

Scientific
Journal of
**Applied
Social and
Clinical
Science**

**MEETING PLACE AND
BROTHERHOOD OF
BLACK MEN, SPACES
OF RESISTANCE IN SÃO
PAULO: THE CASE OF
AXÉ ILÊ OBÁ IN THE
NEIGHBORHOOD OF
JABAQUARA**

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Abstract: The historical reality and the real and mental images that we produce of the city are configured as facts of right to the city. Law as legal, law as a social fact of relations between social groups. Religions of African origin, the meeting places de Candomblé and Umbanda are facts of the urban reality of the city of São Paulo that are not printed in the images of the city. Social identities and citizenship are formed through the images produced. Cultural heritage and brotherhoods play an important role in the formation of individual, collective and urban identities, which is an important factor for education and for the production of citizenship. São Paulo produced a mental image of the city of the Italians and the Japanese excluding the black population from the production of the city. The article resumes the discussion of the representation and inclusion of candomblé meeting places in the image of the city of São Paulo, taking as an example the meeting place Axé Ilê Obá, from 1984 to 2014, when Ialorixá Mãe Sylvia de Oxalá was managed. Currently revering the guidance of Mãe Paula de Inhasã, for which the authors take the blessing.

Keywords: Urban memory; Candomblé meeting places; Cultural heritage; Right to the city; Brotherhood.

INTRODUCTION

The right to the city is a proposition that is only effective through the daily practice of exercising this right and its recognition by the various social actors. Meeting places de Umbanda and Candomblé are part of the construction of Brazilian cities as part of the urban form of production of these by black populations, however these find several difficulties in being respected and incorporated into the urban mentality as cultural heritage. Without what we call urban mentality, the broad respect for citizenship through its various social actors.

Since the 1970s, black movements have made a political effort to recognize the rights of the black population to the city, through various actions, among them the recognition of cultural heritage of African origin, in particular the meeting places of Umbanda and Candomblé and the Urban Quilombos. Urban circuits of black memory were elaborated in several cities. Actions of incorporation of black references to education programs and means of disseminating culture, in this system, a certain number of cultural heritages were recognized and important discussions were fostered.

In the academic field, a cycle of studies began around the concepts of Black Neighborhoods and urban territories with a black population. Works predominantly in the areas of urban geography and urban history.

In the city of São Paulo, during part of the 20th century, many of the urban markers of the black population were eliminated, making the memory of representation of the city as produced by Italian and Japanese immigrants. The record of the presence of black populations in the production of the city of São Paulo is an ongoing process, in an attempt to change the view that is had about the city and to incorporate the urban landscape the recognition of black neighborhoods and the cultural heritage of the black population, in particular the urban quilombos and the Umbanda and Candomblé meeting places.

About the Candomblé and Umbanda meeting places in the city of São Paulo there is a great lack of knowledge on the part of a portion of the population and more “a fear” of visitation due to the forms of anti-black racism present in Brazilian society. However, there is also a lack of information about the structure of the meeting places and the religious functions performed.

In this article, as part of the systematic of urban paths in black neighborhoods and the

establishment of Candomblé meeting places in social memory, as a cultural heritage, we make a retrospective on the Meeting place Axé Ilê Obá, located in the Jabaquara neighborhood, in the city of São Paulo. For the historical purposes of the study presented, we only deal with the period that Mãe Sylvia do Oxalá led the meeting place, and currently the position is occupied by her daughter “Mãe Paula de Inhasã”. The article has a didactic character thinking about the teaching of history, geography and urban sociology.

CONCEPTS

Our conceptual approach to the cultural heritage of the black population is developed based on the positions of Pan-Africanism. Considering Pan-Africanism as a trade union, intellectual, political and cultural movement that thinks about the problems of African and Afro-descendant human sciences from African references and based on a conceptual and critical autonomy in relation to Western production. The international officialization of the Pan-Africans took place in 1900, and in 1904 there were already pan-Africanist groups in the movements of the Brazilian black population. We recall that the constitution of black socialist working-class groups in Brazil dates back to 1850 (SANTOS, 2009). Pan-Africanist thought is based on African philosophies and history (GOMES, 2020).

For the purpose of this article, the concepts of black population, black culture, Umbanda and Candomblé meeting places and cultural heritage of the black population are important.

Society can be understood as constant negotiations in social groups. Conflicting negotiations, conciliatory negotiations, non-negotiated negotiations and maintained in provisional states of relative equilibrium and without effective definitions. Societies are neither uniform nor harmonic, however they are not only defined by the conflicts between interest groups, nor are interest

groups always well-defined and their contour and shape, that is, they are not totally homogeneous and monolithic, in way that Marxist models express, always remembering that often forgotten models are just models the broader dynamic and intelligent reality than models. The black population is defined as that made up of Africans and their descendants in the realities of criminal slavery and racist capitalism. It is a definition based on the historical and sociological perspective and not on the parameters of biological or social race (CUNHA JUNIOR, 2019).

Black culture is defined as the transformations that occurred in African cultures brought by Africans to Brazil and which were the basis of the economic, cultural and social formation of Brazilian society. (CUNHA JUNIOR, 2008) “The transformations are the result of the material conditions imposed by geography and the historical conditions resulting from the systems of criminal slavery and racist capitalism.”

Umbanda and Candomblé meeting places are territorial forms of inscription of African-based religious cultures (DOMINGOS, 2015). “These are places consecrated for the deployment of vital energy for the production and reproduction of African-based religious knowledge. The meeting place is conceived in the spiritual and physical sense of its functions”.

The concept of form is understood as the manifestation of a state of equilibrium reached at a given moment and, in a locality, and has the characteristics immanent to the content of a culture in constant transformation, being therefore only a matter of the temporal scale of observation. Therefore, meeting place implies the consecrated location, a field of vital energy, a place for the development of the potential of the religious family and for the worship of African ancestry (SANTOS; CUNHA JUNIOR, 2021).

Cultural patrimonies of the black population are the material and immaterial elements that have acquired significance of importance for understanding the history and culture of black populations in Brazilian society. They are the elements that give identity to the different social groups in the black population.

LOCATION OF THE MEETING PLACE IN THE JABAQUARA NEIGHBORHOOD

The Candomblé meeting place Axé Ilê Obá is located in the city of São Paulo, in the Jabaquara neighborhood on the street: Azor Silva, close to the final station of the Jabaquara Metro, currently there are 1.8 kilometers from the final line of the Jabaquara Metro (Blue Line) to the Axé Ilê Obá, then in Image 1 we have its location in the Jabaquara neighborhood and in Image 2 its route from the subway station.

But whoever arrives today in this meeting place has no idea of the long path that has been taken to get here, all the exclusion, mistreatment and ignorance of society about this group, because, (SILVA; SILVA; CUNHA JUNIOR, 2022, p.2). “(...) education is still rooted in a Eurocentric thinking of explaining reality, being an obstacle to understanding the history of Africa and Brazilian Africanities, which form a cultural heritage”.

PLAN AND DESCRIPTION OF THE AXÉ ILÊ OBÁ MEETING PLACE

Regarding the construction of the meeting place, when arriving in front of its beautiful and exuberant construction, one has the impression that the place is flat, as shown in Images 3 and 4. In fact, the land is above street level, that is, on an incline; whoever designed it (Mr. Henrique Cunha) turned it into a project with a huge hall

without columns in the middle, with 20 meters between one wall and the other. The building, seen from the front facade in an orthogonal line, has two floors, and when seen from the back, the hall is level with the backyard, as shown in Image 5.

In the structure of the project, there are around the Axé with the shed in the central part, and around it, they are the houses of the orixás, their sacred trees, pantry, kitchen, rooms for the ebômis and all the support places for the proper execution of the activities. diverse activities of this broad and complex Afro- diasporic culture and religion. Which docked from the slave ships, built this nation with sweat, pain and blood in the face of criminal enslavement. But despite all exclusion, they remain alive and active, where we can see in Image 5, below, the structure worthy of African kings and queens resigned in Axé Ilê Obá. (SILVA; SILVA; CUNHA JUNIOR, 2022, p.4). “It is necessary to uncover the contribution of Africans and Afro-descendants to the social formation of the country, considering the African matrix techniques that were spatialized in Brazilian territory during criminal slavery, enabling economic growth and social transformations.” (CUNHA JUNIOR, 2010) “Part of the technical influences of Africa on Brazil during criminal slavery, such as mud, adobe, weaving, carpentry and woodworking, soap making and agriculture”.

HISTORY OF THE MEETING PLACE AND OF MÃE SYLVIA DE OXALÁ

MÃE SYLVIA DE OXALÁ

Sylvia Egydio Aranha, better known as Mãe Sylvia de Oxalá or Mãe Sylvia, born in 1939 in the capital of São Paulo, lived in the Liberdade neighborhood, a black neighborhood in the early 19th century; studied at Colégio Caetano de Campos and entered the Escola



Image 1 – Map of the city of São Paulo – Capital, and the neighborhood of Jabaquara (red outline – image on the left)

Image 2 – Current route of the Jabaquara subway to the meeting place (green outline – image on the right)

Source: https://pt.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Mapa_sp.svg

Source: <https://www.top5tour.com.br/bairros-em-sao-paulo/>

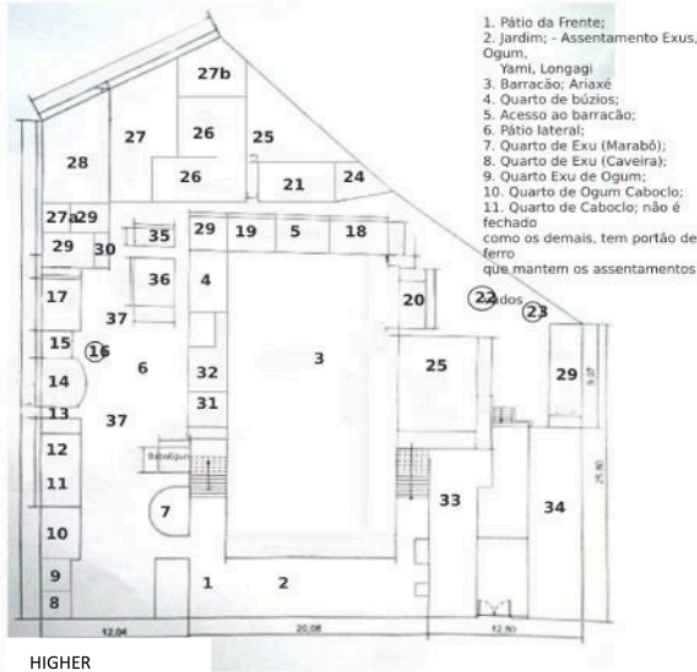


Image 3 – External front of Axé Ilé Obá (left).

Image 4 – Internal stairs in front of the Axé gate (right).

Source: https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ax%C3%A9_Il%C3%AA_Ob%C3%A1

Source: https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:AX%C3%89_IL%C3%8A_OB%C3%81_06.jpg



1. Pátio da Frente;
2. Jardim; - Assentamento Exus, Ogum, Yami, Longagi
3. Barracão; Ariaxé
4. Quarto de búzios;
5. Acesso ao barracão;
6. Pátio lateral;
7. Quarto de Exu (Marabô);
8. Quarto de Exu (Caveira);
9. Quarto Exu de Ogum;
10. Quarto de Ogum Caboclo;
11. Quarto de Caboclo; não é fechado como os demais, tem portão de ferro que mantem os assentamentos

HIGHER

- | | | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| 12. Room of Ochosi and Logunedé | 20. Yemanjá's Room | 27a. Pantry | 34. Laundry, bedroom |
| 13. Exu Settlement; | 21. room of hope | 27b. Pantry | Ebomi and Locker room |
| 14- Obaluaê and Nanã's Room | 22. irocco | 28. Cup; | 35. Oxalá hut |
| 15. Ossaim Peji | 23. Time | 29. ebomi rooms; | 36. Nursery |
| 16. Well and Settlement of Oxumaré | 24. Obara Meji | 30. bathrooms; | 37. Trees and Sacred |
| 17. Lansã and Ballet Room | 25. Sabagi; | 31. Secretary | |
| 18. Oshun's Room | 26. Snoring | 32. Library | |
| 19. Xango's room | 27. Kitchen | 33. Valorixá's facilities | |

Image 5 – Terrace plant

Source: Silva; Vagner Gonçalves of Meeting places listed in São Paulo

de Enfermagem da Cruz Vermelha.

She suffered a lot of discrimination and exclusion, either in her professional activities or in her residence in the Pinheiros neighborhood, where people from the same family felt authorized to throw stones at her house. But he looked for his rights and always went ahead, always having the values of his family at the helm. Among the many difficulties he suffered, he had two strokes (Cerebral Vascular Accident - AVC), both of which weakened him a lot, but once again he continued on.

He graduated in 1972 from "Fundação Escola de Comércio Álvares Penteado" in Business Administration with an emphasis on Foreign Trade. Between 1974 and 1975, he specialized in Foreign Trade with a thesis entitled "The trade of Arabs and African countries".

He set up an office in the city center of São Paulo, projecting himself to several countries as a trader, he made a bridge between several African countries and Brazil, as well as with the United States. At the time, he began to engage in the Black Movement. Thus, Mãe Sylvia's trajectory as a merchant reaffirms itself and reinforces the potential of black women in the diaspora that she inherits from her ancestors. (CORREA, p. 91, 2014 Apoud BERNARDO, 2003).

BECOMING IALORIXÁ

Pai Caio de Xangô fought for more than 35 years with advances and setbacks to survive the struggle of Afro- diasporic culture and religion in São Paulo, first in the Pai Jerônimo Spiritist Congregation in the Brás neighborhood in 1950 until the officialization of Axé Ilê Obá in the neighborhood of Jabaquara It is worth mentioning that the changes in the location of Axé, among others (CORREA, 2014, p. 63) it was due to the increase in police repression and the fact that Pai Caio had several problems with the police, he was arrested in 1962,

prosecuted and accused (...).

Then Caio Egydio de Souza Aranha, better known as Pai Caio de Xangô, died in 1985 without leaving any heirs. It remains for Mãe Sylvia to assume the position as Ialorixá and manage with wisdom, competence and strategic vision the heritage left by her uncle.

After accepting the fact, Sylvia was left to reorganize herself to continue her new moment in life; the precept of closing Axé for a year was carried out. And about her being the new Ialorixá, many children did not accept, (...), many left and difficulties appeared, but this did not paralyze her and she went ahead. (QUEIROZ; CUNHA JÚNIOR, 2022). Pai Pérsio de Xangô, Pai Gitadê, and Pai Air de Oxaguian, babalorixá of the Pilão de Prata meeting place, which they have in common with Axé Ilê Obá, the fact that they originated from the White House of Engenho Velho. With that, the position was legitimized and, on February 12, 1986, Mãe Sylvia was sworn in as ialorixá of the meeting place Axé Ilê Obá. (CORREA, 2014)

AXÉ ILÊ OBÁ – LISTED BY CONDEPHATT

So, in view of the diverse interest and use to be given by the material and immaterial space left as an inheritance by Pai Caio Egydio, Mãe Sylvia decides to file a request for the site to be listed as a heritage site. She was even guided by the savior staff that the tipping had to be done.

The process of listing the meeting place took place through the initiative of Mãe Sylvia, who on October 23, 1987, sent a Letter to the Governor of the State of São Paulo, requesting the opening of the listing process, in the document... she emphasizes the importance of meeting place sociability and the importance for the maintenance of black identity in the city of São Paulo. (...) attaching documents (...) about the house and an extensive history prepared by it. (CORREA, 2014)



Image 6 – Mãe Sylvia de Oxalá

Source: https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/galeria/album/p_20080124-meeting_place02.shtml



Homens Pretos at the beginning of the 20th century (left).

Image 8 – Church of Nossa Imagem and Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos in 2020 in Largo do Paissandu (right).

<https://saopauloantiga.com.br/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/igrejadorosarioSP.jpg>

<https://c8.alamy.com/comp/2A0W226/the-church-of-our-lady-of-the-rosary-of-black-men-in-so-paulo-brazil-also-known-as-the-church-our-lady-of-the-rosary-of-black-men-2A0W226.jpg>

The Council for the Defense of Historical, Archaeological, Artistic and Touristic Heritage - CONDEPHATT ¹ is a subordinate body to the São Paulo State Department of Culture created by State Law 10.247 of 1968, it is the body responsible for the studies and processes related to the tipping of properties in the State, it functions as an organ of protection of the State to the monuments of aesthetic or historical quality.

From then on, a long way was traveled for the recognition of Axé Ilê Obá to be recognized as a historical heritage in the city of São Paulo, a process that began on November 4, 1987, and, among so many procedures, finally on March 19, 1990, the then president, anthropologist Josildeth Gomes Consorte, ... states that:

The knowledge that we already have about the meeting places in São Paulo allows us to perceive that the process lived by Axé Ilê Obá, in its general lines, is not very different from that experienced by other candomblés in São Paulo, origins in Umbanda, in the 50s, spatial mobility forced by urban growth or real estate speculation, search for space where it can become viable, an effort to legitimize itself; seeking support in the wider society in order to survive threats of a varied nature. BR the cultural value of the meeting place in question and the importance of its maintenance and preservation against any threats that may disfigure it seems indisputable. It would be a pity to expose it to the risk of dismemberment or expropriation due to urban growth, real estate speculation or other interests. (...) Recognizing the importance of Axé Ilê Obá,..., I would not like to see restricted to this meeting place the benefit of the listing, taking the liberty of suggesting to CONDEPHATT the creation of a commission that would anticipate

requests of this nature. (CORREA, 2014. apud Ibid, p.147)

And then the decision handed down by the Council on April 23, 1990, decided to approve, by majority of votes, the listing of the Beneficent Spiritist Congregation Pai Jerônimo - Axé Ilê Obá, the first meeting place to be listed in the State of São Paulo. (CORREA, 2014). "The present window marks an unprecedented event in this CONDEPHATT. For the first time, the listing of a temple whose cult has black origins, the Axé Ilê Obá, is requested.

HANGOVER SITE

In the political sphere, Mãe Sylvia de Oxalá and the popular movements of Jabaquara in the administration of Luiza Erundina (1989-1993), obtained the creation of the "Acervo da Memória" and "Viver Afro-Brasileiro". About this achievement, she recalls that: (CORREA, 2014) "There, in that space they call "Sítio da Ressaca", was a quilombo, which was important at that time when blacks fled from Campinas to the Jabaquara quilombo in Santos, there it has always been a place of passage for blacks".

Dating back to the 18th century, it is an important space due to having been a place for black people, whether passing through or resisting, where it is added:

Located halfway up a hill, the House probably dates from 1719, the year inscribed on the lintel of its main door. Some of its tiles are still original and bear inscriptions from the 18th century, such as the date of manufacture and the potter's name. The doors and jambs, in black cinnamon, are also original. (<https://www.museudacidade.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/sobre-mcsp/sitio-da-ressaca/>)

1 CONDEPHATT - Council for the Defense of Historical, Archaeological, Artistic and Touristic Heritage - CONSTITUTIONS Federal Constitution/1988, in its article 216, not only defines what is Brazilian cultural heritage but also provides for the role of the State in its promotion and protection.

Constitution of the State of São Paulo/1989, in article 260, defines what constitutes the state cultural heritage. In article 261, it cites the CONDEPHAAT (Council for the Defense of Historical, Archaeological, Artistic and Tourist Heritage of the State of São Paulo) by name. - <http://condephaat.sp.gov.br/>

It is understood that the technique of “Taipa de Pilão”, characteristic of São Paulo constructions in the first half of the 19th century, will be due to an adaptation to the unavailability and unstructured products at the time, that is, in a time of great distances.

The construction technique used in this property was the rammed earth, which consisted of pounding the clay with the hand of a pestle between vertical wooden boards (taipal), thus forming the external walls with about 50 cm thick; the inner walls were originally wattle and daub. Introduced by the Portuguese, this technique of Arab origin was widely used by the people of São Paulo who, due to their geographical isolation, essentially depended on clay as a resource for construction. (<https://www.museudacidade.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/sobre-mcsp/sitio-da-ressaca/>).

It is currently known that enslaved blacks were strategically brought from a given African location to a given colonial location to be explored, according to their specialty of work and habits in their place of origin (CUNHA JUNIOR, 2010) “However, African peoples who arrived here brought with them important knowledge in various trades, which were already developed in their nations”. a certain slave with a certain habit in the 16th century (1575).

And adding to the above knowledge:

Several people belonging to the most diverse ethnic groups worked on constructions in their countries of origin. They erected grandiose monuments, huge houses and true fortresses in the different kingdoms spread across the African continent. They brought with them the most varied techniques for handling materials such as clay, reeds, wood, stone, mud and the use of whale oil for the mortar alloys in buildings. (CHAGAS, 2019)

Created in 1992, under the management of Luiza Erundina, the Acervo from 1998 onwards was renamed “Acervo da Memória e do Viver Afro-Brasileiro Caio Egydio de

Souza Aranha” in memory of the struggle of Pai Caio de Xangô, the collection worked a period inside the Sítio da Ressaca next to the Jabaquara Cultural Center, from 2000 it started to occupy a room in the Cultural Center. Mãe Sylvia’s memories refer to a possible quilombo that existed in the region, but until today this subject is silenced by official history.

Testimony of Mãe Sylvia de Oxalá: But nobody recognizes this, and it has been years of struggle, Erundina was the first to become aware of this and created the space, but it was only in 1998 that we managed to honor my uncle and from then on he passed to be the Collection of Memory and Afro-Brazilian living Caio Egydio de Souza Aranha, but to this day you see, they insist that there was no quilombo there, but I have proof of that. We did several activities there, I took my children here from the axé to take care of them, but you know how these political things are just with a lot of fighting. But I have faith that I will make it. (CORREA, 2014)”

And on June 8, 2018. (<https://revistaraca.com.br>) “The Jabaquara Cultural Center was officially called “Centro Municipal de Cultura Negra do Jabaquara Mãe Sylvia de Oxalá CCN]”, thanks to the law authored by councilor Eduardo Suplicy, nº 16928, sanctioned by the Mayor of São Paulo, Bruno Covas”.

STRENGTH AND WISDOM

Her strength and wisdom is unquestionable, where in a sexist and excluding society, Mãe Sylvia circumvented systems that are systematically structured against blacks and opened paths to her others. (QUEIROZ; CUNHA JÚNIOR, 2022) “accepted and widely understood its destiny and continued to open spaces, fighting against exclusions and deletions made with so much refinement and continuity in Brazilian society”.

In this movement, we started with the different black groups that were historically formed, most of the time, under adverse

conditions. We verified ruptures linked to racism and the various eugenicist policies that tried to organize the space. With this north, we briefly discuss the presence of black men and women in the public spaces of the street, important places of sociability... The movement of the meeting place Axé Ilê Obá, makes us clear, the power of continuity. Black territory has its formatting given by culture. From Brás to Jabaquara, he traveled the city in search of the bush, abode of the gods, a place for axé. This territory is mythical, it recreates Africa. It is political because it engenders practices that transcend its space and has gained visibility not only for its community. It is social, in which the family-of-saint gives the necessary strength to face life. (CORREA, 2014)

And the work of Mãe Sylvia de Oxalá in defense of traditions and acting in social works with the community earned her fights and tributes and awards, in Brazil and abroad. With perseverance and struggle, he knew how to pave the way for his sons and daughters. (SILVA; SILVA; CUNHA JUNIOR, 2022). “The aim is to look at our places, seeking to make visible the marked Afro spaces, in the certainty that they exist and resist. There is no way to think about the construction of the Brazilian geographic space without the significant presence of African peoples and their descendants”.

BROTHERHOODS – THEIR HISTORY AND STRENGTH

It is understood that black groups are intrinsically linked to brotherhoods that are groups arising from the need to organize and support their peers. Therefore, the importance of brotherhoods with their articulations, strategies and maintenance of dignity, even if limited to the time of slavery, is a structuring factor. The brotherhoods played an important role in the relationship between identity and the construction of political discourses in the midst of conflicts, more especially at the time

of slavery, thus, it is an entity of strengthening and belonging built on the logic of opposition through dialogue with the laws.

The cult of Nossa Senhora do Rosário merges with the very foundation of São Paulo - Capital. So, in 1721 a small chapel was built in the region where Praça João Mendes is located, which became a meeting point for slaves who at that time could not go to white places. In 1737 (date approximated through the facts) a new temple was built with donations resources, in the current street 15 de Novembro. In parallel, there were small houses that served for the administration and social activities of the church.

In 1872, the then president of the province decided to demolish some old houses, expropriate the slave cemetery there and create Largo do Rosário. In 1903, with the argument of expanding and modernizing the city, Mayor Antônio Prado decided to expropriate the church area and its neighbors. This area of the then Largo do Rosário (*current: Praça Antônio Prado*) was completely remodeled and blacks were removed from an organized and structured place. Once there was a plan for the whitening of the Brazilian people by the elites (SANTOS, 1998, p. 359), there were enough poor and black workers to bother the elite and its whitening project, which led it to establish policies with the aim of to keep these undesirables away from central areas and more visible public spaces. (NASCIMENTO, 2015) the land of the old church, now demolished, passed into the possession of Martinico Prado, then Antônio Prado's brother.

With the compensation received, the brotherhood decides to build the church; the new church was built and inaugurated in the current Largo do Paissandu, on April 22, 1908 (NASCIMENTO, 2015) “which occurred with protests by the residents of the surroundings of the place” against the construction. And on the site of the old church is currently a market

and future bank. (we highlighted this stretch)

When analyzing the importance of this group, we have that Church of Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos and the black urban space in the post-abolition city of São Paulo, Fabrício Forganés Santos tells us in his research, a great framework of forces and resistance, where, the same understands that: The church would be closely linked to the State supporting the introduction of black slave labor instilling Christian dogmas in the “Gentiles”. But this union went beyond spiritual responsibilities and was also expressed in urban planning. Religious brotherhoods were associations that gave blacks (enslaved or free) the possibility of camouflaging ancestral practices in different ways of fulfilling Catholic rituals. This aspect contributed to the preservation of black identity, even covering up the African religious memory in the diaspora. Around these churches there were the houses of the freedmen or hideouts of fugitive slaves, favoring such spaces as places of coexistence, small black urban enclaves that broke the uniformity of the colonial city landscape. From 1888 onwards, the elite appropriated the terms “hygiene and modernization” (to camouflage its repulsion towards blacks and so on) to justify the expropriation of the land where the black churches and their heritage are located, fulfilling the republican desires to erase their past. colonial.

CONCLUSIONS

The images of Africans or Afro-descendants are erased, relocated or rendered meaningless in the face of the reality of the facts. The brotherhoods are a concrete fact in the lives of Africans and Afro-descendants and much of this support has been structured in their lives. Black places were demolished, renamed and/or restructured to more distant places and without infrastructure (SILVA; SILVA; CUNHA JUNIOR – 2022, p.4) “the

knowledge of African culture, spatialized and re-elaborated in Brazil, is fundamental to overcome the erroneous idea of enslaved people as a productive object devoid of rationality”.

The blacks brought to Brazil in criminal slavery had knowledge and training that were widely used in the construction of this nation, Cunha Junior (2021) gives us an important account, where: From the 16th century onwards, Europeans invaded and dominated the Americas and began to produce economies in the Americas with African workers who had knowledge of agriculture, livestock, gold production and knew ways of production. The enslavement of Africans was not determined by the backwardness of civilization or for reasons of lesser cultural or scientific development, it was for reasons of greater military power of Europeans over African regions.

The Candomblé meeting place is a place of reception, culture, and learning about the ancestry of Africans. A place of conviviality and structure for those who were and continue to be deprived. Mãe Sylvia was an important religious leader and activist of the black movements, welcoming her children with strength, fighting for spaces and leaving an example to be perpetuated. (CORREA, 2014). The movement of the meeting place Axé Ilê Obá, makes us clear, the power of continuity. Black territory has its formatting given by culture. This territory is mythical, it recreates Africa. It is political because it engenders practices that transcend its space and has gained visibility not only for its community. It is social, in which the family-of-saint gives the necessary strength to face life.

Our place of living, the walks, the work, the meeting place, in short, the coming and going, structure our way of being and establish us in space, expanding horizons and experiences of an erased, excluded and denied reality. A

reality that deserves its true history in order to understand which were the real hands that built this nation, with knowledge of the technical processes, constructions, joinery, carpentry, naval engineering, plantations, gold extraction, works weaving, soap making and livestock farming, among others.

In this article, we rescued aspects little

highlighted in the urban history of the city of São Paulo, where African and Afro-descendant cultures find several difficulties in being respected and incorporated into the urban mentality as the cultural heritage and brotherhoods. Without what we call urban mentality, the broad respect for citizenship through its various social actors.

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