

DRUMMING-SINGING-DANCING: EMBODIED KNOWLEDGE, CELEBRATION, AND POLITICAL PROTEST IN THE MARACATU IN SÃO PAULO

DOI
10.11606/issn.2525-3123.
gis.2023.201694

ORCID
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6791-1832>

KELWIN MARQUES GARCIA DOS SANTOS¹

Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, SP, Brazil, 05580-000 –
antropologia@usp.br

ABSTRACT

Starting from the discussion about the relationship between the recent groups and the traditional maracatu nations, this article attempts to understand the role of the body as a fulcrum for thinking about the creation and transmission of knowledge and memories. It also discusses how the maracatu can present itself as a political complex for the collectives that generate it and be disputed as a political instrument – as rhythm or sign of Brazilianness – by agents outside these communities. From a field experience with the maracatu in an activist political demonstration in defense of democracy, in São Paulo, 2018, this article proposes to understand such participation as a performance that generates new localities.

KEYWORDS

Maracatu; Body;
Performance; Activism;
Locality.

1. This article is part of the results of the research *The constitution of the body and the locality in the maracatu de baque virado* (2019/14611-8), funded by the Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo (FAPESP).

FIGURE 1
Participants
in the political
demonstration
in defense of
democracy in
São Paulo, 2018.
Kelwin Marques



INTRODUCTION

Maracatu can be understood as a longstanding cultural manifestation, heir to hybrid traditions that blend modes of associationism and Catholic practices from the Iberian medieval period (Monteiro 2011, Reginaldo 2018) with Afro-Amerindian socio-religious elaborations (Guillen 2005, Lima 2014, Souza 2019). This complex universe has as its stronghold the *Maracatu* nations, groups that traditionally constitute and update a tradition of black royalty coronation that began as early as the 15th century within brotherhoods (Parés 2013, Reginaldo 2018, Tinhorão 2012), although it received specific delimitations from the 19th century on (Abreu 2018, Tsezanas 2010). The *Maracatu* nations were one of the many traditions to inherit these coronations.

These *maracatu* communities are located in Pernambuco. At least since the second half of the 19th century, one of the main points in the cultural life of these communities is the Carnival (Silva 1999), when they present their *loas* – songs in praise of their ancestors, *orishas* or other entities, their guardian spirits, their masters, and their royal court.

My research, however, did not start from the *nações* (or *nations*), but from the reality of the groups in the city of São Paulo. Based on bibliography and fieldwork, I sought to understand the relationships established between

these different collectivities that create and access the universe of *maracatu*: the nations and the groups².

From violent harassment to cultural fomentation – not in a linear trajectory – the communities that crowned their royalty transited between the religious universes of black Catholicism of Colonial Brazil and the Afro-Amerindian religious universe of *Jurema*, *Candomblés*, and *Xangôs* of Pernambuco. With time they achieved a certain status as popular culture, conquering a centrality in Recife's carnival without abandoning all previous influences.

An important turning point takes place in the 1980s-1990s, especially with the influence of the *Mangubeat* Movement, when a positive image of *maracatu* was disseminated among the middle classes, as popular culture, leading to the constitution of groups, interested in a first moment in *maracatu* as a rhythm (Lima 2014).

Starting from the discussion about this relationship, I intend to understand the role of the body as a fulcrum reflecting the creation and transmission of knowledge, that is, to understand the embodied knowledge that is shared and that creates a universe of meaning, to some extent, common to these collectives.

The fieldwork was conducted mainly with *Maracatu Ouro do Congo*, created in the southern region of São Paulo in 2010 and affiliated to the *maracatu nations Porto Rico* and *Encanto do Pina*. I attended the *maracatu* group's parties and events, but with the restrictions imposed by the Covid-19 pandemic, I began to follow the group remotely: holding some conversations with the participants in online meetings; following lives and campaigns on the internet; and even in conversations via social networks and chats.

A brief part of the fieldwork, but significant to the discussions that I intend to present in this article, is not the parties, but the *maracatu* performances transposed to a political manifestation. The photographs from this day (one of which I chose as my epigraph) are fundamental for my research. The photograph was not only a facilitator when entering the field but also an important part of my field notes; a powerful methodological instrument to bring out discussions in online conversations with the interlocutors; and even a research result that has helped me in the elaboration of some understandings that I will present.

2. The term grupo (group) originated from "grupo percussivo" (percussive group), a term that first referred to the new collectives that were only interested in *maracatu* as a rhythm. In this article, however, the term grupo is used to denote all the collectives that participate in the universe of *maracatu* and that do not constitute nações.

Thus, the epigraph begins by revealing the photographic image as an important part of this work. In the first part, I briefly describe my insertion in the field. In the second part, I present the issues between nations and groups (Ignacio de Carvalho 2007, Lima 2014) and discuss in more detail how *maracatu* can present itself as a political complex for the its communities, and how they can be disputed as a political instrument – as rhythm or symbol of Brazilianness – by agents outside the communities. In the third part, I return to the first field experience, trying to understand it as a performance (Schechner 2003) that generates new localities (Appadurai 1996). The drumming-singing-dancing is considered as the fundamental core of Afro-Brazilian performance (Ligiéro 2011a), making the body that drums-sings-dances a place of knowledge (Tavares 2013); a body that writes, recreates, safeguards, and transmits knowledge and fundamental memories (Martins 2003), whether in communities of religious and cultural practices, or in activist performances (Di Giovanni 2015), in explicit contestations and political demonstrations.


“TAVA DURUMINDO CANGOMA ME CHAMOU”³

Although I had been pursuing *maracatu* for a few years and was already writing a research project with this theme, my entry into the field was mostly accidental. I was woken up on August 10, 2018 by the sound of distant drums, dozed off again, and woke up once more with them louder. I looked out the window and through the gaps between the buildings I saw part of a procession and some flags. I quickly grabbed my camera and went downstairs. Arriving at Paulista Avenue, I encountered a political demonstration – the people from the *maracatu* called it *Batuque pela Democracia*, Drumming for Democracy.

I caught up with the procession, which consisted of the *baiana*, a flag-bearer, and dozens of players. I started to photograph. At a certain moment, the belt from one of the *atabaque* drummers broke, as he went to the sidewalk I took the opportunity to ask him about the group and about the act, and he told me that they were components of several different groups and that they had gone to the financial center of the city to show a black culture fighting for democracy, for their rights.

I followed the procession photographing, and the group stopped right in front of the Federation of Industries of the State of São Paulo (FIESP) building, where they stayed for a little over an hour. I photographed and

3. Author unknown (Traditional). Interpreter: Clementina de Jesus. Cangoma me chamou. Rio de Janeiro-RJ: Odeon: 1966. LP/CD (1'46").
In a free translation, this excerpt from a traditional Afro-Brazilian song means “I was sleeping when all the drums called me.”



filmed some parts of it. The demonstration was large and there were a few photographers and dozens of cell phones aimed at the group. I did not disperse to other parts of the demonstration.

It was captivating, beautiful to hear and to see the agency of the bodies and the results they produced. I had been building a research project about the constitution of the bodies in *maracatu* groups, and I had the feeling I was right about my scope when the *baiana* who carried a big *agbê*⁴, turning around and around, lifted it like a gourd of water, and, still spinning, put it in her mouth as if she were sipping something that came from inside, as if she were drinking from the instrument and nourishing her vigorous body.

When the demonstration dispersed, even with no battery in the camera, I followed them. They made a circle to thank *Oxalá* (it was Friday, the entity's day), thank the groups that had joined, and exchange some announcements. The circle was formed, and I was called to join in. One of the drummers began to thank everyone and say how important that moment was. He affirmed the importance of the drums in that place, a place of obedience to the logic of work, of the importance of playing *maracatu* in that space, of how the drums remind us how we should act.

What do the drums say about and to these bodies? This question stuck with me, and I was content with having chosen the body and the photograph. After this first contact, I was invited to the *Xaxará Congo em Festa*, a public celebration of the *Maracatu Ouro do Congo*, which, to my joy, I have followed more closely since then.

BETWEEN NATIONS AND GROUPS: THE *MARACATU* AS POLITICS AND THE POLITICAL USES OF THE *MARACATU* AS RHYTHM

In my interaction with *Ouro do Congo*, I noticed its close relationship with the nations to which they are affiliated, the constant dialogue, reverberating important issues to the nations, participating in an intense flow of masters, drummers, and workshops between Recife, capital of the state of Pernambuco, and the city of São Paulo, as well as religious connections between components of *Ouro do Congo* and the nations, traditionally inserted in the semantic field of religions of Afro-American matrices and motors (Ligiéro 2011b). In the literature review, however, whenever I encountered discussions about the new *maracatu* groups – especially in Recife – I was presented with a rather thornier scenario. Starting from a discussion made by Pernambuco intellectuals about the entanglements

4. African rattle made of a gourd and a net of beads.

between nations and groups (Ignacio de Carvalho 2007, Lima 2014), I tried to understand what issues were central in the disputes from the 2000s, and how they appear in my study, initiated in 2018. A considerable part of this relationship, at first thorny, concerns the appropriation and disarticulation of the knowledge of the traditional *maracatu* communities, and the unequal insertion in a cultural market that was then developing.

Ignacio de Carvalho points out one face of this appropriation, the reification as synecdoche, the “death of the drummer and emergence of music as an object” (2007, 51), the popular culture expropriated from those who make it. Thus, it is enough for *maracatu* as a culture to emerge in the representational spaces, in the disputes for public funding, without, however, emerging with it the community that generated *maracatu*. This also concerns the necessary modifications that this fragment-music must go through to occupy these spaces.

From this appropriation two paths emerge: that of fragmented tradition rendered static, the *maracatu*-rhythm as a cell to be repeated; or that of incongruous transformation, in the form of disarticulation of the nexuses, as in the case of “Christian *maracatus*,” and other uses of *maracatu* – either as merchandise or as a vestigial popular culture, folkloric, and in the public domain.

In both França Lima’s and Ignacio de Carvalho’s work, the central arguments revolve around racial issues. There is a strong reference here to the percussion groups in Recife, which some of the drummers call the “*maracatu* of the rich” (Ignacio de Carvalho 2007, 33). This spillover of part of a specific cultural reality from specific communities of practice (Wenger 1998) to the whole country undoubtedly changed the logics of these communities. Beyond the reality of Recife, there were many situations in which parts of this universe of meaning were appropriated, reified, sold, and conjugated with exogenous elements, all this disregarding the nations themselves.

The new reality *maracatu* faces from the formation of the groups modifies many pre-established logics, including the modes of community interaction in the *nations*, pointed out by França Lima. These distinctive collectives, in addition to dealing with their own local logics, need to deal with the implications of this locality with an ethnicized and racialized *maracatu* – both from the history of the coronations of Bantu royalty that is linked to the Nagô cults, but also from the whitewashing of this tradition; of a regionalized *maracatu* – which establishes links between Pernambuco and the rest of the country, from the logic of interchange but also of tourism in the carnival; and of a nationalized *maracatu* – considered as

a Brazilian popular culture, therefore generic and, as said, disassociated from its producers.

The use of this presumed national culture – with greater or lesser complexifications – can be disputed even by political groups, as in the case of political manifestations and electoral advertisements. An example of this use occurred at the beginning of Jair Bolsonaro's 2018 presidential campaign, with advertisements that appealed to a certain Brazilianness, associating regional markers with an invitation to patriotism. In one such advertisement a short video of the candidate – then of the Patriot Party – is merged with the image of a waving national flag, while the main and fearful campaign phrase is presented: "Brazil above everything, God above all." After this passage, a montage quickly presents various landscapes and monuments of Brazil, ending with the flag, and the hashtag "I'm a Patriot" all with an instrumental track⁵ recorded by the *Nação de Maracatu Estrela Brilhante de Recife* as the soundtrack, in which various plays and solos of each *maracatu* instrument are presented.

This use of *maracatu* as a rhythm seems quite similar to the use of other cultural productions – once also situated in more specific communities of practice, such as *marcha rancho* and *samba* – often seen in election jingles since Getúlio Vargas – and even *forró*, which was used in the election advertisements of president Lula and former president Dilma Rousseff.

We cannot ignore, however, that the networks formed by the *maracatu* are distinct from each other, but they are very much located in an anti-racist political terrain, in defense of culture, of the peripheries, and in defense of human rights. We have, for example, from the Pina district in Recife, the formation of a national network of female *maracatu* groups, the *Baque Mulher* (Santos, 2017), which, among other actions, promote the rights of women in their *loas*.

If the "patriotic" political use of *maracatu* is justified, implicitly, as an appeal to "popular culture" it is also with this term that the collective defends itself. The *Nação Estrela Brilhante de Recife*, in its social networks, expressed its opposition to the use of the musical sample and asked for help from followers to report the post made by the political party. In the publication⁶ the nation stated that, because of its ancestry, it does not accept that "a politician who is homophobic and completely toxic to our society use any kind of media and intellectual property coming from the

5. Link to the recording:

Evolução de Bateria - Maracatu Estrela Brilhante do Recife. Interpreters: Nação do Maracatu Estrela Brilhante de Recife. Recife-Pe. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3YitV8F>.

6. Note from the *Nação Estrela Brilhante de Recife* demanding that its music track be removed from Jair Bolsonaro's election propaganda. Recife-PE, 27 Sep. 2017. Facebook: @nacao.estrelabrilhante.recife. Available at: <https://bit.ly/3K2UV06>.

resistance of *maracatu* and Brazilian popular culture” (our translation). At the end of the published note, in a message addressed to the candidate, the nation situates their understanding about the patriotic appeal added to the use of popular culture. They state:

You don't represent us, you don't represent our community, much less our culture. Your patriotism is false, since you don't even value the culture that you have illegally appropriated. You will not pass us by, we will not be silent!!! This is our resistance!!! (our translation)

To complexify these uses, we have a second case of the use of the *maracatu* rhythm, interesting in that it is not directly related to any specific nation or institution. In March 2020, with Brazil going through the Covid-19 pandemic, the then President Bolsonaro had been making pronouncements advocating an end to social isolation and downplaying the dangers of the pandemic. As an attempt to demonstrate against the pronouncements, pot-banging protests were recorded in several capitals. In Recife, however, some protesters began to bang their pots, and even instruments, to the rhythm of a *maracatu*, and the protest became a “*maracatu* of the windows,” as posts on social networks pointed out. The event was not central and seemed to have not been repeated in other window demonstrations, but if the anthropology of performance can be an invitation to pay attention to noises (Dawsey 2005), this use of *maracatu* as protest can place it as a symbol of resistance – a word often used in several contexts by the practice communities themselves.

Another important consideration is that the presence of *maracatu* in political manifestations, either as a rhythm or as a cultural complex, is quite recurrent. Beyond social media and windows, *maracatu* groups have been present in many important political demonstrations in recent years. In São Paulo, *maracatu* groups were present in the demonstrations against the Parliamentary Coup of 2016, in the movement “Out with Temer” (“*Fora Temer*”; Temer being the president who took office after the coup), and in the case of my field, in the demonstrations in defense of democracy in the called “*Batuque pela democracia*” in 2018.

Analyzing some cases of political protests held during the “Out with Temer” movement by women’s groups in Rio de Janeiro, Kjetil Klette Bøhler (2017) proposes the term *musical politics* to elaborate how the aesthetic power of music, the ways in which humans and instruments interact in the construction of a musical performance, engenders temporary public spaces of political critique, of collective political expressions. Bøhler claims that this concept seeks to fill a gap in understanding the engagements and

pleasures produced by musical experience, how it can produce stimulations to specific forms of political participation.

One of the cases analyzed in his work is precisely of a *maracatu* group, the *Baque Mulher Rio de Janeiro*, in its participation in the mini-festival Singing for Democracy in August 2016. One of the observations in her meticulous description was the “call and response” format with which the group played and invited the audience to participate. The author makes explicit the meanings of the feminist discourses that *Baque Mulher* carries – including in its name that can be loosely translated as woman drums – and manifests in an “act of resistance to the Temer government and its misogynistic politics” (Bøhler 2017, 130); and how these calls and responses of the performance emphasize the interplay between politics and aesthetics in the *maracatu* experience.

It is important to add to this understanding some elements that go beyond the rhythmic element of the *maracatu* in political manifestations. Beyond the symbols that the groups carry in their colors – in the case of the *Baque Mulher* the pink of *Oyá* and the orange of *Obá*, two warrior *orishas* of Nago tradition – the meaning of the instruments themselves, and the lyrics. It is interesting to think how this dialogic form, in calls and responses, is recurrent in several Afro-Brazilian cultural forms, especially those of Central African origin, such as *Samba* (and its most evident example in *Partido Alto*), *Maracatu*, *Jongo*, *Calango*, and others. Another interesting aspect is how the formation of the procession – with all the members being experts in playing considerably heavy instruments while walking, singing, and dancing – which is present in *maracatu* and *samba* parades, for example, coincides with the political march. Music in this case is, in addition to an emotional technology that generates rhythm and stimulates political participation (Bøhler 2017), the result of a performance that makes present a discursive field, its symbols, and its ways of constructing the body.

LOCALITY, BODY, AND MEMORY: MARACATU AND ARTIVIST PERFORMANCES

Based on the understanding that in the *maracatu* nations we have a certain type of community experience that defines what a nation is (Lima, 2014), I tried at first to understand what allowed the groups to form, beyond the possible logics of appropriation and insertion in a cultural market, which was not the case of what I saw specifically in the field where I worked. The theoretical development of Arjun Appadurai was important for considering the case of the *maracatu* groups precisely because it accounts for the non-correspondence between locality and neighborhood. Appadurai

(2007, 178) sees locality as “constituted by a series of links between the sense of immediate social proximity, the technologies of interactivity, and the relativity of contexts”.

We can, then, consider music as this technology, if we think of *maracatu* as a rhythm; but taking it to the limit, the technology is the body itself creator of multivocality, body that acts responsively. The technology of interactivity can be read as the very bodily knowledge characterized by Júlio César de Tavares (2013) as the locus of a series of attitudes performed as a strategy for the construction of safe spaces where sociocultural identity is elaborated and preserved.

Leda Maria Martins (2003) highlights how knowledge and practices can be inscribed, safeguarded, transmitted and transcribed in and by the body, in performance. More than expression or representation, this body in performance is mainly a

place of inscription of knowledge, knowledge that is recorded in the gesture, in the movement, in the choreography; in the solfèges of vocality, as well as in the props that performatively cover it. In this sense, what is repeated in the body is not only repeated as habit, but as a technique and procedure of inscription, recreation, transmission and revision of the memory of knowledge, be it aesthetic, philosophical, metaphysical, scientific, technological, etc. (Martins 2003, 66; our translation)

From these bodies, places of inscription of non-verbal messages, the collective memory can present itself as *motor memory* (Tavares 2013, 62), and the body as an enunciating core. The enunciations, among many other things, aesthetic, can combine with political enunciations in the constitution of *artist performances*,⁷ according to Julia Di Giovanni (2015). In order to move between festivities, much more dictated by a religious time and political manifestations, I rather focus here of the transit of bodily practices between more or less everyday contexts, considering this manifestation as performance (Schechner 2003), and joining it to Fu-Kiau and Ligiéro's discussion on the notion of drumming-singing-dancing (Fu-Kiau apud Ligiéro 2011a) as the center of Afro-diasporic performances. It is this continuum that we find in both the *maracatu* procession and

7. “[...] the term activism proposes a focus of analysis directed at the overlaps and intersections between political experience and aesthetic experience. The neologism further suggests that the analysis of these difficult-to-define forms of action represents a challenge even from the lexical point of view: art, activism, aesthetics, and politics, among other related terms, are at the same time insufficient and too vague to account for what we want to describe” (Di Giovanni 2015, 15; our translation)

the political act march. It is not only the arrangement of the participants that can be fused, confused, but a series of multivocal symbols.

Ligiéro helps us to understand less linear performative constructions in the case of Afro-Brazilian collectives by proposing the concept of a cultural motor in place of a matrix, always and increasingly repeating. He points out that

In performances the meanings are reconfigured not only by the choice of elements but by their combinations in terms of repetitions as clearly established body languages and as doubly exercised behaviors, as Schechner proposes. (Ligiéro 2011b, 133; our translation)

These memories and knowledges are chosen, conjugated, and arranged to the viewer's senses. Photography in this respect can be a powerful tool to extend the presence in the field. If, when producing the images, we have our attention divided with the noises of the technical concerns of photography, of the negotiations, implicit or not, to construct them, and so many other aspects, we can then always return to the images constructed by both the photographer and the photographed: raising new questions, seeing what is, there, disposed to our senses. Mindful of the choices and combinations of elements pointed out by Ligiéro (2011b), let us return to the images – also photographic – of the 2018 *Batuque pela Democracia*.



FIGURE 2
Kelwin Marques



FIGURE 3
Kelwin Marques



FIGURE 4
Kelwin Marques



FIGURE 5
Kelwin Marques



FIGURE 6
Kelwin Marques



FIGURE 7
Kelwin Marques



FIGURE 8
Kelwin Marques



FIGURE 9
Kelwin Marques



FIGURE 10
Kelwin Marques

Together with several other collectives and protesters, the *maracatu* group – formed specifically for the demonstration, and counting with members from many different collectives – presented itself with a *baiana rica*, Princess of the Urban Zone; Aurélio Prates' *baiana*, (sometimes holding a megaphone, other times an *agbê*), and the drummers. The group, which was dressed in red and white, seemed to leave no margin for any other interpretation of the colors used when it had in front of it a banner-carrier

with a flag – also red and white – of the *Central Única dos Trabalhadores* (CUT; Unified Workers' Central), the largest trade union center in Latin America. As I got closer – first to the group, and later to the photographs – however, I began to see the double ax repeated in accessories and instruments, the *oshe* of *Xangô*, the orisha of justice whose colors are the same as those of the flag. An *oshe* can be seen, for example, in the *agbê* of the *baiana* in the seventh picture. The chosen colors present themselves as a multivocal symbol (Turner 2005 apud Cavalcanti 2013), ambiguous, endowed with associative complexity and readable in different semantic fields.

It is not, however, only the specific elements, such as the symbol of an Orixá, the marking of some entity in the dance of the *Baiana*, and even the *maracatu* as a rhythm, that point to the presence of a re-instituted tradition in the performance, but

the very relationship created between them by the performer through his way of experiencing them on the scene; the interactive dynamic is the basis of the performance. It is the performer's bodily knowledge of the interactivity between drumming-singing-dancing with the philosophy and cosmic vision of tradition that guarantees its true continuity. (Ligiéro 2011a, 143; our translation)

Based on this understanding, the drumming-singing-dancing, the core of the Afro Diasporic performance, is more than a form, it is a strategy to cultivate a memory constituted also by Afro-Brazilian motors. Drumming-singing-dancing is a technology capable of inscribing this memory, of safeguarding, exercising, and transcreating it through the body.

Following the argumentative path of Expósito (2014 apud Di Giovanni 2015) that, in every political manifestation, the bodies are capable of remembering, accessing, and building a sensitive memory of other struggles. I question myself on how can this be complexified when participating in a political act in defense of democracy, specifically with the case of *maracatu*, which is contemporarily viewed as popular culture, while historically it has also dealt with the Brazilian government, at different times, so as to not be literally set on fire, expropriated for museums, or have its youth lost to state violence in the peripheries.

This musicking inheritor, of so many traditions and so inclined to innovations, was willing to double its objection. The *maracatu* constructed in its usual spaces powerful images of the contested realities in the diaspora. What would be, then, this multivocality transposed to a political manifestation or to a protest?

The images of this field seem to express a place “in between” the careful listening to what is ancestral in order to put itself at the service of a desired future, and instated, in this case, through activist practices (Di Giovanni 2015). This instauration seems to me informed by all the historical places occupied by the *batuques*, and it can be valuable for understanding which spaces these agents construct when they can contest the existing with the desired.

Beyond the slogans present in several political demonstrations, what is manifested in this case is the establishment of interactive, responsive, corporally enunciative logics in a space hostile to that. What sound and visual landscapes do the bodies that live on Avenida Paulista build and share ordinarily, on a daily basis?

Being these ordinary landscapes built, also, by the colossal – the very tall buildings and the massive noises of transportation from the sky, the ground, and below it – the extraordinary seems to be able to be done, therefore, only from the body. To silence helicopters by drumming, to sustain oneself with legs on an asphalt accustomed to wheels, to exist with *ginga8* in the domain of what is straight.

The instauration of a locality, therefore, can only exist from the life of the body as a participant, implicated in the dialogue, communicating through its movements, its adornments, its memories, and knowledge. The construction of this locality, in Appadurai’s (1996) terms, cannot occur without dismantling the individualizing imperative, of the body reduced to the labor force, which engenders a certain abandonment of sociability. It is built from the technologies of interactivity, from the construction of these bodies that relate to the city, with their garments and with their instruments.

The inversion of the ordinary logic is temporary; but during their existence, they reposition the possibilities of new constructions, of a regrouping of these bodies, of the possibility of seeing and hearing them speak.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES

Abreu, Martha. 2018. Canções escravas. In *Dicionário da escravidão e liberdade*, org. Lilia Moritz Schwarcz e Flávio dos Santos, 130-136. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.

8. “Ginga refers to a swaying, sinuous way of walking, which is characteristically Brazilian. (Think of the swinging hips of the girl from Ipanema.) This kinaesthetic style also forms the basis of a number of dance styles including samba and the erotically- charged umbigada (“navel-to navel”). [...]Ginga then is an energized, rhythmic, swaying or curving/ curvaceous style of movement” (Howes 2015, xi)

- Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. The production of locality. In *Modernity at large: cultural dimensions of globalization*, Arjun Appadurai, 178-199. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Bøhler, Kjetil Klette. 2017. Theorizing musical politics through case studies: feminist grooves against the Temer Government in today's Brazil. *International Journal of Gender, Science and Technology*, vol. 9, no. 2: 118-140.
- Cavalcanti, Maria Laura Viveiros de Castro. 2013. Drama, ritual e performance em Victor Turner. *Sociologia & Antropologia*, vol. 3, no. 6: 411-440.
- Dawsey, John C. 2005. Victor Turner e a antropologia da experiência. *Cadernos de Campo*, no. 13: 163-176.
- Di Giovanni, Julia Ruiz. 2015. Artes de abrir espaço. Apontamentos para a análise de práticas em trânsito entre arte e ativismo. *Cadernos de Arte e Antropologia*, vol. 4, no. 2: 13-27.
- Guillen, Isabel Cristina Martins. 2005. Xangôs e maracatus: uma relação historicamente construída. *Ciências Humanas em Revista*, vol. 3, no. 2: 59-72.
- Howes, David. 2015. The extended sensorium: introduction to the sensory and social thought of François Laplantine. In *The life of the senses introduction to a modal Anthropology*, François Laplantine, vii-xiv. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Ignacio de Carvalho, Ernesto. 2007. *Diálogo de negros, monólogo de brancos: transformações e apropriações musicais no maracatu de baque virado*. Dissertação de mestrado, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, Recife.
- Ligiéro, Zeca. 2011a. Batucar-cantar-dançar: desenho das performances africanas no Brasil. *Aletria: Revista de Estudos de Literatura*, vol. 21, no. 1: 133-146.
- Ligiéro, Zeca. 2011b. O conceito de "motrizes culturais" aplicado às práticas performativas afro-brasileiras. *Revista Pós Ciências Sociais*, vol. 8, no. 16: 129-144.
- Lima, Ivaldo Marciano de França. 2014. As nações de maracatu e os grupos percussivos: as fronteiras identitárias. *Afro-Ásia*, no. 49: 71-104.
- Martins, Leda. 2003. Performances da oralitura: corpo, lugar da memória. *Letras*, no. 206: 63-81.
- Monteiro, Marianna Francisca Martins. 2011. *Dança popular: espetáculo e devoção*. São Paulo: Terceiro Nome.
- Parés, Luis Nicolau. 2013. Entre duas costas: nações, etnias, portos e tráfico de escravos. In *A formação do candomblé: história e ritual Jeje na Bahia*, Luis Nicolau Parés, 23-62. Campinas: Editora Unicamp.
- Reginaldo, Lucilene. 2018. Irmandades. In *Dicionário da escravidão e liberdade*, org. Lilia Moritz Schwarcz e Flávio dos Santos Gomes, 268-276. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.
- Santos, Vanessa Soares dos. 2017. Maracatu Baque Mulher, resistência e feminismo negro. *Revista do Núcleo de Estudos Interdisciplinares Afro-Brasileiros (Neiab-Uem)*, vol. 1, no. 1: 1-5.
- Schechner, Richard. 2003. O que é performance? *Revista de teatro, crítica e estética*, no. 12: 25-50.

- Silva, Leonardo Dantas. 1999. A corte dos reis do Congo e os maracatus do Recife. *Ciência & Trópico*, vol. 27, no. 2.
- Souza, Larissa Lima de. 2019. As contribuições dos bantos no Maracatu-Nação. *Encontros*, vol. 17, no. 32: 46-60.
- Tavares, Julio Cesar de. 2013. *Dança de guerra: arquivo e arma: elementos para uma teoria da capoeiragem e da comunicação corporal afro-brasileira*. Belo Horizonte: Nandyala.
- Tinhorão, José Ramos. 2012. *Os sons dos negros no Brasil: cantos, danças, folguedos: origens*. São Paulo: Editora 34.
- Tsezanas, Julia Pittier. 2010. *O maracatu de Baque Virado: história e dinâmica cultural*. Dissertação de mestrado, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo.
- Wenger, Etienne. 1998. *Communities of practice: learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kelwin Marques Garcia dos Santos: Master's student at the Graduate Program in Social Anthropology at the University of São Paulo (USP/BR). Santos' main interests and study subjects are Photography, Visual Anthropology, Anthropology of Afro-Brazilian Populations, and Ethnomusicology. He is a member of the Visual Anthropology Group (GRAVI) and the Musical Anthropology Research Group (PAM) at the Laboratory of Image and Sound in Anthropology (USP/BR). E-mail: kelwin.santos@usp.br

Use license. This article is licensed under the Creative Commons CC-BY License. With this license you can share, adapt, create for any purpose, as long as you attribute the authorship of the work.

Submitted: 08/31/2022
Resubmitted: 11/06/2022
Accepted: 12/16/2022