debates encontram acolhimento neste trabalho por considerarmos pertinentes os debates em torno das matrizes africanas da capoeira, chamando a atenção para as bases míticas e ontológicas que ressaltam a existência de outra cosmovisão que, para as novas práticas vivenciais marcadas pela supressão da liberdade, reinterpretaram-se e reelaboraram-se pelas possibilidades de diálogos e negociações. É aqui que a ginga e o gingar são tomados como uma metalinguagem com capacidade de articular, de maneira ad-artística, ad-linguística, aspectos recursivos de uma luta que se faz no contexto de muitas outras. É no cenário destas lutas que queremos chamar a atenção ao lugar destinado e ocupado pelas mulheres.

Levando-se em conta a pluralidade de formas de expressão da violência, queremos começar destacando a baixa expectativa em torno da própria formação destas no que diz respeito ao aprendizado da capoeira, denotando a permanente crença na sua fragilidade e, conseqüentemente, na (de)limitação dos espaços a que estas estão autorizadas a atingir e transitar. Isto pode nos permitir reafirmar a existência de uma dominante masculinidade, cujo padrão hegemônico estabelece condutas valorativas de práticas concretas e imaginárias de uma virilidade heroica, compulsória, independente de se pensa-la enquadrada ou não na dinâmica da ordem social e política da *grande roda*⁶⁾. Este dado apresenta uma comunidade, originalmente tido como espaço exclusivo de homens negros, pobres e de baixa escolarização,

5) Fonte: <http://www.africaniasc.uneb.br/> (Acesso em 29/08/2013)

6) Forma com angoleiros e angoleiras se referem à sociedade mais ampla, sendo a pequena roda os espaços dos aprendizados e práticas da capoeira.

hoje sendo reafirmada de forma mais heterogênea, marcada pela forte presença de pessoas não-negras (em muitos lugares estas nem sequer estão presentes ou são absoluta minoria), apresentando os mais diversos perfis profissionais, resultado de níveis de escolarização mais elevados, marcada também pela presença cada vez maior de mulheres. Neste caso, se o número de homens negros na capoeira vem sendo reduzido à medida que a capoeira avança em direção aos novos espaços sociais que constituem a chamada economia da capoeira (incluindo principalmente os territórios fora do Brasil), a exígua presença de mulheres negras é hoje tema de muitos debates. De forma quase inacreditável já se discute, inclusive, estratégias afirmativas de permanência das pessoas negras no interior da capoeira.

Realizando um estudo sobre o esporte contemporâneo como uma forma privilegiada de organização do corpo, VAZ (2011, p.849) chama a atenção ao caráter pouco transgressor do esporte, sendo mesmo uma reprodução dos aspectos do mundo padrão masculino e patriarcal, acentuando que os mesmos servem para exaltar “elementos como virilidade, sexismo, desempenho, excesso”. Assim, ainda que concordando com a construção do autor, queremos colaborar para acentuar, aqui, a transgressão feminina ao adentrar espaços exclusivamente masculinos, sobretudo quando se trata de um espaço considerado marginal, portanto, alvo de estereótipos difíceis de serem enfrentados pelo modelo idiossincrático das nossas relações raciais.

Chamando a atenção ao fato de que o esporte e as práticas corporais não estão isentas das “práticas e discursos generificantes”, acentuando a participação das mulheres nas modalidades escolhidas ou mesmo as masculinidades expressas nas distintas modalidades e suas competições, o autor reforça sua compreensão sobre as formas como o corpo ganha protagonismo, levando-se em conta o fato de se tratar de performances, ou seja:

(...)experiências corporais – e portanto, atravessadas pela linguagem e pela cultura – e são expressão de identidades cada vez menos fixas, acompanhando e simultaneamente determinando as negociações em torno dos discursos de gênero, de nacionalidade, étnicos, geracionais, entre tantos outros.

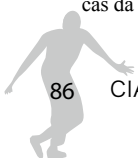




Fig. 1 Passeata organizada como parte do evento “Chamada de Mulher III (2014): Capoeiristas pelo fim da violência contra as mulheres”. Foto: Manoela Ziggiatti

<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10154955436278539&set=a.10150732564743539.412107.725823538&type=3&theater>



Fig. 2 Poster do evento “Chamada de mulher (2010)”

http://4.bp.blogspot.com/_SvylgU8mNQ/TChmV9tigQI/AAAAAAAAAGQ/XQToK7r3Bti/s1600/chamada-de-mulher.jpg

Sobre a capoeira, talvez por ainda não haver unanimidade sobre o seu caráter esportivo, são incipientes os estudos sobre gênero e capoeira. A pesquisadora Maria José Somerlate Barbosa ao publicar o seu artigo *A mulher na Capoeira* (BARBOSA, 2005), já chamava a atenção para a dificuldade de precisar a influência da mulher na capoeira, tanto pela falta de registro quanto pelo fato deste ser um espaço reconhecido como sendo “de domínio quase que exclusivamente masculino”⁷⁾. Todavia, a mesma autora segue chamando a atenção a existência de uma crença sobre a origem da capoeira que a identifica com a prática do *Ngolo*, ou Dança das Zebras, um antigo rito de passagem feminino

7) BARBOSA, M. J. S. (2005)

realizado durante a *efendula*, registrado por Câmara Cascudo⁸⁾ (2001) como sendo a festa da puberdade das meninas ao passarem à condição de mulheres portanto, tidas como prontas ao casamento e à procriação. Apesar de termos aqui um aparente lugar de subordinação, ou de “participação indireta” destas, como preferiu a autora, queremos refletir este lugar levando-se em conta tratar-se outra cosmovisão, na qual a “majestade” destas jovens situa a ação da divinização corpórea que se evidencia tornando-as, sobretudo, disputáveis. Tomo como referência a dimensão da divinização dos corpos destas meninas pela ação do *Ngolo*. Não podemos esquecer também que, segundo as informações que temos do *Ngolo*, ao final cabe a elas estabelecer a escolha entre os tidos como pretendentes.

A nossa intenção aqui é, mais que buscar referências históricas para capoeira como uma expressão das culturas africanas no Brasil, poder também tratar da presença feminina através de aspectos mitológicos, simbólicos e analíticos da estrutura organizacional da capoeiragem, aqui centrada em participações observantes sobre suas formas de se representarem, lutarem e enfocarem uma estética própria que possibilite o desmonte dos elementos de subalternidades atrelados ao gênero. Ao começarmos enfocando alguns aspectos mitológicos buscamos valorizar a memória prospectiva que, compondo nosso acervo oral, acentua o próprio lugar da África no imaginário das/os capoeiristas. Com igual relevância registramos aqui também, outro mito que circula na capoeiragem e que também pode colaborar para acentuar este fenômeno. Trata-se da Lenda do Berimbau, que narra as aventuras de uma menina que, tendo desaparecido após a ação de um “homem mau” teve o seu corpo transformado no berimbau.

Desta forma, ao reconhecermos a experiência histórica destas é que poderemos estimular a reescrita da história da capoeira no Brasil através das especificidades obtidas nas trajetórias de nomes como Maria Doze homens, Julia Fogareiro, Pau de Barraca, Ana Angélica (ou Angélica Endiabrada), Cattu, Almerinda, Adelaide Presepeira, Chica, Menininha⁹⁾,

8) CASCUDO, Luis Câmara. *Made in África*, São Paulo: Global, 2001

9) Parte destas mulheres tem algumas de suas histórias citadas em OLIVEIRA e LEAL (2009)



entre outras. Transitando nos espaços públicos das ruas, e atuando em atividades profissionais diversas, estas mulheres experimentaram as sanções sobre a quebra de decoro moral, pois, agindo com e “como” homens, eram tidas como perigosas, “de cabelinho na venta”, portanto, indignas para ocuparem os espaços domésticos e estarem sob à proteção e tutela masculina.

A necessidade de ampliarmos os estudos sobre a diversificada presença feminina no contexto da cultura afro-brasileira é fundamental ao fortalecimento dos feminismos contemporâneos.

Assim, ainda que a despeito do impacto produzido pelo lançamento e releituras contemporâneas de *A Cidade das Mulheres*¹⁰⁾, poucos foram os estudos que demonstraram interesse por estas no contexto dos saberes culturais e, ainda assim, os que fizeram, optaram por enfatizar as sacerdotisas das comunidades-terreiro, abrigadas em normas e valores espirituais próprios, e não as “expostas”, as que tinham nos espaços das ruas, nos cenários públicos, as suas formas de resistir sendo mulheres. Tratadas por mulheres *de pá virada*, mulheres *de cabelo na venta*, as *desasnadas*, as *mulheres-homens*, *mulheres valentes*, *azedadas*, tais tratamentos as revelam envolvidas de alguma forma com as ruas e, nestas, o universo proibitivo e complexo capoeiragem, tanto nos editoriais jornalísticos quanto nos autos de prisões, estamos apontando a necessidade de estudos que respaldem as suas especificidades sobretudo (mas não apenas), pelo fato de estarem num espaço de convivência com a violência física, a valentia, as artimanhas e malandragens que posicionava a capoeira no limiar da ordem/desordem. As ruas, por estas ocupadas como sendo espaço de ganhos e de *ganhadeiras* eram, muitas vezes, disputadas “a golpes de navalhas, cacetadas e pontapés contra quem lhes representasse uma ameaça¹¹⁾”.

Contraventoras de várias linguagens de subordinação à “supremacia masculina¹²⁾” estas avançaram por sobre as representações binárias nas relações de gênero, modificando as paisagens dos recentes

centros urbanos, conciliando atividades e atitudes diversas na aquisição e defesas de espaços para estar e transitar. Sendo mulheres trabalhadoras realizavam atividades domésticas como também distintas atividades econômicas executadas em vias públicas (ou a partir delas), como vendedoras, carregadoras, floristas, marisqueiras e pescadoras, floristas, fateiras, costureiras, bordadeiras, prostitutas, entre outras, expondo-as a situações de permanentes tensões e ampliadas pela quebra do decoro moral na forma de ser mulher.

E o que dizer destas mulheres na atualidade? Como proceder na construção de um campo de pesquisa multirreferenciado e polilógico que incorpore, de maneira interseccional, estes rechãs de múltiplas temporalidades e performances *cognoscentes*, ontológicas e epistemologicamente amparada nos enraizamentos de nossas africanidades, sendo ou não sendo africano/a-descendente? Em que medida seus distintos referenciais de lutas são capazes de atualizar, no campo dos movimentos sociais, outras abordagens políticas, integrando os fazeres corporais? Que condutas atualizam, aos olhos de novos patriarcados, suas condições de *desordeiras*, *destemidas*, *valentonas*, ou seja, de mulheres “da pá virada”?

Pois bem, ainda que na atualidade a capoeira seja praticada dentro de comunidades específicas (grupos, academias e organizações de capoeira), e não mais tendo como espaço prioritário a ocupação “marginal¹³⁾” das ruas, vinculada a ocupação de determinados territórios, é perceptível um *ethos* atualizado sobre uma cultura de rua, ou com possibilidades de sê-lo. Desta forma, as mulheres transitam entre espaços de segurança e insegurança, sendo este último o resultado de diferentes formas de dominação e subordinação, incluindo aqui o mais amplo tema tabu as envolvê-las, que são as relações interpessoais, com foco nas relações amorosas.

Também registramos a tentativa de constituição de um campo editorial para a capoeiragem demonstrando a atenção sobre o tratamento que uma determinada mídia especializada, por volta do final dos anos 90, deu à presença feminina. Este foi um período marcado pelo surgimento de várias revistas

10) LANDES, Ruth. (2002)

11) OLIVEIRA, Josivaldo Pires de, LEAL, Luiz Augusto P. (2009)

12) SAFFIOTI, Heleith I. B. (1987)

13) Aqui no sentido de entende-la vinculadas às formas de desordem social à exemplo das maltas.



dedicadas às/aos praticantes desta¹⁴); expondo corpos femininos aos auspícios hormonais de rapazes e homens expondo corpos femininos aos auspícios hormonais de rapazes e homens com “aptidões” à traduzir por abusos sexuais aspectos condizentes com este ramo (i.e. à lógica da exploração sexualizada, que define padrões irrelevantes para o fortalecimento da capoeira como tradição). Surgia, no campo da representação midiática, a coisificação do corpo da mulher capoeirista integrando as demais estereotípias à exploração do corpo feminino, sobretudo em se tratando de um universo até então desvalorizado para a prática em comento, apresentando jovens celebridades televisivas nas capas destas revistas, valorizando caricaturas de personagens femininas cuja fama se dava pelo apelo à exploração sexual destas¹⁵).

Se pensarmos a capoeira entre as tradições que insere o Brasil no contexto da chamada diáspora africana, podemos pensar aqui tanto o aviltamento sobre as formas de inserção e representação feminina nestas, quanto o próprio lugar das pessoas mais velhas como elos fundamentais com as ancestralidades. Mais que um corpo exposto ao uso, ressaltamos um corpo condutor de sentidos, pela pertença, à transdução de memórias que interligam, no presente, o passado que dá sentido aos encaminhamentos das mudanças futuras. Por esta via interpretativa seguimos Eduardo Oliveira ao apontar a centralidade do corpo na dimensão ética da ancestralidade:

O corpo construído se erige como signo identitário da tradição africana: é um corpo negro que se arquiteta. Porém, pelo contexto onde tudo isso acontece, o signo da africanidade é mais um desconstrutor do que um construtor de regimes. Veja: baseado na idéia geral de africanidade, que aqui funciona como um significante flutuante, desestrutura-se o corpo da racionalidade moderna ocidental (vertical, estático, linear, rígido, teleológico; que privilegia o cognitivo) para afirmar o corpo da ancestralidade africana, que ressalta a horizontalidade, as dobras, o baixo-corporal e o movimento. (...) mais para improviso e programa do que para repetição e esquema. Oliveira (Oliveira 2007a, p.119)

14) Revistas Praticando Capoeira, Cordão Branco, entre outras

15) Entre estas, mulheres/personagens como Tiazinha, As Ronaldivas, A Feiteira, entre outras.



Numa entrevista à uma destas revistas, questionada sobre a presença da mulher no seu interior, lembro-me ter afirmado que já naquela época isto não causava mais tanto estranhamento e, da mesma forma, já era possível afirmar que nenhum grupo pode prescindir de suas presenças e feitos. Naquela matéria, e que inaugurava uma coluna dedicada à mulher capoeira¹⁶), existia uma construção paradigmática até então não experimentada, ou seja, apresentar o tratamento e entendimento de vozes femininas enquanto praticantes da capoeira. Também chamou a minha atenção a imagem escolhida para dar “expressão” a tal novidade. Nesta, aparece o desenho de uma jovem mulher, corpo atlético, identificada pela vestimenta como não sendo praticante de *estilo* Angola, uma vez que praticantes desta *escola* tem uma outra relação com as vestimentas que a caracteriza, ou seja, mesmo sabendo que eu vinha deste campo formativo, a revista fez a opção pela representações de uma outra possibilidade de vestimentas adotadas pela capoeira moderna em que é possível às mulheres e homens a possibilidades de prática com corpos desnudos, podendo ser eliminados camisas e camisetas, bem como a exigência de calçados, coisas exigíveis e que também identificam os/as angoleiros/as, e sendo este o estilo em que fui iniciada desde 1982¹⁷). Isto

16) Esta coluna tinha como título “Se esta mulher fosse minha...”. Obviamente desconhecia o “detalhe técnico” de que a minha entrevista inaugurava a tal Coluna.

17) As/os praticantes do estilo Angola não usam as cordas (cordéis) presas à cintura que identificam a graduação e, menos ainda, apresentam-se com parte do corpo à mostra. Ao contrário, o simples fato de uma camiseta soltar-se da calça, exibindo as costas e/ou a barriga, já é suficiente para que o berimbau “chame” a pessoa a recompor sua vestimenta, seja mulher ou homem.



pode ser observada na figura abaixo. Também aqui é importante destacar a imagem estereotipada de uma masculinidade padrão, de certa forma imprimindo uma construção passível de aceitação.

Todavia, os anos 90 já demarcava também o início da utilização da internet na formação de novas “comunidades” de capoeira, bem como de “rodas virtuais”, verdadeiros espaços de debate entre estes e estas. E foi a partir destes espaços que a comunidade-capoeira pode expressar seu descontentamento acerca de tal procedimento apelativo fazendo entender aos editores se tratar de um universo cujo modelo de formação também passava (e segue passando) pela necessidade de ampliação de conhecimentos históricos, filosóficos e estéticos da arte-luta, e para o qual haviam expectativas sendo frustradas. Assim foi que após algumas “denúncias”, puderam então os editores “arriscar” e experimentar o lançamento de um número cuja capa, contendo uma foto com o Mestre João Grande, levou aos seus proprietários deste projeto editorial a resposta de mais uma importante e complexa singularidade deste universo. Ademais, para além das inúmeras surpresas que a tal capa produziu, seus impactos puderam imediatamente serem estendidos à outros produtos e artigos, com vultuosas saídas, tanto nos vários rincões brasileiros quanto mesmo no exterior.

Desde dentro destas reflexões é que encaminhamos a necessidade de pesquisas que encaminhem abordagens *estruturais*, analisando a presença, a colocação e a visibilidade das capoeiras na capoeiragem; *epistemológicas*, verificando seus modos de produção, gestão e transmissão do conhecimentos a partir da crítica ao sexismo no interior da capoeira; sobre a *análise do discurso* e das práticas e representação sobre a mulher na/da/sendo capoeira, identificando as metáforas de gênero, com repercussão no acesso ao lugar de mestra/poder. Se hoje alguns nomes figuram na história passada da capoeira, queremos mesmo saber em que medida estas mulheres alcançaram respeitabilidade entre os capoeiristas.

Também queremos promover as mudanças necessárias aos compartilhamentos destes espaços, e de maneira que isto seja tomado como um grande ganho tanto para a *pequena roda* quanto para a *grande roda*

côncias/os de que, como já afirmamos, nenhum grupo ou organização de capoeira pode prescindir da presença (saberes) e ações (fazeres) destas, e em todos as áreas dos saberes capoeira. Revelar os universos e atuações de nomes como Palmeirona, Júlia Fogareiro, Catu, Maria Pernambucana, Maria Cachoeira, Maria Pé no Mato, Maria Homem, Odília, Maria 12 Homens, Júlia Endiabrada, Júlia Satanás, entre outras, é tão somente o começo de uma reparação em que se faça fundante a reafirmação do valor histórico destas na estruturação e ocupação recente dos espaços concretos e simbólicos pelas mulheres, com especial atenção à trajetória das mulheres negras.

Aqui, ousamos abrir um espaço para caracterizar uma espécie de “supra comunidade”, marcada pela presença feminina na Capoeira Angola, inovando no que diz respeito à possibilidade de reunir mulheres de vários grupos e organizações¹⁸⁾, voltando-se tanto à organização de eventos específicos, ou ainda criando fóruns permanentes de debates e discussões, prevalecendo a forma virtual (internet). Todavia, o tratamento dado ao “ser mulher” no universo da capoeiragem amplia a percepção destas para além do trato com a coisa da violência, servindo também à troca de experiências *transduzidas* também na dimensão das temporalidades. No exemplo que segue, uma das mulheres comunica o nascimento da sua filha e lamenta as dificuldades na amamentação da mesma sendo, logo em seguida “amparada” pela experiência de uma outra que já havia passado pelo mesmo problema, e assim a aconselha:

Querida (...), parabéns pela mais nova herdeira. E este momento é realmente um momento muito especial, muito mágico e também de alguns percalços. Eu tive problemas sérios com amamentação, mas tive um apoio maravilhoso e consegui recuperar leite e amamentei a (filha) até um ano. Você deve saber, mas aí vão umas dicas que ajudam a fortalecer o peito: pegar sol no bico do peito, passar a casca do mamão pela parte de dentro, para hidratar ou cicatrizar, se for o caso. Se ela é gulosinha, garante que o leite não empedre, como foi o caso da (filha) que mamava

18) É importante ressaltar que o formato desta “comunidade” atende, entre outras coisas, à necessidade destas garantirem a quebra do sugilo sobre as formas de violência que vivenciam no interior de seus grupos não sendo viável, portanto, uma organização endógena que as condenam no interior da “família”



pouquinho. Parabéns por mais uma pessoinha amada na roda de nossas vidas! Muito Axé, para toda família.

Os eventos de capoeira (encontros temáticos, conferências nacionais e internacionais, conferências de mulheres, atividades de passeios e recreação, viagens, etc) também aparecem como suportes imprescindíveis às trocas necessárias ao fortalecimento desta comunidade. Temas recorrentes a todas elas, cultura, autonomia, preservação, descaracterização, violência, espiritualidade, mulher, infância, juventude, racismo e discriminação racial, afro-brasilidades, comunidade, foram leituras encontradas na base das várias ações desenvolvidas por estes. Vale ressaltar que entre estas não se abre mão do entendimento da ancestralidade (das pessoas e/ou da própria Capoeira Angola) a da presença da África na orientação de um imaginário compartilhado e rerepresentado na construção totêmica de um pertencimento, mesmo que mitificada ou “inventada”. E esta presença africana passa, sem dúvida, pela ginga e pelo gingar (ARAÚJO, 2004). É importante dizer que os vários encontros internacionais representaram um campo importante de observação do trânsito destas informações, apresentando como resultado o próprio fortalecimento do ‘grande tronco’, ou seja, da *linhagem pastiniana*, e definindo em dimensão internacional seus símbolos de comunicação, de reconhecimento e de aceitação, uma vez posicionadas nesta genealogia e buscando obter, pelo compromisso explicitado de se tratar de “um instrumentos de luta contra todas as formas de opressão”, a ocupação de espaços, de maneira qualificada e autônoma.

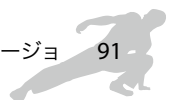
Aqui, ousamos abrir um espaço para caracterizar uma espécie de “supra comunidade”, marcada pela presença feminina na Capoeira Angola, inovando no que diz respeito à possibilidade de reunir mulheres de várias origens, voltando-se tanto à organização destes eventos específicos, ou ainda criando fóruns permanentes de debates e discussões, prevalecendo a forma virtual. Recentemente acompanhamos a comunicação de um “grupo virtual” denominado “angoleiras”, constituído de mulheres integrantes de várias destas organizações no Brasil e exterior, sobre os nascimentos de alguns bebês e sua acolhida nesta comunidade. Parece-nos que as antigas divergências

que marcavam os contatos entre muitas destas organizações vão cedendo espaço a estruturas de solidariedades específicas, numa espécie de cumplicidade de gênero. Neste exemplo, uma das mulheres comunica o nascimento da sua filhinha e lamenta as dificuldades na amamentação da mesma sendo, logo em seguida “amparada” pela experiência de uma outra que já havia passado pelo mesmo problema. Assim a aconselhava:

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Estamos aqui falando de uma realidade que envolve mulheres urbanas (neste caso, o Rio de Janeiro), classe média, cuja composição acompanha a tendência do perfil também entre os homens, sendo a sua maioria constituída de mulheres e homens na faixa etária dos 20 aos 30 anos, com formação universitária (como pelo menos de um dos seus pais), brancos, com acesso a bens culturais expressos nas oportunidades oferecidas pelos contatos com outras culturas, idiomas e vivências artísticas. Levando-se em conta que o ingresso de grande parte das pessoas ao grupo se dá pela “sedução” de pessoas muito próximas, sendo os integrantes do grupo seus maiores divulgadores, entenderemos ao menos a concentração na faixa etária em questão.

Como já mencionado na mensagem entre as mulheres capoeiristas, o anúncio do nascimento de novas crianças é sempre um motivo de muita alegria no interior deste. Desde a gravidez todos buscam manifestar esta alegria partilhando com mães e pais o seu desejo de ver a criança correndo, brincando e partilhando dos ensinamentos que a própria comunidade seleciona como sendo importantes para a



preservação e fortalecimento da identidade do grupo. É neste espírito festivo que são realizados “chá de bebê”, festinhas de aniversários ou outras atividades que ajudam a estas jovens mães a refletirem sobre o lugar do grupo diante das possíveis (e, muitas vezes, inevitáveis) dificuldades que enfrentarão para permanecer no grupo, além de simplesmente demonstrar carinho e solidariedade. Talvez aqui esteja o pré-anúncio da interrupção de sua jornada na capoeira, algo que se tenta impedir.

Aqui, o mais importante é podermos dizer que também se busca resguardar alguns princípios dos sistemas educativos das tradições afro-brasileiras que, entre outras afinidades apresentam como características o fato de ser um sistema endógeno, global, ministrada por todos, em todos os lugares e o tempo todo, e estar integrado à produção (pedagogia da aprendizagem, da participação, da experiência) que integrar o espírito comunitário, sendo mesmo uma educação para todos, uma educação permanente.

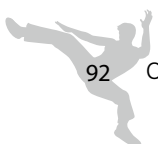
Todavia, é também aqui que encontramos possíveis explicações ao fato de que a maioria das mulheres desempenha papéis de liderança nas estruturas organizacionais destes grupos. Infelizmente estes qualificativos ainda não lhes garantem destaques e lideranças nas demais esferas destes mesmos grupos. Assim, é ainda muito pequeno o número de mulheres promovidas à condição de mestras e contra-mestras, pois, independentemente das exigências que pesam sobre estas nas demais atividades de suas vidas, verificamos que suas trajetórias são dificultadas tanto pela não equidade nas exigências de promoção, ou ainda pela partilha desigual dos cuidados aos filhos nos espaços de treinos, mesmo quando também o pai faz parte do mesmo grupo.

Para além das denúncias, passaram a investir na formação e empoderamento destas, ao mesmo tempo em que passaram a cobrar dos mestres mudanças nestes comportamentos, sendo a comunicação através da internet um canal privilegiado de organização e de denúncias.

Evidentemente que podemos pensar o peso que tem este segmento feminino não apenas na organização destas comunidades, mas também compondo um público consumidor cada vez mais exigente.

Uma prova disto é que já é possível encontrarmos nos eventos de Capoeira Angola (e não apenas nos encontros de mulheres), profissionais contratadas/os para cuidar e desenvolver atividades educativas com as crianças, já que a comunidade trata as crianças dentro do seu tempo de aprendizado, não existindo espaços separados para adultos e crianças. Ao contrário, o cuidado com estas torna-se uma responsabilidade de todos, e cobranças são feitas sobre este aprendizado. Vemos então que temas como gravidez, paternidade responsável, corpo feminino, papel do grupo na educação das crianças, tensão pré-menstrual (TPM), violência doméstica, autonomia, dentre outros, estão presentes nestes encontros, nacionais e internacionais. É importante destacar que mesmo com um expressivo número de homens participando destes encontros femininos, isto não significa que estejamos lidando com a ausência de conflitos.

É certo que também encontramos entre as capoeiristas a consciência de que o fato de existir algumas mulheres (muito poucas!) assumindo posições de liderança é tido como algo muito importante, não apenas por romper uma condição historicamente constituída, mas também porque muitas delas se sentem impedidas (e, por isto, nem tentam) de aprender o jogo da capoeira por acreditar (e rejeitar) formas de dominação masculina, geralmente presentes nas relações entre o mestre e as alunas, ou ainda entre estas e os demais integrantes, homens. É importante salientar que estas buscas transcendem a incorporação meramente física e passa a ser verbalizada a partir de elementos que interligam importantes aspectos de satisfações pessoais com as histórias de vida, espiritualidade, tradição, liderança feminina, também com aspectos que contemplam suas buscas na *grande roda*. Assim, percebemos que muitas mesclam às condições corporais, aspectos que constituem os *fundamentos* da Capoeira Angola nas definições das suas facilidades e dificuldades. Aqui, o que pode ser compreendido como facilidade individual passa a ser considerada um aspecto de dificuldade quando incorporada ao coletivo, à ética, aos valores.



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A Postcolonial Point of View of Afro-Brazilian Culture and Its Relation to Contemporary African Popular Culture

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1. Introduction

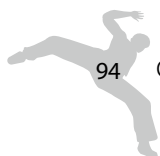
There have always been discussions about the origins of Afro-Latino culture or Afro-Brazilian culture from both the African perspective and the Latin American or Brazilian perspective. One of the most exclusive examples of that experience is Afro-Cuban music. Afro-Cuban music was and still is popular among Africans and African cultures. In Africa we have the following expressions to describe it: “a son who returned home after being embellished,” “the essence of African culture transformed by Latin flavor” and so on. For many African countries, with independence also came a discovery of Cuban music, which itself benefits from a hybrid of African and Spanish culture. For African musicians, Cuban music was a source of inspiration for contemporary and popular music accompanied with modern instruments. Cuban music is considered to have an African rhythm, which is not based on what they call “metropole” or colonizers’ culture. In the early 60s, during the postcolonial era several African countries adapted national culture politics and with their socialist orientation, close and direct cultural exchange with Cuban music was made possible. Furthermore, Cuban music came to add a new taste to African music and gave the opportunity for African musicians to experience a much more sophisticated rhythm and dance.

But for many culture analysts, the tendencies were always to look at the African origins within Cuban music, either in the rhythm, the sound or the style. But African musicians recognize that while the instruments in Cuban music were a totally new discovery for them, the rhythm fit to their traditional way of playing. Considering the relations and cultural exchange that existed between Cuba and Africa from a very early stage,

from an African perspective, the answer to the question of whether Cuban music has some African origins and the tendency to look for these origins in Africa seem quite different in comparison to art forms from other Caribbean, Latino or Brazilian cultures.

In this comment paper, I will try to discuss from different levels the complex relationship of Afro-Brazilian culture with Africa and its perception from an African perspective. Although Brazilians, especially those with African roots, seem to consider their cultural expressions as an identity and a tool of affiliation to their African origin, Africans see them as new imported culture, a popular culture from western countries. That is because most contemporary Brazilian, Afro-Latin or American cultures come to Africa through Europe (the metropolises). The matter of concern for them is why does rhythm of Latin or Brazilian music fit to Africa?

Firstly, I will point out how the Brazilian ritual art Capoeira, the form of which involves movement, music and philosophy, and which was granted a special protected status as “intangible cultural heritage” by UNESCO in November 2014, can be defined and perceived from an African perspective. Secondly, I will discuss the influence of colonialism on cultural development among slaves brought to different regions from Africa. Understanding the definition and structure of capoeira in comparison with similar cultural expressions in Africa is very important to analyze the postcolonial perspective of this cultural expression. Capoeira can be considered a postcolonial cultural expression or a culture of resistance against the colonizers by the colonized. Lastly, I will point out the meaning of capoeira and other Afro-Latino cultural expression to Africans.



2. Understanding of Capoeira from an African perspective

(1) Historical background of Capoeira

Some scholars have conducted historical and cultural research about the origin of Capoeira. Among them, Maya Talmon-Chvaicer, in her book *The Hidden History of Capoeira: A Collision of Cultures in the Brazilian Battle Dance*, analyzes the outlooks on life, symbols, and rituals of the three major cultures that inspired capoeira—the Congolese (the historic area known today as Congo-Angola), the Yoruban, and the Catholic Portuguese cultures. As she traces the evolution of capoeira through successive historical eras, Talmon-Chvaicer maintains a dual perspective, depicting capoeira as it was experienced, observed, and understood by both Europeans and Africans, as well as by their descendants. This dual perspective uncovers many covert aspects of capoeira that have been repressed by the dominant Brazilian culture. This study reclaims the African origins and meanings of capoeira, while also acknowledging the many ways in which Catholic-Christian culture has contributed to it.

Brazil received most of the slaves brought from Africa with the transatlantic slave trade. According to some references, between 1500 and 1888, almost four million slaves were brought to Brazil coming mainly from West Africa. This large number of slaves was an important factor in shaping the culture and the people of the country, and led to the birth of capoeira. Many historical researches pointed out that capoeira resulted from slave trading, but exactly how it developed is still under discussion. Closely related arguments center around where the word capoeira comes from and how much the fighting movements were “disguised” as dance to allow them to be carried out under the watch of slave masters.

It is also said in many documents and researches that the Brazilian martial art and dance capoeira was born mainly among West African descendants but with native Brazilian influences, probably beginning in the 16th century. Some papers point out that capoeira’s history begins with the

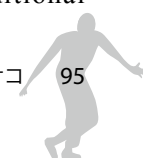
beginning of African slavery in Brazil. The early history of capoeira is still controversial, especially the period between the 16th century and the beginning of the 19th century, since historical documents were very scarce in Brazil at that time. But oral tradition, language and evidence leave little doubt about its Brazilian roots. Capoeira was born as a simple hope of survival. It was a tool with which an escaped slave, completely unequipped, could survive in the hostile, unknown land and face the hunt of the armed and mounted colonial agents who were charged with finding and capturing escapees.

Among capoeira styles, the Angola style refers to every capoeira that keeps the traditions held before the creation of the regional style. The name *Angola* goes back as early as the beginning of slavery in Brazil, when Africans, taken to Luanda to be shipped to the Americas, were called in Brazil “black people from Angola,” regardless of their nationality. The ideal of *Capoeira Angola* is to maintain capoeira as close to its roots as possible. Capoeira is related to the Kikongo word of *kipula* or *kipura*, which referred to sweeping ground movements used in martial arts. The connection of this etymology to capoeira is through movements, since the art of capoeira uses many ground movements and sweeps.

(2) African Wrestling Culture

The African continent has many types of traditional folk wrestling, which varies between regions and ethnic groups. In the Western part of Africa for instance, there is Laamb in Senegal, Boreh in Gambia, Evala in Togo, Koksowa in the Hausa areas of Nigeria and Niger and Dambe in Niger. In the South there is Nguni stick-fighting (*donga*, or *dlala 'nduku*) in South Africa, in the North Tahtib in Egypt, and in the East there is Donga in Ethiopia and so on. The similarity between these kinds of African traditional folk wrestling is that they are seasonal, in most of the cases held after harvest. It is always accompanied with music and rituals and held in a public space. Some of them serve as initiation rituals for boys.

The common point between these traditional



forms of wrestling and capoeira is that they exist primarily as a form of dancing not for actual fighting. The techniques and performers are selected and initiated by the people.

In Africa, a few wrestling styles more similar to capoeira also exist as well. The most popular is Moraingy. It is a weaponless, bare-fisted striking style of traditional martial arts that originated in Madagascar. It has since become popularized throughout Madagascar, but particularly in coastal regions, and has spread to neighboring Indian Ocean islands, including Réunion, Mayotte, Comoros, Seychelles and Mauritius. Participation in this form of combat was originally limited to young men, allowing elders to judge their physical fitness and strength while providing an opportunity for the youth to gain prestige and test their abilities. Today, while the average age of participants is still between 10 and 35, young people of both genders may practice the sport.

(3) Controversial African roots of Capoeira

While capoeira is largely considered to have been born in Brazil by African slaves, the possibility also exists that capoeira history is older than the arrival of the slaves in Brazil and was already developed by the time they got there. It could be that it was already a part of the culture from one of a number of possible African regions and was brought over with the slaves that began arriving in around 1500 AD.

According to Portuguese scholar Albano de Neves e Souza: “Among the Mucupe in Southern Angola, there is a zebra dance, the n’golo....The n’golo is capoeira.” Brazil as the birthplace for capoeira history is also brought into question by African scholar Dr K. Kia Bunseki Fu-Kia, who believes it has its origins in the Congo. He stated in 1993 “Kipura, in the Congo cultural context, is...[enacted by] an individual whose techniques of fight or struggle are based or developed on the ground of rooster’s fighting techniques”.

On the other hand, Professor of Journalism Augusto Ferreira believes capoeira moves were first developed as fighting techniques by runaway

slaves in Brazil in order to defend themselves. Tens of thousands of them escaped forming thousands of hidden societies known as *quilombos* (settlements) and this, according to Ferreira, is where capoeira was developed.

What can be determined is that it is heavily influenced by African cultures. What is more, it has adapted to the needs of the people who have used it throughout the centuries and continues to do so. As the great Mestre Pastinha once said, “Capoeira is capoeira...is capoeira...is capoeira.”

Although capoeira developed in Brazil, it has unmistakably African roots. Nowadays, some groups are currently performing the *brincadeira de angola* in Morocco, Zimbabwe, Uganda, Mozambique, South Africa, Guinea, and Senegal.

3. Capoeira as a postcolonial expression related to African origin

(1) Review of postcolonial theories

Historically, capoeira can be understood as a physical and spiritual expression of slaves, a self-defense martial art against the colonizers. To discuss about the African perspective of capoeira, it is important to understand it in the postcolonial context. Here I will refer to the postcolonial theories of Franz Fanon and also orientalism by Edward Said who criticized eurocentrist theories of how others were designated.

Franz Fanon was born in the French colony of Martinique on July 20, 1925. Fanon learned France’s history as his own, until his high school years when he first encountered the philosophy of negritude, taught to him by Aimé Césaire, Martinique’s other renowned critic of European colonization. Fanon fought with the Free French forces in the waning days of World War II. After the war, he stayed in France to study psychiatry and medicine at university in Lyons. After his studies, he accepted a position as *chef de service* (chief of staff) for the psychiatric ward of the Blida-Joinville hospital in Algeria. Fanon was constantly confronted with his identity as alienated



black and also as colonized. His written works have become central texts in African thought, in large part because of their attention to the roles hybridity can play in forming humanist, anti-colonial cultures. Fanon's first work *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs (Black Skin, White Masks)* was his first effort to articulate a radical anti-racist humanism that adhered neither to assimilation to a white-supremacist mainstream nor to reactionary philosophies of black superiority. While the attention to oppression of colonized peoples that was to dominate his later works was present in this first book, its call for a new understanding of humanity was undertaken from the subject-position of a relatively privileged Martinican citizen of France, in search of his own place in the world as a black man from the French Caribbean, living in France. His later works, notably *L'An Cinq, de la Révolution Algérienne (A Dying Colonialism)* and the much more well-known *Les Damnés de la Terre (The Wretched of the Earth)*, go beyond a preoccupation with Europe's pretensions to being a universal standard of culture and civilization, in order to take on the struggles and take up the consciousness of the colonized "natives" as they rise up and reclaim simultaneously their lands and their human dignity. It is Fanon's expansive conception of humanity and his decision to craft the moral core of decolonization theory as a commitment to the individual human dignity of each member of populations typically dismissed as "the masses" that stands as his enduring legacy.

Fanon, when asked "What does the Black man want?" relied on Georg Hegel for his answer: the Black man wants to be recognized by the White man. The problem is that the White man and the Black man are caught up in the master/slave relationship that is not mere theory but is an actual psychosis. "The Negro enslaved by his inferiority, the white man enslaved by his superiority alike behave in accordance with a neurotic orientation." Fanon wrote freely and expressively in his first book.

The conqueror has no interest in the culture of the conquered who are considered in need of civilizing. As a result of the civilizing mission,

the mask of imperialism, colonized people have been stripped of their own languages and, without their own culture, they lived with an inferiority complex. The colonized individual is faced with the "superior" culture that dominates her and is "elevated" above "jungle status" only to the extent that she adopts the mother country's standards, from language to learning. Fanon explained "I ascribe a basic importance to the phenomenon of language. To speak means to be in a position to use a certain syntax, to grasp the morphology of this or that language, but it means above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization." He was quoted as saying "The black man who approaches the white world and attempts to fit in—to learn French, to be educated in France, to live in France—becomes 'white' only to his black friends but remains irredeemably 'black' among white people." Fanon writes of a state called "two dimensions" or "self-division." This self-division is the result of colonialism and subjugation by the colonizer. Fanon insists, however, that the category "white" depends for its stability on its negation, "black." Neither exists without the other, and both come into being at the moment of imperial conquest.

Thinkers around the globe have been profoundly influenced by Fanon's work on anti-black racism and decolonization theory. Kenyan author and decolonization activist Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o also draws on ideas Fanon presents in *Les Damnés*. Inspired mainly by Fanon's meditations on the need to decolonize national consciousness, Ngũgĩ has written of the need to get beyond the "colonization of the mind" that occurs in using the language of imposed powers. Like Fanon, he recognizes that language has a dual character. It colonizes in the sense that power congeals in the history of how language is used (that is, its role in carrying culture). But it can also be adapted to our real-life communication and our "image-forming" projects, which means it also always carries the potential to be the means by which we liberate ourselves.

Edward Said (Edward William Said) was born in Jerusalem on November 1, 1935 as Arab Palestinian. Said was educated in English-language



schools before transferring to the exclusive Northfield Mount Hermon School in Massachusetts in the United States in 1951. He attended Princeton University and Harvard University where he specialized in English literature. He joined the faculty of Columbia University as a lecturer in English in 1963 and in 1967 was promoted to assistant professor of English and comparative literature. Said was promoted to full professor in 1969, received his first of several endowed chairs in 1977, and in 1978 published *Orientalism*, his best-known work and one of the most influential scholarly books of the 20th century. In it Said examined Western scholarship of the “Orient,” specifically of the Arab Islamic world (though he was an Arab Christian), and argued that early scholarship by Westerners in that region was biased and projected a false and stereotyped vision of “otherness” on the Islamic world that facilitated and supported Western colonial policy.

Both theories influenced and gave chance to think about not only postcolonialism, but also decolonization.

(2) Postcolonial critics of Black culture outside of Africa

Frantz Fanon, in his book *The Wretched of the Earth* wrote the following: “The claim to a national culture in the past does not only rehabilitate that nation but also serves as a justification for the hope of a future national culture. In the sphere of psycho-affective equilibrium it is responsible for an important change in the native. Perhaps we haven’t sufficiently demonstrated that colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native’s brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it. This work of devaluing pre-colonial history takes on a dialectical significance today.”

This was related to acculturation or deculturation theory of colonized black people under the influence of colonization. Acculturation means cultural modification of an individual, group, or

people by adapting to or borrowing traits from another culture; or a merging of cultures as a result of prolonged contact. Acculturation also is the process by which a human being acquires the culture of a particular society from infancy. Acculturation explains the process of cultural change and psychological change that results following the meeting of cultures. The effects of acculturation can be seen at multiple levels in both interacting cultures.

Frantz Fanon in *A Dying Colonialism* wrote that “The passion with which native intellectuals defend the existence of their national culture may be a source of amazement, but those who condemn this exaggerated passion are strangely apt to forget that their own psyche and their own selves are conveniently sheltered behind a French or German culture which has given full proof of its existence and which is uncontested.” In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon argues, that “the white master recognized without a struggle the black slave. But the former slave wants to have himself recognized. There is at the basis of Hegelian dialectic an absolute reciprocity that must be highlighted.”

Said directly challenged what Euro-American scholars traditionally referred to as “Orientalism.” Orientalism is an entrenched structure of thought, a pattern of making certain generalizations about the part of the world known as the “East.” As Said puts it: “Orientalism was ultimately a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, West, ‘us’) and the strange (the Orient, the East, ‘them’).”

Orientalism was a book about a particular pattern in western thought. It was not, in and of itself, an evaluation of the importance of that thought. It was written before the peak of the academic “culture wars,” when key words like relativism, pluralism, and multiculturalism would be the order of the day. Said has often been lumped in with relativists and pluralists, but in fact he doesn’t belong there.

In his later literary and cultural work, especially in *Culture and Imperialism*, Said generally avoided the language of confrontation. The conquest of the earth, which mostly means the taking away of



it from those who have a different complexion or slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it too much. A native could never aspire to the condition of the white man, the experiences of ruler and ruled were not so easily disentangled.

4. Conclusion

The discussion here is not how do Africans perceive capoeira, rather it is the perception of what Africa is and how it is supposed to be culturally. In the Afro-Brazilian way of thinking, Capoeira as an identity icon, which helps them to identify themselves as having African roots, by maintaining the traditional form, techniques, making them feel close to Africa. Africans always recognize themselves through an outside vision, a vision coming from somewhere else. Capoeira is a perception of African culture, but Africans perceived it as an outside culture. The other point is how Africans see Afro-American, Afro-Latin or Afro-Brazilian cultural expressions, which can be defined as a cultural alienation. The question here is about the relationship between dominator (white colonizers) and dominated (black slaves). As Franz Fanon mentioned in his critiques, the more you are close to white people and their culture, even if you conscientiously deny them, the more you somehow unconsciously include their manner to your way of thinking or habitus. This means that black people who lived and were raised among white people are alienated from an African point of view. The same problems occur even within the ranking of black people being manipulated by white people. As an oppressed person you want to see yourself on top of someone as your so-called master did to you. So by expressing superiority, Africans perceived those cultures, even people with African roots, as a new culture or sub-culture. Especially because they have been introduced to Africa in most cases by European people. Said wrote “Afrocentrism is as flawed as Eurocentrism” meaning that nativism cannot be an effective answer to western hegemony. He said there is no simple way to achieve decolonization. But it also means that,

in many respects, colonialism is still with us. It was through the colonial system that most of the national borders in Africa and Asia were drawn up, in many cases arbitrarily. But more than that are the effects of colonial language, the colonial state bureaucracy, and especially colonial attitudes to things like economic development.

Capoeira, like Latin-American music, is for Africans, even with its African roots, something outside people taught them. As Burkina Faso historian Joseph Ki Zerbo was noting, African history stops moving at the 16th century. The continent suffered from all kinds of humiliation human beings never before experienced. On the one hand, exported slaves conserve those kinds of culture as identity, while on the other hand, exploitation and colonization make Africa ashamed of its own descendents and own culture. Joseph Ki Zerbo was also saying that, after all we were being modeled to receive and consume Western products with their culture, while our products were going to western countries without culture or message. We are just afraid to receive Afro-Brazilian, Afro-Latino, and even Afro-American cultures as African culture, because they were remodeling within a context of cultural alienation.

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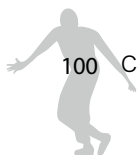


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あとがきにかえて

異文化はやっぱり身体で感じてこそ！

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東南アジア・東アジアで移民研究をしてきた私がアフロ・ブラジルの伝統芸能・カポエイラのイベントの企画・運営になぜ関わったのか。カポエイラのワークショップが開催されてから1年半がすぎた。2014年9月に東京と京都で実技・実演も含めたワークショップを開催し、その記録をまとめ、編集しながら、われながら驚いてしまうのである。ブラジルには一度も行ったことがないのに、カポエイラについてはまったく知らなかったからである。好奇心のみで企画に関わり、動いてしまう自分をあらためて発見している。

この企画は編著者であるアンドレア・ユリ・フロレス・ウルシマさんと荒川幸祐さんならびに多くの協力者によって実現可能となった。その詳細については、本報告書のなかで執筆者がさまざまな形で企画との関わりやそこで得られた体験について記述されているので、そちらをぜひ読んでいただきたい。

私は、その前年にたちあげた地域研究コンソーシアム(JCAS)の次世代ワークショップ枠の一つである「異文化・環境教育枠」の運営にコミットしていた。異文化を子どもたちに伝えていくツールは、机上の学問だけではあるまい。アカデミアを越えてNPOやさまざまな人と交わり、コミュニケーションしていくなかで、肌身で異文化を体験し経験できるプロジェクトを支援するのが目的であった。

結果はどうであっただろうか。当初の予想をはるかに上回り、子どもに異文化を伝えるという僭越な自己意識はまたたくまに消え去り、自分がカポエイラに惹きつけられたのであった。

2014年9月12日、平日の昼休み、京大大学稲盛財団記念館の中庭にて、ブラジルから招聘した3人の師範の方、ならびに日本各地から集まったカポエイラの実践者とともにオープニングが行われた。ライブで生の声が身体に響き渡っていく快感と同時に、カラダを絶妙かつリズムカルに動かしながら対になって踊る光景を目の当たりにした。その場には京大の研究者や事務職員、学生の方も立ち観されていた。企画準備の段階では、申請書に「抵抗と身体」をテーマに、頭でっか

ちな議論を展開していたが、「異文化はやっぱり身体で感じてこそ！」と痛感した瞬間であった。

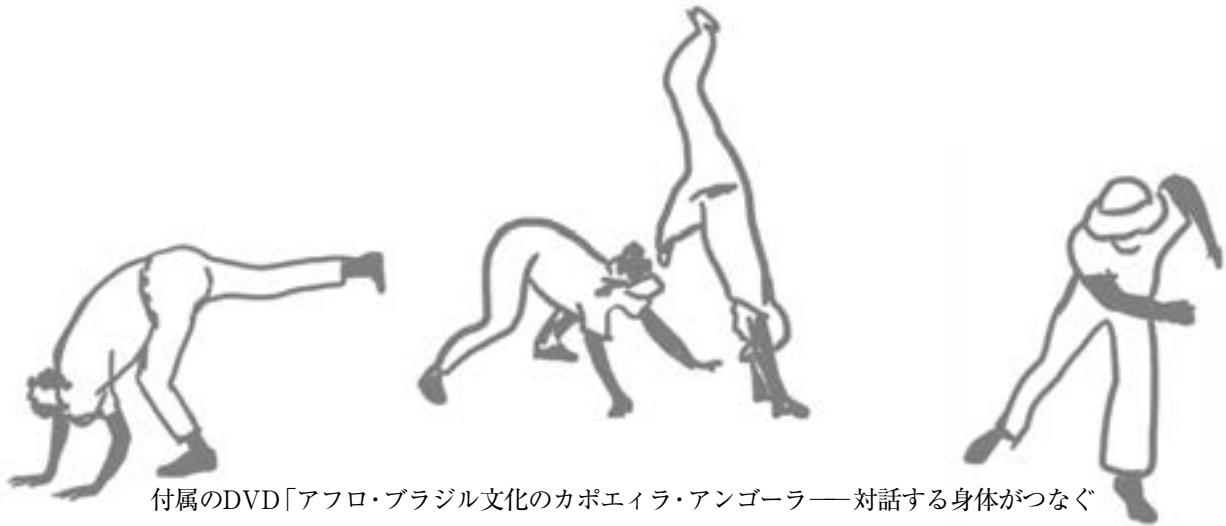
実際、9月14日の最終日には二人の子どもを連れて、京都で行われた実演講習会にも参加し、マンツーマンで基本的なステップを教えてもらったり、演奏に使われる打楽器の解説をしてもらったりした。その後引き続き夕暮れの鴨川べりで行われたカポエイラに参加し、ビデオをまわした。わずかだが、貴重な異文化体験であった。

しかし、カポエイラが伝えるメッセージは深かった。東京・京都で開催されたワークショップでは、学術的に広がる多様かつ相互に関連するテーマについて議論された。黒人奴隷と抵抗する身体、アフロ・ブラジル文化とディアスポラ、人種と国民文化におけるアイデンティティの位相、女性の権利と社会運動、ポストコロニアル状況下における身体・音楽文化と異文化混雑、ノンバーバル・コミュニケーションが持ちうる可能性、宗教・音楽・儀礼・舞闘の交差、身体論とマイノリティ哲学等。カポエイラをめぐる歴史的な流れを踏まえつつ、ブラジルやアフリカという地域に限定したトピックに収束させていくのではなく、むしろ多角的かつ現代的な課題と展望について普遍的なテーマをシェアしつつ活発な議論が行われたのである。

あらためて振り返ると、こうした問題群は移民研究とも底辺では繋がっていたのである。地域の壁を越えて発見できる未知なる世界がある。ホザンジェラ・アラウージョ師範による「文化は壁を伝って流れ落ちる水のように、その水は境界線をすべてなぎ倒して、なきものにしてしまいます」という一言が印象的であった。ぜひ、将来はブラジルにも行ってみたい。好奇心がまた膨らんできた。

企画の裏方で頼りない部分もあったと思うが、多くのことを学ばせていただき、こうした機会を与えてくださった京大関係者の先生ならびに事務の方がたとカポエイラの仲間みなさんにお礼申し上げたい。





付属のDVD「アフロ・ブラジル文化のカポエイラ・アンゴラ——対話する身体がつなく世界」は、荒川幸祐氏(グルーポ・インズィンガ・委員、ブラジル映像作家)が映像編集・ナレーション等を担当して制作しました。カポエイラの概要や歴史、東京と京都で開催した一連のイベントのようすに加えて、3人の師範のインタビューも収録しています。カポエイラ・アンゴラの雰囲気や、目と耳で感じられる内容となっています。ぜひご覧ください。DVDは家庭用のプレイヤー等で再生可能です。下記のサイトでもご覧いただけます。



<http://www.cias.kyoto-u.ac.jp/video/capoeira/>

上のコードが平面になるように置いて、真上から携帯電話のカメラで撮影してください(スマートフォンの場合はリーダーを起動してから読み取ってください)。コードが無事に読みとれると自動的にデータが画面に表示されます。URLをクリックすると動画掲載ページにアクセスします。



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