Anthropophagic-Perspectivistic Poetics for a Re-Vision of the Brazilian Theater: the scene of origin

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ABSTRACT – Anthropophagic-Perspectivistic Poetics for a Re-Vision of the Brazilian Theater: the scene of origin – This text presents traces of construction of a Poetics, whose purpose is to develop a Re-Vision of the Brazilian Theater in five key moments. To do so, it is sought to establish a scene of origin, outlined from the encounter – impregnated with attraction and repulsion – that takes place in Colonial Brazil, from the 16th Century, between Amerindian and European civilizations. Two metaphysics and forms of expression thus form the intensive and panteatrical basis of a Poetics that projects a notion of Brazilian theater in a constant state of struggles of perspectives, symbolized, in its origins, by two anthropophagic interdevouring mouths: the mercantilist Christian eucharist and the Amerindian cosmopolitics.

Keywords: Brazilian Theater. Poetics. Anthropophagy. Perspectivism. Shamanism.

RÉSUMÉ – Poétique Anthropophagique-Perspectiviste pour une Re-Vision du Théâtre Brésilien: la scène d’origine – Ce texte présente une ébauche de construction d’une Poétique, dont le but est de faire une re-visions, en cinq moments clés, du Théâtre Brésilien. Pour ce faire, nous cherchons à établir une scène d’origine, décrite à partir de la rencontre – imprégnée d’attraction et de répulsion – qui se déroule au Brésil, à partir du XVIe siècle, entre les civilisations amérindiennes et européennes. Deux métaphysiques et formes d’expression forment ainsi la base intensive et panteatrale d’une poétique qui projette une notion de théâtre brésilien dans un état constant de luttes de perspectives, symbolisées, à l’origine, par deux bouches anthropophages: l’eucharistie chrétienne mercantiliste et la cosmopolitique amérindiennes.


RESUMO – Poética Antropofágico-Perspectivística para uma Re-Visão do Teatro Brasileiro: a cena de origem – O texto apresenta esboços de construção de uma Poética, cuja finalidade é a realização de uma re-Visão, em cinco momentos-chave, do Teatro Brasileiro. Para tal, busca-se estabelecer uma cena de origem, delineada a partir do encontro – impregnado de atração e repulsa – que se dá no Brasil Colônia, a partir do Século XVI, entre as civilizações ameríndia e europeia. Duas metafísicas e formas de expressão, com isso, formam a base intensiva e panteatral de uma Poética que projeta noções de teatro brasileiro em estado constante de lutas de perspectivas, simbolizadas, em suas origens, por duas bocas antropofágicas entredevorantes: a eucarística cristã mercantilista e a cosmopolítica ameríndia.

Introduction

The conception of an Anthropophagic-Perspectivistic Poetics, for a Re-Vision of the Brazilian Theater has the purpose of opening possibilities of different readings that guide the major manuals of canonical theatrical historiography. These great chronological narratives, structured from national ideas-forces, will interest in this work only to the extent that they can be devoured, deconstructed, cut out according to the contextual situation under analysis. Our theoretical-critical reflection, on the contrary, is based on the notion that Brazilian theater can be configured by a struggle of perspectives between two metaphysical and inventive modes of production, whose intensive reverberations gain more evidence and relief in five key moments of its history. The powers in struggle are, on the one hand, the philosophy of the Western, Platonic-Aristotelian representation, directed to the One and the Same, from mimetic principles of gradations of originality and authenticity, of copy and simulacrum of models; and, on the other hand, the metaphysics of cannibal predation, whose subject/otherness relationship builds the reality itself, through a multipolarity of interdevouring perspectives, in constant metamorphosis.

It is necessary to emphasize that this last metaphysics and modes of invention will appear here mediated by readings/translations/betrayals that tried – in the search to expand to the maximum the possibilities of our languages/sensibilities/Brazilian Portuguese language, to transvestite them poetically and philosophically as alterity and difference – to keep the freshness and vital powers of practical philosophies and Amerindian expressivities in their cosmic and magical dimensions. The transcoding mediations to which we refer, and which will function as theoretical and critical operators for our Re-Vision, are the anthropophagic ideology\(^1\), orphic strand of the poetry and civilizational criticism of the modernist writer Oswald de Andrade, and its most exciting contemporary ramification, that emerges from the thought of the anthropologist and philosopher Eduardo Viveiros de Castro – artisan of concepts like Amerindian Perspectivism and Multinaturalism\(^2\)–, having as auxiliary instruments the notions of history of Walter Benjamin, Artaud’s Theater of Cruelty and the cosmopolitics of the Amazonian shamanism\(^3\).
Eduardo Viveiros de Castro delineates the concept of *Amerindian Perspectivism* by stating that “perspectivism is the renewal of the Oswaldian anthropophagy in new terms” (Castro, 2008, p. 116). Oswald de Andrade’s poetic intuition, which gave rise to the traveling idea of *Anthropophagy*, which originally formed in the elliptical aphorisms of the *Anthropophagus Manifesto* of 1928, today, due to the numerous re-readings and reusings received, opened spaces that overflow far beyond the literary diatribes that propelled it. Poetic figure/polemical notion, founder of an experimental and rhizomatic modernity, that spreads by our contemporaneity, it has been shown still very productive. Antonio Candido and Augusto de Campos wonder in different contexts whether the philosophical practice of Oswald’s *Anthropophagy* is not the first draft of an intrinsically Brazilian philosophy. The truth is that *Anthropophagy* has played a central role over the years in experimental moments in the Brazilian cultured and popular mass arts, such as *Concretism, Neoconcretism, Tropicália, Mangue Beat Movement*.

Viveiros de Castro finds in the *Manifesto* – a text-body that floats, porous and multiple, in the space of Brazilian culture –, loopholes through which to slip and thus open doors, via (post-) structuralism, to enter into some of the meanderings of Amerindian thought. If Oswald approached such a conceptualization, on an intuitive mithopoetical sense, under the instrumentality of the avant-gardes, by the paths opened by the psychoanalytic unconscious, by the Nietzschean thought, by the vogue of primitivism, Viveiros is willing to touch the Amerindian worldview by other ways. It starts from the post-Nietzschean thought of Deleuze and Guattari to try – and he admits the inevitable invitation to error – to configure, parodically, not an *Anti-Oedipus*, but an *Anti-Narcissus* (Castro, 2015a): an (counter) ontological and cosmopolitical metaphysics.

Viveiros constructs his cannibal metaphysics as an answer to the hermeneutics of the Western subject, surrendered to the self-contemplation of the Cartesian inaugural maxim: “I think, therefore I am.” The *Anti-Narcissus* subject is in constant becoming and metamorphosis, feeding and displacing itself as from alterities – “the other exists, so he thinks” (Castro, 2008, p. 117) –, maintaining the bow of the relationship of exchange of perspectives tense, that is projected from multiple human and nonhuman bodies. This interaction is possible due to the notion that they have a
common interspecific general spiritual background (the conception of immanentialist animism is revised and repotentialized, as well as the constructive processes of anthropomorphic features). This refers to a multiple complex in which culture and nature interweave, projecting not “[...a variety of natures, but the naturalness of variation, variation as nature” (Castro, 2015a, p. 69), or better, the dynamic variation nature-culture. As can be seen, in subtle counter position to multicultural representations, which are structured as visions spinning around a single and passive Nature.

The focus of this article will be the delineation of a theoretical outline to characterize a Poetics, originating from the pre- and post- history of what we call, from the perspective of Walter Benjamin’s thought, scene of origin. Event-constellation that opens the possibility of intensive links between the five key-moments mentioned above, which will be re-seen in productions subsequent to this work, and which will be part of a wider research and writing project. The first of these moments occurs in the Colonial Brazil (1500 to 1822), from the 16th Century, in which we can catch a glimpse, in an ambivalent way, of the confrontation and the exchange – crossed by Ignatian-mercantilist imperialist desires on the one hand and the devouring of full otherness on the other – between two structured civilizations: the Medieval/Renaissance Europe (mainly in its Iberian facet, already tensioned by an emerging urban popular culture and by African civilization) and the Amerindian with at least 15 thousand years of existence. The second will be occupied with the drama and the scene of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, having as axis of reflection the works of Qorpo-Santo, Arthur Azevedo and the poem O Guesa, of Sousândrade.

The third moment will talk about the literary, performatic, theatrical production that is presented in connection with Oswald de Andrade’s Anthropophagus Manifesto (Andrade, 1970) during the late 1920s and the 1930s – in dialogue with the productions of Mario de Andrade, Tarsila do Amaral, Alcântara Machado, Flávio de Carvalho, Raul Bopp. In the fourth one, we will reflect on the Tropicalist Moment of the second half of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, when the idea of anthropophagy crosses the main avant-garde manifestations in the plastic arts, cinema, popular music and theater. And finally, in the fifth and final moment, we will try to locate the reverberations – intensive, residual, cyclical – of the
notion of anthropophagy in the culture and contemporary theatrical, performance, and scene.

It is good to underline that the word scene is configured here as (pre-) form, with a moving sense. The scene as an open possibility of alternating signification, starting from the idea of pantheatricality and interacting with the actions of performance art and studies of ethnocenology, like a movement that encompasses, in an unavoidable way, arts, knowledge, discourses, disciplines, realities.

Our origin scene will thus be constructed from principles derived from savage mind and bricolage, in order to locate the expressive forces in the struggle of perspectives, symbolized by two interdevouring anthropophagic mouths: the mercantilist Christian Eucharist and the Amerindian cosmic anthropophagic. On the one hand, the choir of tribal rites and shamanic play-performances-poems, pushed by a complex cannibal metaphysics; on the other hand, the Western metaphysics structured in the formulations of representation of the One, expressed in the catechetical theater of theological thesis and epic root from Father Anchieta, centered on the devouring that annuls the alterity in the name of the same (although, in this process, the ways of operating the language and culture contaminate the proposals at stake), a constituent part of the pantheatrical diversity of the Feasts of reception, a colonial ramification of the Iberian sacramental act. Within this last anthropophagy, the tensioning of the mimetic mechanics coming from urban popular culture, which is performed from a copy of third degree, situation reread and analyzed in this work as an inventive power, bearing in mind the understanding of crisis that the concept of mimesis, founder of Western theater, suffers in Modernity.

The (counter) notion of pantheatricality arises as a reply of the theatrical and performance powers of life/cruelty before the selective and excluding discourse, emitted when formulating the idea of paratheater. The (counter) notion wants precisely to bring the absence, the lack, the repressed, the exuberance of possibilities guarded in the residue, in the ruin, in what has been silenced, despised, degraded, to receive the backlight of analysis, of interest, of focus, gaining epistemological strength. It can be said that pantheatricality is the generator of our Poetics and our scene of origin, because it seeks to find and legitimize (pre) forms and forces, in several contexts/spaces/environments, which have been diminished or
abandoned, thus creating noises in the chamber of mimetic-Platonic echoes, which impregnates, like a civilizational superego, the official canons, whose projects eventually supersede “the historical process and become history itself” (Guinsburg, Patriota, 2012, p. 75). A background stance overly judging, producing a hierarchical and suppressive spiral, which unfold the thought of the Greek philosopher.

In fact, what matters to Platonism is not the first cleavage between copy and model, but that which, determined by the rigor of the model, can determine and separate the good from the bad copies. The copies that aspire to the model and the degraded copies that have no other similarity. In other words, the main strategic movement of Platonism was not to privilege the model to the copy, but to select the good copies of the ill-founded ones, which, due to its distance from the model, went to forms called phantom-simulacra or simply simulacra (Vasconcellos, 2006, p. 125).

In the pre- and post- scene of origin universe, pantheatricality, in starting from the degradation of the phantom-simulacrum⁶, reverts and devours, for instance, canonical texts to find emergencies of other metaphysics, fights of perspectives, silencings, multiple and complex experiential echoes on the surface of productions that want to be attached to the styles and models of the time, but which often result in inventive hybrids, throughout our scenic-dramaturgical creation; manifestations demarcated as historical realities, generally regarded as amateur, occasional, functional and/or linked to contexts merely of anthropological, civic and religious nature; the degraded copies of the third degree, simulacra of the expressive colonial simulacrum in front of the originality and authenticity of the production of genres from France (neoclassical tragedy), Spain (tragicomedy and sacramental act of the Golden Century) and Italy (opera). The pantheatricality, from these operations, values the difference, devours the Model, potentiates the simulacrum, following the Deleuzian thought, in a gesture that is the “most significant of the procedures of reversion of the philosophy of representation, inaugurated by Plato and developed by Aristotle” (Vasconcellos, 2006, p. 126).

It is an anthropophagic positioning of lowering to the stomach, viscera and genitalia, to the microbiome, to the metamorphosing lower body, of the metaphysical sublimity of the One and of the conception of “mimēsis in the Greeks, imitation for the Latins, classic mimesis (Beautiful Nature)
the 17th Century, a mimetic illusion (True Nature) in the Century of the Enlightenment, a body of meanings that “[...], cross from end to end the Western tradition, before being questioned by modernity” (Sarrazac, 2012, p. 109). Chewing process of the pure European genders, initiated in Portugal, through the popular cordel literature, by which most of the classics came to us, and definitively swallowed and redone in the geopolitical-cultural-religious ambience of the colony.

Histories of the Brazilian Theatre and Scene of Origin

The historiographical works called above by us as canonical and which directly or indirectly demarcate the critical-theoretical production on theatre in Brazil – “with distinctions in terms of approach, regions, period and even artistic manifestations” (Guinsburg; Patriota, 2012, p. 265) –, in constructing overarching narratives, chronologically organized, strive to unify, in grand syntheses, the different theatrical experiences, under the aegis of a major key point: the search for the nation’s own. This ideological center, which has suffered variations over more than one hundred years of productivity, initially began in the 19th Century by the search for an ontological nationalism, by which, from the creation of landmarks and gradations, it would be defined the identity of the emerging country. This romantic perspective made theater a dramaturgical branch of the Brazilian literature, at a time when Brazilian literature itself was thought of as a crooked branch of the European one. If the perfection of artistic models and the appropriate civilizational values, for the critics and intellectuals engaged to think the theatre in Brazil at the time, were in the repertoire and in the imperialist moral of the Old World, especially in France, the selection of the material produced should approach the maximum of these ethical and aesthetic standards.

And it was from these premises that some ideas became effective with a lot of emphasis among us: theatre should be the driving vehicle for moral, cultural and artistic values, and more especially had to take into account the concern to strengthen national identity through of theatrical works that valued the noble feelings and the aesthetic fruition. In this case, the appropriate genres would be tragedy and drama (Guinsburg, Patriota, 2012, p. 264).

This aesthetic-civilizing superego, of classical bases, echoing through the movements of the 19th Century, brought with it to the country, in
addition to European paradigms of closed models of artistic and critical validation, a racist and eugenic ideology, coming from the various scientific trends of the period. Our Creole intellectual and political elite, following the historical-popular formative norm of the nation-states, wanted to conceive a Brazilian people by forceps, idealizing the Indian and, to say the least, despising Afro-descendants, while not feeling mestizo and local, rather white and European, since the imperialist thought of the period asserted that mixing races or tropical countries could never reach the scientific stage of a true civilization. Faced with this paradox, of affirmation and self-denial, our elites followed very similar paths – in other ways and within a broader socio-ethnical-cultural scope – to those of the Jesuits in the centuries of colonization to eradicate bad habits and pulsating values of other metaphysical and expressive manifestations that circulated, multiples, by the terra brasilis.

The Brazilian historiographical works of theater that flourished in the 20th Century kept, in general, the idea of a selective search for a national identity, coupled with the obsessive notion of backwardness or lack in relation to the European and now, also, the North-American production. Periodizations, still very close to literary movements, guided the chronological founding milestones, as well the dramatic text was kept as the flagship in theatrical composition, with the difference that, under the dialectical force of scenic aspects, creation of companies and theaters, comparative studies with other performing arts, and the emergence of rural and urban subaltern-revolutionary popular manifestations. They are, in fact, exercises of refoundation of the theatre by means of modernizing processes, simultaneously impregnating the background nationalism of critical aesthetic and political spirit. These productions, among which we can mention authors such as Lafayette Silva, Sábato Magaldi, J. Galante, Gustavo Dória, Décio de Almeida Prado, “[...] superseded the historical process and became history itself, constituted of meanings and purposes, fabricated mechanisms that founded hierarchies, values and fixed an image of the Brazilian theater” (Guinsburg; Patriota, 2012, p. 75).

From another point of view, it also emerges a handbook of history of the world theater, Nelson Araújo’s History of Theater, which inserts African theater in its origins, as does Portuguese-language theater in general periodizations, a clear effort to insert an anthropological and globalizing
bias. The historiographical production of Hermilo Borba Filho, in turn, can be thought of as an unfolding of the modernist regionalist movements, with the addition that Hermilo focuses on elements of the performativity and theatricality of traditional folkloric manifestations of the Brazilian Northeast, reread in approach to the contemporary theater, in its spectacular autonomy of language. However, it does not abandon the national-popular profile of an armorial character that legitimizes the roots and archaisms of national popular cultures through the framing of Western cultured production.

Fixed images of the Brazilian theater, which serve as a source for current monographic university research; according to Guinsburg and Patriota (2012, p. 89), “[...] the books of J. Galante de Souza, Sábato Magaldi and Gustavo Dória are recurrent in the bibliography of the studies on Brazilian theater”, and they continue claiming that “[...] to a lesser extent, but with relevance [...] are the reflections of Lafayette Silva, Hermilo Borba Filho and Nelson Araújo”. On the other hand, the contemporary period also witnessed the hegemony of the great historical syntheses being challenged by fragmented narratives, with diverse and particularized places of discourse, often centered on the reflection on the specificity of the artistic making itself.

Our understanding proposition of a historical process assumes other perspectives, by interweaving both the mythopoetic intuition present in the Anthropophagus Manifesto – evident in the aphorism that prophesies, in a shaman-like way, that “We were never catechized. We did carnival” (Andrade, 1970, p. 16), for, devouring psychoanalysis, it points to the emergence of a repressed background that has never ceased to pop on the hegemonic surface of Brazilian life and creation for centuries – as well as the intensive relationship that can be established with the aesthetic and epistemological constellation in which history is inserted in the thought of Walter Benjamin.

In Benjamin, his aesthetic theory coincides with his epistemological model. For him, art has no history, the link between the different works is not chronological, but intensive. The same happens with facts and things. The intensive character removes art (and things) from a historical continuum that subsumes them to a significant chain (Santi, 2006, p. 27).
It matters, immediately, to emphasize, in the above quotation, that the intensive character at stake does not only relate to works of art but also to facts and things, which opens portals for reflections on the tensions between idea and history, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, for a kind of special theory made by Benjamin, in which Marxism is allowed to cross, among others, by “revolutionary romanticism”, which makes a “cultural critique to modern (capitalist) civilization in the name of pre-modern (pre-capitalist) values”, realizing not a return to the past, but a “deviation by this, towards a utopian future” (Löwy, 2005, p. 18, 19). Therefore, by means of a special type of Gothic, “sensitive to the magical dimension of the cultures of the past” (Löwy, 2005, p. 26), or the idealized matriarchy of Bachofen, various profane illuminations, or, even, the fascination of Marx and Engels with primitive communism at the dawn of history. This work brings cannibal metaphysics, as a proposition of extra-occidental alterity, to dialogue with the very particular aim of Walter Benjamin’s history.

Benjamin’s notion of origin supports the historical process we are calling the scene of origin; and it was developed more broadly in the texts *Origin of German Tragic Drama* and in the highly renown study *On the concept of history*, and must be understood in a dialectical counterpoint to the image/concept of genesis. The phenomenon of origin implies, first of all, a restoration and reproduction in motion of a genesis, which, in turn, “corresponds to the punctual irruption of an event, a data, an occurrence.” However, the origin is not the raw data, “it cannot be reified and leveled with the level of pure events” (Santi, 2006, p. 28, 29). In this way, the origin is the construction of the before and after, the pre- and post-history of the facts, of the genesis; it is the mutant form that emerges from the intensive trajectory of an idea in confrontation and quest for conquest of history.

In this regard, the scene of origin is the withdrawal, by the historian, of the gross event from the teleological progress, of punctual irruption within a blind, continuous and linear, homogenous stream of facts, to impregnate it with multiple times, in order to restore saturated and pregnant of nows: “[…] each event contains its pre- and post-history, which must be defined by an insightful historian, capable of recognizing in the present fact an ‘identity’ opened in time” (Santi, 2006, p. 30). This leads to the dialectic of extremes, that provides the coexistence of distant and contiguous contrasts,
a temporal situation in which the "past can meet with the present," when the idea of origin is appropriated as reminiscence, which is updated in cycles: "The idea, for Benjamin, contains the particular as actualizations for which it tends, since it contains within itself an internal history that must be ‘fulfilled’, lived, virtually" (Santi, 2006, p. 31).

Benjamin uses an image that could not fit better to the Amerindian anthropophagic and perspectivistic metamorphic ideology, of “a tiger leap toward to the past” to refer to the “nose for the present” of fashion, “wherever it may be in the foliage of the anciently” (Benjamin 1994, p. 230). A jump whose driving force reverberates in what we propose, without losing sight of the fact that the prey that is hunted in the past – which resembles nothing at all with the beautiful Aristotelian animal9, but rather a Kafkaesque hybrid Crossbreeding10 – arises from the originating encounter-ruin of the Brazilian theatrical scene.

The phenomenon of origin, thus, holds in itself the virtuality of repotentializing innumerable ruins (this work starts from Amerindian metaphysics and metamorphosis, positioning itself alongside other extra-Western creative philosophies and processes, such as, for instance, those of Afro nature, which can to generate new Re-Visions), superposed on the immense mountain that the angel of Paul Klee’s painting – the Angelus Novus, devoured by Walter Benjamin, that transfigures him like angel of the history –, sees proliferate from the past. “With wide eyes, dilated mouths, open wings,” the allegorical archangel is faced not with “a chain of events”, but with “a single catastrophe, which tirelessly accumulates ruin upon ruin”: the history of the losers, the excluded, the marginalized. The tragedy of the situation is that the cherubim “would like to stop to awaken the dead and gather the fragments”, but is impelled to the future, unwillingly, by a storm that “blows from paradise” and “we call progress” (Benjamin 1994, p. 226).

The particular movements that update the internal history of this intensive scene of origin are the five key-moments highlighted, seen as allegories of the moving constellation that (de)forms itself from the scene of the encounter-ruin, whose life-and-death struggle of perspectives reverberates in the most diverse situations and contexts11.
Amazonian Shamanism and Artaudian Cruelty

Another auxiliary instrument of operationalization of our Poetics will now be introduced: the metamorphic energies of escape from the representation present in the shamanic plays-performances-poems. We will start from some propositions of opening slits in the Western canon made by Artaud (1985) – an intellectual who devoured extra-Western otherness and allowed himself to be reconfigured in his art and discourse by these other metaphysics – who lived ritualistic experiments in Mexico with the Nahua tribe of the Tarahumaras, that are from the same language family of the Aztecs, agent of important paths in their theoretical practices. We are particularly interested in the “hunger of the immeasurable” which Artaud does not see in the modern Western man, and that the theater “set of means” would help to satiate, promoting an “ontological change”, putting us “in the way of the generation of a new body” (Quilici, 2015, p. 102).

If classical sociology still sees in the rite a staged representation, by means of a concrete language of not only verbal codes, enabled by collective values and abstract mythic conceptions, which would strengthen the identity bonds of society, restoring, after the crises, the law and the order, it is from anthropological studies such as those of Vitor Turner that the rite “[...] constitutes a singular event, in which there is a certain space for the emergence of the strange, the non-identical, of what does not conform to the norm” (Quilici, 2004, p. 67). Turner will emphasize the sacred, violent, theatrical aspects contained in the liminality of rituals that would offer productive chaos to revitalize sedimented social structures, through a “[...] continent for the experience of disorder, of the dismantling of references and contours, of openness to the dimension of the ‘sacred’”, as opposed to the “rational resolution of conflicts” (Quilici, 2004, 68) proclaimed by modern societies, with their legal and political systems.

Still according to Quilici’s reading, Turner places theater as “one of the heirs to the vast ritual systems of preindustrial societies”, which had codes of expression intertwined and inserted in life, not yet dismembered by scientific modernity in specific and autonomous fields. A theatricality present in the expressiveness and experiences of the participants of the rites, “[...] often translated into mythic images, which dissolve the boundaries between the human world and the natural and imaginary world”. In
modern societies, theater and the arts “embody the sense of entertainment, play and leisure, losing something of ‘seriousness’ and of mixing with life”; however, Turner “recognizes that there are proposals in the modern and contemporary theater, such as those of Artaud, Grotowisky, Peter Brook, Julian Beck, Tadashi Suzuki, among others, who aim precisely to regain the experience of the numinous and the sacred” (Quilici, 2004, p. 68-69).

Experiences of the sacred, in Artaud, which emerge from the words-things life and cruelty, seen in the physical-metaphysical theater of the French artist as practically synonymous. And they act as instruments to fight the world of Western representation, a procedure that proliferates, like a virus, not only in the theater, in the arts or in culture, but in all layers of life and thought. The rite, in its turn, brings the vital and cruel possibility of the experiences of organic transformations and metamorphoses, coming out of the knowledge that arises from the control of symbolization and conceptualization, from the logical schemes that lead to the one and the absence of conflict. Entering, as a surplus that incorporates resources despised by the discriminatory reason, in the agonistic force of a knowledge that plunges into reality in all its thickness – visible and invisible, of combat, predation, devouring.

The Artaudian ritual theater, therefore, wants to be a virtual double of the cataclysmic moment, of the interplace where the cosmic struggles begin, generating form and speciation, language and being, time and space, in order to reconfigure, after such limit experience, body, spirit, language.

The theater becomes the ‘double’, not of the everyday and sensitive reality, but of an invisible, ‘dangerous and typical’ reality. The theater of cruelty thus seeks to expand our experience of the real. Acting on the sensibility and intellect, it longs for a leap, which would lead us to the apprehension of a reality that is confused with the drama of creation itself (Quilici, 2004, p. 77).

This interplace and this moment, which amplifies our experience of the real through processes of dissolution and re-elaboration that renew life and culture, configure the worlds visited by the Amazonian shaman in his extrospective journey-trance. Proper of the mythical universe, this originary chaos is a plane of consistency in which beings are neither human nor nonhuman, neither dead nor alive, and constant metamorphosis is the virtual dynamics of figuration of becoming, time-space of pre-cosmological, pre-speciation, pre-form events. A field of immanence that happens as a
trance – in transit, moving, metamorphosing – not as ecstasy/enthusiasm, which implies leaving one’s self to receive – and respond in possession – a wine god12 or a one totalizing god, for instance. Through the regulated and elaborated consumption of hallucinogenic plants, the Amazonian shaman opens up to the nature/cosmos, experienced in its multiplicity and variation. And, lucidly (within the dream, performing and narrating), he begins his journey of negotiating of life and death of perspectives – agencies “simultaneously intelligible and radically others” – by the “invisible foundations of the world” (Castro, 2015b, p. 38).

To this end, shamans explore their internal self-differentiation, their “intensive overlapping of heterogeneous states” (Castro, 2015a, p. 56), and retrieve the original moment of transparency between the corporeal and spiritual dimensions, unlike the opaque bodies of visible worldly reality. Therefore, they enter and actualize the plan in which “the ontological regime” is that of transformation “before form”; of the relation “superior to the terms, and the interval is interior to being” (Castro, 2015a, p. 58). To reach this point, it is necessary a long and systematic process, begun already in childhood by the Amazonian shaman, of practical enlightenment of the body-spirit, of self-investigation of subtle physical and psychic states, exercised in his dream-journeys. A contiguous process to that of Artaud, seeking to constantly reshape himself, putting “the existence of the artist as a whole” at stake:

As if Artaud had developed the ability to ‘see himself’ impersonally, being both actor and spectator. Ultimately, it is the very idea of a ‘self’ that his writing tends to dismantle (Quilici, 2015, p. 103).

And it is through this exercise of living, seeing and self-observing, dialoguing and narrating – in which “ontologically heterogeneous points of view are compared, translated, negotiated and evaluated” – that the “cosmopolitical or cosmic-diplomatic” performativity emerges (Castro, 2015b, p. 39) of the shaman, when performing his plays-performances-poems. They are, in fact, the practical realization of the philosophical principle of “speculative oneirism,” in which an “actively ‘extrospective’ experience of the ultracorporeal hallucinatory journey takes the place of ascetic and meditative introspection” (Castro, 2015b, p. 40). The body, crossed by perspectives, is entirely illuminated, responding to each of them...
performatively, with dances and chants, poetic narratives, magical drawings. Actions in community that Antonio Risério called *performagic acts*\(^{13}\).

In these encounters with other transparent beings, others *living-dead* (attention: not the *dead-living*, which are contemporary zombies!), it is necessary to learn the languages at stake, through floating signifiers\(^{14}\) or signified without referable sense\(^{15}\), for communication, as it will establish a relation of anthropophagic struggle of intentionalities that can result in limit situations. This fact implies a subtle and dangerous translation operation. An action that requires precaution, since they are sensory transcodefications of specific alterities/corporeity, without a *supralanguage*—whereas there is no *supraworld*, nor the thing-in-itself in Amerindian philosophy, only crossings, *lines of flight*, devouring of perspectives on surface/depth of continuous relational becoming.

The political-religious function of the Amazonian shaman’s acting in relation to the tribes with which he interacts is to mobilize the “outside of the socius” (Castro, 2015a, p. 174) and to bring him into the tribe, injecting in this one breath of cosmic air, keeping the community crossed by the powers of life and death\(^{16}\). A fundamental airing for the maintenance of Amerindian social formations that block “the constitution of chieftaincies or States endowed with a robust metaphysical interiority” (Castro, 2015a, p. 178). The idea that some Amerindian societies are not a *proto*-State but have structured themselves *against* the State, by Pierre Clastres (Clastres, 1978), comes, among other factors, from deconstructive gestures of sedentary practices, such as, for instance, the collective movements of friendly and enemy tribes led by the shaman in the nomadic quest of *the land-without-evil*\(^{17}\).

The historical cooling of the function of the Amazonian shaman leads to the becoming priest, who separates, in the sacred rite, officiant and victim, and becomes the whole source of the official religiosity of “transcendent inclusion”, which is captured by the *socius* and the State, as it came to occur in the “so-called ‘high cultures’ of Andean and Mesoamerican people”. From then on, there is the “end of the shaman’s cosmological bricolage” and the “beginning of the theological engineering of the priest” (Castro, 2015a, p. 179).
Between the Revealed Truth and the Devoured Truth

Now, let’s understand how the stomach\textsuperscript{18} is used by the Iberian sacerdotal political-religious mystical body, the perspectivistic counter face in struggle with the anthropophagic shamanic mouth. One may think the Catholic anthropophagy irradiating by two basic perspectives: the anthropophagy of Christ’s body, effected by the faithful in order to maintain the mystical unity of the herd through the sacrament of the Eucharist, and the death and devouring of the many \textit{barbarian} alterities of infidels carried out by the expansionism of the Catholic Church. We will start from examples collected in the \textit{Sermon of the Holy Spirit} (Vieira, 2000), by Father Antônio Vieira, to deal with this two-faced Christian anthropophagy.

According to Vieira, God, in order to reunite the people of Israel, addresses himself to Ezekiel and asks him to devour the papyrus in which is found the light of the sacred verb, which must be disseminated in the name of faith. In a clear attitude of anthropophagic background, the Prophet, besides devouring at once, also says that they were sweet and tasty...\textsuperscript{19} To complement this act, but at another point in Christian temporal writing, there is the sacrament of the Eucharist, in which passion and resurrection are revived in the rite of devouring the body and blood of Christ, through the symbolic powers of the host and wine. The first Reformers, due to the liturgy of this sacrament, called the Catholics cannibals, because they established the body of Christ in the presence, visible, mediated by a priest and devoured by the believers, contrary to the direct Protestant relationship with God, of invisible faith, through the biblical word.

Another anthropophagic action, which directed the Iberian imperialist catechesis and domination in the geopolitical space that will become the future nation-state Brazil, is the one that uncovers in the parable of Peter’s vision, followed by the hearing of an enigmatic divine order. The apostle finds himself in the city of Joppa in prayer and sees, descending from the sky, a white sheet with four ends tied, loaded with venomous animals. The image disappears and reappears, when, then, Peter hears the voice of God sentencing: \textit{kill and eat}! Without understanding anything, he prepares to perform, as a man of extreme faith, the arduous task required. Until he unveils the charade proposed by the Creator, when he receives a member of
the Roman army asking to be converted to Christianity: the venom animals were all non-Christian peoples from the four corners of the globe, who would have to be killed and devoured to strengthen the mystical body of the Church of Christ.

Applying one of the aphorisms of the Anthropophagous Manifesto, it can be found in the two Catholic cannibalistic movements elements of “low anthropophagy” (Andrade, 1970, p. 19). It is a kind of anthropophagy that wishes to absorb the other by eliminating its cultural alterity, killing it in its beliefs and habits, so that he reborns Christian and strengthened, within a well-demarcated hierarchy, the mystical body devouring souls of the Church, which wants to be unique and universal.

But which was the anthropophagy that the low Christian cannibalism and the capital in its mercantilist origins found in the New World? Unlike the notion of racial and intellectual superiority, as a chosen people, or of the perspective that identify souls capable of being saved, although in bodies seen by the Jesuits as animalistic, the Tupinambá of the Brazilian coast of the 16th Century saw in Europeans the incarnation of difference in itself, in other words, an ambrosia of the gods for anthropophagic potentiating voluptuousness. The mythical Tupi base, whose cosmogony is structured from a primordial lack, predicts in each being, as potential, as virtuality, the other: hence the inexorable desire for self-transformation, driven by radical alterity, which outcrop what is another in me. The poet Rimbaud, with his wild thought, hits the bull’s eye: je est un autre.

The Tupinambá subject par excellence, a demigod like the great warriors – and the shamans – is a magnified subject (Sztutman, 2012, p. 70). He acquires another name, after performing each anthropophagic ritual, whenever he has executed an enemy, which gives him the right to carve a new scarification on the skin – there were warriors with more than 130 scarifications. These subjects are interested in incorporating the powerful anguera of the dead enemy, after being hunted in battle. Which requires a spiritual struggle of perspectives in which it can come out victorious or not. The killer is the only one who does not eat the flesh of the enemy in the cannibal feast, only the tribe and the allied commensals. The spiritual combat, which requires diet, purification, isolation, ends only when the enemy appears in dream to the homicide, teaching him a new song, whose lyric person of the letter is the voice of the enemy itself, to be
sung and danced, in the outdoor ground of the indigenous village, by the voice of the killer. The whole process then generates one I other, one my yours, one (counter) ontology, driven by the dynamics of revenge, the motor of the Tupinambá society.

The modification of a millenary Tupinambá festivity, the *Feast of the dead*, after contact with the Europeans, helps us to understand the force of incorporation of alterities, in an instance other than that of ritual properly anthropophagic. Called as *Santidade* (Sanctity) by the Jesuits, the feast begins when the *pajés* (Brazilian shamans) arrive in the village and are received like *Karaíbas*²², entering a special *oca* (Brazilian indigenous housing) so that the ritualistic performativity takes place. In such a place, while a sad and monotonous melody is chanted and danced in a circle by the members of the village, the *pajés* speak with their *maricás* – rattles under the form of gourd with feathers, eyes, noses, hair affixed – and simultaneously smoke and spread through present the fume of tobacco. With the trance instituted, the one who initiates the speech is the *maracá*, through the voice of the *pajé* who, in a ventriloquism action, brings to the community the presence of its ancestors. These stimulate the tribe to avenge and devour their enemies, to go out in search of the *land-without-evil*. At that moment, the members of the tribe also smoke the tobacco and there are general movements of trance of diverse natures, what implies to think in a generalized shamanization.

The *Santidade of Jaguaripe*, which occurred in the region of the Bahian Reconcavo over the years of 1580 and 1585, as narrated by Ronaldo Vainfas (2010), remakes the *Feast of the dead* by means of the potential incorporation of enemy alterity. It attracted diverse people from the colony – fugitive mission Indians, settlers, dissident Jesuits – who identified themselves more with the *devoured truth* than with the *revealed truth*. The morphology of the feast had internal displacements without losing its general features. The *maracá* is transformed, when incorporating the catholic imagery, into a marble stone statue called *Tupanasu*, or great god. This metamorphosis is born of a redeavouring, since the soldiers of Christ have anthropophagized one of its civilizing heroes, *Tupã*, in order to deconstruct, inside, the *clumsy barbarian Tupinambá culture*, impregnating it with the *truth* and *glory* of God. The *pajés* acquire names of saints and there is also an Indian female shaman, called Holly Mary Mother of God,
changing their name through baptismal rites, and no longer for the struggle to conquer the enemy’s anguera. The members of the tribe sing and dance with rosaries in their hands, and the pajés, in their astral journeys, communicate and bring news of the words of the Holy Pope or Christ himself (Vainfas, 2010).

On the other hand, the processes of Christian anthropophagy can be investigated in the *Tupi-Medieval acts* from Father Anchieta (Bosi, 1996), which are part of more comprehensive events called *Feasts of reception*. The temporality of such feasts is mythical par excellence; in other words, it occurs as unfolding *in acti* of primordial gestures and events, sacred in the gospels and in the Catholic mythology of the martyrs and saints of the Church. Welcoming a higher visitor from the metropolis, bringing sacred relics to the colony or to the missions of mass realization of the sacraments, produces the materialization of presence of the salvation. More than teaching, the Jesuits demand of their believers the bodily, sensorial *proclamation* of salvation, of the surrender to God and to the mystical body of the Church. An action eminently performative, aesthetic-religious, which is amplified in the dialogues and phrases produced throughout the processions, in the representations of exacerbated realism that lead to extreme emotional exteriorization (Luz, 2010).

From this angle, the theatrical genre of tradition devoured by the *Feasts of reception* complex, in which the Anchietan textual material is inserted and interwoven, is the Iberian sacramental act, in many aspects living in the colonial festivals. Beginning with the 13th Century origin, founded in the sacrament of the Eucharist, absorbing profane manifestations and popular and pagan elements, in a processional way, interspersed with dialogue scenes, dances and songs, a base that will acquire definition and place of prominence in the Catholic calendar, after the Tridentine assumption of the transubstantiation.

The rite of the tearful salutation, the erujupe – in which the women of the Tupinambá villages wept, for a good period of time, the arrival, for instance, of some distant relative or allies of friendly tribes, saying they were longing and they suffered much while the person in question was absent, and soon afterwards changed their attitude and began to prepare the happy reception parties –, under Jesuit interpretation, it was seen as the reception party of the Amerindians for the arrival of the *good news* Catholic from the...
Old World (Luz, 2010), coming by far in the caravels, in a transfusion of intentionalities with obvious catechetical ends.

The interdevouring rhizomes extend and circulate in the religious festive event. The Indians of the missionary villages, besides participating in the staging of the Anchietan scripts, and also being an audience, in the communitarian-ritualistic sense of the term, acted in the performative event in all its extension: from the reception of the visitor priest, bearer of reliquaries, a few miles away from the dramatic center of the event, to the stagings, along the way, of surprise performances of war, of dances in a house-style, of tribal songs and actions. Performance, theatricality, sliding through reality were not excluded, rather they interacted and superimposed in the environmental/real art of the tropical rainforest, sacred space, mapped and dominated for millennia by Amerindian civilization.

Some scenes of the Anchietan Tupi-Medieval acts (Anchieta, 1999), originated in the core of the Jesuit discourse, allow destabilizing leakages of the tough allegorical catechizing figure, from perspectives of religious experience that overflow the scenic-festive scripts. When, for instance, an Angel appears, in Reception of Father Marçal Beliarte, as a major Indian and kills a demon named Macaxera, with the ibirapema crushing his skull, the place where the anguera of the enemy resides, and soon thereafter changes its name, still that is Anhangupiara – “a word created from the agglutination of the anhangá and jupiara nouns”, whose meaning in the Latinizing translation of the Anchietan Tupi would be an enemy of anhangás, namely, of demons –, the cannibal complex Tupinambá is exposed in a text driven by agents and received by Amerindian audience. To complete, the main meaning of the name Macaxera, which has just been spiritually devoured by the killer Angel (an echo of the crusades spirit of Catholic religiosity), designates manioc, its flour, with which “[...] the Jesuits made bread, and, in the absence of wheat, used it in the Eucharistic consecration” (Luz, 2010, p. 132-133).

Civilizational mouths interdevouring themselves in the geopolitical environment of the Feasts of reception in the 16th Century: the angel is a slayer of anhangás, but the devil is of the same matter – the name-thing manioc – of the redemptive host, body of Christ transubstantiated. Is it an enemy/friend – as it happens in the processes of friendship and re-enmity of the prisoner sacrificed in the anthropophagic rite? Does the eating of the
superposition of heterogeneous states Jesus/demon/Macaxera lead to the war of vengeance, to the unyo mística, to transcendent inclusion, to immanent exclusion, to the body of the Church, to Paradise, to the original chaosmos, to the land-without-evil? Here are some elements of the virtual power at stake in the anthropophagic-perspectivistic struggle that constitutes the intensive pantethearlity of our scene of origin.

Notes

1 An ideology that is mainly disseminated by the Manifesto da Poesia Pau-Brasil (Manifesto of Pau-Brasil Poetry) and Manifesto Antropófago (Anthropophagus Manifesto) and by the texts A crise da filosofia messiânica (The crisis of messianic philosophy) and A marcha das utopias (The march of utopias).

2 Concepts that will be defined, directly or indirectly, throughout this article.

3 “For being able to see the other species as these look itself – as human – the Amazonian shamans play the role of diplomats, operating in a cosmopolitical arena where the different interests of the existing ones are faced. In this sense, the function of the Amazonian shaman does not differ essentially from the function of the warrior. Both are commutators or conductors of perspectives; the first operates in the interspecies zone, the second in the interhuman or social zone” (Castro, 2015a, p. 171).

4 Pantheater is a term conceived in this work with the objective to work in contrast to the idea of paratheater, used by Décio de Almeida Prado (1993) in his canonical history Teatro de Anchieta a Alencar (Theater from Anchieta to Alencar). We will analyze later the general profile of historiographic manuals similar to this one. It is important now to explain that the term paratheater covers cultural manifestations with anthropological, theatrical and/or performative traces that are not part of what is established as the sociological-aesthetic concept of Brazilian theater – unfolded by Décio from the classic Formação da Literatura Brasileira (Brazilian Literature Formation), of Antônio Cândido –, categorized as such only when there are conditions for the author-text-company theater-stage-audience-criticism complex to be established and moved in history.

5 André Gardel (2017), in the article “O rigoroso olhar índio” da criança, de Walter Benjamin e do xamã amazônico (“The rigorous Indian look” of the child, Walter Benjamin and the Amazonian shaman), from Lévi-Strauss’s conceptualization, writes: “This ‘prime’ science, whose heteroclite and already elaborated repertoire,
made not of raw materials but of ‘a collection of residues of human works’ (Lévi-Strauss, 1989, p. 34), operates through signs – therefore in the dynamic tension between the perception/image and the concept – which require that ‘a certain density of humanity be incorporated into the real’ (Lévi-Strauss 1989, p. 35). Apart from this, what characterizes the operability of such science is the double constant movement of inventory and rearrangement of the fragmentary, (re) (dis) functionalized elements that compose its set, ‘although extensive, remains limited’ (Lévi-Strauss, 1989, p. 32). An epistemology, with this, under the sign of variability and virtuality, both by the paradigmatic axis of its elements in themselves (elements of origin, under the bias of Benjamin) – proceeding from environments, contexts, functions, situations, uses, properties, other relationships – as well as multiple transversal relational possibilities of composition and arrangement (similar to Benjamin’s constellations)”.

The study of the counterpoint between the platonic phantom simulacra and the xapiripë spirits – transparent beings of the powers of nature and of life in general with who the cosmic diplomat Amazonian shaman negotiates –, constitutive of the Yanomami shamanism, merit an in-depth study that, we hope, we can do in a future article (Albert; Kopenawa, 2015).

According to the concrete poet Haroldo de Campos, in the article Da razão antropofágica: diálogo e diferença na cultura brasileira (On anthropophagic reason: dialogue and difference in Brazilian culture), the paradigm of ontological nationalism is a transposition, “for our tropical latitudes”, of “an episode of the Western metaphysics of presence” and is based on the idea of natural evolution, of “organic-biological” background, since it seeks “the origin and the itinerary” of a “punctual national Logos”. Such episode, called “Platonizing logocentrism”, aims to capture “the moment of incarnation of the national spirit (of the Logos)”, in order to pave the “rectilinear tracing of this logophany in history” (Campos, s/d, p. 110-111).

From this came the epithets that Benjamin received as those of Marxist rabbi, Gothic Marxist, Marxist surrealist, Marxist of the Jena Romanticism, which also emphasize his condition of critic-poet, whose analytical thinking was given too by ellipses, images, allegories.

In Poetics, Aristotle compares mythos to a living creature, to a beautiful animal, “whose ‘beauty lies in the extension and ordering’ of tragedy. To “subvert classical aesthetics”, “where an organicist conception of the theatre play is elaborated”, “Jean-Pierre Sarrazac opposes to the ‘beautiful animal’ of Poetics ‘the strange beast, half kitten, half lamb’ described by Kafka” in the text A
Crossbreed, as being “the image of a modern and contemporary drama” (Sarrazac, 2012, p. 41-42).

10 Kafka describes the metamorphosing Crossbreed this way: “I have a curious animal, half kitten, half lamb. It’s a legacy from my father. In my company it has developed completely; formerly it was more lamb than cat. Now it’s half-one and half-another. From the cat it takes its head and claw, from the lamb its size and shape; from both its eyes, which are wild and sparkling, the skin smooth and tight to the body, the movements at the same time bouncy and furtive” (Translated by the author from the version of Borges; Guerrero, 1982, p. 50).

11 We can, for instance, think about the dispute over the area surrounding the Teatro Oficina (Oficina Theater), established between Zé Celso Martinez Correia and Sílvio Santos, as a struggle of pantheatrical perspectives, an intensive contemporary allegory of the scene of origin of the Brazilian Theater.

12 Mircea Eliade makes an instigating statement which, at least, deserves a new article as well. In studying shamanism in Archaic Greece, he brings it closer to Apollo and not to Dionysus, which for our work would bring another perspective of mythic approximation between the origins of Western theater and Amerindian metamorphoses (Eliade, 2002).

13 In the text Palavras Canibais (Cannibal Words), from the book Textos e Tribos (Texts and Tribes), Risério presents the following description, by Viveiros de Castro, of the songs of the “nocturnal wizards who – with their voices, gestures and puffs – dominate the village dawn” of Amazonian arawetés: “The singing is a function of dream and/or tobacco intake. Usually, the generation of a chant follows this sequence: a man sleeps, dreams, wakes up, smokes, and begins to sing, narrating what he saw and heard in the dream; when the gods and the dead want to come to earth, then the song unfolds in a narration of the descent of these beings. There is a progression of intensity, which is not always complete: singing on the hammock; singing indoors, with smoke and aray; exit to the patio, with dancing and singing that manifests the presence of gods and dead on earth. The sessions of food shamanism or the reconduction of souls are the maximum point of the sequence, when the shaman leaves his patio and interferes with people and objects of the village” (Risério, 1993, p. 164, 165).

14 The notion of floating signifier originates from the reading that Lévi-Strauss makes, in Introduction to the Work of Marcel Mauss (2003), emphasizing that there is in the codes an overabundance of signifiers in relation to signified, since the latter are fixed progressively along of language use.
José Gil defines like the signified without referable sense: “In the symbolic universe of primitive societies, a strange situation can be observed [...] everything that man knew to have a meaning, was not therefore identifiable, framed in the systems of correspondences already elaborated between signs and things. Thus a paradoxical situation is created: there is a meaning, there is signified, but it is impossible to attribute to it a precise and referable sense (which makes the thing not only signifier but known)” (Gil, 1997, p. 16).

The shaman fulfills the role that Tadeusz Kantor, in his *Theater of Death*, suggests for the artist: that of abandoning the circle, the tribe, the society to experience death, the *catabasis* of paradigmatic heroes as Orpheus/Hercules/Odysseus/Aeneas, to return later and modify common sense, *doxa*, habits and customs (Kantor, 2008).

A magical/concrete place that is believed to be accessible on earth, where one lives after death without an effort of survival – the arrows hunt on their own, the farming and harvest do not require work either, and everybody dance and sing and get drunk all the time – together with their ancestral, the civilizing heroes, the demiurges.

“[...] we refind here the Nietzschean idea of digestion as the most spiritual activity of man, since, as affirmed in *Thus spoke Zarathustra*, the spirit is stomach” (Ferraz, 2015, p. 88).

We cannot escape from making a sweet and tasty analogy between the saying of prophet Ezekiel and the answer given by the major chief Cunhambebe to Hans Staden – after the latter asked him, as it is stated in his diary as the prisoner of the *Tupinambá*, how he could devour a fellow creature, because only an irrational animal does this –, taking a leg from a roasted enemy to eat and saying: do not annoy me, I’m a jaguar, it’s delicious (Staden, 2008).

Our free translation: *I is one other*. Extract from *Lettre de Rimbaud to Paul Demeny*. May 15, 1871 (Rimbaud, 2017).

*Anguera* is one of the souls of the *Tupinambá* people, who gives agility and sharpness, persecuted, in a spiritual battle of perspectives that lasts days, after the death of the enemy, by the homicide in the anthropophagic rite. It was also the soul that “set out to face the trials of beyond the grave” and “whose destiny may be the *land-without-evil* or the aquatic and subterranean universe of *Anhanga*” (Mussa, 2009, p. 185).

Great primordial sorcerers, usually civilizing cultural heroes.
References


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