

**PLANTING CAPOEIRA ANGOLA: FEELINGS AND THOUGHTS ABOUT
CAPOEIRA ANGOLA, WOMANITIES AND THE AMAZON*****PLANTANDO A CAPOEIRA ANGOLA: SENTIPENSAMENTOS SOBRE CAPOEIRA
ANGOLA, MULHERIDADES E AMAZÔNIA******PLANTANDO CAPOEIRA ANGOLA: SENTIMIENTOS Y PENSAMIENTOS SOBRE
CAPOEIRA ANGOLA, LAS MUJERES Y LA AMAZONIA***Carmem Pricila Virgolino TEIXEIRA¹
e-mail: carmemvirgolina@gmail.com**How to reference this article:**

TEIXEIRA, C. P. V. Planting Capoeira Angola: Feelings and thoughts about Capoeira Angola, womanities and the Amazon. *Rev. Cadernos de Campo*, Araraquara, v. 23, n. 00, e023018, 2023. e-ISSN: 2359-2419. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.47284/cdc.v23i00.16794>

| **Submitted:** 21/05/2022| **Required revisions:** 16/01/2023| **Approved:** 24/05/2023| **Published:** 22/12/2023

Editors: Profa. Dra. Maria Teresa Miceli Kerbauy
Prof. Me. Mateus Tobias Vieira
Profa. Me. Thaís Caetano de Souza

¹ Theater-dance artist-researcher, capoeira player, social educator and cultural producer. Researcher linked to the Brazilian Association for Research and Postgraduate Studies in the Performing Arts (ABRACE). PhD in Arts from the Postgraduate Program in Arts at the Federal University of Pará, Master's Degree in Social Sciences, with an emphasis on Social Anthropology from the Postgraduate Program in Social Sciences at the Federal University of Pará, Bachelor's Degree in Letters with a major in French Language from the Federal University of Pará.

Rev. *Cadernos de Campo*, Araraquara, v. 23, n. 00, e023018, 2023.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.47284/cdc.v23i00.16794>

e-ISSN: 2359-2419

1

ABSTRACT: This essay intends to feel/think about the event *Plantando a Capoeira Angola*, highlighting the protagonism of women in capoeira. Starting from a confluence of narratives, based on experiences presented here, the text seeks to articulate the experiences that occurred at the event with interdisciplinary theoretical references that put in dialogue concepts such as feelingthinking and black performance. Demonstrating how an experience among women capoeiristas (capoeira players) can provide reflections and encouragement so that we can announce a new era of capoeira that welcomes the diversity of bodies that manifest it, this essay affirms the participation of women in capoeira and their historical importance in it. Evidencing connections between matripotent women with African motives and Amazonian ancestry in Belém, this writing announces the effectiveness of groups, conversation circles, meetings self-managed by women as spaces that favor the affirmation of plural identities in the universe of capoeira.

KEYWORDS: Women. Capoeira Angola. Black performance. Feelings. Writing.

RESUMO: *Este ensaio pretende sentipensar o evento Plantando a Capoeira Angola, evidenciando o protagonismo de mulheres na capoeira. Partindo de uma confluência de narrativas pautadas em vivências aqui apresentadas, o texto busca articular as experiências que ocorreram no evento a referenciais teóricos de áreas diversas do conhecimento, que põem em diálogo conceitos como sentipensar e performance negra, os quais serão esmiuçados no decorrer do texto. Ao evidenciar como uma vivência entre mulheres capoeiristas pode propiciar reflexões e incentivo para que possamos anunciar um novo tempo, de uma capoeira que acolha a diversidade de corpos que a manifestam, este ensaio afirma participações de mulheridades na capoeira e a importância histórica delas nesse contexto. Tecendo conexões entre mulheridades matripotentes de motrizes africanas e ancestralidades amazônicas em Belém, a presente escrevivência anuncia a eficácia de grupos, rodas de conversas, encontros autogeridos por mulheres como espaços que favorecem a afirmação de identidades plurais no universo da capoeira.*

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Mulheridades. Capoeira Angola. Performance negra. Sentipensamentos. Escrevivência.

RESUMEN: *Este ensayo tiene como objetivo reflexionar sobre el evento Plantando a Capoeira Angola, destacando el papel protagónico de la mujer en la capoeira. A partir de una confluencia de narrativas basadas en las experiencias aquí presentadas, el texto busca articular las vivencias ocurridas en el evento con referentes teóricos de diferentes áreas del conocimiento, que ponen en diálogo conceptos como sentimiento y performance negra, los cuales se detallarán a lo largo el texto. Al resaltar cómo una experiencia entre mujeres capoeiristas puede proporcionar reflexiones y estímulos para que podamos anunciar una nueva era, de una capoeira que acoge la diversidad de cuerpos que la expresan, este ensayo afirma la participación de las mujeres en la capoeira y su importancia histórica en esta contexto. Tejiendo conexiones entre mujeres matripotentes de origen africano y ascendencia amazónica en Belém, este escrito anuncia la eficacia de grupos, círculos de conversación, encuentros autogestionados por mujeres como espacios que favorecen la afirmación de identidades plurales en el universo de la capoeira.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Mujeres. Capoeira Angola. Rendimiento negro. Sentimientos. Escribiendo.*

*You don't know it, but I'm one of those women of fire
Those women of fire are my breath[...]
And when you see me passing by
The naked eye doesn't notice me being carried by them
Because in me go all them
(Roberta Tavares - Mulheres de Fogo, our translation)*

*I went to the jurema tree
I got its seeds
I brought them along
I've planted elsewhere
(Corrido de capoeira angola, our translation)*

Excuse me, old pal, excuse me for arriving² - Introduction

The following essay aims to record and reflect on the importance and unprecedented nature of the first *capoeira angola* meeting organized by *angoleiras*, with the participation only of women, in the Amazon region of Pará. The event entitled "*Plantando a Capoeira Angola*" (Planting Capoeira Angola) took place between the 3rd and 6th of February, 2022, in two municipalities in Pará: Belém, the state capital, and Castanhal, a nearby town, 75 km from the capital. I would like to point out to the reader that in this text I assume my feelings, memories and poetics, which are present in my artistic work and also in my writing. In this way, I may cause discomfort in a certain academic order that insists on affirming Cartesian reasoning, with its dichotomies, as the only source of knowledge production. What would be the point of a student linked to a postgraduate program in the arts, if not to challenge the post-positivist paradigms of writing in the academic world?

My main dialogue is with the concept of feeling-thinking. According to Moraes and Saturnino (2004), from the field of pedagogy, emotional education and the teaching-learning of ways of relating is of fundamental importance, and above all, scrutinizing the close link between perceiving, feeling, thinking and acting, highlighting the connection between our emotions and our attitudes. For the authors, love, for example, is a feeling that can be taught and learned as a form of mutual respect and solidarity. In this way, environments in which the close link between

² In each subtitle of the text, I include excerpts from capoeira angola songs translated by the journal's team. And I use italics to mark excerpts from songs and also testimonies from practitioners.

cognition and affectivity is recognized, this teaching-learning is favored and, in this way, I demonstrate, through reports, how a capoeira angola event, which was formatted among women, was configured in an environment in which capoeira manifested itself as an efficient tool for engendering anti-machist reflections, among which the production of this essay is a sample.

Furthermore, I am dialoguing with Evaristo's (2009) concept of writing as an experience, for whom there is a specific corpus of writers in Brazil whose writings are crossed by experiences of/with blackness. Based on these dialogues, and twenty years of capoeira angola practice, I justify the license I give myself to write in the first person and the theme of my experiences in collectives as a relevant fact for discussing concepts that contribute to the debate on gender relations in our society and in capoeira. I also call on the voices of the collective's members to contribute to this writing, bringing into the text some of their speeches, the fruit of informal conversations or questions directed at *comrades* and *masters*, generating, to use a term used by Mestre Nego Bispo, a *confluence* of narratives, like the meeting of rivers, which do not leave their singularities when they meet, but which, together, form something greater. In this sense, I am especially grateful for the dialogues with *mana*³ (sister) Mayara La Rocque, a poet, writer and member of the collective, who was an important interlocutor in the final organization of the structure of this text.

As with my other work, this essay represents one view, among many others, of the topics covered. Far from claiming to be absolute truth, or the possibility of exhausting the topic, it presents itself as an opportunity for narrative exercise. Furthermore, it is also a response to the debt I feel I have owed by not being able, in the face of countless misogynistic pressures, to dedicate a proper section to the issue of gender in the dissertation I wrote on capoeira angola in Belém, approximately twelve years ago, in which I timidly ask in the introduction to the work (TEIXEIRA, 2010, p. 23, our translation): "In a traditionally male environment, does a woman seeking to reflect on this universe become a threatening representation?". So, more than ten years later, I myself answer yes, but I intend to rephrase the initial statement in the dissertation, in which I referred to the capoeira environment as traditionally masculine, because this environment has always been crossed by womanhood.

³ I chose to footnote some of the terms inherent to the universe of capoeira angola and/or social activism in Belém, and to italicize words inherent to this universe in the text. I proposed a dynamic to a group of companions who are part of the collective and I then included in the notes to the text the definitions of Brenda Kalife, Bruna Matins and Xokeide d'Oya for some capoeira angola and candomblé angola terms.

Before I go any further, I would also like to explain my choice, right from the title of the essay, of using the word "womanities" instead of other words like "feminine", for example. This choice reflects the fact that I believe it is the right way to represent the plurality of women's identities present at the meeting. I could say that none of the women present there perform the current expectation of a femininity that refers to fragility, passivity and objectification, as the word feminine, or even woman, can evoke. We become women not because of a biological condition, but because we identify with and learn social behaviors that vary from culture to culture and which, within the same social group, can take on different aspects. As Butler (2003, p. 09, our translation) asks: "Would being a woman constitute a natural fact or a cultural performance, or would naturalness be constituted through discursively compelled performative acts, which produce the body within and through the categories of sex?" For the author, gender identity categories are the result in the West of two defining institutions: phallocentrism and compulsory heterosexuality.

I Want to See Idalina - The presence of women in capoeira

The presence of women in capoeira goes back a long way. For many historians, the oldest records of these presences are associated with a context that dates back to the 19th century. In the words of other masters, *ginga*⁴ itself, the word used to describe capoeira's main body movement, is a reference to Queen Nzinga Mbandi, an African queen well known for having won several battles in Angola against the Portuguese colonizers, celebrated for her remarkable intellectual and physical abilities. According to Fonseca (2021, p. 62, our translation):

Njinga Mbandi is still remembered today in Angola as a symbol of the struggle against colonization and her story was recovered by the independence movements in the 1970s. In the diaspora, her name also appears in many manifestations of Afro culture, such as capoeira, congados and candomblés, associated with black resistance and female power.

Sendo então o principal movimento da capoeira, a *ginga*, que consiste em balançar o corpo, ludibriando assim o oponente, uma homenagem numa derivação do nome da rainha *Nzinga*, percebemos, como apontam historiadoras, como Fonseca (2021) e Foltran (2017), que embora a capoeira seja costumeiramente vista como um espaço masculino, sempre contou em

⁴ Capoeira's basic movement, in which, by exchanging legs and arms, the body prepares for other attack and defense movements.

suas formas de organização e lugares de expressão com a presença ativa de mulheridades. Portanto, por que constatamos no ambiente da capoeira a reprodução de violências de gênero contra corpos que não performatizam masculinidades?

In consonance with other women who feel strongly about capoeira, their narratives highlight the contradiction that exists in the fact that this practice is a space for questioning the colonial order, which enslaved black bodies, and at the same time, a space where many values of patriarchy, one of the foundations of that same slave system. Thus emerged the *Angoleiras Cabanas* collective, which has been gaining prominence in organizing women around the practice of Capoeira Angola in the city of Belém since 2018. According to Marinho and Assunção (2021, p. 63, our translation), "the collective was created with the aim of creating healthy environments for the propagation of the ancestral knowledge inherent in capoeira angola, as well as seeking to reflect on and intervene in the contradictions that still exist in this practice". According to the creator and member of the collective, Brenda Kalife, in an interview given in March 2022:

Every woman has experienced or is experiencing situations of oppression within the practice of capoeira. However, there are few spaces where it is possible to talk about it. With this in mind, the Angoleiras Cabanas collective, a priori Flores de Angola, was created so that women could get together to exchange knowledge, train and talk about the violence that crosses women's bodies in this practice. In this way, the collective was created independently, as an autonomous movement, with the aim of encouraging women to stick with capoeira, having each other as comrades and accomplices in the anti-machist struggle. In March 2002, we celebrated four years of life and existence, with many lessons learned and achievements to tell.

With the deplorable increase in cases of violence against women, during the pandemic period, added to experiences of violence against many of us within capoeira itself, we believe that holding a capoeira angola event starring women would be a political action to combat the social scourge of machismo, manifested in society as a whole, including, unfortunately, also within capoeira and often, it is worth remembering, by women themselves.

We found that the way women lead capoeira is usually much more cooperative than competitive, much more welcoming, which is why we decided to invite two female masters to lead the event. There are countless reports of embarrassing situations caused by masculine conducts that exacerbate martiality and physical strength, making it difficult to manifest capoeira's enormous potential as a pedagogical tool for transforming the racist and sexist system.

Figure 1 – Planting Capoeira Angola



Source: Treinel Brenda Kalife e Mestre Di, na roda de abertura do evento, no terreiro de candomblé angola Mansu Nangetu. Foto: Mel Mater

The concept of the *event*, in turn, focused on representativeness and ancestry, as well as the connection between capoeira angola womanities and the Amazon rainforest, investing in two female capoeira masters coming to Belém. According to Bruna Maria, a member of the collective and organizer of the event, in an interview in March 2022, the connection between nature as a living entity and capoeira angola is intrinsic:

In my opinion, capoeira is a field of multicultures and multi-resistance which, in its universe, transmits in oral and corporal memory traditional, simple, rural living and knowledge, often in a context of social marginalization. What we experienced during the immersive days of Planting Capoeira Angola, to a certain extent, was also a return to the collective, a return to mother earth. Through the game of "vadiar angola", we also talked about food sovereignty, caring for the planet, and agroforestry as a practice of caring for the soil and generating food also nourishes this struggle for autonomy (our translation).

The main aspirations of this meeting were to discuss rEx(s)istence tactics and confrontations against the evils of patriarchy, racism and other colonial practices of oppression, including against nature; as well as the possibility of adding to the physical and musical performances of the participating women a repertoire of songs, touches and movements. Here

I use the term performance in its epistemological aspect, according to researchers in the field of performance anthropology, which means restored behavior. Thus, any act performed, restored by someone for the gaze of other people can be seen as a performance. In this sense, everything from a simple movement that is repeated in the intimacy of someone's daily life to a theatrical performance can be studied through the prism of performance. When we talk about capoeira, we are referring to a type of performance that can be seen as a ritual performance. According to Martins (1997, p. 72, our translation):

Ritual performances, ceremonies and celebrations, for example, are fertile environments for memory, for the vast repertoires of mnemonic reserves, kinetic actions, patterns, techniques and cultural procedures restored and expressed in and through the body. Rites transmit and institute aesthetic, philosophical and metaphysical knowledge, among others, as well as procedures and techniques, both in their symbolic framework and in the modes of enunciation, apparatuses and conventions that sculpt their performance.

I came on the Swing of the Angolan Sea – Capoeira and Good Living

The meeting was strong and intense, just like the Amazonian winter storms that occur between the end and the beginning of the year, and at the end of it, everyone had new land in themselves, turned over, with seeds planted. For this reason, the insertion, in the epigraph that opens this essay, of the *corrido*⁵ that Mestra Di sang during the event serves as a metaphor about taking seeds from one place and planting them in another, as if the coming of the *masters* and *manas* from Maranhão had brought new seeds, stirring in us the ancient desire to continue rEx(s)isting in good living, among us women, with society as a whole and with nature as a living entity. It comes from the indigenous movement in Ecuador, for which, in the Kíchua language, *sumak kawsay*, or good living - a term used in countless constitutions in South American countries since the 2000s - proposes the construction of a different kind of society, based, among other principles, on the recognition of nature as a subject of rights. According to Léon T (2008, p. 01, our translation), the good life is

synthesizes ancestral visions and practices, current debates and proposals, the accumulation of critical thinking and social struggles of recent decades; it brings together national and international dynamics in response to the 'development model' and the 'civilization model' that have led to a situation that is already recognized as unsustainable.

⁵ An oral capoeira song made up of verses (which can be created and modified), followed by a chorus that is sung by everyone present in a capoeira angola roda.

The potential of capoeira angola as a space for the experience of good living is undeniable. With regard to perspectives on good living, Acosta (2016, p. 27, our translation) states that, in this line of thinking, "overcoming inequalities is inescapable. Decolonization and depatriarchalization are fundamental tasks, as is overcoming racism, which is deeply rooted in our societies."

This ongoing proposal, practiced by indigenous peoples and in Critical Interculturality (WALSH, 2009) by other peoples as well, can be observed in African-driven cultures. Critical Interculturality, a concept that also comes from South American indigenous movements, is about the possibility of bringing together cultures that, even though they are different, come together to implement proposals against capitalism. In the Amazon, the further the black people went into the forest, the more they came into contact with indigenous peoples, especially when it came to establishing collaborative solidarity.

Our current need in the Amazon to replant a huge part of the forest that has already been devastated, to take care that deforestation does not reach the point of irreversibility and the forest dies, can remind us of the tactics of enslaved black women who, when fleeing to *quilombos* in Brazil, carried hidden seeds in their hair to cultivate other fields in freedom; ancestral technology that points us to a future of hope in the need to plant, replant and cultivate care. Therefore, the metaphor of the *corrido* mentioned in the epigraph is found there, where exchanges of bodily and musical experiences are shared like seeds, and which also reminds us of the urgency of caring for nature.

In this sense, it is worth remembering that in the *quilombos*, the name given to the war training camps of the nomadic *Jagas* peoples in Africa, women played a fundamental role, were numerous and adopted a warrior lifestyle. There, they took care of everything from food and objects of war to handling hatchets and spears. In this way, they occupied fundamental hierarchical positions in the waging of wars, as priestesses, on whom the warriors depended (FONSECA, 2021). It is possible to draw analogies between the performances of *quilombo* women from Africa and the identities of *angoleiras*, the name given to women who practice capoeira angola.

It is worth noting that the state of Pará has, according to data from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), the largest number of quilombos in the northern region, where there is a vast contribution of black populations to local culture, which can be seen in the corporealities of the *folgedos* present here and also in other local technologies. Because we do not have a female capoeira angola master in the state, we invited two from other states to lead

the event, *mestra* Di, from Pernambuco and *mestra* Samme, from Maranhão; with the aim of relating the Amazonian context to issues of gender and race. The vast majority of the women taking part in the event were Amazonian, women from Pará and Maranhão, neighboring Brazilian states where the Amazon rainforest extends.

If the Amazon rainforest is inseparable from the people who inhabit it, because we are the guardians of this biome, we can also associate the attacks and threats that the Amazon rainforest suffers with the attacks that northern Amazonian women also suffer, which we can see in the high rates of violence practiced against women in the region. The traditional peoples of the Amazon, and this includes traditional peoples of African descent, are bled of their dignity on a daily basis by the neglect with which the Brazilian state treats the region, which, although it is one of the richest in the world in terms of natural resources, stands out as a place with the worst human development indices in the country.

In this way, the presence of major projects in the region, such as the construction of hydroelectric dams, which are imposed on us, built in disregard of the ecological and social impacts caused, as well as the presence of gold mines, increase the vulnerability of women. Often, with the arrival of capital, poverty sets in and women are pushed into prostitution, making our region one of the champions of child and adolescent sexual exploitation, according to Federal Police reports, and a marked route for the trafficking of cis and trans women, with the omission of the Brazilian state, a fact that has been aggravated in the last four years by the rise of an extreme right-wing government.

While I felt the richness of the plurality of personalities of the women present at *Plantando a Capoeira Angola*, I had reminiscences of various types of abuse and harassment that occur against women. I was internally fantasizing about our powers to rEx(s)ist and I recognized various feelings(resentments) running through me: anger, fear, hope, desire, the urgent need to become protagonists, narrators of our own journeys, accepting the weaknesses, yes, which also constitute us, but not only that, also recognizing our capacities. I wanted to find out what makes us strong, but I also had to realize that it is precisely in our weaknesses that our strengths are forged. What other voices but those that have been subalternized know better than any others the thirst for justice and liberation?

We wanted to find a cosmogonic time of women who did not start from a principle of subservience, as in the white western world, but a time of women who know their protagonism.

So, we wanted capoeira angola to take us *volta ao mundo*⁶ (around the world), to take a break from the linear time of the capitalist system and spiral into the cosmological time of capoeira. How could we do this if there are no women masters in the *capoeira angola* tradition in Pará? How can we do this if the project of whitening the nation has tried and tries to erase the narratives, memories and protagonisms of non-white women? For us, the *Plantando a Capoeira Angola* event was such a possibility. According to Fonseca (2022, p. 08, our translation):

Kunene society - southern Angola - saw the Ngolo circle as a sacred space. The *elola* or *ovahakelela*, the circle, was socially a special space that evoked powerful images of the sacred status of force. The circular ritual was designed to take practitioners to the spirit world. The capoeira roda takes up the social value of the circle and is understood as "the tour of the world", the circle of life where everything happens, where the most intimate characteristics of each person are brought out, it is the real capoeira classroom where mestres are trained and traditional practices and values are passed on, it is the stage where the connection with the "mother earth" takes place. By making this "return to the world", the angoleiro feels that he is reconnecting with his ancestry, as if his soul could go to Africa and bring elements of the worldview of the ancients to his game.

The question of the non-linearity of time and the multidimensionality of events has always disturbed me. In spiral circularity, we are certainly linked to the matripotentes ancestors, who have been invisibilized from the official discourses of history in general, and also from the history of capoeira, placed in the background, but who have always been there in elements already mentioned, such as the *ginga*, the *cabaça*⁷, in the circularity, in the malemolence of the bodies, in the names of women mentioned in the songs, *Marias*, *Idalinas*, *Catarinas*, *Salomés*, *Nossas Senhoras*, *Sereias*. We use the cyclical time celebrated in capoeira, which goes back to a primordial time, as all traditional practices do in general, to celebrate and invoke in our own bodies and experiences these other women from other times. In *A Dívida Impagável* (The Unpayable Debt), sociologist and professor Denise Ferreira da Silva (2019, p. 45, our translation) questions the pillars of modern Western thought, in dialogue with quantum physics, and brings us back to a principle of unity:

Everything has an actual (space-time) and virtual (non-local) existence. So why not think of human existence in the same way? Why not assume that beyond their physical (bodily and geographical) conditions of existence, in their fundamental constitution, at the subatomic level, humans exist entangled

⁶ A moment of truce in capoeira, when the players walk in a circular pattern, leaning on each other's hands, until they resume the game itself, with attack and defense movements.

⁷ Cabaça: dried fruit of plants of the genera *Lagenaria* and *Cucurbita*, useful for making musical instruments, such as the berimbau, which is responsible for the instrument's acoustic box.

with all things (animate and inanimate) in the universe? [...] sociality is no longer either cause or effect of relations involving separate existents, but the uncertain condition under which everything that exists is a singular expression of each and every other virtual actual existent in the universe, that is, as *Corpus Infinitum*.

If all beings are thus interconnected in the same way, past, present and future are connected in a single present, in an alinear time. The black presence in the Amazon has been documented by a number of scholars, including Salles (2004), a pioneer in this field of study, who demonstrated the inclusion of capoeiristas in other popular folklore in the state of Pará, especially in boi-bumbá since the 19th century. In the literature produced since the beginning of the 20th century, such as the work *Batuque*, by Bruno de Menezes (1939), to name just one of the other literary works, the black presence in the Amazon is also recorded. This presence can still be seen in the police newspapers of the time, in which, not by chance, harlots, batuqueiros, troublemakers and capoeiras were all framed for the crime of vagrancy, as they violated the code of conduct of a Belém that was caricatured as Europe, with a ruling elite that was surrendered to the project of coloniality and therefore denied the undeniable contribution of black and indigenous *drivers* in shaping the material and immaterial culture of the city. Still in this 19th century context in Belém, more recent studies point to police records that show women arrested for the crime of vagrancy. Silva (2016, p. 48, our translation), referencing historical surveys, points out:

[...] other women were also found involved in capoeira on the streets of Belém in the 19th century: Maria Meia Noite, Joana Maluca, Maria Galinha and many others were featured in the newspapers of the time. The profile of these women was not at all in line with the established models, contradicting the behavioral standards dictated for elite white women, as well as for enslaved women.

Capoeira itself takes us back, through its cyclical temporality, to a universe of a lost Africa, which anyone who dreams of returning to a promised land can identify with. In this way, there is a search for this ancestry, because it places us in this spiral time of returning to a past that is present in our bodies. This is how a few days of our experiences within the living *roda* of capoeira went: training, singing, rounds of conversations, socializing, drumming, maracas - from which no one emerged unscathed. In *Plantando a Capoeira Angola*, we wanted to return to Queen Nzinga Mbandi, who fought against the Portuguese in Angola. We wanted this return to Dandara de Palmares, who fought for the construction of the first territory free from the crown in colonial Brazil. We wanted to celebrate the existence of women with

*capoeira bodies*⁸ on the streets of Belém in the 19th century; all of them who inspire us, accompany us and remain alive in us because, before us, they fought for us to be here today, just as, after us, they will still fight in the bodies of capoeira women to come.

Being close to two women capoeira angola masters gave us the opportunity, at the event, to reconnect with our ancestry. Lélia Gonzales (2020), in her essay *A Mulher Negra na sociedade brasileira: uma abordagem político-econômica* (The black woman in Brazilian society: a political and economic approach), highlights both the place of vulnerability of black women - because sexism and racism juxtaposed expose them to the highest levels of oppression in the Brazilian social pyramid - and the importance and protagonism of these black women in the rEx(s)istence to the colonial slave system, highlighting their survival strategies within a capitalist and racist society.

Among these strategies, Lélia Gonzalez cites what she calls "passive" resistance, as well as cases such as Luísa Mahin - who played such an important role in the organization and armed struggle of the Malês Revolt in Bahia in 1835, that she was eventually deported back to Africa, but before leaving, she gave birth to none other than Luiz Gama, one of the greatest activists in the abolitionist struggle in the 20th century, present in all the great national liberation movements - Black men and women in the Amazon also took part in the *Cabanagem*, a popular uprising that overthrew local power in Belém and spread throughout Pará and other distant parts of the Amazon. This revolt inspired the *collective's* name and, although I still have little knowledge about the participation of women in this revolt, studies point to their effective participation in the armed struggle, as guerrillas. Of course, investigating what a woman's body was like in that war, especially the presence of female cabana capoeirista guerrillas, would be a subject for future writings.

While it is known that, even for men, capoeiragem was considered a criminal practice for a long time, for women it was certainly from the new guise it took on in the 1960s onwards that the presence of women became a constant in academies and groups. According to Foutran (2017, p. 101, our translation):

The only record from before 1968 that mentions women involved in this new way of doing capoeira angola, i.e. in the academies, is the Mestre Pastinha's Book of Records of the Capoeira Angola Sports Center (CECA). In his enrollment control notebook, Pastinha wrote down some information about the students in his academy, such as name, address, age and profession. Record no. 113, for the years 1962 to 1965, is just a 3x4 photograph of a

⁸ *Corpo encapoeirado (capoeira body)* was an expression I heard recently from capoeirista Nildes Sena.

woman's face. There is no information below this photo. The other two women registered in Pastinha's Book of Records are Maria de Lourdes Barbosa, registered in 1968, and Arbernia Soares Rezende, in 1969. Also from 1968 is Waldeloir Rego's book in which he claims that Gato Preto was the first Capoeira Mestre to teach women.

Nowadays, women capoeiristas are increasingly interested in getting together to think about gender issues within the world of capoeira. There are groups and collectives that train only women, national and international mobilizations through networks, events with growing spaces for women's issues in capoeira and, according to a survey by the Angoleira Women's Network (RAM), there are currently 26 women capoeira angola masters in the world.

On the website of the Pro-Rectorate of Extension (PROEX) of the Federal University of Bahia, you can easily find the information that in 2001 the first woman master in the history of capoeira angola in the country was made, Valdelice Santos de Jesus, known as Mestra Jararaca, trained in Bahia by Mestre Curió. Although I will not go into historical aspects here, as it is not my focus/intention, we know that women have been present in capoeira since at least the 19th century or, as we have already mentioned, much earlier, in the figure of Queen Nzinga herself. However, what kinds of womanities have we been allowed to manifest in these capoeira territories? Today, what we are demanding is a space in which we can manifest the singularities of our bodies, masters of our own narratives, owners of multiple identities and, above all, capable of making our *capoeira bodies* environments of memories that connect us to these queenly, strategist, free, active, intellectually and physically skilled women.

Recently, in an informal conversation with Carla Baía, a capoeirista and dancer from the city, a dear partner in other artistic endeavors, we remembered the late Sílvia Leão, also known as Pé de Anjo, who received the title of master from Mestra Janja, posthumously, in 2016, at an event held by the National Historical and Artistic Heritage Institute (IPHAN), in Belém⁹. It was with the arrival of mestra Janja from Salvador, founder of the capoeira angola group Nzinga and a pioneer in many of the gender discussions within capoeira and in the academy, that she was posthumously recognized as the first woman capoeira master in the city of Belém. Having been an important leader of the *Dandara Bambula* group and the creator of the *Movimento Capoeira Mulher* (Women's Capoeira Movement) in Belém, one of the first capoeira collectives organized solely by women in Brazil, Sílvia was recently honoured by being named after the law that instituted 13 of May as the municipal capoeira day in Belém.

⁹ About the master Pé de Anjo, it's worth checking out the comic organized by Carla Baia and Carla Costa: *Ayana: a menina dos pés de anjo*.

So, I return to the point made above, when Lélia talks about passive resistance. This word "passive" refers to the symbolic form that the strategy of rEx(s)istence has taken, but it is active in the final results achieved. Lélia, dialoguing with theories of psychoanalysis, makes us pay attention to the fundamental role played by black women in Brazil in the formation of the national collective unconscious. Caring for their own children as well as the children of whites, first as *mucamas* and then as nannies and domestic servants, these women were responsible for telling the first stories of childhood, which were so fundamental in shaping the subjects' worldview, thus Africanizing Brazilian culture, since the songs, stories and games taught came from their cultural roots in Africa.

In this sense, considering the immense narrative power within *capoeira Angola* songs, which can be seen as possessing the same symbolic power that Lélia attributes to narratives, I would also mention the production of the booklet entitled *ABC da Capoeira Angola* (2022), another work by the *Angoleiras Cabanas* Collective, this time awarded by the law Aldir Blanc Juventude Ativa de Emaús 2020, organized by mana Bruna Maria Martins and made up of a record of *capoeira Angola corridos* that mention the presence of women, children and peasants. Capoeira songs have a great influence on the imaginary and ethos of capoeiristas, generating sound and image landscapes. The culmination of a year's work developed in the settlement of the Landless Rural Workers' Movement Mártires de Abril, located in Mosqueiro, a district of Belém, this work began with contact with Ciranda Paulo Freire in April 2019, an activity aimed at the movement's children, when we gave a capoeira angola workshop at the Jornada de Lutas por Reforma Agrária Popular em Defesa da Amazônia ("Journey of Struggles for Popular Agrarian Reform in Defense of the Amazon"). From then on, from 2019 until 2020, the initial period of the Covid-19 pandemic, we held a series of other workshops with *the landless children*.

Come out Catarina, Come out of the Sea, Come and See Idalina

We see (live) all the distortions of moral values caused by the modern world, whose pillars are racism and sexism, giving rise to countless generations that reproduce hate speech, in which women are inferior or submissive, while those who take the lead in the struggle for equal rights are repeatedly persecuted, tortured and even murdered. The discouragement of these findings, coupled with the fact that there are no women masters of capoeira angola in Belém, led us to find other references, women of mastery, leaders of religions of African origin:

I am referring to the *mametus*¹⁰ of the *candomblé angola* tradition, one of the *candomblé* nations that exist in the country. The *Angoleiras Cabanas* collective has been welcomed more than once by these *mametus* in the city of Belém, for example on the first day of the *Plantando a Capoeira Angola* event, held at the *Mansu Nangetu terreiro*, with the support of *Mametu Nangetu*.

In this sense, it is also worth highlighting another action carried out by the *Angoleiras Cabanas* collective, in March 2020, when we met at the Public Defender's Office in the city of Belém do Pará, in a round table discussion, called *Female Protagonism and Tradition*, composed of the then ombudsman Juliana Oliveira, Mãe Jucy, Mãe Xokeide d' Oya and Mestra Catita (one of the few female masters in the city, from capoeira regional). The conversation centered on the role of *women of tradition* and the challenges of combating gender inequalities within African cultural practices.

In the way these women militate, it is clear that fighting racism is a priority. Very close to their brothers and comrades, especially black men, they perfectly understand the need to combat gender inequalities. Furthermore, they clearly understand that white justice does not encompass the complexity of relations in these territories. The agenda of combating violence against women in these contexts therefore demands the emergence of strategies from these same territories and operating voices.

For me, being together with 24 other *manas*, at first, in the sacred *terreiro* of *Mansu Nangetu*, made me think about another place of power for black women in our society, which Lélia Gonzalez (2020) points out to us, in the aforementioned essay, which is precisely the role of the *mães de santo* (mothers of saint). Much more than spaces for religious practices, Afro-religious *terreiros* are also territories of hospitality, knowledge production, politics and good living. In addition, they are mainly led by women, who are not exempt from discussions in the official political spheres in the city of Belém. Based on this, addressing the trajectories of militancy and political action of some of these *mães de santo* would be another essay in itself.

African ancestry cannot be understood on the basis of the supposed subservience of women. According to Nigerian researcher and professor Oyèrónké Oyèwùmíó (2020), who uses

¹⁰ With regard to *candomblé* terms, I spoke to *mana* Ekedy Xokeide de Oyá, who, as well as being a member of the collective, is initiated into the Gege nation of *candomblé*. According to Xokeide, this term is specific to *Angolan candomblé*, in *Ketu candomblé* the nomenclature would be *Ialorixá*, in *Gege candomblé*, of which I am a member, the nomenclature is *Doné* [...]. In the house the *mametu*, *ialorixa* or *doné* will also have this function of leading the house together with her children and the other hierarchies, she has the mediunity to incorporate to receive *orixá*, to communicate with the *orixás* or *nkissis* or *voduns*.

the concept of matripotence when referring to the organizational forms of some Yoruba societies, the place of power within these societies has never been associated with the category of gender, as is the case in Western societies. According to the thinking of these African matrices, what governs the social is ancestry, and women are extremely respected and valued for the fundamental role that *Ya*, mother, played in these forms of organization, and it could even be said that this was the most fundamental social unit in these societies: the relationship between mother and offspring. The *Yá* incubates in her body a soul that already existed and assists the creator in the creation of the creature, and is therefore highly revered, respected and understood as powerful, so much so that many women in these societies were queens, politicians and warriors. In the Western world, the patriarchal family nucleus presupposes that being a woman is reduced to being a wife and taking care of the household chores and children of the protagonist, the husband. If we want to delve more deeply into the ways of seeing the world in the cultural practices of African women, we need to look for references other than Eurocentric feminism. In this way, I engage with the thinking of Oyěwùmíó (2020. p. 06, our translation):

feminist concepts emerged from the logic of the patriarchal nuclear family, a form of family that is inadequately universalized. In this section, drawing from my own research into the Yoruba society of southwestern Nigeria, I present a different type of family organization. The traditional Yoruba family can be described as a non-generational family. It is non-gendered because kinship roles and categories are not differentiated by gender. So, significantly, the centers of power within the family are diffuse and not specified by gender. Because the fundamental organizing principle within the family is seniority based on relative age, not gender, kinship categories encode seniority, not gender.

We therefore consider *Mametu Nangetu's* participation in our event to be of great political and symbolic force, as she opened the *Mansu Nangetu* hall to us and gave us her blessing for the opening circle. We sincerely thank her! We remember and cite the fundamental role of other *mothers* in Belém, such as *Mãe Nalva*, *Mãe Jucy D'oya*, *Mametu Muagile*, among others, as leading women in the fight for public policies, in favor of a culture of peace and in the fight against religious and environmental racism, which is so entrenched in our country. These mothers have also been training a whole generation of young black men and women who have increasingly led artistic, cultural and intellectual movements that have an impact on the city, far beyond the territory of the *terreiros*. The presence of men who frequent the *terreiros*, from different social classes and different ethnic origins, is also striking, and although they

perform extremely important functions in the running of the *terreiros*, such as the *tatas*, the *ogãs*¹¹, they are there under the command, in most *casas de santo*, of women's voices.

Figure 2 – Capoeira Angola circle at Mansu Nangetu



Source: Author's data. Mametu Nangetu, Coletivo Angoleiras Cabanas, Mestra Samme, Mestra Di, Coletivo Angoleiras de Upaon Açú, Convidados e Filhos de Santo do Mansu Nangetu

I feel, therefore I know. The decoloniality of what we have been taught to feel is also urgent. Meeting women who, for longer than us, have been walking in *capoeira angola*, *candomblés*, *carimbós*, *tambor de crioula*, *batuques* and today occupy prominent positions at national and international level inspires and moves us. I remember a moment when Mestra Samme referred with great respect to other mestras within capoeira. Samme's reflections, when referring to their behavior, revolved around phrases like: "*Seeing that woman play, sing like that and beat that guy with a lowkick, that speaks for itself, it's already a great example, it's that woman's way of being in the fight. She does not need to talk about feminism, she is militancy*" (our translation).

¹¹ Ogã is a priest who does not have the mediunity for incorporation, he is also considered a pai de santo within the houses. In fact, when the ogã is initiated or confirmed, he is assigned to a specific function, which can be *corte* or *toque*. There is the ogã who is responsible for playing, for conducting the atabaques and the music as well, and consequently the dance, and there are the ogãs who are already linked to other functions.

Inspired by Samme's reflections on the different names we can give our struggles, I realized how rich an event of diverse women can be. Admitting the differences between us within a collective began to seem fundamentally important to me, so that the strength of the collective did not overpower our subjectivities. Thinking about the limits of closeness as ways of developing strategies for good coexistence and respect, while allowing for the distances that are also necessary, even within *communitas*, also began to seem very important to me. Although we realize that our diversity and differences sometimes generate conflicts, we can also see the power of aggregating differences, through the diversity of complementary perspectives, talents and powers, which together form a fulfilling collective body.

During the event, still in Belém and then at the Arte Fazenda space in Vila do Apeú, I also felt(resented) the difficult relationship I myself had had with other women, from my own family and from other spaces. I felt(resented) so many times that I had felt neglected and violated by them too, and not just by men, because women also violate each other. As thorny as this is, it needs to be said, just as we need to examine the potential to be violent that each of us, marked by so much, also has.

The path of caring for and welcoming each other is not obvious in a system that has one of its pillars based on machismo. The path of reconstructing ourselves is a long one in a system that disposes of us as enemies and strategically introjects feelings of competitiveness into us. That's why the Angoleiras Cabanas collective came about with the aim that by training together we could strengthen bonds of companionship, in the struggle that each of us makes to improve as capoeiristas and to bury the patriarchy that exists, including within ourselves. In this sense, I also believe it is possible to approximate the concept of feeling-thinking to describe what I experienced in the collective and especially what we experienced with this event, feeling that this space was an educational environment that formed and transformed the people involved. According to Moraes and de La Torre (2001, p. 16, our translation):

It's important to remember that through action/reflection we structurally change our corporeality, according to the course of our emotions, our thoughts and feelings, the content of our conversations and reflections. This is how living is established and shapes the different domains of our existence. In reality, the domain of our existence is always the domain of a co-existence, of a natural co-derivative in Maturana's words, of collective existences, whose structural transformations depend on the values, desires and aspirations of each one of us

I want to talk here about the thinking of the womanist Audre Lorde, in her powerful compilation of essays, *Irmã Outsider* (Sister Outsider), especially in the essay *A Poesia Não É Um Luxo* (Poetry Is Not a Luxury), in which the author fables precisely about women's place of power, which, for her, lies in our power to understand the world beyond reason, from our feelings. We live in a society based on exacerbated Cartesian logical reasoning and this collapsed society today needs to seek new possibilities for paths, hopes for the future. According to Lorde (2019, p. 46, our translation):

when we get in touch with our ancestry, with the non-European awareness of life as a situation to be experienced and interacted with, we learn more and more to appreciate our feelings and to respect these hidden sources of our power - it is from them that true knowledge arises, and with it, lasting attitudes.

As I approach the end of this article, I would like to reflect on processes of coloniality in relation to our northern region, the Pará Amazon, more specifically within the universe of *capoeira angola*. In the same way that women are subalternized within a practice that purports to be liberating, our region is also treated unequally in relation to *capoeira angola* reference centers, even though historically and statistically, the practice of capoeira is presented as ancient and a constituent part of the culture of the city of Belém. Here and in the Amazon in general, we are geographically isolated in relation to other cultural centers in the country, which look at the Amazon rainforest, its cities and peoples in an exoticizing way and see us as a place that is both a repository of national wealth and a territory to be conquered.

Although the practice of capoeira in Belém dates back centuries, *capoeira angola* in this city is a tradition that has been forging itself for around 20 years, according to an average of reports from practitioners, the protagonists of this history. As a result, those interested in the sport have started to interact with woman masters from Bahia and some other states in the country, investing in training that takes place either when local capoeiristas go to traditional *capoeira angola* centers, or when masters come to offer workshops in the city. This dynamic would have once again placed us in the position of an exotic, uninhabited region ready to be explored by people from other regions. Currently, there are only a few mestres, counter-masters and trainers of *capoeira angola* and still no women counter-masters or masters in our city in this form of capoeira, although there are already women trainers.

As part of the *Plantando a Capoeira Angola* event, we did not want to repeat colonialist relations by bringing in masters from the major *capoeira angola* reference centers. We

therefore opted, as a strategy, for an alliance with the *Angoleiras de Upaon Açú collective*, from São Luís, the capital neighboring Belém. In fact, historically this whole region was called Grão Pará, from São Luís to Belém. We bet on this alliance: another women's collective outside the traditional *capoeira angola* circuit in the country.

Delving a little deeper into the reality of the Amazon, where the country's so-called poorest cities are located and, not coincidentally, where the sexual exploitation of women is also high, I would like to discuss the thoughts of Vandana Shiva (2004), for whom the ideology of progress calls prudent subsistence poverty, destroying sustainable lifestyles and creating real material poverty. The subsistence economies practiced in many third-world territories, as well as those practiced among the Amazon's riverside communities, quilombolas and indigenous peoples, are not poor in the sense of being deprived of something, but are so called because they do not participate in the market economy. In this way, the Amazonian peoples, guardians of the forest, are seen by the rest of the country as destitute, when, in fact, they have been guarding the last natural riches of this extremely important biome for the planet. The capitalist, racist, misogynist system is waging war against nature, against women, against native peoples, against children, against the poorest populations.

After the *Plantando a Capoeira Angola* event, we had the opportunity to talk about the trajectory of the *Angoleiras Cabanas Collective* in a live broadcast in April 2022 on the *Mandinga de Mulher* program, proposed by another independent collective of *Angoleiras* women from the state of Bahia, who call themselves *Marias Felipas*. I considered this collective's proposal to be similar to ours, due to its independent format. Therefore, I brought here the voice of Christine Zonzon, a member of *Marias Felipas*, a *capoeira angola* practitioner since the 1980s in Salvador, a researcher, author of the books *Nas Rodas da Capoeira e da Vida Corpo Experiência e Tradição* (In the Circles of Capoeira and Life - Body Experience and Tradition) and *O Legado de Ritinha da Bahia Mulheres no jogo da Resistencia* (The Legacy of Ritinha da Bahia Women in the Game of Resistance) and one of the directors of the documentary film *Mulheres da Pá Virada*, in an interview given in May 2022, about the *Marias Felipas* collective:

[...] we took part in academic congresses proposing circles, discussions, always on the subject of gender oppression in capoeira and outside capoeira, but our focus was always on fighting within capoeira, deconstructing, questioning and denouncing the gender violence that is exercised in a sometimes symbolic way, sometimes physically and sexually too, of course (our translation).

What secrets has patriarchy made us hide for so long, in the recesses, so guarded, and which now seem to be coming from underground, like hot lava from a volcano, through the voices of social movements claiming spaces that were previously denied? What, above all, do we have to teach after centuries of surveillance and punishment of our bodies and feelings, and what can point the way to building other social coexistences based on greater equity?

I'll be going soon beauty, I'll be leaving soon

When, in the mid-1930s, the two styles of capoeira, angola and regional, emerged from a split in principles between Mestre Bimba and Mestre Pastinha, Belém remained a city where the practice of regional capoeira predominated. At the end of the 1980s, then, the Núcleo de Capoeira Angola Arte e Liberdade (NUCAAL), which was based in the *vadião* building at the Federal University of Pará (UFPA), coordinated by mestre Bezerra, but which included several other local masters, led one of the first processes of transition from a capoeira regional group to a capoeira angola group. I remember a few names of women who were part of this collective: Tuca and Sueli, for example, and remembering them in more detail is also for a future article.

At the same time, another group led by Mestre Índio, *Angola Dobrada*, was also active in the state of Pará and dedicated itself to the practice of capoeira angola. I would highlight the presence of Walquiria Fagundes, who today is one of the oldest *angoleiras* in the city and is also active in the Angoleiras Cabanas collective. I must also mention, from my own background, the emblematic figure of the recently deceased *angoleira* Vitória Aranha, who was a member of the International Capoeira Angola Federation (FICA) and lived in Belém in the early 2000s, playing a very important and pioneering role in capoeira angola in Belém.

I began my history with capoeira angola in 2003. At that time, I made my first trip to Belo Horizonte, in search of theater training. Flitting through the streets of the city center, I received a flyer from a stranger: it was an advertisement for the birthday of a capoeira angola mestre, Mestre João Espiritual, so I decided to go to the birthday, and when I looked at the party, I was stunned! It was Grão Mestre Dunga's chant that was ringing through the room, and it was mestre João who was at the game. The bodies spilled across the floor in arabesques, and I was struck by the poetics of those gestures. The following week, I had my first capoeira angola training session with then-trainer Daniel, now mestre Daniel. Six months later, back in Belém, I heard about a group that met in the evenings in the *vadião* building at UFPA and practiced

this form of capoeira: capoeira angola. When I arrived at the group, Vitória Aranha's presence was striking. At that time it was made up of many of the people who today continue to be the protagonists of capoeira angola practices in Belém and other cities in Pará. This group, which I initially met, has been broken up and remade countless times, due to various conflicts. Vitória Aranha, a black woman who together with other men led the group at the time, was of fundamental importance in bringing many capoeira angola masters to Belém.

After this first contact in 2003, in Belo Horizonte, the following year Mestre João was in Belém for the first time, accompanied by Mestre Lena Santos. In 2005, I met them again in Porto Alegre, at that year's World Social Forum, and from there, when the forum was over, I went to Belo Horizonte once more. In 2009, I was again in the capital of Minas Gerais, at an edition of *Lapinha Museu Vivo* in the Month of Abolition, a capoeira meeting held annually by the *I Am Angoleiro Cultural Association* (ACESA) and the *Pândega Actors Association*, coordinated by Mestre Gersino, in Minas Gerais. Finally, in 2010, I went to live in Belo Horizonte, where I stayed for seven years, living with Mestres João and Lena and other ACESA references, training capoeira angola and Afro-Brazilian dance. Mestre Lena, then, is a reference of a female master with whom I lived.

These memories filled my soul during *Plantando Angola*. In the month of February, we experienced a high rainfall, and since I am a woman of the waters, I felt crossed by all these turns in the world, personal currents, as I bled there, inside a women's event. I call on Audre Lorde again, who, when talking about the concept of *women-who-identify-with-women*, points out that:

For women, the need and desire to take care of each other is not pathological, but redemptive, and it is in this knowledge that our true power is rediscovered. It is this real connection that is so feared by the patriarchal world. Only in a patriarchal structure is motherhood the only social power available to women [...] Difference (between women) must not only be tolerated, but seen as a reserve of necessary polarities, between which our creativity can radiate like a dialectic [...] As women, we have been taught to ignore our differences, or to see them as causes of disunity and mistrust, rather than as potentials for change (our translation).

The return and inspiration to Mother Africa and to other forms of organization of native peoples is actualized in the behavior of women who are not subservient; in this specific case, Amazonian women with *capoeira bodies*. Stronger in our practices, we continue, from Belém, hoping that all women can find in *capoeira angola* this territory of belonging and strengthening for their daily struggles, of living well, of formation and transformation of themselves and their

surroundings, as suggested by feeling-thinking as a pedagogical path. For more women in their diversity practicing *capoeira angola*, for men who are aware and allies in the fight against patriarchy. Hail to *Capoeira Angola*, this living entity that manifests itself in our bodies and nourishes our lives! Hail to the *women of tradition*, the *angoleiras*, who through the practice of *capoeira angola*, actualize in their bodies the collective memory of women protagonists of their rEx(s)istences.

The presence of women who have always been in capoeira will continue to exist as long as it depends on the countless women who today train and educate other women and men in the capital of the Amazon. Belém is a city with a tradition of *capoeiragem*, which has taken on its own contours here, deserving of due reverence, regardless of the discourses of *capoeira angola* and regional modalities. Women *capoeiristas* here, from Maria Meia-Noite to Mestre Pé de Anjo, Mestre Cigana, Mestre Lene, Mestre Catita, Vitória Aranha, among many others, have existed, eEx(s)ist and will exist. May we overcome the reproduction of machismo in these spaces, recognizing other possible bodies, as well as forms of coexistence based on care, collaboration, mutual respect, in which feelings and thoughts are articulated in the production of *capoeira bodies*.

REFERENCES

ACOSTA, A. **O bem viver**: uma oportunidade para imaginar outros mundos. São Paulo: Autonomia Literária Elefante, 2016.

BUTLER, J. **Problemas de Gênero**: feminismo e subversão da identidade. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2003.

Do Morro Produções. Confluências Antônio Bispo. Youtube. 28/06/2021. Available: <https://youtu.be/fi-4T8tdYDY>. Access: 14 May 2022.

EVARISTO, C. Literatura negra: uma poética de nossa afro-brasilidade. **Scripta**, v. 13, n. 25, p. 17-31, 2009.

FOLTRAN, P. J. Capoeira é pra homem, menino e mulher: angoleiras entre a colonialidade e a descolonização. **Sankofa. Revista de História da África e de Estudos da Diáspora Africana**, São Paulo, v. 10, n. 19, agosto 2017.

FOLTRAN, P. J. **Mulheres Incorrigeis Histórias de Valentia, Desordem e Capoeiragem na Bahia**. São Paulo: Ed. Dandara, 2021.

FONSECA, M. B. **Poderosas Rainhas Africanas**. Belo Horizonte: Ancestre, 2021.

FONSECA, M. B. Iê Aruanda! A memória de Angola cantada na capoeira. *In*: MELO, J. C. de (org.). **Caleidoscópio de Clió**: saberes históricos em diferentes espaços de memória. Belém: RFB, 2022.

GONZALEZ, L. A mulher negra na Sociedade Brasileira: uma abordagem político econômica. *In*: **Por Um Feminismo Afro Latino Americano Ensaio Intervenções e Diálogos**. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 2020.

LORDE, A. A Poesia não é um luxo. *In*: LORDE, A. **Irmã Outsider**. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2019.

MARINHO, A. F.; ASSUNÇÃO, B. K. Saberes Ancestrais e o Combate à Colonialidade de Gênero: a experiência do coletivo Angoleiras Cabanas em Belém-PA. **Revista Gênero na Amazônia**, n. 10, p. 61-70, jul./dez. 2022.

MARTINS, B. M. (org.). **ABC da Capoeira Angola Catingas de capoeira sobre Mulheres, Crianças e Campesinato**: material auxiliar para treinos e letramento de crianças. Belém: Edição da autora, 2022.

MARTINS, L. M. **Afrografias da Memória**. São Paulo: Perspectiva; Belo Horizonte: Mazza Edições, 1997.

MARTINS, L. M. **Performances do Tempo Espiral**. Poéticas do Corpo Tela. Rio de Janeiro: Cobogó, 2021.

MENEZES, B. de. **Batuque**. Belém: edição do autor, 1939.

MORAES, M. C.; TORRE, S. de La. **Sentipensar sob o olhar autopoietico**: estratégias para reencantar a educação. São Paulo: PUC, 2001.

MORAES, M. C.; TORRE, S. de La. Os fundamentos do sentipensar. *In*: MORAES, M. C.; TORRE, S. de La. **Sentipensar**: fundamentos e estratégias para reencantar a educação. Petrópolis, RJ: Ed. Vozes, 2004.

OYÈWÙMI, O. Conceituando o gênero: os fundamentos eurocêtricos dos conceitos feministas e o desafio das epistemologias africanas. *In*: BERNARDINO-COSTA, J.; MALDONADO-TORRES, N.; GROSFUGUEL, R. (org.). **Decolonialidade e pensamento afrodiaspórico**. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 2020.

Rádio Capoeira. Programa Mandinga de Mulher apresenta: Imagens e Memórias de Mulheres na Capoeira. Youtube, 09 abr. 2022. Available: <https://www.youtube.com/live/gSEhKIwVzk?feature=share>. Access: 15 Apr. 2022.

SALLES, V. **O Negro na Formação da Sociedade Paraense**. Belém: Paka-Tatu, 2004.

SILVA, D. F. da. INTRODUÇÃO (Di)Ante(s) do Texto. *In*: **A Dívida Impagável**. São Paulo: Oficina de Imaginação Política e Living Commons, 2019.

TAVARES, R. Mulheres de Fogo. *In*: **fanzine**. Belém, 2008.

TEIXEIRA, C. P. V. **Nas Voltas que o Mundo Deu Nas Voltas que o Mundo Da:** Um Estudo sobre Ritual e Performance na Capoeira Angola em Belém. Orientadora: Prof. Dr. Marilu Campelo. 2010. Dissertação (Mestrado em Ciências Sociais) – Universidade Federal do Pará, Belém, 2010.

SILVA, M. Z. G. da. **Movimento capoeira mulher:** Saberes ancestrais e a práxis feminista no século XXI em Belém do Pará. Orientação: Prof. Dr. Ariel Feldman. 2016. Dissertação (Mestrado em Educação e Cultura) – Universidade Federal do Pará, Cametá, PA, 2016.

SHIVA, V. La mirada del ecofeminismo. **Revista On-Line de la Universidad Bolivariana**, v. 3, n. 9, 2004.

WALSH, C. Interculturalidade Crítica e Pedagogia Decolonial: in-surgir, re-existir e re-viver. In: CANDAU, V. M. (org.) **Educação Intercultural na América Latina:** entre concepções, tensões e propostas. Rio de Janeiro: 7 Letras, 2009.

Interviews:

KALIFE, Brenda. **O Coletivo Angoleiras Cabanas.** Entrevistadora: Carmem Pricila Virgolino Teixeira. Interviewer's personal files. In: 10/03/2022.

MARTINS, Bruna. **O Coletivo Angoleiras Cabanas.** Entrevistadora: Carmem Pricila Virgolino Teixeira. Interviewer's personal files. In: 10/03/2022.

ZONZON, Christine. **O Coletivo Marias Felipas.** Interviewer: Carmem Pricila Virgolino Teixeria. In: 14/05/2022.

D'OYA, Xokeide. **O Candomblé.** Interviewer: Carmem Pricila Virgolino Teixeria. In: 16/05/2022.

CRediT Author Statement

Acknowledgements: Do not apply.

Funding: The research was carried out with funding from CAPES.

Conflict of interest: No conflicts of interest.

Ethical approval: Did not went through a committee.

Availability of data and material: Do not apply.

Author's contribution: Single author.

Processing and editing: Editora Ibero-Americana de Educação.
Proofreading, formatting, normalization and translation.

