

DIALOGUES BETWEEN ANTHROPOLOGY OF LAW AND PERFORMANCE

DOI
10.11606/issn.2525-3123.
gis.2024.217364

ORCID
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6088-2496>

ANA LÚCIA PASTORE SCHRITZMEYER

Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, SP, Brasil, 05508-010 -
ppgas@usp.br

ORCID
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6264-2370>

ANA LETÍCIA DE FIORI

Universidade Federal do Acre, Rio Branco, AC, Brasil, 69920-900 -
ciencias.sociais.cfch@ufac.br

ORCID
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0129-793X>

JÂNIA PERLA DIÓGENES DE AQUINO

Universidade Federal do Ceará, Fortaleza, CE, Brasil, 60020-180 -
posgrads@ufc.br

ORCID
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7894-5341>

BRUNA ANGOTTI

Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie, São Paulo, SP, Brasil,
01302-907 - fdir.direito@mackenzie.br

ABSTRACT

This text's title is the same as the Panel that provided, in the end of 2021, a reunion between these four researchers and the remembrance of an important point of convergence in their trajectories: the Anthropology, Performance and Drama Nucleus at the University of São Paulo (NAPEDRA-USP). In this article, Ana Letícia de Fiori points out the interfaces between crimes and dangers attributed to games. Bruna Angotti narrates the power of a performance-seminar for the development of her doctorate. Jânia Perla Diógenes de Aquino recovers anthropological-performance analyzes of major bank robberies and Ana Lúcia Pastore Schritzmeyer tells how parts of NAPEDRA's history and some of her researches in anthropology of law intermeshed and fed back each other.

KEYWORDS:
Crimes; Games;
Performance-
seminar; Major
bank robberies;
Anthropology
of law and
performance.

BRUSHES

In the afternoon of December 1st, 2021, still in the middle of the pandemic and amidst the extensive and powerful program of Performance Seismology: NAPERDRA 20 Years, we had the pleasure of, in the Panel called “Dialogues between anthropology of law and performance”, sharing retrospective and prospective reflections, everlasting affections and open-ended reminiscences of our already long research trajectories that, besides many other points in common, were indelibly marked by noises and frictions provoked by the Anthropology, Performance and Drama Nucleus (NAPERDRA).

In this joyful reunion, our Nostalgia, cheerful rather than melancholic, could not bypass Walter Benjamin’s warning, in one of his theses on the concept of history, that calll attention to the fact that it is not the historian (or the anthropologist) task to narrate the past in order to make a positivist historiography to tell it the way it really was, but to brush history against the grain (Benjamin 2012).


In this syntony, we set forth our presentations.

Ana Letícia de Fiori’s “brushing” recalled her undergraduate research projects (2005-2007), focused on narratives and performance between roleplaying gamers and the analysis of discursive disputes about those games in the fields of education, religion and violence. Those themes have drawn her attention to crimes and dangers attributed to those games, specially to a murder case of huge mediatic repercussion, that took place at Ouro Preto, in 2001, which became the theme of her Master’s dissertation (Fiori 2012).

Here, some words from Ana Letícia concerning those movements that agitated and rattled her then and still do.

TO TELL STORIES ABOUT A CRIME: THE PERFORMATIVE PLACE OF ALINE CASE AS IT IS LOOKED, LISTENED TO AND NARRATED

In many of our debates within NAPERDRA, we approached the movement of the anthropologist Victor Turner from ritual to theater (which is the name of his 1982 book) and the director Richard Schechner (1985), from theater to ritual. Turner, as he carried out an ethnographic inquiry on rituals in African contexts, engaged theater metaphors, which were also inherited




from his mother, an actress. Schechner, investigating performance arts, became closer to anthropology in order to comprehend expressive forms in multiple cultural contexts.

In my case, as I carried out a first undergraduate research project on Roleplaying Games (RPGs) and its players, and a second one on narratives and discourses on RPGs, I've made a movement that led me from performance to law, from game to courtroom, as it happened to my advisor, Ana Lúcia Pastore Schritzmeyer, in her doctorate research project (Schritzmeyer 2002, 2012), sliding from anthropology to law and then to performance, in order to consider the ludic and dramaturgic dimensions of Jury Trials.

To brush against the grain our trajectories and researches draws particular attention to practices which, as the Roland Barthes' quote, frequently evoked by our NAPERDRA's host, John Dawsey, "calculates the place of things as they are observed (and heard)" (Barthes, apud Dawsey 2006, 22), in which the relation of musical articulation between the past and the present, as described in the phases of experience that Turner retakes from Dilthey (1982), composes, between Ana Pastore and me, Turner and Schechner, as a double inverted canon.

In 2009, I carried out an ethnography of the Aline case. This ethnographic journey took me to Ouro Preto, a city in Minas Gerais characterized by the colonial baroque architecture; by the Minas Gerais Conspiracy that creates a national republican hagiography; by the catholic inscription in a landscape full of churches and traversed by Holy Week processions; by urban tensions between city inhabitants and college students that use, in the noble areas of the city, the heritage manors such as student housing and parties' venues (particularly the Twelve Feist, anniversary of the Engineering Faculty and Our Lady Aparecida Day, a national holiday). In the 21st Century, during the Twelve Feist, Aline Silveira Soares was murdered on October 14th 2001, a case that had national repercussion and was investigated as a satanic ritual carried out by a group as the aftermath of an RPG game session. The defendants were considered not guilty in 2009, after a four day trial.

At first, I was inquiring how a game could be "placed on the defendant's bench", as the murder of Aline was read and interpreted as a dark magic ritual promoted by roleplaying gamers mixing fiction and reality. Alongside with Turner and Schechner, John Dawsey and Ana Pastore, I had the company of Benjamin and Michal Taussig in this inquiry. I've borrowed from the last, an Australian anthropologist, the concepts of "culture of terror" and "epistemic murk", forged in his analysis of the colonial violence at the Colombian Putumayo area. Following this path, I have analyzed the



moral panic interwoven in the narratives of the Aline case, in its different arenas: the law, the media, the religion and the academia. Taussig draws from the montage discussion by Benjamin, the image juxtaposition and its dialectic effects to think of processes of terror and healing that I sought to see in the montages of narratives in Aline case.

I proposed to frame the events, from the murder to the trial, as well as the immediate aftermath of the defendant's absolution, as a social drama, by means of the four phases presented by Turner: breach, crises and its intensification, redressive actions and reintegration/schism. This model of social drama would allow me to consider qualitative and intensity aspects of the time of the crime and the criminal prosecution, regarding its duration not only as a succession of more or less slow moves and procedures by the law professionals clashing.

To comprehend the breach caused by Aline's death and the unfolding of the drama, it was necessary to find the symbolic tensions that were staged and produced ways of seeing and interpreting "places as they were observed". Aline was found naked and covered in blood, with her arms opened, at Nossa Senhora das Mercês e Misericórdia church's cemetery, by a janitor who, at a distance, suspected that the fallen body was a figure of Jesus Christ dragged out from the church's altar. The juxtaposition of the sacred and sacrificial image of Jesus' crucifixion with Aline's murdered body, in the profane context of the students' carnival, triggered a succession of inversions and driftings which enabled interpretations of her death as a satanic ritual, conducted by a twisted youth, and piling it up to a decades-old moral panic about elements of pop culture, such as comic books, television shows, games and videogames, besides other youth corruption factors, according to a certain conservative discourse.


Each document produced in the investigation, at the police station and, later, by the Public Prosecutor of Minas Gerais, created a constellation image of the satanic crime, spreading narratives by the mediatic arenas in which the case coverage, in newspapers, magazines and newscasts, once more, juxtaposed images that reinforced the production of culture of terror. Narratives demonized the defendants – among them the victim's cousin, a girl involved in family feuds previous to the crime –, while connecting the victim to angelical images and, therefore, producing moral profiles, as it happens in every prosecution and trial, that goes beyond the clarifying of the facts and authorship related to the criminal law rationality (Schritzmeyer 2002, 2012).

During the jury trial, Ouro Preto's landscape – marked by the historical and unfair conviction and execution of Tiradentes (one of the leaders of Minas Conspiracy in the 18th Century, hanged and dismembered by

Colonial authorities, and celebrated as a national hero since the end of the 19th Century) – was occupied by Aline’s family wearing t-shirts with the victim’s face, major press journalists, students and curious locals who wanted to follow the prosecutor make justice against four young “satanists” that had tainted the city. After presenting myself to the judge, the prosecutor in charge of the indictment (with whom I carried out an interview), the defense attorneys and the defendants, I have watched the trial amongst the heterogeneous public that filled the Courtroom, taking pictures and registering in my fieldnotes the statements of prosecution, defense, the judge, witnesses and defendants’ testimonials, comments by the public and the press, gestures, emotions, affections, intensities and unpredictable events. I have produced, thus, a narrative on this assembly of narratives, later reconstructed, in the dissertation, as a social drama.

Facing the fictionalization obsessed by satanic images in the charging narratives, the redressive actions of the defense attorneys sought other reasons, uttered as “demystification” and “enlightenment” on the games, bringing claims from players and academics. The attorneys pointed out that, following the due process and in face of unsound and biased case evidence, the presumption of innocence must be kept, and the defendants acquitted. In their performance at the Jury, they acted as teachers, writing on a white board every flaw and distortion made by the accusation, and thus the attorneys convinced the Jury, along four days, of the acquittance pertinence, a result that did not bring closure to the justice claims that would only admit the conviction and punishment as answers, regardless of the certainty of the authorship, as René Girard pointed out (1972) as he dealt with notions of sacred violence and scapegoat. I recall Girard’s notion of mimetic contagion of violence, together with Taussig’s “culture of terror”, but I write against Girard as I point out that the search for a scapegoat, to which the general violence could be channeled and thus end chains of revenge, infiltrates a punitivism that reproduces violences inlaid in the social fabric. In the relentless search for guilty ones, more victims are produced and the events themselves, and their memories can be sacrificed.

I propose, in turn, dialoguing with Jacques Derrida (2007), that some justice could be attained through the idea of appropriateness, the possibility of enunciation of an array of narratives that brings possibilities of inversion of terror, of cure, as Taussig describes shamanism (1993). The defendants’ innocence verdict kept the authorship of Aline’s death unanswered, extending, in a way, the duration of this violence and the impact on the lives that crossed paths with the murdered girl. At the same time, it had illuminated social sensibilities, prejudices and biases of the justice system, thus opening gaps for other narrative frames, allowing new relations with those lives and this death.



As I brush against the grain of my dialogues between anthropology of performance and law, in Aline case, and my research trajectory, from the undergraduate project to the Master's dissertation in NAPEDRA, new concerns, triggered by the increasing popularity of true crime audiovisual productions in Brazil. As an example, the Evandro case, concerning the disappearance of a child in Paraná, of which followers of African-based religions and local politicians were charged, as they were accused of practicing dark magic rituals in the 1990s. This case is narrated in a podcast that became a television series and its production raised new evidence of the innocence of the convicted persons, that had suffered torture to confess. A possible update of Aline case narrative, in a true crime podcast project, now in the outlining phase, might engender new meanings and symbolic displacements, new movements of terror and cure, to be traced by our seismographs, with the delicate ethical commitment of avoiding capture by the machines of the culture of terror production in face of Aline's memory.


Keeping the “brushing” against the grain, Bruna Angotti took us back to a classroom at the Faculty of Philosophy and Social Sciences building at the University of São Paulo campus and drew us in a performance-seminar stimulated by Professor John Dawsey.

Here some of her reflections about this experience, which engendered new paths for her doctorate, are presented.

THE EXPERIENCE OF A PERFORMANCE-SEMINAR

In these brief lines I'll narrate, partially, the experience of a performance-seminar, presented in the second semester of 2016 during the course Benjamin, Brecht and Anthropology, taught by Professor John Cowart Dawsey, in the Social Anthropology Graduate Program (PPGAS) of USP, while I was still a doctorate candidate.

The challenge proposed by the professor implied that I would examine the set of data comprising my research, still in course, and then I should present, in a performance, fragments of what I was gathering, producing, and collecting. I chose to work with paper cuts, with no concern about chronologies and other “coherences”, releasing the potency of reuniting, randomly, excerpts of items that composed a “chaotic city of papers”. The



presented fragments were passages from my notebooks and journals, study notes of my references, quotes from interviews, documents from case-files and court rulings, paragraphs from literary and academic texts used as references in the thesis.

With my dramatist friends Carla Kinzo and Marcos Gomes, I've planned the activity. When the day came, I staged, at the classroom, a scenario with chairs, imitating a Jury Courtroom, and placed on a desk little piles of paper contenting fragments of a single type of item. One pile, for instance, had excerpts of interviews; other, passages of fieldnotes; other, parts of casefiles etc. One by one, people at the audience – classmates, the course professor and my advisor, Ana Lucia Pastore Schritzmeyer – were invited to go to the desk, pick up a paper and read it out loud. In case no one intervened and shouted “objection”, during the reading, only the fragments of the same pile could be read, the others remaining untouched. And, if the audience took longer to stand up, I would rip some papers, preventing, “forever”, that fragment to be ever read and heard.

The result was astonishing, as shards of stories of non-linear times gathered and made a single mosaic. Fragments of narratives of infanticides elaborated in the context of Brazilian criminal justice merged with reflections of a case occurred in Bologna, during the 18th Century (Prosperi 2010), as to a poem by Bertolt Brecht, memories of legal staff and case parties and narratives of witnesses and defendants.

The audience was intensively immersed at the activity, attentively playing to read and allowed what was printed to be ripped. The resulting arrangement by choice and chance of the read fragments, by “objection” shouts interrupting readings and by what could or could not be uttered created a special moment, never to be repeated in the same way, in any other context.

Following Victor Turner, to whom the anthropology of performance is part of an anthropology of experience, the fragments there presented performed the experience that threw me, with the aid of my colleagues, amidst the shattered narratives resulting from the fieldwork carried out along this research on how the Brazilian Criminal Justice System deals with cases of women charged with the deaths of their own newborn babies (Angotti 2019). For the first time, I heard the sound formed by the juxtaposing of those different items and could understand that there were possible symphonies.

The poem *On the infanticide Marie Farrar*, by Brecht (2000), has its verses interposed by this chorus: “But you I beg, make not your anger manifest/ For all that lives needs help from all the rest.”. Narrating the story of

an infanticide committed by a servant, just after birth, during a cold dawn, the author enmeshes the crude report of this young woman's experience with her humanization, and begs to the audience to replace their bewilderment with mercy.

During the reading of the fragments, during the performance-seminar, there was no pause to claim for mercy to the audience, but, eventually, as if chosen by purpose, some excerpts humanized the raw readings. On one hand, file-case texts, written in legal terms, excerpts from coroner's reports and the very Article 123 of the Brazilian Criminal Code, which describes infanticide as "to kill, under the influence of the puerperal state, one's own child, during childbirth or soon after", filled the "gallery" of "facts" and "rights" about an act that, as highlighted by Prosperi (2010), goes against the logic of the continuity of life. On the other hand, among the piles of paper cuts, some readers selected, with no knowledge, passages that humanized the defendants, showing the complexity of the cases, as the following one, from my field notebook, an ethnography of a trial:


[with a] pink moccasin, the tiny feet crossed and the leg shaking, Mrs. L. watched the unfolding of the trial. My attention was drawn to her curled-up position, but not a lower head... I feel like I am precisely where I wanted to be. Sitting at the defense side, for the first time, in a Jury trial about my doctorate topic, in which the defendant would possibly receive a light sentence or, perhaps, acquittance. Angst and relieve.

What was read loudly, by my classmates, echoed in me for days and changed, for good, the thesis' outcome. By instance, anthropological reflections on the notion of personhood emerged from the readings made during my "improvised gallery", particularly of a fragment of an interview with Mrs. L, about a year after her trial:

Me: I saw in the casefile that the baby got a name, after all.
Mrs. L: Yes, because he [husband] was forced to give a name, in order to make the certificate. Because as he was there, at the office, and at the hospital, a child was born alive and should be registered.

Me: Did you choose the name?

Mrs. L: No, he did. He did it all. Because, to me, like... I did not have a child. I suffer for what happened, but this child did not belong to me. She belonged to him, after dead (...). So, I see it, after it happened. So, I see it. The ones that were alive were mine. This child is his dead daughter, his, until today. Considerations on the social role of care, imposed to women, as on the meanings attributed to sentences and punishments also had their place in the peculiar and unique juxtaposing of fragments that happened that morning in a classroom.



A year before I started to attend the course, and some days after I went to Mrs. L. jury trial, I went to the theater to watch a play based on the poem On the infanticide Marie Farrar. There, at the arena stage, along projected images of early 20th century workers, scenes of Industrial Revolution and enactments of an infanticide, I felt these and so many other shards of my research pierce through me and cross each other. By the end of the play, I could not stand from the bleachers: My tears were pouring as they could not have done at Mrs. L jury trial session.

At the performance-seminar, at last, with the assistance of Benjamin, Brecht, John, my advisor and colleagues, I could hear those narratives reverberate and could elaborate parts of those experiences.


In the event of NAPERDRA's 20th anniversary, I also could do that, as I projected on screen some of those readings' shards. Today I do it again, as I can register, in this article, my performance-seminar.

From shards and fragments, poetically and dramaturgically recalled and rearranged by Bruna, we move to the thrilling analysis by Jânia Perla Diógenes de Aquino on the grand bank robberies and the equally great performances in which robbers carry on, after carefully calculating the probable benefits of their endeavors to themselves.

For more than 15 years, Jânia has been dedicated to the study of this topic and tells us how NAPERDRA had influence on her anthropological-performative analysis.

PERFORMANCES ENGAGED BY BANK ROBBERS IN BRAZIL

I have joined NAPERDRA in 2006, in the beginning of my Social Anthropology doctorate at USP, advised by Professor John Dawsey, as in 2004 I've had a first valuable contact with John, Ana Lúcia Pastore Schritzmeyer, Rubens Silva and other NAPERDRA members during the Brazilian Anthropology Meeting, held in Olinda-PE. In that occasion, I've understood that the "Anthropology of Performance" would open innovative analytical possibilities for my research on robberies against financial institutions. During my undergraduate project in Social Sciences and my Masters' in Sociology at Federal University of Ceará (UFC in the Brazilian acronym), I had already explored the business and enterprising aspects attributed to




the practitioners to this sort of crime and, conducting my doctorate project in USP, I have explored the performances and dramatic acting engaged by those robbers, both in the perpetration of great robberies and in their routines as fugitives from justice.

The fieldwork along the social universe of great robberies, encompassing undergraduate, master and doctorate projects, from 2000 to 2009, comprised several sources and research methodologies, as well as an extensive survey on press coverage of all regions of the country, interviews with robbers convicted to prison in a maximum-security facility in Ceará. Later, I have carried on ethnographic immersions with some of those interlocutors, in their residences and social events, in which it was possible to establish dialogues with their family and friends. During the doctorate, following John's and other NAPERDRA colleagues' suggestions, I could get to know and engage relevant authors and discuss the "Anthropology of Performance" field, to comprehend and analyze the great volume of data resulting from my fieldwork. As the thesis progressed, I was interested mainly on the work of Erving Goffman, as his concepts and analytical categories allowed me to go beyond the dimension of criminality and violence concerning the robberies against financial institutions, therefore considering less evident aspects of this phenomenon, such as the dramatic and interactional skills of its participants.

If the social "actors" of "daily life", on one hand, are presented by Goffman (1992) as a kind of amateur performer, unaware of the dramatist aspects of their acting in face-to-face interactions, the financial institution robbery practitioners, on the other hand, can be considered experts in dramatizing their behavior, both in the moments of the execution of a robbery and in their routines as "outlaws", while they use false names and papers.

When announcing a robbery, holding firearms, they proceed to the "definition of situation", as their "victims" are taken by surprise and surrendered. In those interactional contexts, in contrast with Goffmanian actors, that aim to arouse in their interlocutors' positive impressions of themselves; the robbers, by means of performances, aim to convince their interlocutors that they, the robbers, are "bad people", capable of killing and torturing. The more unmerciful and greedy they seem to look, the less likely they will face adverse reactions by their hostages (Aquino 2010).

Also, in their routines of fugitives searched by the Police, those men usually elaborate dense and detailed biographic narratives, articulated to their names, surnames and other information such as filiation, birthplace and occupation, filling their false documents with that information. As they create untrue reports of their trajectories, the origin of their assets and accumulated funds resulting from the robberies they did, they are




compelled to lie all the time, during months or years. It is not rare that spouses and even sons and daughters only come to know the “real name” and illegal *métier* of “bank robberies” when they are caught by the Police (Aquino 2017).

As to the format of great bank robberies and dramatic performances enacted, there were significative changes in the last decades. During the 2000s, the events that result in the larger subtraction of money were characterized by robbers’ stratagems, being the kidnapping of financial institutions manager’s families one of the most usual. Having wives and children kidnapped, those managers, by morning, before the service hours, would lead the robbers within the bank branch and to give them all the money they could. Then, they would go back to captivity, being tied up. When they could call the Police, the band of robbers would have escaped.

Also, during the 2000s, the robbers enabled by tunnel digging were common. Bands would rent venues close to the target, dig the tunnels and access the safes by underground routes. Such strategy enabled several thefts, whose subtracted amounts were over seven digits. One of those cases involved an action against a Central Bank branch, in Fortaleza, in 2005, from which R\$ 156 million were taken, the greatest bank robbery in Brazilian history so far. During that period, silent and treacherous tactics of approach clearly had more appeal to the robbers.

From 2010 on, however, noisier and truculent bank robberies became more recurrent and, thus, have being called “new *cangaço*” by the press. That predominance resulted in financial institutions’ investments in enhancing their security systems. For instance, they would limit the access of the bank managers to the branches’ safes, many of which are, nowadays, programmed to open only once a day. Sensors were installed to detect drilling and underground constructions in the range of the financial institution’s surroundings. Such measures made robberies based on burlesque, subtle and tricky approaches, common during the 2000s, to become ineffective, thus leaving to the bands only the alternative of robberies with dozens of men, heavily armed, surrounding small and average towns, striking public security unities and imploding bank branches.

This “new *cangaço*” is noticeable not only due to the truculence of the bands and their visual and sound impact, but also the fear and dread they disseminate. There were several cases in which hostages were positioned around the robbers, to avoid that they were shot by the Police in the moment of their escape, creating what the Police and the press would call a “human shield”. There were also, in recent years, events in which the hostages were tied up to car hoods and ceilings, the cars running as the



band escapes, as to avoid police chasing and shooting. In those situations, besides the psychological impact on the people who had direct contact with robbers or were held under their power, the ones that were only bystanders or were hearing the shots also had experienced moments of elevated tension.

Even appearing reckless, the actions of the so called “new cangaço” have almost no improvisation, as they gather dozens of men, require a whole infrastructure of heavy firearms and power vehicles, take weeks of data gathering by its participants, meticulous plan elaboration, collective decision-making on the details of the attacks and escapes consecution.

Besides the conscious and sharp mastery of the expressive components of behavior, those crime professionals also develop specific “body techniques” (Mauss 2003a) to every kind of event, from ways to hold and fire guns to physical assaulting the hostages, pushing or punching them. The perpetrators of those crimes are aware of the psychological effects of their actions on direct opponents and on the target city population, thoroughly exploring the “power” to create bafflement. Seeming rude and “out of control”, they terrify local dwellers and the police, discourage confrontation and therefore make the duration of their armed attacks shorter. In the continuous planning organization and training to carry on such high impact robbery model, dozens of men mingle, associate, share and elaborate knowledge and techniques. The violence, rather than accidental, modulate relations, connections, material mental and emotional investments as much as the other action features. The bands actions express brutality and “excess”, but also a calculation that, on their hand, articulate information, experiences, knowledge and ambitions (Aquino 2019).

While describing those incidents and broadcasting in a sensationalist way the acting of its participants, several mediatic programs actually “work” in their favor, widening the reach and the “symbolic efficacy” of their performances which, thus, overflow from the present scene of the incidents and reinforce an imaginary and the expectations concerning the cruelty and the “danger” of the so called “bank robbers” or even “bandits”, in general.

Aware of the public visibility achieved by those armed attacks, the bands begin to elaborate then considering both the performative context of each robbery and its reverberations. Therefore, they make their threats and aggressiveness more convincing. Each accomplished robbery creates, then, direct and material success of the initiative itself, but also, by its repercussions, socially instituted symbolic referenc es of this sort of crime and its practitioners are reiterated.

To listen to Ana Letícia, Bruna and Jânia, in that December afternoon, and to have, in those online life windows, the company of John Dawsey and dear colleagues from NAPEDRA, such as André-Kees de Moraes Schouten and Francirosy Campos Barbosa, would be enough to make my happiness complete, but it was even more strengthened by the opportunity to brush against the grain my own NAPEDRA history.

ROCKS, MUSK, LICHEN AND FLOWERS

I have unleashed my memories, pointing out the sensation that we participate in NAPEDRA in a potent collective, a braid (Abreu 2018, Dawsey et al 2013), insofar as I was (as I am here, in this text) with two ex-advisees and a former doctorate candidate in whose qualifying exam I participate, forming a group of researchers-professors-doctors connected to the fertile frontier between anthropology, law and performance.

Our trajectories got intertwined so many times that I lost track, whether in classrooms, dissertation and thesis examinations, several academic meetings, always united due to the navigation through those waters that, as well pointed out by Marcel Mauss, are of a “miscellaneous” kind, where “the urgent problems lie (...) We can be certain that this is where there are truths to be discovered: first, because we know that we are ignorant, and second, because we have a lively sense of the quantity of the facts” (Mauss 2006 78)

So are the bumps between anthropology, law and performance and those who are interested in them: encounters at the fringes of knowledge and, therefore, where conceptual and theoretical disputes are transfigured and recomposed, often blown by the methodological and theoretical-conceptual winds and storms.

Every right and jural systems are force fields in which element that is disputed is the power to “legislate” about what is known to be imprecise and slippery: the normal and the abnormal, the acceptable and the unacceptable, the pure and the impure, the imputable and the unimputable. And when an attempt is made to outline, define and classify what is fluid, then liminalities and tension, as well as temporary and tenuous borders, are created, which are usually far more instigating than what is framed.

So are the fields of anthropology of law, of performance and, furthermore, the borders between them. It is there that researches such as Ana Letícia’s,

Bruna's, Jânia's and my own meet and are carried out, for it is not possible to understand perceptions and experiences of rights, justices, crimes, acquittances and punishments, without considering rituals, scenic spaces, backstages, costumes and scripts that try, somehow, to impose a certain order over chaos, by means of performance of human and non-human agents: victims, defendants, witnesses, attorneys, prosecutors, judges, experts, reports, minutes, sentences, exams, stages, audiences, cars, guns, bombs.


I was already very instigated by all of this and with my thesis concluded when I met, in 2002, the newly born NAPERDRA and found out that, beyond the readings of Van Gennep (1978), Turner (1974) and Geertz (1991), a much wider world of authors-actors could be explored. I've dedicated myself to it, from 2003 on, as a professor at the Anthropology Department at USP, by attending the bimonthly meetings of NAPERDRA and working in its first features in events, as a working group at the North and Northeast Anthropologist Meeting (ABANNE), on July 2003 (São Luis, MA) and at a Research Forum during the 24th Brazilian Anthropology Reunion, on May 2004 (Olinda, PE), both named "Performance, Drama and Society".

Inspired by those remarkable experiences and with the support and encouragement from my first advisees, among which were Ana Letícia and Bruna, we have created, in March 2008, the Anthropology of Law Nucleus (NADIR) which, ever since, gathered with NAPERDRA on several occasions, such as my participation in the Thematic Project "Anthropology of Performance: Drama, Aesthetics and Ritual", funded by São Paulo Research Foundation (FAPESP) and coordinated by John Dawsey.

Between 2008 and 2013, in this project scope, I carried out the research Life Threads, which allowed me, by the reexamination of the concepts of identity, memory, ritual and trace, to weave some braids between anthropology of law, performance and experience.

Going through some files claimed by adults that, in their childhood, stayed in public institutions in São Paulo state (documents that I regarded as institutionally elaborated and narrated dramas) and developing life histories with some of them (personally (re)signified dramas), I considered this move of searching for past traces as an institutional-identity ritual, anchored in the present and focused on the future: an "observation unity" and a "concrete experience", from which it was possible to perceive life as a social drama.

Thanks to the presentation of several steps of this work, in NAPERDRA meetings and events, I also fared the field of visual anthropology and directed a short-length video using parts of the work produced and collected in the field (Schritzmeyer 2013). The final report in the thematic project, in turn, seeded what came to be an article (Schritzmeyer 2015).



Meanwhile, my doctorate thesis was published as a book (Schritzmeyer 2012), an occasion in which John Dawsey gifted me with four precious paragraphs that became the book's flap. Actually, better than any review or comment, his words captured the soul of my work. As John has written, in his second paragraph:

In face of the dead, Jury Courtrooms try to recreate a cosmos. In search of facts, narratives irrupt. From a dead body, where a possible crime scene is detected, dramas are reenacted. Emotions are relived. Recollections are evoked. Conflicts and unsolved tensions are revealed. Images of the past articulate with the present. Mobilizing the senses of the body, Jury Courtrooms aim to recreate the senses of the world.

Despite ties as abundant as strong, due to a sequence of administrative duties at USP, my presence in NAPERDRA's meetings became scarce, unfortunately, after 2014, even if we never lost sight of each other. I kept following and participating on events, such as Napedra in performance: creations 10, in 2019, an occasion when I presented part of my associate professor research, called "Defendants and jurors on stage and backstage of Jury Courtrooms in Brazil and France. Eloquences of silence and voice". The ties, therefore, are still profound and prolific.

For all of this and many other things that do not fit in this text, the celebration of 20 years of existence of NAPERDRA was, without a doubt, a gift that we received and tried to retribute with our presences on that December afternoon and, now, with the register of those considerations.

Calling Mauss once again, we end this text, of a fraternal collective authorship, as what gathered us around an anniversary Pannel that is part of an intense and long-lasting circuit of gifts (Mauss 2003a). Much of what NAPERDRA already offered to each one of us, particularly through its coordinator John Daysey, we retribute here, just modestly. The debt, surely, will never be paid back in a simple and direct way, as we all wish that the gift circle never ends. Little by little, in a complex and indirect way, we try to retribute the gifts received, by mean of other circuits we take part of, whether teaching new generations of students and researchers, or making our own researches generate new projects, partnerships, texts and contexts of affectionate knowledges.

Long and always renewed life to our rock NAPEDRA, and the tiny delicate moss, lichen and flowers that blossom there!



FIGURE 1.
Photo by Ana
Lúcia Pastore
Schritzmeyer,
March 2022.
Monte Verde, MG.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES

- Abreu, Carolina de Camargo. 2018. Caveiras da performance, a ossada de uma filiação comum: John Dawsey entrevista Richard Schechner. *GIS - Gesto, Imagem e Som. Revista de Antropologia* vol. 3, n. 1: 302-308.
- Angotti, Bruna. 2019. Da solidão do ato à exposição judicial: uma abordagem antropológico-jurídica do infanticídio no Brasil. Tese (Doutorado). Programa de Pós-Graduação em Antropologia Social, USP, São Paulo.
- Aquino, Jânia Perla Diógenes de. 2010. *Príncipes e castelos de areia: Um estudo da performance nos grandes roubos*. São Paulo: Biblioteca 24 horas.
- Aquino, Jânia Perla Diógenes de. 2017. Subvertendo o Código Penal e monogamia: Arranjos afetivos e familiares envolvendo praticantes de assaltos contra instituições financeiras. *Dilemas, Rev. Estud. Conflito Controle Soc.*, Rio de Janeiro, vol. 10, n. 1, pp. 84-111.
- Aquino, Jânia Perla Diógenes de. 2020. Violência e performance no chamado 'novo cangaço': Cidades sitiadas, uso de explosivos e ataques a polícias em assaltos contra bancos no Brasil. *Dilemas, Rev. Estud. Conflito Controle Soc.*, Rio de Janeiro, vol. 13, n. 3, pp. 615-643.
- Benjamin, Walter. 1996. *Magia e técnica, arte e política: ensaios sobre literatura e história da cultura*. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense. English version: Benjamin, Walter. 2012. "Theses on the Philosophy of History". *Illuminations: essays and reflections* (1. Schocken paperback ed., [Nachdr.] ed.). New York: Schocken Books.
- Brecht, Bertold. 2000. *Poemas. 1913-1956*. São Paulo: Editora 34. English Version by Sidney H. Bremer. In WILLET, John. MANHEIN, Ralph. Bertolt Brecht. *Poemas. 1913-1956*. NY: Routledge, 1997.
- Dawsey, John Cowart. 2006. Turner, Benjamin e *Antropologia da Performance: O lugar olhado (e ouvido) das coisas*. *Campos*, vol. 7, n. 2: 17-25.

- Dawsey, John Cowart et al. 2013. Tranças [apresentação]. Antropologia e Performance: ensaios NAPERDRA. São Paulo: Terceiro Nome, 17-36.
- Derrida, Jacques. 2007. Força de lei: o fundamento místico da autoridade. São Paulo: Martins Fontes.
- Fiori, Ana Leticia de. 2012. Contando histórias de morte: etnografia do júri e arenas narrativas do "caso Aline". 2012. Dissertação (Mestrado). Programa de Pós-Graduação em Antropologia Social, USP, São Paulo.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1991. Afirmação política: espetáculo e cerimônia. In *Negara: o Estado-Teatro no século XIX*. Lisboa: Difel, 127-152.
- Girard, René. 1990. A Violência e o Sagrado. São Paulo: Paz e Terra/ EdUNESP.
- Goffman, Erving. 1992. A Representação do Eu na Vida Cotidiana. Petrópolis: Vozes.
- Mauss, Marcel. 2003a. Ensaio sobre a dádiva. Forma e razão da troca nas sociedades arcaicas. In *Sociologia e Antropologia*. São Paulo: Cosac & Naify, 83-314.
- Mauss, Marcel. 2003b. As técnicas do corpo. In *Sociologia e Antropologia*. São Paulo: Cosac & Naify, 399-422. English version Mauss, Marcel. 2006. Techniques of the body. In *Techniques, Technology and Civilization*. NY: Durkheim Press/Bergham Books.
- Prosperi, Adriano. 2010. Dar a Alma: história de um Infanticídio. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.
- Schechner, Richard. 1985. *Between Theater and Anthropology*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- Schritzmeyer, Ana Lúcia Pastore. 2002. Controlando o poder de matar: uma leitura antropológica do Tribunal do Júri, ritual lúdico e teatralizado. Tese (Doutorado). Programa de Pós-Graduação em Antropologia Social, USP, São Paulo.
- Schritzmeyer, Ana Lúcia Pastore. 2012. Jogo, ritual e teatro: um estudo antropológico do Tribunal do Júri. São Paulo, Terceiro Nome.
- Schritzmeyer, Ana Lúcia Pastore (direção). 2013. Fios da Vida. Documentário, NTSC, cor, 20 min. <https://vimeo.com/87861772>. Acesso em 07/09/2022.
- Schritzmeyer, Ana Lúcia Pastore. 2015. Fios da vida: crianças abrigadas, hoje adultas, diante de seus prontuários. *Vivência: Revista de Antropologia*, v. 1, n. 46, pp. 93-112.
- Taussig, Michael. 1993. Xamanismo, Colonialismo e o homem selvagem. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra. English original version: Taussig, Michael. 1987. *Shamanism, Colonialism and the Wild men*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Turner, Victor W. 1974. O processo ritual. Estrutura e anti-estrutura. Petrópolis: Vozes.
- Turner, Victor W. 1982. *From Ritual to Theatre*. New York: PAJ Publications.
- Turner, Victor W.; Bruner, Edward M. (orgs.). 1986. *The Anthropology of Experience*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Turner, Victor. 1998. *The Anthropology of Performance*. New York: PAJ Publications.
- Turner, Victor W. 2008. *Dramas, Campos e Metáforas: ação simbólica na sociedade humana*. Niterói: EdUFF.
- Van Gennep, Arnold. 1978. *Os ritos de passagem*. Petrópolis: Vozes.

Ana Lúcia Pastore Schritzmeyer is a Professor at the Department of Anthropology and the Postgraduate Program in Social Anthropology at the University of São Paulo (USP), where she leads the Center for Anthropology of Law (NADIR). At USP, she graduated in Social Sciences and Law and received her Master's and PhD in Social Anthropology. Researches, advises and publishes work on jury trials, jurisprudence and narratives of violence, human rights, demands for recognition of rights, access to justice, legal professionals and professions, criminal justice systems and criminology. She is a CNPq Research Productivity Fellow, level 2. E-mail: alps@usp.br

Ana Letícia de Fiori is Adjunct Professor of Anthropology at the Center for Philosophy and Human Sciences at the Federal University of Acre (UFAC) where she participates in the Anthropology and Forests Group (AFLORA). She has a degree and degree in Social Sciences from the University of São Paulo (USP) where she also received a Master's and PhD in Social Anthropology. Currently, he is carrying out a post-doctorate at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS) on speculative fables in the work of Donna Haraway. He has worked at the intersection between urban anthropology, performance anthropology, legal anthropology and ethnology. E-mail: ana.fiori@ufac.br

Jânia Perla Diógenes de Aquino is a Professor in the Department of Social Sciences and the Postgraduate Program in Sociology at the Federal University of Ceará (UFC) where she graduated in Social Sciences and earned a Master's degree in Sociology. He received a PhD in Social Anthropology from the University of São Paulo (USP). She is a researcher and scientific coordinator at the Violence Studies Laboratory (LEV) and researcher at the Center for Anthropology of Politics (NUAP). He works on the following themes: Violence, Criminal Dynamics, Illegal Markets and Anthropology of Performance. He is a CNPq Research Productivity Fellow, level 2. E-mail: perladiogenes@gmail.com

Bruna Angotti is a Professor at the Faculty of Law at Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie (UPM) where she is deputy leader of the Women, Society and Human Rights research group. He graduated in Social Sciences from the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (PUC-SP) and in Law from the University of São Paulo USP), where he earned a Master's and PhD in Social Anthropology and is vice-leader of the Center for Anthropology of Law (NADIR). She is a specialist in Criminology at the Brazilian Institute of Criminal Sciences (IBCCRIM) and founding researcher at the Center for the Analysis of Freedom and Authoritarianism (LAUT). E-mail: angotti.bruna@gmail.com

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: 10/19/2023
Resubmitted: 01/31/2024
Accepted: 02/13/2024