

Mané Garrincha as a Symbol of the Brazilian National Identity

*Tiago Lisboa Bartholo**

*Antonio Jorge Gonçalves Soares***

Abstract: The objective of the article is to analyze Garrincha's biography, a famous player, as an expression of an individual trajectory that embodies meanings about the Brazilian soccer and on "Brazilian people". The empirical material is Ruy Castro's book (1995) "Estrela solitária: Um brasileiro chamado Garrincha". The lines written by the author build the idea that Garrincha is gifted. His talent is given as innate and doesn't need to be improved. The indigenous ancestors are key for the author to interpret the exuberance and simplicity of his game, as its contrary behavior to the social norms and the discipline in the soccer fields.

Keywords: Soccer. National Identity. Garrincha. Biography.

1 INTRODUCTION

The identity discourse on Brazilian soccer bases its singularity by affirming that it has a joyful and beautiful style of playing. The art of dribbling, with the "sway of *capoeira*" and with the rhythm of samba would be the main marks of recognition. The affirmation of this style is being constructed in a symbolic struggle in relation to "other styles" since the second decade of the 20th century (SOARES; LOVISOLO, 2003). The Brazilian style (beautiful game) is narrated as a unique way of using the body, a corporal technique that can be interpreted as culturally socialized (MAUSS, 1974) or as a product of racial miscegenation in the version of the fable of the three races in which the cultural blends with biological expression. In other terms, cultural expression would be strongly determined by the biological. The racist interpretation, although not always explicit, is the dominant narration on the style of play and music (specifically samba) in Brazil. However, we must point out that both construction and maintenance of the identity narrations have settled in the collective memory.

Construction of the Brazilian style spread throughout the world and its beauty and enchantment are praised by journalists and fans from other countries where soccer is the dominant sport. A cultural sports capital was created, so to speak, around

* Masters in Physical Education from Universidade Gama Filho. Lecturer of Colégio de Aplicação of Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro. Scholarship from CNPq. Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brazil. Email: tbartholo81@hotmail.com.

** Doctor in Physical Education from Universidade Gama Filho. Currently lecturer of the Post-Graduation Program in Physical Education of Universidade Gama Filho and lecturer of Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro. Scholarship from CNPq/ PROTEORIA. Email: antoniojsoares@pq.cnpq.br

Brazilian soccer that, among other indicators, results in a significant international demand for players, coaches and festive challenges, in addition to those determined by the official calendars (DAMO, 2005).

The tradition of Brazilian soccer is recalled in different means of dissemination. The biographies of the players seem to us to be privileged spaces for us to understand how this tradition is constructed, since the authors must create reasons and rationales to give meaning to the individual trajectories. In another direction, the authors highlight unique traces and aspects of the lives of certain players who end up revealing collective values and meanings from the culture in which Garrincha is inserted. As attested by Helal & Murad (1995, p. 68) “the biography of a hero contains, without doubt, important messages and revelations of the culture of a people”.

The purpose of the article is to analyze the biography of former soccer player Garrincha – whose Christian name is Manuel dos Santos, as an expression of an individual trajectory that embodies collective meanings about Brazilian soccer and about the "Brazilian being". The biography written by Ruy Castro (1995),¹ “Estrela solitária: um brasileiro chamado Garrincha” [Lone Star: a Brazilian called Garrincha], constitutes the objective of this article’s analysis. We are especially interested in understanding how the author works with the memories and oblivions to narrate the trajectory of Garrincha in and out of the fields. Our analysis will follow Garrincha's biography right from the player's childhood in his native city, Pau Grande, up to the year 1963 – beginning of the decline in his soccer career.

The choice of this player is not by chance. Garrincha would be the translation and embodiment of the beautiful game. The image of Garrincha is that of the athlete who does not value tactical schemes or physical training. His success in the soccer fields is narrated as the expression of a gift in view of the adversities faced. Ruy Castro writes a beautiful and consistent story about the trajectory of Garrincha that, in the shadows of the narration, reveals the hegemonic and homogenizing construction of the identity of Brazilian soccer.

We highlighted five categories of analysis that will be discussed during this chapter. They are: 1) work/training; 2) freedom; 3) “gift”; 4) insolence/innocence of

¹ Ruy Castro, born in 1948, is a journalist and has an extensive literary career. Among his books, we highlight: *Ela é carioca: uma enciclopédia de Ipanema* (1999), *O anjo pornográfico: a vida de Nelson*

children; 5) “sexual appetite”. These are the elements disclosed by Castro (1995) to present Garrincha.

2 ORIGIN OF THE “GIFT” OF MANUEL DOS SANTOS

To tell the trajectory of the soccer player Garrincha, Ruy Castro goes back to the year 1865 and recalls the athlete's ancestors. Garrincha was a descendant of Indians from the *fulniô* village, born in 1933 in a small city of the state of Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), Pau Grande², and, like all boys his age, would play in the forests and rivers that surrounded the city. The representations of Castro (1995) about Garrincha are of the good savage, of freedom and the ingenuity of rural or natural life, in opposition to urban life; freedom versus coercion; spontaneity versus artificiality.

He was always barefooted – the soles of his feet have always been those of one who walked in the forest and stone sidewalks (CASTRO, 1995, p. 27).

Garrincha was the name of an indomitable bird that did not get used to captivity. It was a species very common in the region [...] Garrincha also did not adapt to captivity. At the age of seven, his life was hunting birds, bathing in the river and playing street soccer (CASTRO, 1995, p. 28).

According to Castro (1995, p. 30), the boy's liking of soccer was awakened early: “[...] He did not have to be owner of the ball to guarantee his place in the street matches – he was already better than all the boys in the street”. The idea of “owner of the ball” has a double meaning in Brazil, meaning both the way in which players with little corporal skills take part in the game for the mere fact of being owners of the sport implement, the ball, which makes the game possible, and as a way of criticizing a player who is a member of a team and on whom falls the doubts about his qualities or skills as a player. In other words, it means that the “owner of the ball” is, in a last instance, the one who lacks skill for the sport. The ideology of the individualist societies, which is clearly reflected in the sport, affirms that individuals must win their space in society

Rodrigues (1992) & Chega de saudade: a história e as histórias da Bossa Nova (1990), all published by Companhia das Letras Publishing House.

² Pau Grande is a small district in Magé municipality, 70 kilometers from the capital, Rio de Janeiro. In the 20s, the city's economy depended on English textile plant América Fabril, which was being established in the region. This was also a rural area with town roads and much green area.

through their skills and not through their possessions and/or social origin. Garrincha is in this case someone who affirmed himself early through incontestable skill.

In the first chapters of the book, Castro (1995) builds the image of a boy who, from the onset, was contrary to the social rules and had the “gift” of playing soccer due to having the Indians as his ancestors³ and was, for this reason, indomitable.

Amaro & Maria Carolina realized that they had a son living in a quasi-savage state. [...] From there on, they started trying to make him civilized. (CASTRO, 1995, p. 31).

And civilization was not Garrincha's element. The grace was in dribbling and in dribbling only. He was in soccer in a wild and ludic state, which was how the Indians would play it, if they knew how. (CASTRO, 1995, p. 64).

The romantic values that structure the narration are evident, Indian and natural life were the peaks of Brazilian romanticism. One notes that Castro (1995) uses the "ethnic antecedents" to interpret Garrincha's alleged inadequacy to the tactical schemes and consequent lack of discipline and asceticism that requires the *ethos* of a professional athlete. We note that these images of Garrincha were in no way invented by Ruy Castro; we can find this romantic tone in several chronicler and sports journalists. Mário Filho, journalist and builder of the sports journalism field in Brazil, described Garrincha through the same romantic lens (LEITE LOPES, 1994; SOARES, 1998).

The reading Castro makes of Garrincha's soccer takes us to "another", that is, to the soccer of tactical discipline, played by the English or, in a more encompassing form, by the "Europeans". There are no evidences that other players, Brazilian or foreign, were so disciplined for us to have a dichotomic structure: disciplined versus undisciplined. In fact, discipline and indiscipline seem to form opposite poles of a continuum, and we do not know if Garrincha occupied one of its ends. However, in Castro's narrative plane, the pole of indiscipline serves to highlight the esthetic rupture that Garrincha's soccer assumes in relation to "conventional soccer" and the ascetic soccer of the "others".

If until now we have the origin of Garrincha built through romantic lens – the trajectory of a boy on the “margin of civilization”, at other times of the biography, the

³ Remember that in the history of Brazil, the Indian – this generic word indicating different ethnic groups, is represented as an indomitable being who did not allow himself to be enslaved by the European colonizer

author himself presents data that indicates that Garrincha followed shared rules and social conducts. For example, he was matriculated at the age of 7 – age equal to that of the other boys from Pau Grande, at a time when many Brazilians did not attend elementary school, and began work in the city's plant – América Fabril⁴ at the age of 14⁵, the same age as his colleagues. Garrincha seems to have had, as described by Castro (1995), a childhood and adolescence similar to those of his contemporaries, however, the emphasis on the expression of genius, of the vanguard artiste of the ball overlaps the terrene and ordinary trajectory followed by Garrincha and by several players of his time. Garrincha, to establish himself as a player, as can be seen further on, persevered on undergoing tests, being rejected in many of them, until he was approved in a professional club. We thus have, as described by Castro (1995), the hero's trajectory (PROPP, 1984). The idea of “destiny” present in Garrincha's biography can be seen clearly in other renown athletes of Brazilian sport⁶.

Garrincha started his life in soccer as a player and operator of a textile plant club. The surveys indicate that the plant clubs and soccer practice were institutions disseminated in a great part of the 20th century in Brazil (ANTUNES, 1992). Despite Garrincha having started out his career in soccer from a plant club, in which sport and work were conjugated, Castro (1995) insists on highlighting the image that Garrincha was contrary the norms and was “indomitable”. Therefore, narrates the biographer, Garrincha was warned, dismissed and rehired a couple of times by América Fabril. Sport Clube Pau Grande, soccer club maintained by the English plant, depended on the competency of the soccer player Garrincha and only the staff could take part in the matches according to the criteria of the soccer league. Castro emphasizes that Garrincha, despite lacking the discipline as a worker/operator, was the main player of the plant's team and this kept him employed.

Castro seeks explanations for the qualities shown by Garrincha in the soccer field:

The expression intuitive genius was probably not the currency in Serra dos Órgãos in the 40s. But it was the only explanation for the soccer of the young

⁴ América Fabril was a textile plant with English owners Castro (1995) states that most of the local economy of the small city of Pau Grande depended on the plant.

⁵ Year when one is allowed to enter the job market as an “apprentice”.

⁶ About Romário see Guedes (1998). Vaz (2002) analyzes the trajectory of Pelé and Ayrton Senna. Check Bartholo (2007) on the trajectory of tennis player Gustavo Kuerten.

Garrincha. Where did he get that way of speed up, dribbling and kicking? There were no great soccer precedents in the family. [...] At the age of twelve, in 1945, Garrincha was already playing more *peladas*⁷ than anything else in his life. There were at least two or three a day – in the future, he would maintain this frequency, except that it was in another sport. (CASTRO, 1995, p. 38).

If we follow Castro's indications, we will remain in doubt: after all, was Garrincha a great player because he played a lot or did he play a lot because he was great? In other terms, were his skills the products of the intensity of training, learning in practice, or of the gift? Castro (1995) states that Garrincha had great pleasure in practicing soccer and would spend most of his time in soccer matches with his colleagues. However, he presents Garrincha as someone who had received a "gift" to play soccer, therefore, he had "natural qualities", without family precedents in the practice of the sport. In the case of Garrincha, the popular saying “**a chip of the old block**” does not apply. Ruy Castro regards intense practice, although not technically directed, as not being training. Garrincha's activities in the *peladas*, on the barren fields, is interpreted by the biographer as leisure and pleasure, therefore, it was out of the work directed by objectives. In Brazil, training is seen as something stoic for those who lack the “gift”. The construction indicates the opposition between gift and training, creativity and effort, freedom and discipline. These are images present in Brazilian culture, although not only of it, that appear in the discourse on soccer.

In soccer, and in other social spaces in Brazil, when someone is qualified as “hard-working”, it means that the individual has little skills and tries to overcome the absence of gift through effort. A great player in Brazilian soccer in the 80s like Zico was the target of this interpretation several times in his career (HELAL; SOARES; LOVISOLO, 2001). This does not mean that individual effort is not valued in the cultural scenario, the problem of cultural order, in hegemonic terms, is that the gift opposes effort. The gift makes the genius. On the other hand, this structural opposition is ambiguous and is sliding at discursive level, as the absence of effort serves, at certain times, to explain failure of the one who was "born" with a gift and with all the conditions to express his geniality. One can lose one's geniality through lack of effort, but one cannot be a genius through effort only. Garrincha is placed as a genius who

⁷ The meaning of the word “*pelada*” in the native language means an informal soccer game. These games were organized spontaneously by the social players involved with the flexibility of the game rules.

refuses effort. Therefore, he is a genius or hypergenius twice, due to being without effort.

The poor but happy childhood of Garrincha in a small city of the state of Rio de Janeiro is emphasized by the biographer. The lack of expensive toys like scooter or velocipede is highlighted in the book. The game of soccer is viewed by Castro (1995) as a game that does not demand high costs, that is, it is in the reach of the poorest. Garrincha would play *peladas* in the lea barefooted and embodies the classical trajectory of many soccer idols who overcome poverty with the "gift".

3 THE FIRST STEPS IN PROFESSIONAL SOCCER

Garrincha had his first change in a team from Rio de Janeiro at the age of 19 years, a rare fact at the time (CASTRO, 1995). Boys would usually arrive at the clubs with 13 or 14 years of age to undergo tests. Ruy Castro shows here the difficulties faced by Garrincha to start his career as a professional soccer player. The biographer narrates that Garrincha failed in three tests conducted in important clubs from Rio de Janeiro – Vasco, São Cristóvão and Fluminense, before being approved by Botafogo⁸. Garrincha had been the victim of the lack of understanding of the coaches who, despite regarding him as a good player, did not tolerate a "single defect, easily corrigible, which is that of dribbling too much" (CASTRO, 1995, p. 64). Here, the author presents the obstacles experienced by his tragic hero to affirm his style of playing in soccer, obtain success and die as a mad man and alcoholic⁹. The "defect" of dribbling excessively might seem contradictory with the identity image of Brazilian soccer. It seems that we are before a romantic opposition of class. The players are artistes, however, the coaches do not recognize their art. It is the players who express the authentic, the coaches may already be subjugated to the international standards that emphasize discipline. The polemic surrounding which style or model of game Brazilian soccer should adopt was the object of debate at least up to the 60s, and there were many followers of the English model

⁸ It is the practice in Brazil for soccer clubs to conduct tests with a great contingent of children and teenagers who seek a change to become professional soccer players. The Botafogo team was at the time of Garrincha and up till today one of the most important teams in Brazilian soccer. For a history of the club's formation, its fans and the main sports achievements, see Augusto (2004).

⁹ In fact, the final third of the biography narrates the decadence of the hero, who dies poor and forgotten by those who once gave him standing ovations in the great stages of world soccer. See also Leite Lopes & Maresca (1992).

(SOARES; LOVISOLO, 2003). Garrincha's dribbles, his egocentrism, have perhaps contributed toward the creation, affirmation and valuing of the beautiful game. We must however, recall that the dribble is a technique valued in Brazil when it works to obtain the goal or for the thrill.

Garrincha arrived in the Botafogo team with the indication of "Mr. Araty"¹⁰ and was soon presented to the team's trainer, Gentil Cardoso, who put him to train with the main players. Garrincha played well. He returned to Pau Grande as a Botafogo player. In this passage, Castro (1995) deconstructs the story, constantly recalled by the Brazilian media and in the talks of soccer aficionados, that Garrincha had, in this training, consecutively dribbled Nilton Santos¹¹. Castro (1995, p. 58) narrates a balanced fight between both players: "The incredible thing was that it was an equal meeting, considering that, on one hand, there was Nilton Santos, with sixteen games wearing the Brazilian national team jersey; and on the other, an unknown and crooked player, who preferred to play barefooted in his land and only wore soccer boots socially". The author intends to correct distortions and romantic views present in oral memory in favor of presenting the "truth"¹². However, if the confrontation between experience and geniality is a draw, we will have, for the future, with the incorporation of experience, the triumph of geniality: therefore, Garrincha is greater.

Garrincha's first years in Botafogo are narrated as years of adaptation. Not only of the professional soccer player, but also of soccer to Garrincha. Castro (1995) proceeds with his narration emphasizing that Garrincha's behavior was sometimes misunderstood by his club companions, technical committee and journalists.

Garrincha dribbled the entire defense of Catangalo and, with the goal empty, passed the ball to the middle player Ariosto to score the goal. Ariosto did not understand anything – why did Garrincha himself not score the goal?

This was only the first of the questions that Botafogo would start making about Garrincha. Another: why, after dribbling the player marking him and passing through him, did Garrincha wait for him to return on purpose, to have to dribble him again?

Why this mania to keep on dribbling, when the entire enemy defense was already destroyed?

¹⁰ A type of "headhunter", person specialized in finding new talents, of Botafogo who saw him play soccer in Pau Grande.

¹¹ Nilton Santos was at the time regarded as one of the best players in his function in Brazil (left winger), having a consolidated career in the Brazilian national team.

¹² Note that Castro proposes to make a biography from the controls of the field of history. One cannot forget that Ruy Castro is a journalist and the idea of truth and objectivity of news is a value in this profession.

No one knew yet that Garrincha was the most amateur professional that soccer could produce. And that, for him, the joy of soccer was not in scoring goals. Not even in winning the match. Not even winning the *bicho*, which was the cash prize for the victory. Goals, victories, *bichos*, all this were petty things of civilization. (CASTRO, 1995, p. 64, highlight ours).

Castro (1995) represents Garrincha as artistic rupture, as expression of creativity in soccer. For this reason, soccer should adapt to the style of genius, it should perhaps change the structure of the game. In the former section, Garrincha is described as a virtuoso and his skill should be translated in the field only as esthetic expression. The objectives of victory were given second plane on behalf of individual performance. However, there is something deeply circus-like in Castro's description in Garrincha's conduct that seems to be dominated by the picture in which the clown is deceived several times. The dignity of the defenders was severely shaken. To hunt the deceiver could be the instinctive response of the clowns.

During the entire book, we could follow the construction of a man who practiced soccer because it gave him pleasure. The dimension of the liking exceeds the interests of victory and survival of a man who lived this type of work. The value of creativity, of the ludic, is mistaken with the image of Garrincha. Let us look at this passage written by Castro (1995, p. 40):

It was money, but it did not seem to matter to Garrincha. With three months as professional, he became tired of going up to Petrópolis on Sundays and left the Serrano [soccer club of the city]. He forgot he had signed a contract and never appeared in the club again. His team was the Pau Grande, where he played for free.

Garrincha is represented as an “amateur player”, the one who plays for pleasure and love of the sport alone. We will see that this image constructed through the book should be put into a comparative framework when we accompany the impasses (present in the text itself) in the renewal of contracts with Botafogo¹³, or in the abandonment of Serrano¹⁴. In these impasses, Castro (1995) ends up reporting that the interest by this player to obtain better work contracts. Obtaining better salaries is current in the moral orientation of the working class, however, Ruy Castro establishes mediations such that

¹³ Regarding the impasses in the contract renewals of the player, see pages: 95-96 & 273-278.

¹⁴ Serrano, club of the city of Petrópolis, was the first team that paid amounts in cash for him to play soccer.

Garrincha does not seem like an individual adjusted to the market rules of salaries in sports. Explicit material or financial interest in Brazil is not viewed positively, it must be hidden, it must be presented subtly. This trace has a double influence: that of Iberian Catholicism and patrimonialism –in the enslaving and capitalist regime), which regulated relations in Brazil for a long time and still today, we can find vestiges in full democratic society (HOLANDA, 1988). Adduced to this, the lack of interest in Garrincha helps reinforce the images of purity and ingenuity of the genius who does not recognize his own value, romantic marks of the discourse. The images of purity and irresponsibility (linked to his way of playing) make Garrincha similar to the figure of a child.

4 GARRINCHA'S ACCLAIM

In his first year as a professional for Botafogo, Garrincha ended the Rio championship as the team's highest scorer - he scored 20 goals in 26 matches. The figure shows that he was an efficient forward and did not put aside the interest of winning. In the following years, Botafogo had only regular campaigns in the state championship. It would still take some time for the team to become Rio champion, with the hiring of other important players, among them Didi¹⁵, bought from Fluminense, who was a player from the Brazilian national team. Note that Didi is presented as a product of effort and training in contrast to the gift Garrincha received from his ancestors. Castro (1995, p. 102) states: "None of this was exclusive fruit of a divine gift. Just like a pianist rehearses everyday, Didi would train passes and penalty shots long after his colleagues had gone home." Thus, the cultural representations of gift and effort that we presented previously are marked.

There are countless passages that, on narrating Garrincha as irresponsible, remove the statute of adult from the player transforming him into a child. The biographer emphasizes the constant absences in the athlete's training sessions, his extramarital affairs and constant drinking sprees with friends from his native city: "Sex was his main workout. The other [Gymnastic], the official one, he did not like to do. And this was also not a great concern of the clubs. The players would train from

morning to afternoon, never full time” (CASTRO, 1995, p. 75). Despite Garrincha’s conduct being described by Castro (1995) as contrary to discipline and order, the author himself says that Garrincha, during the first years as a professional player, would go everyday from Pau Grande to Rio de Janeiro to train. The trip could last up to 3 hours. Castro (1995, p. 75) narrates great seasons in which Garrincha played as player of Botafogo and emphasized that his physical preparation was praised by the doctors and team trainers.

Garrincha arrived in Botafogo at the limit of his muscular development phase. With the exercises, his body took on what was missing. In the first years, he did not grow a single inch in stature, but took on two kilos of muscles in the legs. It did not take long for Dr. Nova Monteiro to say that he had a muscular mass "comparable to that of a horse".

A paradox seems to face us at this instance: how could a man not train and acquire muscles? How could he not train and be established as the highest scorer of the team? By the description of Garrincha’s qualities as a player, we cannot only think of him as an athlete with an undisciplined conduct. What is at stake here is that Garrincha probably did not follow a moral ascetics, a quality associated with sports life in general. Castro (1995) seems to transform the "idea of an uncontrolled sexual appetite", his escapes from the concentrations, in indiscipline and power of wild nature. One can infer, however, that the image of indiscipline and aversion to social norms and norms of sports serve as reinforcement (even if unconscious) for rationalization of the joyful and relaxed hero that Garrincha represents. Garrincha seems to be a Dionysian and Brazilian anthropophagic hero. Garrincha is the metonym of one of the “*brasis*”.

The player’s geniality becomes even more evident when the training is given second plane to plain performance. The infant and kid side of the player is highlighted. Castro (1995) describes Garrincha having as background the cultural image we make of our soccer, that is, the "good is born ready.

Here we must insist on the representations constructed by Castro (1995) on the gift in opposition to effort. Training (element attributed to Didi) opposes the gift. The one who trains would be closer to the model of the norms and discipline, while the one with the gift would be creative, would create rupture. Castro (1995), on presenting Didi,

¹⁵ Didi was born in October 8, 1928. He took part in the champion team of the 1958 World Cup. See Toledo (2004).

or even Joel - player who disputed with Garrincha the position of main player during the 1958 World Cup, highlights the application of tactics and discipline as important elements in the success of these players. Garrincha, in counterpart, stood out regardless of his effort. The gift he had was preponderant in determining his future in the fields, the "virtue of his soccer" was inspired in freedom and indiscipline. The author, on outlining the identity of a player who symbolizes the "national style" of soccer, does so in opposition to "another", in this case presenting "hard-working" players, that is, the "Caxias". Garrincha is the bohemian of soccer, the "others", the hard-workings, are its bourgeois (BOURDIEU, 1996). As a bohemian, he consequently dies in the ethylic smoke.

Garrincha, despite being a main player in Botafogo for several seasons in Brazilian soccer, would only be regarded as the greatest right winger in the 1958 World Cup¹⁶. Castro (1995) shows the difficulties faced by the player to be able to play "his unique soccer". The idea of "misunderstood genius" or of a vanguard style of soccer that would still take time to establish itself is explicit in the text below:

Depending on many in 1954, Garrincha would never have been called. Every Sunday, he committed the worst mistake of a winger: dribbling too much, he wanted to play alone. [...] An almost infallible criticism of Garrincha's games for Botafogo was: "Another sterile display of his doubtless talents as a dribbler". (CASTRO, 1995, p. 87, highlight ours). Zezé also fed the illusion of instructing Garrincha to retreat to receive the ball and, if possible, give the first fight to the adversary who passed through that area – as he had taught Telê to do in Fluminense. However, if he taught in transforming Garrincha into a new Telê – generous, solidary, altruistic, Zezé also gave up [...], concluding that Garrincha was instruction-proof. (CASTRO, 1995, p. 88).

Here, we must embellish the debate. Part of the criticisms attributed to Garrincha's individualist style were not exclusive to him. Brazil, at the time, was coming from two campaigns in which soccer was based on improvisation and had been defeated in talent - 1950 and 1954 World Cups. Articles collected in the **Jornal do Brasil**, a periodical of great national circulation, before the 1958 World Cup, showed a "clamor" for greater tactical discipline and greater preparation of the team for the

¹⁶ Garrincha won the title of best right winger in the world from the European press after winning the 1958 World Cup (CASTRO, 1995).

event¹⁷. We can think that there was a discredit in the idea that individual talent was enough to win the competition. Brazilians were supposed to learn from the European teams the value of tactical discipline and of training for international competitions.

We will see further on that, after the victory of the Brazilian national team in the 1958 World Cup, the newspaper articles showed an inversion, emphasizing geniality and talent as preponderant elements for the victory of the Brazilian team, giving the meticulous preparation made by the Brazilian team for this competition second plane. At this time, Garrincha's dribbles exemplified the art and singularity of our people.

Despite the mistrust by many in relation to Garrincha's qualities, he is summoned to play in the 1958 World Cup. He would be Joel's substitute. This is described by Castro (1995), so to speak, as a "Caxias", a responsible man whose speed and tactical obedience were his great triumphs to remain a main player of the team. We will see that in the dispute of the slot between Joel and Garrincha, we will have the acclaim of the second person.

Adding the training period and participation in the 1958 World Cup, the Brazilian national team was together for 75 days. According to Castro (1995), there had never been such a meticulous preparation to take part in an international competition at that time. Garrincha took part in the entire preparatory process with the other players.

Garrincha was a substitute in the two first matches of Brazil in the 1958 World Cup. Castro (1995) argues that it was a tactical decision by the Brazilian coach. Garrincha was thus described by Paulo Amaral – physical trainer of Botafogo and of the Brazilian soccer team:

"It will not work", Paulo Amaral said. "Garrincha will not follow his instruction. In Botafogo, during the tactical prelection, we told him to go play table tennis or do something else. He is unpredictable in the field. If the goal is open before him, he is capable of passing the ball to a partner. Or decide to take the shot completely without angle. He does only what comes to his head at the time. He is not a player who follows instructions. (CASTRO, 1995, p. 155).

In the third game, a tactical decision defined, this time, that Garrincha would start playing. Brazil was to face the team from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

¹⁷ In the article published in **Jornal do Brasil** days before the team's debut in the World Cup, "Brazil should play, first, without making 'excessive displays'" (JORNAL do Brasil, May 27, 1958, 2º caderno, p.

(USSR). It was a “scientific soccer” in which the players were ready to run for 180 minutes and, then, tap dance balalaikas on the livers of the adversaries" (idem, p. 158).

Garrincha played an outstanding game. Castro (1995) narrates with emotion the beginning of the match.

And there were still 87 minutes to the end of the match! If they continued that way, there were Russians already contemplating a season in Siberia. **The pride of soviet "scientific" soccer had never been so much demoralized and by the most unlikely of beings: A Brazilian rural boy, mestizo, puny, cross-eyed and with absurdly crooked legs. Antiscience par excellence, the anti-Sputnik, the electronic antibrain or any brain.**

[...] In Rio, glued to the radio, with tears in his eyes, the Botafoguense Paulo Mendes Campos, who had always regarded Garrincha as a god among mortals, finally saw that his faith was not a delirium: **Garrincha was the proof that “magic could outmatch logic”.** (CASTRO, 1995, p. 165, highlight ours).

The identity discourse locates the “other”, the scientific and civilized world, falling through earth before the underdeveloped Brazil. Castro (1995), at this time, seems to completely forget all the preparatory work conducted by the Brazilian team for the competition, attributing the Brazilian victory to the "magic" of Garrincha. Brazil's defense, which up to the time of the competition had not suffered any goal (it would remain so up to the semifinals) is not cited as responsible for the team's victories. The identity image of brazilian soccer is linked to offensive teams that win, despite lacking organized defensive tactical schemes. The good performance of the Brazilian defense (shown in figures) is given second plane in favor of the qualitative value of the Brazilian attack, even though this was not one of the most efficient in the 1958 World Cup. Despite lacking the best attack of the competition, the individual plays by Garrincha, Pelé and others were the ones that won highlight in the author's constructions and are edited in the memory presented in the filmography and media in general.

Despite our lacks, the playwright Nelson Rodrigues¹⁸, in his chronicle on this match, declares that Garrincha had given Brazilians a lesson: our success would come

1). The motto adopted by the technical committee for this World Cup was "teamwork" (CASTRO, 1995, p.129).

¹⁸ Nelson Falcão Rodrigues was born in August 23, 1912 in Recife. He was the main redactor of the weekly magazine **Manchete Esportiva**, in addition to writing for **Jornal dos Sports**. His chronicles about soccer prove to be a good place to reflect on the identity and national character of the Brazilian. Cf. Antunes (2004).

from accepting what was peculiar to us, without admiring or desiring anything from the foreigner. “The pure, holy truth is as follows: any Brazilian player, when freed from his inhibitions and placed in a state of grace, is something unique in matters of fantasy, improvisation, invention. In short: – we have gifts in excess” (ANTUNES, 2004, p. 224). There were no reasons for the Brazilian to feel inferior. We also had our Sputnik: Garrincha. His great merit was to remain unshaken on facing the foreigner. The esthetics of Garrincha's style of playing can be read as an encouragement to the entire Brazilian nation. Nelson Rodrigues exalts the miscegenation and soccer art as central elements of the Brazilian way, metonymized in Garrincha. The deformation of his legs gave the Brazilian a great lesson: self-acceptance. Like Garrincha, who did not imitate anyone and left the foreigners with their mouths wide open with his unnerving dribbles, the Brazilian nation also had its future opened to development as of the recognition of its peculiarities and potentialities. This is an identity discourse present in the cultural struggle between those who think that national development must be based on the incorporation of universalism of the civilizing and cosmopolitan model, and those who believe that it must be found in a unique, original model, based on the spirit of the people. This contraposition seems to belong to post-colonial countries (ARCHETTI, 2003).

Castro (1995) gives several examples that report the quasi-military discipline that was established by the technical committee in 1958. All was taught out beforehand so that the "mistakes of the past" were not repeated. However, on narrating the national team's victories, the biographer emphasizes the gift and art of the Brazilians in opposition to the discipline of the Europeans¹⁹. The victories seem to give second plane the effort and discipline present in the achievement. If the defeats remind of our delay in relation to the “other” developed and civilized, the victories delete the competence of planning and using well the knowledge developed in function of the creativity essential in the identity of Brazilian soccer.

Brazil would win, in the 1958 World Cup, France in the semifinals and Sweden in the final. Garrincha had an excellent performance in both matches and returned to Brazil acclaimed as the best right winger in the world, a title given by the European

¹⁹ To make legit his adjectives after the victories of the Brazilian team, Castro (1995, p. 166) cites articles from foreign newspapers that also highlight the feats of Garrincha and other players of the national team:

press. Identity is always relational and must be constructed or reinforced through the view of the other.

Between 1958 and 1962, Garrincha was in the peak of his physical form. The Botafogo team was two-time state champion, and the team formed the base of the Brazilian national team, which would play in the 1962 World Cup. The biographer, several times in the book, seeks to deconstruct, bringing to which the “truth”, some stories that were attributed to Garrincha. These generally described Garrincha as a humble, ingenious and sometimes foolish man²⁰. Castro (1995), in his lines, draws another profile of the player: A simple but perceptive man. Note that this representation has a small efficacy in Brazilian culture, for example, part of the image of President Luiz Inácio da Silva was constructed, during his campaign for Presidency of the Republic in the 2002 elections, from the representations of the humble and perceptive man. Astuteness, simplicity and poverty are together in universal literature.

Garrincha played in the 1962 World Cup in a very different condition if we compare it to the previous world cup. He was a unanimity in the country and his convocation was certain. The team, likewise in 1958, prepared itself in exemplary fashion to play the competition: “The players were fanatically convinced to win the championship for the second time. They did not complain at all of the hard workout of Paulo Amaral” (CASTRO, 1995, p. 249).

Soon, in the second confrontation against the team of the former Czechoslovakia, the national team lost its biggest ace, Pelé. The author shows that Pelé’s exit made a leadership until then unknown to surface in Garrincha. “Against England, Garrincha left his position, placed himself through the middle and, to the astonishment of the English, performed tasks that belonged to others” (CASTRO, 1995, p. 253).

On June 9, Brazil won the world cup. It was the definitive acclaim of not only Garrincha but also of Brazilian soccer. Everyone, after this feat, wanted to see Garrincha. Botafogo, as of Garrincha's success, began to make high profits in its

“Congratulations Gothenburg. On Thursday you will see Garrincha again!”, The greatest substitute in the world" and "Garrincha defeated England all by himself".

²⁰ Castro (1995, p. 261) states: “Sandro and Mario Filho did not calculate that these stories would be repeated, distorted and that, with them, a myth was being created of a child genius, almost moronic, which did not do Garrincha justice”.

excursions through South America and Europe. Castro (1995) points out that Garrincha's presence guaranteed higher quotas, in general, 50% higher.

Garrincha would still win the state championship for the second time for Botafogo in 1962, with an outstanding performance in the final. Castro (1995) reports once again the misunderstandings between Garrincha and the managers of the club who did not pay him what he had requested in salaries and prizes for the victories.

However, in the field, Garrincha was not concerned with this. He was playing for himself and not for Botafogo. The lone star was him, not the club. As of the third goal, he began to do what he loved most – and that he had never again being able to do: play soccer.

It was no longer a championship decision. It was a *pelada*, a game, like the games with his friends in Pau Grande or – if he knew, a *fulniô* village. (CASTRO, 1995, p. 278-279).

Garrincha's individual trajectory in Botafogo and in the national team ended up, in Ruy Castro's narration, revealing a model of soccer identity that intends to be hegemonic placing the gift in opposition with effort and discipline.

4 CONCLUSION

The narration made by Ruy Castro about the professional trajectory of Garrincha emphasizes the idea of the player who was born with the gift for soccer. His talent is considered innate, to the extent in which the wild environment of his childhood and Indian ancestors were bases for the expression of his genius in soccer. Castro (1995), on seeking in the "ethnic antecedents" the explanation for his supposed inadequacy to social rules and indiscipline in the plant work or in his private life, reveals that the soccer model that Garrincha practiced was expressed in the direction of an esthetic rupture. Garrincha's soccer would be as exuberant and creative as his indigenous origin and the environment in which he was created.

Cuche (1999, p. 182) reminds us that what is important for the affirmation of a group's identity is not inventing the distinct cultural traces "but to locate those that are most used by the members of the group to affirm and maintain a cultural distinction" in relation to "others". Castro (1995), to point out the singularity of Garrincha's soccer, dialogues with the "others" in order to present the distinction of the player and Brazilian

culture. The individual genius is collectivized when the biographer presents “hard-working”, disciplined players or “scientific” soccer as opposed to the exuberant, natural, joyful, irresponsible and kid soccer of Garrincha and Brazil - the beautiful game. In the collective dimension, Garrincha represents the underdeveloped world that surpassed all the technology of the great European potentials (eastern-western) through his crooked legs and belief in his natural gift. This is the identity image that ends up obscuring the entire training process, discipline and endeavor that Garrincha and other players from the Brazilian national team had in the affirmation of Brazilian soccer in the world scenario.

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