LUMEN ET VIRTUS

Razor, prejudice and rehabilitation of capoeira

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ABSTRACT

At the beginning of the twentieth century, in Rio de Janeiro, there was a great mobilization to methodize and make capoeira the national sport. Thus, we sought to make a contrast between this regulated capoeira, the Gymnastica Nacional, and the street capoeira, the capoeira carioca. For this, some researchers of the history of capoeira in Rio de Janeiro were read, then, comparing the two manuals of the Gymnastica Nacional, the Capoeira Guide and the Gymnastica Nacional, and several newspaper and magazine articles seeking to understand the discourse brought, corroborated with what some researchers had already pointed out. In this way, going a little further than what has already been said, it was realized that the Gymnastica Nacional excluded many of the elements of traditional capoeira carioca in an attempt to escape racism.

Keywords: Capoeira, Culture, Racism.

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INTRODUCTION

The word "capoeira" has many meanings, one of them is the Brazilian game-fight of uncertain origin that, almost consensually, was created by enslaved Africans in the country combining various fights that they practiced in Africa (ANJOS, 2003). Capoeira was persecuted and repressed throughout the nineteenth century in Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco. However, in São Paulo, at the Largo do São Francisco Law School, something unusual happened, the elite students there began to practice this game of enslaved people (FIGUEIREDO, 2011).

With the Paraguayan War, the capoeiras of Rio de Janeiro are sent to fight and return as national heroes and not as dangerous elements to be eliminated by the police. Thus, Duque-Estrada Teixeira, a prominent politician, capoeirista and former student of Largo do São Francisco, allied himself with the capoeiras da Glória, making them the armed wing of the Conservative Party activated in the elections, creating the infamous Flor da Gente and the beginning of the political tradition that lasted until the Proclamation of the Republic (SOARES, 1993).

When the Republic was proclaimed, Sampaio Ferraz was placed in the position of Chief of Police and capoeira, for the first time, became part of the penal code as a crime, so Sampaio began a real hunt for capoeira and made several political arrests wanting to erase the last remnants of imperial policy. Although he did not eliminate it from the streets, he put an end to the practice of mala[3] as a means of doing politics in Rio de Janeiro as intensely as it had been in the Empire (SOARES, 1993; LUSSAC, 2016).

Finally, at the beginning of the twentieth century, a change in thinking began to gain strength that culminated in the legalization of capoeira in the Vargas Era, by not mentioning it in the Penal Code of 1940 (LUSSAC, 2016), this change began precisely in the Academy of Law of Largo do São Francisco and in the Paraguayan War. they will defend their teaching in the barracks, like General Couto de Magalhães, thanks to their efficiency as a fighter (SOARES, 1993). While other students of the Academy of Law, including the general, would defend capoeira as a great sport, Duque-Estrada would say that it was spoiled by the razor, because a true capoeirista did not need a weapon, only his body (CUNHA, 2011).

It is curious to note that Duque-Estrada's position was repeated by some defenders of capoeira in the twentieth century, as in the first interview with Mestre Raphael Lóthus:

> But why did they ban capoeiragem? Only because it became generalized, serving for exercises of rioters, who, masters of the game, disarmed our old urban guards, with a stingray tail or because they added to this knowledge the handling of the razor (WHAT IS CAPOEIRAGEM?..., 1916, p. 2).

[3]Maltas, according to the Houaiss Small Dictionary of the Portuguese Language, is a "bunch of people of bad reputation and/or bad character; corja, súcia" (FRANCO; HOUAISS; VILLAR, 2015, p. 611). The so-called capoeira gang, according to Carlos Eugênio (1993, 1998), is the old designation given to capoeira groups, initially as a collective, then a hierarchical organization that controlled a certain parish in the city of Rio de Janeiro, defending it and disputing territory with the other maltas.

Furthermore, the magazine Kosmosdiria that capoeira "is par excellence and in essence defensive" (A CAPOEIRA, 1906, p. 57) and Coelho Neto, in Nosso Jogo, wrote: "The dignified capoeira did not use a razor: he was timbold in showing his clean hands when he left a turumbamba" (MILANI, 2005, p. 1). As curious as Duque-Estrada's argument was present in the newspapers decades later, is the fact that the newspaper A Noite wrote that capoeira was the national sport, that criminalizing it was wrong and that capoeira is the most appropriate gymnastics for Brazilians (O QUE É A CAPOEIRAGEM?..., 1916, p. 1), even though a year earlier, celebrated the civil guards learning jiu-jitsu, because capoeira was "out of fashion and adulterated" (Os GUARDAS, 1915, p. 3, emphasis added).

In 1926, after highlighting capoeiras from the elite, including the one responsible for bringing the maltas into politics, the Duque-Estrada Texeira (SOARES, 1993), the newspaper A Noite n° 5105 would say:

> What made capoeira antipathic was the razor of those who entered the maltas, not as brave, but as murderers. This infamous weapon, which wounds mercilessly, was not seen in the hands of the masters. "Manduca da Praia", "Boca Queimada", "Trindade", Augusto Mello, José Caetano, Braga Dr., "Caixeirinho" and other heroes never used iron in their fights. Those who wielded the "sardine" were those of the ilk of the "Greek of the Oysters", Braga Piloto, Benjamin, Cardosinho and other sicarios who appeared mainly in electoral seasons. (GYMNASTICA..., 1926, p. 9).

Demonstrating something recurrent in several reports of the time, the elections in the Empire as a source of capoeira violence, generating the association of capoeira with criminality, while highlighting practitioners of the elite, including the person responsible for initiating this practice. More than reconciling these two opposites, the justification for this true campaign in favor of the "rehabilitation" of capoeira is in the first article promoting the master Raphael Lothus:

> All great peoples who have a peculiar system of gymnastics or physical culture, purely national, devote special affection to it. What is the Swedish gymnastica if not a proof of this?
>
> The Russians even have the ministry of gymnastics. In Germany there are frequent sporting competitions and the model gymnastica departments are promoted and frequented by the kaizer himself. In England, gymnastics, physical culture, is a fixed idea. And Brazil? Brazil, possessing the queen of the gymnastics, the African-Hindu-Brazilian, who is from this composition that capoeira was made, pursues her. (WHAT IS CAPOEIRAGEM?..., 1916, p. 2).

In other words, all the peoples that Brazil worked so hard to align with had their own gymnastics, Brazil had its own, capoeira, but insisted on not valuing it, pursuing it, it should be the practice of Brazilians, not Japanese jiu-jitsu, English boxing, French savate or Portuguese stick, so Brazil could get closer to the great nations.

In this context, some capoeira manuals emerged, focusing on the capoeira carioca, that is, the one practiced in Rio de Janeiro that had its own specificities, differentiating it from Bahian capoeira,

which would give rise to regional and angolan capoeiras, the focus will be on the manuals of this extinct capoeiragem, the Capoeira Guide or Gymnastica Brazileira and the Gymnastica Nacional (Capoeiragem) Methodized and Regulated by Aníbal Burlamaqui (Zuma).

The oldest known capoeira manual, the Capoeira Guide, was written in 1885 and republished in 1907, had the help and consultancy of Mestre Terror and the author is anonymous, where would be his name only for O.D.C. (Offer, Dedicate and Consecrate to the Distinguished Youth) (GUIA..., 1907), but Jair Moura (2009) identified it as Garcez Palha, capoeira officer of the Navy. that is, the ruses used in combat for the opponent and being able to hit him, then come some blows, "slap", "foot", "old sweep", "modern sweep", "fist" and "touch", the ways to defend oneself from these and, finally, some possible combinations, the sharp blows (GUIA..., 1907).

This manual presents, in the introduction, an explanation to the reader about what capoeira is and, before the part called "To the Reader", there is a note from the editor, "Attenção", where the editor says he is not the author and that he is a distinguished officer of the Brazilian army. It is noteworthy that in this part, the editor wrote: "teaching anyone to defend themselves from possible aggressions without the aid of weapons and only with the natural resources of the arms, head and feet" (GUIA..., 1907, p. 1).

The Capoeira Guide only had one known copy, which was in the National Library, but which mysteriously disappeared. Fortunately, Zuma came into contact with the work before it was lost and was able to type it, but without being able to copy the figures. In 1960, Zuma gave it to Lamartine Pereira da Costa, who passed it on to other researchers, who, in the 80s, reissued the book with the addition of images from Lamartine's book, Capoeiragem: A arte de Defesa Pessoal (GUIA..., 1907).

On the other hand, the Gymnastica Nacional (Capoeiragem) Methodized and Regulated by Aníbal Burlamaqui (Zuma) sought a greater scope of capoeira blows, listing 28 blows, three of the author and not counting one or another variation of the same blow, it also presented the guard, the sifting[4], some forms of deception[5], and how to defend and counterattack for each of the blows, some of the blows, including those taken from the samba duro and the batuque[6] according to the manual itself (BURLAMAQUI, 1928).

In addition to the part dedicated to blows and defenses, there is a part of the book about the history of capoeira, in the second there are some considerations about the sport, where there is more of the discourse of capoeira enthusiasts comparing it to other national fights and the reason for the

[4]Both guarding and sifting will be explained throughout the article.
[5] Trickery is the act of deception, which in turn is "deceiving the adversary" (SOARES, 1993).
[6]Samba duro is "samba de queda, a samba de batuque – it's heavier. It is a man's samba, it is sambando and tearing down" (ABREU, 2014, p. 27), while batuque does not refer to the "generic term – batuque -, once applied indistinctly to all Afro manifestations, which were expressed by combining, mainly, percussion with dance (ABREU, 2014, p. 13), but the batuque fight of the pernada carioca, "twin sister of batuque-luta" (ABREU, 2014, p. 13) from Bahia, A fight focused on takedowns.

prejudice against capoeira or, rather, against the Gymnastica Nacional, the third is about the rules created by Zuma and in the fifth and last presents exercises mainly to develop physical capacities to have a better performance in the fights (BURLAMAQUI, 1928).

It is important to note that, as Côrrea and Silva (2020) have noted, Zuma's manual contains strong influences from another capoeira, Raphael Lóthus, an influence so strong that the text at the beginning of the manual was copied from the article about the interview of this master made by the newspaper A Noite in 1916, it can be assumed that Zuma is the writer of the article, since it does not contain the author's name, but he would have written it at the age of seventeen or eighteen, while the manual was published in 1928, twelve years later, it is thus noted that, at the beginning of the book, Zuma said: "In writing this book, I did not even bother to write literature, because I lack merit for it, nor be original" (BURLAMAQUI, 1928, p. 6).

METHODOLOGY

The work was done in three stages, the first was a bibliographic review of books by researchers such as those of Jair Fernandes de Moura and André Luiz Lacé Lopez, dissertations and theses, such as those of Ricardo Martins Porto Lussac and Carlos Eugênio Líbano Soares, where it was sought to understand the context of capoeira in Rio de Janeiro between 1850 and 1950.

The second stage consisted of a comparative analysis of two manuals of capoeira carioca, the Capoeira Guide and the Gymnastica Nacional, comparing the movements and blows of each of them and the discourse present in their respective introductions. Finally, the third stage was the reading of some articles from newspapers and magazines of the time that addressed capoeira, being located through the Hemeroteca Digital search engine. For this research, the newspaper A Noite and Revista da Semana were selected, as well as the words "capoeira", "capoeiras", "capoeiragem", "arraia", "rasteira" and "cabeçada", common and frequent terms in these articles.

Thus, the discourse brought in these newspapers was analyzed and compared to what was written in the manuals, as well as in the chronicle Nosso Jogo de Coelho Neto found on the Capoeira Portal website and in the article A Capoeira of the Kosmos Magazine, in order to understand how capoeira was perceived by the elite and what its systematization actually represented, corroborating with and deepening what some researchers have already pointed out.

DEVELOPMENT

Although the press of the time gave the idea that capoeira was generally repudiated by society, its "constant presence in religious festivities and integration into the political game during the Empire militate in the opposite direction, allowing the conclusion that there was some acceptance of capoeira in various segments of the people" (LUSSAC, 2016, p. 166). With the Proclamation of

the Republic, according to Lussac (2016), a true project to modernize Brazil and, especially, Rio de Janeiro, the capital and example of the country, began. Thus, everything that should not have been in the Brazil of the future was pursued, the "city, founded one day to expel the French, decided to be French to hide that it was profoundly African and Lusitanian" (SIMAS, 2019, p. 102).

Thus, what was already persecuted in the Empire without being included in the law, was prohibited, especially black practices, such as capoeira, but not only, if in the Empire a black man could be arrested for standing in the street even without a law prohibiting it, in the Old Republic this was a crime, the crime of vagrancy. It is in this context of intense repression of what was black that, in a secular country, a legal precedent is created to persecute religions that did not please the elite, religions of African origin become a crime of charlatanism and healers (LUSSAC, 2016).

It is easy to understand why the author of the Capoeira Guide left his work anonymous, even though it was written in 1885 and, at that time, there were some high-ranking military men wanting to place capoeira within their environment. Even though the date is four years before the Proclamation of the Republic, it was not suddenly that the Brazilian elite decided that certain practices should be extirpated, such as capoeira itself, it is worth quoting an excerpt from issue 89 of 24/06/1888 of the newspaper A Constituição presented by Mônica Beltrão:

> Horrible is the capoeira of freed blacks, slaves and mulattoes, who constitute a society of murderers of the most singular kind. They walk the streets as if possessed by satiating the invincible bloodthirsty instinct and matão the first who meets, whether a man of color, white, Brazilian, foreigner, only to shed blood. (BELTRÃO, 2020, p. 39).

Major Vidigal Nunes, right-hand man of the General Intendant of Police and capoeira feared for his dexterity, was the first to use compulsory conscription by sending capoeiras prisoners to fight in the war in the South, this punctual practice of the major was widely used by the Chief of Police Eusébio de Queiroz (SOARES, 1998).

Unfortunately for Eusébio, some of the capoeiras realized that it was advantageous to join the National Guard and began to flee from the police when caught red-handed and enter the Guard to avoid being arrested (SOARES, 1998). This presence of capoeiras in the military forces was further increased when there was the Paraguayan War, when in Rio de Janeiro there were almost no prisons, a good part of them were recruited for the war (SOARES, 1993).

Capoeira in 1885 was already a practice of many soldiers, with the end of the Paraguayan War, many capoeiras will cause "disorders" wearing the uniform and sporting medals (SOARES, 1993). Thus, it is important to highlight that it was not just any military man who wrote the Guide, according to the editor, he was a "distinguished officer of the Brazilian army, master of all weapons, teacher of the military" (GUIA..., 1907, p. 1, emphasis added).

On the other hand, Anníbal Zumalacaraguhi de Menk Burlamaqui, 43 years after the writing of the Capoeira Guide, published his manual without anonymity, with a photo of himself and with the help of a friend, Dr. Mário Santos, a lawyer, who also did not remain anonymous, neither in the preface he wrote, nor in the participation in the photos of the movements (BURLAMAQUI, 1928).

However, this is not surprising, on 07/18/1921, Mário Aleixo, already a well-known gymnastics teacher for more than 15 years, appeared in a report, The art of personal defense, where he demonstrated some movements present in his defense method and told how he developed it, said that, after the fight with Sada Myako in 1904, "acquiring confidence in the national processes, I began to collect the forgotten blows of capoeiragem, in silence, without anyone knowing" (A ARTE..., 1921, p. 13, emphasis added).

In 1921, the modernist movement was already articulating in Brazil, the modernist project was precisely to value Brazilian art and culture, to stop just copying what was European. In 1928, the year Zuma's manual was published, 6 years passed since the Week of Modern Art and the Anthropophagic Manifesto was published, which preached "devouring" European art and taking advantage of what was best, giving it totally national aspects (SILVA, 2017). There are clear indications of how important this moment of nationalizing what belonged to Brazil was for capoeiragem, including for the very publication of Zuma's manual, Mário Santos wrote in the preface:

> It is considered a national art, Brazilian, Brazilian music, etc. Even Brazilian politics. And national sport, is there talk? Unfortunately not.
>
> And if so, Zuma's book is worth a cry of Brazilianness.
>
> It is time to free ourselves from foreign sports and pay a little attention to what is ours, to what is home. And then it's worth it, because Brazilian Gynmastica is worth all foreign sports. It even surpasses them (BURLAMAQUI, 1928, p. 3, emphasis added).

Zuma was "a poet, writer and martial artist from Rio de Janeiro [...] he worked for many years as a state civil servant in the former State of Guanabara, now Rio de Janeiro, holding a high position in a Treasury office" (CÔRREA; SILVA, 2020, p. 147). Again, it is not someone poor, but someone, if not from the elite, close to her.

Zuma, in addition to being a civil servant, was known and praised in the press for his fights, he was a "skilled boxer" (CÔRREA; SILVA, 2020, p. 151), he himself said: "I practice boxing quite constantly, because I want to know it not only for my personal defense but to know the most hidden secrets that this beautiful game has" (BURLAMAQUI, 1928, p. 14). In addition to boxing, he also practiced Swedish gymnastics since he was 10 years old and the first fight he learned was Greco-Roman wrestling at 18 (BURLAMAQUI, 1928), Côrrea and Silva (2020) also stated that Zuma knew

jiu-jitsu, one of the fights he recommends the practice, along with other fights and gymnastics that he himself practiced (BURLAMAQUI, 1928).

Ironically, Mário Santos wrote in his preface the "its author is not a litterato; he is not a doctor, he is not a bachelor" (BURLAMAQUI, 1928, p. 3) and Zuma himself, in the manual, wrote that he had no merit to do literature, but in the 30s, under the influence of Moacir de Almeida, a great poet of the time and his friend who died in 1924 at the age of 23, he wrote the books Tédio and Noite, in 1939, he published Meu Delírio and, in 1950, he wrote his last book, Babel de Emoções (CÔRREA; SILVA, 2020). It was also in the 30s that Zuma joined the academic social framework of the Cenaculo Fluminense de História e Letras de Niterói, of which he was president from 29/05/1955 to 28/12/1957 (CÔRREA; SILVA, 2020).

Zuma died at the age of 67 in August 1965, contributing to the history of capoeira, including as one of those responsible for the beginning of the movement that would make capoeira official, the Luta Brasileira, as a form of boxing, being founded on 05/11/1933 the Department of Brazilian Fight of the Carioca Boxing Federation and, on 04/11/1936, the Department of Brazilian Fight of the São Paulo Boxing Federation was created (CÔRREA; SILVA, 2020). Zuma's contribution to capoeira is undeniable, even more so in view of his great influence on regional capoeira, as well demonstrated by Lacé (2002) and Côrrea e Silva (2020), even these authors point out the fact that the name Gymnastica Regional Baiana is not a counterpoint to capoeira angola, also from Bahia, but to Gymnastica Nacional, the capoeira of the carioca elite.

The so-called Gymnastica Nacional is the capoeira developed by Zuma, capoeira present in the Capoeira Guide and in the methods of Mário Aleixo and Raphael Lóthus, it was the capoeira of Sinhôzinho (Agenor Moreira Sampaio), Jayme Ferreira and so many fighters who appeared in the newspapers during the 30's, a capoeira that ends up differentiating itself from the capoeira of Rio de Janeiro, the street capoeira of Rio de Janeiro.

Of these, it is important, once again, to highlight Raphael Pereira da Silva, alias master Raphael Lóthus, a "brown of great physical stature and strong temperament" (CÔRREA; SILVA, 2020, p. 182), born six years before the Golden Law and resident of the Morro do Céu community, Niterói. At first, he worked in pest control, a profession he abandoned in 1914 to dedicate himself to the systematized teaching of capoeira, which he rightly called Gymnastica Nacional(CÔRREA; SILVA, 2020).

When Count Koma challenged Lóthus in May 1915, he ended up rekindling "the defenders of Capoeira as a genuinely Brazilian fighting modality. He even rescued in the memory of the cariocas the epic victory of capoeirista Cyríaco over the Japanese Sada Myako in 1909" (CÔRREA; SILVA, 2020, p. 183). Thanks to this, although the fight never happened, Lóthus was able to open the first capoeira course, the Escola de Ginástica Nacional, in 1916 with Mário Aleixo, where he used his

knowledge as a physical educator and, in 1917, he was a teacher of Swedish gymnastics at Colégio Brasil, in Niterói (CÔRREA; SILVA, 2020).

Despite his pioneering spirit, Raphel Lóthus was a character erased from history and who was never mentioned by those who came after, this is due to his humble origin and his explosive temper, which would eventually lead him to commit a homicide followed by suicide, he, who probably learned from the remnants of the maltas, was very close to the criminal capoeiras from whom the practice was wanted to be separated (CÔRREA; SILVA, 2020).

Celso Vieira, in his text A Nobre Arte, published in the newspaper A Noite on 31/01/1935, and in which he compared capoeira to boxing, making a criticism full of irony against the hypocrisy of the middle class, while explaining such a position, stated:

> From the taverns the noble art of boxing staggered, pouring alcohol. Not the beginning, but the turbulence of capoeiragem, practiced in the last days of the second empire, by the way, by young men of good lineage, was the immediate reason for its debasement, the cause of its penal stigma. Whoever could methodise it as an exercise, discipline, generalization of the physical culture in this country, and would be taken seriously by doctors, educators, mothers of families, who detest it, would rehabilitate capoeira, brilliantly, for the turning of the grasscutter or the luck of the stork's step.
>
> [...]
> But capoeira will never become physioculture, overcoming the losses of the family and the middle class, without changes in name and form, which ennoble and denationalize it. From kicking to football and punching to boxing, there is a nominative scale of prejudices, reserves, moral tones for our mixed and susceptible people.
>
> [...]
> Let the nativists conform, then, leaving to parliament the use of the gloved box, the style of the forceful but elegant fight, at least by foreign warning: Made in England. For the time being, politics only admits the blows of capoeiragem in the translato sense, and in fact, in this broad figurative domain, none of its champions ignores the effectiveness of a sweep or the beauty of a prop (PEREIRA, 1935, p. 12).

Despite Celso Vieira's pessimism, thanks to the efforts of numerous enthusiasts, the elite became interested in capoeira, so "Sinhozinho maintains an academy in Ipanema, aimed at young men who want to have some reason to become brave" (CÔRREA; SILVA, 2020, p. 175).

At the end of 1931, after several defeats suffered by the capoeiras in combats against jiu-jitsu fighters, Sinhozinho, moved by friendly requests as he himself had told, went to give his opinion to the journalists of A Noite, in an interview published on 11/14/1931:

> The club's students, it is good to clarify, are young men from families whose name is accepted in our social circles and, therefore, of defined social position.
>
> They are amateurs who practice capoeira as a means of defense and who, with the same skill with which they defend a "rabo de arraia", intervene, in the elite halls, in lectures, where French or any other language is spoken with ease and propriety.
>
> These are the students that I make a point of keeping in my school.

> It is clear, therefore, that a capoeira taken from the "elites" by his own condition as a man of culture, must act better in the application of blows than another, whose knowledge does not go beyond technique, which, even so, is almost always flawed (O JIU-JITSU..., 1931, p. 11).

Returning to the words of Celso Vieira, "whoever could methodisal it as an exercise, discipline, generalization of physical culture in this country [...] would rehabilitate capoeira" (PEREIRA, 1935, p. 12), this same thought, but without the writer's pessimism, appeared in issue 3860 of the newspaper A Noite, in its sports section, which published a letter dated 08/31/1922 from a reader shortly after declaring that it should be read immediately:

> My dear Netto. — V., who has been the tireless fighter in this matter of efficiency of our sports representation in the Centenary, could well also fight, in the columns of A NOITE, for a public demonstration of the advantages of our national gymnastics — capoeiragem. It will seem strange to many to remember something that has already served as a reason for some individuals (among them many good people) to take the air of a prison; This, however, is no longer reasonable, once the intention of those who remember what remains there is taken into account. It is incomprehensible, in fact, that a people that is so dedicated to the various sports, abandons the genuinely national sport, which, practiced with rules, is as healthy and as honest as those that are, not having, in fact, the disadvantages and brutalities of some, the box, for example. If you find my reminder worthy of attention, I will give you elements to fight for the cause. Amigo certo — Carioca (CAPOEIRAGEM, 1922, p. 6).

In response to Carioca, shortly after the transcription of the letter, the newspaper wrote:

> The kind letter writer can send us the elements he has, because we are among those who think that methodized "capoeiragem", in addition to constituting an excellent sport, with all the requirements for the development of the body, could and should be seen as a means of defense. Just as the Japanese, English, etc. policemen have their own sports, we Brazilians could have ours, which, being "capoeiragem" a national gymnastics, would far surpass in value the former. Let us be sure that we will not be the only ones to advocate for "capoeiragem"; in the list of its adherents can be included names such as Raul Pederneiras, Alvaro Zamith, Silvio Leal da Costa, Mário Aleixo (CAPOEIRAGEM, 1922, p. 6).

Driven by the same eagerness as Carioca, Zuma methodized capoeira, because:

> Capoeiragem, as everyone knows, comes from many years, however, it has no rules or method.
> Those who are fortunate enough to know it have not yet thought of methodising it, of giving it rules, of making it a sport such as, for example, foot-ball.
> I, then, Brazilian that I am, loving what belongs to me, devised a rule to present it and make it a sport, an exercise, a game in short, as we will see below (BURLAMAQUI, 1928, p. 15).

The Zuma method has strong influences from the English box, the uniform itself was similar to that of the box, even the ankle-length boots or sports shoes that were chosen, which is not surprising, since Zuma was a boxer (CÔRREA; SILVA, 2020). Thus, the fights should be in three rounds of three minutes with a two-minute break, in case of a tie, there would be an interval and three more rounds, so that the time of the fight increased every fifteen minutes, if there was no winner with 45 minutes of fighting, it would be decided by "death", that is, one would fight without rest until there was one left (BURLAMAQUI, 1928).

Victory could be decided in two ways, one was the "mortal fall", that is, a fall from which the opponent does not get up within the count of 10 made by the judge, the second way, in this case previously agreed between the fighters, is by counting points, whoever took the most falls would lose (BURLAMAQUI, 1928).

The fights themselves would take place on a circular "fighting field" from where they should not leave, if it occurred, the judge would blow the whistle and they would return to the center. The size of the field should be agreed upon among the fighters, the recommendation was 8 meters in diameter, with a circle in the center of 1 meter in diameter and a "z" interrupted by the smaller circle made with four strokes of two meters each (BURLAMAQUI, 1928), the justification for making this field of struggle was:

> I made this field, not with the intention of embellishing the game of capoeiragem, but to facilitate the presentation of the players (capoeiras); because, I thought, if foot-ball has the field, boxing and Greco-Roman wrestling have the presentation of the fighters, it is clear that capoeira can also have it (BURLAMAQUI, 1928, p. 18).

This presentation of the fighters had to be made from the "z" of the field, the fighters positioned themselves on opposite sides in the parallel lines of the "z" and, at the command of the judge, jumped to face each other in the center of the circle, it was not mandatory in all rounds, only at the beginning, but it was recommended to do it for amateurs for the good order of the fight (BURLAMAQUI, 1928).

It can be seen that a ritual was created for the Gymnastica Nacional, ignoring what already existed, because the Gymnastica Nacional was a sports perspective of capoeira that "was characterized by the appropriation of popular body knowledge, modifying or extinguishing various aspects of this popular culture" (LUSSAC, 2016, p. 343). Since, according to Lacé (2002), Côrrea and Silva (2020), unlike what was done with Bahian capoeira by Mestre Bimba when he created the Gymnastica Regional and, perhaps, even to a certain extent, by Raphael Lóthus, the Gymnastica Nacional was not made by "through capoeiras, bearers of the cultural heritage of the game-fight, but by sportsmen" (LUSSAC, 2016, p. 343), thus the regional "to begin with, [...] he did not give up either the berimbau or the singing" (LOPEZ, 2002, p. 89).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, capoeira carioca was not dead, although prisons had fallen a lot from 1910 onwards, the capoeiras just adapted to the new system, stopped cultivating both their fame and the feared men of the maltas and started to play capoeira hidden. If capoeira was forbidden and samba only needed permission, naturally samba became more popular and capoeira was mixed (LUSSAC, 2016).

Thus, in Rio de Janeiro, the batuque, the samba duro, the pernada carioca, among other names that were given. If the elite took advantage of a loophole in the law by creating academies, because

the law said that it was forbidden to do it in public places, it said nothing about private places (LUSSAC, 2016), then the people of Rio took advantage of another loophole, the forbidden exercises were those known by the name capoeira, so it was not capoeira, it was pernada, it was samba, it was batuque. João Mina in an interview would say: "until the police arrive. Then, as if by magic, the batucada turned into samba [...] As soon as the police left, the batuque continued and the drummers entered hard in capoeiragem" (LUSSAC, 2016, p. 215).

The connection of these dances-fights with capoeira is very clear, the article A capoeira in the magazine Kosmos of March 1906 presented caricatures of Kalixto accompanied by texts telling the confrontation of two capoeiras, where everything began with samba and ended with samba (A CAPOEIRA, 1906). Lussac (2016) also presented two reports, one with capoeiras batuqueiros, from Diário da Noite, and the other is the article by Paulo Várzea, Capoeiras e Capoeiragem, from Revista Criminal, in these articles are named blows, such as xulipa, rabo de arraia and cabeçada, which are not falling movements, the main objective of batuque, but are capoeira blows.

Based on the report by Paulo Várzea, who, in addition to being a reporter, was a drummer and a student of master Perú, Lussac (2016) will demonstrate the differences and characteristics of several of the fights that should constitute the pernada carioca, the sambas would be differentiated from the batuques, since in the sambas there would be the participation of women, while in the batuques, only men participated in the game, corroborating with a report by Rudolf Hermany, a well-known student of Sinhôzinho (LUSSAC, 2016). As for the types of batuques, Lussac (2016) demonstrated that there were hierarchies, in the batucada braba or surda, only the "excellent connoisseurs of the pernada" participated (LUSSAC, 2016, p. 213), being differentiated from other batuques by the fact that the singer is the only one to sing and the choir remains silent until there is a winner.

Even the old disagreements did not end, the Festa da Penha often ended in a generalized fight between Brazilians and Portuguese, the carnival groups distributed in neighborhoods where the capoeiras became part repeated the patterns of the old capoeira maltas, and there was even the mestre-sala, a capoeira and drummer, who protected the group's flag, and João Mina would tell in the interview that a disagreement forced a group of drummers to move from the hill of Favela (LUSSAC, 2016).

In view of the data collected by Lussac (2016), in fact, although "to this day, many claim that capoeira in Rio de Janeiro did not have some kind of ritual and was not practiced with musical accompaniment" (LUSSAC, 2016, p. 216), it is not possible to deny that capoeira carioca had "its ritualistic and musical elements" (LUSSAC, 2016, p. 216), but they were taken from the Gymnastica Nacional.Burlamaqui himself (1928) demonstrates his ignorance of the popular capoeira of Rio de

Janeiro, since, even using batuque and samba duro blows and informing which ones, he says that they are "old dances, still in use in the north" (BURLAMAQUI, 1928, p. 29).

In addition to the instrumentation and ritual, the Gymnastica Nacional even removed movements present in capoeira in Rio de Janeiro. When comparing the Capoeira Guide and the Gymnastica Nacional, one can see signs of a decrease in the importance of sifting, an essential movement of this capoeiragem. The Capoeira Guide begins by presenting the two initial positions, named respectively prompto and boring, in prompto:

> The left flank is given to the opponent at a distance of 1 meter, with the legs open, the right foot 0.20 away from the left, knees slightly curved, the upper part of the body tilted somewhat backwards, and the weight of the same on the right leg.
> The view always over the eyes of the adversary, the arms extended naturally, but endowed with great speed when necessary (GUIA..., 1907, p. 4-5).

In the Gymnastica Nacional, the guard is described as follows:

> The first position of capoeira is the guard. [...]
>
> Prepare! Attention! On guard!
>
> The body is taken to the riba in a natural upright, in a noble and upright attitude, octave to the right or to the left. The leg is removed from the rear. Once the line is guarded, the knees are bent, but the front leg naturally falls, the torso is fixed firmly, on the rear, resting all the weight of the body on the back leg. The chest, broadly forward from the adversary, as if wanting to impel him backwards. The fingers, in broken lines and separated from each other. Teeth clenched. The head is well squared over the shoulders. The eyes fixed, on the opponent. Then raise your heels at the moment of action, supporting the weight of your body on tiptoe.
>
> Here is the guard. Here in its conjuncture is the first position, noble and loyal, of the queen of the gymnastics nations, with which, armed and defended by a perfect and good intelligence, we will be able to compromise the demons. (BURLAMAQUI, 1928, p. 22-23).

The prompto is nothing more than the guard presented by Zuma, although there are differences, Zuma's guard is done on tiptoe and hands in a defensive position, while in the Guide he does not mention this detail of the feet and says to leave his arms extended. As for sifting or combing it, Zuma wrote only: "One throws the arms and body in all directions in ginga, in order to disturb the opponent's attention and better prepare the decisive blow" (BURLAMAQUI, 1928, p. 42). In the newspaper A Noite, in its number 3808, he published an article called Razor, knife, Santa Casa, police station and the other fled, where he told the case of a fight between Sebastião Andrade and an Octavio de so-and-so, in which Manoel Coimbra decided to intervene in favor of his friend and the others:

> Capoeira jumps, jiu-jitsu blows, running back and forth, deception gestures and other acrobatics hindered Manoel Coimbra in such a way that, instead of blowing Octavio, he went to strike Sebastião, his friend, wounding him in the neck (NAVALHA, 1922, p. 5).

By Zuma's description, this could well be sifting. Another example is in Kosmos magazine in the explanation just below Kalixto's image called precisely "The Sifting", he says: "I soon saw a goat sifting in front of me; dansei of old, the typo was good! He samba and entered the cateretê commigo" (A CAPOEIRA, 1906, p. 57). Lussac (2016) states that "the term 'dansar de velho' is exclusive to capoeiragem and corresponds to the steps that precede the blows during a fight" (LUSSAC, 2016, p. 162), this would be another term to name the sifting then, since Zuma makes it very clear that the objective of the sifting is to prepare the "best decisive blow" (BURLAMAQUI, 1928, p. 42).

Finally, analyzing the Capoeira Guide, it is noted that the negaças presented are always used before introducing the blow itself, so the description of the slap begins with: "If the opponent presents us all in front of him on only the left flank, we will make the fourth negaça, proceeding to the first in order to tackle him". In view of the definition of negation, the act of negacear, which is "to deceive, to deceive" (FRANCO; HOUAISS; VILLAR, 2015, p. 664), it is not absurd to say that the sifting is made up of negaças, yet these movements so essential to the practice of capoeira were suppressed in the Gymnastica Nacional.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The word capoeira can be defined in many ways, among the definitions is the Brazilian game-fight capoeira, it is in this, however, that most of the meanings are found, because, for its practitioners, it is a very plural practice and much broader than a mere sport or another martial art. Master Toni Vargas tried to translate this into a song:

> Once Seu Pastinha was asked/ What is capoeira?/ And he/ Old and respected mestre/ Remained silent for a while/ Turning his soul/ Then answered calmly/ In the form of a litany/ Capoeira/ It's a game, it's a toy/ It's respecting fear/ And dosing courage well/ It's a fight/ It's witch hunting/ It's the wind on the sailboat/ It's a lament in the slave quarters/ It's a goosebump body/ A berimbau well touched/ The smile of a little boy/ Capoeira/ It's the flight of a bird/ Coral snake boat/ Feeling in your mouth/ All the taste of danger/ And smiling at the enemy/ By shaking your hand/ It's the cry of Zumbi/ Echoing in the quilombo/ It's getting up from a fall/ Before touching the ground/ It's hatred/ And hope that is born/ A slap exploded in the face/ It burned in the heart/ Finally/ It's accepting the challenge/ With the will to fight/ Capoeira is a small ship/ Loose in the waves of the sea (MESTRE TONI VARGAS OFICIAL, 2020).

This song brings much of the feeling and complexity of the practice of capoeira in the perception of capoeiristas, bringing timeless feelings in capoeira, which, since its beginning, has been called a game, a dangerous game, even the carioca kick, which wanted more to knock down the opponent than to hit a kick, through the interview with the drummers of Diário da Noite, Lussac (2016) would say that João Mina once killed a drummer with a stingray tail. It is contradictory, it is joy, but it is also hatred when the slap explodes in the face, how else to explain Rugendas' text on capoeira regarding the easy transformation of the game into a fight to the death (SOARES, 1998)?

As we sought to demonstrate, the two authors of the two manuals of capoeira carioca were illustrious figures in society or, at least, close to the carioca elite, and both sought a systematization of capoeira. If the Capoeira Guide repeats the same discourses of capoeira enthusiasts, as a fight that does not use weapons and is defensive, Zuma would bring in his justification for systematizing it the same discourses of elite enthusiasts stating that, once systematized and regulated, it was as healthy as any other sport.

For the elite in general, when capoeira was not seen as a hindrance to be eliminated, it was decadent, adulterated, disappearing, capoeira, as it was at that time, did not serve as the Brazilian sport, it had to be adapted, regulated. Soon, Zuma was forced to do so and sought to write a manual, more complete than the Capoeira Guide in some aspects, in many ways Zuma used the anthropophagic philosophy when creating a uniform and a fighting field, adapting the rules of the box and determining a presentation of the fighters, but seeking to maintain everything that was inherently Brazilian.

Consciously or not, he ended up excluding elements that were cultural from capoeira, even if he did not denationalize it by making the kick, football, or the punch, box, to give the label of Made in England as Celso Vieira had ironically suggested, he excluded the music, the rituals and, perhaps even movements linked to the very perception of how to play capoeira, given that the sifting, an idea of such importance that it was done at the beginning of fights to test and challenge someone as seen in Kalixto's text, is the equivalent of the current ginga and that the ginga is not used in the rings, while the position of the arms is clearly influenced by the box.

In this context, the erasure of master Raphael Lóthus, a pioneer in Rio de Janeiro in the systematization of capoeira and the first to call it Gymnastica Nacional, who was of more humble and black origin, very different from the students of Sinhôzinho, who, as he himself had stated, would therefore be much better than one of the capoeira batuqueiros for the simple financial condition. In his speech, Sinhôzinho expressed very well the ideal of the elite put into practice at the beginning of the Republic, that of going towards progress and eliminating everything that was not consistent with the ideal of society that one had, especially popular knowledge, something simple, charlatan, merely folkloric.

Thus, it is clear that there were, at the beginning of the twentieth century, two capoeiras in Rio de Janeiro, one, the most recent, the methodized and regulated capoeira, the capoeira esportiva as Lussac (2016) called it, which brought new elements and excluded old ones to escape prejudice, the other, from time immemorial, paraphrasing É de rua by mestre Capu (2020), it was the capoeira of the street and of the moon that descended from the gangs and that, after so much persecution and adaptations necessary to survive, continued to sprout on the ground, "not least because it is indomitable, 'free as the wind', a bottomless pit', 'a little box of secrets'..." (LOPEZ, 2002, p. 104).

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