AFRICANIZED SPACES IN BRAZIL: SOME REFERENCES OF RESISTANCE, SURVIVAL AND REINVENTIONS

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AFRICANIZED SPACES IN BRAZIL: SOME REFERENCES OF RESISTANCE, SURVIVAL AND REINVENTIONS

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RESUMO: O artigo trata da diáspora africana num contexto em que a África trazida para as Américas, de alguma forma, sobreviveu e, ao mesmo tempo, funcionou como instrumento de sobrevivência dos africanos e seus descendentes. Neste particular, as culturas de matriz africana, ao longo do tempo, foram e são utilizadas como estratégias políticas que forjam processos de negociações, destacando os quilombos contemporâneos brasileiros, como espaços africanizados presentes na narrativa de nacionalidade brasileira.


ABSTRACT: This paper deals with the African diaspora in a context where the Africa brought to the Americas, somehow survived and at the same time, worked as an instrument of survival for Africans and their descendants. In particular, the cultures of African nature, over time, were and are used as political strategies that shape processes of negotiations, highlighting the contemporary Brazilian quilombos as African-like spaces present in the narrative of Brazilian nationality.

Keywords: Africa. Diaspora. Cultures. Quilombo.

The composition of this narrative assumes that the various cultures brought by the Africans, when forced diaspora, were able to undermine and spread the African's culture, throughout Brazil. In the process, Africans and their descendants always acted with great cunning not to wither its cultural events, suppressed by the hegemonic power which acted and still acts under the aegis of racism. The result of this clash is...
evident today, from north to south of the country. The presence of Africanized areas in Brazil is a constant, even in the northern region, which, they say, was influenced only of Indigenous peoples. Breaking with this common sense in relation to the north, tear of African's culture manifestations of the cultural fabric that is either white hegemonic, and flow, come to the fore, without asking for permission to Mr. white. Instead, put themselves and impose these cultural performances of the region, and narrate the cultural history of Africans and their descendants.

Muitas vezes, mesmo aquilo que se encontrava aparentemente oculto, no momento da travessia atlântica, é capaz de revelar-se após a travessia do atlântico, irrompendo das profundezas da memória. Novamente, aquilo que irrompeu, pode ocultar-se por tempos, para fugir da repressão, por exemplo. Ainda assim, pode mais vezes revelar-se sem perder a sua estrutura matriz. Desse modo, abrindo fendas, brechas e frestas, pode rasgar o tecido da cultura oficial e vir à tona exercendo um papel de resistência, estabelecendo uma espécie de guerra silenciosa, porém, contínua e ininterrupta. Uma “guerra fria” que, em longo prazo, foi capaz de minar a instituição por dentro e forçar processos de negociações.

Diaspora, according to Zegarra (2005, p. 345), "represents a kind of social grouping characterized by a common history of experiences and personal relationships [...] which still exhibits a common core of historical factors conditioned by the system of world order".

The historic African Diaspora in the Americas due process of European colonialism, the transatlantic slave trade and slavery system. The main features that distinguish the African Diaspora, as a global training, of other socially differentiated historical experiences are the follows: migration and geo-social movement: the movement of population, social oppression: relationships of domination and subordination, resistance, struggle and political action and cultural.

Thus, since the Africans installed in any of the continents for more than their traditions were repressed or annihilated by the hegemonic culture, the descendants of Africans were starting a process of creation, invention and re-creation, for preservation of cultural memory ties of minimum identity, cooperation and solidarity. It is likely that
the process of forced diaspora, played by the Africans, the collective memory of the various groups has been put in play of social forces in the struggle for power. According to Le Goff (1996, p. 246), the rulers become masters of memory and forgetting. "[...] The omissions and silences are revealing the history of these mechanisms to manipulate the collective memory." However, the process of re-elaboration of the memory does not only intervene in the ordering of these traces in the memory, but also in their readings.

The process of redesigning the memory does not only intervene in the ordering of these traces of Africanism, but also in their readings, which in most countries in the Americas are present in the culture, but were relegated to the shelf of the bookcase folklore and popular culture. But they, the readings are present nonetheless, because it does not erase memories and cultures are not eliminated, but the price of the physical destruction of those who are their bearers. Culture is here understood as a process that enables man to understand his experience in the world and give meaning to their existence. This network of interactions, the multiple African cultures that spread across the world, preserved visible marks of his African heritage.

Therefore, even in fragments, in the interstices of culture of sir, the cultures of enslaved Africans resisted and persisted and made incessant process of exchange, mergers and re-signification. These processes do not occur in a one-way street, but always in a two-way street. The entry of such memories walks through time and space constitute a repository that Homi Bhabha calls between-places.

The frontier work of culture demands an encounter with the "new" that is not part of the continuous of past and present. It creates a new idea as an insurgent act of cultural translation. This art not only reproduces the past as social cause or aesthetic precedent; it renews the past, reorganizing it as an "inter - place" contingent, that innovates and interrupts the performance of this. The "past-present 'becomes part of necessity, not of nostalgia, of living. (Bhabha, 1996, p. 27).

The "inter - place," the past - this mixing and redefines itself and reviving to print towards to the future. This seems to have been the constant in the lives of Africans in the diaspora process in America, since the culture of Africans was the great "social capital" that helped them in their processes of resistance and persistence in foreign
territory. Roger Bastide (1974, p. 26) in black America, notes that "the slave ships carried on board not only men, women and children, but their gods, their beliefs and their folklore." I would say more: civilizing values, world views, memories, rhythms, songs, dances, existential doubts, linguistic otherness, finally, their histories and cultures.

This arsenal that crossed the ocean was essential so that Africans could reconstitute themselves, and act against oppression. In the case of the African Diaspora, the origin is located geographically in Africa. However, this source will have to interact with strangers and new geographical area with the new condition imposed by the colonizer to the enslaved Africans.

The fact of the performances of enslaved Africans in the Afro-diaspora, having been built in pieces and fragments of restored behavior, will cause each one is unique, in that these behaviors can be recombined in infinite variations and in different contexts. By this I mean that "Africa" that reaches the American continent is not a homogeneous whole, but a piece of that continent marked by the diversity of cultures and ethnicities. Nevertheless, the actions of resistance, silent and tenacious, based on culture and performed the daily lives of Africans and their descendants, do not always have their level of importance perceived by scholars. Importance is given to more great events warriors - formation of shacks, organizing uprisings, rebellions, insurrections, etc. - and almost nothing is exempt to the everyday actions, many of the collective character and other individual character. Are strong-voiced. These various strong-voiced and various drums, there will be cultural manifestations of African descent in the Americas, which develop in the process of taking advantage of the african diaspora-holes opened by the European festival calendar.

If we walk through the Americas observing the cultural manifestations of African origin, probably find many similarities in many of these manifestations. And then we must not get exact matches, as all were forged in historical processes on one hand, similar - condition of slavery, on the other, each process involved different forms of struggle and negotiations. The fact is that Africans and their descendants will
always be used as an instrument of political struggle fragments that make up the mosaic of culture of their ancestors.

In particular, the Africans brought to the Americas, even having tried to destroy everything more expensive for those people might have, were able to, on the American continent, reinvent other Africas. And these other Africas are present in all those places for which these Africans were brought in as slaves and are present here among us, often resignified, followed, over time, a cycle composed of three elements: repetition, revision and improvisation. And it is through this cycle, which I believe will be able to resize the culture so that it will be an effective instrument for the political position of the black movement. Are elements of the collective memory pinched to give coherence to a narrative or epic genre that fits the classic hero, strong, courageous, invincible.

In this sense, there is significant recovery of quilombos as an instrument / testimonial of a resistance which until 1988 was "invisible" to the Brazilian state, under the generic name of rural black communities. In August 1986, when Congress "the black and constituent", held in Brasilia, the black movement and reframes the historic quilombos able to record in the 1988 Constitution Article 68 of the transitional provisions: "To the remnants of Quilombo communities that are occupying their lands are recognized as owned outright, the state should send them their titles. "Said in another way, the Quilombo cross time "teaching" destroy "principles contained in" the national culture and invade the scene to tell their stories, emerging from invisibility, where for centuries protected by Ananse¹, lived on the fringes of the national narrative. Today, the Brazilian nation can no longer think the narrative of his nationality without considering the quilombolas.

Indeed, the idea of Quilombo, Zumbi and Palmares always constituted elements expensive to the heirs of Ananse. Utopias to feed not only the struggle and resistance, but the dream of building a equitable society in which racism and racial discrimination did not present. These pinched elements were memory reference to the black movement in the 1920s, has

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¹ Ananse, the divinity of culture Fanthi-Ashanti. One of his stories is that metamorphosed into Spider Ananse, using his cunning got the chest of stories guarded by Kuame the God of heaven. When down to the chest of stories for a large web of silver which she had built, was neglected and the stories spread around the world, coming to us.
seen the creation of the Palmares Civic Center in 1926, in Sao Paulo. Correia Leite, editor of *O Clarim d' Alvorada* refers to the goal of the Palmares Civic Center as follows:

The aim of the Palmares Civic Center was to approach the black for a survey to attempt to stop that and this dispersion was there today. Palmares wanted was for the black became an element of force, as a whole. (MILK, 1992, p. 74).

Further, emphasizing the character of the organization, is still Correia Leite (1992, p. 74) which states: "The whole concern was that: blacks unite to fight a claim." In the 1930s came the Frente Negra Brasileira in Sao Paulo, formed by graduates of the militants Palmares Civic Center. The flag of the Brazilian Black Front was green represented by a palm branch, symbolic of the Palmares War (Leite, 1992).

In the same vein, in the 1940s Nascimento has created Teatro Experimental do Negro, whose organ was the newspaper disclosure Quilombo (1948-1950), the presentation of the facsimile edition, Abdias says:

At a time when there was the notion of "affirmative action" or public policies specifically aimed at meeting the needs of the population of African descent, Quilombo had a series of demands in this direction, such as scholarships for black students in secondary schools and universities, inclusion in the lists of political parties of significant numbers of black candidates for office, appreciation and teaching of African cultural matrix. The National Negro Convention was submitted to the National Constituent Assembly of 1946 a series of proposals that included, in addition to these items, the tax exemption for micro-entrepreneurs, mostly black. (Nascimento, 2003, p. 8).

In the 1980s, Abdias published the work Quilombismo, in this work the author says that his generation of black movement has the task of building science-humanist history quilombismo. For this, their generation would have to show society in general and particularly for blacks, quilombismo have to be able to mean the fraternal organization and free solidarity and coexistence, finally, existential communion.

Beatrice do Nascimento militant of black movement in Rio de Janeiro in the film documentary made by Rachel Gerbara, Ori, uses the term Quilombo to mean the black contemporary resistance. The day was launched on November 20 as the date to

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2 Journal of Black Brazilian media created in São Paulo, 1924 - 1932.
3 The historian Beatriz Nascimento, a militant black movement was killed in 1987.
be celebrated by the black Brazil in 1971, the theater group Palmares, Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul. The proposal came from the poet Oliveira da Silveira. The May 13 did not meet the expectations of black people as a date that could be celebrated, after all, the abolition was only on paper, there was nothing concrete in terms of practical measures in the law.

It was therefore necessary to find another date. It was necessary to recount the history of Brazil. This is not a new discourse. He is present and persists in the words of black leaders of the movement since the 1920s, as reported above, with the creation of the Palmares Civic Center, and after, with the Brazilian Black Front. However, despite the fact it is not a new discourse, he re-emerges as a result of the circumstances of the fight and emerges, so resignified, speaking through the metaphorical symbols.

The theater group Palmares in Porto Alegre, founded in 1967, came from the experiences of New Forest Theatre Aurora. Therefore, carrying with it the tradition today, Centennial, Aurora Forest Society. The group has staged several plays and is likely to have knowledge of the assembly of the text written by Gianfrancesco Guarnieri, mounted by the Group Theatre Arena in Rio de Janeiro - Arena Zombie regard - as it became known to that assembly. Famous not only questioning the content of the show, but also by the musical score written by Edu Lobo and Guarnieri and Rui Guerra. The voice of Elis Regina undertook to release some compositions.

The text of Guarnieri and Rui Guerra builds Zombie character as the great hero of an attempt to free society, which responded at that historic moment, the desires of many Brazilians, as they lived under the weight of the military dictatorship, which had settled in 1964. Zumbi and Palmares were formed in the great metaphor for freedom longed for by voices that were silenced by force, and therefore could only be manifested through metaphorical symbol.

Without loss of time, the poet african-Brazilian Oliveira da Silveira (2003) assumed the role of herald of his time - able to announce the good news. Or rather, assumes the role of griot and captures the message and invites the community to reflect. With the word, the poet:

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4 Organization of the Black Movement in Porto Alegre created more than one hundred years. Oliveira da Silveira stated that the organization came about in 1870, 1871. Revista Eletrônica: Tempo - Técnica - Território, V.3, N.2 (2012), 62:78 ISSN: 2177-4366
May Thirteen treason
Freedom without wings
And without hunger bread.

Oliveira da Silveira (2003), in testimony, said that although these verses "were written on May 13, 1969, the most vehement critic of the day May 13 and was the Golden Law of the group who called himself Jorge Antonio dos Santos.". And the poet goes on:

The small group of blacks gathered routinely in some evenings on the street Beach (officially, of the Andradas), near the corner with Marechal Floriano, in front of the Masson house. There were several of these meeting points, with sometimes shifts for some reason. Black spots. (Silveira, 2003, p. 24).

And with the word the poet:

Circulated at the time the issue number six in the series Great Characters of our history, of Editora Abril Cultural. This publication has strengthened the Oliveira da Silveira idea that Palmares would have been the most memorable moment in the history of blacks in Brazil. After all, were one hundred years of struggle against the Portuguese colonial empire. (Silveira, 2003, p. 24).

Oliveira da Silveira (2003) also claims that he could not be back only on the issue and therefore, sought as a source of consulting the book The Quilombo dos Palmares, in Édison Carneiro, and there it was confirmed: the Twenty November. Now there is no doubt that is the date. The year was 1971, when the group first celebrated on November 20.

Collaborating for the invention of tradition, comes into play the word of the historian Decio Freitas, who came to Brazil in Porto Alegre. As his own account saw the first celebration of November 20, performed by Palmares theater group, "driven by news in the Press." Importantly, Decio Freitas, who professed the communism, had been in exile in Uruguay, Montevideo, because of the military dictatorship. During his exile, he wrote and published the work Palmares - la guerrilla Negra. This publication, accordingly the author, was published in 1971, by Nuestra America in Montevideo. Decio Freitas said there was presented to the Palmares theater group, with a copy of the book.
Indeed, the work of Decio Freitas, later it was translated to Portuguese and published by Editions Grail in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The work will be important to the process of "invention" and "construction" of the Zumbi tradition and the Palmares Quilombo and will contribute to consolidation of the national day of black consciousness.

The Zombie character, created by Decio Freitas (1990. p. 125), is designed as a socialist leader. The Zombie is a scholar Decius's. "Zumbi was born at the beginning of 1655, on one of the many palmarinas village", so Zumbi was native of Palmares territory. Decio Freitas continues: "The little black baby was given a present to the Portuguese priest Antonio Melo, of Porto Calvo District of. Whose boundaries marked the boundary between Luso-Brazilian settlement and the black republic" (Freitas, 1990. p. 125). Besides a native of Palmares, Zumbi was created on the outskirts of Palmares. Probably why it has not lost contact with their peers. And the profile of the hero continues to be traced: "Tell the priest who baptized the little black boy and gave him the name of Francis. He taught him to read and made his altar boy when he was ten years old" (Freitas, 1990. p. 125).

It is important to emphasize that Francisco was not treat like a slave by the priest, because blacks born in Palmares were not considered slaves which, according to Decio Freitas, is explained by a jurisprudence of the Overseas Council, which later will be consolidated by the Royal Charter of 1682.

The priest who created the little Francisco regrets that when he turned fifteen, his altar boy, the bearer of "perfectly good Christian sense," had fled to the company of blacks raised of Palmares. And Décio emphasizes the statement of the priest to compose the Zumbi lettered profile: "ever imaginable engine in black and few times that found in whites. At age ten, Francisco knew all the Latin that there mister and grew in Portuguese and Latin very satisfactorily" (Freitas, 1990. p. 125).

This demonstrates that the hero, detached by the poet Oliveira da Silveira (2003), is ready for revenge, since it has the key attributes that need a hero. Zombie is brave, intelligent, very clever as a strategist, has a sense of personal sacrifice by the collective. The design therefore emphasizes moral qualities that are embodied by the character and at the same time, these qualities will be traditional values vehicles that must be recovered by the black population in the process of affirmation.
And even more: the hero is lettered, which means that apart from tradition, the hero brings with it, too, the principle of "civilizing". About this, is José Murilo de Carvalho who manifests:

Heroes are powerful symbols, embodiments of ideas and aspirations, reference points, fulcrums of collective identification, he, the hero will have the responsibility to respond some need or aspiration to reflect some kind of collective personality or behavior that corresponds to a model collectively valued. (CARVALHO, 1990, p. 55).

Ready is the hero for the preparation of a new narrative that can counter the "myth of racial democracy." Zumbi has been serving the wishes of voices speaking on the sidelines long as the search for a claim to be black has always existed in Brazil, as has been proving the modern historiography, which put in check a traditionalist view, is willing to review the point view that propagates an image of submission. It is this process of historical revision which proves the existence of rebellion and resistance movements that can be compared with what happened in the Caribbean, particularly in Haiti in 1804, when the enslaved blacks, organized a rebellion by force of arms took power and won their freedom and independence.

The review process of the Brazilian historiography retrieves a record of rebellions of the enslaved blacks and participation in all the insurrections that happened in the Second Empire. It is natural, since then, it was thought a matrix that could serve as a symbol for another stage in which the image of the "cordiality" is no longer enough. The character Zumbi "sacred rage" thus opposes both the prototype of the "black Pacific" and "submission conformed" present in the Brazilian imagination, as the figure of "black mother", or "Father John."

If the profile of Zumbi, created by Decio Freitas (1990), is the leader of a "lettered", rational - that boss commanding, having previously designed and developed strategies and tactics necessary for the survival of palmarina society - the Quilombo of Palmares is painted by him as a socialist Republic based on cooperation and solidarity:
In black communities prevailed a bounty that offered a sharp contrast to the eternal food misery of the coastal populations. The abundance of labor, cooperative work and social solidarity production had increased dramatically. (Freitas, 1990, p. 73).

Decio says: "It was a peculiar republic would not be able to apply historical concepts or political European-inspired" (Freitas, 1990, p. 104). And in another passage continues: "Palmares was the most eloquent expression of the anti-slavery speech of black Brazilians in the almost three centuries of slavery" (Freitas, 1990, p. 210). Still on the territory of Palmares, the historian Flávio Gomes (2005) also outlines a design:

Palmares was a world of African faces in Brazil by African reinvented palmaristas - African ethnic groups of diverse origins, and those borned there - which forged its own social spaces and unique. Recreated cultures, religions and organized themselves militarily to fight invaders. Also established practices to ensure economic survival. It was the creation of this world (as possible) that greatly alarmed the Portuguese crown. At the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the people of Palmares were already thousands. Not only did the trail grow those shacks. The first generations of Palmaristas began to rise. (GOMES, 2005, p.73).

Indeed, the Quilombo of Palmares, after the vision of Decio Freitas (1990), goes through a process of redefinition. No longer simply a quilombo, colonial in the strict sense. For the purposes of the Colonial Council Overseas quilombo was "all black runaway housing, passing five, partly uninhabited, although they have not raised ranch on it and do not even think it pylons" (OVERSEAS COUNCIL, 1740 apud ALFREDO, 2000, p. 163).

In this sense, Palmares after Decio Freitas (1990), breaks with this meaning and becomes a strong socialist Republic that, parallel to the colonial empire, has persisted for over a century. Palmares becomes be reunion of the lost dream of a society forged in struggle and in which, certainly, could have prevailed, the true racial democracy.

The Zumbi figure in the way it was handled by contemporary black movement can not be analyzed outside the prism of "nation" and national cultures, therefore bring the scene Stuart Hall (2003):

National cultures are composed not only of cultural institutions but also symbols and representations. A national culture is a discourse a way of constructing meanings which influences and organizes our actions regarding the conception we have of ourselves (HALL 2003 p. 50).
If a national culture is a constructed discourse, parallel discourses may emerge prepared by groups who for one reason or another, were not covered by the "official" discourse of the supposed national culture. And this is exactly in this game of contrasts and oppositions, which are forged identities. Thus the same character can be the target of inverse representations of what you want or want to express, whether by groups that challenge the image or character "official" whether by groups that, in one form or another, wish to establish and affirm its uniqueness getting rid of the plots of homogeneous tissue that chokes, seeking to build its own identity.

Seen in this hand, the struggle by recognizing of a group of a character who "traveled" over time by "edges" of the historical narrative of the country should not be construed as a retrograde attitude that threatens the order of what was built and the pedagogical narrative is presented as a nation. Rather, this struggle constitutes a fundamental element for the construction and formation of collective identity and of that group. From this point of view, one may ask what this character is presented and disclosed to the Brazilian nation? A character that is not only presented, but who insists on being included and part of the discourse of national culture, the official discourse?

To help us better understand the question placed, ask for help from the concept of "dissemination (nation)" articulated by Homi Bhabha (1998). The concept of "dissemination (nation)" responds to the need to read the nation with all their cultural differences. The term "spread" refers symbolically to the idea of two existing historic times in a construction project of ideological narrative authority of

any country. For Bhabha (1998), it is necessary to recognize the existence of two temporal levels that are part of imagination and ideological narrativization of a nation, or that space in which "writes the nation". This means that the nation can not only be read horizontally, as a metaphor for a national landscape, which would be equivalent to the existence of a cohesive identity and homogeneous negate the differences. But the nation should be read in its temporality disjunctive, ambivalent and production that manifests the difference or cultural differences, often from subaltern groups demanding the appreciation of their roles as active participants of the same nation.

The first time, more traditional, who articulates the temporal linear, continuous and cumulative, Bhabha (1998, p. 222) calls the time "teaching", the second, "performativity". The time teaching "is a form of homogenous and empty time," time is cited by Walter Benjamin in Experience and history. The time performativity is the time form of the intersections, the transversality, is the time where the stories go "underground." "It's time to stop the self-generating time of national production and destabilizes the meaning of the people as a homogenous" (1998, p. 209). These times are always articulated agonizing form walk in a state of constant tension.

From this point of view, the recovery of the time is "performative" which leads to entry of the subjectivity of the various "nations" who constitute a nation. It is for this recovery time "performative" that can be heard "voices" of marginalized minorities considered. In this way, in the words of Homi Bhabha (1998), is that groups be able to symbolically challenge the discourse centering and "teaching" of the nation and, above all, questioning the power of this discourse, to consolidate and generalize a single social dimension, in the name of a nationality that want to unifying .

Indeed, the quilombola territories around the country are africanidades living spaces of cultural resistance. Bhabha (1998), in analyzing the post-colonial cultures are cultures that states that always go in the process of tension with the national culture and always take advantage of vague, empty of the linearity of the narrative pedagogical nation does not realize complete . This is how to write and fall the countless stories of blacks in the Americas. The political time (performative) has written 'the time of the descendants of Africans' in the American continent, while those
who are building their hyphenated identities in the sense referred to by Indian anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (2004), African-Brazilian, African-Columbian, African-Jamaican, and so forth.

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