

THE INDIAN
IN BRAZILIAN LITERATURE
AND IDEAS (1500-1945)

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CHAPTER 6. ROMANTIC INDIANISM: FINAL PHASE (1870-88)

6.1 Introduction: Abolitionism, immigration and Realism

As I have shown, the regeneration of the Indianist movement during the 1850s and 1860s must be seen as due principally to the special character of Alencar's work, its success in capturing the mood of political Conciliation and providing it with a mythical and cultural basis. What of the last two decades of Empire, then, and the handful of texts on Indianist themes which mark the end of the movement as such, that is to say, as a tradition whose chief assumptions are a *nativista* nationalism, a moral, if not economic, Liberalism and the myth of Integration? Why, as I shall argue, must this final phase be regarded, not as the decline and death of Romantic Indianism, and its replacement by a completely new, Realist school of literature; but as its transformation into several closely related movements - Regionalism, *sertanismo* and *caboclistmo* - , the working through of the implications of Alencar's theories of race and culture to their logical conclusion?

It is no coincidence that the last text to be written within that classic tradition of Romantic Indianism was completed in 1888, the year of the *Lei Áurea* which finally abolished slavery in Brazil. The works which I have just examined take us to the beginning of the 1870s, a decade when the principal political and economic foundations of Empire were being seriously questioned. The appointment of the 1868 Itaboraí Government, effectively an Imperial coup, upset the balance of power shared by Crown and Parliament until then. Pedro II's support of the 1871 Free Womb bill, the first step towards Abolition, divided Conservatives, creating a new radical group representing those *fazendeiros* who felt a

threat to their independence and property rights and who, like Alencar, pointed to the economic and social chaos that would ensue. 1870 also marked the first serious challenge to the centralisation of power under the Second Reign, and the emergence of a provincial opposition based on real contact with the local electorate.¹ Liberal Abolitionists such as Joaquim Nabuco, meanwhile, criticised the limited range of the reforms being passed and saw in the free labour market a guarantee of economic progress.

Nabuco's role at this stage of the Indianist movement is worth examining in more detail, for he provides a clear focus for the links between Abolitionism and the new theories of race and culture. The public debate between Nabuco and Alencar, which occupied the Sunday and Thursday editions of the Rio newspaper, O Globo, over several weeks in 1875, suggests at first that Indianism declined as a result of the historical triumph of Realism over Romanticism. The Indianists' mythical treatment of their theme, the recourse to early colonial images of primitive man and their elevation into an ideal symbol of Liberal and nationalist values, certainly mark out the movement as essentially Romantic in character. Nabuco, recently returned from Europe, attacked Alencar's works from an apparently straightforward Realist standpoint, criticising their idealisation of events and situations, their lack of verisimilitude. Peri's capture of the lynx in O Guarani, for instance, his heroic suicide and miraculous resuscitation from the poison:

É um índio efeminado que deixa tudo por uma mulher, que adora: que não tem um só dos sentimentos de sua raça; que parece aprazer-se

1. Raymundo Faoro, Machado de Assis: A pirâmide e o trapézio (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1974), p.103.

na escravidão, desmentindo as tradições indígenas; é um selvagem de ópera cómica, em uma palavra.²

Nabuco's references to Darwin and to environmentalist ideas indicate the influence of the scientificism which informed the Realist school: "Quem lê os romance do Sr. J. de Alencar, vê que éle nunca saiu do seu gabinete e nunca deixou os óculos. O homem que éle nos pinta nunca está em comunicação com o meio em que vive" (op.cit., p.209).

However, closer examination of some of Nabuco's remarks reveals that his hostility to Alencar's Indianism is based on more than a mere disagreement about novelistic technique and descriptive authenticity. In the first place, his view of what the "authentic" Indian should be rests on an extremely self-conscious sense of the distance between modern Western civilisation and the primitivism of tribal man:

Os índios em *Iracema*, em *Ubirajara* e no *Guarani*, não são verdadeiros selvagens. A humanidade para chegar do estado em que ainda hoje acham-se os nossos selvagen do interior, ao de nossa civilização moderna atravessou milhares de anos. O Sr. J. de Alencar suprime esse longo período, e faz do seu selvagem um homem, muitas vezes superior ao de nossa raça. Os seus índios pensam e sentem, como nós, e falam melhor, como se fôssem todos poetas. Onde existe essa raça? (op.cit., p.189)

Secondly, it assumes a future for Brazilian culture that is totally opposed to Alencar's renewed faith in the literary and linguistic potential of indigenist values; instead, Nabuco proposes to turn away from the Brazilian interior, and to acknowledge the nation's debt to the superior white civilisation of Europe:

Essa literatura indígena tem certa pretensão a tornar-se a literatura brasileira. Sem dúvida quem estuda os dialetos selvagen, a religião grosseira, os mitos confusos, os costumes rudes dos nossos indígenas, presta um serviço à ciência, e mesmo à arte. O que porém é impossível, é querer-se fazer dos selvagens a raça, de cuja civilização a nossa literatura deve ser o monumento (p.180).

2. A Polêmica Alencar-Nabuco, ed. Afrânio Coutinho (Rio de Janeiro: Tempo Brasileiro, 1965), p.90.

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Afrânio Coutinho, who has brought together the material of the Alencar-Nabuco debate, rightly reassesses the roles of the two figures, not in terms of the Romantic-Realist conflict, but as representative of two philosophies of Brazilian civilisation: one *brasiliista* current which, though not ignoring its European inheritance, addresses a new and peculiarly Brazilian reality born from the fusion of various racial, cultural, social, linguistic, literary and historical elements; the other, *ocidentalista* perspective expressing a continued loyalty to and faith in the country's European roots, promoting the interests of the traditionally dominant class of white Portuguese (op.cit., pp.7-8). As we shall see, critical and sociological thinking during the last years of Empire and the beginning of the First Republic is essentially polarised along those two viewpoints. On the one hand, there are those such as Capistrano de Abreu, Araripe Júnior and Couto de Magalhães, who, although modifying the traditional image of the Indian in the light of immigration and the evidence of contact with white society, remain essentially loyal to Alencar's notion of *indigenista*, *mestiço* nationalism. On the other hand, Sílvio Romero and José Veríssimo take up the concept of *mestiçagem* as an ongoing eugenic process, whose inevitable outcome will be the assimilation and submergence of the inferior Indian and African races, and the rise of a new, white European-dominated national type.

Meanwhile, Nabuco's "ocidentalismo", his rejection of indigenist, *nativista* values, extends beyond the simply cultural sphere of art and literature. As Carlos Moreira has observed, it may be of some surprise to learn that Nabuco, one of the most active Liberal leaders in the campaign for Abolition, was also the author of an official government document prescribing Indian policy for the first years of the Republic, a policy

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whose language and ideas are unmistakably based on those of Varnhagen, the apologist for extermination half a century earlier.³

During a border dispute with Britain over its Guyanese colony, European public opinion was largely influenced by British propaganda which reported cases of Brazilian cruelty and forced labour amongst the Indians of the Upper Negro and Branco rivers. Nabuco was Brazil's special envoy in the negotiations, and in his "Exposição Final" he defended his country's policy with the argument that, under Portuguese law, the Indian was not recognised as having any political sovereignty; as a result, he could possess no legal title to the land he occupied and no rights or control over the transfer of such a title to the colonising nation. Imperial documents dating from the middle of the century were cited to reaffirm this lack of political status and the consequent freedom of the colonial power in disposing of the territories and their inhabitants:

Il ne s'agit pas d'Indiens indépendants, mais du droit sur le territoire. Ces hordes errantes ne constituent pas des nations souveraines et indépendantes selon le droit des gens. Elles sont sujettes à la juridiction et à l'autorité des nations civilisées et des gouvernements réguliers et reconnus, auxquels appartient le territoire occupé par lesdites hordes (op.cit., p.xvii).

The most eminent representative of the opposing view during the same period, the "conciliatory" policy of humane pacification and integration of the Indian into national society, was General José Vieira Couto de Magalhães. Polymath, explorer, statesman and author of the linguistic and ethnographic study, O Selvagem, Couto de Magalhães made significant contributions, not only to the evolution of indigenist policy, but also to the emerging cultural debate on the question of nationality and primitivism. As repeated references to O Selvagem over the remaining

3. A Política Indigenista, op.cit., p.xiv.

chapters of this study will show, Magalhães provided the intellectual community of the First Republic, and particularly the Modernist movement, with its single most important source of ethnographic material and tribal myths.

While still a relatively young man, Couto de Magalhães occupied the Presidencies of Goiás, Pará and Mato Grosso, where he knew the novelist Bernardo Guimarães. But, a loyal Monarchist, he renounced his office as President of São Paulo when the Republic was proclaimed, suffering imprisonment under the government of Floriano Peixoto. O Selvagem was the fruit of a number of expeditions to the river Araguaia, in Mato Grosso, and was presented in 1874 to the Instituto Histórico, as well as figuring in the Universal Exhibition organised by the United States in Philadelphia, before its publication in 1876.

Alongside its history of the pre-Conquest migrations and *mestiçagens* of the major tribal families, and its first-hand account of the Tupi culture, language and its zoological myths, the text contains several statements concerning the economic development of the Brazilian interior and the role to be played by indigenous labour. As much as any of the contributors to the debate, Magalhães accepted unquestioningly the legitimacy of his society's wish to exploit the resources, both material and human, of the Brazilian interior. As the following extract from his chapter entitled "A selvagem como elemento econômico" will show, he envisaged the incorporation of two elements into that economy, the immigrant settler and the Indian population, with its specialised knowledge of the ecology of the rain-forest:

Povoar o Brasil quer dizer:

(1) Importar colonos da Europa para cultivar as terras já desbravadas nos centros, ou próximos aos centros povoados.

(2) Aproveitar para a população nacional as terras ainda virgens, onde o selvagem é um obstáculo; estas terras representam quase dois terços do território do Império. Tornar produtiva uma população, hoje improdutivo, é pelo menos, tão importante como trazer novos braços.

(3) Utilizar cerca de um milhão de selvagens que possuímos, os quais são os que melhores serviços podem prestar nessas duas terças partes do nosso território, porque as indústrias extrativas, únicas possíveis nessas regiões (enquanto não houver estradas), só tem sido e só podem ser exploradas pelo selvagem.⁴

What makes Magalhães' views so modern and progressive in relation to what has gone before is not simply his understanding of the crucial role of the Indian in any Amazonian economy, not only his recognition that alien forms of plantation agriculture could not be imposed upon a forest environment whose delicate ecological balance depended on the prudent extraction of its renewable, indigenous resources. His belief, too, in the cultural potential of the Indian represents an important development from the somewhat abstract notions of "integration" and "civilisation" that had been held by the Romantic Indianists until now. In addition, the methods he proposed for the assimilation of the tribal communities into national society were equally novel and progressive. In the chapter of O Selvagem entitled "Assimilação do selvagem por meio do intérprete", we find the first statement of the Positivist faith in the perfectibility of primitive cultures through contact with higher civilisations, a faith that was to lead to the founding in 1910 of the first official indigenist agency, the Serviço de Proteção ao Índio:

A experiência de todos os povos e a nossa própria ensina que no momento em que se consegue que uma nacionalidade bárbara entenda a língua da nacionalidade cristã que lhes está em contato, aquela se assimila a esta.

A lei da perfectibilidade humana é tão inflexível como a lei física da gravitação dos corpos.

4. General Couto de Magalhães, O Selvagem (Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia, 1975), pp.22-23.

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Desde que o selvagem possui, com a inteligência da língua, a possibilidade de compreender o que é civilização, ele a absorve tão necessariamente como uma esponja absorve o líquido que se lhe põe em contacto.

Esses homens ferozes e temíveis, enquanto não entendem a nossa língua, são de uma docilidade quase infantil desde que compreendam o que lhes falamos.

Não são só eles.

Quem estudar o que os ingleses fizeram na Índia, os russos na Ásia e na América, os portugueses e espanhóis na África, Ásia e América, verá a mesma coisa. Por toda a parte onde quer que uma raça civilizada se põe em contacto com uma raça bárbara, viu-se forçada: ou a exterminá-la ou a aprender a sua língua para com ela transmitir suas idéias (op.cit., p.227).

Having rejected the policy of military subjection and extermination espoused by Varnhagen and his successors, he nevertheless remained equally opposed to the system of *aldeamento* which many of the Indianists had advocated; that is, the gathering of whole tribes into large settlements for the purposes of teaching them white methods of farming and Christian morality. Instead, he recommended pacifying hostile tribes in their own territory by means of three institutions: the military settlement, as an outpost of colonisation and the first line of contact; the interpreter, who should form part of a trained, organised body of professionals, and the missionary, who would complete the process of assimilation (op.cit., p.16).

Of these three elements, the second required most attention and preparation, since it was the least developed. The medium of language, recognised by the Jesuits in the sixteenth century as the key to a stable and effective control of the tribal communities and their lands, would become the chief instrument of this new "pacification" militia, the forerunner of the modern *sertanista*:

Esse corpo, desde que tivesse a organização e a disciplina militar, seria um auxiliar prestimoso para nossas colônias militares, para nossas populações das fronteiras, para as expedições que quiséssemos mandar ao interior, e para proteger as nossas comunicações interiores, com as duas grandes bacias do Prata e do Amazonas que estão à mercê do selvagem e nos seriam

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preciosas, desde que nos fôsse trancado o caminho do oceano, ou a foz do Rio da Prata ou do Amazonas; este último fato pode dar-se não diante de uma guerra externa, como diante de uma revolução.

Antigamente, quando se queria fundir uma população em outra, o meio que logo ocorria era a força.

A Inglaterra na Ásia, a França na África, a Rússia na Ásia e na América nos demonstraram que os corpos de intérpretes são, não só mais econômicos, como muito mais eficazes.

Felizmente nós, os brasileiros, nos temos aproveitado e havemos de nos aproveitar da lição dos povos mais cultos do mundo.

Digo que nos havemos de aproveitar porque, felizmente, o governo se ocupa seriamente da questão; oxalá não desanime (op.cit., pp.27-28).

Indeed, as the next chapter will show, the propositions raised by Couto de Magalhães were the subject of an intense debate in political and intellectual circles during the first twenty years of the Republic. The main protagonist of that debate, the legendary Rondon, was, like Magalhães, a soldier, a scientist and someone committed to and profoundly involved in the process of economic penetration into the Indian territories of the Amazonian interior. And, taking up Magalhães' principle of systematic but humane "pacification" through the medium of the Indians' own languages, he ushered in a new era in the relationship between Brazilian society and the indigenous populations.

As I have indicated, this new discussion of official indigenist policy is inseparable from the broader cultural debate on race and nationality. The renewed interest in the economic potential of Indian labour, together with the acceptance of European immigration as an inevitability, clearly reflect the severe labour shortage which had been imminent since the 1850 ban on the external trade in African slaves. These preoccupations also reflect the dramatic shift in racial composition which the nation underwent during this period. At the beginning of Empire a third of the population had consisted of slaves while a further 10-15% were coloured freemen; by the end of the Second

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Reign well over half of the total population was coloured.⁵ In contrast to this, by the end of the First Republic 80% of the plantation slave labour had been replaced by immigrant workers from Italy, Portugal, Spain and Germany, 2.7 million of whom had entered the country by 1914.

That the ruling élite was acutely conscious of the impact of immigration on the national ethnic and cultural makeup is evident from the series of decrees prohibiting the entry of Asians and Africans in 1850 and 1890, and imposing further limitations in 1921 and 1924. To complicate matters, in the midst of this convergence of African and European elements there remained a considerable marginalised population of Indians, *caipiras*, *matutos* and *caboclos* - largely indigenous in origin, therefore - which in 1890 stood at 1 million, a twelfth of the total population.⁶ The imminence of Abolition therefore precipitated a crisis of racial and cultural identity, which was also reflected in the discussions of the new sociological and pseudo-scientific ideas recently imported from Europe and which were being applied to the Brazilian situation.

Positivism may be said to embrace the general spirit of this new intellectual movement, for its anti-philosophical, anti-religious ethic proclaimed that the salvation of humanity was to be achieved only through the pursuit of science. There was nothing which could not ultimately be understood by scientific means, nothing which was not contributing to the general good, to the progress of mankind. This self-enclosed, self-explanatory system found its most favourable terrain for political application in the First Republic; the ideological legitimacy of many of

5. Thomas E. Skidmore, Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), p.41.

6. Skidmore, *op.cit.*, pp.137, 142, 144, and Edgar Carone, A República Velha (Instituições e Classes Sociais) (São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1970), pp.14, 146-48.

the more or less dictatorial governments of that period was founded on the Positivist belief that society should be directed by an enlightened intellectual élite. Originally formulated in France by Auguste Comte, Positivism found its way to Brazil via the Escola Militar of Rio, where its most vociferous apologist was Benjamin Constant Botelho de Magalhães, who returned from France in 1857.⁷ Thereafter the Escola Militar (later the Clube Militar) continued to be the source of the most radical Jacobin wing of the Republic.

In the academic area of the new scientificism, two "schools" formed in the north-east of the country were responsible for disseminating the various materialist theories of culture and society. The first of these was the so-called "escola do Recife", led by Tobias Barreto and Sílvio Romero. With the interest in Germanic ideas following the Franco-Prussian war, Barreto began to publish his studies of German philosophy, while Romero was to apply the determinist theories of the Germans and French, such as Haeckel, Herder and Montesquieu, to literature. Another, parallel movement espousing the evolutionist, historical and environmentalist theories of Spencer, Buckle and Taine, respectively, appeared in Ceará at about the same time (1874); the Academia Francesa and the Escola Popular were founded, bringing together Araripe Júnior, Capistrano de Abreu, Rocha Lima and Tomás Pompeu. Along with the more independent critic José Veríssimo, Romero, Araripe Júnior and Capistrano constitute the most influential body of critical opinion for the period linking Empire and Republic, and all four recorded significant

7. Ivan Lins, *História do Positivismo no Brasil*, 2ª ed. (São Paulo: Editora Nacional, 1967).

observations regarding Romantic Indianism and the future place of the Indian in Brazilian society and culture.

The main thrust of Silvio Romero's critique of existing views of racial identity (and specifically that of Couto de Magalhães) concerned the allegedly disproportionate emphasis given to the indigenous element in the analysis of *mestiçagem*. Both the lusophile Varnhagen, with his irrational vilification of the Indian, and Gonçalves Dias, with his acute historical consciousness, lacked the necessary scientific approach:

(...) o romanticismo inane, desconhecendo a primeira palavra de investigações positivas já muito espalhadas, multiplicou as extravagâncias, e fez-nos do caboclo um ente formidável e ridículo. (...) A *índio-mania* cresceu por fatalidade e acabou por inconsciência.⁸

Alencar, meanwhile, constituted the worst example of Romantic idealism and isolation from the contemporary ethnic reality of Brazilian society: "Sonhou quasi sempre com os caboclos das selvas, e, quando se lembrava de nosso tempo, parecia não comprehendel-o".⁹

Having exaggerated the importance of the Indian to the formation of the national physiognomy, the Romantics had neglected the more significant contribution of the African. However, Romero believed that both these races must yield, with Darwinian inevitability, to the superior Portuguese element, which had survived the process of *mestiçagem* almost intact:

Os bandos de *africanos* de origens diversas que concorreram directamente para avultar esta nação tiveram, para isto, mais vigor do que os índios. (...) Tenho indicado que o brasileiro ficou um quasi retrato do portuguez. A natureza, como agente de transformações, pouco ha feito para alteral-o, tendo a lutar

8. Silvio Romero, Ethnologia Selvagem. Estudo sobre a memória "Região e raças selvagens do Brasil" do Dr. Couto de Magalhães (Recife: Typ. da Província, 1875), pp.9-10.

9. Silvio Romero, A Literatura Brasileira e a critica moderna (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Industrial de João Paulo Ferreira Dias, 1880), p.134.

contra a estreiteza do tempo e contra a civilização européa. O caboclo, typo quasi perdido que vae se esvaecendo cada vez mais, mui fracamente contribuiu tambem neste sentido. O africano, rebelde aos progressos intellectuaes, tem alterado, sem vantagem, nossa physionomia preterita (Ethnologia Selvagem..., op.cit., pp.43 & 45).

In his best known work, the História da Literatura Brasileira (1888), published in Abolition year, Romero put forward a view of Brazilian nationality which was to characterise the thinking of students of the subject during the First Republic, one of the most important being Euclides da Cunha: "Não é um grupo étnico definitivo; porque é um resultado pouco determinado de três raças diversas, que ainda acampam em parte separadas ao lado uma da outra."¹⁰ Although the *mestiço*, in its fusion of the three principal races, represents "a genuína formação histórica brasileira", it too is only a transitional stage in the inexorable evolution of the nation in its upward progress towards "whiteness". Having absorbed to a large degree the pure African and Indian, the *mestiço* would in its turn be assimilated through sheer strength of numbers by the white Aryan:

Sabe-se que na mestiçagem a seleção natural, ao cabo de algumas gerações, faz prevalecer o tipo da raça mais numerosa, e entre nós das raças puras a mais numerosa, pela imigração européia, tem sido, e tende ainda mais a sê-lo, a branca. é conhecida, por isso, a proverbial tendência do pardo, do mulato em geral, a fazer-se passar por branco, quando sua côr pode iludir (op.cit., p.86).

The most striking contribution made to this debate by José Veríssimo concerns the relative importance of the Indian and African to the process of *mestiçagem*. The dramatic modification which Veríssimo made to his position during this period illustrates the critical significance of Abolition to the development of ideas on race and culture in Brazil. In

10. Silvio Romero, História da Literatura Brasileira, 5 vols., 3ª ed. (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1943), vol.I, p.84.

an essay of 1877, "A Litteratura Brasileira. Sua formação e destino", he echoes Romero's opinion of the *mestiço* as the most characteristic ethnic type. As a result, he rather unfairly groups Gonçalves Dias and Alencar together, for having equally ignored the question of mixed race:

Gonçalves Dias também não compreendeu que a litteratura brasileira não estava no nosso selvagem, e desprezando as raças cruzadas poz-se a cantar costumes e feitos tupis. (...)

Dous foram os principaes elementos de que nos formámos: o portuguez e o tupy. Do contacto d'estas duas raças, de seus costumes, crenças e tradições, saímos nós. Por isso não somos nem portuguezes, nem tupys - somos um povo novo, devemos ter outros costumes, outra indole, outro sentir, que não os d'elles. Foi por acreditarem o contrario que naufragaram na sua tentativa da criação de uma litteratura brasileira Gonçalves Dias e outros, como o sr. J. de Alencar escrevendo Iracema e Ubirajara.¹¹

What is most remarkable, however, is that Veríssimo shares the Romantic view of *mesticidade* as composed of only two races, Portuguese and Indian - the African element is totally ignored, at a time when, as I have indicated, at least half of the population was coloured.

The essay concerned was republished in the collection called Estudos Brasileiros five years after Abolition, in 1894, and in notes dated 1889 Veríssimo makes some radical adjustments to the opinions he had expressed in the first edition. In particular, he reappraises the historical and contemporary contribution of the African to the formation of Brazilian society, a contribution previously ignored or even held in contempt: "Ella é por ventura superior á indigena e prestou ao Brazil relevantes serviços". Correspondingly, he dismisses as "romântico" his earlier description of the Indian as "energica na guerra, indolente na paz, vingativa, cheia de nobreza e hospitaleira". As in the case of the Alencar-Nabuco polemic, the dialectic between Romanticism and Realism is

11. José Veríssimo, Estudos Brasileiros, 2ª serie (1889-93) (Rio de Janeiro: Laemmert e Ca., 1894), pp.5-8.

being invoked to disguise what is in fact a debate on the ethnic identity of Brazilian society.

By contrast, for the historian Capistrano de Abreu, not race but geography was the most influential factor in determining the character of the Brazilian people. Following the environmentalist theories of Buckle and Ratzel, he was one of the first scholars to attempt a serious evaluation of the popular culture of the Brazilian interior, the *sertão*. In the essay "A Literatura Brasileira Contemporânea" (1875) he defines "as leis da evolução brasileira": "As forças físicas no Brasil: o clima, o alimento, o solo. - As aparencias naturais. - Os contos populares. - O samba. - Os indígenas; sua constituição."¹² After examining these physical laws and cultural manifestations he concludes: "Indolente e exaltado, melancólico e nervoso, eis o povo brasileiro qual o fizeram as forças e apparencias da Natureza. (...) Prova-o o estudo dos indígenas" (op.cit., p.68). Primitive man's special sensibility to the natural world, his subjectivity, is the barrier obstructing the emergence of a cohesive political structure in tribal society.

At the same time, though, this indigenous mentality contains all that is authentically "Brazilian" in the national character, for it expresses the nationalist resistance of the nation's popular culture to the oppressive colonial influence of Portugal. Brazilian folk-tales, he says, were invariably "inspirados pelo desdém do oppressor", giving the lie to the notion of an inferiority complex with respect to the colonising power: "Considerar a nossa independência como a tradução da consciência de superioridade a Portugal é a interpretação que me parece

12. J. Capistrano de Abreu, Ensaios e Estudos (Crítica e História), 1ª série (Rio de Janeiro: Briguiet, 1931), p.61.

verdadeira" (op.cit., pp.75-76). On that basis he makes the impausible claim that the Indianist movement had its roots in popular literature. More significant than this, though, is his recognition of the fertile source of *nativista* culture to be found in the folk literature of the *caboclo*, the contemporary "índio semi-civilizado" of the *sertão*. Capistrano therefore gave the first impulse to the emergent regionalist tendencies of *sertanismo* and *caboclisto* which were developing out of Brazilian Romanticism.

Another critic who took an active part in those developments was Araripe Júnior, whose own early Indianist writings I have already examined. The close similarities between several of Alencar's regionalist works and the novel O Guarani indicate the direction that Romantic Indianism might take. Indeed, in the essay "O Nosso Cancioneiro", Alencar invited his colleagues to explore the possibilities of the folk literature of the *sertão*. Araripe Júnior took up this suggestion in two letters published in 1875 in O Globo under the title "A Poesia Sertaneja". Here, discussing the work of the early *sertanista*, Juvenal Galeno, he acknowledges the need to turn away from the mythical, semi-divine heroes of Romantic Indianism and to recognise the existence of a real race of *mestiço sertanejos*. Araripe Júnior's most valuable observation is his understanding that the heroic, epic world of of the Romantic Indianists was a fiction that could no longer be sustained; a history of persecution, servitude and marginalisation had produced a new kind of anti-hero, the *caboclo*:

Deste século, quando já o sertanejo ou o vaqueiro não era mais o produto daquela indômita aspiração para o desconhecido, para o ameaçador, quando as terras pela maior parte viam-se desbravadas, quando o Brasil não era mais esse país encantado e misterioso, para onde o espírito descia como para um abismo insondável, quando, finalmente, essa raça semi-aborígine, com a gradual transformação das causas, achava-se escravizada pelos patronos

ricos e fazendeiros notáveis que avassalavam as terras que o rei concedera-lhes em patrimônio, que talavam os campos por onde antes os centauros impávidamente atiravam-se tão livres como o selvagem das priscas eras; dêste século, repito, desde que o sertanejo colocou-se na terrível contingência de servir ou ser esmagado, que poesia podia então brotar? Que sentimento heróico encontrar-se-ia em indivíduos que, abocanhados em suas nobres aspirações, vivendo como escravos, oprimidos, eram obrigados a percorrer os campos atrás da rês fugitiva, não como o homem que luta pelo sentimento da própria vida, mas por uma obrigação e como um tributo?¹³

In the light of Abolition, immigration and the reality of life for the inhabitant of the rural interior, then, Alencar's idealist theory of cultural and political *mestiçagem* was superseded in the last quarter of the century by a scientific and sociological application of the term. As the next chapter will show, Brazil's transformation from an agricultural to an industrial economy meant that the old dialectic between white and Indian, patriarch and marginal, gave way progressively to a new set of socio-cultural divisions, those opposing the primitive peasant farmer of mixed race and the modern, cosmopolitan bourgeoisie of the city. In the meantime, Indianist writing during the final years of Empire is of two kinds: one group which takes account of these changing perceptions of the racial and social reality of the Brazilian rural interior, and which therefore moves away from the traditional heroic mode of the Romantics towards a more "Realist" position; and a second group which seeks to continue or revive the classic Indianism of Liberal outrage, as established by Gonçalves Dias, but which, given the literary and ideological changes which have meanwhile taken place, necessarily fails in the attempt.

13. Tristão de Alencar Araripe Júnior, *Obra Crítica*, 5 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Casa de Rui Barbosa, 1958), vol.I, p.101.

6.2 Bernardo Guimarães

The evolution of the Indianist writing of Bernardo Guimarães is the best illustration of how the movement absorbed the developments outlined above. On the one hand, his use of the biblical formula of Redemption in the early work, together with his examination of the relationship between authority, the community and the rebel, immediately aligns him with Alencar. On the other hand, his interest in the Indian as a more contemporary phenomenon, transformed by contact with white society, and his uninhibited treatment of sexuality and violence in the rural setting, indicate that he had assimilated certain of the Realist and regionalist tendencies which emerged during the 1870s.

Guimarães was, like Fagundes Varela, a member of the bohemian Sociedade Epicuréia, giving him a taste for hard drink and nightlife which frequently left him in a state of poverty, drunkenness and squalor, as Couto de Magalhães was to witness when he visited him in Goiás. In contrast to Varela, though, he possessed a radical, independent streak even as a youth, when he reputedly ran away from school in Ouro Preto to join the 1842 Minas and São Paulo Liberal revolution. His unorthodox views during his legal and administrative career in Goiás led him to quarrel with the President of the Province and with the *juiz de direito* of the district, and on one occasion he freed the prisoners at a trial, allegedly out of compassion. This attitude of dissension extended into his literary activities on the Rio newspaper, Atualidade, where, according to one biographer, "mete a lenha com vontade em Junqueira Freire e Joaquim Manuel de Macedo",¹⁴ two of the most eminent representatives of Brazilian

14. Antônio de Alcântara Machado, "O Fabuloso Bernardo Guimarães", Cavaquinho e Saxafone (Solos), 1926-1935 (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1944), p.224.

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Romanticism. That critical nature led him finally to reject the mythical, idealised Indianism of O Guarani and Iracema, and to explore a more worldly landscape inhabited by real human beings, fallible and inconsistent like the rest of us.

This shift can be observed in process in Guimarães' first short novel, O Ermitão de Muquém, which was published in 1858, just a year after O Guarani. The story concerns Gonçalo, a local bully and layabout who, after flirting with his friend's girl at a country dance, slips off with her, followed by the friend, who is found butchered the next day. Gonçalo emerges in the next part, or *posso*, of the book, having taken refuge with a group of Coroado Indians during his flight from the law. As the tribe enters into closer relations with the local white community, he realises that he is in danger of being discovered, and so he leaves the Coroados, having acquired many of their skills and habits. He is attacked by a more hostile tribe, the Xavantes, but after impressing them with his courage and skill he is accepted as an Indian, and is nursed back to health from his wounds by the girl Guaraciaba. Mellowed by his experiences, by the solitude of the landscape and by his life amongst these people, Gonçalo, now named Itajiba, experiences for the first time in his life a deep and genuine passion, and he falls in love with Guaraciaba.

However, after gaining a prestigious reputation by his attacks on the *bandeiras* sent to take reprisals against the Xavantes, his hopes of marrying Guaraciaba and assuming leadership of the tribe are dashed. A rival warrior stages an incident in which Guaraciaba appears to be betraying Itajiba; the latter's jealous reaction is to kill the couple, and when the innocent nature of the episode is revealed, his enemy challenges

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him to a duel. Now wishing only to die, Itajiba/Gonçalo is ironically and miraculously saved from death by the image of the Virgin which he wears at his throat and which deflects his rival's arrow. He then drifts aimlessly in his canoe, having cast himself out from his own society and having destroyed the community which had accepted him. Realising that he must pay a penance for his crimes in order to find spiritual rest, he returns to white society as a hermit, living by charity and converting Indians to Christianity. Amongst those who visit him at the chapel and sanctuary which he sets up at Muquém is the girl Maria, sent mad by Gonçalo's murder of her fiancée. Hearing Gonçalo's story, she forgives him and recovers her sanity.

Reduced to its essential elements, then, the plot of O Ermitão de Muquém illustrates the Christian principles of Sin and Redemption through faith and works. There are precedents for the story in the European tradition of Robert, le Diable, the offspring of a sterile mother and the Devil, who leads a life of wickedness until his repentance in old age. The legend still circulates in Portugal and the Brazilian North-east, where it exists as a *folheto* called "Roberto do Diabo".¹⁵ João Guimarães Rosa's short story "A hora e vez de Augusto Matraga" would seem to be a variation on the theme. The religious overtones are certainly in evidence in Guimarães' text; the *romaria*, or pilgrimage, provides the novel's structure, for it is recounted to travellers on their way to Muquém, and concludes at the end of the pilgrim's journey, with man's rediscovery of his God.

What interests us particularly is the function of the central sections of the novel, in which Gonçalo abandons his white identity and

15. Câmara Cascudo, Dicionário do Folclore Brasileiro, op.cit., pp.783-84.

enters Indian society. Parallel to the lesson of Christian salvation and redemption, the return of the Prodigal son to the moral and spiritual fold, is another, social dimension. The sinner is also the outlaw, the rebel against authority, who must suffer total isolation, exclusion and humiliation in order that he will submit to and be reconciled with the laws and conventions of society. At the beginning of the novel, Gonçalo's abuse of his energy and strength is rendered symbolic of all that is anti-social, the antithesis of Peri's selfless dedication to the white community:

Mas em vez de pôr ao serviço da pátria e da liberdade sua grande força e valentia, como aquelle heróe, Gonçalo, aspero e turbulento por natureza e por mania, atirou-se em corpo e alma na carreira da devassidão e tornou-se um completo vadio, um famoso desordeiro.¹⁶

The society of the Xavante Indians, equally inimical and threatening to the dominant, civilised order, is the natural refuge for Gonçalo after his archetypally anti-social act of murder. More than that, though, it offers him a possible means of resolving his status as outcast and pariah without an act of submission. His meteoric rise to power within the tribe, his fanatical popularity and the expectation of his marriage to Guaraclaba suggest that he might build a rival empire within the Indian world, civilising the tribes under his influence and negotiating political and economic terms with the state authorities of Goiás on an equal footing. In Gonçalo's rebel Empire tribal integration into the State economy becomes an instrument of political power. His dream is the despotic feudal power of the *fazendeiro* as Alencar sees him in O Sertanejo:

16. Bernardo Guimarães, O Ermitão de Muquém ou História da fundação da romaria de Muquém na provincia de Goyaz (Rio de Janeiro: Garnier, 1875), p.3.

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Tornando assim o chefe supremo de uma immensa população activa, industriosa e guerreira, elle se tornaria temivel aos fracos governos de Goyaz, poderia tratar com elles de potencia a potencia, e lhes impor a as condições. Com essa especie de catechese e organização das tribos indigenas não só elle adquiriria grande poder e prestigio n'aquellas paragens, como tambem prestaria ao Estado um eminente serviço, do qual elle reservaria para si o direito de marcar o preço e a remuneração (op.cit., p.164).

However, Gonçalo's white identity, his disruptive influence on the Xavante community and his eventual expulsion from the tribe suggest that this defiance of the dominant social and political order is ultimately untenable. The emotional triangle formed by Itajiba/Gonçalo, Guaraciaba and the rival warrior Inimá reproduces the same triangle of relationships with which the novel began, just as Gonçalo's murder of the two Indians repeats the initial crime of his first life. Only by being cast out for a second time by the society which he sought to control does he come to recognise his error. Only by suffering the humiliation and alienation of a marginal life dependent upon charity, hearing his name insulted as a criminal, can he come to terms with his subordinate place in the social hierarchy and accept his forgiveness.

Although overlaid with Christian morality and ultimately resolved by appealing to the same conservative conformism defended by Alencar, Guimarães' exploration of crime and rebellion in the Indianist context of O Ermitão de Muquém clearly anticipates his later fiction, where his confidence in conventional notions of justice and socio-political order appears to break down. At the same time, his increasingly critical view of the classical Indianist tradition leads him to foreground the sexuality and violence which have until now appeared only in an either sanitised or caricatured form. Guimarães' treatment of these two closely allied themes abandons the mythical, epic level of Gonçalves Dias and Alencar for a

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sensationalist approach, emphasising rather than mitigating the social and cultural distance between the inhabitants of the rural interior and country's growing urban population.

The eponymous protagonist of the short story *Jupira* (1872) represents an intermediate stage in this development, for she is a grotesque version of the tragically marginalised *mestiça* figure, a modern Marabá or Miry'ba. Jupira's first act, at the tender age of fourteen, is to shoot arrows at an over-zealous admirer and then smash his skull with an oar. Armed with this reputation and a knife, she is pursued by Quirino, the son of a rich farmer, who proposes to capture her body through marriage, and thereafter conquer her soul in the manner of a Jesuit missionary: "Uma vez casado mais fácil lhe seria catequizá-la e ganhá-lhe a vontade e o coração".¹⁷ However, Jupira successfully repels his advances by threatening to repeat her first act of violence, and she falls in love instead with Carlito, a white boy of her own age and her equal in agility and rebelliousness. In a scene of uninhibited sexual appeal, Carlito spies on Jupira while she is bathing, surprises her and, following her invitation to chase her, he disappears with her to be seduced in the depths of the forest.

Their idyllic happiness is short-lived, though, for Carlito tires of his lover, and defies her threats by pursuing an infatuation with Rosalia, "Uma formosa menina loura e branca". Abandoned for the white girl, the *mestiça* Jupira enlists the help of Quirino, who is still obsessed with her, and persuades him with a passionate kiss to kill Carlito. Awed by the magnitude of his imminent crime, Quirino invites

17. Bernardo Guimarães, História e Tradições da Província de Minas Gerais (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1976), p.164.

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Carlito on a fishing trip and, watched by Jupira, he raises his knife to his rival, striking him three times to see him collapse, vomiting in his own blood. To his consternation and surprise, however, Jupira covers the corpse with kisses and, inviting Quirino to embrace her, she pierces his heart with a knife, cursing him with the words: "Morre também, vil matador! eu não te quero..." (op.cit., p.192). She disappears, and her skeleton is later found hanging from a tree by a liana cord.

Guimarães' tragic heroine is exceptional in committing acts of murder and so actively avenging her mistreatment by both Indian and white society, rather than suffering her fate as a passive victim. But what is more remarkable and innovative about the story is the way in which the author develops this role to extreme proportions. Guimarães sets out with a sociological overview of his characters and their world that far surpasses any other work of the movement in its assessment of the policy of integration. The opening pages of the text describe the failure of the missionaries from the seminary of Nossa Senhora Mãe dos Homens, in south-west Minas, to exert any effective control over the tribes of the region; the latter retained their independence and became disenchanted with the "benefits" offered by white civilisation:

Atraídos pelo desejo de obterem algumas roupas, ferramentas, armas e enfeites, acudiam de quando em quando ao seminário; mas no fim de um a dois meses quando muito aborreciam-se do trabalho, entregavam-se à sua natural indolência e, se apertavam com eles, desapareciam e internavam-se de novo pelas matas do Rio Grande, continuando sua vida nômade e selvática (op.cit., pp.144-45).

The two dramatic examples of the Indians' success in resisting the pressure to "assimilate" are Jupira and her mother Jurema. Jurema is "catechised" by the white settler José Luís and bears him a daughter, who is baptised with the name Maria. However, she soon leaves José Luís to

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rejoin her people, returning two years later with her daughter, who now answers to the name of Jupira, and a second child by an Indian husband.

Despite her father's attempts to civilise her in the ways of his society, Jupira prefers the company of the Indians, quickly becoming the rebellious darling of the community. But the contact with white society and the white blood within her have left their mark; despite her "natural" temperament, her love of the nomadic freedom of tribal life, she possesses an unusual tenderness to which the physical advances of her first admirer and victim, the Indian Baguari, are repulsive.

From this point onwards, though, following her murder of Baguari, her relationships with men assume a sinister intensity, a fatal, egoistic passion that transforms Jupira suddenly from a gentle, vulnerable creature into a grotesque psychopath. The unnatural personality of the *femme fatale* overrides the social factor of her racial isolation, so that the final, gruesome tragedy is confused with, or attributable to, a distorted image of mysterious feminine psychology. As Carlito's initially spontaneous love for her begins to decline, her own feelings for him intensify, to the extent that she threatens him with death should he ever cease to love her:

Não te assustes, meu Carlito, - disse a cabocla com um sorriso de inexplicável expressão e tornando a meter no seio a faca. - Cuidas já que quero matar-te?... não sou tão má como isso... Tu é que queres matar-me com tuas ingratidões (op.cit., p.174).

When she actually discovers his infidelity, she confronts him and bites his arm, drawing blood, a foretaste of the violence to come:

De feito, para um primeiro arrufo, uma dentada daquelas não era má estréia, e fazia pressagiar para o segundo um braço quebrado, e para o terceiro uma punhalada. (...) (...) os olhos fuzilavam revérberos cor de sangue; a boca espumava, os lábios e as narinas lhe tremiam convulsivos. Reinava em seu todo um ar imperioso, feroz, que fazia medo (pp.177-78).

Resisting the impulse to take her immediate revenge on the couple, and fearing her female weakness, rather implausibly considering the existing exploits to her credit, she enlists the aid of Quirino. The image of diabolical purpose and obsession is completed as she invites him to receive his reward: not, as he expects, her love but a knife thrust into his heart:

- Bravo! bravo!... muito bem! gritou a cabocla, com um sorriso de infernal ironia. - Agora venha! depressa receber o prêmio... (op.cit., p.192).

In contrast to O Ermitão de Muquém, then, the problem of the protagonist's social maladjustment is not resolved by a reconciliation, but instead leads only to further disruption and death. The uncompromising passion that is typical of the Indian heroes of the Indianist movement thus far has ceased, in Guimarães' story, to be turned to the service of the white community. Instead, it has become a destructive, consuming force, alien to any notion of social conformity or political order; Jupira, the rebellious *cabocla*, is transformed out of all recognition into a pathological monster. In Guimarães' last Indianist short story, O índio Afonso (1873), this exploration of the nature of marginality and the transformation of Indian society in contact with the national population reaches its mature culmination. The ultra-Romantic drama of Jupira gives way to a more naturalistic, although nonetheless sensationalist, account of rural life.

O índio Afonso first appeared in a serialised form in the newspaper A Reforma in January 1872. Its protagonist is a new kind of Indianist hero, both in terms of his human, spiritual stature and by virtue of his relation to the dominant moral values and laws of white society. A modern, detribalised Indian or *caboclo*, he lives with his

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sister Caluta, her husband and children, providing them with food through his skill as a cattle rustler. While the men are away one day, Toruna, a local bandit, attacks and attempts to rape Caluta, apparently causing her to commit suicide by jumping into the torrent of a river. Caluta later reappears, having swum to safety, but her two sons have meanwhile told Afonso of the occurrence, and he sets about avenging his sister. Tracking Toruna down, he castrates and mutilates him, cutting off his lips, nose and ears; but despite being repeatedly pursued and several times captured by the agents of the law, he always defies them, escaping into the refuge of the forest or the waters of the river which seem to protect him, transforming him into a local legend.

As the text progresses, a shift in taste, from the sentimentalism of the earlier Romantic Indianists, to his own brutal sensationalism, is increasingly detectable, as is the move away from the noble, epic motives of Alencar's characters to the more material desires and ambitions of those of Guimarães. In the opening pages of the story, the narrative tongue-in-cheek teases the sensibility of a female readership, confessing that the company of "uma súcia de caboclos quase selvagens" is not likely to be very pleasant, but nevertheless inviting them to board his fanatastic carriage and to accompany him into the wildest depths of the forest. The preface, "Ao leitor", meanwhile pretends to establish the documentary credentials of the story, at the same time disclaiming any suggestion that it is an apology for a common criminal:

Como se vê, o índio Afonso é personagem real e vivo ainda. Sua figura, costumes, maneira, tom de voz, modo de vida, são tais quais os descrevi, pois tive ocasião de vê-lo e conversar com ele. (...)

É verdade que quando estive na província de Goiaz em 1860 e 1861, ouvi contar diversas façanhas do afamado caboclo; mas quando me lembrei, há pouco mais ou menos um ano, de escrever este romance, já delas me restavam apenas uma vaga reminiscência,

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e por isso é possível que uma ou outra tenha algum laivo de veracidade.

Para desenhar-lhe o caráter baseei-me no que em Catalão ouvia dizer a todo o mundo. Todos o pintavam com o caráter e costumes que lhe atribuo, e era voz geral que ele só havia cometido um homicídio, e isso para defender ou vingar um seu amigo ou pessoa de família. (...)

Eis o que há de real em meu romance. Se porém, o índio Afonso é uma bandido ordinário, um facinora feroz e ignóbil como tantos outros, pouco me importa.

O índio Afonso de meu romance não é o facinora de Goiás; é pura criação de minha fantasia.¹⁸

Whatever the reality of his protagonist, and Guimarães clearly aims deliberately to blur the boundary between fact and fiction, what matters most is his declaration at the beginning of the text, his identification with the special, but real world of the *sertão*: "A minha musa é essencialmente sertaneja; sertaneja de nascimento, sertaneja por hábito, sertaneja por inclinação" (op.cit., p.364).

Thus, while Afonso still resembles the Romantic superman whose skill and courage surpasses that of twenty ordinary men, he is no longer an aristocratic tribal chief, but one of "esta raça de índios mestiços que vivem vida nômade e semibárbara pelas margens dos grandes rios dos sertão, subsistindo quase exclusivamente de caça e pesca" (op.cit., p.366). Similarly, his punishment of Toruna forms an ironic contrast to the Herculean struggles which take place between the Indian warriors of Romantic narratives from Gonçalves Dias onwards. Afonso jumps onto the shoulders of Toruna, who is crouching at a stream, and forces his face into the mud; he drags him out and ties him to a branch of a tree, forcing him to beg pitiably for mercy, and to invoke the five wounds of Christ. In response, Afonso then performs what the narrator describes

18. Bernardo Guimarães, Quatro Romances (São Paulo: Martins, 1944), pp. 361-62.

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with unsparingly graphic details as "a bárbara vingança", making his five amputations in utterly cold blood.

But if the descriptive level of the narrative has been brought down from an epic, heroic register to one of physical sensationalism, a mythical element remains, and that is Afonso's eternal defiance of the law. Having first fled from the area with his family, he then becomes homesick, above all for his river; it is the magical relationship with the river which justifies his permanent rebellion and freedom:

Estou aflito por lavar o meu corpo n'água do Parnaíba; é lá só que eu sou gente. O maioral de Goiaz já há de ter esquecido de mim; e também, estando eu na beirada do meu rio, quem é capaz de me botar a mão? Eu caíndo nas águas do Parnaíba, vocês bem sabem, é o mesmo que cair nos braços de meu pai, ou de minha mãe (op.cit., p.387).

And just as he says, the Parnaíba protects him as a son. During one arrest he is handcuffed to two soldiers and, as he is taken on board a makeshift trimaran, he blesses himself with the water of the river. A storm breaks and a huge tree-trunk is thrust against the boat, distracting his captors and enabling him to drift away into freedom, like "o gênio do rio sobre o seu trono flutuante, governando com o gesto e com o olhar as revoltas e turbulentas ondas" (op.cit., p.391).

The final pages of the story offer an interpretation of the character and actions of the Indian Afonso which would not have been possible in the traditional Indianist novel, where the Indian is either a loyal defender of the white code of morals and justice, or a savage rebel alien to the social pact. Guimarães' view of the Indian marginal is an important advance, a rejection of the Romantics' compulsion to transform the tribal primitive into a citizen of their own society, an upholder of their own philosophical and political values. Guimarães' story abandons that simplistic stereotype, combining a character capable of acts of the

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cruellest violence with one who demonstrates loyalty, tenderness and even religious respect. Narrating from within the world of the *caboclo* rather than from outside it, Guimarães depicts a physical and moral environment that is isolated from the civil institutions and laws of white society, a world where such institutions have no place in the direct relationship of man and nature, where natural justice prevails and the freedom of the marginal is respected. Just as the local farmers tolerate Afonso's cattle-rustling activities as the normal order of the *sertão*, so the police of Goiás eventually give up their pursuit of Afonso, recognising the inappropriateness of "a justiça social" in judging crimes of passion and brotherly devotion.

It is a view which must have appealed to the author's unorthodox sense of legal and political responsibility, which seems to have made his career in the rural interior of Goiás such an interesting one. It also leads one to question the judgement of Nelson Werneck Sodré and Afrânio Coutinho,¹⁹ for whom Guimarães' is a Romantic regionalism, idealising and artificialising the picturesque qualities of local life, "ao mesmo tempo que procurava encobri-lo, atribuindo-lhe qualidades, sentimentos, valores que não lhe pertencem, mas à cultura que se lhe sobrepõe". For Guimarães' departure from the traditional portrayal of rural culture lies precisely in his insistence on seeing the social life and problems of the rural interior as something fundamentally "different", to which the morality and values of urban, bourgeois society cannot sensibly be applied:

Os leitores terão depreendido desta minha verídica história que o índio Afonso não é um facinora, mas sim um homem de bem, cheio

19. Nelson Werneck Sodré, História da Literatura Brasileira..., op.cit., pp.403-04, quoting Afrânio Coutinho, A Literatura no Brasil, 5 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Sul Americana, 1955), vol.II, pp.145-46.

de belas qualidades e sentimentos generosos, porém vivendo quase no estado natural no seio das florestas, em luta a um tempo com os bandidos e facínoras que o rodeiam, com a natureza selvática e as feras do sertão, e com a polícia que o persegue. É essa vida rude e agitada que lhe tem desenvolvido a um ponto extraordinário a astúcia, a valentia e a robustez próprias de sua natureza.

Naqueles desertos, no fundo daquelas imensas florestas, onde a ação da justiça social é quase nula, o homem, por mais inofensiva que seja a sua índole, vê-se muitas vezes forçado a defender-se contra seus semelhantes, como quem se defende das onças e das serpentes (op.cit., p.402).

If Bernardo Guimarães' Indianist fiction, especially Jupira and O índio Afonso, represents an increasing aversion for certain of the Romantics' myths and their epic mood, then the poem "Elixir do Pagé" is an outright satire on the movement in its traditional form. I referred above to Guimarães' attacks on the the Romantics Junqueira Freire and Macedo in the paper Atualidade. In his "Esboço Biográfico" of Gonçalves Dias,²⁰ Manuel Bandeira notes that in the same publication Guimarães also wrote a series of articles criticising the poet's unfinished epic, Os Timbiras, which had only recently received the praise of Macedo, Francisco Otaviano and Franklin Távora. Basílio de Magalhães has suggested that the pentasyllabic stanzas of "Elixir do Pagé" are a parody of sections of Os Timbiras. Whether this is the case or whether, as seems more likely, the parody in fact concerns the poem "O Canto do Guerreiro", Guimarães' text taken as a whole is certainly an uncompromising satire of the kind of heroic Indianism for which Gonçalves Dias was best known.

Moving on from the sensationalist sex and violence of Jupira and O índio Afonso to a theme of explicit obscenity, the poem evidently struck a chord with the public, suggesting that the plausibility of the traditional Indianism was on its last legs. According to Artur Azevedo, the only contemporary to have condemned Bernardo Guimarães' obscene

20. Poesia e Prosa, op.cit., vol.II, p.731.

poetry, "Elixir do Pagé" was the most popular of his poems, despite not having an official printing, much to the publisher Garnier's despair: "É raro o mineiro que o não saiba de cor. Há na província espalhados um sem número de cópias desse [poema] inútil e brejeiro"; despite censorship there were apparently several clandestine printings after the first edition of 7th May 1875.²¹ As an indication of its continuing appeal, two editions were produced in the 1950s, sale of the illustrated 1958 Piraquê edition being prohibited, with five hundred copies exclusively reserved for "bibliophiles". Adding to its amusement value, an anonymous preface, "Ao leitor", claims to redeem it from any pornographic intention, describing it as "erótico-cômico", while the poem is headed by a quotation from Boileau - "D'un pinceau délicat l'artifice agréable/du plus hideux object fait un object aimable". It is said that, having signed the poem simply with his initials, B.G., Guimarães was approached and accused of writing obscenities; denying authorship he protested that, not he, but a local priest "o beato Gregório", was responsible!²²

The poem recounts the mythical, Indianist origin of an elixir renowned as a cure for male impotence; the speaker addresses his unresponsive, flaccid organ and laments its decline, with appropriately colourful imagery and anthropomorphic metaphors. Hope is not lost, though, because he has obtained a miracle remedy, concocted from magical herbs in a distant land by an Indian medicine-man who suffered from the same complaint. At this point the initial decasyllables of the poem turn to pentasyllables as the narrator describes the prodigious return of the pagé's sexual proficiency and vigour. As a comparison with stanzas of

21. Basílio de Magalhães, Bernardo Guimarães (Esboço biográfico e crítico) (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Anuario do Brasil, 1926), p.113.

22. My thanks to Olímpio Matos of Rio de Janeiro for this anecdote.

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Gonçalves Dias' "O Canto do Guerreiro" will show, Guimarães uses both the rhythm and even the syntactic structures of the earlier poem in a hilarious sexual parody of the Indianist martial theme:

"O Canto do Guerreiro"

Valente na guerra
Quem há, como eu sou?
Quem vibra o tacape
Com mais valentia?
Quem golpes daria
Fatais, como eu dou?
- Guerreiros, ouvi-me;
- Quem há, como eu sou?...

Se as matas estrujo
Co'os sons do Boré,
Mil arcos se encurvam,
Mil setas lá voam,
Mil gritos reboam,
Mil homens de pé
Eis surgem, respondem
Aos sons do Boré!
- Quem é mais valente,
- Mais forte quem é?

"Elixir do Pagé"

"Mas neste trabalho,
dizei, minha gente,
quem é mais valente,
mais forte quem é?
Quem vibra o marzapó

com mais valentia?
Quem conas enfia
com tanta destreza?
Quem fura cabaços
com mais gentileza?"...

Se a inúbia soando
por vales e outeiros,
à deusa sagrada
chamava os guerreiros,
de noite ou de dia,
ninguém jamais via
o velho pagé
que sempre fodia
na taba ou na brenha,
no macho ou na fêmea,
deitado ou de pé,

e o duro marzapó,
que sempre fodia,
qual riço tacape
a nada cedia!²³

Continuing in the same vein, the story of the *pagé* inspires the narrator's own "marzapó" with the hope that he may one day be elected "rei dos caralhos".

Consisting of little more than this simple episode and a succession of colourful, comic euphemisms for the act of copulation, the poem, for all its satirical intent, is strangely enough faithful to the

23. Bernardo Guimarães, "Elixir do Pagé" (Belo Horizonte: Movimento Editorial Panorama, 1951), pp.27-33. My thanks to Dr Plínio Doyle, of Rio de Janeiro, for kindly allowing me to consult his copies of this and other editions of the poem.

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masculinist spirit of Gonçalves Dias Indianism. Just as women are rarely permitted to enter the male, bellicose environment of the "Poesias Americanas", so the "donzelas e putas" of Guimarães' poem are endowed with little more individual identity than that of "cem mil conos", the passive, faceless victims of his military campaign of rape. The male sexual impulse that appears to be sublimated into the warrior ideal of "O Canto do Guerreiro", is celebrated in "Elixir do Pagé" with total self-congratulation and arrogance.

As far as its relevance to the history of Indianism is concerned, the poem may be considered as the logical conclusion of Guimarães' fascination with the Indian as a mythical repository of man's sensual forces, sex and violence, in their purest form. Not only does the poem indicate a dissatisfaction with the tired epic themes of the Indianist movement, it also represents an evolution from the Romantics' view of Nature and Natural Man. Where the earlier Indianists elevated the primitive to a symbol of what they considered to be the most authentic and sublime human values and sentiments, Guimarães translates these onto a more physical level, retaining the Indian as the ideal representative of this primitive self.

In addition, this shift of interest away from the metaphysical and sentimental towards a more tangible reality also reflects the growth of interest during the 1870s in scientific theories of human and social behaviour, whose role in the decline of Romantic Indianism has already been noted. One manifestation of such developments is the rise of ethnography as a systematic methodology for the study of non-Western cultures, including those of the Indians. Whereas the Romantic and earlier myths regarding tribal peoples had a fantastic or idealised character,

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the new accounts of indigenous man pursued with the confidence of pseudo-scientific respectability their theories of race and cross-breeding. One of the first examples of the new scholarship in Brazil was Couto de Magalhães' Q. Selvagem, which I discussed above. In his account of the primitive races of Brazil, Magalhães refers to "uma variedade que se distingue tanto pelo exagerado desenvolvimento do pênis que os mesmos selvagens a caracterizam por esse sinal" (op.cit., p.62). Although we can only speculate as to whether Magalhães had already passed on this story to his friend and colleague, Bernardo Guimarães, before the publication of "Elixir do Pagé" (1875) and Q. Selvagem (1876), it seems likely that similar tales of the Indians' prodigious sexual powers were now beginning to replace the Romantic myths of loyalty and devotion which had been the staple diet of Indianism for forty years.

6.3 Machado de Assis and the Americanas

I have suggested that Alencar's efforts to substantiate the ethnographical authenticity of his later novels, and the sensationalism and satire of Guimarães' fiction and poetry indicate that Indianism was beginning to outlive its credibility as a literary theme. However, this did not prevent other writers from paying tribute to, and continuing, the tradition established by Gonçalves Dias. Published in 1875, the same year as "Elixir do Pagé", Machado's Americanas bring certain innovations to the theme and acknowledge more recent accounts of Indian culture than those of the *cronistas*, but they also remain faithful to the conventions and style of the classic Indianist texts. Machado was born in Rio in 1839 and while still in his teens entered the publishing trade as an apprentice in the Imprensa Nacional and as an employee in Paula Brito's publishing

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house. He soon developed an active interest in journalism and literature, and made some early contributions to Indianist criticism: "A tradição indígena na obra de Alencar" (1866) and "Instinto de Nacionalidade" (1873). The second of three books of poetry written during what Antônio Cândido considers his Romantic period,²⁴ before the phase of the great masterpieces, the Americanas nevertheless already betray an interest in the psychology of human and social relations, which was to be so important to the later novels.

Machado's contact with modern perceptions of tribal man leads him, like Bernardo Guimarães, to depict a real society rather than a mythical world of semi-gods. Ironically, however, the reality which he ultimately describes is that of his own society; Machado's Indians act out a series of dramatic conflicts in which Christian morality is no longer the agent of reconciliation and social order, but rather serves to highlight social division, alienation, sexual weariness, infidelity and jealousy. On occasions, such as in the poem "Lua Nova", with its direct reference to the tribal fertility cults described in Couto de Magalhães' O Selvagem, the indigenous world inspires a faith in love, peace and salvation. More typical of the collection, though, is the poem "Niâni", whose academic source has more disturbing social implications. The text which informs Machado's poem is the História Dos índios Cavaleiros ou da Nação Guaicuru, written in 1795 by the soldier Francisco Rodrigues do Prado and published in 1839 in the first edition of the Revista do Instituto Histórico. As well as its description of the Indians' monogamous marriage system and simple divorce procedure, the book gives an account of their social hierarchy which, though obviously suspect in its use of

24. Formação da literatura brasileira..., op.cit., vol.II, p.387.

European and Brazilian notions of class, offers attractive material for an Indianist allegory of social relations in modern Brazil:

A nação guaicuru se divide em três partes: a primeira é a dos nobres, a que chamam de capitães, e as mulheres destes, *conas*, título que também têm as filhas; a outra chamam soldados, que obedecem de pais a filhos; e a terceira, que é mais considerável, é a dos *cativos*, que assim chamam a todos aqueles que apanham na guerra e a seus descendentes, aos quais tratam com muito amor, sem os obrigar a fazer trabalho algum. Há, porém, a circunstância de reputar-se vileza casar com escravo, a ponto de que o filho despreza a mãe que casou com escravo.²⁵

This description must have appealed to Machado's conception of Imperial society as composed of aristocracy, "soldiers" and slaves, for "Niâni" is essentially about class discrimination and its interference in personal life. It is based on Rodrigues do Prado's story of the lovers Panenioxé and Nanine, whose fathers are both *capitães*, or Guaicurú chiefs. Despite all her protests, Panenioxé deserts Nanine and marries "uma rapariga de menor esfera". Before dying of grief, Nanine avenges the insult by freeing a *cativo* on condition that he takes her former lover's name, so leaving a permanent and humiliating reminder of his act of betrayal, identifying him with the lowest element of the social hierarchy. Machado emphasises the element of class, first in his reference to the couple's aristocratic status - "Moça é de nobre feição", "Limpo sangue tem o noivo/ Que é filho de capitão",²⁶ and in the contrasting status of Panenioxé's second wife: "Noiva não é de alto sangue,/Porém de sangue vulgar" (p.109). A note to the text (note P, p.183) makes it quite clear that the analogy between the semi-fictional tribal world of the Guaicurús and the urban Brazilian society of "nobres, plebeus, cativos" is a

25. General Raúl Silveira de Mello, Para além dos bandeirantes (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca do Exército, 1968), pp.122.

26. J.M. Machado de Assis, Obra Completa, vol.III (Rio de Janeiro: José Aguilar, 1973), pp. 108 and 109.

consciously formulated one; as Machado suggests elsewhere in the poem, the problems of human relationships in the "florestas" differ little from those of the universal tales of "além-mar, de moças e de princesas".

6.4 Francisco Gomes de Amorim and *Os Selvagens*

If Bernardo Guimarães and Machado de Assis chose to examine the themes of rebellion and social conflict with a degree of Liberal sympathy, the same cannot be said of the author of *Os Selvagens* (1875). Francisco Gomes de Amorim's hysterically reactionary horror of popular revolt spills over into his writing to produce probably the only overtly anti-Indianist novel of the century, and certainly the least inspiring contribution to the movement. Its sensationalist melodrama, Romantic sentimentality and bathos no doubt largely account for its failure to be included in the histories and bibliographies of nineteenth-century Indianism. But so, too, must its provincial origins and the specific, local character of its historical subject-matter, the Cabanagem, the rebellion of black, *mestiço* and Indian labourers which shook the Province of Pará in 1835. And it is precisely those factors which, in spite of the book's mediocre literary quality, make essential its inclusion here as a point of comparison with the Indianist "mainstream".

Gomes de Amorim was born in 1827 at A-ver-o-mar, in the northern Portuguese province of Minho, and came to Brazil as a young man, travelling in the interior of Pará and working as a *regatão* (river trader) and *ligeiro* (oarsman). A poet, novelist and playwright, he was a friend of the Portuguese Romantic author, Garrett, and as well as publishing *Versos* (1866) and *Cantos Matutinos* (1866) he was known in the region for his celebrated poem "A Tapuia" (like *Remorso Vivo*, the sequel

to Os Selvagens, the poem is now rare and was unavailable to the present author).

Os Selvagens takes as its specific subject the role of the Mundurucu and Mura tribes in the Cabanagem, and their relationship to Ambrósio Ayres, the man responsible for the eventual repression of the revolt in his area. In his account of the Cabanagem, Carlos Moreira cites the opinion of the Amazonian writer Tenreiro Aranha who, at the turn of this century, described Ayres, or Bararoá as he was better known, as one of those who became famous "praticando impunemente no nome da legalidade, os mais bárbaros, deshumanos e canibais crimes por mera satisfação dos seus instintos de fera".²⁷ Whether a deported criminal or a German immigrant, Bararoá certainly gained a notorious reputation for his systematic massacres of the captive rebels and their suspected supporters on the rivers Tapajós, Maués and Madeira, including groups of Mundurucu, Maué and Mura, actions which probably led to his death in 1838.

The novel, as well as presenting a rather more favourable view of Ambrósio Ayres, attributes the Indians' "bárbaras crueldades" to manipulation by foreign conspirators, in the manner of Simá. Reproducing the traditional dual stereotype of hostile and loyal tribes, the author makes the educated Mundurucu Indian, Goataçara, his hero and the defender of the white community, who finally crushes the Cabanagem. It is Goataçara's early contact with white civilisation, in the form of a somewhat comic missionary, which prepares him for his opposition to the anti-Portuguese revolution of 1835, to the shame of his family and tribespeople who have long since lapsed into their former, "barbaric" ways.

27. A Política Indigenista..., op.cit., pp.20-21.

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The temporary transformation of the Mundurucus following the arrival of the missionary, Félix, is described in the first fifty pages of the text. The dialogue which precedes this meeting is typical of the entire novel which, devoid of any sympathy or respect for the Indians, presents them as pathetically simple and sensitive, and brutally cannibalistic, by turns:

- Um branco! - disse Flor de Cajueiro. - é o primeiro que vejo!
- Padre! informou um guerreiro, que tinha visto muito mundo.
- Missionário! - acrescentou um segundo, mais sabio.
- Bom pra comer? - interrogou terceiro.
- Hough! - respondeu os outros todos, lambendo os beiços.
- Velho! - observou um com desgosto.
- Mas é branco! volveram alguns, que talvez tivessem ainda gratas recordações do sabor da carne de infelizes padres.²⁸

Félix escapes this fate, however, is welcomed to the tribe as a friend, and is persuaded to baptise them all in their village after learning their language. After some while amongst the Mundurucu, he is called to Santarém to carry out work on the population statistics for the region. Despite a tearful farewell, he is inwardly not as regretful as his converts: "Contudo, força é confessar, que, apesar do affecto que já lhes tinha, o missionario estava desejosissimo de os ver pelas costas" (p.42 !). Although he later returns, he becomes too ill to carry on his work, and Flor de Cajueiro takes over, converting the whole tribe within minutes. The tribe's ways improve dramatically, the aggressiveness of the men diminishes, the women become virtuous and Félix' businessman brother establishes a prosperous trade in crops and forest produce with them.

With the upheaval of Independence and the negligence of the local governors and bishops, though, Félix is never replaced, and the Mundurucu

28. Francisco Gomes de Amorim, *Os Selvagens* (Lisbon: Matos Moreira e Cia., 1875), p.28. My thanks to Neide Gondim de Freitas Pinto of Manaus for kindly allowing me to consult her copy of this edition.

revert to their original savagery and decadence. The tribe sees some of the violence of the Cabanagem and, rather than defending their "civilisers", they condone the behaviour of those fellow Indians who have taken part, recalling that the Portuguese colonists drove their people from their lands centuries earlier. The only Christian response, they argue ironically, must be to turn the other cheek and forgive one's enemy. One man alone, Flor de Cajueiro's son Romualdo, who has been educated in the house of Félix' brother, remains loyal to the memory and the race of the missionary. Taking his sister Gertrude with him, he leaves the village to take his revenge on the Cabanos. This leads us to the author's first description of the revolutionaries, a savage caricature which, like the novel itself, does not even pretend to explain the true social and political causes of the rebellion:

As suas guarnições compunham-se de individuos de diferentes raças: tapuios (índios domesticos), mulatos, mamelucos, cafuzas, e pretas; entre estas cores havia ainda tantas meias tintas provenientes de cruzamentos, que dariam uma escala de cincoenta ou mais tons diversos. (...) cabeças medonhas, encarapinhadas, revoltas, cerdasas, hirsutas, guedelhudas, como jubas de leões! (...) muitos traziam as camisas sem mangas e as calças sem pernas; os que não estavam inteiramente nus, vinham rotos, esfrangalhados, grutescos; lembravam bandos de macacos em trajos de carnaval, ou doudos desengaiolados, que tivessem saqueado as velhas guarda-roupas de dez theatros de provincia!... Unicamente n'um ponto havia igualdade entre elles: andavam todos descalços.

As caras eram indesejáveis: estúpidos, ferozes, audaciosas, covardes, espantadas, humildes, idiotas, selvagens, insensatas, incríveis de imprevisto, e estupendas de brutalidade!... Vendo-se tão extraordinária acumulação de creaturas diferentes, tão injustificável promiscuidade de physionomias, de colorido, de raças, em que até havia brancos mais sujos do que os próprios pretos, poderia julgar-se que o diabo, desejoso de pôr o inferno em harmonia com os progressos da sciencia e da hygiene moderna, o lavára com as aguas do Cayari, que despegaram de lá aquelle amontoamento de immundicias hediondas, farrapos de panno e de carne, escoria e lixo humano! (op.cit., pp.202-04)

After imputing to the rebels a spurious sense of guilt for their crimes against civilised society, Gomes de Amorim then offers his "analysis" of

the Cabanagem: not the desperate, frustrated response of an exploited majority to its ethnic and economic oppression, but simply a conspiracy of ambitious, jealous and xenophobic outlaws:

O nucleo do bando, que mais tarde se quiz chamar politico, para ver se assim conseguia lavar a ignominia de que se cobriram os brancos associados ás suas torpezas e atrocidades, não fôra composto sómente de homens de côr e sem educação nem posição social. O odio aos portugueses, o ciume, a inveja, as ambições mal soffridas, a cobiça, o despeito, o desprezo das leis sociaes, as tendencias ferozes de pessoas, que a civilização não conseguia levantar moralmente ao nivel social em que as collocára, todas as paixões más, enfim, que revolvem as almas dos entes depravados pela avidez do goso, ou embrutecidos pelos vícios, concorreram para a alliança dáquelles facinorosos (op.cit., pp.209-10).

Ambrosio Ayres' intervention comes about when he hears that the authorities are planning to hand over the town of Bararóá to the Cabanos. Taking over military command he becomes the *caudilho* Bararóá, imprisoning his rivals, winning great victories and acquiring dictatorial powers. On one campaign he is unexpectedly joined by a batallion of Mundurucus led by Romualdo, who receives the *caudilho's* welcome and his protection from the insults of the English officers who are also present. It is these officers who, as Ambrósio becomes more powerful and more unpopular, plot to depose him and offer the Cabanos an amnesty. Left in command at Manaus, Romualdo suddenly realises the danger threatening his benefactor and he follows the conspirators into the jungle, taking a short cut. However, he arrives in time only to witness Ambrósio being handed over to the Cabanos, while his sister is killed by one of the traitors.

Romualdo now assumes overall command and performs his final act of loyalty to the Christian upbringing of his childhood, completing the destruction of the Cabanos. Once again, though stated explicitly for the first time during the existence of the Indianist movement, white,

Christian values have been reconciled with the Romantic individualism of the Noble Savage, in order to legitimise the political authority of an elite and the suppression of a popular revolt: "O santo velho, que o educára, soubera inocular nas qualidades heroicas da sua raça as mais bellas e sublimes virtudes do christianismo" (op.cit., p.240).

6.5 Melo Moraes Filho and *Os Escravos Vermelhos*

Os Selvagens represents one possible response to Imperial fears of political collapse and revolution, and to the increasing tendency to identify with the values of European civilisation as against those of *nativista* nationalism: the vilification of those same Indians, blacks and *mestiços* whose rebellion and repression a quarter of a century later in Canudos were documented by Euclides da Cunha. For other Indianist writers of this final phase of the movement, such as the abolitionist Alexandre José de Melo Moraes Filho, civilisation and progress had a different meaning. Melo Moraes Filho's Os Escravos Vermelhos, in its denunciation of Brazil's history of racial oppression, both past and present, stands at the opposite ideological pole to Gomes de Amorim's novel, although interestingly it is no less graphic in its fascination with the reality of primitive societies.

The text forms part of a collection entitled Pátria Selvagem, which also includes Os Escravos Negros and Ciganos. Melo Moraes Filho was born in Bahia in 1843, and there began to train as a priest, abandoning this to study medicine in Belgium. As well being a writer of abolitionist poetry, he produced newspaper columns, memoirs and a course in Brazilian literature.²⁹ Os Escravos Vermelhos is undated, but was

29. Nelson Werneck Sodré, op.cit., pp.509-10.

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probably written between 1882 and the early 1900s, when his other works were published.

Its historical subject is once again the sixteenth-century war against the French and the Tamoio confederation, which provided the material for Gonçalves de Magalhães' epic poem. In Melo Morais Filho's version, however, the traditional foundation myth of Empire is revised in order to accommodate the forgotten facts of Indian slavery, and therefore to highlight the contemporary issue of black slavery under Empire. The narrative sustains a continual, ironic contrast between the harsh reality of slavery and the rich vitality of the Indians' daily existence, but the latter is not treated over-sympathetically, nor is it idealised in the Romantic manner. On the contrary, Melo Morais Filho deliberately chooses to describe those customs which are repugnant to white society, accentuating the cultural rift by which the colonial and Imperial regimes justified their marginalisation and exploitation of the coloured races. The war ritual, for example, an infernal "sabbath americano", or the act of cannibalism:

No craneo fracturado o indio acolha os labios e sorve o cerebro... os magarefes perfuram o hepigastro, e os meninos, mettendo a mão até o hombro, retiram-ná com os intestinos, que tostam ao rescaldo e comem, pulando e correndo.³⁰

The text is not fiction as such, then, rather a half lyrical, half documentary essay which, by drawing attention to the institutionalised crimes of the past, seeks to denounce those of the present. Mem de Sá and Antônio Vieira are no longer to be revered as historical heroes, but are to be condemned as the precursors of a trade in human beings that has become the shameful foundation of Brazil's wealth:

30. Melo Morais Filho, Os Escravos Vermelhos (Rio de Janeiro: Faro e Lino, n/d), p.26.

De capitania em capitania, os missionarios da morte examinam os escravos indios, escolhendo os que caberiam á Companhia, estipulando o preço das peças aos compadres colonos, distribuindo com os soldados e pobres o excesso da entrada nos sertões.

Opulentando-se o comercio do crime, que importaria a perda da liberdade, as agonias torturantes de tantas nações assassinadas, aprisionadas? (op.cit., p.83)

In the tradition of Gonçalves Dias' Meditação, the final words of the book are spoken by a mythical voice of denunciation, the spirit of the river Negro lamenting in biblical cadences the bondage of its children:

Eu era Guriguacurú.

Mas um dia o estrangeiro atraçou as minhas vagas e as minhas florestas, os meus climas e mais as minhas solidões... E eu vi desfilarem escravizadas as minhas tribus com os seus guerreiros, as suas mulheres e os seus pagés de Tupan.

O jesuita envenenou com o captivo os meus ares e a cruz da redempção foi o patibulo de tres milhões de escravos!

E as minhas mattas ficaram tristes, as minhas florestas caminharam até as minhas bordas e me perguntaram:

Guriguacurú, o que fizeste de teus filhos? (op.cit., pp.153-54)

But it is at the beginning of the text, in the book's dedication, that Melo Moraes Filho overtly identifies the two causes of Indian and black slavery, and looks forward to a more enlightened age in which Abolition will have redeemed Brazil from its moral tomb:

Debaixo d'este solo repousam duas raças escravizadas.

Arreando o flanco ensanguentado na arena do captivo, duas feras ainda se saciam no cadaver do indio e do negro.

A Patria, na corrupção que embriaga, assiste a esse espectáculo de amphiteatro romano; e enquanto o rei tripudia, ella se esquece de seus maiores homens.

Um dia, porém, tu erguerás com o braço e pedra do teu sepulchro e derreterás a noite que se tem feito em torno de teu nome (op.cit., p.1).

6.6 Luis Delfino dos Santos and *A Epopéia Americana*

Before we examine the last large-scale work of the Indianist tradition, there is another attempt at the epic genre which deserves some attention: Delfino Dos Santos's *A Epopéia Americana* (1865-75). Considered by the Parnassianists in 1885 to be "O maior poeta do Brasil", Delfino dos Santos was another abolitionist poet, one who played host to the rising literary generations of his time, including the Symbolists, but who sank from popularity himself shortly after his death in 1910. Not published until 1940, and unearthed in recent years by David Haberly, only a fragment of *A Epopéia Americana* survives. The one hundred and twenty-seven stanzas are interrupted by what is effectively an admission of a loss of faith in the Indianist illusion:

Agora morre, agora lento e lento
 A negra noite horrendo a mente avança,
 E da descrença o formidável espectro
 A alma me assalta, e me espedaça o plectro.³¹

The narrative which leads up this crisis of faith recounts the drowning of an Indian girl in the tidal wave of the *pororoca*, and her funeral. Central to the poem's perspective on this episode is the role of the Old Man who watches the disaster and then intervenes to gather up the body from the river. His mission and, it becomes clear, that of the poet, is to "Chorar na cova de uma raça inteira", to mourn the death of the Indian people, record its history and thereby redeem it from oblivion, guaranteeing its memory for the future. Faced with the spectacle of an irremediable catastrophe that is symbolised by the death of the *índia*, he cannot deny the truth and rewrite history, only attempt to transcend it by celebrating the lost race in a work of art. However, the Old Man also

31. David T. Haberly, "Uma desconhecida Epopéia Indianista", *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros*, no.12 (São Paulo: 1972), p.107.

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reveals the other aspect of the artist's dual nature: if, on the one hand, he is necessarily detached from the historical process by virtue of his condition, he is also, as a mortal human being, inevitably involved in it. After witnessing the girl's death, the Old Man becomes sexually fascinated by the dead body, in a long and detailed erotic description that could well have been inspired by Victor Meirelles de Lima's painting of *Moema* (1866), the tragic, drowned figure of Durão's Caramurú:

Entre a separação de peito a peito,
Lá onde os dois irmãos estavam rindo,
E como inda ririam com efeito,
Pois era cada seio o sol mais lindo,
Como na fulva areia de áureo leite
Finos cabelos negros reluzindo,
Traçaram sulco, como a luz de um facho;
E iam crescendo mais a mais a baixo (op.cit., p.90).

Filled with "saltos de tigres em braveza", he undergoes an inner struggle between the forces of instinct and reason as he is tempted to possess her, before his consciousness of this involvement in the process of time and human mortality allows him to resume his role as "O Esquilo do drama". The entire tribe then takes up the song of mourning that has been intoned by a young warrior's rage of grief; the poem, too, protests against the meaninglessness of the girl's death - "Tudo acabará então? Já não havia/Amigos e inimigos sobre a terra?" (op.cit., p.103). The deaths of individuals undermine the organised world of human relationships, but even more devastating, the death of a race, the genocide of the Indians, blots out that world in its entirety. In echoing the sentiment of despair, the poet declares his inability to sustain any longer the illusion that forty years of Indianist writing have sustained: the survival, in myth, of a people that has long since been annihilated.

6.7 Joaquim de Sousa Andrade and *O Guesa*

While Felício dos Santos was questioning the artistic viability of the Indianist theme, Joaquim de Sousa Andrade was challenging the dominant aesthetic canons of his day with writing which stands out from that of his contemporaries by its modern, even Modernist appearance. It was on the basis of its linguistic and stylistic interest that his work, especially the long poem *O Guesa*, underwent an academic revival after its rediscovery in the 1960s by the *concretista* critics, Augusto and Haroldo de Campos. Although *O Guesa* cannot be considered an Indianist work in the usual sense, since its central theme or concern is not the Indian, it is structured by an indigenous myth and contains statements on the Indian problem. In view of the linguistic bias of the new criticism of the poem, it therefore still needs to be situated within the history of nineteenth-century literature and the Indianist tradition.

Sousândrade was born Joaquim de Sousa Andrade, the son of a rich farming family in Alcântara, in the northern province of Maranhão, in 1832. After losing both his parents he pursued a bohemian life in Rio, before selling the family slaves in order to travel to France. Unlike his contemporaries, he studied in Paris rather than Coimbra, and took up an unfashionable subject, engineering. On his return he travelled around Amazonas and then married, becoming involved in the *Semanário Maranhense*. During the mid 1860s this was the journal of the most prestigious literary group in Maranhão, and it was where Sousa Andrade began to publish parts of *O Guesa*. Moving with his daughter to New York in 1871, he continued to work on the poem, an incomplete version of which was published in 1888, and he wrote articles for the New York-based paper *O Novo Mundo*. In 1885 he returned to São Luís after a stay in

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Chile, and was appointed "primeiro Intendente" of the town when the Republic was proclaimed in 1889, standing as a federal senator in 1899. Until his death in 1902, he lived off the income from rented property and his teaching.

If authoritarian and patriarchal in his business and personal life, Sousândrade was politically a dedicated Republican who attempted to introduce to his own country the social advances he had seen in the United States. As a young man he had pointedly refused the financial patronage of Pedro II, and when the Emperor visited the headquarters of O Novo Mundo in New York, Sousândrade was conspicuous by his absence. Amongst the European and Brazilian literary influences of the Classical period, Romanticism, Parnassianism and Symbolism, one of the most important was Gonçalves Dias. He shared his fellow *maranhense's* birthplace and they had many friends and experiences in common, including the familiar sight of Indians during their rural upbringing.

Frederick G. Williams considers his poetry to be largely autobiographical,³² but it is also worth noting Luiz Costa Lima's observation that his work reflects "o esvaziamento de uma nação que se vê através de lentes emprestados"³³; while Gonçalves Dias' Romantic vision of reality typified the cultural and economic limitations of his provincial origins, a later intellectual such as Sousândrade would have been exposed to a wider range of foreign influences as a result of the expansion of São Luís, giving him an unusually broad perspective on his society and age. The originality of his language is due, according to Lima, to the

32. Frederick G. Williams, Sousândrade: Vida e Obra (São Luís: SIOGE, 1976), p.31.

33. "O Campo Visual de uma experiência antecipadora", Augusto e Haroldo de Campos, Re-Visão de Sousândrade (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1982), p.422.

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frustration of this perspective in a cultural environment which could not accommodate it; he resorts to a stylistic violence and dynamism in order not to succumb to the traditional grandiloquence and sentimentalism of the period, hence the fragmented structure of O Guesa.

It was doubtless Sousândrade's concern with broadly American themes which led him to choose a myth derived from the culture of the Muyscas, one of the indigenous races of Colombia, as the structure of the poem. It is a myth of human sacrifice, in which the *guesa*, a "wanderer" or "exile", is raised from childhood in the temple until his coming of age, when he is taken along the divine path, or *suná*, towards his death.³⁴ The narrator or poet is often indistinguishable from the character of this sacrificial victim during the course of the poem, identifying in him his personal experience of physical exile and ideological isolation as a political dissident in Imperial Brazil. The *guesa's* journey leads him to a privileged understanding of the American reality which is at once enlightening and painful, making him excessively conscious of the suffering and corruption of contemporary capitalist society.

Throughout his historical and geographical journey over the continent in thirteen cantos, Sousândrade sets this modern reality against an ideal golden age, the lost Eden of Brazil's indigenous pre-history. In the second Canto, he enters an Indian *feira* and witnesses the sad corruption of the tribal communities. This episode, known as the *Tatuturama*, and the later "Inferno de Wall Street" of Canto X, constitute the principal examples of the poem's stylistic originality, recalling the more satirical poems of Gregório de Matos' work, that of Oswald de

34. See Alexandre de Humboldt, Vues des cordillères et Monumens [sic] des peuples indigènes de l'Amérique, 2 vols. (Paris: J. Smith, 1816), vol.II, p.244, Sousândrade's declared source for his poem.

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Andrade, or the "stream of consciousness" writing of the European Modernists. It is an orgy of mythical and historical figures which subverts the conventional interpretation of Brazilian history as a coherent succession of heroic achievements culminating in the Second Reign of Pedro II - precisely that providential view of history which Gonçalves de Magalhães, one of the chief intellectual apologists of Empire, took as the basis of his own Indianist epic. For Sousândrade, the sacrifice of the Indian is not a necessary, purposeful martyrdom heralding the salvation of God's chosen people, but a kind of Original Sin, the primal crime whose legacy is a modern world of exploitation and corruption; it embraces even the society of the United States, from which his Republican ideals took much of their political inspiration:

O povo infante
O coração ao estupro abre ignorante
Qual ás leis dos Christãos as mais formosas.
Mas, o egoísmo, a indiferença, estendem
As éras do gentio; e dos passados
Perdendo a origem chara este coitados,
Restos de um mundo, os dias tristes rendem.³⁵

Raiou Colombia! anoiteceu Americas,
Quando lhe foste a maldição primeira!
"Quando o primeiro Indio á escravidão
Viu-se por tuas proprias mãos vendido
E foi, desde esse instante denegrado,
No mundo novo a morte e a confusão!" (op.cit., p.61)

As the poet's hopes of rediscovering his lost Eden are progressively disillusioned by the urban societies he encounters, the spirit of the Indian gradually recedes into an inaccessible location:

Além da Serra,
E nos seios azues da natureza,
Nas chammas dos volcões, do Sul nos grandes
Mares, ao occidente, além dos Andes,
Que irá na glória descansar o Guesa! (op.cit., p.208)

35. Joaquim de Sousândrade, *O Guesa* (São Luís: SIOGE, 1979), p.21.

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Sousândrade's Republican ideal is thus preserved from the pessimism of his experience of the world, guaranteeing its mythical intactness in the heights of Gonçalves Dias' Andes, "Onde os fortes revivem". The poem revives the classic Indianist theme of exile in a new rejection of the dominant morality and political order of its day; it is a final, ambitious attempt to resuscitate the Romantic, Rousseauian belief in a natural model of human morality and social organisation, and to combine this with a satirical critique of the capitalist economies of the New World. Anachronistic in two senses, then, in its stylistic Modernism and its mythical Romanticism, O Guesa is an unwieldy hybrid, both too early and too late for the anti-heroic Naturalism and social Realism that were signalled by O índio Afonso and "Elixir do Pagé".

CHAPTER 7. THE FIRST REPUBLIC: CABOCLOS AND PRIMITIVES

7.1 Introduction

The period 1889-1922, that is to say, from the fall of Empire to Modernism, presents something of a problem to the student of Indianist writing in Brazil. The first three decades of the Republic offer no clearly definable, coherent movement or current of literary writing on the subject that is comparable to those of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the years following the Semana de Arte Moderna. As a reflection of this, the present chapter, more than any other, is concerned predominantly with material of a journalistic and theoretical nature i.e. the stuff of intellectual history, rather than with fiction or poetry as such.

That said, the absence of an identifiable body of Indianist "literature" during the First Republic does not mean that the future of the Indian in Brazilian society was not being keenly debated, nor that, in this as in other respects, the state of writing and ideas at the turn of the century had reached a "Dark Age" or cultural hiatus before the Modernist "Renaissance". Nicolau Sevcenko (to whose study of the period¹ this chapter is indebted) has gathered a wealth of painstakingly researched material to overturn this traditional view and to show that, on the contrary, the vibrant if inchoate state of intellectual activity during the First Republic in fact reflects a crucial moment of ideological debate and alignment brought on by profound economic changes.

1. Nicolau Sevcenko, Literatura como missão: tensões sociais e criação cultural na Primeira República (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1983).

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The last chapter examined some of the consequences of those changes as they helped define the character of Romantic Indianism in its final stages: Abolitionism; the labour crisis and the pressure to colonise the rural interior; immigration and changing perceptions of Brazil's racial identity; Realism, regionalism and interest in the *mestiço* peasant or *caboclo*; the shift of capital to industry and the rise of an urban bourgeoisie with its eyes fixed on the civilisation of Europe. As Sevcenko has shown, during the years following the turn of the century the new social and cultural divisions which these factors signalled became sharpened; the old world of the near-feudal plantation economy and the new world of industrial capitalism polarised values along a number of different axes - interior/coast, conservative/progressive, nationalist/cosmopolitan, religious/scientific, popular/elitist, primitive/civilised.

Nowhere are those conflicting values more clearly focussed than in the debate on Indian policy which led to the founding of Brazil's first official indigenist agency, the Serviço de Proteção ao Índio, in 1910. Precipitated by increasing reports of violent conflicts between tribal groups and immigrant settlers, particularly the German colonies in the south of the country, the debate had as its two main protagonists the scientist Von Ihering, the ideological heir to Varnhagen, whose role in an earlier debate has already been examined, and the legendary Marshall Rondon. Rondon led that group of radical Positivists for whom the incorporation of Brazil's undeveloped hinterland into the modern, technological economy of the Republic was not incompatible with, but actually inseparable from their optimistic and humanitarian project of

peacefully contacting and "civilising" the tribal communities of the country.

Rondon was also supported in this view by a sector of civil society whose image of the Indian was essentially one inherited from the Romantic tradition of Gonçalves Dias and Alencar, as alien to the reality of the detribalised *caboclo* on the margin of national society, as it was to that of the isolated tribes which Rondon was to meet deep in the interior. Interestingly, these philanthropic neo-Indianists became known by the same title that was adopted by a separate, though related, literary movement - *caboclistismo*. While these *caboclistas* were ostensibly writing about a contemporary sociological phenomenon, the *mestiço* peasant, their picturesque rendering of the rural *caipira* dialect, their folkloric idealisation of peasant life and their telluric nationalism - all these elements clearly lead back to that same Romantic Indianist inheritance, as well as forward towards the reactionary, ultra-nationalist movements of Verdeamarelismo and Anta. As we shall see, the very ambiguity of the term *caboclo* ("peasant" in the centre and south of the country, but increasingly with the meaning "of Indian descent" as one enters the Amazon region) is indicative of the common function served by the Indian and peasant, the *caboclo*, within this deeply rooted tradition, a tradition that certainly did not die with Empire, but was just superficially transformed, adapted and so strengthened. What it represents is the determination of a predominantly *paulista* landowning class to defend its traditional economic, political and cultural hegemony against the rising power of the urban middle class and its more advanced intellectual élite.

Not surprisingly, then, the critics of *caboclistismo* came, not just from the German immigrant population with its tradition of racism, but

also from the more progressive sectors of the new intelligentsia of the cities on or near the coast. Two major writers, Monteiro Lobato and Lima Barreto, although certainly not open adversaries of a more humane indigenist policy, were nevertheless highly critical of what they saw as the disproportionate attention being devoted to the Indian issue nationally. For Lobato, who otherwise admired Rondon, the exotic search for the "authentic", intact Indian of the tourist postcard distracted from the appalling reality which the country's large peasant population presented. In his satirical portrait of Jéca Tatú, he challenged the traditionally complacent, celebratory image of the *caboclo*, offering instead a caricature of passivity, conservatism and underdevelopment, a symbol of all that was obstructing the social and economic progress of his country.

For the mulatto Lima Barreto, Rondon and the *caboclistas* represented something more: their pursuit of an unreal, aristocratic tribal chief as the foundation of Brazilian nationality was only one dimension of the Positivist élitism of the First Republic, with its hypocritical racism and brutal suppression of popular culture and aspirations. The chief spokesman of this bourgeois élite, which could nostalgically mourn the death of an Indian warrior, yet shudder with "civilised" horror and disgust at the sight of a real *caboclo* begging on the streets of Rio de Janeiro, was Olavo Bilac. Bilac's poetry records both these attitudes, with its odes in the classic Indianist tradition of Gonçalves Dias, and its nightmarish images of primitive barbarian hordes waiting menacingly on the threshold of civilisation.

It is a further example of a process which underlies all that I have been describing: the increasing gulf between a problematic, because

real, representative of primitive culture - the *caboclo* - and the ever more elusive "pure" tribal Indian. As at the beginning of the Romantic Indianist movement, the latter recedes into a distant background of abstraction. Inglês de Souza's O Missionário (1888) and Alberto Rangel's Inferno Verde, the nearest examples we have to Realist fiction approaching the Indianist theme, illustrate this difficulty. In Inglês de Souza's novel the Indians remain out of sight, beyond the cultural or theological reach of the white missionary, whose only contact is with the *caboclos* of the region. Similarly, the short story "A Decana dos Muras" from Inferno Verde is the portrait of a decrepit remnant of a tribe long since destroyed by its contact with white society:

Era uma mulher da côr de barro cru, enorme adiposa, envolvendo a nudez asqueroza, d'evidencias repugnantes, no curto trapo, que lhe cahia no ventre monstruoso, à maneira de saia, das cadeiras até aos joelhos. Quase não lhe viam os olhos de embaciados, na face terrosa (...).

(...) A mulher era um vegetal apenas. Vivía bronca, pesada e inerte. (...) Teria amado, disporia de um coração ancioso, sonharia... Agora abjecto detrito de uma raça aviltada, a sua vida era mais simples. Nem complicações sentimentaes, nem vertigens de pensamentos. No corpo oleoso e medonho, o coração limitava-se a ser uma caixa de valvulas avariadas e o cerebro, o alojamento indispensavel de uma vaga consciencia.²

Such a description recalls similar accounts by Spix and Martius a century earlier; as I showed in Chapter 4, the impression of virtual genocide which they and others documented, by thrusting the tribal Indian into a distant pre-history, effectively freed writers to exploit his and her mythical, symbolic possibilities. In a similar way, Rondon's legendary exploits amongst isolated tribal groups, and the exotic, idealised images of the *caboclistas* helped prepare the ground for a somewhat abstract debate around the question of primitivism within the Modernist movement.

2. Alberto Rangel, Inferno Verde (scenas e scenarios do Amazonas), 4^a ed. (Arrault & Cia., Tours, 1927), pp.126 & 129-30.

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The creation of the SPI in 1910 had resolved, for the moment, the practical question of those 100,000 or so surviving Indians who faced a renewed onslaught on their territorial and cultural rights, and now allowed intellectuals once again to explore the ideological potential, whether revolutionary or reactionary, of the Indianist theme.

Indeed, this very return to abstraction, the failure to address the real sociological implications of the Positivists' new integration policy for the Indians, is both the weakness of Oswald de Andrade's revolutionary, primitivist theory of Brazilian culture, Antropofagia, and the secret of its utopian strength and appeal. Mário de Andrade's tragic rhapsody, *Macunaíma*, although equally concerned with broad cultural questions and narrated at a mythical level of its own, nevertheless offers a sceptical critique of Oswald's dialectical optimism, based on Brazil's historical experience of betrayal and cultural alienation. At the same time, however, this context of abstraction also encourages the emergence of more sinister, irrational ideologies departing from historically distorted accounts of the relationship between the tribal communities and white society. Such is the case of the false, obscurantist neo-Indianism of Verdeamarelismo and Anta; reconstituting Alencar's Romantic myth of *mestiçagem*, the *verdeamarelistas* defend the idea that Conquest was a conciliatory process of biological, cultural and psychological assimilation. The Indian, now absorbed into the Brazilian psyche, is to serve as the basis for a mystical national conscience which will "transcend" i.e. deny the very real divisions of class and culture which Oswald and Mário had defined so clearly.

7.2 Rondon, the Positivists and the founding of the SPI

In the last chapter I suggested that Couto de Magalhães' proposals for a new indigenist policy of pacification and integration, based on the mediation of the missionary, the interpreter and the military outpost, in many ways anticipated the ideas and methods adopted by the founders of Brazil's first official Indian agency, the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. However, such views by no means went unchallenged. Writing in 1887, the critic José Veríssimo advanced the opinion that, even accepting the dogma of human perfectibility, the centuries-old "barbarism" of the Indians was such that only "o amor" i.e. miscegenation could bring them into the Brazilian "community":

Esmagal-as sob a pressão enorme de uma grande imigração, de uma raça vigorosa que nessa luta pela existencia de que falla Darwin as aniquile assimilando-as, parece-nos a unica cousa capaz de ser util a esta provincia.³

The province to which Veríssimo was referring is Amazonas, but it was the events in a quite different region of the country, the provinces of São Paulo, Santa Catarina and Paraná, which actually brought the indigenist debate to a head during the First Republic.

The 1891 Republican Constitution, by creating a federation of states with relative autonomy, removed much of the control over such questions as immigrant settlement from the hands of the central government in Rio. Concerned also about possible international violations of its western frontiers, the government responded by launching a programme of transport and communications development in an effort to incorporate the more distant areas into the modern economic

3. José Veríssimo, "As populações indígenas e mestiças da Amazonia: sua linguagem, suas crenças e seus costumes", Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, tomo L, 1ª parte, 1887, p.389.

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infrastructure of the Republic. Government and private capital collaborated in the construction of a rail and telegraphic network across the interior of the country. The spectacular rise in the price of rubber due to external demand during the same period brought thousands of *flagelados* from the droughts of the North-east to work as rubber-tappers in the Amazonian forests of the North-west. Cattle-raisers from Rio Grande do Sul began to take over the plateau of the central states of Mato Grosso and Goiás, coffee production (now recovering from the crisis which followed Abolition) was sweeping westwards across São Paulo armed with a new workforce of immigrant Italians, and German, Italian, Polish and Russian smallholders were settling on the frontier lands of Santa Catarina and Paraná.

Thus across the entire country, tribal lands were once again being invaded and expropriated ruthlessly and systematically, their inhabitants exploited and massacred on such a scale as to reduce their numbers to 100,000 by the turn of the century. Those who resisted faced the activities of the *bugreiros*, professional Indian-hunters employed by big real-estate companies to clear areas illegally expropriated by the *grileiros*, or hired by groups of settlers to avenge attacks on their communities. The *bugreiros'* methods included poisoning water supplies and leaving clothes contaminated with smallpox at the edge of tribal villages. Because, unlike the coffee *fazendeiros* further north, the immigrant farmers of Paraná and Santa Catarina did not completely destroy the forests where they settled, they remained vulnerable to attack by tribal groups determined to cling to their land and livelihood. Consequently, the conflicts between Indians and non-tribals, reports of which reached the

newspapers of Rio and São Paulo in increasing numbers up to 1908, were most bitter and intense in this region.⁴

Such incidents had occurred earlier in the nineteenth century, but they became more widespread from the 1880s, especially around the colonies of Blumenau and Florianópolis, which formed their own "Indian Defence Leagues". There are even traces of a literature born out of this precarious and violent frontier environment, recording the colonists' fears, their perceptions of the Indians and, just as interesting, of the *bugreiros*. Indeed, although its origins certainly predate even the nineteenth century, the use of the pejorative *bugre* appears to become particularly prevalent during this period of contact between immigrant settlers and the tribal communities. The local German-language newspapers, such as Kolonie Zeitung and Jornal der Urwaldbote, played an important role in sensationalising Indian attacks and fostering distorted, xenophobic images of the Indian.⁵

By comparison, another example of writing from the same location and period is sober and restrained in its account of the violent encounters between the two communities. The protagonist of Mons. Matias José Gansweidt's As Vítimas do Bugre (1928) is, ironically, not an Indian tribesman, but a detribalised *bugre* feared as notoriously for his Indian-hunting activities and duplicity as was the real-life *bugreiro* Martinho Marcelino de Jesus.⁶ Translated from the original German and published in

4. David Hall Stauffer, "Origem e fundação do Serviço de Proteção aos índios", Revista de História no.42 (1960), pp.454 & 451 (translation of "The Origin and Establishment of Brazil's Indian Service - 1889-1910", Doctoral Thesis, mimeo., Austin, Texas, 1955); see also Darcy Ribeiro, Os índios e a Civilização..., op.cit., pp.21-148.

5. Sílvio Coelho dos Santos, Índios e brancos no sul do Brasil - A dramática experiência dos Xokleng (Florianópolis: EDEME, 1973), pp.110.

6. A. Schmid, "Indianer und Kolonisten. Aus der Geschichte der deutschen Urwaldsiedlungen Südbraßiliens", StadenJahrbuch 5, 1957, pp.250-54.

Porto Alegre in 1946,⁷ the book returns to the latter part of the nineteenth century and to the actual case of an abduction of a German mother and her two children by the Kaingang Indians of Rio Grande do Sul.

During the course of her experience as a prisoner amongst the Indians, Valfrida is led to draw a moral distinction between her captors and the man who in fact arranged their abduction, Luís Bugre. As a devout Christian, Valfrida recognises that the Indians, for all their brutality, are capable of compassion, in contrast to the heartless Luís Bugre, who laughs at the suffering of animals and humans alike:

Sente Valfrida profundo desdém pelo monstro em forma humana, aí em sua frente, na verdade pior que os próprios selvagens (op.cit., p.114).

Her son Jacó, too, develops a certain loyalty to the Indians, understanding, as the book's opening pages explain, that their hostility is not innate, but is a product of their abuse at the hands of the white community:

Pensa nos bugres que o raptaram, contudo sempre se mostraram humanos para êle. Está convencido de que os selvagens não devoram homens nem atormentam alguém tão só pelo prazer de atormentar. Por certo que monstro humano da diabólica catadura de Luís Bugre a terra não produz segundo (op.cit., p.232).

Valfrida's eventual "martyrdom", although executed by the Indians, is for Jacó the responsibility of Luís Bugre:

Luís Bugre e sempre Luís Bugre! Onde lhes sucede uma desgraça, aí se oculta Luís Bugre e cada vez que se mostra, traz consigo o pranto e a ruína (op.cit., p.275)

7. Mons. Matias José Gansweidt, As Vítimas do Bugre (Porto Alegre: Selbach, 1946), trad. from Luis Buger und die Opfer seiner Rache (my thanks to Carlos Moreira de Araújo Neto for kindly allowing me to consult his copy of this edition); see also Abeillard Barreto, Bibliografia Sul-Riograndense (A contribuição portuguesa para o conhecimento e a integração do Rio Grande do Sul) 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Conselho Federal de Cultura, 1973), vol.I, p.561.

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In spite of the evidence of Luís Bugre's origins, himself captured by white settlers as a child and subsequently the butt of racist jibes, it is difficult to resist the conclusion which the book's events prompt - that Luís Bugre is to be taken as the scapegoat for conflicts which are in reality an inevitable consequence of colonialist invasions of tribal lands. In any case, the reporting of such events in the press of the big cities to the North did not permit such analytical niceties; as Stauffer indicates (*op.cit.*, no.37, p.95), the horror of Indian attacks and white reprisals was largely accepted as a necessary evil of economic progress and territorial expansion.

However, this did not prevent an ethnologist at the XVI International Congress of Americanists at Vienna, in 1908, from addressing the critical situation of Brazil's indigenous population in one of the earliest examples in this century of political commitment on the part of professional academics in support of their "subjects". Albert Fric, a Czechoslovakian student of tribal issues in the south of Brazil, made a dramatic denunciation of the slavery, land expropriation and what he saw as the deliberate extermination of the Indian peoples, not just of the Amazon region, but also the southern states of the country. Fric's accusations provoked protests from the German contingent of the Vienna conference but also, more important, from the German community in Brazil, which saw itself as the target of an unjustly defamatory and xenophobic attack.

Hermann von Ihering, the head of the Museu Paulista and one of the most eminent members of a scientific community dominated by Germans, took the opportunity to demand official government protection for his fellow German settlers in the frontier lands of the southern states. More

polemical than this, though, was the republication in Portuguese of a paper which he had written in 1906, and which led to his virtual expulsion from the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro. One paragraph in particular was responsible for igniting the debate, adding a new element of nationalist sentiment to the old argument of civilisation v barbarism:

Os actuaes indios do Estado de S. Paulo não representam um elemento de trabalho e de progresso. Como tambem nos outros Estados do Brazil, não se póde esperar trabalho sério e continuado dos indios civilizados e como os Caingangs selvagens são um impécilio para a colonização das regiões do sertão que habitam, parece que não ha outro meio, de que se possa lançar mão, senão o seu exterminio.⁸

Although, as Stauffer emphasises (no.44, pp.432-42), von Ihering subsequently qualified these remarks which, he claimed, were not a prescription for a policy of extermination, but rather the description of an inevitable historical process, it is impossible to defend what is his essential denial of the Indians' preeminent right to their physical, cultural and territorial integrity.

More interestingly, though, von Ihering did identify quite accurately that combination of Romanticism and nationalism which underlay much of the outrage of those who defended the Indians, and which led them to appeal to the patriotic tradition of Anchieta, Nóbrega, José Bonifácio and Couto de Magalhães:

A predilecção sentimental do brasileiro em favor dos indios é um escolho immenso a transpôr. A indole generosa do povo apaixonou-se pela sorte dos donos primitivos da terra de Santa Cruz. Do mesmo modo por que jurados falsamente humanitarios absolvem ao assassino, visto como a punição do criminoso não conseguiria reanimar a victima, o coração do brasileiro inclina-se a perdoar aos miseros selvicolas, inconscientes da gravidade dos delictos. A misericórdia mal entendida impede assim a punição dos

8. H. von Ihering, "A anthropologia do Estado de São Paulo", Revista do Museu Paulista vol.VII (1907), p.215.

culpados, e os assaltos continuam impiedosamente nas estradas de ferro e nas picadas, e a matança sem peios dos pioneiros da civilização, dos colonos e dos sertanejos.

A marcha ascendente da nossa cultura está em perigo; é preciso pôr cobro a esta anormalidade que a ameaça.

Protejam-se os índios pacíficos, mas garantem-se ao mesmo tempo aos colonos a vida e a propriedade contra assaltos de índios bravios.⁹

Von Ihering might have added that the Positivist leaders of the Republican government did not show the same restraint in their repression of the "primitive" rebels of the Canudos war, just ten years earlier. Indeed, only the peculiar coincidence of that modern scientific philosophy of civilisation, Positivism, with the older, indigenous tradition of Indianism, can explain the emergence, in the 1920s, of two such radically divergent theories of nationalism and culture, both of which took the Indian as their symbol.

The official publications of the movement in Brazil during this period provide the historian with the theoretical position of the Positivists on the Indian question. On the one hand, there is the recognition of the tribal communities as "povos livres", independent nations even, which deserve the protection of the Republic "graças ao predomínio da fraternidade, independente de quaesquer outras considerações".¹⁰ On the other hand, there is the unshakeable faith in the capacity of all peoples to participate in the process of civilisation, a process whose universality is the key to the Positivist notion of a fraternity of nations:

9. Hermann von Ihering, "A questão dos Índios no Brasil", Revista do Museu Paulista vol.VIII (1911), p.113.

10. "Attitude dos positivistas para com os catholicos e demais contemporaneos", Publicações do Apostolado Positivista do Brazil no.341 (1912), p.32.

(...) O que nos prescreve o dever de *oferecer-lhes* sinceramente os benefícios da nossa civilização, - sem nada impor-lhes, - deixando que eles *livremente* aceitem o que lhes for convindo, tal qual como procederíamos para com a *mais forte* das nações nossas amigas.

Lembrando-nos que os nossos avós, em gerações suficientemente remotas, atravessarão o estado da civilização primitiva em que os selvagens ainda se áchão; lembrando-nos que, mesmo hoje, os povos e os governos que mais se ufânão de sua cultura, ainda se comprázem em todas as fúteis ostentações da vaidade militar; sentimos desvanecêrem-se, por encanto, os cruéis e irracionais preconceitos que nos impêdem de simpatizar com as tribus selvagens, e de compreender a comovente primeira infância da Humanidade, cujo tipo élas nos oferecem.''

But more expressive of the practical implications of these principles for the Indians, and of the basic contradiction underlying the Positivists' humanitarian "fraternalism", is the statement that "a civilização dos selvagens só póde consistir em elevá-los do *Fetichismo* em que se áchão ao *Pozitivismo*, isto é, ao regimen pacífico científico industrial".¹² Apart from its emphasis on universal fraternity, on the promotion of a peaceful relationship between the two peoples and the necessity of allowing the Indians freely to accept the civilisation being offered them, the Positivist policy differed little in its underlying aims from the proposals of von Ihering. In both cases the ultimate occupation of tribal lands by farming colonies and by modern communications networks, and the eventual assimilation of the indigenous communities into the national society were assumed.

No-one was more committed to that tragic, contradictory mission of "pacification" and "civilisation", than the now almost mythical Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon. As early as 1900, Rondon defined the task of his nation's government as follows:

11. "A proteção republicana aos indígenas brasileiros e a catequêze católica dos mesmos indígenas", Publicações do Apostolado Positivista do Brazil no.349 (1913), p.14.

12. "Ainda os Indígenas do Brazil e a Política Moderna", Publicações do Apostolado Positivista do Brazil no.253 (1908), p.7.

THE FIRST REPUBLIC

Si a República é a incorporação do proletariado à sociedade moderna, a missão especial do Governo Brasileiro deve residir na incorporação dos selvagens á nossa sociedade.

O Brasil não terá satisfeito a sua missão politica, enquanto não realizar essa incorporação.¹³

Rondon was born in Mimoso, Mato Grosso, in 1865, a descendant of Terena and Bororo Indians on his mother's side and of Guaná Indians on his father's side. After entering the Positivist Escola Militar da Praia Vermelha in Rio, and obtaining various academic distinctions in the sciences, he was appointed in 1889 to serve in the Commission for the Construction of a Telegraph Line from Cuiabá, in Mato Grosso, to the river Araguaia. Taking up an official policy of non-aggression, Rondon succeeded in establishing peaceful relations with the feared Bororo of the region, and thereafter became responsible for the most ambitious programme of telegraph construction, scientific research and tribal pacification in the country's history. The Comissão de Linhas Telegráficas e Estratégicas de Mato Grosso ao Amazonas, later known as the Comissão Rondon, took the Marshal, as he subsequently became, to the remotest points of the interior. Here, as in the states of Bahia, Espírito Santo, Santa Catarina and Acre, his methods of patient persuasion, sensitivity and his maxim "Morrer se preciso for, matar nunca" succeeded in bringing to an end the centuries of violent conflict between the non-Indian rural population and many tribal communities, such as the Nambiquara, Pataxó, Krenaque, Jauaperi, Xocréns, Botocudos, Xavantes and Kaingang.¹⁴

In the meantime, the controversy and debate surrounding the opinions voiced by von Ihering had extended to the Museu Nacional of Rio,

13. Letter to D. Leolinda Daltro (16/8/1900), Leolinda Daltro, Da Cathechese dos índios no Brasil (1896-1911) (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. da Escola Orsina da Fonseca, 1920), p.322.

14. Darcy Ribeiro, Os índios e a Civilização..., op.cit., pp.111-17 and O Indigenista Rondon (Rio de Janeiro: Min. da Educação e Cultura, 1958).

the Centro de Ciências, Letras e Artes of Campinas, the Sociedade Nacional de Agricultura and to the major newspapers of São Paulo and Rio. But perhaps the most interesting of the contributions to the discussion was that of the philanthropic Associação de Proteção e Auxílio aos Selvícolas do Brasil and its extraordinary founder, D. Leolinda de Figueiredo Daltro. In 1896, Leolinda Daltro, then a young teacher with feminist inclinations, left Rio with her son to spend five years amongst seventeen tribes of the Araguaia and Tocantins valleys, in the states of Goiás and Mato Grosso. Claiming descendance from Timbira and Tupinambá Indians, she was inspired by Couto de Magalhães' faith in the Indians' potential for integration, and was more militant than the Positivists in her belief that they both merited and desired the benefits of Western civilisation:

Em nossa situação de raça conquistadora, nós que tomamos o sólo a esses infelizes e que os vamos, dia a dia, apertando mais para os sertões, temos o dever de arrancal-os da barbaria em que vivem, para trazel-os á communhão do trabalho e da sociedade em que vivemos.¹⁵

Accordingly, Mamãe or Oassy-Zauré, as she became known amongst the Indians, devoted herself to their education and protection, and in 1909 helped found the Associação de Proteção e Auxílio aos Selvícolas do Brasil. In her own account of these activities, she recalls how she denounced the actions of two "foreigners in the pay of the police" who had exploited a number of Indians by exhibiting them like rare zoological specimens in public squares, cafés, restaurants and theatres, making them beg and pocketing the money provided for their maintenance. D. Leolinda intervened at the expense of a public scandal, sheltering them in her own home, which was surrounded by the police, and subsequently losing her

15. Leolinda Daltro, Da catechese dos indios no Brasil (1896-1911) (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. da Escola Orsina da Fonseca, 1920), p.554.

teaching post for lodging some of the Indians in her school. By the time of the von Ihering controversy, she was a well-known figure in the city, almost always to be found in the company of five or six tribal Indians, whom she taught to read and write, and for whom she found employment as carpenters or mechanics.

In December 1908 she addressed her own protest to von Ihering on behalf of the Associação, attacking the scientist's alien nationality and appealing to her own direct experience of the Indians' inherent human worth, their capacity for civilisation and their relative innocence in the question of violence between the two communities. In addition, she forwarded a second protest prepared and signed by five Indians, the eloquence and warmth of which was apparently a considerable blow to von Ihering. In a motion presented to the 1st Brazilian Congress of Geography she set out the concrete recommendations of her Association for the delimitation of tribal lands, the education of the Indians by lay teachers and their integration into civilised society. Enthusiastically supported on the one hand in the press, by the academics of the Museu Nacional and praised by Rondon, she became on the other hand an object of ridicule and satire, as we shall see. Nevertheless, she mobilised a significant sector of Brazilian bourgeois society whose sense of philanthropic responsibility and Romantic *nativista* nationalism coincided with the more radical, scientific aims of the Positivists.¹⁶

The accumulative result of this movement in favour of the Indians was the official government intervention which had been called for by all parties to the debate, and the establishment in 1910 of the Serviço de

16. Daltro, op.cit., pp.XVII-XXI & 538-59, and Stauffer, op.cit., no.46, pp.421-24.

Proteção aos índios e Localização de Trabalhadores, with Rondon as its Director. In defining the guiding principles of the new body, Rondon had drawn attention to the proposals made by Couto de Magalhães the previous century in O Selvagem, and to José Bonifácio's "Apontamentos para a civilização dos índios Bárbaros do Reino do Brasil", the liberal programme of integration which Parliament failed to adopt in 1823.

For the first time the notion of cultural relativism was enshrined in Brazilian law; the disastrous policy of *aldeamento* implemented by the religious missions over four centuries, with its destruction of the tribal family structure and cultural identity, was replaced by the principle of protection for the Indian in his or her own territory. The indigenous communities were now to be respected as peoples who had the right to be themselves, to profess their beliefs, to live in the way that they had inherited from their ancestors, changing only slowly and gradually. The Indians' collective and inalienable possession of the lands which they occupied was considered a basic condition for their development, to which might be added the means, example and incentives for them freely to improve their condition at the pace which they themselves chose.

Such was the progressive nature of this legislation that in 1956 it provided the inspiration and foundation for the 39th International Labour Conference's recommended guidelines on indigenous policy for those countries with tribal populations (Ribeiro, Os índios e a Civilização..., op.cit., pp.137-48). All the greater shame, then, that in the intervening forty-five years and since, those with the means to do so have failed to honour these principles and have continued to plunder tribal lands, not guaranteeing the territorial rights essential for the Indians' survival but, on the contrary, eroding those statutory rights so as to extinguish

their identity as independent peoples and assimilate them into the Brazilian nation. Only three years after its creation, and after all the pioneering groundwork by Rondon and his largely Positivist staff, the SPI budget was cut by two thirds due to the economic crisis which accompanied World War I. The agency never recovered, principally because its prestigious director fell into disgrace for his abstention from the 1930 Revolution which put Getúlio Vargas into power. Deprived of adequate resources and of the necessary Federal support to withstand the pressure of local interests, the SPI became increasingly infected with corruption and bureaucracy. In 1967 it was replaced by the Fundação Nacional do índio (FUNAI), an authoritarian creature of the military dictatorship, designed to facilitate the implementation of the regime's ambitious development programme for the Amazon region.

If, in its original conception, the SPI represented the most advanced indigenist policy of its time, it nevertheless suffered from a fundamental flaw, as its full title should suggest. Although later modified so as to deal exclusively with tribal issues, the Serviço de Proteção aos índios e Localização de Trabalhadores Nacionais, as a department of the Ministry of Agriculture, was statutorily and essentially an instrument of the Republican government's programme of rural settlement and integration. Beginning with attraction posts for isolated, uncontacted tribal groups, it was to move on to settlements for Indians who had acquired more sedentary habits, and finally to agricultural centres where, now familiar with the farming methods of non-Indian rural society, they would be settled together with *sertanejos* to work a plot of land.

One of the achievements of von Ihering's arguments on the indigenous question was his substitution of the word *sertanejo* for that of "immigrant settler", thus changing the terms of the social conflict around which the debate revolved. Bypassing the nationalist antagonisms raised by the Romantic neo-Indianists, von Ihering replaced the dilemma of Brazilian Indian v German immigrant with the more problematic Indian v peasant. As he put it in his article "Exterminio dos índios ou dos sertanejos?":

Existindo entre êstes e os pioneiros da cultura moderna do Brasil uma luta encarniçada, pode-se, com o Museu Nacional, tomar o partido dos indígenas, sacrificando os sertanejos e colonos, ou exigir conosco a defesa dêsses últimos, aprovando assim o extermínio dos selvagens.¹⁷

Presented in these terms, von Ihering's case for a less "indulgent" attitude towards those tribes resisting the frontier expansion of the immigrant settlements and for effective protective measures for the peasant population, certainly had its appeal for otherwise progressive, liberal intellectuals such as Monteiro Lobato, as we shall see in a later section.

The dual responsibility of the SPI towards both Indian and peasant was clearly an attempt to respond to and resolve this conflict of interests. But it also had more dangerous implications for the survival of the tribal communities, implications which are exposed whenever the Indian "identity" of those groups with a history of contact with the regional population is called into question. And it frequently was when the federal authority of the SPI clashed with the local jurisdiction of individual states over titles to lands where the agency proposed to set

17. Hermann von Ihering, "Exterminio dos indígenas ou dos sertanejos?", Jornal do Comércio, 15/12/1908, p.2, cited in Stauffer, op.cit., no.46, p.427.

up its *postos indígenas*. For example, in a speech to the Legislative Congress of the State of Paraná, in March 1922, the Federal Deputy Arthur Martins Franco challenged the special status of "incapacidade" attributed to the Indians by the Regulamento of 1910. He appealed to the age-old rights of land occupation "cuja vetustez é confirmada pelos troncos nodosos das velhas arvores fructíferas que circundam a choupana humilde do obscuro sertanejo e que allí estão plantadas como sentinellas vivas, innegaveis e insuspeito testemunho do direito de propriedade".¹⁸

While its immediate priority was the demarcation of Indian lands and the defence of their cultural integrality, the SPI, as we have seen, ultimately envisaged the progressive incorporation of the tribal communities into the agricultural economy of the rural interior, where they would become indistinguishable from the *mestiço* peasant populations. By so doing, the agency was actively promoting the extinction of those communities and their independent identity, and was therefore lending credibility to the objections raised by intellectuals such as Monteiro Lobato and Lima Barreto, or by politicians such as Martins Franco:

Pois bem. Perguntarei agora: será justo, será razoavel, será curial que individuos nascidos e creados em continuo tracto com os nacionaes, fallando o portuguez, conhecedores do valor da nossa moeda, habeis trabalhadores nos misteres da agricultura rudimentar dos nosso sertões, vivendo assimilados aos nossos costumes e alguns delles sabendo ler e escrever, estejam sujeitos á tutela do Estado, como incapazes, classificados na cathegoria de menores e irresponsaveis?

Evidentemente não! (op.cit., p.25)

Then as now, the attempt to deny the Indian that identity, the notion that "all Brazilians are *caboclos*", served the purposes of those

18. Arthur Martins Franco, "Discurso pronunciado na sessão de 14 de março de 1922", Em defeza do Indio e do Sertanejo contra "O Serviço de Protecção aos indios e localisação de trabalhadores nacionais" no Estado do Paraná (Curityba: O Estado do Paraná, 1925), p.16.

for whom the indigenous peoples and their land were a wasted resource, a challenge to the territorial, economic and political integrity of the Brazilian nation. But at the same time, as we saw in the last chapter, this rejection of the mythical, Romantic tribal warrior in a state of ideal cultural intactness also reflects a genuine shift of concern towards the social reality of the rural interior and its problems as they became increasingly forced to compete for the attentions of the new dominant class of industrial capitalists. As the following pages will demonstrate, the ideological conflicts which were brought to the surface by the debate on indigenist policy were equally evident and alive elsewhere in the cultural arena during the same period.

7.3 Caboclisto and its critics

The more recent and authoritative dictionaries of Brazilian usage agree on the range of meanings attributable to the word *caboclo* - "índio; mestiço de branco com índia; homem do sertão, de hábitos rudes e de pele queimada pelo sol"¹⁹ - even if they are not unanimous as far as its etymology is concerned (Tupi *kari'boka* "procedente do branco" (Novo Aurélio), "casa do branco" (da Cunha, Dicionário histórico...).²⁰ I referred to an early use of the term in the text of Pombal's Laws of Liberty (see p.76). Its pejorative connotation during this period appears to derive from the context of the seventeenth-century North-east wars, in which the Dutch enlisted the services of semi-acculturated Indians against the Portuguese. Only from the mid-nineteenth century did it acquire the sense

19. Antônio Geraldo da Cunha, Dicionário histórico das palavras portuguesas de origem tupi (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1978), p.80.

20. Aurélio Buarque de Holanda Ferreira, Novo dicionário da língua portuguesa 1ª ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, n/d), p.242 and Geraldo da Cunha, *ibid.*

of "peasant, backwoodsman". An earlier reference work is rather more forthcoming about the geographical specificity of the word, and gives some explanation of its peculiar ambiguity:

Em certas partes da Amazônia chamam cabôclo só o índio já ligado definitivamente à nossa civilização; em outras regiões do norte brasileiro ou de influência nortista como, por exemplo, na Araguaia, incluem nessa denominação também o índio independente.

Nos Estados de São Paulo, Minas Gerais e Rio de Janeiro, o termo é aplicado ao sertanejo, brasileiro por várias gerações e ainda não assimilado ao estado de civilização importada nas cidades, por exemplo, ao chamado caipira e ao cabra do nordeste.²¹

This semantic ambiguity reflects the process which was at least in part responsible for the transformation of Romantic Indianism into the movements of Regionalism, *sertanismo* and *caboclisto* - the emergence of a new social type as the champion of the traditional rural values of the *fazenda* economy and of its ruling class, the big landowners. Alencar's *mestiço* Brazilian, a symbol of racial and political conciliation, signified the first important step towards redefining the "national" type. Bernardo Guimarães, with his *caboclo* Afonso, brought this *mestiço* figure into the real, modern world of contemporary rural Brazil. With the fall of Empire, these developments to which the transformation of the classic Indianist tradition had given rise, diversified to an extent which can only be explained if we recognise the political tension which existed under the First Republic, between the Federal and State governments, between the centralist aims of the Positivists, representing the new interests of industrial capital, and the regionalist aspirations of those landowners determined to cling to their economic power.

As we saw in Chapter 4, the regionalist claims of the radical Liberals during the Regency were effectively frustrated, both by the

21. Herbert Baldus and Emílio Willems, Dicionário de Etnologia e sociologia (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1939), p.36.

Liberal leaders who actually came to power, and by the severe military repression which preceded the Majority of Pedro II. This did not mean that there were not serious uprisings, some, like the Cabanagem, with a strong popular and racial element, which briefly appeared to threaten the political unity of Empire. Following the coffee boom years of Conciliation, the provincial influence on national affairs began to reassert itself. Until the 1870s the provincial congressmen had depended for their candidature and election on the patronage of the established political community in the capital. The arrival of Silveira Martins in the Chamber of Deputies, not via the recommendation of the Senate but through "a força do elemento popular" in Rio Grande do Sul, was therefore unprecedented. Alencar's electoral victory, second time around, owed much to his appearance in the province of Ceará, on the advice of Domingos Jaguaribe, to drum up support. Iracema was, significantly, dedicated to Jaguaribe. Thus there seemed to be hope of a real and effective opposition based on some kind of direct contact with the electorates of the individual provinces, and the Lei Saraiva (1881), providing direct elections to the Chamber, apparently confirmed this.²² Any claim that this constituted some form of popular representation is of course absurd, bearing in mind the intimidatory methods used by local *coronéis* to obtain votes, and the fact that a mere 1% of the population was in practice eligible to vote. Nevertheless, the prolonged struggles between state and federal power in the first decades of this century, of which the early history of the SPI is a minor example, point to a real movement of

22. Raymundo Faoro, Machado de Assis: a pirâmide e o trapézio (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1974), pp.103-47.

political and cultural consciousness, whose literary expression was regionalism and its related currents.

One of the first cases of a writer who rejected the Indianists' national perspective for a localist approach was Franklin Távora. Like Araripe Júnior, Távora himself began as an Indianist, with Os índios de Jaguaribe (1862), before attacking Alencar in Questões do Dia (1871-72). In the 1876 preface to his novel O Cabeleira, he proposed a division of Brazilian literature along geographical lines, and he called for the creation of a "Literatura do Norte". A more durable development, though, was the growing tendency to turn to the life of the rural interior, the *sertão*, as a source of literary material. Tristão de Athaide, in an invaluable account of the development of *sertanismo*, confirms the suggestion which I made in the last chapter: that this new literature was born out of the modernisation of Indianism, the re-discovery of an indigenous culture in the *mestiço* society of the *sertão*:

Dissipada a ilusão das selvas, mas sentindo sempre a necessidade de procurar uma originalidade local, voltaram-se para os campos, habitados por essa raça cruzada, já nacionalizada e integrada no corpo da nação: o mestiço sertanejo.²³

Athaide traces the spread of the movement from the extreme north, where Inglês de Souza wrote his satirical naturalistic novels, O Caucaulista (1876) and O Missionário (1888); it then passed to the North-east, where it gave rise to the characteristic "literatura das secas" e.g. José Leão Ferreira Santo's Aves de Arribação (1877), Araripe Júnior's O Retirante (1878) and José do Patrocínio's Os Retirantes (1879). Athaide considers that such works prepared the ground for Euclides da Cunha's Os Sertões (1902), establishing a mood in which the harsh reality exposed by the

23. Tristão de Athayde (Alceu Amoroso Lima), Afonso Arinos 2^a ed. (São Paulo: Lisa, 1981), p.102.

Canudos war might be more readily assimilated by the reading public.

In the central southern states, particularly Minas Gerais and São Paulo, *sertanismo* took a different form, related less to the geography or social problems of the interior, than to a specific ethnic type, the *caboclo*. As explained above, when used in this region of the country, the term *caboclo* has more or less lost its original indigenous associations; the texts of the period, such as Avelino Foscolo's O Mestiço, o Caboclo (1902), Paulo Setúbal's Alma Cabocla and Valdomiro Silveira's Os Caboclos (published in 1920), are therefore marginal to the concerns of this study, since the *mestiço* peasant which they portray is indistinguishable from the *matuto* or *caipira* whose dialect and domestic life Cornélio Pires depicted in the "picturesque" and somewhat patronising Scenas e Paizagens da minha terra (1920).

However, there are a few isolated examples where the racial and cultural inheritance of the Indian is acknowledged. By pointing to the continuing, if subliminal presence of the Indianist tradition within the currents of *sertanismo* and *caboclistismo*, these texts help to explain both the later appearance of a neo-Indianist movement and the satirical, critical view which Monteiro Lobato and Lima Barreto adopted towards the *caboclistas*.

The first of these examples is Cornélio Pires' poem "A Origem do caboclo". It is a fascinating indication of how the tribal inheritance had by this time come to have an extremely negative connotation. Asked to explain his origins, the *caboclo* indignantly disowns his indigenous ancestry, having been insulted by the suggestion that the Indians were descended from monkeys. His final reply is to sever his links with the past, both that of tribal mythology and colonial relations, and to defend his identity as a creature of the present, a *mestiço* Brazilian:

- O senhor por acaso não descende
dos bugres que moravam por aqui?
- Hom'eu num sei dizê, vancê comprende
que essa gente inté hoje nunca vi.

Mais porém o Bernardo dis-que intende
que os moradô antigo do Brasi
gerava de macaco!... Inté me offende
vê um véio cumo elle, ansim minti.

D'otra feita um cabocro - ahi um caiçara
dis-que nasceu de dois e inté de treis,
quano estralava um gommo de taquara!

Nois num temo parente portugueis,
nem mico, nem cuaty, nem capivára...
Semo fio de Deu cumo vanceis!²⁴

The historical origins of this sense of racial inferiority are confronted in an anonymous, apparently popular composition, "A Defesa do Caboclo", which Gustavo Barroso includes in the chapter "O Ciclo dos Caboclos" of his folkloric anthology Ao Som da Viola (1921).²⁵ Barroso was one of the chief intellectuals of the fascist Integralista movement, whose neo-Indianist theories of national culture will be the subject of the final chapter of this thesis. His remarks need to be treated with caution, then, but at the same time they shed some important light on the links between the theories of Verdeamarelismo and Anta, and the racial tradition which runs right through the Romantic and regionalist movements. Barroso rightly draws attention to the fact that *caboclisto* is essentially an erudite literature, a product of the colonial mentality of the Indians' oppressors and their descendants, and not the self-expression "dos próprios índios domesticados, que se encostavam às fazendas incipientes, nem daqueles que se agrupavam, sob a cruz jesuítica

24. Cornélio Pires, Scenas e Paizagens da minha terra (Musa caipira) (São Paulo: Revista do Brasil/Monteiro Lobato e Ca, 1921), p.32.

25. Gustavo Barroso, Ao Som da Viola (folclore) (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1949), p.340.

ou sob a espada dos Capitães-mores, nos aldeamentos oficiais que deram origem a muitas das vilas e cidades nordestinos" (op.cit., p.339). The pejorative associations of the word *caboclo* are the legacy of a history of Indian slaughter and exploitation, which has bequeathed to its survivors a reputation for stupidity, credulity and laziness, as well as of impudence and cunning. Amongst the traditional tales which Barroso recounts to illustrate this racist, colonialist stereotype, is the story of the *caboclo* servant on whom all the misfortunes of the household are blamed; when a child is born to his master's family, he hastens to examine it carefully in case he should be blamed for any deformity or imperfection it might have: "Nelas, é patente a zombaria contra a raça vencida, pois que apresentam sempre o descendente do índio sob o aspecto da indolência fatalista e da imobilidade deprimente" (op.cit., p.344). Barroso might have added that the accusation of fatalism and indolence also arises out of the Indian's resistance to the sedentary, routine labour of the plantation slave, his determination to cling to his semi-nomadic hunter-gatherer lifestyle and subsistence economy.

"A Defesa do Caboclo" protests against this tradition of prejudice, asserting the common humanity which the *caboclo* shares with those who would oppress him:

Eu tenho queixa dum homem,
Que provém dum bom parente,
Por dizer numa conversa
Que caboclo não é gente.

Caboclo também é gente,
Pos nasceu pela razão:
Todos são filhos dum pai,
O qual se chamava Adão.

Adão nunca foi cativo,
Nem também tomado em guerra,
Toda a vida o conheci
Por dono mesmo da terra.

Se existe outra geração,
Quero que me digam onde,
Pois de Adão foi que nasceram
O duque, o marquês e o conde..

Quem tiver a presunção
De ser limpo e verdadeiro
Peço que de hoje em diante
Não me pise no terreiro.

Deus me ajude a sustentar
O que me sai pela boca,
Para poder assinar:
Chaves Rodrigues Cabôco

(op.cit., p.340)

Interestingly, it is precisely the quality of indolence, denounced by Barroso as racial stereotyping, which another writer adopted, though for different reasons, as the most positive characteristic of the *mestiço* peasant. Paulo Menotti del Picchia, one of the three chief ideologues of the ultra right-wing nationalist movement of Verdeamarelismo, first made his name in 1917 with the poem Juca Mulato. "Juca Mulato cisma", the poem's refrain, expresses the spiritual and social immobility of the *caboclo*, whose dreams and fantasies can only come to nothing. Juca is momentarily infatuated with the *fazendeiro's* daughter, a mythical, inaccessible figure impossibly separated from him by social and cultural barriers. If this appears to anticipate a Romantic tragedy of frustrated love, Juca's response is by contrast determinedly un-Romantic; reminding him of his filial ties with the forest, the voices of nature persuade him to renounce his fantasy and resign himself to his condition ("Ser feliz! Ser feliz estava em mim, Senhora..."). The *caboclo's* "sonolência" comes to signify his sense of harmony with his land, the notion of telluric integration which the Verdeamarelistas took up a decade later in their efforts to forestall the emergent urban culture of the modern industrial world:

Juca olhou a floresta: os ramos, nos espaços,
pareciam querer apertá-lo entre os braços:
"Filho da mata, vem! não fomos nós, ó Juca,
o arco do teu bodoque, as grades da arapuca,
o varejão do barco e essa lenha sequinha
que de noite estalou no fogo da cozinha?"²⁶

Not surprisingly, it was exactly that same image of indolence and resignation which, for a more progressive writer, represented all that was reactionary and backward in the economy and society of contemporary

26. Menotti del Picchia, Poemas (São Paulo: Martins, 1965), pp.77-78.

Brazil. Monteiro Lobato's caustically satirical portrait of the *caboclo*, Jéca Tatú, was probably the single most controversial comment on the whole question of race, primitivism and development during the period up to Modernism. One of a long line of *paulista fazendeiros* from the region of Taubaté, Monteiro Lobato first trained as a lawyer and then briefly made an attempt to run the family farm, before selling up to move to the city of São Paulo. There he entered journalism and became a successful publisher and a writer of short stories and children's literature.

He had considered the *caboclo* as a possible literary subject as early as 1912, following his direct experience of rural society, but it was not until 1914 that he published the two articles which provoked such a wave of controversy. The first of these, published in O Estado de São Paulo, was entitled "Velha Praga" and was a brief attack on what he saw as "Este funesto parasita da terra", the *caboclo*, whom he held largely responsible for the ruinous state of Brazilian agriculture. The particular focus of his complaint is a practice central to the culture and economy of the forest Indian and of the *caboclo*, the use of the "slash and burn" technique to clear land for short-term cultivation. In addition the article attacked the semi-nomadic lifestyle of the *caboclo*, also a legacy of tribal culture, which enabled him to evade responsibility for this destruction of the land.

The most important of the two articles, though, was "Urupês" (not to be confused with the collection of short stories by the same name which it later prefaced), since it was there that the satirical figure of Jéca Tatú was born. "Urupês" (a town in São Paulo province and also, pointedly, the name of a parasitic mould) begins with a comically ironic confrontation between the literary, Romantic image of the Indian and the

contemporary reality of the *caboclo*. Alencar's *O Guarani*, the most popular novel of nineteenth-century Indianism is naturally a prime target:

Por felicidade nossa - e de D. Antônio de Mariz - não os viu Alencar [os índios]; sonhou-os qual Rousseau. Do contrário lá teríamos o filho de Araré a moquear a linda menina num bom braseiro de pau brasil, em vez de acompanhá-la em adoração pelas selvas, como o Ariel benfazejo do Paquequer.²⁷

But Monteiro Lobato's more acute observation is his realisation that the "new" current of *caboclistmo* is nothing more than Romantic Indianism by another name:

O indianismo está de novo a deitar copa, de nome mudado. Crismou-se de "caboclistmo". O cocar de penas de arára passou a chapéu de palha rebatido á testa; a ocára virou rancho de sapé; a tacape afilou, criou gatilho, deitou ouvido e é hoje espingarda troxada; o boré decaiu lamentavelmente para pio de inambú; a tanga ascendeu a camisa aberta ao peito (op.cit., p.278).

"Urupês" was intended as more than a mere attack on literary sentimentality and idealisation, though. In a letter to Godofredo Rangel, Lobato makes it clear that his aim was to denounce what he considered to be the corrosive influence of the tribal legacy on the modern rural economy: "Ou dou uma coisa que preste, que esborrache o indigena, ou não dou coisa nenhuma". What follows, therefore, is the transformation of the Romantic national type into the personification of rural apathy and backwardness. The derelict condition of the *caboclo*'s dwelling and of his farm is matched by the listless character of Jéca Tatú himself who, rather than act, prefers to sit squatting, "de cócoras", and to watch history pass him by. The portrait acquires a further, political dimension, expressing an entire national mood of indifference to the violent, repressive policies of the governments of the First Republic:

27. José Bento Monteiro Lobato, *Obras Completas 1ª série*, 13 vols. (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1956), vol.I, p.277.

Vem Floriano; estouram as granadas de Custodio; Gumerindo bate às portas de Roma; Incitatus derranca o país. O caboclo continua de cocoras, a modorrar...

Nada o esperta. Nenhuma ferroteada o põe de pé. Social, como individualmente, em todos os atos da vida Jéca, antes de agir, acocora-se.

Jéca Tatú é um piraquara do Pariba, maravilhoso epitome de carne onde se resumem todas as características da especie (op.cit., p.280).

The myopic attitude of Jéca Tatú, so antipathetic to Lobato's enlightened spirit of social and economic progress, is summed up in the expression "Não paga a pena": "Todo o inconsciente filosofar do caboclo grulha nessa palavra atravessada de fatalismo e modorra. Nada paga a pena. Nem culturas, nem comodidades. De qualquer jeito se vive" (op.cit., p.284). In a more specific reference to current political practices, Lobato attacks the *caboclo's* credulity, his childishly enthusiastic participation in a grossly corrupt and unrepresentative electoral system blatantly manipulated by the *coronéis*:

O fato mais importante de sua vida é sem dúvida votar no governo. Tira nesse dia da arca a roupa preta do casamento, sarjão furadinho de traça e todo vincado de dobras; entala os pés num alentado sapatão de bezerro; ata ao pescoço um colarinho de bico e, sem gravata, ringindo e mancando, vai pegar o diploma de eleitor às mãos do chefe Coisada, que lho retém para maior garantia da fidelidade partidária.

Vota. Não sabe em quem, mas vota (op.cit., p.285).

Thus while Lobato's article aims at first sight simply to expose the falseness of the literary *caboclisto* such as that of Cornélio Pires and Menotti del Picchia, it also penetrates critically to the deeper ideological implications of a work such as Juca Mulato. Lobato takes the same mythical stereotype of indigenous resignation and indolence which Menotti had celebrated as the authentic national character and, by satirising it, strikes at an entire spirit of complacency, stagnation and reaction under the First Republic.

Given its unequivocal polemicism, the surprise and even regret of Lobato and later critics regarding the political controversy raised by the article seem rather misplaced. After dropping like a bombshell on the stagnant literary scene of the period, "Urupês" soon became a political weapon in the hands of the opposition Liberal statesman, Rui Barbosa. At a time of galloping inflation and severely authoritarian military intervention in provincial and national affairs, Barbosa asked whether the country recognised "aquele tipo de uma raça que entre as formadoras da nossa nacionalidade, se perpetua a vegetar de cócoras, incapaz de evolução e impenetrável ao progresso" (op.cit., p.19).

For the representatives of the new and growing urban bourgeoisie, however, the grotesque figure of Jéca Tatú had inflicted grave damage on Brazil's international image, and threatened to turn away valuable foreign investment. Leônidas Loyola, for example, attacked the critical focus which "Urupês" had created, "Campanha que está formando em nossa pátria uma geração de cépticos e de pessimistas, por um lado, concorrendo por outro lado para nosso descrédito no estrangeiro" (op.cit., p.18). In the north of the country, the cearense Ildefonso Albano produced his reply to Monteiro Lobato's article, Jeca Tatú e Mané Chique-Chique, dedicated "À gloriosa memoria de José de Alencar, através de cujos romances Iracema suspira e canta a jandaia".²⁸ Against the pessimism and lethargy of Jéca Tatú, Albano defended the energy and industry of his brother, "Mané lavrador, Mané vaqueiro, Mané jangadeiro, Mané seringueiro", the humble but valiant forger of history, faithful to the noble tribal ancestry of Tabajaras, Genipapos, Potiguares and Apinagés which ran in his veins.

28. Ildefonso Albano, Jeca Tatú e Mané Chique-Chique 1ª ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Araújo, n/d).

Lobato clearly understood the contradictions of an analysis which appeared to attribute the responsibility for the misery and underdevelopment of the rural interior to its victims. After many years dedicated to the genuine integration of the *sertanejo* into the national culture and economy, he returned to the article which he had published in 1914 and attempted to explain the circumstances which had led him so to deform the character of Jéca Tatú: "Quando comecei a sentir em todo o seu horror o drama da miséria humana (de que o Jeca não passa de humilde ilustração) era tarde - minha obra literária já se havia cristalizado e morto estava o interesse pelas letras".²⁹ He subsequently led a campaign demanding measures to alleviate the pitiable conditions being suffered by the inhabitants of the rural interior, and defended a reformist socialist programme of education as the solution to the existing marginalisation of the Brazilian peasant. Brazilian society could be divided into two classes: the great mass of Jécas below, and above

um bacharelismo furiosamente apetrechado de diplomas. (...) O problema é abrir à classe de baixo o caminho à imediata. Temos de descascar o Jeca na Escola Primária, ensinando-lhe depois, na Profissional, a utilizar-se da leitura e da técnica.³⁰

A revised version of Jeca Tatuzinho even reappeared in 1947, when Lobato had become involved in the Brazilian Communist Party.³¹

In the early 1920s, meanwhile, when the *Semana de Arte Moderna* had announced a revolution in the arts, he published a series of review articles grouped under the title Idéias de Jéca Tatú. Adopting the unsophisticated, down-to-earth viewpoint of the *caboclo*, these articles

29. Edgard Cavalleiro, "Ciclo Paulista" IN "O Regionalismo na Ficção", A Literatura no Brasil ed. Afrânio Coutinho, 5 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Sul Americana, 1968), vol.III, p.277.

30. Monteiro Lobato, Urupês, op.cit., p.54.

31. Roberto Schwarz (ed.), Os Pobres na Literatura Brasileira (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1983), p.101.

aggressively attacked what Lobato saw as an elitist, imitative art. Ironically, Oswald de Andrade later considered "Urupês" to represent the "marco zero" of the Modernist movement, in its beginnings characteristically cosmopolitan. For Monteiro Lobato, however, Brazilian culture was typically that of the interior:

O Brasil não é São Paulo, enxêrto do garfo italiano, nem o Rio, albergue português. É preciso frisar que o Brasil está no Interior, na serra onde moureja o homem abacanado pelo sol; nos sertões onde o sertanejo vestido de couro vaqueja; nas coxilhas onde se domam poldros; por êsses campos rechinantes de carros de bois; nos êrmos que sulcam tropas aligeradas pelo tilintar do cincerro (Urupês, op.cit., p.34).

If the Indian appears to have been forgotten in Lobato's critical discussion of national culture, two articles from Idéias de Jéca Tatú indicate that the tribal presence in the country remains, on the contrary, a constant touchstone for what has become increasingly a debate on primitivism and development. In one of these pieces, "Rondônia", Lobato reviews the controversial account of a journey to the western Amazonian interior by the ethnographer Edgard Roquette-Pinto, a colleague and fellow-traveller of Rondon. Praising Rondon's work with the Nambiquara Indians of the same region, Lobato then compares Roquette-Pinto's journey to the voyage recounted in H.G. Wells' Time Machine. In Wells' fictional society of the future, the perverse twilight of the human race, an underground proletariat, the cannibalistic Morlocks, appears to serve the élite of weaklings living on the surface, but in fact tends them for its own consumption. Roquette-Pinto's journey through time into the pre-history of tribal society is equally awe-inspiring, uncovering a similar dichotomy, the simultaneous existence of two worlds, species or cultures, one primitive, the other modern and civilised.

If the relationship between those two cultures is left somewhat ambiguous in the article "Rondônia", the second piece, "Os sertões de Mato Grosso", makes its point rather more clearly. It begins by deflating the traditional, exotic schoolchild's view of the Mato Grosso, with its jungle, wild animals and Indians:

E bugres?

Ah, os bugres de Mato Grosso! Uns são visivelmente encarregados de perpetuar aos olhos dos visitantes e turistas a selvaticidade daquelas brenhas, de modo que não desapareça a velha tradição gentilica. Quando riem, arreganham á moda dos antropofagos - mas só de brincadeira. Outros são civilizadíssimos, capazes de dar muita lição a estas gentes cultas, do litoral, que, já com quatro séculos de europeísmo no lombo, têm o "Binoculo" de João do Rio e juram em cima do Sr. Wenceslau, Braz.³²

These are the two faces of the Indian: the one a fiction, the fully-fledged tribal warrior, in reality the creation of the Romantic Indianists and the film-makers who accompany Rondon on his expeditions; the other the modern, acculturated Indian, the competent Nambiquara lorry-driver, who could put the Jucas and Dicos of the *sertão* to shame. The fiction and truth of peasant society have likewise become so confused, the real primitives so difficult to identify, that the film-makers could easily save themselves a journey to the interior by reversing the roles and having the *caboclo* play the Indian:

Ponham em pélo os nossos caipiras daqui, inclusive o Cornelio Pires, façam-n'os dansar as dansas guerreiras de Gonçalves Dias, botem as caboclas a mascar milho para o cauim - e qualquer cinematografista não precisa chegar até Mato Grosso para produzir excelentes fitas de nambiquaras (op.cit., p.221).

Monteiro Lobato's apparently flippant "joke" has a whole series of ramifications which call into question the consistency of the Positivists' self-appointed mission of civilisation and progress. The false, tourist

32. Monteiro Lobato, Idéias de Jéca Tatú, Obras Completas 1ª série (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1964), vol.IV, p.220.

image of the Brazilian forest and its "primitive" tribes serves both to justify that mission and at the same time to distract attention from the real economic and social primitivism afflicting an abandoned, oppressed rural population. The cultural sophistication of many indigenous communities, meanwhile, puts the intellectual and political mediocrity of Brazil's urban bourgeoisie to shame:

Em suma: a fita Rondon ensina-nos tanto, que os espectadores saem do cinema enfiadissimos e desconfiadissimos de que os verdadeiros bugres são eles. (...)

Aquele gentio de Mato Grosso está maduro demais para ser catequizado por nós outros aqui da zona litoranea. (...)

Nós é que estamos a berrar por uma catequesinha (op.cit., pp.222-23).

Monteiro Lobato's satirical portrait of the *caboclo* Jéca Tatú, his criticisms of the reactionary Romantic tradition underlying the "new" *caboclistmo* and his ironic observations on contemporary perceptions of primitivism, all seem mild and restrained in comparison with the opinions expressed in the writings of Lima Barreto. Lima Barreto was one of Monteiro Lobato's literary protégés and he shared the *paulista's* socialist views. His objections to the contemporary "mania de caboclo", as he saw it, have rather different roots, though, and are twofold in nature. On the one hand, as Nicolau Sevcenko has noted (op.cit., pp.204-05), Lima Barreto, as a mulatto and native of Rio de Janeiro, defended the coastal, African element of the national culture as the stronger, more authentic dimension of Brazil's *mestiço* identity. As an article written in 1919, "O Nosso Caboclistmo", demonstrates, his contempt for the current indigenist "fashion" is matched by a clearly personal antipathy towards Rondon:

Chama-se isto a cisma que tem todo o brasileiro de que é caboclo ou descende de caboclo.

Nada justifica semelhante aristocracia, porquanto o caboclo, o tupi, era, nas nossas origens, a raça mais atrasada; contudo tôda a gente quer ser caboclo.

(...)

O que o General Rondon tem de mais admirável, é a sua fisionomia de crueldade. Vê-se nêle a sua vocação de dictador e dictador mexicano. Tudo o está levando para isso, inclusive as suas descobertas já descobertas e a sua determinação de coordenadas de certos lugarejos pelo telégrafo, coisa pouco sabida e conhecida.³³

However, the references here to aristocratic and dictatorial pretensions suggest that his anti-indigenism also has a class-political basis. As an analysis of certain aspects of the novel Triste Fim de Policarpo Quaresma will confirm, Lima Barreto saw the Indianist revival as symptomatic of the elitist nature of bourgeois culture under the First Republic, its Romantic alienation from reality, whose other dimension was the suppression of any genuine manifestation of popular culture. Not surprisingly, the other *caboclista* who is the object of his scorn in "O Nosso Caboclistismo" is Leolinda Daltro (her name doubtless deliberately mis-spelt), the founder and spokeswoman of the Associação de Proteção e Auxílio aos Selvícolas do Brasil. Lima Barreto's instinctive distrust of D. Leolinda's philanthropic motives and ambitions is complicated by a rather self-conscious sense of the cultural distance separating his world from that of the "primitive" Indians who are her concern:

Dona Deolinda acaba de se apresentar candidata a intendente da cidade do Rio de Janeiro.

Nada teria a opor, se não me parecesse que ela se enganava. Não era do Rio de Janeiro que ela devia ser intendente; era de alguma aldeia de índios. A minha cidade já de há muito deixou de ser taba; e eu, apesar de tudo, não selvagem (op.cit., p.70).

As we shall see, this tendency to claim a validity for the suppressed popular culture of the city by appealing to uncritically simplistic notions of primitivism and civilisation ultimately leads Lima Barreto into the same contradictions which he attacks in the Positivist élite of the Republic.

33. Lima Barreto, Marginália: artigos e crônicas, Obras (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1961), vol.XII, pp.69-70.

Meanwhile, Leclinda Daltro is unmistakably the model for another, fictional episode in the novel Numa e a Ninfa (1915). Here the source of comic amusement is the disparity between the traditional, Romantic image of the Indian which the old lady, Dona Florinda Seixas, is anxious to promote, and the actual behaviour of her adopted band of *caboclos*, whom she presents at the sophisticated soirées of respectable citizens. Far from behaving with aristocratic dignity and declaiming in the noble language of Alencar's Peri, they get drunk, confirming suspicions that they must be army deserters:

Não se diga que Dona Florinda não empregasse os seus esforços de domadora ou civilizadora para impedir tão indecente caboclisto. Era ela vista a dizer no buffet:

- *Tupana penê cotê!*

Os caboclos respondiam, amuados como crianças teimosas:

- "Quelo bebê! Quelo bebê!"³⁴

On one occasion, Dona Florinda's favourite, Tupini, accompanies her to the public classes which she gives in the Guarani language. His benefactress is highly embarrassed when every example she utters of this ancient tongue is contradicted by a cry from Tupini: "Tá eado" ("Está errado")! When she scolds him for correcting her, pretending that she is speaking a dialect unfamiliar to him, he remains unconvinced, repeating the same "Tá eado" and bringing the class to an end. In another episode a number of tribes are gathered together to commemorate the anniversary of the death of Dona Florinda's uncle, Almirante Constâncio, and they are made to wear the tribal dress which in reality they have long since abandoned. Dona Florinda intones the verses of what she believes to be a traditional funeral hymn and her *caboclos* repeat the refrain. However, it is

34. Lima Barreto, Numa e a Ninfa, Obras (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1961), vol.III, p.220.

suggested that the words have a rather different meaning from that intended:

Houve quem dissesse que o hino de Dona Florinda era uma canção erótica de origem paraguaia; entretanto, esse detalhe não foi notado e os adeptos de Bentes muito prezaram tão bela homenagem à memória de seu tio (op.cit., p.223).

In this brief episode from Numa e a Ninfa, Lima Barreto's aim is simply to expose as false the philanthropists' Romantic, *bourgeois* image of the Indian and thereby to reveal the alienation of that class from the social reality lived by the majority of the country's population. The broader structure of the novel Triste Fim de Policarpo Quaresma (1911) allows the author to place that observation within a disturbing analysis of urban society under the First Republic. At the centre of that analysis is Lima Barreto's realisation that the two ideologies which, as we have seen, gave rise to the new "Indianism" or *caboclisto* - Romantic nationalism and the "civilising" mission of Positivism - are ultimately irreconcilable. The tragedy of the novel, Policarpo's confrontation with the repressive social atmosphere and political apparatus of the Republic, his eventual imprisonment and execution, is symbolic of the triumph of the new order and the death of the old world of Empire. Part of that tragedy is the rootlessness of the new society which, by suppressing all manifestations of popular culture and tradition, and looking only to the modern civilisation of science and technology, has severed its links with the past and has alienated itself from the mass of the population.

For all his apparent eccentricity, Policarpo Quaresma is in many ways typical of his class; his unrealistic patriotism, his "civil militarism", his political abstentionism and faith in government by an authoritarian élite, all find strong echoes in the major political writings and ideas of the period. John Kinnear has already shown how

Policarpo's unending recital of his country's geographical marvels and natural resources and their global supremacy is a satire on the fanatical, empty patriotism of Afonso Celso's Porque me ufano de meu país (1901).³⁵ His "civil militarism", meanwhile, as an administrator surrounded by the language, statistics and bureaucracy of war yet spared the reality of military action, recalls the spirit of the Ligas de Defesa Nacional. The Ligas were formed on the initiative of Olavo Bilac, who believed that the *bourgeois* "revolution" could only be achieved by the creation of a special class, "a burguesia militarizada", in which civilian and soldier would become indistinguishable in the task of promoting the values of patriotism, work and education. Under the banner "seja a nação o exército e o exército seja a nação", the Ligas were the enlightened élite which would transmit those values to an uncultured society that was considered to be incapable of directing its own destiny.³⁶ The same élitism is also central to Júlio de Mesquita Filho's view of Brazil's political future as set out in A Crise Nacional: "Sòmente a burguesia tem capacidade para dirigir a Nação, compreendê-la, estudá-la e orientá-la. Para isto, é necessário afastar os Estados atrasados, econômica e socialmente, como também as classes 'impuras'".³⁷

In the novel Policarpo is surrounded by what are effectively other civil militarists, such as General Albernaz, who has never seen active service yet continues to recount anecdotes from the Paraguayan War, and Caldas, who was discredited for wasting valuable time by going to command a non-existent ship. As Monteiro Lobato and Lima Barreto

35. J.C. Kinnear, "The 'Sad End' of Lima Barreto's Policarpo Quaresma", Bulletin of Hispanic Studies vol. LI (1974), pp.60-75.

36. Edgard Carone, A República Velha (Instituições e Classes Sociais) (São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1970), pp.162-68.

37. Cited in Carone, *op.cit.*, p.174.

suggested in the texts already examined, the nationalist enthusiasm of the urban middle classes for tribal ethnology and the Tupi language is essentially a Romantic legacy. Policarpo's library is filled with the works of the most celebrated authors of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Indianism - Magalhães, Basílio da Gama, Santa Rita Durão, José de Alencar ("tudo"), Gonçalves Dias ("tudo"). This neo-Indianism is part of a contemporary *bourgeois* taste for sentimentalised, sanitised forms of traditional or "popular" culture. One manifestation of this in the novel is the temporary prestige of the *modinha* singer, Ricardo Coração dos Outros, amongst the fashionable high-life of Rio. Originally a rural form often dealing with highly erotic themes, the character of the *modinha* became sentimentalised during the nineteenth century, its binary rhythm replaced by waltz time and with new lyrics composed by well-known poets. Ricardo is a victim of the urban middle class's whimsical, superficial interest in his music, finding himself ousted by a rival and later deprived of his guitar when conscripted into the army.

For all its unrealistic absurdity (he is met with incomprehension when he offers his friends the traditional Indian greeting of tears, and nearly suffocates after putting on a tribal mask), Policarpo's *nativismo* is as characteristic of his class as are all his other values, then. His downfall occurs when this naïvely enthusiastic patriotism comes up against the élitist intolerance of the Republican state and its ideology of science and progress. When Policarpo proposes that Tupi should be made the official language of Brazil he is ridiculed by a scandalised civil service hierarchy, not because of the genuine impracticality of the idea, but because it represents a challenge to the "civilised" self-image of middle-class society. A satirical cartoon appears in a newspaper

depicting "Major Quaresma's Abattoir" with a queue of human victims being asked the question: "O senhor tem língua de vaca?", equating the Indian with cannibalism and primitive barbarism.

However, the real tragedy of Policarpo's naïve idealism is not just its futility in the face of the repressive conformism of those around him and of the brutal authoritarianism and anti-populism of the Positivist ruling class. More than that, it is the fact that his efforts to gain some historical foothold, some sense of cultural identity and tradition in the midst of so much change, are already too late. The *carrioca bourgeoisie* has either forgotten, suppressed or destroyed the evidence of its former traditions and culture, as Policarpo finds out when he and General Albernaz go in search of Maria Rita, the old black singer, and discover that she has forgotten the "Bumba-meu-Boi", the "Boi Espaço" and all the other songs she had known during Empire. Similarly, the recent modernisation of the capital has erased the memory of the city's history from its old quarters, such as the route of the gold and diamond trails from Minas, and of the royal procession of João VI to Santa Cruz:

Entre nós tudo é inconsistente, provisório, não dura. Não havia ali nada que lembrasse esse passado. As casas velhas, com grandes janelas, quase quadradas, e vidraças de pequenos vidros eram de há bem poucos anos, menos de cinquenta.³⁸

In Lima Barreto's short story O Moleque (1920), the disappearance of indigenous place-names and of the remains of tribal culture is also symbolic of this rootlessness and historical alienation. The tradition of indigenous culture is literally sacrificed to the spirit of progress as building labourers dig up and destroy the Indian funeral urns which they find on a construction site:

38. Lima Barreto, Triste Fim de Policarpo Quaresma (Rio de Janeiro: Edições de Ouro, n/d), p.38.

Frágeis eram os artefactos dos índios e todas as suas outras obras; frágeis são também as nossas de hoje, tanto assim que os mais antigos monumentos do Rio são de século e meio; e a cidade vai já para o caminho dos quatrocentos anos.³⁹

Ironically, when Policarpo absentmindedly translates an official document into Tupi, his superiors react to it indignantly as an offence to their academic snobbery, for even the most erudite member of the department does not recognise the language in which it has been written.

It is interesting, then, that while Lima Barreto despised what he saw as the Romantic, élitist neo-Indianism of Leolinda Daltro and Rondon, the tribal legacy still continued to represent for him a part of his country's historical and cultural identity. As the protagonist of Vida e morte de M.J. Gonzaga de Sá affirms: "Eu sou Sá, sou o Rio de Janeiro, com seus tambois, seus negros, seus mulatos, seus cafuzos e seus 'galegos' também...". However, the final, tragic conclusion of Triste Fim... is the passive resignation of its two strongest, most positive characters to the political order which has crushed them. Policarpo's moral and cultural identification with the traditions and values of the Brazilian people is eventually expressed in a practical gesture of solidarity, when he intervenes on behalf some prisoners during the civil war. At the moment of his final disillusionment, as he faces execution for this act of insubordination, and understands the futility of his mythical Romantic patriotism, which took no account of the oppressive political reality staring him in the face, he can only despair. The response of his liberal and sympathetic friend, Olga, to the inevitability of his death is little better. It is, ironically, the very same faith in the principle of

39. Lima Barreto, "O Moleque", Histórias e Sonhos: Contos, Obras 2ª ed. (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1961), vol.VI, p.37. See also Diário da Hospícia, Obras, vol.XV, pp.79-80. My thanks to Bob Oakley for these references.

Progress, in a necessary improvement in things, by which the Positivists justified their ruthless authoritarianism and their mission to "civilise" the Indians. If the place once occupied by savage tribes, whose chiefs boasted the blood of ten thousand warriors in their veins, was now the site of a modern, civilised city, then progress must be possible: "Tinha havido grandes modificações nos aspectos, na fisionomia da terra, talvez no clima... Esperemos mais, pensou ela; e seguiu serenamente ao encontro de Ricardo Coração dos Outros" (op.cit., p.281).

7.4 Primitivism and Civilisation

The curiously ambivalent attitude to the Indian analysed above was the product, then, of the emergence of a modern cosmopolitan urban culture and, with it, a self-conscious middle class of speculators, bankers, traders, industrialists and educated *doutores*, the sons of landowning oligarchs now established in the city. As the writings of Monteiro Lobato and Lima Barreto have shown, the Indian was a reminder of some of the social implications of the programme of urban modernisation to which that new middle class was committed: the expulsion of working class elements from the central areas of the city; the suppression of manifestations of popular culture; the preservation of a distorted agrarian structure dominated by the traditional oligarchies, and the continuing diversion of resources away from an already "primitive" peasant agriculture. Perhaps the most striking illustration of the dramatic change which these developments brought to perceptions of the Indian is the 1908 *crônica* from the Jornal do Comércio which Nicolau Sevcenko cites in his illuminating study of the period. The journalist concerned expresses the shame of the new, cosmopolitan *bourgeoisie* in its

efforts to impress the sophisticated American visitor, as it witnesses the appearance of a miserable band of detribalised, destitute Indians on the city's streets. The Romantics' token celebration of the Indian as a national symbol has been replaced by a sense of genteel embarrassment, the horror of the elegant citizen who is unexpectedly visited by a poor, rustic relation:

Já se foi o tempo em que acolhíamos com uma certa simpatia esses parentes que vinham descalços e mal vestidos, falar-nos de seus infortúnios e de suas brenhas. Então a cidade era deselegante, mal calçada e escura, e proque não possuíamos monumentos, o balouçar das palmeiras afagava a nossa vaidade. Recebíamos então sem grande constrangimento, no casarão, à sombra de nossas árvores, o gentio e os seus pesares, e lhes manifestávamos a nossa cordialidade fraternal... por clavinotes, facas de ponta, enxadas e colarinhos velhos. Agora porém a cidade mudou e nós mudamos com ela e por ela. Já não é a singela morada de pedras sob coqueiros; é o salão com tapetes ricos e grandes globos de luz elétrica. E por isso, quando o selvagem aparece, é como um parente que nos envergonha. Em vez de reparar nas mágoas do seu coração, olhamos com terror para a lama bravia dos seus pés. O nosso *smartismo* estragou a nossa fraternidade. (...)

Lembro-me sempre, por mais que queira esquecer, a amargura, o desespero com que pusemos os olhos rebrilhantes de orgulho naquele carro fatal, atulhado de caboclos, que a mão da providência meteu em préstito por ocasião das festas do Congresso Pan-Americano. A cabeleira da mata virgem daquela gente funesta ensombrou toda a nossa alegria. E não era para menos. Abriamos a nossa casa para convidados da mais rara distinção e de todas as nações da América. Recebíamos até norte-americanos!... íamos mostrar-lhes a grandeza do nosso progresso, na nossa grande Avenida recém-aberta, na Avenida a beira-mar, não acabada, no Palácio Monroe, uma tetéa de açúcar branco. No melhor da festa, como se tivessem caído do céu ou subido do inferno eis os selvagens medonhos, de incultas cabeleiras metidas até os ombros, metidos com gente bem penteada, estragando a fidalguia das homenagens, desmoralizando-nos perante o estrangeiro, destruindo com o seu exotismo o nosso chiquismo.

Infelizmente não era mais tempo de providenciar, de tirar aquela nódoa tupinambá da nossa correção parisiense, de esconder aqueles caboclos importunos, de, ao menos, cortar-lhes o cabelo (embora parecesse melhor a muita gente cortar-lhe a cabeça), de atenuar com escova e perfumaria aquele escândalo de bugres metediços... Não houve remédio senão aturar as feras, mas só Deus sabe que força de vontade tivemos de empregar para sorrir ao Sr. Root, responder em bom inglês ao seu inglês, vendo o nervoso que nos sacudia a mão quando empunhávamos a taça dos brindes solenes e engolir, de modo que não revelasse aos nossos hóspedes que tínhamos índios atravessados na nossa garganta. Foram dias de dor aqueles dias de glória. A figura do índio nos perseguia com a

tenacidade do remorso. A sua cara imóvel interpunha-se à dos embaixadores e à nossa. As suas plumas verdes e amarelas quebraram a uniformidade negra das casacas. Broncas sílabas tupis pingaram, enodando o primor das línguas educadas.⁴⁰

Like Monteiro Lobato's Jéca Tatú, these real Indians were a disturbing reminder of a "primitive" dimension within Brazilian society which the urban middle class preferred not to confront. It was this, no doubt, which led a local police-chief to forbid the customary participation of Indians in the annual Carnival parade, prompting the following observation from an anonymous columnist, "Bóróró":

Na sua qualidade de Chefe de Polícia de uma Capital civilisada, S. Ex. nunca pode ver com bons olhos o "aldeamento" da Sra. Daltro. Acha que a exibição daquela "tribu" pelas modernas ruas da nossa Cidade, depõe muito contra a nossa proclamada civilização.

Pensa S. Ex. que uma cidade que possui o Binoculo, o Dr. Celso Basma, cinematographicos, o Juiz Pedro de Abreu, automoveis, e tantas outras expressões incontestaveis de Progresso e Adiantamento, não pôde suportar este espectáculo atrazado, da exhibição de indios.⁴¹

The chief spokesperson of this highly selfconscious, cosmopolitan *bourgeoisie* was Olavo Bilac, a prominent public figure as well as the most prestigious Parnassianist poet of the First Republic. I referred above to his role in forming the Ligas de Defesa Nacional and to the elitist concept of government by an enlightened *bourgeoisie* which lay at the heart of this project. However, it is one of Bilac's Conferências Literárias, entitled "O Commercio e a civilização", which reveals most clearly the economic and political reasons for the ideological shift which is reflected in the new image of tribal man. Here Bilac invites the reader to examine human progress from primitive times to the present; the measure of man's civilisation, of his distance from the culture and

40. Nicolau Sevcenko, Literatura como Missão..., -op.cit., pp.35-36.

41. Bóróró (anon.), "Os Indios", Fon-Fon, 16/01/1909, n/p.

society of the tribe, is Commerce i.e. Capitalism, the *raison d'être* of the new urban middle class:

Estes [os índios] viviam nomades, e em perpetuas guerras; quando entravam na vida sedentaria, a aldeia era um agrupamento informe de ócas de barro e páo, cercadas de trincheiras de espiques de palmeira: e o que era a vida social d'essas gentes, diziam-n'o claramente as caveiras dos inimigos mortos em combate, espetadas nas caiçaras...

Contemplemos agora a terra coberta de uma população de vinte milhões de almas novas. (...)

O Commercio foi, a principio, o instigador, o promotor, o pae da Civilização, creando-a e desenvolvendo-a, e é hoje o seu regulador maximo, como repartidor do trabalho e das riquezas, approximando os povos, transformando os inimigos em clientes reciprocos, uniformizando os costumes e os idiomas, estabelecendo uma solidariedade real entre todos os homens. (...)

O Commercio é nobre, tão nobre como qualquer outro ramo da actividade humana. Esta ideia tão simples, tão clara, tão evidente, só ha pouco tempo se estabeleceu definitivamente no espirito dos homens. A humanidade tem sido ingrata para esse grande factor do seu progresso, para esse pae de sua civilização.⁴²

Such a statement of his class's self-image, of its need to disown the "primitive", indigenous dimension of the country's history, culture and society which the agrarian economy of Empire had celebrated, explains an apparent contradiction within Bilac's poetry. For, alongside a whole series of texts depicting the struggle between the forces of Civilisation - Art, Christianity, enterprise - and the primitive savages of Barbarism and populism, there are a number of poems which reproduce the classic Indianism of the nineteenth-century Romantic movement.

Significantly, though, the sense of historical irony and Apocalypse which always accompanies Gonçalves Dias' scenes of pre-Conquest tribal society, is conspicuously absent from Bilac's poetry, as is the other poet's intensely outraged Liberal conscience. Instead, the genocide of the Indians is a motive for wistful nostalgia, one part of a

42. Olavo Bilac, Conferências Literárias 2ª ed. (Rio de Janeiro/São Paulo: Francisco Alves, 1930), pp.252-55 & 264.

sensuously exotic tableau in which history is no more than aesthetic colouring. In "A Morte de Tapir", for instance, the memories which accompany the last warrior of the tribe on his journey towards death are vaguely erotic images of domestic life: the *redes* or fishing-nets cast from the canoes merge with the hammocks (also *redes*) which have been the scene of lovemaking:

E Tapir caminhava... Ante elle agora um rio
Corria; e a agua tambem, ao crebro murmurio
Da corrente, a rolar, gemia anciosa e clara:
- "Tapir! Tapir! Tapir! Que é da veloz igara,
Que é dos remos dos teus? Não mais as rêdes finas
Vêm na pesca sondar-me as aguas crystalinas...
Ai! não mais beijarei os corpos luxuriantes,
Os curvos seios nus, as fórmãs palpitantes
Das morenas gentis de tua tribu extincta!"⁴³

In the poem "Guerreira", meanwhile, the ambivalence of the Indian as Noble Savage or *homem-monstro*, which had been dealt with during the Romantic period by creating two distinct tribal stereotypes, returns to the surface. The magnificent arrogance of the female warrior conceals an insensitive, evil barbarism that is a far cry from the graceful innocence of Alencar's Iracema:

é a incarnação do mal. Pulsa-lhe o peito
Ermo de amor, deserto de piedade...
Tem o olhar de uma deusa e o altivo aspeito
Das cruentas guerreiras de outra idade.

O labio ao rictus do sarcasmo affeito
Crispa-se-lhe num riso de maldade,
Quando, talvez, as pompas, com despeito,
Recorda da perda magestade. (...) (op.cit., p.20)

By the time we come to "Anchieta" and "O Caçador de esmeraldas", the Indian has become wholly identified with a wild nature of dangerous beasts and swamps, waiting to be tamed by the vanguard of Civilisation, the missionary or the *bandeirante*.

43. Olavo Bilac, *Poesias* (Rio de Janeiro: Francisco Alves, 1942), p.16.

It is this view of the country's tribal communities, and the "primitive" *mestiço* culture of the rural masses that they have come to symbolise, which underlies the nightmarish imagery of poems such as "As Viagens", "Diziam que..." and "Pesadelo". Bilac brings together the Classical Greek and Roman language of Civilisation and Barbarism, the Medieval bestiary of mythical, anthropomorphic monsters and the native figures of Brazilian folklore to express his fears, and those of his class, of the threatening forces which lie close beyond the fragile, vulnerable walls of the city:

Assim, á noite, no invio da floresta,
No mysterio das sombras, entre os pios
Dos noitibós, o candomblé se apresta:

Batuques de capetas, rodopios
De curupiras e sacis em festa,
Em sinistros risinhos e assobios... ("Pesadelo", op.cit., p.313)

His elegantly refined art, the epitome of Classical Civilisation, is the cultural bulwark of the middle-class urban élite against its enemy, the unrestrained, spontaneous voice of the barbarian hordes:

Deusa! A onda vil, que se avoluma
De um torvo mar,
Deixa-a crescer; e o lodo e a espuma
Deixa-a rolar!

Blasphemo, em grita surda e horrendo
Impeto, o bando
Venha dos Barbaros crescendo,
Vociferando...

Deixa-o: que venha e uivando passe
- Bando feroz!
Não se te mude a côr da face
E o tom da voz!

Olha-os sómente, armada e prompta,
Radiante e bella:
E, ao braço o escudo, a raiva affronta
D'essa procella! (op.cit., pp.7-8)

Bilac's poetry thus testifies to the new social and cultural divisions which had emerged with the increasingly urban-based, industrial economy of the Republic. But if some writers, the "vencedores" as Sevcenko calls them (op.cit., pp.104-05), such as Olavo Bilac and Afrânio Peixoto, identified unequivocally with the values and interests of the new *bourgeois* ruling class, others were disturbed by the growing marginalisation of the *mestiço* populations of the rural interior and by the aggressively anti-working class policies being implemented in the cities. Continuing the critical tradition of the 1870 generation of Romero, Veríssimo and Capistrano de Abreu, these "derrotados" or "ratés" questioned the determinist theories of their predecessors and introduced a new, political dimension to the debate on primitivism and development. As we have seen, Monteiro Lobato and Lima Barreto tended to attack the *caboclistas* in order to expose the regime's negligent and repressive treatment of the country's other, less exotic but no less marginalised, communities.

A different group of intellectuals within this current undertook a renewed defence of the mixed-race populations of the *sertão*. Manuel Bomfim, for instance, produced A América Latina: Males de Origem (1903), a critique of Auguste Comte's sociobiological work, Parasitisme et dégénération: organismes biologiques et organismes sociales. Praising the resistant qualities of the Indians who fought in the Paraguayan War, Bomfim dismissed Comte's notion of racial inferiority as "um sophysma abjecto de egoismo humano, hypocritamente mascarado de sciencia barata, e cobardemente applicado á exploração dos fracos pelos fortes".⁴⁴ Similarly,

44. Manoel Bomfim, A América Latina: Males de Origem (Rio de Janeiro: Garnier, 1903), p.278.

Gilberto Amado drew attention to the oppressive political and economic conditions which prevented the *mestiço* communities from exercising the "civic responsibilities", responsibilities for which their detractors considered they were racially unfit. In his essay "As Instituições políticas e o meio social no Brasil" (1916), Amado reviews a history of national Constitutions which have effectively excluded the vast majority from any kind of representation, making a mockery of the notion of parliamentary democracy. He begins with the Constitution of 1822, drawn up when two thirds of the free population was *mestiço*:

Destinada a regular um núcleo social que não existia como coletividade consciente e autônoma, a Constituição ficou pairando no ar, como uma cúpula, sem conexão com a terra onde bracejava uma população de escravos trabalhando sem alegria para um grupo de senhores ignorantes, ávidos, alguns com uma meia instrução, mais perturbadora do que esclarecedora, todos também insusceptíveis de compreender o que queria dizer a carta política que lhes ia ser outorgada.⁴⁵

Half a century later, when six million out of a total population of ten million were either pure Indian, African or *mestiço*, the notion of full participation in the political process still remained a fiction. A minute percentage of that population, the electorate bore little relation to any notion of a Brazilian "people", for all that Empire had been replaced by a Republic:

"O povo brasileiro" não podia ser o milhão e meio de escravos, o milhão de índios inúteis que a contagem do Governo reduziu, com evidente imprecisão, a quatrocentos mil apenas; não podiam ser os cinco milhões de agregados das fazendas e dos engenhos, caipiras, matutos, caboclos, vaqueiros do sertão, capangas, capoeiras, pequenos artífices, operários rurais primitivos, pequenos lavradores dependentes; não podiam ser os dois milhões ou o milhão e meio de negociantes, empregados públicos ou particulares, criados e servidores de tôdas as profissões. O povo brasileiro existente como realidade viva, não podiam deixar de ser apenas as 300.000 ou 400.000 pessoas

45. Gilberto Amado, Grão de Aréia e Estudos Brasileiros (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1948), p.16.

pertencentes às famílias proprietárias de escravos, os fazendeiros, os senhores de engenho (...) (op.cit., p.36).

More than any other event or experience, though, it was the Canudos rebellion which shook the complacent scientificism of the urban middle classes, and which challenged the whole concept of civilisation which they claimed to be defending. None was more shaken in his Positivist convictions than Euclides da Cunha, the journalist who trained as an engineer at the Escola Militar, before being appointed in 1897 by O Estado de São Paulo to report at first-hand the progress of the campaign against the rebels. In his more extensive and personal account of the conflict and its causes, Os Sertões (1902), Euclides' initially deterministic environmentalist and racial analysis appears to be overtaken by the events he is witnessing. During the course of the book, the immensely repressive military machinery and might employed by the Republican state acquires a grotesqueness and brutality in relation to the remarkable resistance, courage and religious faith of the *jagunços*. As the last of these "primitive rebels" is killed in order that the official ideology of scientific progress and integration can be implemented, the moral defeat of the Republic is made complete.

To begin with, though, in the chapters entitled "A Terra" and "O Homem", Euclides' adherence to the pessimism of Darwinist-inspired theories of race and cross-breeding leads him to the conclusion that "Não temos unidade de raça. Não a teremos, talvez, nunca."⁴⁶ Miscegenation between the three racial elements of Indo-European, African and Guarani or Tapuia will tend to produce a retrogressive type, obliterating the superior qualities of the "higher" race, while reviving the primitive

46. Euclides da Cunha, Os Sertões (Campanha de Canudos) 20ª ed. (São Paulo/ Rio de Janeiro: Francisco Alves, 1946), p.70.

characteristics of the "lower" races. The *mestiço* is therefore considered a "hyphen between the races", an "unbalanced type" enjoying no more than a brief individual existence in the racial evolution of the nation. It is this definition of the *mestiço* as an unstable type which underlies much of Euclides' analysis of the rebellion, its leader, Antônio Conselheiro, and its defeat; unbalanced, precarious racial, social and psychological forces, their temporary equilibrium must eventually and inevitably collapse to give way to a more stable order.

However, in the section "Um parenthesis irritante", Euclides makes an important distinction between the *mestiçagem* of Indian and white, that of the interior, and that of the coast, joining white and African:

(...) O sertanejo tomando em larga escalla, do selvagem, a intimidade com o meio physico, que ao envez de deprimir enrija o seu organismo potente, reflecte, na indole e nos costumes, das outras raças formadoras apenas aquelles attributos mais ajustaveis á sua phase social incipiente.

É um retrogrado; não é um degenerado. Por isto mesmo que as vicissitudes historicas o libertaram, na phase delicadissima da sua formação, das exigencias desproporcionadas de uma cultura de emprestimo, prepararam-no para a conquistar um dia (op.cit., pp.111-12).

In other words, through his isolation in the environment of the rural interior, and through his inheritance of the Indian's close relationship with the land, the *sertanejo* has been able to develop freely and gradually, avoiding the pressures and distortions which the "complex functions" of coastal society have imposed on the mulatto. In a note to the third edition, Euclides expands on this differentiation by means of a geological metaphor. It is as if the very spectacle of the *jagunços'* resistance to the Republican forces has obliged him to adjust his theoretical analysis. Although in himself a transitory racial type, the *caboclo* represents a substratum, the bedrock on which the future uniformity of the race will be founded:

Quer dizer que neste composto indefinível - o brasileiro - encontrei alguma coisa que é estável, um ponto de resistência recordando a molécula integrante das cristalizações iniciadas. Era natural que, admitida a arrojada a animadora conjetura de que estamos destinadas à integridade nacional, eu visse naqueles rijos caboclos o núcleo de força da nossa constituição futura, a rocha viva da nossa raça. (...)

A princípio uma dispersão estonteadora de atributos que vão de tôdas as nuances da côr a todos os aspectos do caráter. Não há distinguir-se o brasileiro no intrincado misto de brancos, negros e mulatos de todos os sangues e de todos os matizes. Estamos à superfície da nossa *gens*, ou melhor, seguindo à letra a comparação de há pouco, calcamos o humus indefinido da nossa raça. Mas, entranhando-nos na terra, vemos os primeiros grupos fixos - o *caipira*, no sul, e o *tabaréu*, ao norte - onde já se tornam raros o branco, o negro e o índio puros. A mestiçagem generalizada produz, entretanto, ainda tôdas as variedades das dosagens díspares do cruzamento. Mas, à medida que prosseguimos, estas últimas se atenuam.

Vai-se notando maior uniformidade de caracteres físicos e morais. Por fim, a rocha viva - o sertanejo (op.cit., pp.617-18).

Despite their differences, Monteiro Lobato, Lima Barreto, Euclides and the other dissident writers I have examined are all agreed in their analysis of Brazilian society under the Republic as deeply divided by economic, social and cultural factors associated with the rise of industrial capitalism and its representative class. Whether as a mythical Romantic legacy, an abstract element of racial theory or a real, modern *caboclo* defended by Rondon and adopted by Liberal philanthropists, the Indian is a ubiquitous symbol of those divisions, the most obvious being the primitive culture of the *sertão* and the rapidly developing society of the urban centres. It is as such that the Indianist theme acquires a new lease of life in the work of two Modernist writers who are the subjects of the next two chapters, Oswald and Mário de Andrade.

Another member of that same group of intellectuals, meanwhile, drew different conclusions from the uncertain process of ethnic and social conflict which characterised the First Republic. For Graça Aranha, *mestiçagem* constituted the same hope of social and political conciliation

which Alencar had voiced two generations earlier. As the protagonist of his novel Canaã leads the outcast Maria over the hill to the Promised Land he makes the plea: "Eu te suplico, a ti e à tua ainda inumerável geração, abandonemos os nosso ódios destruidores, reconciliemo-nos antes de chegar ao instante da Morte..."⁴⁷ It is this rather different Indianist tradition of mystical cosmic and national unity, the myth of integration, which is taken up by the intellectuals of the other radical Modernist grouping, Anta and Verdeamarelismo, the subject of the last chapter in this study.

47. Graça Aranha, Obra Completa (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1969), p.226.

CHAPTER 8. OSWALD DE ANDRADE AND ANTROPOFAGIA

8.1 Introduction

The disparate cultural attitudes described in the last chapter provide a vivid picture of a society and world in transformation. At the international level, scientific theory and technological innovation combined with abundant human and material resources to produce, in the United States, a powerful economic rival for capitalist Europe, while the ideological assumptions of these economies were themselves being challenged by new developments in political theory and the rise of mass movements. In Brazil, affected in significant ways by these changes, industrialisation and intensive urbanisation were just taking place for the first time, as the effects of Abolition and massive immigration accompanied the decline of the nation's most important export, coffee.

The young *paulista* intellectuals and artists who were disinherited by the shift of wealth from country to city and who themselves were obliged to find some niche in this new urban environment, recognised in their own displacement the transitional mood of the nation as a whole. It was this sense of social and economic change, and of the need for a positive artistic response to the advent of the New Age, which prompted those intellectuals to organise a Week of Modern Art in 1922, announcing the birth of the Brazilian Modernist movement. Nevertheless, although the *Semana de Arte Moderna* offered a vital break with the past and an enthusiastic receptiveness to European vanguardist developments, it still remained essentially an aesthetic revolution, leaving the major ideological questions of the century untouched. Several more years passed before Modernism evolved two radically nationalist programmes, opposing

each other at extreme ends of the ideological spectrum, yet having in common as their symbol, the Indian. Both movements passed through two stages of increasing radicalisation, Oswald de Andrade's Manifesto Pau-Brasil (1924) containing many of the ingredients that were to be more vigorously defended in the Manifesto Antropófago (1928), while *Verdeamarelismo* was abandoned by its leaders in 1927, in favour of *Anta*.

Commentators writing during these years and more recently, most significantly Cassiano Ricardo,¹ have used the term *neo-indianistas* to refer collectively to these movements. But if there is ample evidence of an underlying tradition or continuity between Romantic Indianism and *Verdeamarelismo/Anta*, the same is emphatically not the case as far as the origins of the *Movimento Antropofágico* are concerned. Even the most cursory glance at the Manifesto Antropófago will show that it represents a rupture with, and rejection of, Romantic Indianist assumptions. Both currents, it is true, abandon the Realists' and Regionalists' concern with contemporary social conditions in the rural interior, and are highly selective in their use of ethnographical and historical sources. The number of references in the writings of the two movements to government indigenist policy or to the problems of real tribal peoples in Brazil can be counted on the fingers of one hand - they are far fewer, in fact, than those I have discussed in relation to the literature and Indian policy of the nineteenth century.

However, the political commitments undertaken by the proponents of *Antropofagia* and *Anta* at the end of the decade (Communist and Fascist, respectively) should lead one immediately to question any label, such as

1. Cassiano Ricardo, Viagem no tempo e no espaço (memórias) (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1970), p.36.

neo-indianista, which brackets them together as some kind of revival of nineteenth-century nationalism. For, if both movements make symbolic use of the Indian, they are separated beyond any possible confusion by the revolutionary idealism of one and the obscurantist conservatism of the other. For the *verdeamarelistas* and members of *Anta*, it is not the cultural identity or independence of the Indian which matters but rather, in the spirit of Gonçalves de Magalhães and Alencar, a mystical indigenous presence, the call of Indian blood, in the history and consciousness of the modern Brazilian. The history of Indian/white relations is one of collaboration, assimilations, *mestiçagem*, whose greatest representatives are the *bandeirantes*, the mythical hero pioneers of the São Paulo and Minas interior, characteristically *mamelucos*, half Indian, half white, and in reality the perpetrators of violent slaving campaigns against the Indian communities. Concealing and denying this historical reality, *Verdeamarelismo* celebrates a perversely mythical triumph on the part of the Indians - their eternal ability to survive, not by resistance and conflict, but by their defeat and deliberate self-integration into the Brazilian race. Paragons of the virtues of passivity, neutrality and tradition, the Indians are the embodiment of the doctrine of the corporate state, relinquishing personal will and political sovereignty to the supreme Authority. This mystical indigenous presence in the blood of the modern Brazilian calls to his/her authentic native roots, the Voice of the West, as the source of true values. It represents a xenophobic rejection of all foreign influences, both economic and cultural, and a reactionary, introspective retreat into the traditional agricultural society of Imperial Brazil, a refusal to come to terms with

the modern, technological and industrial age which was rapidly dispossessing that society.

Against this retrogressive, irrationalist Neo-Indianism, Oswald de Andrade's Manifesto Antropófago stands as an original, creative attempt to confront the issues facing Brazilian culture and national identity in the 1920s. Unlike the nostalgic mysticism of *Verdeamarelismo*, innovatory neither in style nor theme, *Antropofagia* is truly radical, offering a libertarian socialist alternative to prevailing moral, political and cultural values and, at the same time, a constructive nationalist programme based on a synthesis of influences, native and cosmopolitan, primitivist and modern. It is not a mythology, then, unlike *Verdeamarelismo*, but a philosophy, and probably the most durable in its radicalism to have emerged from the Modernist Movement. For Oswald himself it remained the personal world-view to which he returned after his period of political activism and orthodoxy, and which he continued to develop in academic theses and articles up to his death in 1954.

Within the history of Brazilian culture in the twentieth century, too, *Antropofagia* has experienced a revival as a source and focus of radical resistance to political repression and obscurantism. Following the 1964 military coup, Oswald's work underwent a reappraisal by the *Concretista* and *Fraxis* movements and by the *Cinema Novo*. Haroldo de Campos, who republished Oswald's poetry in 1965, considers him to be historically the most significant figure of the Modernist movement.² In 1967 the Teatro Oficina staged Oswald's O Rei da Vela, a dramatic

2. Haroldo de Campos, "Uma poética da radicalidade", Oswald de Andrade, Poesias Reunidas, Obras Completas, vol.VII (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1978), pp.9-59, and "Serafim: Um Grande Não-Livro", Oswald de Andrade, Serafim Ponte Grande, Obras Completas, vol.II (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1971), pp.47-127.

exploration of the central principles of *Antropofagia*, which suffered repression during the 1930s under the Vargas dictatorship. Mário de Andrade's *Macunaíma*, adopted as the *obra prima* of the *Movimento Antropofágico*, has been adapted for the cinema by Joaquim Pedro de Andrade, who also planned a film on Oswald himself, *O Homem do Pau Brasil*. The Pau Brasil theatre company, meanwhile, produced a stage version of *Macunaíma* in 1979; following one of the longest runs in Brazilian theatrical history, it played to full houses in Rio, São Paulo and New York before going on to tour Europe in 1980.³ More recently still, Oswald's diagnosis of an inherent "anthropophagous" tendency within Brazilian culture has suggested a new critical perspective for the country's literary historians. Lúcia Helena's *Uma literatura antropofágica*⁴ examines, alongside the work of Oswald and Mário, "A tradição antropofágica" in Gregório de Matos and Augusto dos Anjos.

The central metaphor of *Antropofagia*, the act of ritual cannibalism, powerfully articulates the movement's revolutionary and iconoclastic, yet simultaneously constructive impulse. As a constant, all-pervasive feature of human life, the cannibalistic instinct sets individuals, classes and nations into violent conflict, in the desire to consume, internalise and "totemise" the "other" i.e. the alien, rival or enemy. Cannibalism is both struggle and communion, conflict and solidarity, a process which, according to Oswald, contemporary Western civilisation refuses to recognise or legitimise except in its basest manifestations, such as greed, envy and war.

3. See David Sanderson George, *Anthropophagy and the New Brazilian Theatre* (thesis, Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota, 1981), mimeo., pp.vii and 121.

4. Lúcia Helena, *Uma literatura antropofágica*, 2ª ed. (Fortaleza: Universidade Federal do Ceará, 1983).

As Oswald himself evidently sensed in a later reflection on the theme, a clear distinction needs to be made between this philosophy and Darwinist or fascist notions of conflict and survival of the fittest, which take specious sociobiological theories as the justification for political tyranny and repression. *Antropofagia* has rather more in common with Hegelian or Marxist views of struggle as an historical process, dialectic, in which a conflict of antagonistic, contradictory forces results in a synthesis, a more advanced, higher unity. In the years following the Second World War, when Oswald became disillusioned both with the spectacle of Stalinism and with the state of his own national Communist Party, he adapted the dialectic of *Antropofagia* to produce a critique or revision of Marxist revolutionary expectations, substituting a "managerial" regime for the socialist state.

But during the heyday of Modernism, the "Anthropophagous" philosophy was alone in offering a coherent and comprehensive proposal for a specifically Brazilian ideology of cultural nationalism, one that offered dignity, independence and a respect for the nation's popular, native roots, together with a progressive, eclectic view of modern international civilisation which promised all the liberating material and spiritual benefits of the New Age. Whether Oswald's potent theory of culture could survive beyond the heady atmosphere of the intellectual *avant-garde's* literary salons and Manifestos, was a matter which Mário de Andrade, with his academic scepticism and intimate familiarity with Brazil's "primitive" cultures, went some way towards answering.

The sense of standing at the dawn of a New Age must arguably have been experienced by anyone, such as Oswald de Andrade, who was exposed to the technological innovations of a rapidly expanding and

changing city, witnessed the first global war and was introduced to ideas and works of art which dismissed the hitherto unchallenged assumptions of rationalism and realist perspective. But if that personal experience were not enough, the sense of change was being powerfully articulated in works such as Oswald Spengler's The Decline of the West (1917) and Hermann Keyserling's The World in the Making (1927), books whose influence Oswald acknowledged in the Revista de Antropofagia and in his later writings. A few extracts from Keyserling's chapter on "The culture of the future" will reveal the extent to which contemporary minds were attempting to respond to the impact of the technological revolution:

(...) Wherever the technical penetrates, no life-form of the pre-technical epoch can long endure. In Europe today, it is just those French and English circles whose ripened culture withstood disintegration longest which most clearly prove that it is quite impossible, as a lover of cinema and radio, as 'motor-racer, aeronaut, and matter-of-course globe-trotter, to remain tied to life-forms the possibility of which depends on narrow inner and outer boundaries; (...)⁵

(...) And the technical is evident to a larger percentage of every people than any cultural achievement since the Stone Age. Soon there will be no person in the world not of subnormal intelligence to whom wireless will not seem just as simple as the multiplication table (op.cit., p.130).

(...) We need only examine the European youth of today; its lack of understanding of that which meant everything to its fathers is perhaps without parallel in any range of generations in human memory; or, if it shows any interest, that interest resembles the interest of the American in medieval Europe: this alone demonstrates how radically the psychic totality of condition has changed (op.cit., pp.136-37).

Yet at the same time, and no doubt in some measure a reaction to the rise of this "modern" mentality, European artists were turning to the tribal cultures of Africa and the Pacific in a rediscovery of the "primitive". The Cubists and the *fauve* painters found in these models an

5. Hermann Keyserling, The World in the Making (Die Neuentstehende Welt) (London: Jonathan Cape, 1927), p.128.

unsophisticated, non-academic vitality from which the Western tradition had become alienated; they were encouraged to reappraise the untutored art of rural communities closer to home, and to support the amateur or part-time artist, such as Henri Rousseau, "Le Douanier", who existed independently from the "schools" and their academic theories. Meanwhile, the confident rationalist mentality on which the scientism of the last few decades had been based was being rocked to its foundations; Freudian psychoanalysis, which was now being widely disseminated in intellectual circles, taught that the unconscious mind was the principal motor of human behaviour, and that the pathological mental disturbances of adult life were explicable in terms of the child's symbolic interpretation of his/her early sexual experiences. Freud's formulation of the archetypal psychological "events" and complexes experienced in common by all social individuals, held implications of a revolutionary nature for the Surrealists and Dadaists, who saw the liberation of the unconscious as part of a struggle for freedom from cultural and political oppression.

Oswald de Andrade enjoyed as much contact with these new ideas as any Brazilian intellectual of his generation, both through his readings and above all as a result of his many journeys to Europe. But, in the spirit of the *antropófago* which defines his new concept of nationalism, he did not "convert" indiscriminately to any one or several of the artistic schools to which he was exposed during his stays in Europe. Contrary to the impression that is sometimes given, Oswald was not simply a dadaist primitive attempting to impose foreign models on an unwilling Brazilian culture. The originality and value of his philosophy is its selective, eclectic use of those influences in the construction of a synthetic solution to the primitive/modern-technological dilemma of the

age. In the first place, certainly, primitivism supplied Oswald with both the imagery and the symbolic underpinning for his revolutionary socialist ideals. His readings of Engels, Bachofen, Freud, and later, Beauvoir and Lévi-Strauss were central to the development of his view of tribal society as characteristically matriarchal, and therefore free from the repressive features of patriarchal-dominated Western civilisation; as egalitarian and collectivist, having no sense of the concept of private property, and essentially magical, that is, based on a religious sense born out of a close contact with the earth, without abstractions or metaphysical divisions into subject and object, spiritual and physical realms.

On all levels, then, political, economic, cultural and psychological, the primitive society which Oswald proposed as a model challenged head-on the existing structures and values of, not only Brazilian society, but Western society as a whole. If *Antropofagia* had gone no further than this, it would have been little more than another European vanguardist sub-movement, another revolutionary manifesto of universal, rather than nationalist, appeal. Not surprisingly, the revolutionary element of the movement figures very prominently in the style and rhetoric of the Revista de Antropofagia, whose role was largely a propagandistic one, announcing a break with past ideological, as well as aesthetic, values.

More than this, though, *Antropofagia* stands apart from those other movements by virtue of its nationalist content. Just as the Romantic Indianists realised the special nationalist significance of a theme which had a solely exotic appeal for the European reader, Oswald rediscovered the peculiarly Brazilian character of the "primitive man made technical",

the theory of *Antropofagia*. The Manifesto Antropófago protests: "Nunca fomos catequisados"; in spite of its history of colonial dependence, the subjection of the Indian convert to the power of the Jesuit missionary, Brazilian culture has resisted this colonialism at various subliminal levels, subverting the models imposed on it from outside. Like those many Indians who, though accepting European clothes and learning *verbatim* the teachings of the Christian gospel, then disappointed the missionaries by continuing to practise their pagan religion and customs, "O Brasil Caraíba" has defied the forces which wished to tame and dominate it. "Fizemos Cristo nascer na Bahia": the syncretic religions of the Afro-Brazilian communities of the North-east are just one example of this subversion and reappropriation of imported European culture by the national population. The task of the Movimento Antropofágico is therefore both to reveal the latent but constant presence of this process of cultural cannibalism within Brazilian history, and to promote it as a conscious programme of self-determination.

As I have already implied, however, Oswald's primitivism, though nationalist and revolutionary, does not propose to ignore or reject the enormous technological transformations brought about by the twentieth century. If the Manifesto and Poesia Pau-Brasil constitute Oswald's re-discovery of the primitive in Brazilian culture, then the symbol of that re-discovery is the product of the first interaction between nature and technology in the nation's history - the export of brasil wood. As early as this, Oswald makes it clear that his celebration of the *floresta* does not mean an all-out rejection of the *escola*. In this respect it is interesting to note that his concern with construction actually allied him with a neo-Classical tendency within European Modernism, and opposed

him to the Surrealists and Dadaists, whom he once named "dissolventes mentais". On the other hand, his positive view of the Modern Age did not lead him to participate in the exaltant militarism of the Futurists, a tendency which, although abandoned officially by the Brazilian Modernist movement after Marinetti's fascist flirtations, nevertheless survived in the movements of *Klaxon* and *Verdeamarelismo*.⁶

Neither Romantic and retrospective, nor naïvely and indiscriminately cosmopolitan and futurist, the most important discovery of *Antropofagia* is that Brazilian culture is born of a dynamic synthesis of two elements or impulses: the primitive and the technological. It is a discovery which the movement has in common with the Poesia Pau-Brasil; in the first of Oswald's two manifestos, the "fatos" of the national reality, the substance of the "new poetry", are examples of the primitive and the technological juxtaposed in a chequered mosaic:

Obuses de elevadores, cubos de arranha-céus e a sábia preguiça solar. A reza. O Carnaval. A energia íntima. O Sabiá. A hospitalidade um pouco sensual, amorosa. A saudade dos pajés e os campos de aviação militar. Pau-Brasil.⁷

The innovation of *Antropofagia* is to exchange this objective observation of the fusion of cultures for a participation in it; where the Manifesto Pau-Brasil speaks in third person of a landscape of "fatos", the Manifesto Antropófago talks of "eu" and "nós" - it takes the Brazilian individual, the "antropófago", as the personification of the primitive and technological in synthesis. It is important to emphasise, therefore, that while the Indian and tribal culture are vital to the language and

6. Sílvio Castro, Teoria e política do modernismo brasileiro (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1979), p.41.

7. Oswald de Andrade, Obras Completas, 11 vols., vol.VI, Do Pau-Brasil à Antropofagia e às Utopias: manifestos, teses de concursos e ensaios, 2ª ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1978), p.9.

arguments of *Antropofagia*, the "antropófago" is a new man, the new Brazilian who recognises himself as both indigenous, primitive, and cosmopolitan and modern, the product of a cannibalistic assimilation. *Antropofagia* resolves the gulf between the primitive and the modern by discovering the primitive in the modern. As a simple illustration, many of the contributions to the Revista de Antropofagia are comic anecdotes which testify to cases of modern cannibalism or primitive behaviour.

Oswald's "antropófago" is an important and original advance in its definition of a synthetic Brazilian culture; however, this should not be confused with Alencar's concept of a *mestiça* culture that re-emerged in the ideology of *Anta* and *Verdeamarelismo*. For the latter notion of *mestiçagem* always assumes the legitimacy of Conquest, the inevitability of a passive absorption of the indigenous, primitive element into the racially, politically and culturally superior society of the white coloniser. The indigenous presence is always subliminal, subordinate and tamed, in a relationship that is fully expressive of the political and nationalist aspirations of Alencar and the *integralistas*: the Indian is a potent symbol of independence from foreign challenges to their right to power; yet he must also be tamed and assimilated in order that an authentic "primitive" and "indigenous" population, the majority of blacks, mulattos, *caboclos* and *caipiras*, will not take inspiration from him and present an alternative claim to that power.

In the interpretation of *Antropofagia*, the balance of the relationship is completely different: in spite of the political ascendancy of the coloniser, his official history celebrating the triumph of imported white civilisation, the Brazilian "antropófago" has remained rebellious,

subversive and defiant, not submitting to the coloniser and his values but devouring them, molding and adapting them to his own needs.

Antropofagia therefore offered a powerfully coherent ideology to a nation that was faced with seemingly irreconcilable choices: the predominantly rural, agricultural economy and society of Empire or the urban, industrial capitalism of the Republic; an introverted, indigenist nationalism or an open cosmopolitanism; a faith in the instinctive, intuitive values of an unsophisticated, popular culture, or a preference for the rationalist, scientific mentality of the Modern Age. After the Modernist and nationalist fervour of the 1920s had evolved into the more clearly political loyalties of the intellectual community under Vargas' Estado Novo, Oswald tended to explore the more philosophical, universal dimensions of *Antropofagia*, elaborating his personal version of the history of Western civilisation. Leaving its nationalist implications aside, Oswald's "antropófago" owes much to Keyserling's notion of the chauffeur as the characteristic human type of the Modern Age, "primitive man made technical". Like most of the reading matter which dominated Oswald's attention during the last decade of his life, Keyserling's The World in the Making is a large-scale work examining the origins and destiny of contemporary Western society. Not the least remarkable aspect of Oswald's intellectual career is the consistency of his concept of a synthesis of the primitive and the technological, which runs from the Poesia Pau-Brasil through the Movimento Antropofágico to the theses and articles of A Crise da Filosofia Messiânica and A Marcha das Utopias, of the 1950s.

In these last two works he states explicitly the historical analysis which underlies the revolutionary optimism of *Antropofagia*:

namely, that the primitive man made technical heralds the completion of a dialectical process and the dawn of a new Matriarchy of collectivist values. The elements of Marx's dialectic formula - thesis: bourgeoisie; antithesis: proletariat; synthesis: communism - are replaced by his own - thesis: *o homem natural*; antithesis: *o homem civilizado*; synthesis: *o homem natural tecnizado*. This revision of the Marxist dialectic is necessary, he believes, because the reality of Stalinist Russia is evidence that Communism has gone no further than the second term of the equation, becoming petrified in its messianic dogma of the Will of the Party. In his search for a third way, an alternative synthesis, Oswald's apparently inexhaustible supply of revolutionary faith and optimism is directed towards the technological age as the promise of leisure, a primitive state of "being" from which modern man has become alienated. The new, alternative dialectical equation is therefore: *técnica - negócio = ócio*. *Antropofagia*, as the "primitive made technical", has by now become synonymous with Matriarchy, the Utopian impulse which, in Oswald's account of European civilisation, has repeatedly challenged the repressive structures of patriarchal society.

If the logic of these later writings, consistent with their appeal to a primitive, intuitive mentality, is at times tenuous and impressionistic, at others based on a misinterpretation of his source texts, one is nevertheless still impressed by Oswald's eternal utopian faith, his confidence in the construction of a future from the conflicts and contradictions of the present. Even when his Marcha das Utopias appears to lead him away from the radical libertarianism of his early career, as it does when he embraces the corporativism of Burnham's The Managerial Revolution, his optimistic urge to transcend destructive

antagonisms remains undiminished. Indeed, it may be that the appeal of Burnham's analysis lies, not so much in the nature of the society it is announcing, as in the fact that it offers a third alternative to the two ideologies whose mutual hostility, as Oswald saw it, threatened to devour the world in the final act of cannibalism. The failure of the 1943 Teheran Conference to produce a "síntese das forças políticas vitoriosas", a synthesis of the great Communist and Capitalist world systems, was a source of immense disillusionment for Oswald. His response was to return to the peculiarly paradoxical coherence of the philosophy of *Antropofagia*: life is "devoração", at worst a violent, destructive impulse of conflict and death, but in its highest form a manifestation of man's collective being, a communion and synthesis of opposites.

8.2 Oswald and the Modernist revolution

The above is an outline of the principles of *Antropofagia* as it evolved through the manifestos, journalistic articles and theses written during the thirty or so years of Oswald's career, and as it reflects his shifting areas of concern, whether they were cultural nationalism, history or political philosophy. But, as its profound involvement in those contemporary issue must indicate, *Antropofagia* did not spring out of a vacuum, for all those anecdotes which recount how the central germ of the philosophy was suggested to Oswald over dinner one evening. By the same token, the revolutionary ideologue of the movement was one of a community of intellectuals who emerged from the transformation of Brazil's agricultural economy and its traditional ruling class, the landowning oligarchies of São Paulo, Rio and Minas Gerais. As Mário de Andrade reminds us, the Modernist movement was, for all its destructive,

revolutionary declaration of war on the "passadismo" of the cultural establishment, an aristocratic movement, as élitist in its beginnings as the order it was replacing.⁸ It revolved around the sophisticated social gatherings of the *salões*, whose class-consciousness could take the form of open hostility towards outsiders such as Plínio Salgado. Its links with the latifundist aristocracy of São Paulo were very real, too; one of those chiefly responsible for the funding and organisation of the *Semana de Arte Moderna* was Paulo Prado, the heir to one of the most prestigious landowning families of the state. Many of the other chief names in the movement - the Andrades, Augusto Frederico Schmidt, Menotti del Picchia, Cassiano Ricardo and Plínio Salgado, for example - collaborated on the Correio Paulistano, the mouthpiece of the Partido Republicano Paulista, which represented those same traditional economic interests.

Of course, the historical importance of the Modernist movement is its role in helping to determine how that unity of interests would disintegrate under the tensions produced by the move to industrialisation, and how they would realign themselves in the new political configuration that led to the revolution of 1930. Thus, for Oswald, "O modernismo é um diagrama da alta do café, da quebra e da revolução brasileira".⁹ If Oswald considers the key date in this process to be 1922, which saw the founding of the Brazilian Communist Party, the *tenentes'* rebellion and the *Semana de Arte Moderna*,¹⁰ one might equally point to 1924 as the decisive moment when those public statements of disaffection gave way to

8. Mário de Andrade, "O Movimento Modernista" (1924), Aspectos da Literatura Brasileira (São Paulo: Martins, 1943), pp.236-41.

9. Oswald de Andrade, "O Caminho Percorrido", Ponta de lança, Obras Completas, vol.V (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1971), p.95.

10. Vera M. Chalmers, 3 linhas e 4 verdades. O jornalismo de Oswald de Andrade (São Paulo: Duas Cidades, 1976), p.194.

constructive forms of action. For in that year the PRP suffered a fundamental split from which it would never recover, establishing a new opposition centred around the Mesquita family and the newspaper O Estado de São Paulo; the "Coluna Prestes" began its legendary march through the sertão in an attempt to mobilise mass support for its reformist demands, and Oswald de Andrade formulated the Manifesto da Poesia Pau-Brasil, initiating the process of ideological and artistic self-definition that allowed the Modernist "revolution" to evolve into a number of sub-movements.

The distinction between those two dates, 1922 and 1924, is an important one if we are to appreciate fully Oswald's role in giving a forward impulse and direction to Modernism after the euphoria of the Semana de Arte Moderna. As Eduardo Jardim Moraes states in his study of the philosophical dimension of the movement,¹¹ Modernism up to 1924 was concerned with the question of struggle against "passadismo", with the renewal of Brazilian culture through the absorption of the European vanguardist developments, and the issue of nationalism was largely absent. This statement of an urgent need to do away with the aesthetic canons of the Parnassianists and Symbolists was nevertheless a vital preparation, a rehearsal of the language in which the new nationalist ideologies were to be conceived. In view of the continuing popularity of the Indianist tradition which, as I indicated in the last chapter, enjoyed a second life under the protection of the Parnassianists, what better target for the Modernists' iconoclastic zeal than the hero of Alencar's O Guarani? As the title of an article by Menotti del Picchia in the

11. Eduardo Jardim Moraes, A Brasilidade modernista: sua dimensão filosófica (Rio de Janeiro: Graal, 1978), p.49.

Jornal do Comércio demanded in January 1921, "Matemos Peri!". The attack concerned, not so much the character, as the reigning cultural mentality of reaction, sentimentalism and academicism, "os peris mentais, a consciência *peri*, a arte *peri*, isto é, em miúdos, o conservantismo, o misoneísmo, a escravidão ao passado, e a subserviência ao obsoleto".¹²

Interestingly enough, then, the newly convinced Modernist, Menotti, author of Juca Mulato, had now joined Monteiro Lobato in attacking the contemporary conservative taste for Romantic Indianism and *caboclistmo*. Paradoxically, perhaps, it was Menotti, essentially the more reactionary of the two, who embraced the new "revolutionary" aesthetic, if only temporarily. Lobato, on the other hand, was an aggressive opponent of Modernism. An article which he wrote in 1917, on the occasion of the first major exhibition of a native "modern" artist in Brazil, Anita Malfatti, successfully polarised the two sides of the argument. The article's hostile reaction to the new aestheticism turned Malfatti into a martyr, around which intellectuals such as Mário and Oswald now congregated in her defence. The book in which the article later appeared, Idéias de Jéca Tatú, is a collection of fiercely nationalist reviews which leave no doubt as to the roots of Lobato's opposition to the new art imported from Europe. Long before the nationalist debates of 1924, then, the problematic issue had been raised of how to create an authentically Brazilian art and literature on the basis of models acquired in Europe; how, in fact, to reconcile cultural nationalism and cosmopolitanism.

This and the other ideological tensions which I have identified -

12. Cited in Mário da Silva Brito, História do Modernismo brasileiro. 1 - antecedentes da Semana de Arte Moderna, 3ª ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1971), p.193.

tradition v modernism, primitivism v technology - were active forces in Oswald's early development and career, at least in his own perception of it. The major source for this period of Oswald's life is his own memoirs,¹³ which are clearly written in the light of his subsequent historical and philosophical ideas. They therefore pre-empt the question of a correspondence between the man's ideas and his biography, but since it is the former which are under consideration here, Oswald's interpretation of events is likely to be more illuminating than the documentary facts.

José Oswald de Sousa Andrade was born in 1890 in São Paulo, at the beginning of the period of intensive urbanisation and industrialisation which I have already described. The changes he witnessed and experienced as a child and young man seriously tested the assumptions passed on to him during his upbringing. Both parents originated from the north, Oswald's ancestors having reputedly been given the province of Amazonas as a reward for defending the African colony of Mazagão. From his mother he heard tales of her childhood amongst crocodiles and snakes, but his greatest impressions were of their religiosity, their intense faith in the existence of God and in the value of Catholic ritualism. Although he was soon to react against the repressive elements of Catholicism and later described as "esse dicionário do totemismo órfico" the absurdly elaborate lists of saints, it left him with a deep religious sense, his sentimento "órfico".

The other source of tradition and conservatism against which he was to rebel lay in his education, over which the reactionary shadow of

13. Oswald de Andrade,, Um Homem Sem Profissão. Memórias e Confissões. Vol.I: 1890-1919. Sob as Ordens de Mamãe, 3ª ed., Obras Completas, vol.IX (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1976).

the São Paulo Law Faculty loomed large. One of Oswald's most vivid schoolboy recollections concerns an iron-fisted teacher, Carlos Augusto Germano Knuppell, himself a graduate of the Law Faculty, who subjected him to a gruelling oral examination requiring him to recite the names of Brazil's secondary ports. Oswald's own entry into the Faculty in 1909 brought him into direct conflict with the myopic mentality of the intellectual establishment of the First Republic; he declared himself an anarchist, opposed to everything from "debaixo das Arcadas": "Por instinto e depois conscientemente, sempre repeli esse Direito ali ensinado para engrossar a filosofia do roubo que caracteriza o capitalismo" (op.cit., p.48). Liberal influences were not totally lacking, though; a number of intellectual friends and a teacher at the Ginásio São Bento noticed his writing ability and encouraged him to read the works of Victor Hugo, Nietzsche and Dostoyevsky.

Meanwhile, small details remembered from his childhood bear witness to the economic and social transformations taking place in the city: a rich, americanised *paulistano* whose technological novelties included a phonograph; the arrival of electric trams; an early film of Robinson Crusoe; shows given by Sara Bernhardt and the French girls of the *café-concert*, his father's involvement as a councillor in a "revolution". By 1910 he was working on the Diário Popular, and witnessed in that year the fighting and blockade of Rio in protest at the militarism of Hermes da Fonseca and Pinheiro Machado. Attending a parliamentary debate and hearing of the miserable conditions suffered by sailors represented the beginnings of his political consciousness, and with financial help from his father he founded a very successful weekly satirical paper, O Pirralho.

This was also a time of sexual initiation, when Oswald discovered the hypocrisy and repression which characterised the morality of his parents' generation. For Oswald's daughter Marília, in her Jungian interpretation of his life, this represents a second phase of self-realisation and discovery, in which the myths of his traditional *bourgeois* childhood were destroyed and the links with his family were broken.¹⁴ The culmination of that process of liberation was his voyage to Europe, from which he returned in 1912 to find his mother dead. In Europe he found the social and sexual freedom which were so conspicuously absent in Brazil - "A irregularidade, a contravenção para que eu nascera e para a qual agora escapava, fugindo também ao cálido e envolvente agasalho materno" (op.cit., p.67). In 1914 a French girl named Kaniá, who had returned with him to Brazil, bore his first child, though he soon took up with a sixteen year-old ballet dancer whom he had met five years earlier on the voyage to Europe. Despite the recriminations of his father and friends, Oswald pursued the girl obsessively, until her first professional appearance caused a public scandal, and she was taken into a convent, with Oswald being accused of making her pregnant.

He had meanwhile become a columnist on the Jornal do Comércio, had met Mário de Andrade and the artist Di Cavalcanti and, in 1917, began writing a collective diary, O perfeito cozinheiro das almas deste mundo, together with, among others, Monteiro Lobato, Menotti del Picchia and a new lover, Deisi, whom he later discovered to be a prostitute. This, his third affair, was cut short when an abortion developed complications and Deisi died in hospital, only moments after being married to Oswald in a

14. Marília de Oswald Andrade and Yolanda Lisbona, "Oswald de Andrade; a Antropofagia libertadora", Jornal do Brasil, 5/12/70, pp.4-5.

last-minute ceremony. Oswald makes much of his perennial, mythical search for woman, and there is a strong case for attributing to it an important unifying influence in his work. Marília de Oswald Andrade sees the tumultuous affairs of his middle years as a reflection of his political activism and radicalism at this time. His marriage in later life to Maria Antonieta d'Alkmin would represent a return to the stability of his mother and the moderation of that radicalism, a view which the poem "Cântico dos Cânticos para Flauta e Violão" does much to confirm (op.cit., p.5).

Oswald's journalistic development following the voyage to Europe, meanwhile, shows his political and literary radicalism emerging from a more sceptical, bohemian attitude which he cultivated in the company of a group of non-active "anarchists" who included the poet Ricardo Gonçalves. One of the group's cultural irreverences consisted of a deliberate taste for the *kitsch* or for the popularised versions of high art that filled the travelling shows:

"Um costume deles é ir ao circo de cavalinhos ver as pantomimas 'Guerra de Canudos' e 'Guarani'. Entusiasmam-se com o Cabo Roque, ou o Macambira, ou o 'imorredouro' Carlos Gomes. Ceci é mulata, Peri é italiano e faz um índio perfeitamente macarrônico. (...) Lino (tipo do boêmio mais excêntrico do grupo) 'compenetra-se e comove-se; chega a chorar quando Ceci e Peri somem no horizonte, montados na palmeira' (...)"¹⁵

A few years later, when Oswald is writing for the Jornal do Comércio, this comic affection for the sacred cows of Brazilian culture and history has turned to satire. In the article "Reforma Literária" (19/5/21) Oswald has joined the anti-*passadismo* polemic, taking as his target one of the fathers of the Indianist tradition, Santa Rita Durão (op.cit., p.71).

15. Chalmers, op.cit., p.49.

But it was his next major visit to Europe, in 1923, when he was the Paris correspondent for the Correio Paulistano, which gave his ideas a distinctive focus, and which initiated a period of intensive contact with the European *avant-gardes*. During his first voyage in 1911-12 he recalled having seen the Futurist Manifesto but had yet to discover Marx;¹⁶ in the intervening years the Semana de Arte Moderna had precipitated in the entire intellectual generation an urge to participate in the artistic upheaval that was taking place abroad. As Oswald observes, this wave of voyages and enthusiastic contact with foreign ideas was a vital liberation and maturation, even for those who were later to pursue the reactionary course of right-wing nationalism:

A insatisfação de 22 nos levara a Paris dentre duas guerras e no seu desdobramento foi mais longe. Levou brasileiros à Rússia e às terras que haviam inventado o fascismo. Graça Aranha vivia em Paris. Mais de um brasileiro pisou o país dos soviets. O Sr. Plínio Salgado preferiu a Alemanha e Portugal. O Sr. Tristão de Athayde fez uma romaria à Palestina ("O Caminho Percorrido", op.cit., pp.994-95).

The French-Swiss poet Blaise Cendrars was Oswald's chief guide in Paris to what was fairly loosely referred to as the "Cubist" movement, which had replaced Futurism as the dominant Modernist perspective. However, in his letters to the Correio Paulistano, Oswald appeared less impressed by the experimental techniques of Cubist art than by the movement's concern with the question of post-war reconstruction:

Paris, e com ela este aparatoso século de cubismo e relatividade, parece emaranhada numa ética e numa estética que se chamarão *d'après-guerre*, pois sem dúvida, depois da angústia de quatro anos de carnicaria, houve como que uma urgência na civilização ocidental em tentar as bases de uma tranqüilidade moral e intelectual.¹⁷

16. Oswald de Andrade, Um Homem Sem Profissão..., op.cit., p.68.

17. "Atualidade de Babilônia", Correio Paulistano, 30/3/23, quoted in Chalmers, op.cit., p.98.

For all their iconoclastic rhetoric, *Antropofagia* and the Poesia Pau-Brasil owe a great deal to this new constructivist tradition, rather than to that of the Surrealists and Dadaists, something which is fully consistent with Oswald's dialectical approach. He was obliged to explain this when the critic Tristão de Athaide condemned the Poesia Pau-Brasil, "o modernismo destruidor", for its attempt to "abolir todo o esforço poético no sentido da lógica, da beleza, da construção, e nadar no instintivo, na bobagem, na mediocridade".¹⁸ On the contrary, Oswald's instinctive anarchism was allied to a critical, objective rationalism, to the neo-Classicism of Picasso, Cocteau or Satie:

Como se vê, nunca estive tão perto das suas idéias de disciplina e construção do que quando, 24 meses antes da sua admirável sóva, pensei pela primeira vez na Poesia Pau Brasil. (...) Veja, meu crítico, a lamentável confusão que se introduziu no seu espírito, quando me acusou de scepticismo e literatura suicida.

De um lado estão Dada e as antiescolas anarquistas. Do outro, todos os operários da construção actual, chamem-se elles Maurras ou Massis, Cendrars ou Satie. (...)

Faço esporte. Cortei relações com os artistas degenerados de minha terra. E v. me encontrará comendo o bife trapista de Brancusi, no atelier da impasse Ronsin - nunca fazendo cauda nas literaturas de horizonte artificial. Não quis até hoje privar com os dissolventes mentais que v. cita, nem com Tzara, nem com Breton, nem com Picabia - o único a quem fui ocasionalmente apresentado, mas que pouco me interessou. Ao contrário, tive grande prazer em conhecer em vida Satie e Radiguet - a ida ao clássico!¹⁹

Indeed, Picabia's review Cannibale and the Manifeste Cannibale Dada (1920) (unavailable to the present author) appear to have had at most a suggestive influence on Oswald's Manifesto Antropófago; beyond this, Picabia's "cannibal" "não passou de uma fantasia a mais do guarda-roupa

18. Alceu Amoroso Lima (Tristão de Athaide), "Literatura Suicida", Estudos 1925, IN Estudos Literários, 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Aguilar, 1966), vol.I, p.917.

19. Oswald de Andrade, "A Poesia Pau-Brasil. Resposta a Tristão de Athayde", O Jornal, 18/9/25, reprinted in "Um documento", Jornal do Comércio (ed. de São Paulo), 7/4/27, also reproduced in Telefonema, Obras Completas, vol.X (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1974), pp.43-51.

com que o movimento procurava assustar as mentes burguesas".²⁰ For the Manifeste Cannibale Dada proposed no kind of organised movement, nor any utopian philosophy, but a simple nihilism that is nowhere recognisable in the texts of the Manifestos da Poesia Pau-Brasil or Antropófago.

The Surrealists' and Dadaists' concern with subjectivism, spontaneity and an art of the unconscious, so clearly rejected by Oswald, nevertheless emerged from the same contemporary interest in the question of primitivism. While Oswald's manifestos and philosophical writings make liberal use of the language of psychoanalysis, and while the liberation of the subconscious is an important element of his utopian ideology, the primitivism of *Pau-Brasil* and *Antropofagia* is different again. Benedito Nunes is right to draw attention to Oswald's notion of a "pensamento selvagem", a primitive mentality that could free the artist and the individual from the repressive limitations of "o pensar cultivado, utilitário e domesticado". Speaking of the Europeans' modern "discovery" of African culture, in a lecture at the Sorbonne in 1923, Oswald had pointed to the liberating potential of this primitive perspective in the search for artistic first principles, for the "origens concretas e metafísicas da arte".²¹ It was this new perspective which formed the core of the Poesia Pau-Brasil, and which prepared the way for Oswald's revolutionary analysis of Brazilian culture in the Manifesto Antropófago.

Blaise Cendrars, who introduced Oswald to a large section of the French *avant-garde* during his stay in Paris, made a visit to Brazil in 1924 whose importance both for Oswald's Poesia Pau-Brasil and other

20. Augusto de Campos, "Revistas re-vistas: os Antropófagos", Revista de Antropofagia (Facsimile) (São Paulo: Metal Leve, 1976), p.11.

21. Benedito Nunes, "Antropofagia ao Alcance de Todos", Oswald de Andrade, Do Pau-Brasil à Antropofagia e às Utopias, op.cit., pp.xviii-xix.

Modernist writers is now generally acknowledged.²² Exchanging poems and accompanying each other's creative activity, Oswald and Cendrars enjoyed a relationship of artistic osmosis, which later allowed Oswald to say of Cendrars that "de resto, também escreveu conscientemente poesia pau-brasil".²³ Discovering Brazil for the first time with the help of Oswald and his future wife, the artist and sculptress Tarsila do Amaral, Cendrars provided his hosts with a fresh perspective on their native landscape, the "camera-eye" of his Kodak (1924) and Feuilles de Route.

In Oswald's own version of this objective, fragmented photo-perspective, the Poesia Pau-Brasil, the landscape includes a vital human element, which is the key to his special notion of the primitive mentality. Just as the "anthropophagous" instinct is an impulse to transcend the boundaries between subject and object, to unite the self and the "other", so the perspective of the Poesia Pau-Brasil assumes the tribal primitive's cosmology: psychological experience, collective history and natural events all constitute a single, integral reality. As a brief examination of the Manifesto and the Poesia Pau-Brasil will show, the concept of a primitive, uninterrupted relationship between the human individual and his/her world is central both to Oswald's view of Brazilian culture and the manner in which it is perceived.

The Manifesto da Poesia Pau-Brasil first appeared on 18th March 1924, in the Rio newspaper Correio da Manhã. It was republished in a modified, shortened form as the introduction, or "falação", to the poems

22. Haroldo de Campos, "Uma poética da radicalidade", op.cit., pp.35-39, and Aracy A. Amaral, Blaise Cendrars no Brasil e os modernistas (São Paulo: Martins, 1970).

23. Interview with Péricles Eugênio da Silva Ramos, Correio Paulistano, 26/6/49, 3ª seção, pp.1-2, also cited in Péricles Eugênio da Silva Ramos, "O Modernismo na Poesia", A Literatura no Brasil, ed. Afrânio Coutinho, vol.V (Rio de Janeiro: Sul Americana, 1970), p.46.

of Pau-Brasil, which were published in Paris in the following year. Paulo Prado's preface to the poems is dated May 1924; this combined with Haroldo Campos' observation that there are stylistic links between Pau-Brasil and the novel Memórias sentimentais de João Miramar (also of 1924), supports Campos' suggestion that at least some of the poems may have been written in that year, or even as early as 1923.²⁴

In a later comment Oswald made that important distinction between the European forms of primitivism and his own, which I identified above:

O primitivismo que na França aparecia como exotismo (...) era para nós, no Brasil, primitivismo mesmo. Pensei, então, em fazer uma poesia de exportação e não de importação, baseada em nossa ambiência geográfica, histórica e social. Como o pau-brasil foi a primeira riqueza brasileira exportada, denominei o movimento Pau-Brasil.²⁵

The Manifesto opens with the words: "A poesia existe nos fatos. Os casebres de açafração e de ocre nos verdes da Favela, sob o azul cabralino, são fatos estéticos";²⁶ poetry is thus returned to its origins, to the reality of the human world and its experiences, and is provided with a new set of artistic materials, the contemporary landscape of the Brazilian people. This freshly primitive cultural landscape - "A formação étnica rica. Riqueza vegetal. O minério. A cozinha. O vatapá, o ouro e a dança" - is then set against the academic élitist culture of Europe, which Brazil's history of colonial dependence has superimposed upon it - "O lado doutor, o lado citações, o lado autores conhecidos". Even as the contrast is made, however, the two elements do not remain distinct but interact, to produce a characteristically syncretic culture. Fragments of another reality begin to emerge, the peculiar product of a Western

24. "Uma poética da radicalidade", op.cit., note 9, p.16.

25. Silva Ramos, *ibid.*

26. Do Pau-Brasil à Antropofagia..., op.cit., p.5.

civilisation in the Tropics: "Rui Barbosa: uma cartola na Senegâmbia. (...) Negras de jockey. Odaliscas no Catumbi" (ibid.).

Until now, though, the balance of the relationship has not been equal; during the four centuries of colonialism and neo-colonialism to which Brazil has been subjected ("Toda a história bandeirante e a história comercial do Brasil"), the "lado doutor" has dominated and suppressed the indigenous, primitive element: "Fatalidade do primeiro branco aportado e dominando politicamente as selvas selvagens. (...) Eruditamos tudo. Esquecemos o gavião de penacho" (ibid.). This opening section of four paragraph groups ends with a composite image of a latent, authentic Brazilian art waiting to emerge from the parasitic tangles of the "escola" that are choking the "floresta": "A poesia anda oculta nos cipós maliciosos da sabedoria. Nas lianas da saudade universitária" (p.6).

Pau-Brasil, the product of the first encounter between technology and nature, Europe and America, in the country's history, is to represent a recasting of that relationship on different terms. The indigenous culture, its primitive energies and ingenuous sensuality, are to be fused only with the best, most progressive and liberating elements of modern Western civilisation:

Temos a base dupla e presente - a floresta e a escola. A raça crédula e dualista e a geometria, a álgebra e a química logo depois da mamadeira e do chá de erva-doce. Um misto de "dorme nenê que o bicho vem pegá" e de equações. (...)

O contrapeso da originalidade nativa para inutilizar a adesão acadêmica.

A reação contra todas as indigestões da sabedoria. O melhor de nossa tradição lírica. O melhor de nossa demonstração moderna (p.9).

Brazilian culture is to be recognised as a hybrid in which the primitive impulse, instead of occupying a subordinate, passive role, will assume its

own destiny, and act as a critical, liberating antidote to the more reactionary, repressive elements of "o lado doutor", absorbing from that imported culture what it can best use. The image of a selective consumption and digestion of European civilisation and technology by Brazil's indigenous culture clearly anticipates the central metaphor of *Antropofagia*:

Apenas brasileiros de nossa época. O necessário de química, de mecânica e de balística. Tudo digerido (p.10).

The poems of the Poesia Pau-Brasil demonstrate this process of cultural synthesis, the reconstruction of Brazilian culture out of its constituent elements, both at a thematic and formal level. As in the Manifesto, the new cultural identity is built out of fragments of reality in the form of short phrases or lines of poetry. Here I shall consider just a few examples from the group entitled "História do Brasil", since they have a specifically "Indianist" content. These poems are a re-formulation of the classic texts of Discovery and of the geography, ethnography and early history of Brazil, the *crônicas* of Pero Vaz de Caminha, Pero de Magalhães Gandavo, Claude D'Abbeville, Frei Vicente do Salvador et al. They are therefore in one sense literally a re-discovery, adopting the naïve, enthusiastic voice of those who first recorded the marvels of the New World. Moreover, the impression of novelty is further enhanced by the particular selection of passages from the source texts which are taken out of their original context and juxtaposed to form a new narrative. Episodes or observations of a peculiar and often comic nature are thus highlighted, and take on a new significance by the addition of incongruous or anachronistic headings.

The first section, based on Vaz de Caminha's letter to King Manuel of Portugal (examined in Chapter 2), completes the account of "a

descoberta" with the laconic note: "Topamos aves/ E houemos vista de terra" (op.cit., p.80). Caminha's long and detailed description of the behaviour and appearance of the first Indians they encountered is reduced to the two observations which most effectively suggest the contrasting mentalities of the "floresta" and the "bacharel". First, the Indians' reaction to the sight of a chicken:

Quase haviam medo dela
E não queriam por a mão
E depois a tomaram como espantados (ibid.);

and then the Portuguese sailors' first sight of the naked *índias*, and Caminha's contorted attempt to rationalise his society's hypocritical sexual morality - the title invites the reader to compare Caminha's sailor with his modern counterpart, sizing up the local prostitutes as his ship enters port:

as meninas da gare

Eram três ou quatro moças bem moças
Com cabelos mui pretos pelas espáduas
E suas vergonhas tão altas e tão saradinhas
Que de nós as muito bem olharmos
Não tínhamos nenhuma vergonha (ibid.)

Similarly, the third section takes an extract from Claude d'Abbeville's Histoire de la mission des Pères Capucins en l'Isle de Maragnan (1614), in order to highlight the missionary's comparison between the innocent indigenous "fashion" of nudity and the provocative dress and manners of "civilised" European ladies:

cá e lá
Cette coustume de marcher nud
Est merveilleusement difforme et deshonneste
N'estant peut estre si dangereuse
Ni si attrayante
Que les nouvelles inventions
Des dames de pardeça
Qui ruinent plus d'ames
Que ne le font les filles indiennes (op.cit., p.84)

The effect of novelty in this new perception of the Brazilian cultural reality is thus two-fold: on the one hand, the *cronistas'* descriptions of the indigenous communities are defamiliarised by the choice of observations which, removed from their original context, are able to communicate the sense of surprise experienced by the early traveller. On the other hand, the peculiar disparity between the headings of the poems (e.g. "primeiro chá", "corografia", "sistema hidrográfico", "prosperidade de são paulo") and the landscape and environment to which they refer, draws special attention to the central dialectic in the Manifesto between "floresta" and "escola". The source texts for "História do Brasil" are all prime examples of "academic" perceptions of the Brazilian colony, something which is underlined by retaining their archaic orthography. It is chiefly this background of European high culture which, when confronted with the alien, primitive world of the tropical colony, produces the impression of unfamiliarity and often grotesque candour. Emphasising these qualities in his reconstruction of those texts, Oswald shows how they reflect that synthesis of cultures, indigenous and European, primitive and academic, which he calls Pau-Brasil:

Pau Brasil são os primeiros cronistas, os santeiros de Minas e de Bahia, os políticos do Império, o romantismo de sobrecasaca da República e em geral todos os violeiros. Pau Brasil era o pintor Benedito Calixto antes de desaparecer na Europa. Pau Brasil é o Sr. Catulo, quando se lembra do Ceará e o meu amigo Menotti quando canta o Brás.

Foi Colombo quem descobriu a América e Vesputio quem lhe deu o nome. A Poesia Pau-Brasil, saída das mãos marujas do escrivão Caminha, sempre andou por aí mas encafifada como uma flor de caminho. Era oportuno identificá-la, salvá-la.

Como se fez com a nossa pátria no século 16 que para evidentes vantagens de geografia, de política e de comércio, deixou de se chamar Vera Cruz, Santa Cruz e Terra dos Papagaios. E ficou sendo a Terra do Pau Brasil ("A Poesia Pau-Brasil. Resposta a Tristão de Athayde", *ibid.*).

8.3 Antropofagia - Manifesto and Revista

Oswald's contact with artistic developments in Europe intensified after the publication of the Poesia Pau-Brasil; he made four journeys to Paris in the year between December 1924 and January 1926, and returned there in June 1926 to accompany Tarsila do Amaral during an exhibition of her work. The couple were married the following October after another voyage to Europe and the East, and the period immediately after their return to Brazil was the time of closest friendship between Oswald and Mário de Andrade.

During those same months, between September 1926 and May 1927, Oswald was writing a regular column in the Jornal do Comércio, entitled Feira das Quintas. The article which appeared on 24th February, "Antologia", was a satirical attack, of great stylistic invention and originality, on the *Anta* group, which Plínio Salgado had just formed to supercede the *Verdeamarelista* movement. Vera Chalmers has already shown how Oswald's article deflates and demystifies the *ufanismo* of *Anta*: dissecting and reconstituting the syllables and letters of the movement's name to form nonsensical but often highly communicative neologisms; accumulating random or deliberate selections of words from the dictionary based on the same root, so as to render it ridiculous through excess; wilfully violating the stylistic and linguistic conventions of that pillar of the cultural establishment, the Academia Brasileira de Letras, and parodying the grandiloquence of the classic literary texts of Portuguese and Brazilian nationalism. The following passage, for example:

Os tais deram de brincar que isto aqui é o país da Atalanta mas tal a anta tal o caçador e o venatório encontrando tanta anta não pode a sério tomar uma Antar Tonanta, que querendo ser gigante não passa de axinomântica. Assim foi que a tal ruminanta tomada de antopodosa jornalística antirou-se desastrosamente no

cerrado antiroteio que a guarda da alfântega mantém nesta antanaclássica clã.²⁷

However, Chalmers makes an important chronological error when she suggests that *Anta* is being denounced here as a plagiarism of the ideas put forward by Oswald in the Manifesto Antropófago. To my knowledge, there is no evidence to indicate that *Antropofagia* had been proposed or formulated as a name or concept before 1928 i.e. a year after the article "Antologia". As I shall show in a later chapter, *Verdeamarelismo* and *Anta* adopted the Indian as an emblem of their rival nationalist programmes and evolved their own pseudo-indigenous mythology which drew on many of the ethnographical sources also used by the Movimento Antropofágico. But the ideological struggle in 1927 was between *Pau-Brasil*, with its dialectic of primitive and academic cultures, and the *verdeamarelistas*. The latter criticised Oswald's Manifesto as "madeira que já não existe (...) pau nefasto, primitivo, colonial, arcaísmo da flora, expressão do país subserviente".²⁸ But they undoubtedly derived much of their energy from the impulse and renewal which the radical nationalism of *Pau-Brasil* brought to the Modernist movement in 1924.

Reiterating my disagreement with Chalmers, then, *Anta* represents a reaction to *Pau-Brasil*. *Antropofagia*, on the other hand, may well have been born, in its turn, out of a need to respond to the alternative nationalist challenge of *Anta* and its attempt to appropriate the indigenist rhetoric of *Pau-Brasil* ("e trinchanta em mão fingir de tribu sacripanta" ("Antologia", op.cit., p.32). Oswald's critic, Tristão de Athaíde, said of that same year,

27. Oswald de Andrade, Telefonema, op.cit., p.32.

28. Cited in Mário da Silva Brito, "A Revolução Modernista", A Literatura no Brasil, org. Afrânio Coutinho, op.cit., vol.V, p.27.

Literariamente, não foi 1927 um ano desperdiçado, mas foi sem dúvida um ano dispersado. Esse é mesmo um traço característico de nossa literatura de hoje em dia. Falta-nos radicalmente um centro de atração, tanto em abstrato como em concreto. E faltando centro de atração, falta também unidade em nosso esforço. Estamos avançando em ordem aberta. Sem objetivo certo. Sem um guia único. Sem ponto seguro de apoio e de união.²⁹

During the five years since the official Modernist "revolution" of 1922, and three since the appearance of the Manifesto da Poesia Pau-Brasil, a number of other magazines had appeared (e.g. Klaxon (1922-23), Revista do Brasil (1925) and Terra Roxa e Outras Terras (1926), but no new movement of clear ideological commitment or radical progressive ideas. *Antropofagia* filled that vacuum, developing a number of the ideas already explored in *Pau-Brasil* - the synthesis of native and cosmopolitan, primitive and technological, the selective "digestion" of international culture. A vigorous radicalisation of *Pau-Brasil*, *Antropofagia* sought to reoccupy the nationalist ground temporarily seized by the *verdeamarelistas*, and which was to be disputed in more overtly political terms after 1929.

According to Raul Bopp,³⁰ the subject of anthropophagy came up early in 1928 when Oswald and Tarsila were at dinner with friends, and frogs were served to some of those present. This prompted Oswald to make a tongue-in-cheek defence of the frog, recalling a spurious evolutionary theory which claimed that man was descended from this amphibian - Tarsila's conclusion was that they were consuming their ancestors and must therefore be cannibals. Someone remembered the celebrated remark attributed to a Tupi Indian by Hans Staden in his seminal account of 1557

29. Alceu Amoroso Lima (Tristão de Athayde). "Os novos de 1927", *Estudos*, 2ª série, 2ª ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1934), p.11.

30. Raul Bopp, Vida e Morte da Antropofagia (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1977), pp.40-41.

of an act of cannibalism, and which figured in the first number of the Revista de Antropofagia: "Ali vem a nossa comida pulando".

Tarsila's own version of the events³¹ concerned a painting which she gave to Oswald as a birthday present, christened by him "Aba-poru" or "the cannibal". While Tarsila allegedly had no intention of taking the idea any further, Raul Bopp is said to have suggested: "Vamos criar um movimento em torno desse quadro." However, citing Tarsila elsewhere, Bopp credits her with the role of "chefa" of the movement; it was her art, almost the cause of a riot when it was the centre of an exhibition of *Antropofagia* in Rio in 1929, which materialised the announcement of a return to the primitive Brazil:

Vamos descer à nossa pré-história. Trazer alguma coisa desse fundo imenso atávico. Catar anais totêmicos. Remexer raízes da raça com um pensamento de psicanálise. Desse reencontro com as nossas coisas, num clima criador, poderemos atingir a uma nova estrutura de idéias. Solidários com as origens. Fazer um Brasil à nossa semelhança, de encadeamentos profundos.³²

Tarsila's "Aba-poru" appeared at the centre of Oswald's Manifesto Antropófago in the first edition of the Revista de Antropofagia, which was published in São Paulo in May 1928. In fact, the ideologue of the movement contributed little more than the Manifesto itself to the first group of ten editions which constituted the magazine's less defined phase. Besides a planned third phase which never materialised, the Revista enjoyed two "dentições" (or "series", in the movement's own vocabulary) of distinct character and historical significance. The first comprised ten monthly editions of eight sides in tabloid format, produced independently

31. João Marschner, "Depoimentos: Oswald de Andrade no cotidiano", Estado de São Paulo, Suplemento Literário, 24/10/64, p.2; confirmed by Geraldo Ferraz in Humberto Werneck, "Antropofagia", Veja, 17/5/78, pp.111-12.

32. Raul Bopp, "Depoimento sobre a Antropofagia", Correio da Manhã, 29/5/49, n/p.

under the editorship of Antônio de Alcântara Machado and the management of Raul Bopp between May 1928 and February 1929. As we shall see, the "anthropophagous" content of this "dentição" is principally tokenistic; the magazine is essentially a forum for poetry, short fiction and articles on indigenist, nationalist or simply Modernist themes, and includes a remarkably broad range of writers who, for various reasons, had little in common with Oswald and his ideas e.g. Augusto Meyer, Yan de Almeida Prado, Drummond, Plínio Salgado, Manuel Bandeira, José Américo de Almeida, Menotti del Picchia.

It is in the second "dentição" that the magazine truly comes to represent the principles of *Antropofagia* and actually performs an active, militant role in the dissemination of its libertarian nationalist ideas. Directed by Raul Bopp alternately with Jaime Adour da Câmara, and edited by its "açougeiro", Geraldo Ferraz, it had now been reduced to one more or less weekly page of the Estado de São Paulo, granted by the paper's editor, Rubens do Amaral, from 17th March, 1929, until 1st August of the same year, when complaints forced him to terminate the arrangement. There was now less emphasis on fiction and more on polemical, propagandistic articles testifying to the internationalisation of the movement. A clear ideological position was assumed with respect to many of the writers who had contributed to the first "dentição", and a greater proportion of the magazine was given over to articles by Oswald de Andrade and Oswaldo Costa, developing along radical lines a number of themes from the Manifesto. Since it was from the Manifesto Antropófago that the Revista and the movement as a whole derived their vocabulary and arguments, I shall examine it before anything else.

Pau-Brasil had taken as its symbol a commercial commodity, the first export from the Brazilian colony and a product of the encounter between European culture and technology and the indigenous, natural environment. By contrast, the central metaphor of the new Manifesto was an aspect of human, specifically tribal behaviour, at least in the European perception of the non-civilised world: cannibalism. Oswald's interpretation of the phenomenon broke completely with the nineteenth-century Indianist tradition and its treatment of the theme. In Alencar's O Guarani, for instance, Peri comes close to being cannibalised by the Aimorés, who are shown to be culturally primitive even in relation to his own tribe. Peri, already disposed towards the values of white society by his chivalric qualities of loyalty and dedication to the Virgin, assumes his full heroic stature when he attempts to sacrifice himself to the faceless, barbarian savages who eventually engulf the community. By contrast, the other famous example of cannibalism during the Romantic period occurs in Gonçalves Dias' "I-Juca-Pirama", and is exceptional in interpreting the act as a ritual symbolising the re-integration of the exiled individual into the social world of the tribe.

The Manifesto Antropófago rejects the assumptions of both these writers. On the one hand, Gonçalves Dias' ideal world of social harmony and integrity is smashed by a vision of a dynamic world of conflict, oppression and revenge. Although the notion of assimilation is to become an important feature of the subsequent philosophical development of *Antropofagia*, at this stage the emphasis is directed towards the violent, repugnant qualities of cannibalism, its alienness and subversive implications for Western culture and society. "Eating flesh succinctly signals an individual or group as non-human in a basic way", according to

W. Arens,³³ who notes that cannibalism popularly constitutes part of the mythology of an inverted physical and moral nightmare universe, an anti-social world. Thus at first sight *Antropofagia* appears to confirm Alencar's caricature of the Aimorés, whose bestial savagery disqualifies them from membership of the colonial community and of mankind.

However, what makes Oswald's Manifesto truly subversive and revolutionary is its suggestion that, far from representing an alien culture light-years distant from the values of contemporary Western society, cannibalism is in fact the fundamental motor of human behaviour in Brazilian society and Western civilisation as a whole. The Manifesto begins:

Só a antropofagia nos une. Socialmente. Economicamente. Filosoficamente.

Única lei do mundo. Expressão mascarada de todos os individualismos, de todos os coletivismos. De todas as religiões. De todos os tratados de paz.³⁴

Consequently, the "eu" and "nós" with which the Manifesto speaks refers, a times to the Indian, the model for Oswald's theory of cultural primitivism, and at others to the modern "antropófago", the technological primitive of Brazilian or Western society.

The central concept of this universal law of *Antropofagia* is that "Só me interessa o que não é meu", a statement which is subsequently explained as follows:

Antropofagia. A transformação permanente do Tabu em totem. (...) A luta entre o que se chamaria Incriado e a Criatura (...). Absorção do inimigo sacro. Para transformá-lo em totem (op.cit., pp.15 & 18).

33. W. Arens, The Man-Eating Myth..., op.cit., p.140.

34. Oswald de Andrade, Do Pau-Brasil à Antropofagia..., op.cit., p.13; all references are to this edition.

The cannibalistic urge manifests itself at various levels on the human scale, from the literal, "carnal" anthropophagy of the élite tribal cultures, "que traz em si o mais alto sentido da vida e evita todos os males identificados por Freud", through the elective, affective and speculative forms of friendship, love and science, respectively, down to the "baixa antropofagia" of the catechistic sins: envy, usury, calumny, murder.

As the Freudian language and references throughout the Manifesto suggest, there is some considerable dependence on the psychoanalytical explanation of social and individual human behaviour offered in Totem and Taboo. In this work, Freud describes the taboo as a prohibition whose source, amongst primitive cultures, is considered to be a peculiar magical power inherent in people and spirits:

What we are concerned with, then, is a number of prohibitions to which these primitive races are subjected. Every sort of thing is forbidden; but they have no idea why, and it does not occur to them to raise the question. (...) These prohibitions are mainly directed against liberty of enjoyment and against freedom of movement and communication. In some cases they have an intelligible meaning and are clearly aimed at abstinences and renunciations. But in other cases their subject-matter is quite incomprehensible; they are concerned with trivial details and seem to be of a purely ceremonial nature.³⁵

The political and artistic implications of an analysis which sees taboos as irrational and arbitrary prohibitions, are self-evident, as they were to the Surrealists and Dadaists, and to Oswald. The totem, meanwhile, has an opposite function:

"A totem", wrote Frazer in his first essay on the subject, "is a class of material objects which a savage regards with superstitious respect, believing there exists between him and every member of the class an intimate and altogether special

35. Sigmund Freud, Totem and Taboo. Some points of Agreement between the Mental Lives of Savages and Neurotics (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), p.21.

relation... The connection between a man and his totem is mutually beneficent; the totem protects the man, and the man shows his respect for the totem in various ways, by not killing it if it be an animal, and not cutting or gathering it if it be a plant" (op.cit., p.103).

Freud goes on to suggest that psychoanalysis has revealed the totem animal to be a father-substitute; in the archetypal, primeval society, constructed on the basis of information about existing tribal communities, a violent and jealous father keeps all the females of the group for himself and drives away his sons as they grow up. One day the brothers of this primal horde come together, kill and devour their father, so putting an end to the patriarchal regime. The terms in which Freud describes this act clearly provide the framework for Oswald's "anthropophagous" philosophy:

Cannibal savages as they were, it goes without saying that they devoured their victim as well as killing him. The violent primal father had doubtless been the feared and envied model of each one of the company of brothers: and in the act of devouring him they accomplished their identification with him, and each one acquired a portion of his strength. The totem meal, which is perhaps mankind's earliest festival, would thus be a repetition and a commemoration of this memorable and criminal deed, which was the beginning of so many things - of social organisation, of moral restrictions and of religion (op.cit., p.142).

Having violated one of the most fundamental of taboos, the murder of the father, the tribe then totemised that taboo through the act of cannibalism and its ritual repetition. But it simultaneously raised another, more powerful taboo; the sense of guilt for this crime rendered the dead father stronger than the living one had been, his authority more magical and intangible. For Freud, the notion of God could be traced to this real or symbolic act of murder, the sublimation of the father.

Before examining the political and cultural ramifications of this mythical narrative in the Manifesto Antropófago, it needs to be said that its philosophical dimension should not be underestimated, for both the

Manifesto and Oswald's later writings clearly function at that more abstract level, as much as any other. The "Lei do antropófago" is defined in abstract terms as "Só me interessa o que não é meu"; thus anthropophagy seeks to dissolve the barrier between the self and the external world, a proposition that appears in a number of forms throughout the Manifesto:

O que atropelava a verdade era a roupa, o impermeável entre o mundo interior e o mundo exterior (p.14).

O espírito recusa-se a conceber o espírito sem o corpo. (...) Da equação *eu* parte do *Cosmos* ao axioma *Cosmos* parte do *eu* (p.15).

In his reinterpretation of Freud, Norman O. Brown draws attention to the same discovery of a unity between subject and object, self and the universe, which the Western philosophical tradition has constantly denied:

Psychoanalysis can be used to uncover the principle of union, or communion, buried beneath the surface separations, the surface declarations of independence, the surface signs of private property. Psychoanalysis also discloses the pathology of the process whereby the normal sense of being a self separate from the external world was constructed. Contrary to what is taken for granted in the lunatic state called normalcy or common sense, the distinction between self and external world is not an immutable fact, but an artificial construction. It is a boundary line; like all boundary lines not natural but conventional; like all boundaries, based on love and hate.³⁶

The symbolic function of all forms of cannibalism, including the ritual of the Eucharist, is to break down those barrier lines, to achieve an identification of the self and the "other":

Identification, introjection, incorporation, is eating. The oldest and truest language is that of the mouth; the oral basis of the ego. (...)

The question what is a body, is the question what is it to eat: Take, eat; this is my body.

Our body is an incorporated body; we are what we eat (*man ist was man isst*). We are father (mother) eaten. The species is cannibalistic. *Erst kommt das Fressen* (op.cit., p.165).

36. Norman O. Brown, Love's Body (New York: Vintage Books, 1966), p.142.

But alongside this abstract, philosophical dimension of the theory of *Antropofagia*, there is a more specific cultural and political meaning. *Antropofagia* identifies an urge to transcend or transgress inherited taboos, which, in the context of Brazil's economic and social transformation, take a clearly identifiable form. In a manner characteristic of the fragmented, punctuated structure of the Manifesto, these taboos are scattered throughout the text, but are divisible into two kinds: the universal, psychological prohibitions and repressions that are commonly known as the "reality principle" or the *id* - "a roupa, o impermeável entre o mundo interior e o mundo exterior"; "O pater famílias e a criação da Moral da Cegonha"; "a realidade social, vestida e opressora" - and, more interesting and pertinent to the reality which concerned Oswald, the cultural taboos, the sacred institutions and texts of the European and Brazilian cultural heritage, the hallowed figures of a colonial history written by the colonial ruler or ruling class - "o Padre Vieira"; "o Direito"; "os Conservatórios"; "Goethe, a mãe dos Gracos, e a Corte de D. João VI"; "as histórias do homem que começam no Cabo Finisterra"; "Anchieta cantando as onze mil virgens do céu, na terra de Iracema, - o patriarca João Ramalho fundador de São Paulo". In a text in which main verbs are virtually non-existent, the simple word "Contra" expresses the Manifesto's rejection of the authority and power of these cultural taboos.

By contrast, the Manifesto celebrates the values and material expression of Brazil's indigenous, primitive culture, and its instinctive perspective of unity between individual and world:

Filhos do sol, mãe dos viventes. (...)

Foi porque nunca tivemos gramáticas, nem coleções de velhos vegetais. E nunca soubemos o que era urbano, suburbano, fronteiriço e continental. Preguiçosos no mapa-mundi do Brasil.

Uma consciência participante, uma rítmica religiosa. (...)

O instinto Caraíba. (...)

(...) Em comunicação com o solo.

(...) A experiência pessoal renovada.

(...) a realidade sem complexos, sem loucura, sem prostituições e sem penitenciárias do matriarcado de Pindorama.

This last phrase, "matriarcado de Pindorama", embodies the cultural ideal towards which the dialectical process of Anthropophagy is leading; Pindorama is the name which, according to Couto de Magalhães' O Selvagem, the Tupi-Guarani Indians give to Brazil.³⁷ The notion of an indigenous matriarchy, meanwhile, is taken from J.J. Bachofen's Myth, Religion and Mother Right, and is explored at greater length in Oswald's later philosophical works. At this stage, it represents essentially the idea of a society free from the repressive features of the male-dominated regime which provoked Freud's primal crime of parricide. As well as the ideal of oneness between individual and nature, it assumes a dynamic world of action, participation and experience, as opposed to the existing order of stasis, routine, abstraction, tradition and conservatism:

Contra o mundo reversível e as idéias objetivadas. Cadaverizadas.
O stop do pensamento que é dinâmico. (...)

O mundo não datado. Não rubricado. (...)

As migrações. A fuga dos estados tediosos. Contra as escleroses urbanas. (...)

Somos concretistas. As idéias tomam conta, reagem, queimam gente nas praças públicas. Suprimamos as idéias e outras paralisias. Pelos roteiros. Acreditar nos sinais, acreditar nos instrumentos e nas estrelas. (...)

Roteiros. Roteiros. Roteiros. Roteiros. Roteiros. Roteiros.
Roteiros.

37. General Couto de Magalhães, O Selvagem, op.cit., p.142.

In addition, matriarchy signifies for Oswald a culture of ideal psychological, social and economic freedom: "sem complexos, sem loucura, sem prostituições e sem penitenciárias"; "Já tínhamos o comunismo. Já tínhamos a língua surrealista"; "Tínhamos a relação e a distribuição dos bens físicos, dos bens morais, dos bens dignários". A reminder of the experiences which most affected Oswald during his youth suggests that, on one level, the "matriarcado de Pindorama" is the sum of those freedoms which were lacking in Brazil under the First Republic: the freedom from sexual repression and hypocrisy, such as he discovered in Paris; from the patriarchal authoritarianism of his father, of his schoolteachers and of the São Paulo Law Faculty, and from what was practically a one-party political system managed through police violence and the elimination of opposition supporters and journalists.³⁸

The conflict between that existing reality of taboos and repressions and the ideal matriarchy of Pindorama or, in other terms, between the academic, European-dominated ruling class culture of the coloniser, and the primitive, indigenous popular culture of the *mestiço* masses, is the central dialectical struggle of the Manifesto Antropófago, a combination of class, ethnic, cultural and imperialist struggles. The synthesis which must ultimately emerge from that contradiction can only be achieved through a revolution, "a Revolução Caraíba"; it, correspondingly, must be a revolution at all levels, comparable to the other great political and cultural upheavals of history: "Da Revolução Francesa ao Romantismo, à Revolução Bolchevista, à Revolução Surrealista e ao bárbaro tecnizado de Keyserling". It is also a nationalist revolution, articulating an as yet undeclared independent consciousness: "é preciso

38. Oswald de Andrade, Sob as Ordens de Mamãe, op.cit., p.74.

expulsar o espírito bragantino, as ordenações e o rapé de Maria da Fonte". But the "Revolução Caraíba" is not a simple assertion of indigenous, primitive values and a total repudiation of European culture and its taboos. Instead, *Antropofagia* calls for a genuine synthesis, the assimilation of the oppressive alien culture and its recreation in an autonomous form, the "Absorção do inimigo sacro" by an act of "devouring", consuming and totemising the taboo.

As was the case in the Manifesto da Poesia Pau-Brasil, the achievement of this new cultural perspective is largely a question of raising to a conscious, active level an impulse which has long been working at a subliminal level. In an inversion, or subversion, of the surface, political relationship between colony and coloniser, the "anthropophagous" instinct has manifested itself repeatedly throughout Brazil's cultural history, digesting imported values and reconstructing, or regurgitating them, to continue the metaphor, in a more idiosyncratic form. One example is *macumba* or *candomblé*, the syncretic Afro-Brazilian religions combining the tribal *orixás* and the Catholic saints - "nunca fomos catequizados. (...) Fizemos Cristo nascer na Bahia." Carnival is another source of these peculiarly Brazilian forms of hybrid culture: "O índio vestido de senador do Império. Fingindo de Pitt." The heroes of Romantic Indianism - "O índio filho de Maria, afilhado de Catarina de Medicis e genro de D. Antônio de Mariz" - are unmistakably the creations of an academic, ruling class culture, yet they have not escaped the subversive influence of primitive, popular attitudes, as the samba parades and lyrics of Carnival frequently bear out. In its revision of colonial history, then, the European is no longer a conqueror, but the unwitting victim of a process of cultural cannibalism:

Mas não foram cruzados que vieram. Foram fugitivos de uma civilização que estamos comendo, porque somos fortes e vingativos como o Jabuti (op.cit., p.17).

The comparison with the *jabuti*, an indigenous species of tortoise, deserves attention, since it appears to be a further, comic allusion to the other nationalist movement of the time, *Anta*, which had by now replaced *Verdeamarelismo*. The "strong and vengeful" Jabuti appears in one of the stories which make up the cycle of indigenous zoological tales recorded in Couto de Magalhães' *O Selvagem*, a much frequented source for both Oswald and the *verdeamarelistas*. In the story entitled "O Jabuti e a Anta do mato", the Jabuti is gathering food beneath a *tapereba* tree when the Anta (tapir) arrives and threatens to stamp him into the ground if he does not move off. When the Jabuti refuses, the Anta fulfils his threat and the Jabuti has to wait for the rains to turn the earth to mud and release him. However, it is now his turn to take his cannibalistic revenge; tracking the Anta down, he jumps so hard on the animal's genitals that after two days he dies: "O jabuti então falou: 'Eu matei você ou não? Agora eu vou procurar meus parentes para comerem você'" (*O Selvagem*, op.cit., p.116). If Oswald's *antropófagos* resemble the Jabuti, then, Plínio Salgado's xenophobic *Anta* is to join the other creatures of reactionary and oppressive ruling class culture in being devoured by the new Brazilian "cannibals".

A more essential "victim" of the process of cultural assimilation and reconstruction announced by the *Manifesto Antropófago*, meanwhile, is the characteristic culture of modern Western civilisation - technology. For Oswald, the technological age actually represents a return to the dynamic relationship between individual and environment which has been lost during the long tradition of élitist, academic culture: "A fixação do

progresso por meio de catálogos e aparelhos de televisão. Só a maquinaria. E os transfusores de sangue" (op.cit., p.17). Through its incorporation of this modern culture, the fusion of man and machine, *Antropofagia* will be able to participate in the last of the great revolutions, that of the "bárbaro tecnizado de Keyserling". Keyserling's The World in the Making was cited earlier as an articulation of that sense of psychological upheaval brought about by the technological revolution. It is the devastating extent of that revolution and the spiritual vacuum left by it which, for Keyserling, explain the renewed search for the primitive by the Western mentality. That search is witnessed in the sexual freedom and spontaneity of the new adult generation, and in the rise of jazz, with its emphasis on rhythms derived from African music:

Why does every one to-day find in the negroid primitive the most fitting instrument in which to live himself out? Because the psychic state has become so different from that which precede it that the traditional forms no longer retain any meaning. And since new life-forms impregnated with soul and spirit have not yet arisen, it is only the primordial which can be at once authentic and effective (op.cit., p.152).

The determinant type of the mass age, the "primitive man made technical", is the driver of the motor-car, the *chauffeur*. The mastery of the technical skill involved in driving is "closely related to the savages' gift of orientation", and "evokes in man emotions of freedom and of power - with greater fierceness the more primitive he is" (op.cit., p.133). The political movements of Bolshevism and Fascism have produced, according to Keyserling, the immature "prototype" of this modern primitive with his passion for force. But it is the *chauffeur* who offers the most constructive possibilities for the future as "primitive man intellectualized and technically transformed (...) because in him there

have on the one hand reappeared in full strength those primal forces which in the epoch just past have been weakened or submerged by differentiation, and which alone are able under the circumstances to build life anew, while in him again, on the other hand, the intellect plays the leading role in correspondence with the new condition" (op.cit., p.195).

Although a radicalisation of the Manifesto da Poesia Pau-Brasil, re-discovering and re-defining, no longer simply the national landscape, but the Brazilian individual in the act of cannibalism, *Antropofagia* nevertheless continues the spirit of construction and synthesis that is central to *Pau-Brasil*. The deliberately alienating, revolutionary character of the philosophy's language and imagery should not be allowed to obscure its essentially positive, constructive meaning. Like Keyserling's *chauffeur*, the "antropófago" is the promise of a new human being uniting the rediscovered primitive mentality with the technological innovations of the age and, in the Brazilian case, the indigenous culture with the best of European civilisation. Oswald's first extended commentary on the significance of the Manifesto appeared in a newspaper interview in the same month as the first edition of the Revista. There he restated, in a clear, fluent manner, the central argument of *Antropofagia*:

O dia em que os aymorés comeram o bispo Sardinha, deve constituir, para nós, a grande data. Data americana, está claro. Nós não somos. nem queremos ser brasileiros, nesse sentido político-internacional: brasileiro-portugueses, aqui nascidos, e que, um dia se insurgiram contra seus próprios paes. Não. Nós somos americanos: filhos do continente America; carne e intelligencia a serviço da alma da gleba. (...)

Nós importamos, no bojo dos cargueiros e dos negreiros de hontem, no porão dos transatlânticos de hoje, toda a sciência a toda a arte errada, que a civilização da Europa creou. (...)

Que fizemos nós? Que devíamos ter feito? Comel-os todos. Sim, enquanto esses missionários falavam, pregando-nos uma crença civilisada, de humanidade cançada e triste, - nós devíamos tel-os comido e continuar alegres. Devíamos assimilar todas as

nati-mortas tendências estéticas da Europa, assmilal-as, elaboral-as em nossa sub-consciente, e produzirmos coisa nova, coisa nossa.³⁹

As I have indicated, the first "dentição" of the Revista brought together a wide range of Modernists. These first ten editions played an important role in advertising and publishing extracts from new Modernist works; thus Drummond's celebrated poem "No meio do caminho", the opening chapter of Mário's Macunaíma, Manuel Bandeira's "Noturno da Rua da Lapa" and Yan de Almeida Prado's Os Três Sargentos all appeared for the first time in the pages of the Revista. It announced the arrival of such works as Cassiano Ricardo's Martim Cererê, Menotti's República dos E.U. do Brasil, Almeida's Bagaceira, Paulo Prado's Retrato do Brasil and Oswald's own Serafim Ponte Grande. But, as Augusto de Campos notes in his introduction to the re-editions of the magazine (ibid.), Oswald was virtually alone in his efforts to communicate the proposals of the Manifesto. The majority of the contributions have little or nothing to do with the movement, and on reading them one is led to doubt whether their authors were committed to, or even understood, the aims of the Manifesto as they have just been analysed.

At most the content of the article is generally nationalist, or even merely Modernist; Almeida Prado's Os Três Sargentos, for instance, Câmara Cascudo's Cidade do Natal do Rio Grande, or Mário's pieces on the "Romance do Veludo" and "Lundú do Escravo". Antônio de Alcântara Machado's opening editorial, "Abre-Alas", announces the birth and self-realisation of the "antropófagos". Significantly, they have found unity in their revolt: "Cada qual com o seu tronco mas ligados pelo fígado (o que quer dizer pelo ódio) marchávamos numa só direcção"; cannibalism is an expression of

39. Péricles Eugênio da Silva Ramos, op.cit., p.130.

conviviality: "Assim a experiência moderna (...) acabou despertando em cada conviva o apetite de meter o garfo no vizinho. Já começou a cordeal mastigação." The hotchpotch of ideological rivals and enemies, gathered here under one banner, is explained, rather unconvincingly, as an act of ritual communion: "Todas as oposições se enfrentarão. Até 1923 havia aliados que eram inimigos. Hoje há inimigos que são aliados."

More serious than this, though, is the series of articles on racial and even Indianist themes, whose perspective actually goes completely against the grain of Oswald's libertarian socialist theory of Brazilian culture. One example is Ascânio Lopes' "Sangue Brasileiro" (no.3); the "Brazilian blood" celebrated in the poem bears a close resemblance to the mystical, neo-colonialist concept of *mestiçagem* which provides the mythology of *Verdeamarelismo/Anta*. The Brazilian hero, the *bandeirante*, is the product of a violent confrontation and fusion of the blue blood of the Discoverers, the black blood of the African and the red blood of the Indian, the offspring of the the Conquest of the lands of the Amazon, the coffee plantations and cattle ranches. It is a vision of Brazilian history and national identity which has little to do with the process described in the Manifesto Antropófago, a process of indigenous, primitive resistance and the subversive "cannibalism" of the European colonist and his culture.

Surely the most unlikely contributor to the Revista, however, even taking into account the "cordeal mastigação" of Alcântara Machado's anthropophagic feast, is Plínio Salgado. As we shall see in Chapter 10, Salgado was the leading figure of the *Verdeamarelista* and *Anta* movements which had attacked Oswald's Poesia Pau-Brasil and had been satirised by him and "devoured" in the Manifesto Antropófago. In spite of this, an

article by Salgado, "A Língua Tupy", occupied two full pages of the first two numbers of the Revista. At first sight an innocuous academic linguistic study, the impressionistic amateurism of Salgado's method and his self-confessed unfamiliarity with the sources he quotes, soon betray themselves and reveal his true intention. Through a series of quite spurious and arbitrary semantic and etymological connections, he proposes to prove the onomatopaeic origins of the Tupi language, to show that "a língua tupy é uma língua quasi em estado nascente, directamente ligada à natureza, oriunda do contacto immediato entre o homem e o mundo." The theory sounds like Oswald's concept of primitive mentality - "Uma consciência participante, uma ritmica religiosa. (...) Em comunicação com o solo." But Salgado's mystical, irrational cosmic unity could not be further from the dynamic, conscious and self-possessed process of critical assimilation of the world, which is the principle of *Antropofagia*. On the contrary, the "íntima comunhão cósmica" of Salgado's theory is synonymous with unconscious passivity, the surrender of individual will and identity to a supreme cosmic spirit which, as his movement understood only too well, could easily be identified with totalitarian political authority.

I have suggested that *Antropofagia* was born out of a need to radicalise the principles of the Manifesto da Poesia Pau-Brasil in response to the appearance of *Verdeamarelismo* and *Anta* as alternative nationalist programmes. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that given the ideological vagueness of the first "definição" of the Revista de Antropofagia, its tolerance of the movement's rivals and enemies within its pages and its neglect of the revolutionary principles of the Manifesto Antropófago, there should have been some attempt to radicalise

the magazine itself in order that it might fulfil its original function. There are signs of internal conflict and dissent suggesting an imminent shake-up in the issues of this first series from no.5 onwards. Oswald's "Schema ao Tristão de Athayde" addresses the chief critic of the Poesia Pau-Brasil, and an influential convert to the Catholic revivalist movement. Pursuing arguments from the Manifesto, Oswald reminds Athaíde of the cannibalistic implications of the Eucharist and concludes that it was the natural response of a superstitious people, such as the Brazilians, to devour the Catholic ritual: "Jesus filho do totem e da tribu. O maior tranco da história do patriarcado!"

Meanwhile, an announcement in large type on the front page of the seventh number (Nov. 1928), signed by Oswald's pseudonym, João Miramar, made public the beginning of the most celebrated quarrel of the Modernist movement: "SAIBAM QUANTOS. Certifico a pedido verbal de pessoa interessada que o meu parente Mário de Andrade é o peor crítico do mundo mas o melhor poeta dos Estados Desunidos do Brasil. De que dou esperança." The reasons for this ambivalent attack on Mário do not become clear until edition no.15, where Oswaldo Costa writes in reply to Ascenso Ferreira, one of Mário's "disciples". If Macunaíma was hailed as a masterpiece realising the objectives of the Movimento Antropofágico, on the other hand Mário was alienated from the movement by his Catholicism and his academicism. Whether the criticism was justified or not, Antônio Cândido,⁴⁰ who knew Oswald well during the later years of his life, prefers to situate the quarrel within the context of a larger schism in the Modernist movement, which placed Mário, Paulo Prado and Antônio de

40. Antônio Cândido, "Digressão sentimental sobre Oswald de Andrade", Vários Escritos (São Paulo: Duas Cidades, 1977), p.66.

Alcântara Machado on one side, and Oswald and Raul Bopp on the other.

In any case, that broad spectrum of contributors disappeared from the second "dentição", which was edited by Raul Bopp and the future novelist, Geraldo Ferraz. Oswald's personal mark was more clearly imprinted on these issues, as was that of Oswaldo Costa, who had been the only other writer to explore the ideas of the Manifesto during the first "dentição" (e.g. "A 'Descida' Antropophaga", no.1). In "Aperitivo", the first of a series of caustic commentaries on the state of Brazilian Modernism, entitled "Moquém", Costa attacked Paulo Prado's Retrato do Brasil. Prado had prefaced Oswald's Poesia Pau-Brasil in 1924 and the Retrato do Brasil had a considerable influence on Mário's Macunaíma, which is dedicated to Prado. For Oswaldo Costa, however, the book offered a reactionary, negative view of Indian culture, wrongly attributing the nation's cultural malaise to an indigenous spirit of "luxúria", while it ignored the vital economic causes involved.

More predictably, the new "dentição" now assumed an open hostility towards the *verdeamarelistas*. "tiro ao alvo" (no.9) chose as its target Cassiano Ricardo, "cuja ossada, descoberta por nós, veio confirmar a existência do homem fossil de Lagoa Santa"; "Analfabetismo letrado" (no.12) complained of Menotti del Picchia's ignorance regarding the Surrealist movement, while Prudente de Moraes' "Santo ofício antropofágico" (no.13) accused Plínio Salgado of plagiarising the original stylistic qualities of Oswald's novels. In "Uma adesão que não nos interessa" (no.10), Poronominare, one of the many pseudonyms used by Oswald de Andrade or Oswaldo Costa, attacked the *verdeamarelistas* for jumping on the primitivist bandwagon, and clarified the fundamental differences between the two movements. The *verdeamarelistas'* rejection of

modern technology and culture, and their Romantic neo-Indianism, represented a reactionary ultra-conservatism. The "antropófago", meanwhile, although inspired by the Indian's example of primitive subversion and independence, was not a mythical figure from the past, but the new Brazilian man, devouring taboos, totemising the world and constructing the future from the material of the present:

Mas não será por termos feito essa descoberta, que vamos renunciar a qualquer conquista material do planeta como o caviar e a vitrola, o gás asfixiante e a metafísica. Não! Nem queremos como os graves meninos do verdamarelo restaurar coisas que perderam o sentido - a anta e a senhora burguesa, o soneto e a Academia. (...)

Os verdamarelos daqui querem o gibão e a escravatura moral, a colonização do europeu arrogante e idiota e no meio disso tudo o guarani de Alencar dansando valsa. (...) Evitemos essa confissão de uma vez para sempre! *Queremos o antropófago de Knicker-bockers e não o índio de ópera.*

An announcement in the same issue, "A ANTA MORREU, VIVA O TAMANDUÁ!", proclaimed the death of *Anta* from an attack of indigestion. The totem animal of *Antropofagia*, the ant-eater (*tamanduá*), was by contrast the great eater and consumer: "Tamanduá abraça fincando as unhas, matando. Como o índio com o portuguez. Ele faz assim. É o tamanduá."

During this more militant phase, the movement becomes more clearly defined ideologically, acquiring a self-conscious sense of its historical role. In "Hors d'oeuvre", the fifth article in his "Moqué" series, Oswald Costa explains that *Antropofagia* represents the completion of that cultural revolution which the Semana de Arte Moderna initiated. Until now, Modernism has been able to challenge the reigning aesthetic institutions, but "não compreendeu o nosso 'caso', não teve coragem de enfrentar os nossos grandes problemas, (...) quando a sua função era criar no Brasil o pensamento novo brasileiro." In an effort to step into this ideological vacuum, the second "dentição" of the *Revista* devotes a considerable amount of space to overtly political material.

Besides attacking the Catholic revival and its alliance with the fascist movement in Brazil, several articles seek to establish the independent position of *Antropofagia* with respect to the dominant political forces of the time: capitalism, communism and fascism. While it retained that independence, *Antropofagia* might, in typical style, selectively devour features of the two mass ideologies:

Nós somos contra os fascistas de qualquer espécie e contra os bolchevistas também de qualquer espécie. O que nessas realidades políticas houver de favorável ao homem biológico, consideraremos bom. É nosso ("de antropofagia", no.1).

Thus the Marxist emphasis on "means of production" should be replaced by the notion of "consumo", while the fascist concept of a corporate state suggested parallels with Oswald's vision of a totemic society divided, not into classes, but into tribal groups. Although never explicitly stated as such, the magazine adopts a more or less anarchist viewpoint. The "de antropofagia" column of issue no.2, for instance:

O indivíduo sobre a sociedade. 89.

A sociedade sobre o indivíduo. U.S.S.R.

A matemática do índio foi mais inteligente. Pois o indivíduo em função da sociedade.

Similarly, the first edition of that same column defended the right of *posse*, the effective occupation of idle land by the landless peasant, against the dead legal title of property, owned by the absentee landlord. After all, Brazil, whose frontiers were fixed after a long process of conquest, expansionism and effective occupation, was little more than a huge "squat", "um grilo de seis milhões de quilômetros, talhado em Tordesilhas."

Of the other contributors to the second "dentição", Raul Bopp is most worthy of note. Bopp's extensive travels during his student days gave him a broad familiarity with much of the country, particularly

Amazônia. Although he worked as a free-lance journalist in Rio during the early 1920s he did not participate in the initial Modernist debates, and first came into contact with the movement via the *verdeamarelistas* and their interest in Amazonian legend. When the political tendencies of the latter began to make themselves evident, he joined the Movimento Antropofágico and subsequently became the manager and editor of the *Revista*. He explained his support for the movement in the article "Brasil, choca o teu ovo...", which was published in Manaus in 1928:

A descida antropofágica veio determinar uma estrutura nova do pensamento de hoje. Violenta e agressiva, mas necessária.

Não podíamos pretender um reajustamento com o que já existia.

Armistícios no sentido das conveniências do maior Número. Não. Foi preciso sair fora da caserna. Tomar posse da época. Meio à força. A pau. Fraturar o pensamento velho. Enfiar polpas moles no espeto. Dentro de uma clareira florestal. Entre alaridos e cauim. Como nos dias de festa grande. ANTROPOFAGICAMENTE. (...)

Nós vamos é tomar pulso da terra; consultar a floresta. Enfrentar problemas que se confundem em medida; ajustá-los em outras proporções. Material de fora tem vistorias na aduana (*Vida e Morte da Antropofagia*, op.cit., pp.79-81).

This last paragraph, in particular, seems to anticipate the vital primitivist language of his poem *Cobra Norato* (1931), a taste of which appears in "Yperungaua" (issue no.5).

Apart from these few semi-fictional articles and theoretical pieces, a growing number of contributions to the second "dentição" came from the provinces and from abroad, attesting to the successful spread of the movement beyond São Paulo. Adherents from Minas and Espírito Santo wrote about "anthropophagous man" and "anthropophagous education", while in the thirteenth edition there were contributions from Paris and Czechoslovakia, and a whole series of articles appeared under the heading: "desde o Rio Grande ao Pará! O movimento antropofágico repercute por todo o Brasil, empolgando os espíritos jovens, na luta contra a mentalidade colonial e contra a arte e a literatura de contrabando."

The same issue announced the first exhibition of the work of Tarsila do Amaral in Rio; it took place on 20th July 1929, and was reported in the final edition of the Revista de Antropofagia as "a primeira grande batalha da Antropofagia". The previous issue gave public notice of the First Brazilian Congress of Antropofagia, at which Tarsila and Oswald were to be joined by Patricia Galvão, Anita Malfatti and other Modernists in Rio for banquet at the end of September that year. Theses on "anthropophagous" subjects were to be submitted to the Congress, including a Suma Antropofágica assigned to Oswald, a political study examining possible forms of anthropophagous government. There were to be others on the question of divorce, the abolition of the "título morto", the tribal organisation of the State according to the technical categories of the population, and the replacement of the Academies with research laboratories. A third phase of the Revista was planned, and with it a Bibliotequinha Antropofágica, which would have included Macunaíma, Cobra Negrato, Sambaqui, the Manifesto, Oswald Costa's "Moquéns" and "Pontas de Flecha", a so-called Livro do Nenê Antropofágico and studies on the "Índole Pacífica do Gentio" and the "Libido Brasileiro".⁴¹

Yet just when the movement was reaching the culmination of its success and offered every promise for the future, it died a dramatically sudden death. Raul Bopp described the sense of anti-climax:

Os planos de reação e renovação se acomodaram num deixa-estar ou ficaram destemperados em variantes cosmopolitas. A experiência brasileira do grupo perdeu pouco o significado inicial. E a Antropofagia ficou nisso, provavelmente anotada nos obituários da época ("Depoimento...", op.cit., loc.cit.).

Elsewhere Bopp recalled how Rubens do Amaral was forced to terminate the page set aside for the Revista in the Estado de São Paulo, due to the

41. Raul Bopp, Vida e Morte..., op.cit., pp.45-49.

growing numbers of copies returned by scandalised readers. He also describes how a "libido" invaded the "Paraíso Antropofágico", as the movement's members exchanged sexual partners, Oswaldo Costa disappeared and others left the country (Vida e Morte..., op.cit., p.49).

About this time Oswald and Pagu (Patrícia Galvão) joined the Communist Party, and it is really here, against the background of new politico-economic developments at this moment in the country's history, that the causes of the movement's dissolution should be sought. Brazil was not spared the economic crisis which afflicted Europe and the United States during the 1920s, with the spectre of mass unemployment and poverty. Nor did it escape the exacerbated political antagonisms that the Depression produced: the collapse of the League of Nations, nationalist expansionism and the rise of Communism and Fascism.⁴² The Wall Street Crash of 1929 had catastrophic consequences for the Brazilian coffee-exporting industry, which was already suffering the effects of a bumper crop in the same year.

The evolution of the Modernist movement remained tied to the vicissitudes of that traditional mainspring of the economy. The first editions of Juca Mulato, Losango Caqui and the Poesia Pau-Brasil had been financed by their authors on the basis of inherited interests in the plantations, guaranteeing their independence from the commercial pressures of the publishing market. Oswald and Tarsila continued to live off income from speculation on land in the São Paulo interior and from coffee exports.⁴³ The Partido Republicano Paulista, which represented those traditional interests, had split in 1924 and now experienced

42. Mário da Silva Brito, "A Revolução Modernista", op.cit., p.34.

43. Sérgio Miceli, Intelectuais e Classe Dirigente no Brasil (1920-1945) (São Paulo/Rio de Janeiro: DIFEL, 1979), p.13.

further internal conflict which led to renewed resignations and an even more pronounced shift to the right. The decline of São Paulo's longstanding hold over the economic and political structure of the country was hastened by the presidential election of March 1930. Until then the choice for the presidency had alternated by tacit agreement between the states of São Paulo and Minas Gerais, whose Republican parties controlled 40% of the electorate. Breaking with established practice, Washington Luíz chose a fellow *paulista*, Júlio Prestes, as his successor, so bringing together the Minas Republicans and the opposition Liberal Alliance, whose candidate was Getúlio Vargas. Predictably, the *paulista* candidate, Prestes, won the election, but its legitimacy was undermined by the assassination of Vargas' vice-presidential candidate, João Pessoa. This sparked off the revolution in Minas and Rio Grande do Sul, leading to the declaration of the Estado Novo and the end of the old order.⁴⁴ Existing political allegiances were inevitably polarised still further, artists and intellectuals being not least affected:

Não foi por acaso que vários modernistas que trabalhavam no órgão oficial perrepista, o Correio Paulistano - Plínio Salgado, Menotti del Picchia, Cândido Motta Filho, Oswald de Andrade - se bandearam para as organizações radicais, à direita e à esquerda, após a Revolução de 30 e a derrota de 32, quando verificam o bloqueio que suas carreiras sofreriam com o desmonte do antigo esquema situacionista.⁴⁵

For Oswald, this was to mean the climax of his political radicalisation, his temporary repudiation of the philosophy and the movement which had so marked the first decade of Modernism, and his eventual reconciliation with the theory of *Antropofagia*.

44. Rollie E. Poppino, Brazil. The land and people (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp.256-57.

45. Sérgio Miceli, *op.cit.*, p.11, note 15.

8.4 Antropofagia: the third way

In the same year that the Movimento Antropofágico folded up, Oswald began writing his fourth novel, Serafim Ponte Grande, which was published four years later, in 1933. The utopianism of *Antropofagia* appears to be carried through to the novel, whose final chapter, "Os Antropófagos", is described by Antônio Cândido as a liberation close to that envisaged by the Manifesto:

Aí, realiza o desejo de agitação para libertar, ao explodir a rotina da vida do protagonista por meio da existência sem compromissos a bordo dos navios que, pouco a pouco, vão saindo da realidade para entrar nos mares do sonho. Todos lembram como o livro acaba: uma espécie de superação total das normas e convenções, numa sociedade lábil e errante, formada a bordo de *El Durasno*, que navega como um fantasma solto, evitando desembarques na terra firme da tradição. Sob a forma bocagiana de uma rebelião burlesca dos instintos, Oswald consegue na verdade encarnar o mito da liberdade integral pelo movimento incessante, a rejeição de qualquer permanência.⁴⁶

The voyage as a metaphor for liberation, exchanging the routine, dead stasis of a society of institutions, tradition and legality for a continual dynamism, clearly recalls one of the central ideas of the Manifesto:

(...) Suprimamos as idéias e as outras paralisias. Pelos roteiros. Acreditar nos sinais, acreditar nos instrumentos e nas estrelas. (...)

Roteiros. Roteiros. Roteiros. Roteiros. Roteiros. Roteiros. Roteiros.

However, if the book rejects the same values and social order that were being attacked by the Manifesto, it also goes one step further, repudiating the role of *Antropofagia* itself and of Oswald in the cultural and political process of the previous decade. The preface, written in 1933, describes Serafim Ponte Grande as a "Necrológio da burguesia. Epitáfio do que fui", and dismissed Oswald's career as a bohemian

46. Antônio Cândido, "Oswald viajante", Vários Escritos, op.cit., pp.55-56.

adventure, irresponsibly anarchistic, effectively collaborating with the Brazilian *bourgeoisie*:

A situação "revolucionária" desta bosta mental sul-americana, apresentava-se assim: o contrário do burguês não era o proletário - era o boêmio! As massas, ignoradas no território e como hoje, sob a completa devassidão econômica dos políticos e dos ricos. Os intelectuais brincando de roda. (...) Com pouco dinheiro, mas fora do eixo revolucionário do mundo, ignorando o Manifesto Comunista e não querendo ser burguês, passei naturalmente a ser boêmio. (...)

Do meu fundamental anarquismo jorrava sempre uma fonte sadia, o sarcasmo. Servi à burguesia sem nela crer. Como o cortesão explorado cortava as roupas ridículas do Regente.⁴⁷

Equally, Oswald's participation in the Modernist movement constituted a sell-out to the economic imperialism which was the price of Brazil's industrialisation:

O movimento modernista, culminado no sarampão antropofágico, parecia indicar um fenômeno avançado. São Paulo possuía um poderoso parque industrial. Quem sabe se a alta do café não ia colocar a literatura nova-rica da semi-colônia ao lado dos custosos surrealismos imperialistas?

Eis porém que o parque industrial de São Paulo era um parque de transformação. Com matéria-prima importada. As vezes originária do próprio solo nosso. Macunaima.

A valorização do café foi uma operação imperialista. A poesia Pau-Brasil também. Isso tinha que ruir com as cornetas da crise. Como ruíu quase toda a literatura brasileira "de vanguarda", provinciana e suspeita, quando não extremamente esgotada e reacionária (op.cit., pp.132-33).

In this repudiation of the literary vanguardist movements of the 1920s and in his assumption of a militant Marxist language of historical determinism and responsibility, Oswald was following the example of a number of European intellectuals who turned to radical political activism at this time; in particular, the French surrealist Benjamin Péret, who had been a militant communist since 1927 and whose visit to Rio between 1929 and 1931 was announced in the Revista de Antropofagia. Oswald joined the

47. Oswald de Andrade, Obras Completas, vol.II (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1971), p.131-32.

Communist Party along with the primitive artist Patrícia Galvão, and began writing for O homem do povo from 1931.

Marking the culmination of his identification with the Brazilian proletariat, his novel A Revolução Melancólica (1943), begun in 1933, charted the failure of the middle-class *paulista* revolt of 1932. Used politically by Vargas as evidence of the discontent of the *paulista* oligarchs, the revolt was a last attempt to recover some of the power lost to the other states in 1930, to reduce the role of the *tenentes* in government and to restore Brazil to constitutional legality. Its suppression greatly enhanced Vargas' political authority, neutralising both the radical influence of the *tenentes* and the *paulista* opposition, some of whose representatives were appointed to government posts.⁴⁸ By 1940 Oswald was still making active political gestures, such as challenging the candidatures of secure, "establishment" figures, such as Menotti del Picchia, Manuel Bandeira and Cassiano Ricardo, when they applied for membership of the Academia Brasileira de Letras. Oswald also played a prominent role in the attempt in 1943 to organise a Brazilian Association of Writers in São Paulo, uniting intellectuals against the Estado Novo. In 1945, when the Communist Party was legalised, Oswald was the spokesman for the legendary Luís Carlos Prestes, the leader of the Column which had marched through the Brazilian interior between 1924 and 1927.

However, soon afterwards Oswald left the Party and during the last ten years of his life devoted himself increasingly to the study of philosophy, in preference to fiction and political journalism. In 1945 he competed unsuccessfully against Antônio Cândido for the Chair of

48. Brazil. State and Struggle (London: Latin American Bureau, 1982), p.23.

Brazilian Literature at the University of São Paulo. In 1950, on the basis of his extensive reading in anthropology, cultural history and philosophy, he prepared the thesis A Crise da Filosofia Messiânica, which was to have been submitted in support of an application for the Chair of Philosophy in the same institution. At this time, he was also writing essays on a similar theme in O Estado de São Paulo, which were later collected under the title A Marcha das Utopias (1953), and in the following year his memoirs, Sob as Ordens de Mamãe, were published, giving his philosophical writings an autobiographical perspective.

So, a decade and half of vociferous activism on behalf of the Communist Party were succeeded by Oswald's return to the ideas of the movement which he had condemned as provincial and unrevolutionary, a "sarampão". Marxism was now classed along with the other bankrupt "patriarchal" and "messianic" ideologies, which were imminently to be superseded by a matriarchal era of collectivism and technocracy. In order to understand this renewed flight from political orthodoxy of right and left, and the resumption of his search for a utopian ideology capable of offering a "third way", we must examine Oswald's experience of political events during and immediately following the Second World War, both at home and abroad.

In 1945, when Getúlio Vargas was under pressure to relinquish power and make way for a democratic regime, opinion within the Communist Party was fundamentally divided on the issue of support for candidates in the presidential elections. On the one hand there were those, represented by Prestes, who viewed support for Vargas as a promise of a future share in power for the Communists. Others, such as Oswald, favoured an electorally weaker candidate, the Brigadier Eduardo Gomes, who had taken

part in the *tenentes'* rebellion of 1922 and represented a continuation of that movement for liberal reform. The dilemma was a difficult one, involving an ideological contradiction which Oswald described as "um grande embate entre as forças conservadoras... da liberdade" and the "forças progressistas... da ditadura" (Chalmers, *op.cit.*, p.197). In the event, Vargas was in any case removed from power soon afterwards, but Oswald's libertarianism made support for the ex-dictator impossible, and he therefore opposed the Party line. Leaving the Party, he attempted to form an Ala Progressista and even stood, unsuccessfully, as a candidate for the Workers' Party in elections to the Federal Congress in 1950.

That ideological dilemma, the choice between conservatism with liberty, and progress with dictatorship, had an important parallel with Oswald's perception of world events at this time. In November 1943, as Oswald saw it, a crossroads was reached in the relationship between the major powers and their ideologies. The Teheran Conference brought together the leaders of the Grand Alliance: Stalin, whose Russian armies had just secured victory in the East and who was in a position to make considerable territorial demands; Churchill, who was worried as much by the possible domination of Europe by the Soviet Union as by the spectacle of state communism, and Roosevelt, who was concerned less with the balance of power in Europe and rather more with establishing a personal relationship with Stalin, with a view to a new world organisation of "universal harmony" based on *entente*.⁴⁹ For Oswald, the Teheran Conference and Roosevelt's proposal of *entente* offered a potential "synthesis" of the antagonistic ideologies of the Great Powers, an

49. Peter Calvocoressi and Guy Wint, Total War, Causes and Courses of the Second World War (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974), pp.341 & 345.

"aliança possível entre as democracias progressistas e o comunismo (...). O marxismo penetrava em fase nova, pois eram superadas a tese (capitalismo) e a antítese (bolchevismo) sendo Teerã o signo da síntese, onde os dois elementos se continham em presença."⁵⁰ In the event, by February 1945 power in central Europe had passed by conquest from Germany to the USSR, creating a new Russian empire which the Western territories were powerless to challenge, and the promise of *entente* was replaced by the Cold War. This disillusionment of Oswald's hopes of a global "synthesis", a reconciliation between the capitalist and communist powers, had a profound effect on the subsequent evolution of his political philosophy.

A Crise da Filosofia Messiânica and A Marcha das Utopias are similar in character, the first tracing the development of Western political thought from its patriarchal origins towards a new version of *Antropofagia*, the second examining more freely the cyclical conflict between patriarchy and matriarchy within the history of utopian ideas. Since they share many features, and because only limited sections of A Marcha das Utopias relevant to the sphere of this study, I shall deal with them together. First, though, it is worth considering a short article, "Meu Testamento" (1944), for what it reveals of the development of Oswald's utopianism during the period of his commitment to Communism. In particular, the article confronts a vital problem, an ideological ambiguity, which arises out of the language and imagery of *Antropofagia*. The fundamental "law" of *Antropofagia*, "a devoração", easily translates, on the one hand, into the Marxist notion of dialectic, a historical process

50. Oswald de Andrade, "O Albatroz" (Telefonema 12/3/46), quoted in Chalmers, op.cit., p.197.

whereby man progresses through the clash of contradictory social systems. But, on the other hand, Oswald's law of eternal "devoração" also bears a dangerous resemblance to fascist notions of socio-biological struggle and "survival of the fittest". The fundamental question, for Oswald, is whether this process of "devoração", assimilation and synthesis has a forward direction and end:

Se fosse um antropófago transcendental, eu diria que não. A vida na terra produzida pela desagregação do sistema solar, só teria um sentido - a devoração. Mas se bem que eu dê à Antropofagia os foros de uma autêntica Weltanschauung, creio que só um espírito reacionário e obtuso poderia tirar partido disso para justificar a devoração pela devoração. Melhor seria vestir logo uma camisola verde e exclamar com aquele insondável humorismo do Sr. Plínio Salgado: "Nós, os caboclos, desceremos sobre as cidades". De cacetão. Não. É preciso parar nas análises históricas de cada ciclo. É preciso ver como têm razão os que acreditam no progresso humano e mesmo no apogeu, agora mais próximo do que nunca, desse progresso. A guerra, os terrores do fascismo, o apelo às forças primitivas da humanidade, tudo isso, só, significa descalabro e morte para um ciclo - o ciclo individualista burguês. Nunca para a humanidade. Ao contrário, tudo vem apressar a revolução perpendicular que se está processando, em meio das mais violentas contradições, nos países mártires, nos países algozes e mesmo nos países amortalhados pelo conformismo. Através da reação, crepita e sobe a fé humana, a fé social, a fé numa era melhor.⁵¹

One of the main pillars of Oswald's faith in a better world was the spectacle of the technological age, which he was convinced was leading to the elimination of social inequalities and to a "unificação de destino". This, if combined with the conquest of the means of production from the *bourgeoisie*, would bring about a collectivist revolution.

At a moment of particular optimism, when the victory of the Grand Alliance seemed secure and offered the prospect of post-war *entente*, universal prosperity and equality, Oswald was able to reconcile his personal philosophy of *Antropofagia* and Marxism quite comfortably. By the

51. Oswald de Andrade, *Do Pau-Brasil à Antropofagia...*, op.cit., p.25; all quotations from the philosophical essays refer to this edition.

1950s, as the essays of A Crise da Filosofia Messiânica and A Marcha das Utopias demonstrate, the two had become incompatible. The climax of man's socio-political evolution was no longer the communist state, but Matriarchy, which was now synonymous with *Antropofagia*. The great struggle was no longer one between classes, but between two cultures: Western civilisation, in which God represents the supreme Good, and which is patriarchal and messianic, and that of primitive societies, where God is the supreme Evil, and which is matriarchal and "anthropophagous" (p.78). Primitive culture has come to represent, as it does in the Manifesto Antropófago, a Golden Age of libertarian socialist values to which Western society is about to revert:

No mundo do homem primitivo que foi o Matriarcado, a sociedade não se dividia ainda em classes. O Matriarcado assentava sobre uma tríplice base: o filho de direito materno, a propriedade comum do solo, o Estado sem classes, ou seja, a ausência de Estado (p.80).

At some stage in human history a patriarchal revolution took place, substituting for the classless, propertyless, stateless i.e. anarchistic society of Matriarchy, a culture founded on the institution of Law and the denial of the natural self:

Passou a ser o Direito aquilo que negava pela coação, a própria natureza do homem. No longo desenvolvimento desse Direito que deu as leis do Patriarcado, o jusnaturalismo sempre reivindicou o seu papel de fonte natural e direta de justiça. Hoje, mais do que nunca, ele surge revigorado pela derrogação, lenta ou revolucionária das formas jurídicas patriarcais que são: o filho de direito paterno, a propriedade privada do solo e o Estado de classes (pp.80-81).

Of course the appeal to a pre-historic culture as a model of social and political organisation, from which Western civilisation has become alienated, is an important element of Marxist historical theory. In The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, which Oswald acknowledges in his extensive bibliography, Engels refers to a putative

matriarchal age, when descendance and therefore inheritance was recognised as matrilineal:

(...) the communistic household implies the supremacy of women in the house, just as the exclusive recognition of a natural mother, because of the impossibility of determining the natural father with certainty, signifies high esteem for the women, that is, for the mothers. That woman was the slave of man at the commencement of society is one of the most absurd notions that have come down from eighteenth century enlightenment. Woman occupies not only a free but also a highly respected position among all savages and all barbarians of the lower and middle stages and sometimes even of the upper stage.⁵²

But a more important source, one also recognised by Engels, is Johann Jacob Bachofen's Myth, Religion and Mother Right. Bachofen (1815-87) was rediscovered in the 1920s by a group of artists and intellectuals centred in Munich around the poet Stephan George. The appeal of his work during the primitivist upsurge was his pre-Jungian "recognition of an implicit psychological, moral import in all mythology" which, in turn, led him to pursue a psychological, rather than rational, interpretation of mythology.⁵³ In the tradition of the major dialectical thinkers who also influenced Oswald (Hegel, Marx, Nietzsche), Bachofen saw a dialectic of "the mothering, feminine, earth-oriented, and the masculine, mastering, idea-and-heaven oriented powers". The masculine principle represented an impulse towards transcendence of man's material condition, dependent upon and slave to nature: "(...) to achieve proprietorship and rational control of his own destiny, releasing himself from the dominion of cosmic-physical forces and a primitive philosophy of existence" (op.cit., pp.xlvii-xlviii). For Bachofen, the child-bearing mother embodies the

52. Frederick Engels, The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, In the Light of the Researches of Lewis H. Morgan (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1948), p.70.

53. George Boas, preface to J.J. Bachofen, Myth, Religion and Mother Right (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), p.xxvi.

primitive's intimate, magical relationship with the earth, the relationship extolled by Oswald in the Manifesto Antropófago:

Like childbearing motherhood, which is its physical image, matriarchy is entirely subservient to matter and to the phenomena of natural life, from which it derives the laws of its inner and outward existence; more strongly than later generations the matriarchal peoples feel the unity of all life, the harmony of the universe, which they have not yet outgrown; they are more keenly aware of the pain of death and the fragility of tellurian existence, lamented by woman and particularly the mother (op.cit., p.91).

The rise of patriarchy therefore represents a massive cultural advance, then, liberating man from that "tellurian" condition:

(...) the triumph of paternity brings with it the liberation of the spirit from the manifestations of nature, a sublimation of human existence over the laws of material life. While the principle of motherhood is common to all spheres of tellurian life, man, by the preponderant positions he accords to the begetting potency, emerges from this relationship and becomes conscious of his higher calling. Spiritual life rises over corporeal existence, and the relation with the lower spheres of existence is restricted to the physical aspect (op.cit., p.109).

This divergence between the historical destinies of the sexes is also fundamental to the work of the great feminist writer, Simone de Beauvoir, although it leads her to radically different conclusions. In The Second Sex (1949), Beauvoir reveals the female condition of motherhood to be an essentially oppressive one, denying woman the possibilities for self-realisation which have been offered to man since he left the environment of the home, began to invent tools, construct forms of transport and set himself projects:

The woman who gave birth, therefore, did not know the pride of creation; she felt herself the plaything of obscure forces, and the painful ordeal of childbirth seemed a useless or even troublesome accident. But in any case giving birth and suckling are not activities, they are natural functions; no project is involved; and that is why woman found in them no reason for a lofty affirmation of her existence - she submitted passively to her biological fate. (...)

Man's case was radically different; he furnished support for the group, not in the manner of worker bees by a simple vital process, through biological behaviour, but by means of acts that

transcended his animal nature. (...) In this activity he put his power to the test; he set up goals and opened up roads towards them; in brief, he found self-realization as an existent. To maintain, he created; he burst out of the present, he opened the future.⁵⁴

Beauvoir concludes from this that Bachofen's and Engels' Matriarchal society is a myth; using the more recent anthropological evidence of Claude Lévi-Strauss's Les Structures élémentaires de la parenté (1949), also acknowledged by Oswald, she points to the permanent exclusion of women from the realm of political activity:

To say that woman was the *Other* is to say that there did not exist between the sexes a reciprocal relation: Earth, Mother, Goddess - she was no fellow creature in man's eyes; it was *beyond* the human realm that her power was affirmed, and she was therefore *outside* of that realm. Society has always been male; political power has always been in the hands of men. 'Public or simply social authority always belongs to men,' declares Lévi-Strauss at the end of his study of primitive societies (op.cit., p.102).

Oswald's interpretation of the history of Western civilisation, and his prediction of an imminent return to Matriarchy, is based on a fundamental misreading of these texts; both Bachofen and Beauvoir view the rise of patriarchy as a liberation from slavery to the material condition, in the first case as a triumph of cultural evolution, and the second as a victory granted only to men, and denied to women. In A Crise da Filosofia Messiânica, however, Oswald insists on his vision of Matriarchy as an ideal model of liberty, equality and harmony towards which Western society is naturally tending. Contrary to the conclusions of The Second Sex, which calls, not for a return to Matriarchy, but for an emancipation of both sexes ("that by and through their natural differentiation men and women unequivocally affirm their brotherhood",

54. Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex (Harmonsworth: Penguin, 1975), pp.94-95.

op.cit., 741), Oswald hails Beauvoir as "esse evangelho feminista que se coloca no prtico da nova era matriarcal" (op.cit., p.125).

A Crise da Filosofia Messinica thus proceeds to trace the evolution of patriarchy, with its suppression of communal marriage, matrilinear descent and its institution of slavery, towards its crisis and the matriarchal revolution. Central to the perpetuation of patriarchy is the mystical ideology of Messianism, the belief, inculcated in man by the privileged class of priests, that a future liberation will compensate a life of oppression and slavery (pp.81 & 104). The contemporary manifestation of messianic Patriarchy is, for Oswald, Stalinist Russia, where the dictatorship of the Party has become a religion:

O que era Messianismo, fenmeno de caos na sucesso de crises de conjuntura que deu afinal a crise de estrutura do regime burgus, tornou-se sacerdcio empedernido e dogma imutvel na URSS (p.117).

This is because the Marxist dialectic - thesis: bourgeoisie, antithesis: proletariat, synthesis: communism - has never passed beyond the second stage, becoming frozen "na economia do Haver (Patriarcado) escapando s injunes histricas da economia do Ser (Matriarcado)" (p.118). The events which followed the 1943 Teheran Conference bitterly betrayed any hopes of an international synthesis of the two major ideologies:

De Stalin, novo Jlius Csar, o homem da espada e do livro, esperava-se a acomodaco dialtica (...) a sntese das foras polticas vitoriosas (...). Em vez da sntese esperada entre a burguesia progressista e o comunismo, outra se processava dentro dos umbrais ideolgicos da URSS - a sntese entre a Reforma e a Contra-Reforma (pp.118-19).

In response to this, Oswald proceeds to revise the Marxist dialectic, with the help of James Burnham's The Managerial Revolution (1941). The arrival of the technological age which Oswald had witnessed forty years earlier furnishes him, via Oswald Spengler and Hermann Keyserling, with the notion of a modern, composite human being, "primitive

man made technical". The first equation he formulates, then, is the one implicit in the Manifesto Antropófago:

- 1º termo: tese - o homem natural
- 2º termo: antítese - o homem civilizado
- 3º termo: síntese - o homem natural tecnizado (p.79).

Despite the social ills generated by capitalism, the United States offers the most likely conditions for the realisation of a version of Oswald's Matriarchy: "o instinto lúdico" and "o ócio". The technological revolution and the universalisation of material well-being promise a return to the values of leisure and the ludic instinct, the primitive state of "being" rather than "having" or "doing", which was instituted together with the capitalist work ethic (*negócio*), the negation of leisure (*ócio*) (A Marcha das Utopias, pp.157-58). Marx, too, had identified this promise of leisure as one of the consequences of the development of technology within the capitalist economies:

Capital creates a great deal of disposable time, apart from the labour time that is needed for society in general and for each sector of society (i.e. space for the development of the individual's full productive forces, and thus also for those of society). (...) Thus, despite itself, it is instrumental in creating the means of social disposable time, and so in reducing working time for the whole of society to a minimum and thus making everyone's time free for their own development.⁵⁵

Oswald is confident, then, that "o mundo do trabalho, graças à técnica e ao progresso humano, passa os encargos sociais para a máquina e procura realizar na terra o ócio prometido pelas religiões no céu" (p.127). A third dialectical formula is therefore possible: "(...) seria dialeticamente através do negócio, estímulo dorsal da técnica, que o homem poderia concretamente aspirar ao seu contrário, o ócio, e, enfim, conquistá-lo" (A Marcha das Utopias, p.193).

55. Karl Marx, Marx's Grundrisse, ed. David MacLellan (London: Macmillan, 1971), p.144.

The consequences of this social transformation work at two levels, that of the individual and that of the political organisation of society as a whole. As we have seen, Oswald's "antropófago" or Keyserling's *chauffeur*, the primitive man made technical, is the product of that same synthesis of cultures proposed over twenty years earlier in the Manifesto Antropófago. The great discovery of Modernism was that there is no fundamental division separating the civilised European from the primitive tribal (A Marcha das Utopias, p.192). Rather, the age of the motor-car has revealed the primitive self within modern man. In The Decline of the West (1917), another of the large-scale sociological works which figure in Oswald's bibliography, Oswald Spengler defines the three great types bred and trained by the Machine: the entrepreneur, the engineer and the factory-worker. Of these, the engineer, "the priest of the machine", is the most important:

Not merely the importance, but the very existence of the industry depends upon the existence of the hundred thousand talented, rigorously schooled brains that command the technique and develop it onward and onward. The quiet engineer it is who is the machine's master and destiny.⁵⁶

James Burnham, in his The Managerial Revolution, expands the role of this "engineer", adding to it the political dimension of what is now referred to as the technocrat. The appeal of Burnham's theory to Oswald is its attempt to define a third alternative to the ideologies of capitalism and socialism, in the belief that the first is heading towards collapse while the second will remain permanently unattainable. Instead, Burnham proposes, both capitalist and socialist economies are undergoing a transition towards a "managerial" society. The state is to be controlled

56. Oswald Spengler, The Decline of the West, 2 vols. (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1928), ,vol.II, p.505.

by those responsible for the "technical direction and coordination of the process of production", the managers, who will combine a specialist knowledge of the physical and social sciences and of engineering:

The economic framework in which this social dominance of the managers will be assured is based upon the state ownership of the major instruments of production. Within this framework there will be no direct property rights in the major instruments of production vested in individuals as individuals.

(...)

(...) The state - that is, the institutions which comprise the state - will, if we wish to put it that way, be the "property" of the managers. And that will be quite enough to place them in the position of ruling class.⁵⁷

As Burnham indicates (op.cit., pp.190-91, 202-03), the managerial ideology is a kind of state socialism incorporating elements from the corporativism of Fascism-Nazism, Marxism-Leninism, Roosevelt's New Dealism and the new Technocracy. In fact, it represents the last, or latest, stage in Oswald's perennial search for a synthetic solution to the various cultural and political contradictions which had concerned him during his life: nationalism and cosmopolitanism, popular, indigenous culture and high, academic culture, primitivism and technology, capitalism and communism. It has shed the anarchist-inspired libertarianism and revolutionary spirit of the Manifesto Antropófago, but retains intact most of the elements of Oswald's collectivist, matriarchal utopia and its language of tribal primitivism:

(...) A Revolução dos Gerentes, de James Burnham, lembrando a gerontocracia da tribo, oferece o melhor esquema para uma sociedade controlada que suprima pouco a pouco o Estado, a propriedade privada e a família indissolúvel, ou sejam, as formas essenciais do Patriarcado (p.129).

The evolution of Oswald's philosophy is itself dialectical, then, operating through the same "law" of *Antropofagia* which the Manifesto

57. James Burnham, The Managerial Revolution. What is happening in the world (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1972), p.72.

announced as the universal impulse motivating human behaviour. Life is "devoração" and communion, a consumption and internalisation of the "other", making possible a reconstruction of the future out of the contradictory fragments of the past. *Antropofagia* is a permanently open, forward-looking perspective, faithful to the dynamic, primitive cosmology and tribal culture which inspired it, and constantly enriched by the ideas and experiences with which it interacts. This quality of permanent renewal is perhaps, by its very nature, Oswald's most durable contribution to the Modernist movement, and no doubt explains the more recent revival of interest in his work as part of Brazil's struggle towards democratisation.

However, the abstract terms of Oswald's theory of Brazilian culture, its academic, philosophical alienation from the cultural reality which it attempts to define, are not without significance. Missing from this account of the dialectical history and imminent synthesis of Brazil's primitive and technological cultures is a sense of the actual material conditions and circumstances which have determined the relationship between those cultures at any particular moment; a sense of the sociological implications and problems arising out of the encounter between the "primitive" world of the *sertão* or Amazonian forest and the "developed" technological society of the West; a sense of the impact of modern capitalism on the fragile rural and indigenous communities of the interior, and of the existence of independent cultural aspirations within those communities themselves.

Mário de Andrade's *Macunaima*, which is the subject of the next chapter, goes some way towards remedying those deficiencies, in its fictional narrative of this process of cultural transformation. In doing

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so, Mário implicitly questions the ability of *Antropofagia* to deal with and explain the complex Brazilian reality which faced the Modernist generation. Macunaíma's story of cultural alienation and betrayal confronts Oswald's idealism with the pessimism of historical experience, challenging the right of the Movimento Antropofágico to claim the book as its own *obra-prima*.

CHAPTER 9. MARIO DE ANDRADE AND *MACUNAÏMA*

9.1 Introduction

As will now have become clear, the range of cultural questions and symbolic possibilities raised by the Indian in Brazilian writing and thought was significantly broadened following the end of nineteenth-century Indianism, as a result of the cultural and sociological debates of the First Republic and the artistic discoveries of the Modernist movement. Whereas the Romantics had adopted the Indian as a representative of Liberal, nationalist values and a defender of the Imperial order, by the 1920s every area of the Brazilian reality, whether the relationship between city and country, the issues of racial identity, technology and tradition, the economic and cultural influence of Europe, or the character of popular and academic art, could now be examined and reassessed by reference to a native tradition of primitivism, that of Brazil's tribal communities. Cultural primitivism had replaced heroic myth as the source of artistic values which now often questioned, rather than celebrated, the dominant order.

It is worth remembering the role of Alencar as an early defender of this broadening of the concept of Brazilian culture, of the integration of the rich ethnic diversity of the interior, the offspring of the country's native experiences and interactions. Mário de Andrade's admiration for the author of *Iracema* is well-known and, but for Mário's wish not to be identified with Romanticism in general, *Macunaíma* would have been dedicated to him. Alencar's linguistic experiments in *Iracema*, his attempt to recreate a peculiarly "Brazilian" language based on indigenous vocabulary and syntax, must constitute the main source of

fellow-feeling for Mário, for whom the recognition and promotion of the Brazilian vernacular in the country's literature was a permanent preoccupation. But that task formed only a part of the huge cultural mission which Mário set himself; the fruit of that commitment - his poetry and fiction, his journalism and essays, his musical and ethnographic researches, his work for the São Paulo Department of Culture, and his "rhapsody" Macunaíma - is without doubt the greatest single contribution to the restoration of popular art and traditions to the mainstream of Brazilian culture.

As part of a mission concerned with a national culture, Mário's view of the Indian addresses, not surprisingly, the ethnological rather than sociological or political aspects of the tribal question. As in Oswald's work, the Indian signifies for Mário the epitome of that vital, native current of primitive art and tradition whose interaction with the culture of Brazil's dominant class has characterised the nation's history and sense of identity. It is therefore interesting to note that the plot of Mário's Macunaíma traces the classic sociological process of detribalisation and acculturation which has been documented by anthropologists and other observers since the nineteenth century and before, and which is now being depicted as such in recent fiction and cinema. Macunaíma is born in an isolated tribal village and, when, adult, repeats the journey made by countless Indians, whether along the slave-routes or into the Jesuit missions of previous centuries, or in the campaigns of "pacification" and socio-economic "integration" of this century - the journey into white society. It is a journey which destroys Macunaíma, transforming him almost beyond recognition and making

impossible any reconciliation with or reintegration into the world he has abandoned.

Of course, Mário's concern being with Brazilian culture and not the sociology of detribalisation, he does not recount Macunaíma's journey in those terms, nor is there any evidence to suggest that he ever intended it to be understood as such. What this de-politicisation of such a political issue reveals, is the great strength and richness of the basic Indianist theme - the meeting of tribal and Western societies - its appeal on so many other ideological, philosophical and cultural levels. If, like Oswald, Mário does not directly confront the question of tribal rights and their violations, he does succeed in addressing a whole number of issues raised by that theme: the response of primitivism to the modern, technological age; the defence of indigenous, as opposed to cosmopolitan, values and models, and the dialectic between primitive and academic cultures.

All of which brings us to the problematic question of Mário's intellectual and artistic relation to Oswald. Given the fact that the above issues are the same as those raised by Oswald's Manifesto Antropófago, it is not surprising that Macunaíma was hailed as the masterpiece of the Movimento Antropofágico, an excerpt of it appearing in the first issue of the Revista. Yet Mário's repudiation of *Fau-Brasil*, his later disassociation from the Movimento Antropofágico, the attacks made on him in the Revista, and his unresolved quarrel with Oswald, are also well documented. This chapter will therefore be chiefly concerned with defining the nature of the writers' artistic differences, specifically in their treatment of the Indianist or primitivist theme. But these differences will also necessarily be related to their careers,

personalities and world-views. In particular, the analysis which follows will examine Macunaíma as an alternative response to Oswald's optimistically dialectical theory of Brazilian culture.

In Oswald's manifestos and essays, all the ideological and philosophical contradictions raised by the country's economic transformation are resolvable by recourse to dialectical formulae e.g. thesis; *o homem natural*; antithesis: *o homem civilizado*; synthesis: *o homem natural tecnizado*. *Antropofagia* provides the perfect metaphor of assimilation by which all these contradictions - primitive/civilised, popular/academic, indigenous/cosmopolitan etc. - are resolved simultaneously and unproblematically. This is the domain of the manifesto, whose function is to provide such solutions in order to prompt immediate action and commitment, assuming an uninterrupted connection between the theoretical argument and its practice. Oswald is characteristically a political creature; not only his journalism and work for the Communist Party, but also his literary activities and texts represent a direct participation in the immediate world of conflict and change experienced by the country in the first half of this century. Both ideologically and in their stylistic and structural experimentation, Oswald's poetry, novels and plays are combative, polemical, stimulating reaction rather than contemplation or analysis.

Mário, while also deeply preoccupied by the political and social destiny of his country and never afraid to voice his views on events as they happened, nevertheless seemed incapable of Oswald's total conviction or ideological commitment. His involvement in the Partido Democrático, the main opposition party in São Paulo, and his hesitant brush with Communism seem to have arisen out of a general sense of progressive,

public responsibility and a visceral socialism, rather than out of any formal intellectual persuasion. Mário's relatively unorthodox view of national and regional politics suggests an independent, critical nature that rejected rigidly formulated doctrine in favour of the wisdom of personal experience and learning. If one occupation can be said to define his intellectual character, it is that of the scholar, and it was of course his great respect for the academic approach to art which provoked the animosity of the Movimento Antropofágico in its second, more radical phase.

At an intellectual level, the rift between Oswald and Mário was probably due to some extent to a mutual misunderstanding of each other's analysis of the national culture and its conflicting elements. Oswald and the *antropófagos* failed to discriminate between Mário's professionalism, his serious regard for the value of intelligent, informed research in all areas of culture, whether the erudite literary and musical tradition or the popular forms of self-expression, and the academicism of the Academia Brasileira de Letras, the institutionalised conservatism of the First Republic's cultural establishment. Mário, on the other hand, like most of his contemporaries, saw only the subversive dimension of *Pau-Brasil* and *Antropofagia* without their creative, constructive value as proposals for a dynamic cultural synthesis.

However, beneath the personality differences which no doubt encouraged this misunderstanding - Oswald's essentially political nature as an agitator, a writer of manifestos, and Mário's academic scepticism - there is a more substantial point of disagreement. Both writers in fact accepted the dualistic nature of Brazilian culture and shared similar ideas about the modern age, the primitive values of leisure and "being",

and the importance of Freudian psychoanalytical theory. But while Oswald permanently sought to insert or reconcile these conflicting ideas within a complete, coherent theory of culture which he constantly revised, Mário tended to reflect and explore the complexity of contradictions with which he was faced. If he shared many of Oswald's ideas about primitivism and development, he also retained certain values - his Catholicism, his belief in tradition, and his mistrust of mechanised, urban society - which have a vital bearing on the way in which we approach Macunaíma. The ambiguity of the book, together with Mário's own contradictory comments on it, has posed a problem for critics anxious to extract from it a clear nationalist statement or pessimistic, satirical comment on the national condition. However, the book's anti-climactic conclusion, the hero's victory and final downfall, the whole uncertain nature of his identity and relationship to the urban and tribal societies, can and should be accepted as significant in their own right.

For Macunaíma represents a sceptical antidote to Oswald's ingenuously optimistic, dialectical view of the struggle between primitive and urban cultures. In the book, the elements of that struggle which are so effortlessly and instantaneously resolved by the logic of the *Pau-Brasil* and *Antropofagia* Manifestos, remain hopelessly at odds with one another, incapable of any such harmonious synthesis, indeed they turn out to be almost mutually exclusive. The characterless hero is exactly the negation of that ideal, composite Brazilian of the future, "o homem natural tecnizado", the critical consumer of cosmopolitan culture, yet faithful defender of popular, indigenous values. Instead, Macunaíma's journey from the forest into the city of São Paulo and back again is a story of betrayal, corruption and lost integrity. Despite his eventual

defeat of the giant Piaimã, Macunaíma's irrationalism, his gratuitously malicious and self-destructive actions neutralise any constructive germ that his experiences might have cultivated. By the time he remembers his loyalty to the individuals and to the world he has left behind, it is too late; both his congenital delinquency and the seductions of the city have infected him with a literally pathological incapacity for creative, constructive action or for the realisation of an identity.

If we are to extrapolate a general statement from the book, then, it must be that any simplistic fusion of the antagonistic cultural forces at play in the nation's development is illusory. Two worlds and sets of values which are as different as those of the forest Indian and the cosmopolitan city-dweller have, in the vision of Macunaíma, a destructive rather than creative influence on each other. By embracing the modern technology and Europeanised élitist art of the city, Brazilian culture risks alienating itself from the sense of identity and historical continuity provided by its native folk tradition and indigenous ethnic roots (a fear similar to that expressed a few years earlier by Lima Barreto). On the other hand, the irrationalism which Oswald discovered to be the primitive culture's subversive weapon, its defence against the oppressive, alienating influence of the élitist urban culture - that irrationalism is also an obstacle to construction, to material progress, the "organização" which is permanently frustrated in Macunaíma. The inconsequentiality of the hero's actions, his gratuitous destructiveness eventually result in the loss of his family and friends and the disappearance of his tribe and their deeds into oblivion.

It is a further example of Mário's contradictory nature and of his creative determination, in spite of all his scepticism, that on the level

of artistic achievement Macunaíma does what its vision says is impossible. Indigenous legend and sophisticated narrative technique, rural folk traditions and acute observation of modern city life, the colloquial speech of the *caboclo*, mulatto and *paulista* immigrant, and the erudite Portuguese of the *crônica* - all these apparently incompatible elements react with each other, fertilise each other and recreate the process of cultural diversification and enrichment to which Mário's life was dedicated.

9.2 Life and career

Mário Raúl de Moraes Andrade was born in 1893 in the city of São Paulo, where he spent virtually all of his life. The first real indication of his artistic leanings was a decision to abandon a recently begun course at a commercial school in order to study music and piano at the São Paulo Conservatory of Drama and Music, in about 1911. By the time he qualified in 1917, he had gained a name for himself as a teacher and was writing criticism for publications that included the prestigious Revista do Brasil, and was composing the poems collected under the title Há uma gota de sangue em cada poema. These activities, together with his readings of both foreign and national writers, especially those participating in the developments of European Modernism, continued up to 1922, the year of the momentous *Semana de Arte Moderna* and of Mário's own Pauliceia Desvairada. In the previous year, Oswald had published an article, "O meu poeta futurista", which Mário vigorously repudiated, in the first of several declarations of his artistic independence. But, as the most enthusiastic contributor to the first journal of Brazilian Modernism, Klaxon, he was unequivocally the leader of the movement. His second work

of particular historical importance was A Escrava que não é Isaura (1925), a polemical account of Modernist poetics. There followed Losango Cáqui and Primeiro Andar, collections of earlier poems and short stories, respectively, both of 1926.

By this time, the movement had divided itself into a number of ideological camps and tendencies, and Mário's own interests were becoming apparent. The poems of Clã do Jaboti (1927) have a strong regional, folkloric content, and Macunaíma, first drafted between December 1926 and January 1927, was revised and published after a long journey to the north and north-east of the country which Mário made in the company of Olívia Penteado, Tarsila do Amaral and her daughter, Dulce, Paulo Prado and Oswald. The first publication based on his musical researches was the Ensaio sobre a Música Brasileira (1928), followed a year later by the Compêndio da História da Música.

From its inception in 1927, Mário collaborated on the Diário Nacional, the official mouthpiece of the recently founded Partido Democrático, contributing literature, articles, short stories and the *crônicas* which appeared under the heading "Taxi" between 1929 and 1930. As he wrote in a letter to Carlos Drummond de Andrade,¹ his political commitment did not have the fervent passion of ideological conviction, but was rather an almost reluctant self-surrender to a public unanimity of feeling. His instinctive anti-militarism and disgust at the political opportunism which repeatedly exploited São Paulo's strategic position, opposed him to the middle-class revolt of 1932. But once subjected to the moral pressure of his family's and friends' total commitment, his sense

1. A Lição do Amigo. Cartas de Mário de Andrade a Carlos Drummond de Andrade (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1982), 6-XI-32, pp.175-80.

of solidarity and responsibility to those people forced him to "sell his objectivity", as he put it, and he applied all of his influence as a writer, the resources of the Conservatory and its students to the cause, devoting his other energies to the Liga de Defesa Paulista. Elsewhere he described the personal anguish and impotent frustration in the face of the events following the 1930 Revolution, his brother's imprisonment, his mother's despair and the proximity of death, which led him to declare himself a communist - the desperate "mentira-verdade" of false motives but genuine feelings:

Eu mentia enquanto garantido em mim de que aquilo era uma verdade, uma convicção a que fatalmente, tanto pela inteligência raciocinante como pelo senso moral, eu havia fatalmente de chegar. E de fato cheguei. A esta consciência muito "sentida", muito "vívida" de atualmente, de que não só um socialismo, meu Deus! comunístico tem de ser a mais próxima forma social do homem, mas que eu devo, sem nenhuma vanglória e sem nenhuma "esperança" do beneficiamento pessoal, combater por. Mesmo errando, mesmo dando por paus e por pedras, mesmo... cinquentão e desajeitado, mesmo com as minhas paupérrimas possibilidades, combater por.²

This burst of political commitment temporarily resolved the personal, at one point suicidal, crisis between the end of 1934 and early 1935, which he expressed in the poem "O Carro da Miséria" as "a luta do burguês pra abandonar todos os seus preconceitos e prazeres em proveito de um ideal mais perfeito".

However, as he wrote in the same later, his "true salvation" from that crisis was his appointment to the Municipal Department of Culture later in 1935, a form of social commitment which could command from him a more profound emotional and intellectual dedication. After directing the Divisão de Expansão Cultural and heading the Department as a whole, he undertook in 1937 the preliminary planning for a Department of National

2. 71 Cartas de Mário de Andrade (Rio de Janeiro: São José, n/d), 5-IV-44 (A Carlos Lacerda), p.90.

Historic and Artistic Heritage, which required him to make extensive journeys through the state, continuing in the meantime his teaching duties at the Conservatory. The next two years saw numerous unprecedented developments in the cultural life of São Paulo as a result of Mário's initiative and energy: a Society of Ethnology and Folklore, a Congress for the National Language in Song, children's parks with their own folk festivals, a mobile library, a music and record library, and free musical and dramatic performances at the Municipal Theatre, open for the first time to working-class people.

In 1938, however, following the establishment of the Estado Novo, Mário's work for the Department, the culmination of his cultural mission, was cruelly cut short. In the drastic personnel changes which the dictatorship imposed on the entire structure of the civil service, many of those responsible for the conception and realisation of the Department of Culture were imprisoned or expelled from the country. Removed from his post as Director of the Department, Mário resigned from his duties in the Divisão de Expansão Cultural, and moved to Rio, where he found work at the Federal University and in the Instituto do Livro through the influence of the Minister of Education. He never recovered from this blow, and spent the remaining years of his life hovering between physical illness and depression, becoming increasingly dependent on alcohol. Unable to adapt to life in Rio, he returned to São Paulo in 1941 and continued his cultural researches. In 1942 he published the text of a now well-known lecture to the Casa do Estudante, "O Movimento Modernista", in which he critically reassessed his own contribution and those of other intellectuals to the Movement. Three years later, having ceased his journalistic activities due to political repression, but still involved in

the preparation of definitive editions of his poetry and prose, he died in the house in the Rua Lopes Chaves which he shared with his mother and an aunt.³

9.3 Modernism and Primitivism

For Mário, Modernism had to define itself, in the first place, in relation to the literary and artistic tradition which it was proposing to replace. His first significant step in this respect was the series of articles published in the Jornal do Comércio between August and September of 1921 under the title "Mestres do Passado". In these respectful but critical studies of seven of the most prestigious literary figures of the First Republic, Mário anticipates the discovery which Brazilian Modernism itself only made in 1924: "Arte não é só construção de Beleza; nem este é o seu maior fim."⁴ The ideological vacuum which existed at this moment in the history of Brazilian culture was not the primary concern of the Modernists who organised the Semana de Arte Moderna in 1922. Mário, however, was aware that an aesthetic revolution would not be enough:

é aliás uma lástima verificar-se como os poetas do Brasil - todos os brasileiros - não só não têm princípios filosóficos e religiosos como não se esforçam por tê-los. São geralmente ventoinhas de princípios ocasionais. Sopra-lhes a direção a estética do último poeta que decoraram, a filosofia do último Bergson que não digeriram (op.cit., p.269).

Treading an awkward path in the struggle between Modernism and *passadismo*, Mário also had courage enough to point to the kindred relation between the aspirations of his own generation and those of the

3. Unless otherwise indicated, the source for Mário's biography is Paulo Duarte, Mário de Andrade por ele mesmo (São Paulo: Edart, 1971), pp.17-47.

4. Mário de Andrade, "Vicente do Carvalho", Mestres do Passado - VI (Jornal do Comércio 23/8/21), IN Mário da Silva Brito, História do Modernismo Brasileiro 1 - Antecedentes da Semana de Arte Moderna, 2^a ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1964), pp.295-96.

Romantics, particularly their most characteristic representatives, the Indianists. It was not the Romantic sensibility with which he identified, the "consciência *perí*" which the Parnassianists had institutionalised and against which Oswald and Menotti had declared war a few months earlier. Rather it was the revolutionary spirit of the Romantics, which the Parnassianists had censored in their revival of the Indianist aesthetic: "Com o aparecimento deles desapareceram os poetas antigos brasileiros. Porque Bilac escreveu "Morte do Tapir" ninguém mais lê os "Timbiras". "última Jornada" do sublime Machado, o magnífico "Uruguai" de Basílio da Gama são abortos duma infância fragilima!" (op.cit., p.305). Mário reaffirmed this link with the Romantic tradition twenty years later, in the lecture "O Movimento Modernista":

(...) Me refiro ao "espírito" romântico, ao espírito revolucionário romântico, que está na Inconfidência, no Basílio da Gama do Uruguai, nas líras de Gonzaga como nas Cartas Chilenas de quem os senhores quiserem. Este espírito preparou o estado revolucionário de que resultou a independência política, e teve como padrão bem briguento a primeira tentativa de língua brasileira. O espírito revolucionário modernista, tão necessário como o romântico, preparou o estado revolucionário de 30 em diante, e também teve como padrão barulhento a segunda tentativa de nacionalização da linguagem. A similaridade é muito forte.⁵

One Indianist who is not named in the above quotation but who is implicitly present in the reference to the two attempts to "nationalise" the Brazilian language, is Alencar. The first completed version of Macunaíma carried the dedication "A Paulo Prado/ a José de Alencar pai-de-vivo que brilha no vasto campo do céu."⁶ Alencar's influence on Mário's "rhapsody" will be discussed during my analysis of the text; in the meantime, Mário's homage to the author of O Guarani as a kind of guiding

5. Mário de Andrade, "O Movimento Modernista", Aspectos da Literatura Brasileira (São Paulo: Martins, 1943), p.240.

6. Telê Porto Ancona Lopez, "Introdução", Macunaíma: o herói sem nenhum caráter (São Paulo: Secret. da Cultura, Ciência e Tecnologia, 1978), p.XIV.

star suggests that he recognised the common cultural mission to which both were dedicated at different moments in the history of Brazilian nationality.

The political implications of the mission which Mário set himself were of course very different from the essential conservatism which underlay Alencar's mythology of social, political and cultural Conciliation, *mestiçagem*. Mário's condemnation of the early Modernists, himself included, as "abstencionistas abstêmios e transcendentos", "uns verdadeiros inconscientes"⁷ appears largely justified; but there can be no doubt of Mário's sense of intellectual responsibility by the time he wrote *Macunaíma*. In his Ensaio sobre a música brasileira (1928) he stated: "O critério atual de Música Brasileira deve ser não filosófico mas social. Deve ser um critério de combate",⁸ and his entire life's project thereafter was a genuinely socialist struggle to restore the ownership, participation in and enjoyment of the nation's culture to the Brazilian people. Unlike Oswald, who recognised that this struggle necessarily extended to the entire political structure and all its institutions, Mário apparently saw no objection to working within the "system" as long as it allowed him to do so i.e. until he was removed by the establishment of the Estado Novo. This difference between the two Andrades' understanding of how socialism was to be achieved - essentially the difference between revolutionary and reformist socialism - goes a long way towards explaining their disagreements regarding the meaning of "culture" and Mário's condemnation of the early Modernist phase, particularly the Movimento Pau-Brasil.

7. Mário de Andrade, "O Movimento Modernista", op.cit., p.244.

8. Mário de Andrade, Ensaio sobre a música brasileira 3ª ed. (São Paulo: Martins, 1972), p.19.

Eduardo Moraes has shown Mário's momentary adoption of the *pau-brasil* label in 1924 to be a tactical aberration, contradicting his otherwise uncompromising criticisms of the Manifesto da Poesia Pau-Brasil.⁹ What is most interesting about Mário's attack on the Manifesto is not simply his misunderstanding of Oswald's anti-academic stance, his inability to see that Oswald was not against "sabença" or erudition as such, but against its oppressive political role in the history of Brazilian culture. Its importance lies rather in the fact that it reveals Mário's own preoccupation with academic culture and tradition as necessary and positive forces in the creation of a progressive art. It was this preoccupation which led him to defend his work against Tristão de Athaíde's accusation that it was primitivist, in the sense of irrational or subversive:

(...) não compreendo como você (...) me chama de "primitivo" no sentido da orientação que Osvaldo de Andrade deu para essa palavra. Por acaso algum dia eu ataquei a cultura? Pois meus livros todos não são fenômenos e influências justamente da cultura?'¹⁰

Similarly, in a letter of November 1924 to Drummond, he wrote: "Veja bem, eu não ataco nem nego a erudição e a civilização, como fez o Osvaldo num momento de erro, ao contrário respeito-as e cá tenho também (comedidamente, muito comedidamente) as minhas fichinhas de leitura."¹¹ Beneath Mário's sensitivity to this question of "culture", academicism and civilisation, lies a fundamental tension, in his own work and in the Modernist movement as a whole - the pursuit of order, discipline and

9. A Brasilidade Modernista..., op.cit., pp.90-93, citing Marta Rossetti Batista, Telê Porto Ancona Lopez, Yone Soares de Lima, Brasil: 1º tempo modernista - 1917/29. documentação (São Paulo: IEB/USP, 1972), p.203.

10. "A Alceu Amoroso Lima" (Tristão de Athaíde), 23-XII-27, 71 Cartas..., op.cit., p.21.

11. A Lição do Amigo..., op.cit., p.4.

construction in a world which appeared to be ruled by primitive forces of chaos. As we shall see, it is precisely this tension, the need to control what he later described as "o espírito destruidor do movimento modernista"¹², the subversive impulse of primitivism, which gives Macunaíma its ambivalence.

Although he wished to disassociate himself from the revolutionary, anarchistic implications of Oswald's primitivism, Mário was no less convinced of the centrality of the primitive mentality and culture, both to the spirit of the Modern Age and to the vigorously independent identity of the Brazilian people. Like Oswald, he shared Spengler's and Keyserling's interpretation of the new civilisation as a rediscovery of man's elemental, instinctual forces. On the one hand it offered the promise of a liberation, a return to man's authentic self, the intuitive sense of "being" which Mário experienced at first-hand in the Afro-Brazilian music and dance of Carnival:

Fique sabendo duma coisa, se não sabe ainda: é com essa gente que se aprende a sentir e não com a inteligência e a erudição livresca. Eles é que conservam o espírito religioso da vida e fazem tudo sublimemente num ritual esclarecido de religião. Eu conto no meu "Carnaval carioca" um fato a que assisti em plena Avenida Rio Branco. Uns negros dançando o samba. Mas havia uma negra moça que dançava melhor que os outros. Os jeitos eram os mesmos, mesma habilidade, mesma sensualidade mas ela era melhor. (...) Dançava com religião. Não olhava pra lado nenhum. Vivía a dança. E era sublime.¹³

On the other hand it carried with it the dangerous risk of chaos, of an unrestrained regime of barbarism, totalitarianism and blind destruction:

(...) Nós hoje estamos num período caótico, período de povo, período de selvagens, de primitivos. Só os oligarcas vencem. Depois são assassinados, expulsos e substituídos por outros oligarcas. Regime da tirania da força física ou intelectual. Um homem corajoso na frente. E a manada atrás, cega, carneiro, cabeça baixa, obedecendo.

12. "O Movimento Modernista", op.cit., p.230.

13. Letter to Drummond, November 1924, A Lição do Amigo, op.cit., pp.4-5.

Olha a Rússia, a Alemanha, a Itália, a Espanha. O mundo está nesse período de descivilização. Nem cultura nem filosofias. Período selvagem de crença pura, de fé, de credence, de esperança. As artes pra interessarem tem de se tornar impúrias. Tem de interessar por coisas relativas à vida, ao homem, à terra.¹⁴

Mário also confronted the double-edged nature of the primitive impulse in his personal theory of Modernist aesthetics, A escrava que não é Isaura (1925). Here it was the psychological primitivism of the Surrealists and Dadaists, the Freudian voice of the subconscious, which was at issue: "Substituição da Ordem Intelectual pela Ordem Subconsciente". While the use of free verse and rhyme might bring about a technical liberation of the poetic form, something more, a critical effort of will, was necessary to transform the primitive, inarticulate prompting of the subconscious - "o lirismo" - into an expressive artistic statement:

(...) Num lazer pois (e é muito provável que largos fossem os lazeres nos tempos primitivos) o homem por NECESSIDADE DE ACÇÃO rememora os gestos e os reconstrói. Brinca. Porém CRÍTICA esses gestos e procura realizá-los agora de maneira *mais expressiva* e (...) de maneira *mais agradável*.¹⁵

This critical conscience or principle of organisation which Mário saw as indispensable to the poetic process corresponds to his sense of artistic and intellectual responsibility at a social level. As he put it in the Ensaio sobre a música brasileira, an authentically primitive art such as that of Brazil's popular culture, must also be a social art, one expressive of the collective experience of the people, rather than that of the individual. This mediating concept of a social art allows Mário to bring together the notions of "primitivism" and "construction", something previously unthinkable in his perception of the primitivism of Oswald's *Pau-Brasil*:

14. Paulo Duarte, Mário de Andrade por ele mesmo, op.cit., p.300.

15. Mário de Andrade, Obra Imatura (São Paulo: Martins, 1960), p.226.

Pois toda arte socialmente primitiva que nem a nossa, é arte social, tribal, religiosa, comemorativa. é arte de circunstância. é interessada. Toda arte exclusivamente artística e desinteressada não tem cabimento numa fase primitiva, fase de construção (op.cit., p.18).

However, for all his faith in the constructive artistic potential of the primitivist impulse, Mário remained sceptically doubtful that, at a social or cultural level, the gulf between Brazil's primitive and developed worlds could ever be bridged without threatening the existence of one or the other. As early as 1918, in a *crônica* for A Gazeta, "A divina preguiça", Mário had registered his rejection of the mentality of the mechanised society. All his life he cherished a frustrated desire to "ir viver longe da civilização, na beira de algum rio pequeno da Amazônia, ou nalguma praia do mar do Norte brasileiro, entre gente inculta, do povo."¹⁶ In another, later *crônica*, one of the "Taxi" series for the Diário Nacional, he contrasted the two cultures, urban and rural/primitive, in such a way as to invert the accepted values of "progress" and "civilisation", making them antithetical rather than identical. Comparing the celebration of Christmas Eve in São Paulo, with its phoney imported commercialism, and the "noite de festa" as traditionally celebrated in Rio Grande do Norte, he was reminded of a Guarani legend: when the evil spirit Anhangá saw Tupá create the *guanumbi* bird, he tried to do the same, but the best he could manage was a toad - "Diferença entre o nosso progresso e a civilização dos nordestinos."¹⁷ The quality of "being", characteristic of Brazil's primitive communities with their cultivation of leisure and their resistance to routine labour, was for Mário a vital need

16. Joan Dassin, Política e Poesia em Mário de Andrade (São Paulo: Duas Cidades, 1978), p.145.

17. Taxi e Crônicas no Diário Nacional (São Paulo: Duas Cidades, 1976), p.178.

missing from modern Western civilisation. In the second of his unpublished prefaces to Macunaíma, he isolated this quality of "being" as the most important motivating force of the hero's behaviour, "a significação imprescindível a meu ver, que desperta empatia."¹⁸ Indolence and "ócio" are of course central themes in the book, and Macunaíma's catch-phrase is "Ai! que preguiça!".

Nevertheless, this should not lead one to conclude that Macunaíma is a "libelo contra a tecnocracia", as Telê Lopez suggests it is (idem, p.14). For one thing, the book is dedicated to Paulo Prado who, in his Retrato do Brasil, devoted an entire chapter to denouncing the pernicious influence of "Luxúria", the sexual promiscuity of the country's Indian and African elements, in the creation of the nation's psychological malaise, the notorious "tristeza brasileira". Only a few years earlier, Monteiro Lobato's personification of the complacent, reactionary national condition, Jéca Tatú, had stirred the indignation of Brazil's reading public. Jéca's catch-phrase was "Não paga a pena", not dissimilar in meaning to Macunaíma's "Ai! que preguiça!" Moreover, an essay "Música brasileira", published in April 1926, suggests that Mário shared Lobato's belief in the primitive origins of the Brazilian mood of complacency, resignation or *acomodação*. As Mário saw it, the Indians' perfect adaptation to their environment, something positive and valuable in the tribal context, brought with it a psychological inertia which, when transferred to Western society, acquired dangerously reactionary implications, obstructing the vital economic and cultural tasks which confronted the modern world, such as the elimination of poverty and political alienation:

18. Telê Porto Ancona Lopez, Macunaíma: a margem e o texto (São Paulo: HUCITEC, 1974), p.91.

(...) A melancolia não reage, é uma adaptação perfeita, uma integração mesmo. Os nossos indígenas estavam perfeitamente alheios ao estado primário em que viviam, eram melancólicos. Não tinham dinamismo, não tinham reação na consciência psicológica deles. Nessa pasmeira caiu em geral o nosso caboclo, seja do norte, seja do sul. Ele aceita, se adapta, se sente bem ou sem forças pra imaginar ou conquistar o melhor. (...)

O mal grande do brasileiro (coisa que não sei por onde nos viria do indígena...) o mal grande do brasileiro é a sua faculdade extraordinária de adaptação. (...) Sucedeu que nos adaptamos ao estado de miséria moral e de pasmeira idealista de que os nossos ponhamos chefões são protótipos universais. (...) Infelizmente o lema filosófico do brasileiro, já falei uma vez, é "Paciência!" Os mais modernos mudaram o "Paciência!" para "Sejamos!" Puro chique de sinonímia e perseveramos na mesma cambada de mãos-nos-bolsos.¹⁹

This distinction, between what might be called the ecological inertia of the Indian, a function of the harmony between man and environment, and the apathy and disintegration which result when that inertia is transferred to the "civilised" world, is vital to any understanding of Macunaíma or of Mário's attitude towards primitivism. The hero's indolence or "preguiça", and his "acomodação" and lack of "organização" are really two sides of the same coin. In the cosmological perspective and primitive context of Macunaíma's tribespeople, the Tapanhumas, his exaggerated qualities of indolence, irrationalism and sexual indulgence may cause momentary disruption, but he is generally admired for his "inteligência" and wits. His incapacity for "organização" has no importance in the world of the forest, a world of subsistence, stasis or "being". In the competitive environment of modern, urban society, however, it becomes his downfall. When he sets out into that world those qualities begin to exert their tendency towards disorder, dissipation and discontinuity, with disastrous results.

Before examining the narrative of that destructive encounter

19. Mário de Andrade, "Música brasileira", A Manhã, 15/4/26, p.5.

between the primitive mentality and the competitive, technological culture of the city, it is worth considering the links between the above ideas and Mário's ambivalent relationship to the Movimento Antropofágico. As Eduardo Moraes has already noted (op.cit., pp.149-50), Mário's article on the "Romance do Veludo", published in the fourth issue of the Revista de Antropofagia, certainly speaks the language of cultural digestion and assimilation:

Por mais forte e indigesta que seja a mistura, os elementos que entram nela afinal são todos irumoguaras e a droga é bem digerida pelo estômago brasileiro, acostumado com os chinfrins de pimenta, do tutu, do dendê, da caninha e outros palimpsestos que escondem a moleza nossa.²⁰

Similarly, the well-known line from Pauliceia Desvairada - "Sou um tupi tangendo um alaúde!" - or the rather more academic text of a letter to Manuel Bandeira, were advocating a fusion of native and universal cultural elements, well before the Manifesto Antropófago was published:

(...) Porque essa concorrência se realiza com a parte progressista dum país, com o que nele é útil prá civilização e não com o que nele é exótico. Que não pode ser desprezado por nós, porém que é lícito a atualidade universal ignorar como parte representativa. Uma hábil mistura dessas duas rivalidades é a solução que pode realmente concretizar uma realidade brasileira que se possa dizer "em marcha".²¹

But, as is usual with Mário, his view of the problem is not as simple or orthodox as these statements may suggest. Writing to Sérgio Milliet in 1938, Mário revised the hybrid cultural identity he had ascribed to himself in Pauliceia Desvairada:

(...) Uma vez falei que "sou um tupi tangendo um alaúde". Só o alaúde é que está errado. Tupi, primário e primitivo é certo que sou. Mas o instrumento que eu tanço, não é alaúde que afinal, em seu desenvolvimento e fixação é instrumento europeu - o

20. Revista de Antropofagia, op.cit., 1ª edição, no.4, p.6.

21. Mário de Andrade, Cartas a Manuel Bandeira (Rio de Janeiro: Clássicos Brasileiros, 1967), 26/6/25, p.141.

instrumento que eu tanjo é algum daqueles subtilíssimos instrumentos da Ásia grande sábia, a Nina, o King, qualquer desses que moviam mundos subtis pra Lau-Tsen, e principalmente pros mestres-de-chá japoneses.²²

For Mário, then, who never travelled outside Brazil and whose self-appointed mission was the "nacionalização" of Brazilian culture and language, there was a closer sympathy between his country's native, primitive peoples and the Oriental cultures than between Brazilian and European civilisation.

On the other hand, as he stated in the Ensaio sobre a música brasileira, a theory of Brazilian culture which sought inspiration amongst the country's tribal communities would remain as falsely nationalist and alienated from the cultural reality experienced by the mass of the population, as was the nineteenth-century Romantic Indianist movement. Central to Mário's argument is his understanding of the real historical relationship between the indigenous and national society in Brazil, both at a cultural and political level. Here is one of the rare occasions in Modernist writing when the myth of Indian integration, perpetuated again and again by Romantic conservatives, by the ultra-reactionary fascists of *Verdeamarelismo/Anta* and by farmers, industrialists and governments intent on destroying the identity and independence of the tribal communities, is challenged and exposed as an historical and sociological lie. For all those attempts to draw the indigenous peoples into the capitalist economy of national society, to submerge their cultural identity beneath the myth of a common "Brazilian" nationality, they have remained apart, whether proudly and courageously independent or tragically marginalised:

22. Paulo Duarte, Mário de Andrade por ele mesmo, op.cit., pp.305-06.

(...) Uma arte nacional não se faz com escolha discricionária e diletante de elementos; uma arte nacional já está feita na inconsciência do povo. (...) O homem da nação Brasil hoje, está mais afastado do ameríndio que do japonês e do húngaro. O elemento ameríndio no populário brasileiro está psicologicamente assimilado e praticamente já é quasi nulo. Brasil é uma nação com normas sociais, elementos raciais e limites geográficos. O ameríndio não participa dessas coisas e mesmo parando em nossa terra continua ameríndio e não brasileiro. O que evidentemente não destrói nenhum dos nossos deveres pra com ele. Só mesmo depois de termos praticado os deveres globais que temos pra com ele é que podemos exigir dele a prática do dever brasileiro (op.cit., pp.15-16).

This, at least on one level, is the lesson of Macunaíma: the fundamental alienation between two societies, cultures, world-views cannot simply be resolved through a cannibalistic act of incorporation and assimilation of one by the other, as Oswald proposed. By consuming "o civilizado", totemising the taboo, the primitive risks estrangement, the disruption of that spirit of "being" which unites him/her with the world - in short, s/he risks self-destruction.

9.4 Macunaíma

Anyone intending to venture a fresh interpretation of Macunaíma does so in the wake of the formidable achievements of two critics, whose thoroughness and depth of analysis invite one to conclude that little remains to be said about the book. Cavalcânti Proença's Roteiro de Macunaíma²³ is now over thirty years old but remains the essential standard reference work, the key to the book's linguistic wealth and to its dense folkloric and ethnographic content. More recently, Telé Porto Ancona Lopez has combined a remarkable comprehensiveness in her pursuit of documentary material with an equally acute sense of interpretation in two studies: Mário de Andrade: Ramais e Caminho and

23. M. Cavalcânti Proença, Roteiro de Macunaíma (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1969).

Macunaíma: a margem e o texto.²⁴ Her crowning achievement is the definitive critical edition of Macunaíma,²⁵ in which the text is accompanied by Pedro Nava's illustrations, originally commissioned by Mário himself, variants and notes, a bibliography, Mário's essential statements on the book in letters, interviews, notes and articles, a selection of criticism, and a chapter tracing the subsequent fate of the book in translations, versions for the theatre and cinema and in other forms. Two further contributions of importance are Haroldo de Campos' Morfologia de Macunaíma²⁶ and Gilda de Mello e Souza's O Tupi e o Alaúde,²⁷ which posits an original connection between Mário's musical knowledge and the book's structure, as well as numerous points of contact with the chivalresque tradition.

My thesis in this chapter is that the tradition of writing and ideas in Brazil concerning the Indian, the more recent debate on primitivism and development during the First Republic, and more particularly Oswald's theory of Brazilian culture, offer a different perspective which will shed some new light on the book and on Mário's thinking.

The first edition of Macunaíma appeared on 26th July 1928, in São Paulo, having already been advertised and previewed in the Modernist journal Verde, in the Revista de Antropofagia, and in the Diário Nacional. Mário wrote the first draft, however, while on holiday at his cousin's country house in Araraquara, during the week 16th-23rd December, 1926.

24. Telê Porto Ancona Lopez, Mário de Andrade: Ramais e Caminho (São Paulo: Duas Cidades, 1972) and Macunaíma..., op.cit., see note 18.

25. See note 6.

26. Haroldo de Campos, Morfologia de Macunaíma (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1973).

27. Gilda de Mello e Souza, O Tupi e o Alaúde: uma interpretação de Macunaíma (São Paulo: Duas Cidades, 1979).

The year and a half between those two dates saw numerous re-drafts, additions and alterations, and two attempted prefaces, neither of which ultimately accompanied the published text. Writing to one of the book's first critics, Tristão de Ataíde, Mário defined his chief inspiration in composing the work:

(...) Resolvi escrever porque fiquei desesperado de comoção lírica quando lendo o Koch-Grünberg percebi que Macunaíma era um herói sem nenhum caráter nem moral nem psicológico, achei isso enormemente comovente nem sei porque, de certo pelo ineditismo do fato, ou por ele concordar um bocado bastante com a época nossa, não sei...²⁸

The text to which Mário is referring, Theodor Koch-Grünberg's Myths and legends of the Taulipange and Arekúna Indians (1916) is certainly the single most important influence on the book, providing him with the character and many of the deeds of its hero. But as Mário was the first to admit, this was only one of a variety of sources that include ethnography, folklore, historical and political writings, *crônicas* and literature:

(...) Confesso que copiei, copiei às vezes textualmente. Quer saber mesmo? Não só copiei os etnógrafos e os textos ameríndios, mas ainda, na Carta prás Icamíabas, pus frases inteiras de Rui Barbosa, de Mário Barreto, dos cronistas portugueses coloniais, e devastei a tão preciosa quão solene língua dos colaboradores da Revista de Língua Portuguesa. (...)

Enfim, sou obrigado a confessar duma vez por todas: eu copiei o Brasil, ao menos naquela parte em que me interessava satirizar o Brasil por meio dele mesmo.²⁹

Cavalcânti Proença's Roteiro..., as well as analysing the origins and treatment of the book's folkloric elements and episodes chapter by chapter, also identifies the other major source texts: Capistrano de Abreu's Língua dos Caxinauás, Couto de Magalhães' O Selvagem, Barbosa

28. Letter to Alceu Amoroso Lima (Tristão de Ataíde), 19/5/28, 71 cartas..., op.cit., p.31, and Macunaíma..., op.cit., p.257.

29. "A Raimundo Moraes", Diário Nacional, 20/9/31, IN Táxi e Crônicas..., op.cit., p.434 and Macunaíma..., op.cit., p.322.

Rodrigues' Poranduba Selvagem, Basilio de Magalhães' Folclore and Sílvio Romero's Contos Populares (op.cit., pp.49-50).

Mário certainly chose as the moment to begin his "rhapsody" a year of renewed interest in the indigenist theme; 1926 saw the republication of a number of classic non-fictional texts on the subject, as well as the *verdeamarelistas*' manifesto "A Anta e o Curupira" and re-editions of several nineteenth-century Indianist classics, such as Iracema and Ubirajara.³⁰ The possibility of a direct intertextual relationship, perhaps of a satirical nature, between Macunaíma and the work of Alencar has already been suggested by more than one critic, and I shall consider this during the course of my analysis of the text. Meanwhile, though, it raises the question of the book's overall intention and significance with regard to the contemporary state of Brazilian culture and the national condition, a problem which the multitude of existing commentaries and Mário's own contradictory statements have tended to confuse rather than elucidate.

Some of the earliest reactions to Macunaíma were, not surprisingly, perplexed, negative and uncomprehending. Nestor Victor, who actually came close to the point in drawing attention to the infantile primitivism of the hero's personality, nevertheless reached the conclusion that the book was a lamentable attempt to symbolise the bankruptcy of the Brazilian people through a kind of "neo-indianismo derrotista", informed by European Dadaism and Freudianism.³¹ From a different viewpoint, João Ribeiro also made a number of unwittingly perceptive

30. Wilson Martins, História da inteligência brasileira, 6 vols. (São Paulo: Cultrix, 1978), vol.VI (1915-1933), pp.357 & 375.

31. Nestor Victor, "Macunaíma", Os de hoje: Figuras do movimento modernista brasileiro (São Paulo: Cultura moderna, 1938), pp.164-73, and Macunaíma..., op.cit., pp.341-44.

observations, despite his criticism of the book's apparently chaotic structure and fatuous tone:

é um livro voluntariamente bárbaro, primevo, espécie de fragmentos desconexos, que escaparam e foram reunidos por um comentador reduzido à inépcia de qualquer coordenação.

(...)

Para nós é evidente que o autor, ainda contra a sua própria crítica, quis-nos pintar o homem brasileiro, indolente, mas astuto (em poucas coisas, na política, por exemplo) sem caráter definido, perturbado pela heterogeneidade de seus elementos formativos, ignorante mas audaz, pobre mas fanfarrão de liberalidades, presumido como a mosca do coche, vassalo arrotando soberania...³²

Tristão de Ataíde, the critic most respected by Mário, judged the book as symptomatic of a more general trend within Brazilian literature:

(...) Por muito tempo, ela ficou além do foco, fechada em preconceitos acadêmicos olhando pro Brasil através da Europa, escrevendo uma língua que se falava em Portugal mas não mais aqui, pecava a literatura por excesso de literatura. Hoje em dia estamos caindo no excesso oposto. E à custa do deslitalizarmos as letras, estão elas ficando pra trás de nós. Falam uma língua tão "nossa" que já não é nossa. Refletem uma realidade tão "real" que já não nos reconhecemos nela.³³

Whatever their individual criticisms, all these reviews were united in their interpretation of the book as a pessimistic statement of the national reality, in which the characterless hero Macunaíma is "o Brasil" or "o brasileiro". As we shall see, these assumptions all require considerable qualification and revision if we are to reach a satisfactory understanding of the book. To begin with, Mário's second preface claimed of Macunaíma: "Me parece que os melhores elementos duma cultura nacional aparecem nele" (Macunaíma: a margem..., op.cit., p.90). But only days before the book's publication he redefined it as "uma sátira perversa" lacking

32. João Ribeiro, "Macunaíma, herói sem nenhum caráter", Jornal do Brasil, 31/10/28, IN Crítica, vol.IX, Os Modernos (Rio de Janeiro: Ed. da ABL, 1952), pp.83-84, and Macunaíma..., op.cit., pp.345-46.

33. Tristão de Ataíde, "Macunaíma", O Jornal, 9/9/28, p.4 and Macunaíma..., op.cit., p.338.

even the socially therapeutic value normally accredited to satire.³⁴ And towards the end of his life he wrote of his anguish as his artistic honesty forced him to give the book the ending which his heart resisted - Macunaíma's decision to give up life's struggle and become a constellation in the night's sky. What follows is a confession of regret that he failed to assume the creative, constructive responsibility of the artist, simply diagnosing the country's ills instead of using his fiction to offer an imaginative alternative:

Mas a verdade é que eu fracassei. Si o livro é todo ele uma sátira, um não conformismo revoltado sobre o que é, o que eu sinto e vejo que é o brasileiro, o aspecto 'gozado' prevaleceu. é certo que eu fracassei. Porque não me satisfaz botar a culpa nos brasileiros, a culpa tem de ser minha, porque quem escreveu o livro fui eu.³⁵

But, as Drummond has commented in reference to an explanatory letter from Mário, the author of Macunaíma was overly harsh in his self-criticism, for the book constitutes "um dos esforços mais conscientes e doloridos do espírito modernista, para atingir, no plano da arte, uma verdade causticante mas regeneradora."³⁶

Part of the problem surrounding the supposed pessimism or satirical intent of the book lies in the personality and actions of the protagonist, and the degree to which they can reasonably be considered as "symbolic" of anything. In the above quoted article, Tristão de Ataíde rides rough-shod over Mário's more subtle distinctions, quoting at length to "prove" the allegorical status of the principal characters: "Pra quem lê o livro a conclusão evidente é que Macunaíma é o brasileiro de hoje,

34. Letter to Augusto Meyer, Mário de Andrade escreve cartas a Alceu Meyer e outros (Rio de Janeiro: São José, n/d), pp.58-59.

35. Letter to Alvaro Lins, 4/7/42, Cartas a Alvaro Lins (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1983), pp.64-66 and Macunaíma, op.cit., p.280.

36. Carlos Drummond de Andrade, "Mário esclarece Macunaíma", Jornal de Letras, Feb./March 1965, p.6.

como Venceslau Pietro Pietra, nome paulistano do gigante Piaimã, é o imigrante" (Macunaíma..., op.cit., p.335). Ataíde chooses to ignore precisely that element in the book which is essential to the primitivist identity of its main character: its disjunctive, irrational inconsistency, by virtue of which neither Macunaíma's behaviour nor the logic of the plot are reliable or predictable. Thus, as Mário protests:

(...) é certo que não tive intenção de sintetizar o brasileiro em Macunaíma nem o estrangeiro no gigante Piaimã. Apesar de todas as referências figuradas que a gente possa perceber entre Macunaíma e o homem brasileiro, Venceslau Pietro Pietra e o homem estrangeiro, tem duas omissões voluntárias que tiram por completo o conceito simbólico dos dois: a simbologia é episódica, aparece por intermitência quando calha pra tirar efeito cômico e não tem antítese. Venceslau Pietro Pietra e Macunaíma nem são antagônicos, nem se completam e mutio menos a luta entre os dois tem qualquer valor sociológico (2nd preface, Macunaíma, a margem..., op.cit., p.91).

It is this absence of logic and consistency, a real sense in which Macunaíma is "sem caráter", elusive and unreliable both as character and narrative, that has confounded attempts to impose a single, coherently allegorical interpretation of the book. Hence Mário's many and varied comments regarding his protagonist as he has striven to liberate and broaden the significative possibilities of the book:

(...) a criança está caracterizada *justamente porque inda não é o homem brasileiro*. Fiz questão de mostrar e acentuar que Macunaíma como brasileiro que é *não tem caráter*. (...) Ponho reparo: Macunaíma ora é corajoso, ora covarde. Nada sistematizado em psicologia individual ou étnica.³⁷

(...) Assim: pondo os pontos nos is: Macunaíma não é um símbolo do brasileiro como Piaimã não é símbolo do italiano. Eles evocam 'sem continuidade' valores étnicos ou puramente circunstanciais de raça.³⁸

(...) Mas o fato do livro não ter propriamente uma conexão lógica de psicologia não obriga propriamente... Isto é, conexão lógica de

37. Undated letter to Manuel Bandeira (probably November 1927), Cartas a Manuel Bandeira, op.cit., pp.217-18 and Macunaíma..., op.cit., pp.250-51.

38. Letter to Manuel Bandeira, 7/11/27, *ibid.*, p.227 and Macunaíma..., p.254.

psicologia ele tem, quem não tem é Macunaíma, e é justo nisso que está a lógica de Macunaíma: em não ter lógica. Não imagine que estou sofsimando não. É fácil de provar que estabeleci bem dentro de todo o livro que Macunaíma é uma contradição de si mesmo. O caráter que demonstra num capítulo, ele desfaz noutro (ibid., p.255).

(...) Por outro lado não tive intenção de fazer de Macunaíma um símbolo do brasileiro. Mas si ele não é o Brasileiro ninguém não poderá negar que ele é *um* brasileiro e bem brasileiro por sinal.³⁹

As my analysis of the text will show, it makes more sense to take this indeterminate quality as a starting point rather than an obstacle to the understanding of Macunaíma. Indeed, in one of the letters already quoted, Mário himself indicated the characterless personality of Koch-Grünberg's Macunaíma as the point of departure for his own book, because it corresponded in some way to the feeling of the time (see p.591). Similarly, in the second unpublished preface he defined the book as a "sintoma cultural", the symptom of a moment of transition in Brazilian culture whose outcome was uncertain:

Nas épocas de transição social como a de agora é duro o compromisso com o que tem de vir e quase ninguém não sabe. Eu não sei. Não desejo a volta do passado e por isso já não posso tirar dele uma fábula normativa. Por outro lado o jeito de Jeremias me parece ineficiente. O presente é uma neblina vasta. Hesitar é sinal de fraqueza, eu sei. Mas comigo não se trata de hesitação. Se trata duma verdadeira impossibilidade, a pior de todas, a de nem saber o nome das incógnitas (Macunaíma, a margem..., op.cit., p.92).

The importance of this confession of doubt or "impossibility" with respect to the future cannot be overestimated if we are to give the book a reading which takes full account of its own, equally indeterminate nature. Mário's dilemma as an artist, recognising the need to offer a vision of the future yet unable to see through the opaque mist of the present, reflects the same tension to be found in his ideological

39. Letter to Tristão de Ataíde, 16/7/28, Mário de Andrade escreve..., op.cit., p.59 and Macunaíma..., op.cit., p.261.

scepticism and resistance to unconditional ideological commitment. He described his attitude in the second of the unpublished prefaces as follows: "Entre a certeza decidida que eletrocuta e a fé franca que se recusa a julgar, nasci para esta" (Macunaíma: a margem..., p.93). What prevents Macunaíma from narrowing its vision of the Brazil Mário knew and understood is this basic agnosticism, his concern with communicating and illuminating the complexities, tensions and problems of the cultural reality rather than prescribing a simplistic, visionary solution. As he wrote to Ademar Vidal in 1929:

(...) Sempre maginei fazer um poema se ocupando dos homens sem caráter nenhum, produto mesmo do caos humano, mexendo-se no abismo brasileiro, reflexo de elementos disparados na arritmia gostosa a indicar o maravilhoso destino da nossa gente.⁴⁰

This determined agnosticism in Mário's analytical approach becomes clear when we confront Macunaíma with Oswald's theory of culture as set out in the Manifesto Antropófago. The main axis or source of tension in both texts is the dialectic between the forces of primitivism and civilisation/technology, but the responses of the two writers to that dialectic are poles apart. Mário's book appears to advocate many of the subversive ideas proposed so vigorously in the Manifesto. The magical cosmology of the primitive determines much of the book's actions and tone suggesting, together with its powerful streak of sado-masochistic violence, important similarities with the visual narrative of the animated cartoon.⁴¹ Like the tireless sexual activity of the book's characters, this magical primitivism offers unlimited possibilities of escape from the

40. Ademar Vidal, "Mário de Andrade e o Nordeste", Revista do Livro, ano 10, 31, 1967, pp.27-28 and Macunaíma..., op.cit., p.267.

41. David Lodge notes similar parallels between the animated cartoon and Ted Hughes' Crow, in "Crow and the Cartoons", Working with Structuralism: Essays and reviews on nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), pp.167-74.

"reality principle", whose repressive function is clearly identified in the Manifesto.

Thus, in the second chapter, Macunaíma's transformation from a child into an adult prince allows him to spend hours in the forest, indulging in violently energetic sexual romps with his brother's *companheira*, Sofará. He uses his magical powers to turn the hostile, alienating technology of the city to his advantage, transforming his brother Jiguê into a telephone when he wishes to insult the giant Piaimã. The magical forces invoked at the *macumba* session in chapter VII enable him to inflict excruciating punishment on the giant, something he is not strong enough to do alone. When Macunaíma is chased by the giant's wife, Ceiuci, a bird turns itself into an aeroplane and carries the hero to safety, flying across the whole of the Brazilian North-east.

However, this magical cosmology also works to Macunaíma's disadvantage, revealing his cowardice and demonstrating that it cannot be the ultimate means of successfully fulfilling his quest. For instance, when his mother is transformed into a doe, Macunaíma fails to recognise her and kills her; on another occasion he is teased by a mirage representing a transatlantic liner which tempts him to desert his country and go to Europe. When, towards the end of the book, he kills his brother Jiguê, the latter's shadow pursues him, spreading leprosy and malaria all about until the hero is the single, solitary survivor. Finally, Vei takes her revenge on Macunaíma by presenting to him the dangerously seductive Iara in the form of a European, and luring him into the pool from which he emerges broken and mutilated. Moreover, it is the entire series of transformations which he undergoes during the novel, on a magical,

cultural and sociological level, which are his downfall, alienating him from his primitive, indigenous identity.

Continuing our comparison with the theory of *Antropofagia*, as Sérgio Milliet noted some years after the book's publication,⁴² *Macunaíma*, both character and text, is a destroyer of national and mythical taboos. The hero beheads the monstrous serpent, the Boiúna; he substitutes an obscene indigenous word, *puíto* "anus", for the normal Portuguese for "buttonhole" and thereby subverts the "civilised" code of manners; he becomes a transvestite during his mission to kill Venceslau Pietro Pietra/Piaimã, who is the archetypal taboo or, as Gilda de Mello e Souza describes him "o Outro, contra o qual se atira a energia frágil mas sempre renovada do Mesmo" (*O Tupi e o Alaúde...*, op.cit., p.41). There are numerous instances of cannibalism, the central image of the *Manifesto Antropófago*: for example, the hero's encounter with the Currupira, who offers him some of his own leg to eat and then tells him the wrong route home in order to catch and devour him; or Piaimã's culinary habits, persuading his victims to sit swinging on a thorn-covered liana while his wife makes a macarroni sauce from the blood which drips down into her pan until she is ready for the main, human ingredient. An entire chapter (IX. Carta pràs Icamíabas) is devoted to a taboo that was close to Mário's own heart, "um desejinho secreto de falar bem o português e escrevê-lo sem erro", as he confessed to Bandeira in 1935⁴³ - the sacred cultural authority of "high" Portuguese. In fact, Mário was aware of the parallels with Oswald's satirical parody of the language of the *cronistas*

42. Sérgio Milliet, "Trechos de diário", *O Estado de São Paulo*, 22/2/42 and *Macunaíma...*, op.cit., pp.354-55.

43. Letter to Bandeira, 26/1/35, *Cartas a Manuel Bandeira*, op.cit., p.436, and *Macunaíma...*, op.cit., p.277.

in the first part of the Poesia Pau-Brasil, and was concerned that the Carta pràs Icamíabas might appear an imitation.⁴⁴

Again, though, the subversive strength of this impulse to violate the taboo is undermined by a more profound, negative implication of the act. In general, the taboos which Macunaíma violates do not produce a liberation but rather carry with them a curse; they are fateful crimes whose destructive, corruptive consequences progressively alienate the hero from his origins. No doubt this process of violation, or Sin, and retribution has something to do with Mário's persistent Catholicism, but it is also yet another reflection of his determination to resist a simplistic analysis of the world. At the same time, it allows for at least two conflicting interpretations of the book's structure, both equally sustainable, as Gilda de Mello e Souza has demonstrated (op.cit., pp.53-56). On the one hand, there is the initial loss of the talisman given to the hero by Ci, Mãe do mato, followed by its successful recovery and the defeat of the giant Piaimã; on the other hand, one has to set against this apparent victory Macunaíma's journey of disillusionment and betrayal as he returns home, his defeat at the hands of Vei and his final loss of the talisman for ever.

Macunaíma's victory over Piaimã, the victory of indigenous primitivism over the opportunism and technological mentality of urban culture, is in fact an unreal one. It has long since been undermined by the hero's numerous transformations and the series of betrayals he has committed, all of which disqualify him from any right to possession of the Amazonian talisman, the symbol of that primitive, indigenous identity.

44. Letter to Bandeira, no date (probably November 1927), see note 58, Macunaíma..., op.cit., p.253.

Macunaíma's magical powers of self-transformation, his general multiformity, translate into physical terms his cultural, moral and psychological instability. He lacks a firm identity, remaining incapable of any lasting loyalty to the values and people of his home and, at the same time, is devoid of all moral consistency, behaving as he does in a manner that is gratuitously destructive, selfish and dissolute. This primitive, irrational behaviour is of course his best weapon against his enemies in the city, but it also constitutes an obstacle to any creative, constructive action or "organização"; it allows him to be distracted and alienated by the culture of São Paulo, preventing a concerted effort towards a true conquest of the city.

A useful comparison can be made with Raul Bopp's Cobra Norato, the Modernist movement's other major attempt to explore the issue of cultural primitivism and development by means of an indigenous legend. Here, the subject is the chiefly non-human, mythical world of the Amazon river basin, its surrounding forest and animal inhabitants. But there is the same notion as is found in Macunaíma, of an inability to create organised forms; ironically, even mockingly, "Riozinho vai pra escola/ Está estudando geografia" (section XII). The sounds of hammering and sawing are heard, but the disintegrating, dissolving influence of the water undermines all such attempts to build and construct within the forest; a shout of prohibition - "Não pode!" (section VI) - defies anyone or anything to establish order from the chaos.

For the purposes of this analysis I divide the structure of the book as follows: Chapters I-IV, which recount the hero's birth and growth to adulthood in the forest, his "conquest" of Ci, Mãe do mato, her death and the loss of the *muiraquitã*, the talisman by which Macunaíma is to

remember her; Chapters V-XIV, in which the hero travels to São Paulo, struggles with Piaimã and eventually defeats him, recovering the *muiraquitã* - the central chapters of this section (IX and X), including the Carta pràs Icamíabas, form the structural fulcrum of the book, the turning-point in Macunaíma's relationship to the two cultures, as he begins to transport the values of the city back to the primitive world of the forest; and Chapters XV-XVII, which complete his return to the forest, where the effects of his moral and physical corruption become all-too apparent, his friends and eventually the whole tribe disappear and Vei takes her violent revenge, leaving Macunaíma to take his place amongst the constellations.

Remembering, of course, that the plot is continually interrupted by incidental episodes and pieces of popular folklore and tradition, the narrative thread described above nevertheless remains clearly identifiable as the hero works through his life's betrayals and transformations. Macunaíma's initial, primitive identity is established with the semi-magical form and circumstances of his birth: "No fundo do mato-*virgem* nasceu Macunaíma, herói de nossa gente. Era preto retinto e filho do medo da noite" (p.7). This dark complexion, although not typical of most Amazonian tribes, is characteristic of a group encountered by the traveller and ethnologist Von den Steinen, the Tapanhumas, which is the name given to Macunaíma's people. More significantly, though, Cavalcânti Proença cites a number of sources for whom the term *tapanhuma* was used by Indians to refer to Africans born in Brazil (op.cit., p.379), some of whom, it is believed, escaped slavery during the colonial period and established communities in the Amazonian interior. Thus, as Proença

suggests, Macunaíma may represent a racial fusion, not simply the generic Indian, but the generic Brazilian primitive.

In his early behaviour as a child, Macunaíma displays the primitive qualities and mentality which he is to exercise throughout the book: his universally acknowledged "inteligência", which seems to signify astuteness and wit, rather than intellect - although preferring the comfort of his hammock, he is no sooner able to toddle about than he is devising ways of making money; his wilful destructiveness, one of his favourite occupations being to decapitate ants; his precocious sexuality, such that at the age of only a few months he is molesting any woman who cares to make a fuss of him or who joins the family in its communal bathing sessions; his egotism, which is expressed in prodigiously deafening fits of bawling when he does not have his way; his vindictiveness and capacity for betrayal, which lead him to take his brother's companion on long love-making sessions behind his back, and of course his indolence, announced by the refrain: "Ai! que preguiça!..."

The second chapter, "Maioridade", Macunaíma's coming of age, is significantly also the occasion of his first major acts of irresponsibility, violation and betrayal. When the family is struck by famine, the hero's response is to amuse himself by sending his brothers off in search of some non-existent *timbó*, the herbal drug used to catch fish. He then uses his magical powers to transport himself and his mother to the opposite bank of the river, where there is an abundance of fruit, fish and game. However, when his mother proposes to gather food for the rest of the family, he selfishly and resentfully puts an end to the miracle, returning them to their original state of misery. As a result, his mother punishes him by abandoning him in the densest thicket

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of the forest, the Cafundó do Judas, aptly named after the archetypal Biblical betrayer. After eventually finding his way home, Macunaíma predicts his mother's imminent death, and soon proves himself correct. In an act of typical cowardice he hunts down and kills a newly born deer and its mother, only to find that the latter is in fact his own mother. This simultaneous violation of two taboos - the tribal sanctity of the mother and its offspring in the hunt, and the universal crime of matricide - together with the hero's betrayal of his brothers, have thus precipitated his coming of age and his self-imposed exile, the first stage in his progressive alienation from his roots.

It is characteristic of the book that an apparent achievement or rise in status carries with it a paradoxical burden of crime and guilt, not experienced as such by the hero but manifested in the form of a permanent and growing curse which bedevils all his projects. This is the case in the third chapter, "Ci, Mãe do mato", in which Macunaíma conquers Ci and becomes Emperor of the forest. Ci is the leader of the *Icamiabas* or Amazons, the mythical race of female warrior Indians. Not surprisingly, therefore, she puts up a fierce and violent resistance to the hero's arrogant sexual overtures; as a result, Macunaíma's "conquest" of the "Mother of the forest" is effectively a rape, made possible only through the help of his brothers, who immobilise her and render her unconscious. From its outset, then, the hero's mastery of, and identification with the forest are the result of a violation and, as with the killing of his mother, a dual violation at that. Besides raping the very soul and essence of the primitive's natural world (Ci = mother, origin, source), Macunaíma has also violated the misanthropic code of the *Icamiabas*, whose only contact with men was, according to legend, a single annual meeting

determined by the women themselves for the purpose of procreation. The crime does not go unpunished; a further significance of Ci's name is "pain, grief", and the couple's marriage is short-lived. After a "honeymoon" of prodigious sexual stamina, ingenuity and bliss in the paradisiacal "capão de Meu Bem", an Eden beyond the city of Flowers, a son is born, "o filho encarnado". One night the Cobra Preta suckles at Ci's breast, poisoning her milk, and the following day her son is dead. Before taking her place amongst the stars, Ci gives Macunaïma the *mairaquitã* from around her neck in remembrance of her. A jade talisman often in the form of a frog or other animal, the *mairaquitã* was reputedly given by the Amazons to their temporary male partners in memory of their annual encounter; its magical powers guaranteed its possessor a warm welcome wherever he went.⁴⁵

So then, the hero's "marriage" to the Mother of the forest, indeed his union with and mastery over the primitive world which she represents, have been achieved and at the same time undermined by an act of violation. His right to the title "Emperor of the forest" is questionable, his only remaining link with that world being the talisman, a fragile souvenir which he soon loses, along with his loyalty to the memory of Ci. The offspring of that union is also doomed, as only the legendary code of the Amazons could allow, since by their law any male children born of the annual visit were killed. Macunaïma's hope for the future conquest of the city - "Meu filho, cresce depressa pra você ir pra São Paulo ganhar muito dinheiro" (p.23) - the symbol of his prodigious primitive fertility and

45. Luís da Câmara Cascudo, Dicionário do Folclore Brasileiro (Rio de Janeiro: Edições de Ouro, 1972), p.595.

the fruit of his integration into his world are all poisoned by the hero's initial act of cowardice.

Mário himself has been alone in emphasising the importance of this chapter as the point of departure from which Macunaíma's loyalty to his primitive origins is to be measured. In a letter to Bandeira he revealed that he expanded the chapter on his friend's advice, in view of the central significance of Ci to the book as a whole.⁴⁶ What has been noted by more than one critic is the evident similarity between the events and even the phraseology of the chapter and those of the most famous Indianist tragedy, *Iracema* (e.g. Proença, op.cit., pp.45-47). Of greatest interest are the parallels between those elements which lead to the collapse of the relationship in the two books. In both cases, the Indian "virgin" repulses her admirer's advances by violent means (*Iracema* shoots an arrow at Martim, while Ci flings a three-pronged spear at Macunaíma and beats him black and blue); in both cases the hero forces his lover to break a tribal vow (*Iracema* her virginity as daughter of the *pagé* and keeper of the *jurema*, Ci her celibacy as leader of the female warrior race of *Icamiabas*; both men use force in order to possess the *índia*, Macunaíma calling on his brothers to restrain Ci, while Martim employs a kind of emotional blackmail; both couples enjoy an idyllic honeymoon, and both women give birth to a son who is soon deprived of his mother's milk: *Iracema* eventually dies of a broken heart, having been virtually abandoned by Martim and knowing that he remains emotionally attached to his white, European bride; Ci's breast is poisoned by a snake, something which can be seen as a symbol both of the hero's past act of

46. Letter to Bandeira, August 1928, Cartas a Manuel Bandeira, op.cit., p.261 and Macunaíma, op.cit., p.262.

violation and of the many betrayals of Ci's memory which are to come.

For Haroldo de Campos (op.cit., p.106), the resemblance between the two texts amounts to a parody. Certainly, the comic level of Mário's "rhapsody" and its uninhibited sexual candour do subvert the tragic-epic register of Alencar's novel, making explicit all that has to be inferred from the euphemistic, circumlocutionary language of Iracema. However, Macunaíma is by no means one long joke; the ending of this third chapter and, as many have noticed, the conclusion of the book itself, are tragically pessimistic in their immediate implications, even if this is not so of the book as a whole. As Antônio Bento, a journalist colleague and friend of the author at the time of the book's composition, has suggested, Mário's intention in reproducing Alencar's tragic foundation myth goes beyond the simple wish to create an "indianismo às avessas":

(...) Não houve, no caso, coincidência e sim um propósito deliberado de Mário de Andrade, que tinha José de Alencar como o mais brasileiro dos escritores nacionais, inclusive em sua narrativa lírica. O autor de Macunaíma queria que o seu livro fosse, na época do Modernismo, um trabalho equivalente ao de José de Alencar, em relação ao caráter rapsódico que ele desejava fosse o mais nacional possível, não tendo nada a ver com os exemplos portugueses.⁴⁷

The two writers share more than their consciousness of the artist's historic mission, and their preoccupation with creating a truly national language and culture. As the actions of Martim and Macunaíma demonstrate, they also have an identical sense of the history of violation, betrayal and guilt which has overshadowed the struggle of Brazilian society and culture to communicate with its primitive, indigenous self and so realise its true identity.

Macunaíma's alienation from the Mother of the forest begins in the

47. Interview, Antônio Bento e Frederico Moraes, O Globo, 27/2/77, p.5 and Macunaíma, op.cit., pp.377-78.

fourth chapter, "Boiúna Luna", ironically, as the outcome of his first heroic challenge. Anxious to impress Naipi, a virgin Indian transformed into a waterfall by the serpent Boiúna Capel, Macunaíma confronts the monster and, after a short struggle, decapitates him. However, the severed head now pursues its terrified master, intent on becoming Macunaíma's faithful servant. Meanwhile, the *muiraquitã* is lost in the chase, is swallowed by a turtle and then sold to a Peruvian river-trader named Venceslau Pietro Pietra, who has since become a wealthy citizen of São Paulo. A bird, the *uirapuru*, laments in song that "nunca mais que Macunaíma havia de ser marupiara [happy] não" (p.32). The hero's first act of bravery and altruism has paradoxically led to the loss of his only token link with the forest and its Mother. The explanation for this contradiction is to be found in the folklore surrounding the legend of the *boiúna*; according to Câmara Cascudo, a widespread fear existed amongst the communities of the Amazonian interior regarding the catastrophic consequences of killing the monster, "porque então é certa a própria ruína, bem como a de toda a tribo" (op.cit., citing Martius, p.173). The hero has thus violated a fifth taboo in slaying one of the chief figures of indigenous mythology, and he must pay the price.

Nevertheless, he resolves to prove the *uirapuru's* prophecy of eternal unhappiness wrong by travelling to the city to recover the talisman. The next chapter, "Piaimã", sees the hero's first major betrayal of Ci, his introduction to the technological culture of the city and the process of physical and moral metamorphosis signalling his further alienation from his primitive origins. He prepares for the journey by visiting the mouth of the river Negro "pra deixar a consciência na ilha de Marapatá" (p.33). Mário provides some explanation of this incident in

one of his "Taxi" *crônicas*, where he uses the same phrase in reference to the phenomenon of the immigrant *carioca*, the outsider who provisionally sheds his/her identity in exchange for that of Rio and its unique character:

(...) O carioca é principalmente isso: uma experiência do ser da qual a inteligência se fez simples espectadora. É o divertimento (aliás sem egoísmo) da inteligência que caracteriza especialmente o carioca. Se abandonou as forças psicológicas e os valores morais na ilha de Marapatá, abandonou-os apenas como reagentes.⁴⁸

In the book, this signifies the hero's voluntary renunciation of his tribal values and identity in order to make himself more receptive to the mentality of the city. A further symbol of this process is the visit of Macunaíma and his two brothers to the enchanted cave of the legendary evangelist Sumé. Each of the dark-skinned brothers bathes in turn in the magical waters of the cave: Jiguê's skin turns bronze, the typical complexion of the Indian races; Maanape manages only to submerge the palms of his hands and feet, which turn pink, giving him the appearance of Brazil's African population; Macunaíma, however, is the first to plunge himself into the water, and he emerges a blue-eyed blonde, rid altogether of the outward physical signs of his tribal origins: "E ninguém não seria mais capaz de indicar nele um filho da tribo retinta dos Tapanhumas" (op.cit., p.34).

Having eliminated this ethnic barrier to his admission into the urban world, the hero is next confronted by an economic obstacle, his inferior provincial status as the inhabitant of a depressed, marginalised region entering the wealthy, developed state of São Paulo. Macunaíma experiences this sense of inferiority when he and his brothers discover that their tribal currency of cocoa beans is not valid in the city; even

48. *Taxi...*, op.cit., pp.103-04.

when converted into hard cash on the stock exchange, the millions of beans which are Cí's legacy to the hero are virtually worthless. This episode reflects a hard economic reality, adding another dimension to Mário's account of the historical process of violation and betrayal in Brazil. For a number of years during the First Republic cocoa was a symbol of commercial prosperity in the North and North-east of the country, akin to the importance of coffee for São Paulo. Indeed, after becoming a major export, making Brazil the largest producer in the world by 1920, it was speculated that cocoa might rank with coffee, Bahia rivalling the wealth of São Paulo.⁴⁹ However, the trade followed the fate of the rubber industry, collapsing after its boom at the turn of the century and heralding the economic decline of Amazonas. In his letter home to the *Icamiabas*, Macunaíma refers to this collapse and one of its major causes, the emergence of a competitive cocoa industry on the African Gold Coast (p.72).

If, as I have been suggesting throughout this chapter, Macunaíma is an account of the nation's betrayal of its indigenous, primitive identity, then it is clear that Mário also saw this process in regional economic terms. Just as Macunaíma's quest to conquer the city ends in a decidedly unheroic failure, the North's hopes of "conquering" the financial markets and winning economic prosperity ended in miserable disappointment. The primitivism which sets Macunaíma apart from the inhabitant of the city also prevents him from achieving an "organização", from challenging the structures of political and economic power which have destroyed his identity. By the same token, the primitive economy and social structure of his native region make it fragile and vulnerable,

49. Rollie Poppino, Brazil: the land and people, op.cit., p.146.

enabling opportunist interests from elsewhere in the country or abroad (such as the *regatão* Venceslau Pietro Pietra) to plunder its human and material resources, something which holds true today even more tragically than in Mário's day.

However, where the book really conveys the profundity and impact of the confrontation between Brazil's two worlds and cultures is in Macunaíma's psychological struggle to assimilate the technological mentality within his primitive understanding of the world. The shock of this encounter is first suggested comically when, realising the worthlessness of his money in the city, the hero is forced to consider the prospect of paid, routine work, a concept alien to the subsistence culture of the tribe:

(...) Macunaíma ficou muito contrariado. Ter de trabucar, ele, herói... Murmurou desolado:
- Ai! que preguiça!... (p.34)

The reader is then allowed to see Macunaíma's changing psychological perception of the city; his own terms of reference, the plants, animals and elements of the tribal cosmos, are replaced by others as his prostitute companions teach him the names of the unfamiliar objects around him:

A inteligência do herói estava muito perturbada. Acordou com os berros da bicharia lá em baixo nas ruas, disparando entre as malocas temíveis. E aquele diacho de sagüi-açu que o carregara pro alto do tapiri tamanho em que dormira... (...) A inteligência do herói estava muito perturbada. As cunhãs rindo tinham ensinado pra ele que o sagüi-açu não era sagüim não, chamava elevador e era uma máquina. De-manhãzinha ensinaram que todos aqueles piados berros cuquiados sopros roncros esturros não eram nada disso não, eram mas cláxons campainhas apitos buzinas e tudo era máquina. As onças pardas não eram onças pardas, se chamavam fordes hupmobiles chevrolés dodges marmons e eram máquinas (pp.37-38).

The sum of these lessons, that "Eram máquinas e tudo na cidade era só máquina!", is the greatest source of perplexity for the hero's

"inteligência", for it conflicts fundamentally with his magical conception of the world. Before he can accommodate the new vocabulary and understanding within his own primitive mentality (which effectively means adapting himself to this new world - *acomodar-se* in its Brazilian sense), he has to subject them to a profound and painful course of scrutiny. At first his only reaction is one of awe, concluding that this ubiquitous "machine" which seems to define every object of the urban world must be an omnipotent deity, a God of Technology:

(...) O herói aprendendo calado. De vez em quando estremecia. Voltava a ficar imóvel escutando assuntando maquinando numa cisma assombrada. Tomou-o um respeito cheio de inveja por essa deusa de deveras forçada, Tupã famanado que os filhos da mandioca chamavam de Máquina, mais cantadeira que a Mãe-d'água, em bulhas de sarapantar (ibid.).

He then decides to attempt a sexual conquest of the *máquina*, a means of domination and assimilation which has succeeded for him already in the forest. But he is told that the *máquina* is neither a god nor a female being, but a dangerous artifice, constructed by man out of the elements, yet capable of destroying him should he challenge it in battle. Macunaíma's difficulty in understanding this contradiction suggests clear parallels with the Marxist analysis of alienation under industrial capitalism, the objectification of the worker as s/he loses control over the process and product of his/her labour. The hero's realisation of this fact of urban alienation begins with his demystification of the relationship between machine and human being:

(...) A Máquina era que matava os homens porém os homens é que mandavam na Máquina... Constatou pasmo que os filhos da mandioca eram donos sem mistério e sem força da máquina sem mistério sem querer sem fastio, incapaz de explicar as infelicidades por si (ibid.).

Then, after suggesting that man's mistake has been in neglecting to devise a mythical etiology for the Machine, "uma Iara explicável", he

makes his final, important discovery: "Os homens é que eram máquinas e as máquinas é que eram homens" (p.39). This is a liberation for him - "Percebeu que estava livre outra vez" - because he is no longer in awe of the city; his primitive, magical interpretation of the world preserves him from the alienating influence of the city, enabling him to subvert and use its technology in his own defence. Thus his first act of defiance is to apply his magical powers in imitation of the objects of the urban environment: "Virou Jiguê na máquina telefone, ligou pros cabarés encomendando lagosta e francesas" (ibid.). The next day, when Piaimã/Venceslau Pietro Pietra kills him with an arrow, his primitive magic saves him; an ant and a tic help his brother, Maanape, to recover the chopped and stewed pieces of the hero's body from the Giant's wine-cellar, mix them with his blood and reconstitute his body, bringing him back to life.

However, if this primitive cosmology allows him temporarily to defy and escape the power of the city and its master, Piaimã, it does not make him immune to the more insidious, corrupting influence of urban culture which, unbeknown to him, is gradually eroding his tribal identity. His homesick longing for Ci soon gives way to the more immediate temptation of a limitless supply of purchasable sex, and he quickly picks up three prostitutes from the street. It is not long before he is developing a need for other commodities offered by urban society. He visits the house of the Englishmen, who have revolvers, bullets and crates of whisky growing on trees, and he even acquires a pretentious and unfounded claim to be able to speak English. Interestingly, the use of the "inglês" as a representative of this commercial mentality is not of Mário's invention; Koch-Grünberg's record of the Taulipang and Arekuná

legends indicates that the rifle-owning English of the neighbouring Guyanese territory were already incorporated into the mythology of these tribes by the beginning of the century and that Macunaíma's visit to them forms part of the original story.⁵⁰ Meanwhile, the hero's corruption has assumed a physiological dimension, in the form of the first of a series of illnesses which chart his progressive moral and cultural debilitation. After narrowly escaping Piaimã's dinner-table, he goes down with scarlet fever, one of the many diseases more or less eradicated from Western society but which remain a devastating threat to uncontacted tribal groups in the interior.

The process of cultural metamorphosis continues in the chapter "A francesa e o gigante", where Macunaíma puts on the clothes and makeup of a prostitute in a disastrous attempt to enter the Giant's house and recover the talisman. Ironically, Piaimã is actually convinced by the disguise and propositions the hero, who only escapes unrecognised when he removes the clothes and makeup, returning to his true self. At the same time he accumulates a further series of betrayals, the most serious of which is his promise, in Chapter VIII, to marry one of the daughters of Vei the Sun. No sooner do Vei and her daughters leave Macunaíma for the night in the harbour of Rio, than he takes up with a Portuguese fish-wife, a representative of his nations's colonial ruler, only to abandon her in her turn when he is chased by the monster Mianiquê-Teibê.

The culmination of the hero's infidelity to the culture and people of his origins, its most blatant, unrepentant example, is his letter to the *Icamiabas* in Chapter IX. Most critics have drawn attention to the

50. Theodor Koch-Grünberg, "Mitos e lendas dos índios Taulipange e Arekuná", separata da Revista do Museu Paulista, nova série, vol.VII, 1953, p.153.

linguistic achievement of the chapter, the way in which it parodies the pedantry of the Brazilian *cronistas* and their imitators (e.g. Proença, *op.cit.*, pp.213-15). But Gilda de Mello e Souza is alone in noting the letter's structural function as a comment on the act of betrayal which has just taken place in the previous chapter (*op.cit.*, p.52). In fact, more than this the letter represents the total inversion of the hero's cultural identity and the turning point in the book, the moment when he begins to transport the "civilised" values he has acquired back into the forest. In selecting as a his model Vaz de Caminha's classic letter to King Manuel on the Discovery of Brazil, Mário exposes the full extent of Macunaíma's assimilation into the conservative cultural establishment of the Old Republic. For while Caminha's use of the metropolitan "high" Portuguese of the sixteenth century is consistent with his social and political loyalties as a representative of the colonial court, the same language is absurdly alien and incongruous on the lips of the hero, as his periodic lapses into the Brazilian vernacular indicate. Writing back to the tribespeople of his village, he has nevertheless adopted the language and perspective of the country's traditional ruling class. Thus, just as he was required to learn a whole new vocabulary to enter the technological environment of the city, the now familiar objects of the urban and forest world suffer a whole new series of peculiar linguistic transformations: the *Icamiabas* are now addressed by their classical name of Amazons, and the city skyscrapers, which he earlier paraphrased in primitive terms as "maloca mais alta que a Paranaguara", have become "palácios alterosos". Most significantly, he is unable to find an adequate translation in this elitist academic language for the *muiraquitã*, his only objective link with his indigenous roots. What is more, he insults the *Icamiabas* by

requesting further money to pay for his prostitutes, suggesting that they should invite some of the *francesas* to the forest so that they might learn some of the city's more unorthodox and deviant sexual practices.

Macunaíma continues to perfect his knowledge of the "duas línguas da terra, o brasileiro falado e o português escrito" in the next chapter, "Pauí-Pódole", learning the new "civilised" names for everything he encounters. But here this process of metamorphosis reaches a critical stage; at the very moment when Macunaíma is most dominated by civilised urban culture and most profoundly alienated from his primitive origins, he appears to be about to redeem himself. For he has discovered a quite un-selfconscious, instinctively "anthropophagous" capacity for subversion and critical assimilation which allows him to defend his primitive world-view and incorporate it into the culture of the city. The hero is approached by a flower-seller and is persuaded to buy a rose; he does not know the Portuguese for "button-hole" and, rejecting the overly vague *buraco* "hole" and the pedantic *orifício*, he resorts to the Indian term *puíto* "anus". Ironically, the obscenity which he blurts out for want of a better word becomes adopted by the fashion-conscious *paulistano* public, ignorant of its true meaning, so introducing an unconscious source of hilarity into the daily language of the city:

(...) A cunhatã não sabia que puíto era palavra-feia não e enquanto o herói voltava aluado com o caso pra pensão, ficou se rindo, achando graça na palavra. "Puíto..." que ela dizia. E repetia gozado: "Puíto... Puíto"... Imaginou que era moda. Então se pôs falando pra toda a gente si queriam que ela botasse uma rosa no puíto deles. Uns quiseram outros não quiseram, as outras cunhatãs escutaram a palavra, a empregaram e "puíto" pegou. Ninguém mais não falava em boutonnière por exemplo; só puíto, puíto se escutava (p.82).

Macunaíma only discovers his unintended minor coup when a German girl he picks up off the street tearfully offers to place a daisy in his *puíto*! What is more, not only the general public but also the academic world

becomes a willing victim of this stroke of primitive subversion, as the philologists attempt to find a "legitimate" Romance etymology for the word:

Mas o caso é que "puíto" já entrara pràs revistas estudando com muita ciência os idiomas escrito e falado e já estava mais que assente que pelas leis de catelepse elipse síncope metonímia metafonia metátese próclise prótese aférese apócope haplologia etimologia popular, todas essas leis, a palavra "botoeira" viera a dar em "puíto", por meio duma palavra intermediária, a voz latina "rabanius" (boteira-rabanius-puíto), sendo que rabanius embora não encontrada nos documentos medievais, afirmaram os doutos que na certa existira e fora corrente no sermo vulgaris (pp.82-85).

Macunaíma has an opportunity to defend his culture more overtly when he hears a mulatto giving a speech in celebration of the "dia do Cruzeiro". Realising that the Southern Cross is none other than the constellation which he and his tribespeople know as the Pai do Mutum, he interrupts the speaker and tells his own version of the story, "no tempo em que os animais já não eram mais homens" (p.85). By the time he has finished, the people listening are infused with a magical sense of revelation and cosmic harmony:

(...) Então se ergueu do povoréu um murmurejo longo de felicidade fazendo relumear mais ainda as gentes, os pais-dos-pássaros os pais-dos-peixes os pais-dos-insetos os pais-das-árvores, todos esses conhecidos que param no campo do céu. E era imenso o contentamento daquela paulistanada mandando olhos de assombro pràs gentes, pra todos esses pais dos vivos brilhando morando no céu. E todos esses asombros de-primeiro foram gente depois foram os assombros misteriosos que fizeram nascer todos os seres vivos. E agora são as estrelinhas do céu (p.87).

Returned to a consciousness of their primitive selves, the *paulistanos* forget the "dia do Cruzeiro", abandon the sophisticated fountains of the park and go to bed with the child-like excitement of "terem brincado com fogo". For once Macunaíma has performed an act of true loyalty to the culture of his roots, reintroducing it to the alienated technological

society of São Paulo, and the Pai do Mutum (Pai-Pódole) smiles down on him from the sky in gratitude.

Nevertheless, the hero's creative, constructive potential comes to nothing and any hopes of his communicating the primitive experience of the tribal world to the people of São Paulo are severely disappointed. In Chapter XI, having recovered from a cold, Macunaíma deceives both his brothers and a crowd of people besides, by persuading them that he has brought in a great catch from the hunt. When Maanape and Jiguê discover that he has caught no more than a couple of charred mice, which he has selfishly eaten himself, he simply confesses the lie ingenuously, explaining it as an irrational, irresistible compulsion:

" - Não foi por querer não... quis contar o que tinha sucedido pra gente e quando reparei estava mentindo..." (p.90). Even after he and his brothers appear reconciled and spend an evening consoling one another with nostalgic recollections of their life in the forest, Macunaíma commits another gratuitous act of spite, setting them and a crowd of *paulistanos* on the trail of a non-existent tapir.

As an earlier incident in the book suggests, the primitive irrationalism of the hero and his brothers repeatedly frustrates and dissipates any attempts to mount a sustained, organized assault on the city and on Venceslau Pietro Pietra, to make an "organização". In the chapter entitled "A francesa e o gigante", Macunaíma plans a literal act of construction, for he intends to build a *papiri*, or shelter, for the three of them. However, the *puchirões*⁵¹ or collective work sessions fail miserably because the brothers will not cooperate and abandon their

51. The *putirum* or *mutirão* is often cited as the classic manifestation of an indigenous tradition of collective, cooperative action within rural Brazilian society; see Câmara Cascudo, *op.cit.*, pp.103-04.

(stereotypically Brazilian?) vices: "Os puchirões goravam sempre porque Jiguê passava o dia dormindo e Maanape bebendo café" (p.45). The hero's response is childishly resentful, for he takes his revenge on them by sending stinging insects to wake them out of their indolence. They, in turn, sabotage the project and Macunaíma abandons it altogether in a rage, deliberately creating chaos out of the building materials in a futile gesture of frustration: "E virou tojolos pedras telhas ferragens numa nuvem de içás que tomou São Paulo por três dias" (p.46).

Equally, his attacks on the possessor of the *muiraquitã*, Venceslau Pietro Pietra, go no further than impotent gestures. For instance, he challenges the Chuvisco to a contest, boasting that his own collection of swear-words will frighten the giant more than the drizzle of his rival. In the event, Venceslau simply makes a note of some of the less familiar obscenities and retreats indoors when it begins to rain. When the hero later discovers that Piaimã has gone to Europe to convalesce, the brothers decide that he can follow by posing as an artist and applying for a government travel grant. As he waits, fully dressed, in readiness for his nomination, he manages to lose all their money to a travelling salesman, who tricks him into buying a magical monkey that is supposed to defecate silver coins. Having thrown away his chance to travel to Europe, Macunaíma hypocritically pretends to have had a change of heart and declares his patriotic loyalty to Brazil:

- Paciência, manos! não! não vou na Europa não. Sou americano e meu lugar é na América. A civilização européia de-certo esculhamba a inteireza do nosso caráter (p.104).

It is one of the most ironic, self-mocking speeches in the book, for the hero's cultural and moral integrity has long since been destroyed by the imported, European civilisation of São Paulo. Indeed, Macunaíma

demonstrates the full extent of his nationalist loyalty when, in the next chapter, he is offered a second opportunity to leave the country:

" - Gente! adeus, gente! Vou pra Europa que é melhor!" (p.108). In the meantime he takes out his anger and resentment against humanity by cynically killing a bird on which he has taken pity only moments before:

(...) Macunaíma estava meditando na injustiça dos homens e teve um amargor imenso da injustiça do chupinzão. Era porque Macunaíma sabia que de primeiro os passarinhos foram gente feito nós... Então o herói pegou num porrete e matou o ticotiquinho (pp.104-05).

This perverse act of revenge marks the beginning of Macunaíma's moral and physical descent into self-destruction. First, he is punished in his turn by a similar act of gratuitous violence which a monkey persuades him to inflict on himself. He sees the animal breaking something open between his legs with a rock, and is easily convinced that it is not a coconut, but the monkey's own testicles. Consequently, when Macunaíma tries to follow suit, he inflicts such injuries on himself that he dies. He is only saved by the rain, which prevents his body from putrefying, and by the efforts of a lawyer who is attracted by the *correições* ("ant-trails/legal dues") that accompany his death. Waking in the next chapter, "Muiraquitã", with yet another illness, he confronts Piaimã, who has returned from Europe, and makes the one necessary effort of will and concentration which seems to bring him his long-awaited victory. He persuades the giant to fall victim to his own trap, pushing him in his thorny swing over his wife's cooking-pot until she has collected enough of his blood and then flinging him over the side into the boiling sauce.

However, the hero's words as he regains possession of Ci's talisman reveal how superficial is this triumph over the master of the city and all that he stands for: " - Muiraquitã, muiraquitã de minha bela,

veja você mas não vejo ela!..." (p.120). Macunaíma may have recovered the token of his identity as Emperor of the Forest, but in reality he remains hopelessly alienated from that world, both psychologically and culturally, as a result of his experiences in the city. Representative of this are the souvenirs of *paulistano* civilisation which he carries with him until his final downfall, all of them, as Cavalcânti Proença notes (op.cit., p.256), foreign objects: "o revólver Smith-Wesson o relógio Patek e o casal de galinha Legorne" (p.121). During his return journey into the forest he almost loses the talisman again, so engrossed is he in memories of his sexual life in the city:

(...) Viu todas aquelas donas de pele alvinha com quem brincara de marido e mulher, foi tão bom!... Sussurrou docemente: "Mani! Mani! filhinhas da mandioca!" ... Deu um tremor comovido no beijo dele que quase a muiiraquitã cai no rio (p.123).

Thus his betrayals of the forest and its symbolic Mother continue, in spite of his longing to be reunited with her; significantly, the constellation into which Ci was transformed is no longer visible in the night's sky. His return and apparent reintegration into the land of his birth, marvellously described in Chapter XV (p.122), as the immense flock of imperial parrots reappears, is continually undermined by the hero's relentless, perverse compulsion to destroy all that is creative and constructive. He is greeted and offered hospitality by the monster Oibê, yet proceeds to abuse that hospitality by eating the giblets which Oibê has prepared for himself. In the forest he meets Iriqui, the girl whom he long ago seduced into betraying his brother Jiguê. Not long after she has joined the group on its journey back to the river Uraricoera, Macunaíma abandons her for the chic princess who appears magically out of a *carambola* tree.

In Chapter XVI, as he approaches and begins to recognise the deserted and overgrown landscape of his childhood, he meets increasing signs of his alienation from the primitive forest world. João Ramalho, the legendary Portuguese colonist and self-styled patriarch who married into an Indian community, greets Macunaíma as "nobre estrangeiro", a foreigner or stranger to the place. So disturbed is he by this disruption of his solitude that he takes his wife and fifteen families in search of uninhabited territory elsewhere. The clearest symbol of the hero's loss of identity is his failure to find the conscience which he left on the island of Marapatá. Instead, he contents himself with the conscience of a Hispano-American, exchanging any ethnic or cultural individuality he may once have had for this generic title.

The solidarity of the group, which now consists of Macunaíma, his two brothers and the princess, begins to disintegrate as the hero increasingly isolates himself and infects the others with his diseases and vices. Discovering that his brother has been walking alone in order to avoid the effort of providing his share of the food, Jiguê retaliates, using his magic to obtain fish and game for himself. Macunaíma informs the others and they all end up going hungry, but not before the hero has taken his revenge by poisoning him with a snake bite disguised as a fishing-hook. The wound becomes leprous and consumes Jiguê until nothing is left of him but a shadow; this turns the princess completely against Macunaíma, and she helps Jiguê to transform himself into a contagious banana tree, whose fruit the hungry Macunaíma picks and eats. Such is his perverse malice that, knowing himself to be infected with the disease, he deliberately introduces it to stinging ants and mosquitos in order to spread it to as many others as possible. Jiguê's leprous shadow continues

to devour everyone except Macunaíma, who is forced to abstain from food and suffer his malaria alone.

The apocalyptic culmination of the plague which the hero has brought back to the forest is the image of the ox, its final victim, whose death takes place in the closing pages of the chapter. These pages are punctuated by the verses of the popular *festa*, the *bumba-meu-boi*. Traditionally, a costumed figure performs a ritual dance representing the death and resurrection of the ox, the vital guarantee and symbol of survival for many inhabitants of the Brazilian interior.⁵² However, in the book there is no such resurrection, no natural cycle permitting a rebirth of all that appeared to be dead. Instead, the *urubu-rei* or king-vulture, the great symbol of death, descends with all its relatives on the animal's rotting corpse - Macunaíma's destruction of his "empire" is complete, and only he remains.

By Chapter XVII, the hero is inhabiting a silent, deserted world, sleeping and indulging the fever of his malaria; even the cortège of imperial parrots has left to find corn in the "terra dos ingleses". It is this moment which Vei, the Sun, chooses to avenge Macunaíma's betrayal of her daughter and, effectively, to exact a symbolic retribution for his entire betrayal of his primitive origins. Stirring him to life, she leads him to an enchanted lake and there invites him to commit one final act of betrayal. To Macunaíma, the seductive figure who emerges from the lake, "moradinha e coradinha", has the appearance and pale complexion of a descendant of Europeans, and he accordingly cries out " - Mani!.." in memory of the prostitutes of São Paulo. In reality, she is the Uirara, the mythical indigenous seductress who drags her victims to their death at

52. See Câmara Cascudo, *op.cit.*, pp.192-97.

the water's bottom. By falling for the magical disguise, Macunaíma condemns himself, reiterating, as Telê Lopez, Gilda de Mello e Souza and Mário himself have indicated,⁵³ his disastrous abandonment of Brazil's indigenous, tropical culture in favour of European civilisation:

A raiva de Vei a Sol por Macunaíma não se ter amulherado com uma das filhas da luz, é porque vivemos errados, em vez de termos criado uma civilização nascida diretamente da terra tropical e suas exigências até morais, como indianos, chineses, aztecas (filhas da luz), importamos a civilização de clima temperado (as francesas e a varina) da Europa.⁵⁴

What is worse is that Macunaíma is not conscious of this betrayal; he never learns from his experiences, and therefore never acquires the wisdom which could enable him to take some constructive initiative. Emerging mutilated and broken from his violent struggle with the Uiara, deprived of his souvenirs, the talisman, one of his legs and his genitals, the symbol of his virility and sexual *raison d'être*, he can only think of revenge, and he poisons the lake.

The final metamorphosis of the book, Macunaíma's transformation into the constellation of Ursa Major, really brings us back to the central problem of Mário's view of the primitive culture and mentality. "NÃO VIM NO MUNDO PARA SER PEDRA" is the inscription which the hero leaves behind him, and it corresponds exactly to the notion of dynamic freedom which Oswald also identified as essentially primitive in the Manifesto Antropófago, with its call for "Roteiros. Roteiros. Roteiros (...) etc." Yet it is the hero's very instability and inconsistency, his lack of loyalty, concentration and organisation, which have led to the destruction of his

53. Macunaíma: a margem..., op.cit., pp.101-02 and O Tupi e o Alaúde, op.cit., pp.60-63.

54. Notes to second edition, Macunaíma, op.cit., p.307; see also "Notas diárias", Mensagem, 2, 26, Belo Horizonte, 24/7/43, p.1, reproduced in Macunaíma, op.cit., pp.325-26.

links with the primitive world and therefore of his identity. There can be no authentic resting-place, neither the island of Marajó nor the "cidade da Pedra", for one who has alienated himself from both the society and culture of the forest and that of the city:

(...) Tudo o que fora a existência dele apesar de tantos casos tanta brincadeira tanta ilusão tanto sofrimento tanto heroísmo, afinal não fora senão um se deixar viver; e pra parar na cidade do Delmiro ou na ilha de Marajó que são desta terra carecia de ter um sentido. E ele não tinha coragem pra uma organização (p.144).

But even Macunaíma's withdrawal from the world does not solve this problem of his lack of "character", his rootlessness, for the inhabitants of the night's sky also spurn him. Never ossified, institutionalised or abstracted, Macunaíma's life is one of permanent movement and change, constant metamorphosis, enabling him to defy the symbols of authority and the structures of power. The hero's irrationalism is the psychological expression of this anarchic impulse to absolute freedom, a rebellion against the structures and discipline of ideology or morality. By the same token, though, it necessarily rules out the possibility of sustained, organised, creative action, of constructing a viable alternative to the oppressive forms of Western culture. Consequently, when confronted with the civilised order of things, this primitive irrationalism becomes open to more insidious, subtle kinds of alienation which eventually assimilate and destroy its independence. Removed from the organic cosmology of tribal life, the individual is subject to the endless seductions of capitalist, technological society, which progressively break down the harmonic relationship which existed between the primitive, his/her community and their environment. The price of Macunaíma's freedom from organised forms of thought and action, his

"lack of character", is the sacrifice of his identity, of his integration into any culture or world.

Macunaíma presents all the initial elements of the dialectic of *Antropofagia*, then, but it forces one to reconsider Oswald's optimism, to question the possibility of any synthesis of the many contradictory values presented by primitive culture and Western civilisation: mobility and organisation, ecology and technology, primitivism and development. The hero does not realise any successful integration or assimilation of urban culture; he exerts a brief subversive influence on the life of the city, slaying its master, Piaimã, but this is at the expense of his progressive corruption and debilitation, the deaths of his brothers and companions and the betrayal of all the values he set out to defend.

What is more, by presenting the story of "Macunaíma, herói de nossa gente" as an ancestral history, long since past, the book's epilogue suggests that there is no alternative to, or escape from, this reality of contradictions and failure that characterises the encounter between primitivism and modernity. "Acabou-se a história e morreu a vitória", begins the Epilogue; Macunaíma's crimes, mistakes and downfall, remembered and recounted years later by his parrot, are given, like Original Sin. As the history of Indian/white relations in Brazil confirms, the events of Macunaíma's quest and failure are not to be revised or questioned, as the Romantics and the *Verdeamarelistas* attempted to do, but are to be taken as a starting-point, a tragic experience out of which a better, but unknowable future must be constructed. The book therefore carries Mário's basic agnosticism over to the contemporary debate on the future of Brazilian culture. Refusing to predict or prescribe an ideal fusion of traditions, beliefs and values, Mário prefers instead to expose the

dynamics of the dialectical process itself, the historical interaction of these cultures, warning of the destructive potential posed by modern society to the survival of more fragile and less sophisticated ways of life.

CHAPTER 10. VERDEAMARELISMO AND ANTA

10.1. Introduction

Oswald and Mário de Andrade stand amongst the most important figures, not just of the Modernist movement, but of twentieth-century Brazilian literature as a whole. To the intellectual and artistic quality of their work, which alone would justify this view, must be added the breadth and originality of thought which they brought to bear on some of the most urgent cultural issues of their time. I have shown how their treatment of one theme, the Indian, generated and explored a completely new range of problems which, although always implicit at any stage in the evolution of writing on the subject, had hitherto remained unexamined.

The approach of both writers to those problems was analytical, confrontational, interrogative, but above all, forward-looking. Moreover, theirs was always a positive, constructive response to the immense social and cultural upheaval confronting them, both as Brazilians and as middle-class *paulista* intellectuals. It was a position which led them, on an actively political level, to disown the traditional land-owning class from which the intellectual community as a whole was descended, and to pursue progressive paths of, in Oswald's case, revolutionary socialism and, in the case of Mário, reformist or parliamentary socialism.

As I now move on to discuss *Verdeamarelismo* and *Anta*, I cannot do so without first contrasting the depth, originality and quality of the writers I have just discussed with the glaring intellectual, artistic and imaginative poverty of this other movement. The writings and ideas of the *verdeamarelistas* are a vital and often fascinating part of the history of reactionary currents within Brazilian literature and culture, and of

official and unofficial indigenist policy up to the present day. But they have none of the, still, refreshing, stimulating immediacy and provocative humour of Macunaíma or the Poesia Pau-Brasil. With the possible exception of Cassiano Ricardo's Martim Cererá, the literature of *Verdeamarelismo* and *Anta* has not stood the test of time. Indeed, to read Borrões de Verde e Amarelo or A Voz do Oeste is not to feel one is treading new ground, but rather the same patch of soil that has been dug over and left to seed itself. This qualitative inferiority is largely self-imposed and an inevitable consequence of the movement's ideological position, for it stems from a refusal to come to terms with the wealth of cultural and linguistic material that was to be harvested from the meeting of traditional and modern worlds in Brazil. Confronted with the great social and economic transformation of their country and with the new political and cultural movements of the modern age, the chief figures of this current - Menotti del Picchia, Cassiano Ricardo and Plínio Salgado - responded in an essentially obscurantist, reactionary manner. Rather than seeking to illuminate the problems raised by that transformation and to build on them, they preferred to cling to the values and institutions of the traditional structure of power, not to question, analyse or discuss, but to create or revive myths and thereby reject a reality which threatened to exclude or make them redundant. What is more, the myths which form the substance of their poetry, fiction and socio-political writings are themselves a deplorable negation of historical truth, partly through omission, partly through the uncritical acceptance of by now discredited views on race and colonial history, and partly through sheer mystification and falsification of the facts.

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These myths are principally those of *paulista* heroism, specifically that of the *bandeirante*, who continues to be celebrated for his pioneering courage while his responsibility for the wholesale slaughter and enslavement of countless Indians continues to be equally ignored; associated with the above, the myth of race as a psychological determinant, the voice of Indian blood within every true Brazilian calling him or her to return to the equally mythical West of infinite spiritual and economic rewards; and, linked in its turn to these myths, the myth of Indian integration or assimilation into Brazilian society, culture and racial identity - perhaps the most disturbing and repugnant of the three, because it continues to be invoked both as fact and objective, on behalf of interests which threaten the very survival of the Indian populations themselves. *Verdeamarelismo* and *Anta* add nothing to Brazilians' understanding of themselves and their relationship to the indigenous tribal peoples of their country. Instead, they propose a retreat into a fictional past, and an escape from the cultural and economic revolution of which Modernism was the celebration. The nationalist hero of the *verdeamarelistas* is the *caboclo* of the rural interior, the *mestiço* of Portuguese and Indian blood, a direct descendant of the Romantics' archetypal Brazilian national, the Indian; this, in spite of the enormous ethnic and racial changes which, as Mário's "herói sem nenhum caráter", *Macunaíma*, demonstrated, had made nonsense of any notion of a single national type, particularly one which ignored the immense variety of immigrant races: German, Italian, Ukrainian, Japanese.

Yet, in spite of the movement's poverty of imagination, its reactionary position in relation to Brazil's literary and political traditions, some critics have defended what they consider to be the

radicalism of *Verdeamarelismo* and *Anta*. For Wilson Martins, for example, *Verdeamarelismo* represents the beginning of a general movement of neo-Indianism, predating and preparing the ground for Oswald's Manifesto Antropófago.¹ As my examination of the movement will show, any such comparison with the Movimento Antropofágico must be dismissed as nonsensical, as the uncritical acceptance of a revolutionary rhetoric opportunistically usurped from a group of writers genuinely committed to social and cultural progress. In a recent study, Antônio Arnoni Prado has traced the origins and development of this "false avant-garde" and demonstrated the essentially reactionary nature of its radical pose, the real extent of its "revolutionary" spirit. For the leader of the movement, Plínio Salgado,

A literatura, como manifestação do espírito do tempo, encontra (...) um limite necessário que a justifica e determina: o sopro vitalizante do espírito de humanidade, de que é forma precária e transitiva. Isso faz de sua rebeldia um ato isolado, previsível, significativo apenas enquanto revelação de novas formas de expressão estética necessariamente atreladas à concatenação lógica do espírito humano. Ou seja, inconformismo e ruptura o mais que logram é desencadear crises esparsas perfeitamente compreensíveis enquanto cortes momentâneos da inquietação do homem moderno em busca da perfeição espiritual. De modo algum, no entanto, devem ser valorizados para além do que significam: em arte, como nos domínios da moral e da ordem social e política, "os exageros da Revolução e os desmandos da Anarquia necessitam, na sua desabalada carreira, dos gritos de alarma do Conservadorismo".²

Another critic, writing thirty years earlier, had also questioned the movement's Modernist credentials on purely aesthetic grounds:

(...) urge indagar, mesmo, se o verdeamarelismo não foi a primeira contradição do modernismo brasileiro, a primeira reação oposta a esse modernismo. Esta escola (a modernista), em seu sentido mundial alicerçou suas bases na negação da estética de

1. Wilson Martins, História da inteligência brasileira, 6 vols. (São Paulo: Cultrix, 1978), vol.VI (1915-33), p.375.

2. Antônio Arnoni Prado, 1922 - Itinerário de uma falsa vanguarda: os dissidentes, a Semana e o Integralismo (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1983), p.49.

Aristóteles, ou pelo menos no corolário-base dessa estética: arte igual a imitação da realidade. (...) A fria objetividade da arte-imitação, após um mundo rebelde, cheio de revelações: o subconsciente humano. Qual era, porém, o objetivo aparente do verdeamarelismo? Pesquisar e (isto é inegável) imitar a realidade brasileira. O passadismo não era para os verdeamarelistas uma estética ultrapassada por ser reacionalista [sic], serva da lógica, mas por ser forasteira, alienígena... O seu erro principal estava em copiar verdades helênicas, latinas, gaulesas. O caminho certo era procurar modelos novos, copiar o panorama viçoso e quase virgem da América. Aristóteles de arco e flecha, eis o verdeamarelismo. Falando tupi, mas raciocinando à européia. E católico, pois o verdeamarelismo pega os índios, as onças e os papagaios e lhes dobra os joelhos perante o espetáculo transcendente da primeira missa celebrada em terras da Bahia.³

Ironically, despite this failure to contribute to the movement of cultural liberation and progress which was Modernism, the myths and general spirit of *Verdeamarelismo* and *Anta* survived longer than most of the other literary/political movements of the 1920s. While *Antropofagia* effectively died with Oswald's move into active politics in 1929, until its revival in the 1960s, Cassiano Ricardo and Plínio Salgado continued to write about the themes of the *bandeirante* and the "Call of the West" until well into the 1940s. Moreover, the basic assumptions of these myths clearly lie at the heart of most of the pulp fiction written during the period up to the 1960s on Amazonian or Indian themes.⁴ And, just as the political wing of the movement, *Integralismo*, although actually suppressed along with the other parties under the Estado Novo, nevertheless influenced the regime's shift to the right, *Anta's* mythology of the Call of the West can also be heard in the rhetoric of Vargas' policy of internal imperialism during the 1950s. The history of Indianist writing

3. Domingos Carvalho da Silva, "Notas sobre o Verdeamarelismo", *Revista Branca*, Maio de 1952, número comemorativo dos trinta anos da Semana de 22, p.15.

4. E.g. Willy Aureli's *Rugres no Rio das Mortes* (São Paulo: Clube do livro, 1973) and Francisco Brasileiro's *O Escolhido (Jurupari)* (1948) (São Paulo: Clube do livro, 1970).

and Indian policy certainly repeats itself; the last two decades have seen the revival of the same myths of Indian integration, the legendary West and the notion that "all Brazilians are *caboclos*, descendants of Indians", in order to justify government and private industrial and agricultural schemes which are depriving Indians of their traditional lands and livelihood and are destroying their society and culture. The fact that the neo-*antropófagos* of the 1960s and 1970s find themselves on the other side of the ideological fence, opposing those same political and economic interests, makes all the more absurd any attempt to ally the *antropófagos* and *verdeamarelistas* of the 1920s as partners in a Modernist Indianist movement.

10.2. The emergence and evolution of Verdeamarelismo up to 1926

Of the three chief protagonists of this Indianist "avant-garde" of the right, only Paulo Menotti del Picchia already enjoyed some prestige within the Modernist movement as a whole, as a poet and critic. A *paulistano*, born in 1892, he trained as a lawyer and, like many Modernists who later trod very divergent paths, he worked for some time on the Correio Paulistano, the official organ of the Partido Republicano Paulista.⁵ Whereas Oswald and Mário soon abandoned the PRP and so identified themselves with progressive political forces opposed to the traditional *paulista* oligarchies, Menotti, together with his fellow *verdeamarelistas* Ricardo and Salgado, remained in the Party for a number of years, even after the critical split in 1924. As early as 1917 he achieved literary recognition with the

5. Sérgio Miceli, Intelectuais e Classe Dirigente no Brasil (1920-1945) (São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro: DIFEL, 1979), note 15 to p.11.

poem Juca Mulato (see Chapter 7, p.463). As Menotti later confirmed in his autobiography A Longa Viagem, Juca Mulato was his first attempt to articulate the central principle of the Indianist mythology of *Verdeamarelismo* and *Anta*, the intuitive sense of integration, which unites the *caboclo* with his land:

Aquela égloga, que era minha vida na fazenda da "Capoeira do Meio", exigia de mim que eu descobrisse uma linguagem que expressasse essa integração minha com o espírito da terra. Eu queria dizer que por certo haveria uma forma telúrica, não contaminada por influência de outros países, para exprimir o estranho encantamento que me empolgava, que fazia com que eu aspirasse ser uma pedra, um pranto de água, um corrucho de pássaro, para participar daquela magia pânica em que homem e coisas se fundiam num todo. Era isso que eu sentia a necessidade de exprimir. O protagonista do poema deveria ser algo que surgisse do chão, da terra-mãe pura e casta, como nascem de um prodígio as criaturas mitológicas. (...)

Na ocasião, porém, talvez fôsse em mim um protesto. Eu lançava êsse romântico caboclo do mato como um desafio polêmico aos que imigravam do nosso chão e da nossa alma, procurando, lá fora, paisagens e sentimentos que não eram os da nossa terra e da nossa gente.⁶

However, while these elements of telluric integration, rural traditionalism and nationalistic xenophobia were to reemerge during his association with *Verdeamarelismo*, they were largely abandoned while he was involved in the developments surrounding the *Semana de Arte Moderna*. The immediate issue was now Modernism, the struggle against "o passadismo"; excited, like Mário and Oswald, by the ethnic and cultural transformation which São Paulo was undergoing, he rejected the old concept of a Brazilian racial trinity of Indian, Portuguese and African in favour of a new "conquest" by the immigrant population. The second-generation immigrant *paulistas* had "hygienizado o paiz" of its degenerate indigenous elements, leaving the black "ilhado" within the caucasian, "vencido pela victoria physiologica

6. Paulo Menotti del Picchia, A Longa Viagem, 1ª etapa (São Paulo: Martins, 1970), pp.138-39.

das raças fortes", while the Indian sank further into marginality or oblivion:

Do aborigene, em verdade, dessorado seu sangue pelo cruzamento de raças genuinamente européas, não ficou mais que uma vaga memória nos compêndios da historia do Brasil e nos museus. Os restos dos selvicolas lá estão, fechados no isolamento de zonas quasi intransponiveis, onde só os alcançam a audacia dos Rondons e a coragem commercial de alguns ousados cinematographistas.⁷

In order to explain Menotti's *volte face* just three years later, when he, Ricardo and Salgado once again adopted the Indian as a nationalist symbol, we must point to the vital date of 1924, to which I referred in the chapter on Oswald, as the turning point in the evolution of Brazilian Modernism. Until then a purely aesthetic revolution, concerned with the battle against artistic conservatism, particularly that of the Parnassians, the Movement now began to define itself in nationalist terms. Divergent political interpretations of that nationalism began to emerge, including some which dismissed the artistic lessons learnt from European Modernism as anti-patriotic mimicry. Thus, twenty years later, Menotti could look back on the *Semana* contemptuously as a futile experiment that spread its influence to subsequent generations: "O que tem importância é assinalar quanto é transitória e sem raízes essa arte imitativa, criada com uma sensibilidade francesa, de que se quer fazer um imperativo padrão dentro das nossas fronteiras."⁸

By contrast, Cassiano Ricardo joined the Modernist movement relatively late, from an initially hostile standpoint as one of the neo-Parnassians whose cultural hegemony the Modernists were challenging. In

7. Menotti del Picchia, "A Questão Racial", Correio Paulistano, 10/5/1921.

8. Quoted in Nelson Vainer, "Menotti del Picchia, agitador das letras e das idéias", Dom Casmurro, ano 6, no.260, 25/7/42; see also Couto de Magalhães Neto, "Menotti del Picchia e a *Semana* de Arte Moderna", Dom Casmurro, ano 5, no.228, 29/11/41.

1924, though, he and Francisco Pati founded the review Novíssima which, although it included poetic contributions by Oswald, was essentially the voice of an anti-primitivist, mystical nationalism rooted in the concept of an intuitive and aesthetic cosmic unity, whose chief proponent was Graça Aranha and whose adherents included Alfredo Ellis, Cândido Mota Filho, Menotti and Plínio Salgado.⁹ In 1925, working for the Correio Paulistano in the company of Menotti and Salgado, he founded with them the "grupo verde-amarelo", in conscious opposition to Oswald's Manifesto da Poesia Pau-Brasil. Ricardo simplified the distinction between the two currents in his memoirs thus: "Oswald havia descoberto o Brasil na Europa; queríamos descobrir o Brasil no Brasil mesmo; somar mais Brasil dentro do Brasil. Verdeamarelismo contra futurismo italiano, contra dadaísmo francês, contra expressionismo alemão".¹⁰

Ignoring, misunderstanding or merely misrepresenting the intellectual originality of Oswald's Manifesto and its independence from such influences, Ricardo caricatured Pau-Brasil as anti-patriotic and neo-colonialist:

Pau Brasil é madeira que já não existe, interessou holandeses e portugueses, franceses e chineses, menos os brasileiros que dela só tiveram notícia pelos historiadores; inspirou a colonização, quer dizer: assimilação da terra e da boa gente empenachada pelo estrangeiro; em síntese: pau nefasto, primitivo, colonial, arcaísmo da flora, expressão do país subserviente, capitania, governo geral, sem consciência definida, balbuciante, etc. Ainda hoje, na acepção tomada por Oswald, pau importuno, xereta, metido a sebo.¹¹

However, it was Plínio Salgado's lecture, "A Anta e o Curupira (Considerações sobre a literatura moderna)", given in 1926 in the *salão* of

9. Arnoni Prado, op.cit., p.47.

10. Cassiano Ricardo, Viagem no tempo e no espaço (memórias) (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1970), p.36.

11. Cassiano Ricardo, Discursos Acadêmicos, vol.XI (Rio de Janeiro: 1944), pp.349-50.

the Correio Paulistano, which provided the *verdeamarelistas* with their first coherent set of nationalist proposals, with the basic elements of their movement's mythology, in fact. Following his Catholic upbringing in São Bento de Sapucaí, Salgado's humanistic studies were interrupted at the age of sixteen by the death of his father, an admirer of the dictator Floriano Peixoto. Thereafter he became a self-taught intellectual, heavily influenced by the neo-Catholicism of Farias Brito and Jackson de Figueiredo. Now practised in the rhetoric of militant nationalism, with its appeal to the historical example of the great warrior nations, he took a lively part in local politics before moving to São Paulo, where he was exposed to a new range of ideas and influences. Menotti del Picchia, who was chief editor of the Correio Paulistano, invited him to become an editor of the newspaper, and persuaded him to give up his Parnassian poetry and turn to prose.

Salgado played a prominent part in the split of the PRP in 1924; while an opposition wing aligned itself with the Mesquita family which controlled O Estado de São Paulo, Salgado attempted to reconcile the old guard to his nationalist proposals, which he elaborated under the title of Ação Nacional Renovadora.¹² "A Anta e o Curupira", delivered just two years later under the aegis of the party's traditional wing, gave an airing to many of the ideas which were to be taken to their logical political conclusion with the publication of the Manifesto Integralista and the founding of Brazil's fascist party, Ação Integralista Brasileira, in 1932.

12. Héglio Trindade, Integralismo (O fascismo brasileiro na década de 30) 2ª ed. (São Paulo: DIFEL, 1979), pp.36-41.

The first of these ideas was the notion of national unity based on a common racial denominator, the Tupi Indian, whose totem animal is the *anta*, or tapir:

Essa raça aí está na teogonia brasileira, de uma unidade absoluta nos seus mitos centrais - o Curupira, o Saci, o Caapora, o Boitatá, a Iara; aí vive nos nomes sintéticos das nossas cidades e dos nossos rios, até na referência das côres prediletas, ou mais impressionantes, registada no número resumido dos vocábulos que as exprimem - *piranga, jubá, tinga, una, obi*; aí está no gênio da nossa língua, com expressões mal saídas da própria terra, molhadas da impressão inicial; aí vibra nas danças originais brasileiras, em que o cateretê se infiltrou modificando até os saracoteios africanos. Mas, principalmente, essa raça vive em nosso gênio, a um tempo dócil e meigo, intemerato e agressivo, acolhedor do estrangeiro, mas rebelado aos seus menores gestos de domínio. Essa raça, que se dizia descendente da *anta*, o maior mamífero da América, contribuiu enormemente na formação da nacionalidade e parece mesmo predominar sobre tôdas as outras. De sorte que tôdas as raças estrangeiras que para aqui vierem terão no tupi uma espécie de denominador comum...¹³

In the same way that Salgado's ill-informed *ufanismo* leads him to take the *anta*, rather than the capivara, as the largest American mammal, he also exaggerates the racial importance of the Indian at the expense of all the subsequent immigrant elements, including the African. Even Bilac's by now outdated racial trinity of Portuguese, African and Indian is rejected in favour of the Romantic myth of an exclusively Indian/white identity: "A música brasileira, longe de ser a 'flor amorosa de três raças tristes', é a nheengara dos guerreiros nômades, de mãos em pala sobre os horizontes, meio terna, meio cansada, com um sentimento formidável da vida" (op.cit., pp.39-40). Not surprisingly, Couto de Magalhães receives more than one mention during the text for his observations on the influence of Indian/white miscegenation as an adapting, stabilising force for the coloniser. Elsewhere, too, Salgado has indicated Magalhães'

13. Plínio Salgado, *Despertemos a Nação!*, *Obras Completas*, vol.10 (São Paulo: Editora das Américas, 1955), p.40.

O Selvagem, published fifty years previously, as one of the chief sources for the movement's concept of Brazilian racial identity.¹⁴ Indeed, a whole chapter of O Selvagem is dedicated to "cruzamentos" and "raças mestiças", including some observations on the assimilation of certain characteristics of indigenous poetry into the culture of Brazil.¹⁵ They are clearly the source for Salgado's notion of the Tupi language as evidence of a psychological integration between man and earth, something he explored in a contribution to the Revista de Antropofagia (see Chapter 8, pp.540-41), as well as in "A Anta e o Curupira":

O que eu quero frisar é a situação em que nos encontramos, em face de tôdas as outras línguas, dispondo, como dispomos, de palavras mal brotadas do contacto entre o homem e a terra, com caracteres onomatopaicos ou sínteses de impressões numerosas, portanto dinâmicas e vivas, em contraste com aquelas oriundas de analogias verbais ou convenções assentadas em acepções clássicas, transformadas em código de expressões tão inexpressivas como os códigos telegráficos (Despertemos a Nação!, op.cit.,p.44).

What is significant about the many parallels between Salgado's theory of race and that of Magalhães is not so much the fact that *Verdeamarelismo* is derivative, but rather that one of its chief sources is half a century old; that is to say, that the *verdeamarelistas* derive their myth of a pre-eminent, Indian/white *mestiçagem* from a text written in a totally different economic and social context: that of the latter years of the Second Reign, before the great waves of immigration and before industrialisation, when Brazil was still a plantation economy, and when the progressive stages of the Abolition of slavery were creating a labour crisis which some believed could be resolved by the recruitment of Indian manpower. By this selective and anachronistic use of source texts,

14. Interview between Plínio Salgado and author, Brasília, December 1969, Héglio Trindade, Integralismo..., op.cit., p.46.

15. General Couto de Magalhães, O Selvagem, ed. comemorativa do centenário da 1ª ed. (São Paulo: Itatiaia, 1975), pp.64-66.

Salgado ignores the intervening half-century of intensive European immigration which so dramatically transformed the racial and cultural face of Brazilian society.

Only such a crude simplification as this could sustain the other elements of Salgado's neo-Indianist mythology, such as its mysticism. The telluric intuitiveness which Salgado derives from the Indians' language becomes, towards the end of the essay, the basis of a projected return to the primal integration of man and nature. That experience of cosmic unity, a psychological legacy of the nation's tribal ancestry, will enable the modern Brazilian to achieve total, integrated national unity:

A psicologia das lendas; a comunhão do homem com a Natureza, plasmando os mitos e entretecendo os episódios; o caminho marcado pelas içaçabas com seus desenhos soturnos de grossos traços abemolados como as cantigas; a correspondência íntima das palavras do "abanhenga", ou do "nheengatu", em que a onomatopéia surpreende primeiros contactos do homem com a selva, em que a amplitude da significação das raízes vocabulares e as variações flexionais engendram a prodigiosa eucaristia cósmica, onde o tempo, a noite, o dia, os pássaros, a indumentária, tudo tem as mesmas origens interjetivas, - porque o Homem só complicou as coisas e separou-as, depois que o raciocínio veio entrando em conflito com a imaginação, e catalogando tudo, como um gramático (op.cit., p.50).

The symbol of that national unity, "essa síntese de unidades étnicas, de identidades humanas e de características de idades" (p.52), is the Curupira of Salgado's title, the mythical protector of the Brazilian forest and a universal figure within the country's indigenous and popular folklore. But the mythology of *Verdeamarelismo* also has a dynamic, geographical dimension. The ancestral tribal spirit inherited by the modern Brazilian takes the form of a nostalgia for the West, for the boundless interior that has yet to be conquered. It clearly does not offend Salgado's sense of historical irony that one of the chief representatives of this neo-colonialist nostalgia, the *mameluco*

bandeirante, spent much of his energies slaughtering and enslaving the race which had contributed so much, both racially and culturally, to his own nationalist identity. Quite the reverse he seems able to accommodate this contradiction by interpreting Conquest as simply another stage in the epic history of Indian migrations, which itself included the Tupi invasion of the coastal lands occupied by the Tapuias. It was the same reasoning which allowed the historian Varnhagen to justify the reintroduction of the *bandeiras* and the renewal of extermination policy against the Indians in the nineteenth century. As the prodigious "clearer of paths", the *anta* or tapir is the natural totem animal for this spirit of nationalist neo-colonialism:

("Unidade Nacional")

Essa unidade, é possível que repousa na identidade das raízes étnicas, que fizeram de quarenta milhões de homens uma só família perfeitamente caracterizada pelas suas tendências, pelos sentimentos e aspirações etc. (...)

E é bem possível que essa unidade racial, em contacto com o qual o *jus sanguinis* das políticas emigratórias não resiste à passagem das gerações, tenha origem no elemento tupi, a grande raça que derivou - como os árias dos platôs asiáticos -, dos araxás iluminados do Oeste, no roteiro épico das pirogas empenachadas, pelo Amazonas, até Marajó, depois pela costa, arrasando os broncos tamias, ou na marcha através das florestas, rumo do oceano, até encontrar as planuras predestinadas de Piratininga, exclamando - "Che tapya": "eu sou a anta". Não é absurdo acreditar-se que essa raça plantou no sangue do branco, nas primeiras núpcias étnicas abençoadas por Anchieta e a que presidiu João Ramalho, a nostalgia do Oeste, que determinou a investida *bandeirante*, vitoriosa naquele rumo e que até hoje nos indica o caminho predestinado da Nação (op.cit., pp.38-39).

The poems of Cassiano Ricardo's Rorrões de Verde e Amarelo, published in 1926 and dedicated in part to Menotti del Picchia and Plínio Salgado, are clearly an attempt to apply the lessons of "A Anta e o Curupira" to literature. This lyrical account of Discovery and Conquest takes at face value Salgado's notion of tribal language as the medium of an intuitive relationship between man and nature. It attempts to

reproduce that pantheistic mysticism at the level of poetic imagery which is used to describe a spiritual struggle taking place within the Amazonian forest, the struggle of the spirit of nationalism in the realisation of its Destiny. Although generally ill-defined, an integral part of that Destiny is the triumph of Catholicism, the spiritual bulwark of the *verdeamarelistas'* traditionalism. In the poem "Destino", for instance, the landscape itself is an image of this vision of History on the march, clearing a path in the forest for the advent of Christian civilisation:

E, desde esse dia, em caminho da glória,
 uma pátria selvagem carrega nos ombros
 - por entre bandeiras de verdes palmeiras
 e o sangue a escorrer como pingos de luz, -
 carrega, por nós, cinco estrellas
 em fórma de cruz!¹⁶

In "Mata Virgem", the religious dimension of this nationalist struggle takes the form of a martyrdom suffered by the forest, a crucifixion from which it emerges eternally merciful and abundant:

Ah! como eu te compreendo, ó minha patria! ó minha terra!
 na selvagem lição que este symbolo encerra.
 Pódem os matapaus, de tentáculos verdes,
 com os seus aneis de bronze agarrados á vida,
 subir do chão ao caule, alastrar-se na fronde alta e florida;
 podem os matapaus de tentáculos verdes,
 crucificar-te inteira, haurir-te a seiva jovem;
 a tua maldição...é uma penca de frutos,

"Rito Selvagem", meanwhile, takes the *pororoca*, the great tidal surge sweeping backwards along the river Amazon, as the symbol of the messianic prophecy of liberation heralded by this momentous March to the West; it is the same image which Raul Bopp was to put to a rather different use in his Cobra Norato:

16. Cassiano Ricardo, Borrões de Verde e Amarelo (São Paulo: Helios, 1926), p.21.

E quando em furia a massa liquida se choca,
 maior do que o rumor de um ceu que desabasse,
 a alma da patria rompe as algemas de chumbo...
 O indio treme na taba; uiva o jaguar na toca.
 E ouve-se o estrondo, a interjeição da liberdade
 sem nome e sem baptismo a soluçar no abysmo
 a musica prophetica...
 é a pororóca! é a pororóca! (op.cit., p.125)

10.3. Anta - Literature and Politics

In spite of the obvious political implications of the mythology of *Verdeamarelismo*, up to this point the movement has confined itself to identifying a national consciousness on a literary and cultural level. Plínio Salgado was soon to announce the death of *Verdeamarelismo*, marking a shift away from pure cultural enquiry towards the social and political spheres of dynamic action, a change reflected in the adoption of the name *Anta*. First, though, the *verdeamarelistas* had to define where they stood in relation to the Brazilian literary tradition and therefore also in relation to the Modernist movement itself. In this respect, two articles of 1927 reveal quite clearly the contradictory and spurious nature of the *verdeamarelistas'* supposed radicalism.

In the first, "O Curupira e o Carão", the leaders of the movement, Ricardo, Salgado and Menotti, claim for *Verdeamarelismo* the role of vanguard of the Modernist revolution. The Curupira, earlier a symbol of national unity, has now assumed an iconoclastic significance in the dialectic between reaction and modernity; this mischievous spirit of the forest has taken up the struggle against its enemy the *carão*, a zoological caricature of obstinate conservatism:

Travou-se a batalha. Esta é uma crônica de guerra. Este livro marca os vários momentos da campanha. De um lado o Carão, com mais de 400 anos, cinzento, encorujado, de pernas ríspidas e sujas. Carranca e misoneísta, miolo mole e intransigente. De outro lado o Curupira: ágil, matinal, irônico, onimodo. O Espírito Velho contra o Espírito Novo. Luta de morte. Revolução. (...)

E foi depois que Curupira venceu que se trincoou em três estilhas o cristal da harmonia "futurista". Em três correntes dividiu-se o grande rio: a de Mário de Andrade com os extremistas; a do "Pau-Brasil" importado da França por Villegaignon e lavrado por Oswald de Andrade e a nossa Verdamarela, que quer conter, vivas, a alma e a paisagem da Pátria.¹⁷

Yet, in blatant contradiction of this claim to be the guardian of the Modernist spirit, Plínio Salgado then proceeds to identify his movement with the very tradition from which Mário, Oswald and the *Semana de Arte Moderna* had fought so hard to free Brazilian culture - Romanticism. In "O Brasil e o Romantismo", Salgado defines Romanticism in mystical terms as the motivating spirit of the age, an irrational, unifying force akin to that which he had found earlier represented by the Indians' cosmology and telluric language:

Um dos grandes mistérios do Romantismo é a unidade absoluta da sua força causal. Nas suas expressões mais distintas, nas manifestações mais opostas, reside um mesmo princípio, tão indecifrável que não lhe quero dar um nome. (...)

Só o Romantismo é a grande força que dirige o século. Não é uma escola: é um estado de consciência universal. Nem é bem um estado de consciência: é uma intervenção misteriosa na consciência. É, talvez, um sexto sentido que o Homem adquire: - o tato da personalidade no meio cósmico.¹⁸

Characteristically vague in his definition of this "grande força", Salgado moulds it to fit the requirements of his scheme of national integration. From a tradition concerned with individual subjectivity, the "New" Romanticism is to be the expression of a racial subjectivity, a national conscience:

Não será mais a versão objetiva do "estado de personalidade", mas do conjunto dos fenômenos reveladores da *personalidade integral*, de sorte a se evidenciarem os "fatores comuns" da raça em formação. (...)

17. Cassiano Ricardo, Plínio Salgado, Menotti del Picchia, "O Curupira e o Carão", IN Cassiano Ricardo, Seleção em prosa e verso (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1972), pp.148-49.

18. Plínio Salgado, "O Brasil e o Romantismo", Despertemos a nação!, Obras Completas, vol.10 (São Paulo: Ed. das Américas, 1955), pp.59-60.

(...) Com essa força, fazamos a unificação da consciência nacional. Com ela, rompamos tôdas as ligações com o Velho Mundo (op.cit., pp.65 & 67).

Elsewhere, in the collection of essays entitled Literatura e Política, Salgado defined more clearly the nature of his debt to the Modernist revolution. It was Modernism's questioning of the rationalist basis of art that appealed to his sense of mysticism and intuition; not the popular, subversive irrationalism of Oswald's primitive *antropófago* but the passive, regressive anti-intellectualism that lies at the centre of fascist notions of racial unity and nationalism: "A Velha Literatura, verdadeiro grilhão das forças bárbaras, selvagens, madrugadoras, do espírito da terra e da raça, nossa revolução literária derrubou-a, com todos os seus preconceitos".¹⁹ The *verdeamarelistas'* relationship to the Modernist movement is therefore an ambiguous one, combining a desire to be associated with the aesthetic revolution of 1922 with a profound commitment to anachronistic racial myths, to the "Romantic spirit" of irrationalism and subjectivism and to the Catholic tradition. It is an ambiguity which Héglio Trindade also finds reflected in Salgado's political career:

Sua ação até 1930 envolve uma contradição básica: embora engajado num partido político tradicional, participa da vanguarda da revolução estética modernista. O peso do seu passado político leva-o a integrar-se nos grupos oligárquicos tradicionais, embora sua atividade literária o estimule a romper com os padrões vigentes na sociedade (Integralismo..., op.cit., p.35).

Here, then, is the fallacy of the *verdeamarelistas'* supposed radicalism. For the majority of Modernists, the aesthetic revolution was only one dimension of the dialectic between Modernism and tradition; it

19. Literatura e Política, p.24, quoted in J.Chasin, O Integralismo de Plínio Salgado. Forma de regressividade no capitalismo hiper-tardio (São Paulo: Ciências Humanas, 1978), p.239.

was an initial and necessary preparation for the transformation of Brazilian art at the ideological level, providing the new language of expression without which the artist could not respond positively to the advent of the New Age. The *verdeamarelistas*, meanwhile, adopted no more than the rhetoric of Modernism, the call for a new national spirit, for in all other respects they preached an art of reaction, an art which turns to the past, and to a mythical version of history, for its inspiration.

As the title Literatura e Política suggests, it was at this stage that Salgado proposed to extend, or at least make explicit, the political dimension of his cultural theory, and to emphasise the dynamic and even militant elements of the mythology of *Verdeamarelismo*. This radical realignment of the movement under the name of *Anta* was eventually translated into political action with the founding of *Ação Integralista*, and the shift is clearly discernible in the new essays. At the end of 1927, Salgado wrote, in article entitled "Matemos o Verdeamarelismo!":

Num país de levantes militares frequentes e sem significação histórica, sem um alto sentido político, é preciso agirmos, embora sem ódios, e mesmo de um ponto de vista de grande fraternidade, de grande sentimento brasileiro, a fim de educarmos o povo dentro do sentimento da ordem e prepararmos a nacionalidade para uma evolução natural sob as circunstâncias do tempo e as realidades sociais que se irão criando com novos povoamentos e novos problemas econômicos.²⁰

In his later introduction to Despertemos a Nação!, Salgado clarified this change of direction: from now on, *Anta* was to be dedicated to the study of the indigenous roots of the Brazilian psychology:

Pela mesma maneira como, com os "verde-amarelos" rompi contra os chamados "modernistas" porque se desviavam do rumo de uma revolução necessária, também me senti que o "Verde-amarelismo" se estacionava num nacionalismo demasiadamente "exterior" e pictórico. Urgia um nacionalismo "interior", intuitivo. (...)

20. Plínio Salgado, "Matemos o Verdeamarelismo!", Correio Paulistano, 8/12/27.

Com Raul Bopp, atravessei muitas noites estudando a língua tupi. Líamos, de preferência, Barbosa Rodrigues e Couto de Magalhães. Essa atitude estava tão fora das cogitações políticas e literárias do momento, que ninguém nos entendeu. Uma intuição secreta me dizia, porém, que eu tinha na mão a chave para descifrar a psicologia de um povo, que seria necessário conhecer, antes de pretender dirigi-lo. Os modernistas extremados ridicularizaram-nos, depois imitaram-nos, organizando um indianismo surrealista e dadaísta, que denominaram "antropologia" [sic]. (...)

Em consequência do estudo do índio, o mistério da Unidade Nacional absorveu-me.²¹

Reassessing the movement some years later, Cassiano Ricardo explained the choice of the *Anta* "tapir" as the new symbol of the movement; he also unwittingly exposed the rhetoricism of this neo-Indianism, with its easy shift from the obligatory statements of moral outrage and social conscience to the myth-making which is his real concern:

"Anta" seria mais consentânea com nosso abrir caminhos e retomada do Oeste, com pesquisas etnográficas, aprendizagem (pela rama) da língua tupi, redescoberta de Anchieta, Brasil no original. Contra os donzéis de cintura amarrada ou punhos de renda, nada melhor que a anta rasgando varadouros em linha reta no enfoque dos problemas nacionais.

Nosso neo-indianismo sempre teve um caráter de reivindicação social.

Tanto é brasileiro um poema que consubstancia as reivindicações do operário, na cidade grande ou do homem rural moderno, como o que concretiza a situação do índio ainda hoje espoliado de seu *habitat* no Xingu, pelos grileiros e colonizadores brancos, desalmados.

Somos afinal, dizia eu, um país onde coexistem pacificamente tôdas as idades do mundo social e econômico, desde os parques industriais aos parques indígenas. O mais esquecido, porém, o mais injustiçado dos brasileiros é o aborígene que ainda nos resta. (...) Não se trata apenas do índio brasileiro em carne e osso, que está no Xingu e nem por isso deixa de ser um homem como outro qualquer, civilmente considerado. Trata-se do índio que foi o "bom selvagem", que suscitou idéias e ideologias revolucionárias, ainda vivas no mundo de hoje.²²

21. Plínio Salgado, Despertemos a Nação!, Obras Completas vol.10 (São Paulo: Ed. das Américas, 1955), pp.14-16.

22. Cassiano Ricardo, Viagem no tempo..., op.cit., pp.39-40.

In Chapter 8 (p.536) I noted Oswald's allusion to the Tupinambá legend, "O jabuti e a anta", in which the tortoise avenged his mistreatment at the hands of the tapir by killing and "cannibalising" him. Other Modernists were not slow to remark on the unfortunate, but perhaps appropriate, connotations which the *verdeamarelistas'* new totem animal evoked. Tasso da Silveira, in an article "A anta e o carapato" for the review Festa, gave the following characterisation of the animal and of the movement it represented:

Infelizes as duas lembranças.

A anta, por qué?

Porque vara as florestas em linha recta, abrindo caminho, derrubando obstaculos sem nunca desviar-se, invencível na sua teimosia? Isto é cegueira e não intelligencia. A intelligencia vae por uma via sinuosa. Porque sabe para onde vae. Não avança nunca sem finalidade. Não dispersa inutilmente as proprias forças.

Além disto, a anta é o mais inesthetico dos nosso animaes. Disforme, deselegante, pesadona...²³

Even the source cited by Salgado, Antônio Brandão de Amorim's Lendas em Nheêngatú e em Português, offers little in the way of an explanation other than the declaration: "Iandé Tapiira-mira" "Somos Gente-Anta".²⁴ This appears during an account of the legendary "Guerra de Buopé", a war of revenge, which perhaps corresponded to Salgado's militant intentions for the future of the movement. In an article of the same year in the Correio Paulistano, "A questão da Anta", however, it was Alarico Silveira who was credited with providing the new impulse and direction of the movement. Silveira had spoken of the symbolic importance of the tapir to the Tupi tribes in their great pre-Conquest migrations across Brazil.²⁵ Confirming

23. Tasso da Silveira, "A anta e o carrapato", Festa, no.2, 11/1927, p.3.

24. Antônio Brandão Amorim, "Lendas em Nheêngatú e em Português", Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, tomo 100, vol.154, 2º de 1926, p.14.

25. See Carlos Drummond de Andrade (ed.), A Lição do amigo: cartas de Mário de Andrade a Carlos Drummond de Andrade, anotadas pelo destinatário (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1982), note 12, pp.127-28.

this, Cassiano Ricardo recalls an essay, "O Sonho da Raça", published by Alarico Silveira, "mestre de nossa Tribo", in the review Novíssima, regarding those same legendary migrations.²⁶ It includes another war-cry, "yara 'rama ae recê", pointing us back to one of the movement's favourite source texts, O Selvagem, where it appears as part of the full quotation: "Ya só Pindorama koti, itamárana po anhantin, yara 'rama ae recê'. /'Marchemos para a região das palmeiras (Brasil) com a acha de armas na ponta da mão seremos senhores do Brasil'" (op.cit., p.149). Although it was later to undergo an important revision in the Manifesto Nhengaçu Verde Amarelo, this announcement of neo-colonialist intent, repeating the Tupi invasion of the Atlantic coast, together with its zoological analogue, the path-clearing tapir, anticipated quite clearly the movement's emergence into the active political arena.

Published on 17th May, 1929, in the Correio Paulistano under the original title "O atual momento literário",²⁷ Nhengaçu Verde Amarelo (Manifesto do Verde-amarelismo ou da Escola da Anta is the last document to be signed by Menotti, Salgado and Ricardo (as well as Alfredo Ellis and Cândido Mota Filho). Referring to *Anta* in the past tense, the Manifesto now defends a "nacionalismo verdamarelo e tupi", representing the final stage in the development of the movement and its ideology before its political radicalisation into Plínio Salgado's *Integralismo* and, to a lesser extent, the *Bandeira* movement led by Cassiano Ricardo.

The theories of internal colonialism, the March to the West and the irrational, intuitive nature of Indian culture, are now all subordinated to the central myth of assimilation. It is in this respect,

26. Cassiano Ricardo, Viagem no tempo..., op.cit., p.40.

27. See Carlos Drummond de Andrade, *ibid.*

perhaps more than any other, that Salgado betrays his debt to the Romantic Indianists, especially Varnhagen and Gonçalves de Magalhães, and to the latter's messianic interpretation of colonial history. Magalhães' Tamoió Indians are sacrificed in the name of a Divine Plan, the creation of Empire; they live and die only in order to fulfil that historic destiny, to be incorporated into the history and mythology of Western civilisation. In the Manifesto Nhengaçu Verde Amarelo, the Indian performs a similar function, perishing in order to form the psychological, racial and historical bedrock of the integral Brazilian spirit of national identity. Reconsidering the Tupi migrations to the Atlantic coast and their expulsion of the Tapuia tribes, the Manifesto interprets that event, not as a Conquest in its own right, but as a preparation, "uma fatalidade histórica pré-cabralina, que preparou o ambiente para as entradas no sertão pelos aventureiros brancos desbravadores do oceano".²⁸ The Tupi Indians are to be contrasted with the Tapuias, not because of their military victory against the latter, but because of their amenable attitude towards the subsequent *conquistadores* from Europe. Developing a stereotype established by Romantic Indianism, the Manifesto identifies the more nomadic, bellicose and intractable family of tribes, the Tapuias, as "o próprio preconceito em fuga para o sertão", annihilated because of their self-isolation and resistance to contact with the white invader. The Tupi, more sedentary and closer in civilisation to the European, "significa a ausência de preconceito", "surviving" precisely because of his sociability, that is to say, his social, cultural and biological assimilation into the colonising race:

28. IN Gilberto Mendonça Teles, Vanguarda Européia e Modernismo Brasileiro: apresentação e crítica dos principais manifestos vanguardistas (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1972), p.233.

(...) O português julgou que o tupi deixaria de existir; e o português transformou-se, e ergueu-se com fisionomia de nação nova contra metrópole: porque o tupi venceu dentro da alma e do sangue do português.

O tapuia isolou-se na selva, para viver; e foi morto pelos arcabuzes e pelas flechas inimigas. O tupi socializou-se sem temor da morte; e ficou eternizado no sangue de nossa raça. O tapuia é morto, o tupi é vivo (op.cit., p.234).

A history of massacres, slavery and cultural extermination is thus transformed, deformed at a stroke, into a process of integration, one, moreover, whose sole, preordained purpose is the formation of a suitably passive, irrational and "subjectively" nationalistic race:

Os tupis desceram para serem absorvidos. Para se diluírem no sangue da gente nova. Para viver subjetivamente e transformar numa prodigiosa força a bondade do brasileiro e o seu grande sentimento de humanidade (op.cit., p.233).

The *bandeirante's* slaughter of the Indian is even justified as a means of destroying "a exterioridade aborigene" in order to incorporate that psychological essence into the physiognomy of the *mameluco*.

In addition to its iniquitous misrepresentation of colonial and subsequent history involving Brazil's tribal populations, the Manifesto proposes a nationalism founded on passivity, subjectivism and irrationalism, the "Tupi" philosophy of "não-filosofia". Racial, religious and political prejudice allegedly do not exist in Brazil - "os que mais realizam são os que menos doutrinam" (op.cit., p.236) - because the absence of philosophical systems, of intellectualism, of ideology, permits an acceptance of all factors contributing to Nationality. However, the real, reactionary intent which lay beneath that apparent libertarian pluralism is suggested in the closing paragraphs: "Aceitamos todas as instituições conservadoras, pois é dentro delas mesmo que faremos a inevitável renovação do Brasil, (...)" (op.cit., p. 239). The substitute for theory and ideology is to be action, "a liberdade de ação brasileira", but

under the "objective" influence of the conservative institutions, and within the subliminal, subjective constraints of a national destiny which is the construction of the "quinta raça", the "raça cósmica": "Temos que construir essa grande nação, integrando na Pátria Comum todas as nossas expressões históricas, étnicas, sociais, religiosas e políticas. Pela força centrípeta do elemento tupi" (op.cit., p.236).

Assimilation, integration, *Integralismo*: the transition from the cultural theory to its practical political expression is virtually complete - indeed, just three years after the Manifesto's publication, Brazil's fascist movement, Ação Integralista Brasileira, was founded. With its new emphasis on the integrated, corporate identity of the nation, the suppression of ideology (except its own), and the supremacy of action, the Manifesto Nhengaçu Verde Amarelo took to its ultimate conclusion the Indianist mythology of *Verdeamarelismo/Anta*. It also signalled the disintegration of that small group of writers that had led the movement, and their political separation in the context of the 1930 Revolution. Significantly, though, their writing during and beyond this new decade remains remarkably unified and faithful to the mythology of "A Anta e o Curupira". The differences of emphasis and certain ambiguities with regard to that mythology reflect the degree to which they sought to realise their own political aspirations or to accommodate themselves within the authoritarian framework of the Estado Novo.

Menotti del Picchia's radical shifts of attitude to the experimental and indigenist phases of the Modernist movement, outlined above (pp.633-35), correspond to an essential ambivalence in his view of the relationship between tradition and progress, agrarian and industrial economies. The poems of República dos Estados Unidos do Brasil (1928)

are clearly *verdeamarelista*, even neo-Indianist, in character. "Tribo Extinta", for instance, is a lament for the massacre of the *jequitibá* tree by the "armies" of the coffee plantation; the Indianist topos of European Conquest becomes a metaphor for what the *Integralistas* saw as the industrialisation of Brazil's traditionally agricultural plantation economy²⁹:

Cacique jequitibá
onde está tua tribo?

Em teu redor
os soldados nanicós dos cafèzais
cercam-te com filas de talhões
como pelotões de polícia
prendendo um caudilho libertador
que vê findar seu drama heróico
no episódio de uma tocaia...

(...)

Cacique jequitibá,
prêso entre as rumas de café,
onde está tua tribo?

Ela se agitou com mil arcos e lanças,
com mil tacapes de mil guerreiros
disparando flechas de gaviões de penacho
contra o escudo de cobre polido do sol!
Teu estado-maior era bravo:
jacarandás cheios de cicatrizes,
perobeiras minazes,
cedros esmagando com os pés das raízes
os saltos de jaguar dos urupês...
Ipês cobertos de medalhas de flôres
e jatobás de peito tão largo
que só a flecha de fogo do raio podia trespassar!

(...)

Cacique jequitibá: no festim da tua morte
teu inimigo branco fará com teu corpo
a trave do seu teto,
o berço do seu filho
e a caixa do seu ataúde...³⁰

Just as the reactionary anti-industrialism of "Tribo Extinta" should not be confused with notions of ecological consciousness, neither

29. Chasin, *O Integralismo de Plínio Salgado...*, op.cit., p.229.

30. Menotti del Picchia, *Poesias (1907-46)* (São Paulo: Martins, 1978), pp.145-47.

should the protagonist of the poem "Jeca" be mistaken for some kind of peasant class hero. For if Menotti has by now abandoned the white, European, immigrant-orientated perspective of "A Questão Racial" and his militantly Modernist phase, this poem demonstrates that the *caboclo* remains for him a focus for highly negative, regressive views on race. Jeca is the degenerate inheritor of an heroic history of *bandeiras*; in himself an evolutionary cul-de-sac, he nevertheless provides an atavistic key to the nation's epic traditions, "o drama das raças", a "river of civilisation" which has left him stranded by the wayside:

última etapa humana
do desbravador do sertão.
Cansaço atávico feito fatalismo,
energia estagnada
por falta de façanhas e impossíveis a transpor...
Fôrça da terra anulada pela civilização,
bravura que degenerou
em preguiça mística,
lirismo romântico,
inércia sentimental...
(...)
Tu ficaste à margem da estrada,
inútil, contemplativo, documental,
com tua viola,
com teu S.Benedito,
com teu pilão,
com teu fumo macaia...
A estrada é um rio de civilização
e teu rancho um velho igarité encalhado (op.cit., pp.166-68).

Menotti has returned, then, essentially to the nostalgic Romanticism of his pre-Modernist phase, that of *Juca Mulato*, overlaid with the theories of racial degeneration and with elements of Modernist aesthetics which he has absorbed in the intervening years. It is this combination which produced the short story "A outra perna do Saci". The protagonist is another *caboclo* or *caipira*, Tião, who is convinced that the havoc being wrought on his crops is the work of the Saci, the

mischievous one-legged spirit of Brazilian folklore.³¹ As Tião himself gradually realises, however, this belief in the existence of the Saci is not to be denounced as primitive superstition, nor as a symbol of the peasant's unending poverty and backwardness. Rather it demonstrates the central theme of "A Anta e o Curupira", the notion of a cosmic, telluric, integration between man and nature. Tião's awareness of that intuitive harmony between himself and his land leads him to the same resignation and passivity in the face of his miserable condition, that Menotti attributed to Juca Mulato. The disbelief of his immigrant neighbour only reinforces Tião's mystical, nationalist solidarity with this "spirit" of his country:

(...) Alguma coisa imponderável e misteriosa o rodeava, mexendo com sua imaginação, ligando à consciência de uma coisa os seus desastres e dando uma razão aos seus minúsculos aborrecimentos. Interessava a sua vida plana, sem dramas, as forças prodigiosas ligadas ao mesmo enigma que mantinha o equilíbrio sideral e deflagrava as minas aéreas dos coriscos. Sentia-se integrado na harmonia cósmica, como uma comparsa necessária à tragédia universal. E o Saci explicava a razão da sua vida que até ontem era um choro de viola, a dor de uma topada numa raiz, a força do seu braço abrindo sulcos na terra.

- Você é danado, caboclinho... Você me aborrece, faiz picuinhas, mas eu gosto de você. Acho até graça, diabinho! (...)
...Aposto que você já me roubô espiga de mio... Ah, marvado; aquelas espiga foi tudo o que deu as roça que rocei. Tô cansado, prantei argodão, prantei arroziz, prantei o mio e você escangaiô com tudo. Mas não faiz mar. A terra é boa e, depois dêste ano, tem o ano que vem. Sina de cabrocro é guatambú no eito.³²

The novel A Filha do Inca (1930) is Menotti's contribution to the *verdeamarelista* mythology of the *Marcha para Oeste*, which Ricardo and Salgado were to elaborate more extensively in subsequent years. It exposes the limitations of the movement's neo-Indianism, especially where

31. See Luís da Câmara Cascudo, Dicionário do Folclore Brasileiro (Rio de Janeiro: Edições de Ouro, 1972), p.794.

32. Menotti del Picchia, "A Outra perna do Saci", Obras Completas, vol.III (São Paulo: A Noite, 1946), pp.166-67.

Menotti is concerned, and helps illuminate the point of divergence between himself and the other two chief *verdeamarelistas*.

Fragoso is a latter-day *bandeirante*, an ethnologist and army officer who is leading a cartographical expedition to the Caiapó mountains of the Goiás interior. After the slaughter of apparently all but one of his men at the hands of Indians, he encounters what turns out to be the penultimate stage of an advanced civilisation which is awaiting its final step towards evolutionary perfection. Although stunned by its technological sophistication and impressed by its knowledge of American culture, Fragoso discovers that this people lacks humanity. He effects his escape as they prepare to abandon Earth, taking with him an Inca princess who has been imprisoned by the "super-race" as a kind of museum-piece of ancient American civilisation.

Supported by undisguised references to the colonial *bandeiras*, then, Fragoso's expedition emerges as an heroic struggle to penetrate the mystery of the Brazilian "interior", from which he returns in partnership with the continent's indigenous identity. An episode early in the novel links this struggle to the mythology of *Anta*, as the members of the expedition witness a battle between a tapir and a lynx. Mortally wounded by the cat's claws at its throat, the tapir smashes its opponent's skull against the branch of a tree before collapsing in a mass of sinew and blood. This darwinistic struggle is a microcosm of the historical struggles or conquests which Fragoso recalls as the Inca Raymi narrates the Spanish Conquest of her people. It is just such a conquest at the hands of this alien race which he fears may befall the Brazilian nation at this moment in its evolution: "êle também e todo o seu povo poderiam,

como os Inca diante de Pizarro, ser frágil prêsas na mão dos invisíveis monstros que o rodeavam".³³

Menotti's faith in the *verdeamarelistas'* neo-imperialist mythology, based on the epic Tupi migrations and invasions of the Atlantic coastal lands, is qualified by his xenophobia, by apprehensions concerning a possible Conquest of the nation's American identity in its turn. Similarly, he appears sceptical in relation to the fascist notion of a corporate state founded on "uma autocracia disciplinadora" or "uma irreduzível consciência coletiva, mais imperativa que todos os dispositivos da lei, porque se tornou instinto da raça" (op.cit., pp.90-91). These are terms used to describe the República 3.000, but which might equally apply to the kind of political proposals being formulated by Salgado. Menotti's protagonist Fragoso shrinks before the inhuman logic of such a system, if only because it lacks another of the ingredients essential to the ideology of *Verdeamarelismo/Anta* - the appeal to emotion and to the religious sense. But if Fragoso stops short of the seductive totalitarianism of the República 3.000, he does not retreat into Salgado's neo-Indianism, with its combination of subjective nationalism, cosmic integration and irrationalism. The Indians of A Filha do Inca are grotesque caricatures, savage monsters referred to more often by the pejorative term "bugre":

E disparou de novo. A bala varou o ombro de um bugre gigante que, aos saltos, vociferando, avançava brandindo um tacape colossal. O monstro, rajado de tiras cinzento-claras ao longo do corpo nu, deu um aulido de cachorro. Atrás dêle, surgiu uma índia de grandes mamas flácidas, pendentes e oscilantes. (...)
 (...) Eram uns vinte, nus, com os dentes alvos saltando das bocas escarlates tal qual as prêsas dos gorilas (op.cit., pp.26 & 27).

33. Menotti del Picchia, A Filha do Inca, Romance fantástico (São Paulo: Saraiva, 1949), p.137.

Menotti's hero is the *caboclo*, not the Indian; indeed, the novel *A Tormenta*, published two years after *A Filha do Inca*, directly attacks the "estética indígena" of the Modernist movement.³⁴ His identification with *Verdeamarelismo* and *Anta* is only partial, based on a mythical nationalism, preferring as its symbol of indigenous American roots the "higher" civilisation of the Incas to that of the forest tribes; based on the *bandeirantes'* heroic mission to conquer the West, and on a mysticism that is not afraid to accept the European culture of scientific Progress, provided this does not threaten the historical relationship between Brazilian society and the land.

It is easier to understand, in the light of these qualifications, how Menotti was able to come to terms with Vargas' regime apparently without the difficulties experienced by the other two leaders of *Verdeamarelismo*, founded as that regime was on a radical commitment to industrialisation. For Menotti's novelistic career from 1930 onwards is increasingly concerned with the portrayal of contemporary *paulista* society and is correspondingly less dependent on the mythical, historically-based and nationalist ideology of *Verdeamarelismo*. Although still politically active as a federal congressman, he worked in a number of cultural posts under Vargas' government, as did Cassiano Ricardo,³⁵ but he appears to have played little part in the activity surrounding the alternative nationalist programmes being put forward by Ricardo and Plínio Salgado. Moreover, Ricardo recalls a debate conducted in a newspaper by Menotti and Salgado over the origins of "o leite da nossa

34. Dirce Côrtes Riedel, "Experimentalismo", IN "O Modernismo na Ficção", *A Literatura no Brasil*, ed. Afrânio Coutinho (Rio de Janeiro: Sul Americana, 1970), vol.5, p.254.

35. Miceli, *Intelectuais e Classe Dirigente...*, op.cit., p.11.

civilização"; whereas Salgado still defended the *anta*, Menotti had by now readopted the "loba latina" as his cultural parent.³⁶

The political split separating Cassiano Ricardo and Plínio Salgado comes later and is less rooted in fundamental ideological differences such as the ambivalent attitude to progress, tradition and indigenism which distanced Menotti from his fellow *verdeamarelistas*. This closer identity between Ricardo and Salgado is confirmed by the fact that both continued to pursue and develop the mythology of the *bandeira* along similar lines over the following years despite their different active political paths. Ricardo had earlier supported Ação Nacional Renovadora, Salgado's attempt to harness the more radically conservative wing of the PRP upon its schism in 1924. Although a degree of *acomodação* evidently prevented his career from suffering unduly under Vargas, he was aligned with the opposition to the 1930 Revolution. Like Salgado, he still worked for the Correio Paulistano, the mouthpiece of the PRP and of the traditional landowning oligarchy whose chief political representatives were Washington Luís and Júlio Prestes. He had already aroused some controversy with the publication of an article entitled "Não há lugar para os liberais"; the phrase "uma revolução em nome de um fantasma, o liberalismo do século XIX", with which he and Salgado responded to 1930,³⁷ could not be clearer in identifying the real, single enemy of the PRP, the *latifundiários*, of *Verdeamarelismo/Anta* and *Integralismo* - industrial capitalism. Ricardo also supported the Revolução Constitucionalista of 1932, the final attempt by the *paulista* landowning

36. Cassiano Ricardo, Viagem no tempo..., op.cit., p.40.

37. Cassiano Ricardo, Viagem no tempo..., op.cit., p.46.

and middle classes to recover the share of state power which had been lost to Rio Grande do Sul and Minas Gerais as a result of the 1930 coup.

One unexpected form that this support took was the *paulista* nationalism of Ricardo's poetry, which was amongst the most frequently broadcast on the local radio stations during the Revolution.³⁸ Some of the poems recited were taken from Martim Cererê (1928), the best received and most successful work to emerge from the *Verdeamarelismo/Anta* movement. In his own notes to the twelfth edition of the book, Ricardo describes Martim Cererê as "o mito do Brasil-menino" (op.cit., p.163). The myth, encapsulated in the evolution of the name itself, is nothing more and nothing less than the familiar story of Conquest and racial integration set out in the Manifesto Nhengaçu Verde Amarelo:

O seu nome indígena era Saci-pererê. Devido à influência do africano, o Pererê foi mudado pra Cererê. A modificação feita pelo branco foi pra Matinta Pereira e não era de estranhar - diz Barbosa Rodrigues, em seu Poranduba Amazonense - que ele viesse a chamar-se ainda "Matinta Pereira da Silva".

Dai Martim Cererê como conciliação, em que colaboram as três raças de nossa formação inicial. É o Brasil-menino. Ou melhor, o mito do Brasil-menino (op.cit., p.163).

The simple argument underlying this myth of a "Brazil in infancy" emerges from Ricardo's skeleton synthesis of the poem: the white man from across the sea comes to fulfil the quest which the Indian failed to complete; bringing the African slave with him, he is able to give the beautiful Uíara the Night for which she has asked, and from their marriage is born the race of *bandeirantes* (os Gigantes de Botas), whose pioneering exploits and *mestiço* identity form the foundation of Brazilian nationhood. Once more, in the tradition of Romantic imperialism, Conquest and slavery

38. Cassiano Ricardo, Martim Cererê (o Brasil dos meninos, dos poetas e dos heróis), 14ª ed. (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1978), "Nota da editora", p.ix, and "Nota à 12ª edição", pp.177-78.

have been retrospectively legitimised and incorporated into the *paulista* ruling class's mythical account of its own rise to power.

Not surprisingly, the Indian figures in the poem infrequently, as the brave accessory to the pioneer's expeditions westwards, or the savage obstacle who must inevitably be swept aside by the prodigious stride of the *bandeirante* in his quest for civilisation:

Que importa, entretanto, esta e aquela bandeira sejam
destroçadas pela fome ou pelo bugre?

Outros gigantes calçam botas sete-léguas.

Outras bandeiras vão atrás, vitoriosas e galhardas.

São os rios humanos de três cores, que percorrem o chão da
América.

- Tropa da gente de São Paulo que vos achais nas cabeceiras
do Tocantins e do Grão-Pará; eu, o príncipe, vos envio muito
saudar.

VII

E assim, esmagada a cabeçorra azul da última légua, o Brasil
ficou sendo o que é hoje.

No rasto da grande marcha brotaram as cidades, os cafezais;
fundou-se a nova civilização baseada no amor por todas as raças
("Argumento", op.cit., pp.5-6).

The Tupi nations, in their migration to the Atlantic coast "in search of
the Night", arrive with the same fatal inevitability to make their
encounter with the European and the African:

Parece que dois povos
tinham marcado encontro
à sombra de tal Serra,
nessa manhã sem par.
Um que vinha do Mar
seguindo a lei do Sol,
em busca de um tesouro
chamado Sol da Terra
(um novo Tosão de Ouro);

outro vindo da Terra
para os lados do Atlântico
à procura da noite
como se adivinhasse,
por estranha magia,
que havia o Mar da Noite.
Pois no fundo das águas
é que a Noite estaria ("O 'Achamento'", op.cit., pp.28-29).

Alencar's "racial democracy" is reproduced in the unlikely, historically incredible image of the three peoples stepping hand in hand to knock at the door of the "Sertão antropófago", three elements of a "cosmic race" united in a common mission to discover the West and the future of the nation:

todos três,
e todos de uma só vez,
calçaram Botas Sete-Léguas
e entre a voz que chamava (a magia)
e outra voz que mandava (a ambição)
e uma outra que não discutia (a obediência)

todos três,
de mãos dadas
(...)
bateram à porta do Sertão antropófago num tropel formidável:
"Nós queremos entrar!"
Era uma vez...

Estavam no alto da montanha.
Nenhuma pedra lhes prendia os pés.

E lá se foram
todos três ("A raça cósmica", op.cit., pp.56-57).

In 1936, Ricardo founded *Bandeira*, in his own words "Um movimento cultural, em favor de uma democracia genuinamente brasileira baseada na justiça social".³⁹ Its real objectives were described more revealingly by a regional newspaper as being to ensure "a unidade espiritual da Pátria" and to "opor uma barreira intransigente contra as ideologias venenosas e estranhas que pretendem levar o Brasil à anarquia e à ruína" (op.cit., p.112, from *A República* of Natal). Mário de Andrade was amongst those who signed the group's Manifesto, apparently in the hope of furthering his popular education projects as Director of the São Paulo Department of Culture - Mário soon had second thoughts, and withdrew his support.⁴⁰

39. Cassiano Ricardo, *Viagem no tempo...*, op.cit., p.41.

40. Carlos Drummond de Andrade, *A Lição do amigo...*, op.cit., pp.128-29.

By 1937 *Bandeira* was spawning regional groups and was gaining respectability through the approval of politicians such as Gaspar Dutra and by its support of Armando Sales in the Presidential elections. The *Integralistas* realised that the movement posed a challenge to their own brand of nationalism and they accordingly attempted to halt its propaganda success by buying and burning entire editions of its journal Anhangüera. Like all other political parties, *Bandeira* was extinguished following the institution of the Estado Novo, a development which Ricardo was able to rationalise retrospectively as the vindication of all that his group had been proposing:

Depois, entretanto, quando as coisas começaram a tomar um rumo inaceitável, o Estado Novo (sem o saber) adotou o caminho previsto pela "Bandeira" que estava certa, originalmente certa, optando por uma democracia brasileira, típica, baseada na justiça social (Viagem no tempo..., op.cit., p.115).

The fact that the Estado Novo, with its fascist-style authoritarianism, corporativism and working class repression, could be described by Ricardo as a "democracia brasileira, típica, baseada na justiça social", reveals something of the real nature of *Bandeira's* ideology. However, the latter is made more than adequately plain in the long and detailed interpretation of his movement's symbol: Marcha para Oeste (a influência da "Bandeira" na formação social e política do Brasil) (1942).

In keeping with the character of the neo-Indianist mythology of *Verdeamarelismo/Anta*, Marcha para Oeste offers a grandiose distortion of the historical role of the *bandeirantes* and their encounter with Brazil's indigenous populations, as the basis of a modern social and political order that is barely, if at all, distinguishable from that of a fascist state. When confronted with the documented evidence of the *bandeiras'*

activities (see Chapter 3, p.74), Ricardo's version is indeed appalling, not just in the extent but also in the whole nature of its mendacity.

In the first place, "o bandeirismo" is perversely discovered to be nothing more than an indigenous custom, the Indians' nomadic, migratory instinct:

A mobilidade da bandeira não era fábula, nem precisaria ser procurada em outros meios de origem, mas estava no índio. Explicava-se como força nativa ou atávica; era o ímpeto mameluco, naturalmente. (...) A marcha mameluca para Oeste repetiria, em sentido contrário e com outro objetivo, a marcha tupi referida por Martius e identificada por Couto de Magalhães em "O Selvagem". O "ya só Pindorama koti" seria substituído pelo "acharei o que procuro ou morrerei na empresa. (...) a ambição das pedras verdes encontraria o seu caminho nas tribos e nos carregadores abertos pelo bugre.

(...)

(...) A bandeira continuaria o índio (*homo primitivus migratorius*) aproveitando-o em sua capacidade para o movimento. O bandeirismo viria a ser, a bem dizer, uma espécie de nomadismo dirigido.⁴¹

The *bandeirante* was therefore the only representative of colonial society genuinely to explore and transform the Indian's impulse for mobility into a social destiny:

Em resumo: os escritores do velho mundo, os padres da catequese e os colonizadores do Brasil deformam, invariavelmente, o nosso selvagem; só o bandeirante é que o "realiza" aproveitando-o no seu nomadismo, isto é, na sua especialização psicológica para o movimento, e deslocando-o para uma nova ordem social e humana onde ele entraria em função de suas qualidades específicas. O mito do bom selvagem e o do "selvagem-monstro" ou "coisa" tiveram, na bandeira, o mais belo, o mais fecundo dos desmentidos (op.cit., note 54, p.101).

As for the arguments of those who protested against the inhumanity of these immense slaving expeditions, which wrenched communities apart, tore individuals from their traditional cultures and means of subsistence and subjected them to humiliating, miserable and

41. Cassiano Ricardo, Marcha para Oeste (A influência da "bandeira" na formação social e política do Brasil), 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1959), vol.I, pp.30 & 44.

fatal conditions of existence in an alien economy, Ricardo has a number of replies: if the Portuguese *bandeiras* had not taken this mission upon themselves, then the Spanish might have got there first; this was moreover an act of charity, liberating the Indians from a life of deprivation which obliged them to resort to cannibalism for their survival:

A descida dos índios foi uma fatalidade, pois não havia outro remédio para a pobreza do planalto. Nenhuma razão de ordem sentimental poderia justificar a vinda dos indígenas somente pelo caminho da paz. (...) Não faltam referências governamentais e históricas ao gentio bárbaro "comedor de carne humana". Se haviam de se comer uns aos outros, que os descessem os bandeirantes (op.cit., p.103).

It was certainly no violation of any concept of age-old land rights, since the Indian had no understanding of such a notion:

Aliás, é preciso ponderar: o ato do conquistador arrancando o selvagem à terra parecerá, pra nós, mais duro do que para o próprio selvagem, visto como este era nômade e infixo, não tinha a concepção da propriedade imóvel, nem o da fronteira política e moral (op.cit., p.105).

Besides, the *bandeiras*, by incorporating the Indian into their number as a first- or second-generation *bandeirante*, were not removing him from his habitat, but restoring him to the *sertão*. And if none of these pretexts was sufficient, then one further argument, the most flimsy of all, remained: if the *bandeirantes* did indeed hunt Indians, then they did no worse than many other colonisers (p.293).

The political implications of Ricardo's interpretation of the *bandeira* - the notion of "o Estado em miniatura" (p.479) - are explored in the second volume. Here a myth familiar from the Manifesto Nhengaçu Verde Amarelo, that of biological determinism, is used to justify the neo-Imperialist mission or destiny of the Brazilian people. It is now that the real meaning of Ricardo's "democracia brasileira" becomes apparent,

identified as it is with a notion of racial democracy and integration that, as I have already indicated, has precedents in Alencar and Gilberto Freyre, and is perpetuated in the myth of the Brazilian "melting-pot". The concept of "democracy" defended by all these intellectuals is the repressive face of "national unity" which serves to obscure the economic and geographical inequalities that, by necessity, set class and region in conflict. The microcosmic society of the *bandeira*, with its *mestiçagem* of Portuguese, African and Indian elements, exemplifies the peculiarly Brazilian process of "democratisation" by which all antagonisms are reduced to harmonious equilibrium:

Num equilíbrio de antagonismos, um antagonismo alimenta o outro. Na mediação, os antagonismos se destroem pacificamente. O equilíbrio não é mais uma gangorra de forças contrárias. O Brasil é sob muitos aspectos o maior exemplo de conciliação humana que o mundo tem conhecido (vol.II, 4ª ed., 1970, p.343).

The discipline of the *bandeira* actually stabilises, i.e. institutionalises and controls the social class structure in a model of the integralist, fascist state which mirrors the regimes established in Portugal, Italy and Brazil in the 1930s:

Todos os inferiores servem. A bandeira os reabilitará e classificará de novo em sua escala hierárquica social e econômica. Contra o caos selvagem ela é a ofensiva de um ímpeto que tem o seu rumo a seguir e o seu objetivo a realizar.
(...)

Aí estarão os cafuzos, os caneludos, os pés largos, os mulatos, os mestiços de qualquer procedência. Em meio dos elementos raciais díspares e inamalgáveis, rebeldes a tudo quanto é poder disciplinador e organizador, a bandeira é a geometria viva que tudo enquadra e retifica. Dentro dela tomam sentido útil as aparas e arestas humanas que a miscigenação jogou fora, que a metrópole abandonou sem lei, que os conflitos do meio tropical dispersaram, que a terra jogou à margem como detritos do latifúndio (op.cit., p.355).

The *bandeira*, in its military role in the official campaigns against the Jesuit/Guarani "Republic" of Sete Povos and the rebel slave kingdom of

Palmares, represents the unity of the State against the secessionist ambitions of subversive groups threatening its integrity:

Dentro da bandeira cabiam índios e tapanhunos confraternizados.

Não obstante, foi ela o terror dos índios e dos quilombolas, tôda vez que aborígenes e negros queriam impedir a democracia étnica brasileira, de que ela era a imagem viva e inicial.

Isto é, tôda vez que o choque se estabelecia entre raças diferentes, a bandeira era a força que reduzia tais quistos étnicos recalitrantes a uma expressão comum, neutralizando a ação unilateral de um contra o outro. Tal a bandeira contra os bárbaros do Recôncavo baiano (Matias Cardoso), e tal a bandeira contra o Estado negro (Domingos José Velho) (op.cit., p.453).

Ricardo completes this picture of the *bandeira* as an analogue of the Brazilian State by focussing on the "chefe de bandeira", the precursor of the strong leadership which would be vital to "o Brasil integral":

É ele, o chefe, um executivo que tudo ordena, o legislador que decreta as leis do sertão, o juiz que dá remédio às desavenças e queixas surgidas entre os componentes da tropa, e, assim, provê a todos os atos da vida civil.

(...)

É o que acontece, para que o Estado em miniatura, que é a bandeira em marcha, mantenha o seu estilo de vida e sua inquebrantável unidade. O cabo-de-tropa representa, então, em nossa gênese social e política, o criador do governo forte, corajosamente americano (op.cit., p.479).

By the time Marcha para Oeste was published, the kind of state it envisaged had been institutionalised in the form of Vargas's Estado Novo, but not without the efforts of Plínio Salgado's Ação Integralista Brasileira to edge it even further to the right. In April 1930, Salgado had travelled to Europe as tutor to the son of a *paulista* lawyer, and finished there the messianic novel O Esperado. He had left the country in disgust at the spectacle of parliamentary democracy and elections, sympathising neither with the *tenentismo* movement which was to bring Vargas to power, nor with the opposition Liberal Alliance, both of which he saw as collaborating in the process of industrialisation. Having severed his links with the PRP, his promise had been: "Voltarei para fazer

a nossa revolução", which effectively meant fighting for dictatorship.⁴² Unlike Cassiano Ricardo, therefore, he supported Vargas' "Provisional" government when it assumed power in October. Following two years of propagandistic activities, the Manifesto Integralista was published and the AIB founded in October 1932. The first *Integralista* march took place the following April in São Paulo, followed by demonstrations of three and four thousand "green-shirts" in São Paulo and Rio a year later and a number of violent clashes with opponents.

It is predictable yet ironic, and explicable only in terms of the movement's own irrationalism, that, in spite of its Indianist mythology and insignia, such as the greeting "Anauê!", *Integralismo* should have attracted most support in the immigrant German colonies of the southern states - exactly the region which had experienced the most violent conflicts between settlers and local Indians during the early decades of the century. In October 1935, when Salgado's Despertemos a Nação was published, a congress at Blumenau, Santa Catarina, gathered 42,000 militants. The following month saw the unsuccessful left-wing insurrection planned by the Brazilian Communist Party under Luís Carlos Prestes. Despite the imprisonment of thousands of communists, anarchists and members of the Aliança Nacional Libertadora, the *Integralistas* sought to exploit fears of another revolt just two years later, in September 1937, when they fabricated the so-called "Cohen plan" "discovered" by the Army General staff.⁴³

By this time *Integralismo* had become a political party and had gained a degree of sympathy from Vargas, even though Plínio Salgado had

42. Trindade, Integralismo, op.cit., pp. 48-49.

43. Brazil: State and Struggle (London: Latin America Bureau, 1982), p.8.

opposed him in the election campaign. But there was an attempt on Salgado's life in July and the Party's influence was dealt an unequivocal blow in November when, after a march of *Integralistas* before the President in Rio, Vargas announced a new Constitution abolishing Congress and banning all political parties. The AIB's activities turned to anti-government conspiracy, and in May 1938 Vargas was openly attacked at the Palácio da Guanabara. Salgado was exiled to Portugal in May 1939, following which the likelihood of the kind of policies proposed by the Manifesto Integralista being implemented receded further into the distance; with the advent of the Second World War, the pressures of the American market forced Vargas to cultivate the support of industry and its workers, eventually bringing Brazil into the war on the Allies' side. Salgado himself, though, emerged from Salazar's protective wing and returned to Brazil in 1945 on the deposition of Vargas, and founded the Partido de Representação Popular. Thereafter, through to the 1970s, he continued to enjoy access to a platform for his views as a member of Congress.⁴⁴

Salgado's A Voz do Oeste (Romance-poema da época das Bandeiras) was published in 1934, when the activities of Ação Integralista Brasileira were on the upturn. It is an unsophisticatedly Romantic, lyrical attempt to fictionalise the myths of Ricardo's Marcha para Oeste and of the Manifesto Nhangaçu Verde Amarelo, but with a particular emphasis, the messianic "call" of indigenous blood to the West. As is usual, the extermination of the Indian is reinterpreted as a fatalistic assimilation, the basis of the integral identity of the Brazilian nation:

44. Trindade, Integralismo..., op.cit., p.75.

O gigantesco marco das Ibiturunas (Andes) é a torre em cujas atalaias sonhou erguer-se o gênio da raça, dominador do Novo Mundo.

É lá que está a "voz que chama"...

Nem poderá ser o acaso que nos haja levado tantas vezes no rumo dos pântanos do Oeste.

O Tupi teve um grande destino: o de diluir-se no sangue europeu para criar um espírito de unidade cósmica destinado a servir de base à unidade lusitana.⁴⁵

The Indian Antônio expresses the idea in simpler terms to his ward, the orphaned *mameluco* and hero of the novel, Martinho:

Martinho sorriu.

- Pobre raça tupi de que você fala tanto! Domina ela alguma cousa? Não está desaparecendo? Os que restam são escravos e vão desaparecer.

Antônio retrucou ofendido:

Dominar não é roubar e matar, pisar e destruir. Quem destrói o inimigo não é vencedor dele porque o inimigo vence na morte. Morrer também é vencer. Dominar é plantar sangue e alma (op.cit., p.39).

The plot concerns one of the legendary *paulista bandeiras*, but at a significant moment in Brazil's history, the period of Spanish rule over Portugal and its colonies. Salgado brings together here two messianic myths: Portuguese Sebastianismo and the indigenous Voice of the West: "o messianismo lusitano que se exprime na legenda do "Encoberto", e o refluxo instintivo da raça tupi, cedendo ao irresistível apelo do sangue, que se traduz na misteriosa "voz do Oeste" (op.cit., p.79). The *bandeiras* express more than simply the ambition to accumulate wealth and slaves; they represent the project to transgress the Line of Tordesillas that defined the barrier between Spanish and Portuguese possessions in the New World, to conquer new territories and build a Brazilian Empire. The "new man", the only man worthy of that conquest, is the offspring Brazilian miscegenation; more than a simple chance encounter between two

45. Plínio Salgado, A Voz do Oeste (Romance-poema da época das Bandeiras) 5ª ed. (São Paulo: Ed. Voz do Oeste/INL, 1978), p.XXXII.

racas, it is a process of racial distillation, modelled on the fascist theories which Salgado absorbed during his stay in Europe, including the incongruous notion of an Aryan stock shaken out its dormancy by the Tupi:

Esse povo, cujo totem era o tapir (*ce tapé!* - diziam os guerreiros, declarando-se filhos da anta), dilatara-se do Norte ao Sul, desde os "potiguaras", os "tabajaras", e "caetés", aos "tupinambás", "tupiniquins", "tamoiós", "carijós" e "tapes", sem submeter-se a um processo imediato de cruzamento. Em Piratininga, porém, por circunstâncias geográficas imperativas, fundiu-se ao europeu que galgara o planalto num esforço de seleção eugênica (op.cit., pp.97-98).

The central inspiration for Martinho's mission is the legend told to him by Antônio in Chapter V, "A Grande Marcha". The Tupi nation is divided over the question of whether to abandon its lands in the interior and to voyage to the coast; the old *pagé* Abãúna warns of the disastrous consequences of such an enterprise:

- Se a Nação Tupi abandonar a sua terra, será escrava dos filhos do Sol, que nasceram na areia branca, muito longe, onde estoura o Paraná. Eles virão voando sobre as águas (op.cit., pp.49-50).

But the warrior Anhauera defies this warning and leads the youth of the tribe on the legendary, fatal migration eastwards, towards its "Conquest" of Pindorama. This momentous event in Brazil's mythical history of racial and national integration is revisited later in the novel as two rival *bandeiras* do battle. Their leaders, descendants of the two great indigenous races, come together in one more symbolic clash of the socio-political and cultural forces to which Salgado had given such importance in the Manifesto Nhengaçu Verde Amarelo: the Tapuia impulse towards conflict, alienation and extermination, and the Tupi will to conciliation and integration:

Também Caburé era um mameluco. Mas a sua natureza o atraía para a vida selvagem, para a brutalidade da antropofagia. Ele se originava da raça tapuia, inimiga irreconciliável da raça tupi. A luta entre Martinho e Caburé não era uma luta de homens; era uma luta de raças. (...)

Caburé exprimia a força bárbara, a violência dos instintos selvagens, ao passo que Martinho já se afirmava como a alvorada da nova raça, a semente de uma Nação futura (op.cit., p.179).

10.4. The legacy of Verdeamarelismo/Anta

Vargas may have frustrated the efforts of the *Integralistas* to manipulate directly the course of Brazilian politics during the years following November 1937, but the regime's shift to the right nevertheless owed something to pressure from the AIB and to the impact of its myth-laden ideology. In particular, Vargas' presidency signified the transformation of one of the central themes of the Manifesto Nhangaçu Verde Amarelo, Marcha para Oeste and A Voz do Oeste into a practical policy whose consequences Brazil's tribal peoples and the world as a whole are now being forced to confront. As early as September 1933, Vargas had spoken of the need to convert the "nomadic exploitation" of Amazônia into "sedentary exploitation", through a programme of colonisation.⁴⁶ By August 1940, this proposal had become an official programme entitled "Rumo ao Oeste", incorporating all the essential ingredients of the *verdeamarelista* mythology: the integrity of the Brazilian nation, the historical precedent of the *bandeiras*, the neo-colonialist mission to consolidate the conquests made by those pioneers; all, that is, except for the Indian, who is conspicuously absent, having been replaced by a new myth, that of the great geographical vacuum, the

46. Getúlio Vargas, "Discurso proferido a 27 de Setembro de 1933", As Diretrizes da nova política do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, n/d), p.293.

vast, uninhabited spaces of the Amazon basin. Then, as now, the myth serves the interests of those for whom the forest *caboclo*, the rubber-tapper and the Indian are simply obstacles in the way of profit:

Após a reforma de 10 de Novembro de 1937, incluímos essa cruzada no programa do Estado Novo, dizendo que o *verdadeiro sentido de brasilidade é o rumo ao Oeste*. Para bem esclarecer a idéia, devo dizer-vos que o Brasil, politicamente, é uma unidade. Todos falam a mesma língua, todos têm a mesma tradição histórica e todos seriam capazes de se sacrificar pela defesa do seu território. Considerando-a uma unidade indivisível, nenhum brasileiro admitiria a hipótese de ser cedido um palmo desta terra, que é o sangue e a carne do seu corpo. Mas se politicamente o Brasil é uma unidade, não o é economicamente. Sob este aspecto assemelha-se a um arquipélago formado por algumas ilhas, entremeadas de espaços vazios. As ilhas já atingiram um alto grau de desenvolvimento econômico e industrial e as suas fronteiras políticas coincidem com as fronteiras econômicas. Continuam, entretanto, os vastos espaços despovoados, que não atingiram o necessário clima renovador, pela falta de densidade da população e pela ausência de toda uma série de medidas elementares, cuja execução figura no programa do Governo e nos propósitos da administração, destacando-se, dentre elas, o saneamento, a educação e os transportes. No dia em que dispuserem todos esses elementos, os espaços vazios se povoarão. Teremos densidade demográfica e desenvolvimento industrial. Deste modo, o programa de "Rumo ao Oeste" é o reatamento da campanha dos construtores da nacionalidade, dos bandeirantes e dos sertanistas, com a integração dos modernos processos de cultura. Precisamos promover essa arrancada, sob todos os aspectos e com todos os métodos, afim de suprimos os vácuos demográficos do nosso território e fazermos com que as fronteiras econômicas coincidam com as fronteiras políticas. Eis o nosso imperialismo. Não ambicionamos um palmo de território que não seja nosso, mas temos um expansionismo, que é o de crescermos dentro das nossas próprias fronteiras ("Improviso", a 8 de Agosto de 1940, op.cit., pp.284-85).

In his updated edition of *Marcha para Oeste* (1970), Cassiano Ricardo points to the modern applications of the title *bandeirante*, extending it to any great entrepreneur or pioneering figure, and he announces "(...) a nova marcha. é o Brasil organizado que, de nôvo caminho para Oeste, realizando o seu 'imperialismo interno', palmo a palmo (...)" (op.cit., p.622). As far as its contemporary political relevance is concerned, he is content to quote the then governor of São Paulo, Armando

de Sales Oliveira, from his description of Brecheret's newly inaugurated sculpture, the Monumento dos Bandeirantes:

Os homens, surpreendidos numa subida, caminham para o alto: é o idealismo paulista em ação. Alguns ajudando com o braço a puxar o batelão, com o outro, sustentam companheiros desfalecidos de fadiga ou de febre: é a solidariedade indispensável para o triunfo. Dois bandeirantes, os chefes, vão na frente, a cavalo: é o princípio da autoridade, o mais forte esteio da civilização que o comunismo tenta destruir. As figuras decrescem em tamanho: é a hierarquia, inseparável da disciplina, e um dos mais belos princípios da organização social, porque permite ao que está no posto mais baixo ascender por si mesmo à posição mais alta (op.cit., p.645).

Indeed, while some of the more banal applications of the name have included a television channel and a mark of aeroplane, its mythical associations have also been put to more sinister uses. In July 1969, the anti-communist forces of the military dictatorship set up Oban, or Operação Bandeirantes, the specialised anti-guerrilla unit notorious for its brutal methods of torture.

As an example of the "nova marcha" of the modern *bandeira* in the economic sphere, Ricardo refers to Amazonian petroleum-extracting projects and to the massive Transamazônica road-building scheme. In 1966, SUDAM (Superintendência do Desenvolvimento da Amazônia) and Operação Amazônia were created to attract investment to the region and create an infrastructure for the exploitation of its natural resources. June 1970 saw the introduction of the Cr\$200 million Plano de Integração Nacional for road-building and colonisation, immediately followed by the Transamazônica plan, a 15,000 km road system designed to relocate 5 million people from the North-east and South in a "Land without people for people without land".

As a result, the 1,000 Parakanã Indians who had remained isolated until the construction of the Transamazônica have been reduced to about 350 due to diseases transmitted through contact. Amongst the dozens of

other tribes whose lands were invaded by this scheme, were those occupying the Xingu National Park, whose northern corner was decapitated.⁴⁷ After a 14-year struggle, the Txukarramãe Indians were driven to blocking the BR-80 highway and taking a number of government officials hostage in order to secure the return of their lands.⁴⁸ The Projeto Polonoroeste, in the Western Amazonian state of Rondônia, is a World Bank funded road-building and settlement project that threatens the survival of about 6,700 Indians from 34 different tribal groups, as a result of deforestation and consequent loss of hunting grounds, introduced diseases and simple loss of land.⁴⁹

More recently, a further 5,000 Indians are at risk from the immense Grande Carajás Programme in Eastern Amazônia; funded by European, American and Japanese private banks, by the World Bank and by a US\$600 million EEC loan, the project is designed to export iron ore from the world's largest deposit via a 900 km railway to the port of São Luís, as well as to exploit gold and other mineral resources, electrical energy from the Tucuruí hydroelectric complex, aluminium smelting facilities on the coast and the agricultural resources of the region. Hired gunmen have been employed to evict peasants and tribal peoples to make way for the scheme, and "relocated" Indian groups have become culturally disoriented and increasingly dependent on government aid, as well as suffering the health problems caused by extensive flooding and the use of defoliants. A third of the entire area occupied by 77 Indian

47. Suzanne Williams, "Land Rights and the Manipulation of Identity: Official Indian Policy in Brazil", Journal of Latin American Studies, vol.15, Part 1, May 1983, p.145.

48. Survival International News no.5, 1984, p.1.

49. "The Impact of World Bank Policies on Indigenous Peoples", Survival International Review no.43, pp.91-100.

reserves in the greater Amazon basin has by now been illegally requisitioned by mining companies for prospecting purposes.⁵⁰

A further dimension of the post-war policy of economic integration for the Amazon region is the issue of Brazil's territorial integrity in the face of perceived international challenges to its frontiers. In a prophetic note to his Marcha para Oeste, Ricardo warned the Government Indian Agency, the S.P.I., to guard against the possible attraction of Indian groups inhabiting border regions to the neighbouring nations with an interest in those areas of Brazilian territory. As early as 1934, this preoccupation with national security led to the linking of the S.P.I. to the Ministry of War as a "Department of Special Inspection of Frontiers".⁵¹ More recently, late in 1986, Brazil's National Security Council (CNS) announced a programme, named Calha Norte, for the military occupation, colonisation and economic development of the region north of the Amazon and Solimões rivers, along the borders with Colombia, Venezuela, the Guyanas and Suriname.⁵² A frontier zone, up to 150 km wide, will be created within which the demarcation of Indian territories will be prohibited. This will spell disaster for some of the largest tribal communities in the country, the Tukano and Tikuna of the north-west Amazon, and particularly the Yanomami of Roraima, who number about 9,000 and who have been struggling to secure land rights for some years. The justifications cited by the CNS for the Calha Norte programme include the threat from left-wing guerrillas such as the Colombian M-19 forces and revolutionary movements such as that taking place in Suriname; possible

50. Companhias mineradoras em terras indígenas no Brasil (Rio de Janeiro: Centro Ecumênico de Documentação e Informação, 1986).

51. Luiz Peltrão, O índio, um Mito Brasileiro (Rio de Janeiro: Vozes, 1977), p.23.

52. "Brazil's Indians face grim future", Guardian, 16/12/86.

territorial claims by neighbouring countries which are already involved in similar disputes with each other; attempts to establish cocaine plantations in the region; invasions of the region by foreign interests seeking to exploit its mineral resources, and the supposed ambition of tribal communities such as the Yanomami, who inhabit both sides of the Brazilian-Venezuelan border, to establish single, independent nation-states within Brazilian territory.

The brief of the Government Indian Agency FUNAI, created in 1967 with the task of demarcating all indigenous lands by the end of the following decade, was laid down in the Indian Statute as the "harmonious and gradual integration of the Indian into the national community". The economic significance of this process was made crystal-clear by the second President of FUNAI, Costa Cavalcanti, who in 1969 announced: "We do not want a marginalised Indian, what we want is a producing Indian, one integrated into the process of national development".⁵³ Repeated efforts have been made in recent years to revive the Interior Ministry's legislative proposal of 1978, for the "compulsory emancipation" of the Indian, in an attempt to eliminate those fragile rights that stand in the way of the white community's total seizure of tribal lands, to destroy the very notion of Indian identity and to make Costa Cavalcanti's dream of a "producing Indian" a reality.

A prime example of FUNAI's overt policy of integration is the so-called programme of Apóio às Comunidades Indígenas which the agency is administering with funding from the World Bank for the Indians affected by the Programa Grande Carajás. In January 1984, the Brazilian Association of Anthropology withdrew its collaboration on the programme

53. Luiz Beltrão, O índio brasileiro..., op.cit., p.26.

in protest at the failure of its organisers to confront their major responsibilities - the guarantee of Indian land rights and health care; most of the US\$ 13.6 millions provided have been devoted to administration and to the elaboration of an infrastructure designed to incorporate the Indians into the various economic schemes created by Carajás.

But by far the most scandalous attempt to manipulate the notion of Indian integration, one more than worthy of the fascist rationale of the *verdeamarelistas*, was Colonel Zanoni Hausen's proposal in January 1981, to form a "Committee for the Identification of Criteria of Integration". Indians who ceased to be legally defined as such would become "integrated" and consequently lose their special rights, including access to their traditional territory. With the immense economic pressure for the liberation of indigenous lands to industrial concerns, the legal determination of Indian identity becomes a critical issue. Zanoni Hausen's blatantly racist and pseudo-scientific "criteria", the notorious "Indicators of Indian Identity", included characteristics such as "primitive mentality", "undesirable biological, psychic and cultural characteristics", "the form and profile of the nose", and "psycho-social maladjustment", as well as blood-group tests. Fortunately denounced and discredited publicly by the Brazilian Anthropology Association and the São Paulo Pro-Indian Commission, the document was nevertheless a serious attempt to deprive unknown numbers of Indians of their legal identity as well as of their lands, to "integrate" them into the status of non-Indian.⁵⁴

54. Suzanne Williams, *op.cit.*, pp.137-38.

So then, we should not be tempted to dismiss the mythology of *Verdeamarelismo/Anta* as an eccentric aberration, an exception that confirms the acceptability of other, less overtly perverse accounts of the history of Indian/white relations. If the stereotype of the irreconcilable Tapuia and the sociable Tupi seems especially repugnant in the service of Salgado's fascist ideology, it is because his mythology manages to supersede what have always been the two poles or alternatives of Brazil's Indian policy - extermination and assimilation. *Verdeamarelismo/Anta* simply takes to its logical conclusion the rigidly dualistic perception of the Indian with which Brazilians have struggled in the attempt to legitimise their occupation of tribal lands. The Indian who resists that occupation is the intractable savage, "alien to the social pact" (in Varnhagen's words) and therefore doomed to isolation and ultimate destruction. The "good" Indian who accepts that occupation becomes "integrated" into the occupying society, exchanging a primitive, alien culture for the progressive, wealth-accumulative, market economy of the Western world and becomes civilised, assimilated, Brazilian. The *verdeamarelistas'* Indian, meanwhile, survives only "subjectively", as a biological determinant in the blood of his/her conquerors, therefore eliminating the problem of a real social presence that might call into the question the integral identity and unity of the nation. What is more, as a messianic voice calling for a return to the West, this Indian actually collaborates in, even assumes responsibility for, the *bandeirante's* neo-colonialist enterprise to open up the unexplored tribal lands of the interior.

The fourth Indian, missing from these accounts of the continued process of Conquest, is the marginalised, alienated *caboclo*, for whom

"integration" means being offered the lowest status in a society where malnutrition and landlessness are the norm. This Indian is the real and tragic product of all those perceptions which are concerned, not with guaranteeing the integrality of the Indian's culture, means of subsistence and, most important, of his/her land, but with rationalising the violation of those rights.

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