

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

Thesis submitted in accordance with the
requirements of the University of Liverpool
for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy
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VOLUME I

Precisamos acordar desse pesadelo. Entender que não será dizimando povos inteiros, com a sua cultura, sua história, que se construirá o progresso e o desenvolvimento. O Brasil precisa olhar para trás. Precisa ver por onde tem passado a máquina do progresso, lembrar os mais de 700 grupos indígenas sacrificados durante os últimos 400 anos.

(We must wake from this nightmare. Understand that it will not be by decimating entire peoples, with their culture, their history, that progress and development will be built. Brazil must look back. She must see the path which the machine of progress has taken, remember the more than 700 Indian groups sacrificed over the last 400 years.)

(Ailton Krenak, Coordenação Nacional - UNI (União das Nações Indígenas), Pela Sobrevivência dos povos indígenas do Vale do Javari, São Paulo, 1986).

for Glen

The Indian in Brazilian Literature and Ideas (1500-1945),

by David Helier Treece.

Abstract

At a time when the relationship between Brazil's tribal population and the dominant, non-Indian society is reaching a new, crucial phase, this thesis proposes a critical reassessment of the literary and other intellectual writing on the subject from Conquest to the Modernist movement of the twentieth century. It is the author's chief contention that the evolution of this tradition is closely bound up with the history of official state policy towards the Indian, which in its turn is a revealing touchstone of the broader political developments and cultural debates that have shaped Brazilian society.

Out of this writing emerges a basic ideological contradiction that is common to almost all the authors examined, whether they are unreservedly contemptuous of tribal culture and of any notion of indigenous rights, or genuinely outraged by the colonial process of exploitation and extermination. The vast majority of these writers share the assumption that the Indians' survival, indeed their liberation and self-realisation as civilised human beings, can only be achieved through their integration into the economy and culture of the West. Yet in reality, as the literature reveals, "integration" has served only to rationalise the seizure of tribal lands and the exploitation of Indian labour. In the name of national unity, conciliation and integration, the country's ruling class has sought to deny the right of the tribal peoples to their identity and self-determination in order to strengthen its own economic and political power.

After a general, introductory discussion of these ideas, Chapter 2 proceeds to show how theological images of the Indian altered in response to the increasingly powerful role of the Jesuit missions as suppliers of Indian slave labour to the settlers of the early Colony. Chapter 3 explains the emergence of the Indianist epic in the second half of the eighteenth century as a response to the replacement of the Jesuit missions by a system of lay directorates. Chapters 4 to 6 move on to Independence and Empire, and chart the history of the Romantic Indianist movement, whose three distinctive phases reflect the growth and disintegration of a parliamentary consensus guaranteeing the power of the landowning class. At the ideological level this is expressed in the distortion and eventual accommodation of Liberal principles to the realities of slavery and political marginalisation under Empire.

Chapter 7 brings us to the turn of the present century, and examines the role of a new capitalist class and its Positivist ideology in reassessing ideas of race and nationality, broadening the cultural debate and preparing the ground for the Modernist writing of the 1920s. From the latter, two writers, Oswald and Mário de Andrade, stand out as the first to challenge the traditional myth of integration, Oswald with his faith in a dialectical synthesis of the primitive and modern, based on the revolutionary, subversive power of the former, Mário with his more critical, tragic account of the historical relationship between the two cultures. By contrast, the movements of *Verdeamarelismo* and *Anta*, which occupy the final chapter, return to the mythology of racial integration, bringing to it a new, irrationalist element, in an attempt to arrest the advance of industrial capitalism and to promote a fascist-style "integralist" nationalism based on mystical rural values.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1.

For almost five centuries the priests, writers and politicians of Brazil's ruling class have spoken for, about and against the Indian. Rarely has this been in defence of one or other of the basic human rights due to the country's indigenous population. Most often, it has been with the object of seizing something that belonged to the Indian: his/her soul, the key to the tribal's collective identity and therefore to the means of his/her social control; indigenous culture, or those aspects of it which could be either sanitised or distorted in the service of political ideology; but most important, the Indian's labour and land.

Asked in 1977 whether he wished to tell his own version of his people's history, Xavante chief and, until recently, federal congressman Mário Juruna replied: "Podia ser. Tenho compromisso. Tamos treinando pra começar história dos Xavantes. Será primeira vez índio conta história dele mesmo, e não branco. Branco mente muito. Ih... como mente. Sei ler pouco, sei escrever pouco, mas sei história de meu povo. Como branco vai saber?"¹ Since then, the first book entirely written by an Indian has been published, Umúsin Panlõn Kumu and Tolamãñ Kenhíri's Antes o mundo não existia, which retells the story of the creation of the world according to the mythology of the Desãna people.²

In the last fifteen years or so, the Indian has indeed discovered a voice, and has forced the white community to listen. An Indian chief

1. Edilson Martins, Nossos índios Nossos Mortos, 4ª ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Codecri, 1982), p.203.

2. Umúsin Panlõn Kumu, Tolamãñ Kenhíri, Antes o mundo não existia (São Paulo: Cultura, 1980).

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has been elected to the Federal Congress; April 1980 saw the founding of the União das Nações Indígenas, whose representatives speak at international human rights fora, and battle with government institutions for the introduction of an alternative indigenist policy. Most dramatically, achievements have been won in the area of direct, organised action: in March 1984, after a fourteen-year struggle to recover lands isolated by the building of the Transamazônica highway, the Txukarramãe Indians of the Xingu Park took a number of government officials hostage, blocked the highway and confiscated the ferry linking it across the Xingu river. The Indians' demands were won, as well as the dismissal of the then President of FUNAI, the Government Indian agency.³ More recently, in January 1986, having marched to Brasília and occupied the Presidency of FUNAI, the Kaingang of Santa Catarina secured legal recognition of lands illegally expropriated from them at the beginning of the century through deeds issued to immigrant colonists.

A progressive sector of the national society, too, has accompanied and supported these developments; national and international organisations, groups linked to the Catholic Church being amongst the most important, have mobilised world-wide opinion in attempts to persuade the Brazilian government to guarantee threatened territorial and other rights essential to the Indians' survival. The ruthless exploitation of the mineral and agricultural resources of the "unpopulated" Amazon basin, eagerly looked on as a panacea for the country's economic and social ills, is now being effectively questioned by the new ecological thinking. Brazilian writers and artists have made a number of responses to this moment in the political and cultural relationship between the Indian and

3. Survival International News no.5, 1984, p.1.

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the national population. Amongst contemporary painters, Rubens Gerchman, Carlos Vergara and particularly Glauco Rodrigues with his series Terra Brasilis have incorporated indigenist themes into their work. The cinema, too, has been questioning some of the myths of Indian/white relations; Ivan Kudrna's Diaçuí, shown at the 1984 Rio de Janeiro Film Festival, reexamines the nationally celebrated marriage in the 1950s between a *sertanista* and an Indian, in the light of more recent evidence of the failure of whites and Indians to exchange societies and cultures successfully. And in the field of literature, writers from sociological, journalistic and theatrical backgrounds have produced a number of works offering critical viewpoints and a respect for the value of indigenous traditions on their own terms, as part of a living regional culture.⁴

Fundamental to this new wave of positive interest is a change in attitude towards the issue of the Indian and development. The coexistence of microchip technology and nuclear power with the tribal society of stone-age man is in many ways expressive of the perverse social inequalities which divide Brazil and Latin America. Yet, despite the undeniable hardships borne by Amazonian tribespeople and the material advances of white civilisation, the desirability of the Indians' integration into the cultural and politico-economic systems of Western

4. The following texts represent a completely new direction in the history of writing on the Indian which, for reasons of time and space, necessarily falls outside the scope of this thesis:-

Antônio Callado, Quarup (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1968); Darcy Ribeiro, Maira (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1976); Márcio Souza, Teatro indígena do Amazonas (Rio de Janeiro: Codecri, 1979); Antônio Callado, A Expedição Montaigne (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1982); Darcy Ribeiro, Utopia selvagem: saudades da inocência perdida: uma fábula (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1982); José Louzeiro, O Verão dos Perseguidos (Rio de Janeiro: Record, 1983); Edilson Martins, Makaloba: diário litero-alucinógeno de brancos e índios (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1983).

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society is no longer as unproblematic an assumption as it once was. A major blow to that assumption has been the reevaluation of the five centuries of contact between Indian and white in Brazil, whose accumulative results in terms of human suffering, humiliation and slaughter are comparable only to the worst cases of genocide known to world history. As a euphemism for the relationship between Indian and white Brazilians, the very word "coexistence" really belongs to the language of official history, for its neutral, conciliatory tone conceals a deplorable reality: from an estimated pre-Colombian population of 2½-5 million the indigenous tribes of Brazil were reduced through slavery, imported disease, cultural erosion, economic exploitation, territorial expropriation and plain extermination to less than 100,000 by 1957.⁵

While the effectiveness of the new pro-Indian movement against the massive government and multinational interests threatening the Indian remains to be seen, we are left with a body of writing that occupies a sizeable tradition within the history of Brazilian literature and ideas. The Indian has repeatedly been invoked by both dominant and dissident artistic movements and ideologies as the most authentic symbol of Brazilian culture and nationality. From the first awakenings of nationalist thought and sentiment the Indian began to hold a prominent place in Brazilian literature, inspiring a number of eighteenth-century epic works and rising to pre-eminence as the symbol for an entire

5. See Darcy Ribeiro's Os índios e a Civilização, 4^a ed. (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1982), pp.255-56, and John Hemming, Red Gold: the conquest of the Brazilian Indians (London: Macmillan, 1978), pp.487-92. These two works, the first a sociological analysis of the effects on the Indians of the last 100 years of contact with the national population, and the second a historical account of the first three centuries of Indian/white relations, are indispensable to any study of the subject. See also Aconteceu, Povos indígenas no Brasil 1980, Especial 6, (Rio de Janeiro: Centro Ecumênico de Documentação e Informação, 1981), p.1.

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movement that lasted for some fifty years during the last century. With the great economic and cultural transformation celebrated by the Modernist movement of the 1920s, the Indian was reconsidered as a fertile source of material for renewed debates on the question of nationalism and development. Radically divergent interpretations of tribal culture and history provided ideological frameworks for two movements at opposite poles of the political scene - the revolutionary primitivism of Antropofagia and the fascist obscurantism of Verdeamarelismo/Anta.

1.2.

Any analysis of the literature on Indians which does not take into account the political and historical issues described above is liable to be, at best, artificial and academic, in the most negative sense of the word and, at worst, simply dishonest. Unfortunately, as far as Indianism is concerned, it is just that kind of analysis, "innocently" undertaken in a virtual ideological and historical vacuum, that has tended to constitute the rule.⁶ It is my contention that, given the traditionally close identity between literary, intellectual and political life in Brazil, this literature will only be understood satisfactorily when confronted with the

6. See, for example, David Miller Driver, The Indian in Brazilian Literature (New York: Hispanic Institute in the United States, 1942) and Maria da Conceição Osório Dias Gonçalves, "O índio do Brasil na literatura portuguesa dos séculos XVI, XVII e XVIII", Brasília, vol.XI (Coimbra, 1961), pp.97-209. David Haberly's Three Sad Races: Racial Identity and National Consciousness in Brazilian Literature (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983) includes chapters on the nineteenth-century authors Gonçalves Dias and Alencar, within a general theory of racial identity that is essentially Thomas Skidmore's concept of "whitening" (Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974)). The book's weakness is its narrow dependence on this argument, and on the notion of a perennial Brazilian search for the Lost Eden, at the expense of any deeper consideration of the society which produced these writers. More promising directions are suggested by a number of shorter, individual studies; in particular, Antônio Cândido's

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broader historical context of the writer's relationship to his/her society and, more specifically, to the official and unofficial Indian policy of the day. One of the consequences of this approach is my examination of political texts, journalism, letters etc. alongside strictly fictional works, as well as a number of neglected minor novels. This is particularly the case in the chapter on the First Republic, a period of little "Indianist" literature as such, but during which an intense debate conducted in the newspapers and in academic circles determined the course of indigenist policy for much of the twentieth century and prepared the ground for the Modernists' diverse perceptions of the Indian.

Meanwhile, if there is to be any justification of the study of Indianist literature and of its relevance to the reality of tribal problems, it must rest on this fact: the writers concerned are, on the whole, the same group of people who made, influenced or were themselves affected by changes in official and unofficial Indian policy. The myths and perceptions which they have recorded, as well as adding to our general comprehension of the development of Brazilian culture, will allow us to understand how Brazilians have attempted to rationalise their seizure of tribal lands and the decimation of the indigenous population,

chapters on O Uruguai and Caramurú in Literatura e sociedade (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1967) and Vários Escritos (São Paulo: Duas Cidades, 1970); Nelson Werneck Sodré's "As razões do indianismo; O indianismo e a sociedade brasileira", História da literatura brasileira (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1969), pp.255-94; Silviano Santiago's articles, "Roteiro para uma Leitura Intertextual de Ubirajara", IN José de Alencar, Ubirajara, 4ª ed. (São Paulo: Ática, 1976), pp.5-9, and "Liderança e Hierarquia em Alencar", Vale Quanto Pesa (Ensaio sobre Questões Político-Culturais) (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1982), pp.89-116, and Walnice Nogueira Galvão's "Indianismo Revisitado", Esboço de Figura: Homenagem a Antônio Cândido (São Paulo: Duas Cidades, 1979), pp.379-91, vital because it recommends a re-evaluation of Romantic Indianism as part of a complete study of the literature on Indians, including the most recent developments.

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and perhaps better enable us to recognise such attempts when they occur in the future.

At the centre of this process of rationalisation is a myth to which the country's ruling class has returned repeatedly, not only in its formulation of Indian policy, but also in its efforts to conceal the profound class, ethnic and geographical divisions in the country as a whole, that might call its own legitimacy into question - the myth of Integration, and its twin sister, National Unity. The marginalisation of large social groups, including the indigenous population, from participation in the political process and from the fruits of economic development, has been replaced in the official and literary accounts of Brazilian history with an image of progressive assimilation and unification, an image which is accompanied by the search for a uniform definition of *brasilidade*.

Literary Indianism, whilst representing an intensely nationalist, *indigenista* view of Brazilian culture, is also characteristically anti-regionalist in its nationalism. Despite the existence of some 140 different tribes and their respective social and cultural characteristics, and a variety of problems in relations with white Brazilians according to geographical and economic conditions, the figure which emerges is that of a uniform, generic "Indian". The only important literary distinction to be drawn between tribes, the dual stereotype of Tupi and Tapuia, is based, not on regional factors but on a spurious notion of degrees of primitivism in tribal culture, and has its own particular ideological *raison d'être*, as I shall show. The historical encounters between Indian and white that are depicted in Brazilian fiction are chosen specifically for their relevance to the social and political formation of the country

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as a whole or of the dominant states of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. The clearest example of this process occurs in the eighteenth-century epic poem by Santa Rita Durão, Caramuru, in which a fictitious and impossible confederation of tribes is gathered from all corners of the country to oppose the white "man of fire" and his chosen allies. The defeat of that confederation enables Caramuru's conquest to symbolise the total subjection of the Indian *en masse* to European political and ecclesiastical rule and, by extension, the submission of the entire Brazilian colony to Portuguese Imperial domination.

The literary generic Indian also corresponds to a sociological phenomenon comprehensively analysed by Darcy Ribeiro: the Indian whose contact with Western economic systems and cultures has reduced his/her tribal individuality to a simplified, negative form of identification *vis-à-vis* the white, Christian or "civilizado" (Ribeiro, *op.cit.*, p.234). While all the latter terms may be unreliable as definitions of the non-Indian and may be just as applicable to the Indian himself at his various levels of acculturation and racial assimilation, the distinction Indian-Brazilian nevertheless remains a meaningful one. Like the Jew and the gypsy in their relation to the societies of the West, the Indian remains a non-Brazilian to some extent because he and others continue to consider him as such. Contributing to this view, writers tend to present the Indian as the archetypal "other", in terms only of his amenity or resistance to integration into national society, rather than as the inhabitant of a specific geographical environment with its own social problems. For this reason a large number of Indianist works take the form of a kind of tourist literature, narrated by an outsider for whom the jungle and its indigenous inhabitants are an intractable mystery.

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However, a local literature born out of a real and prolonged historical contact between Indian and white populations does exist. The cultural dominance of the central-southern states, a consequence of their economic and political hegemony, has led to a neglect of such manifestations of regional literature, especially that of Amazônia. When examining eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Indianism the literary historians invariably refer only to the already familiar works of national significance. But an analysis of the nineteenth-century Amazonian novel Simá, for instance, will put the mainstream of Romantic Indianist literature into a different perspective; and the recently rediscovered epic A Muhraida will add to our understanding of the relationship between the use of that genre and the Indianist theme in the eighteenth century, a field presently only occupied by two works, O Uruguai and Caramuru. The attention given here to these and other neglected minor works may, I hope, encourage a better understanding of regional as well as national culture.

1.3.

Nevertheless, throughout these texts as well as the main body of writing on Indians, the single most important determining principle is the dialectic between marginalisation and integration. For Darcy Ribeiro, the Indian is most accurately defined, not in terms of his own racial or cultural attributes, but in terms of his failure to integrate into the national population:

Indígena é, no Brasil de hoje, essencialmente, aquela parte da população que apresenta problemas de inadaptação à sociedade brasileira, em suas diversas variantes, motivados pela conservação de costumes, hábitos ou meras lealdades que a vinculam a uma tradição pré-colombiana (op.cit., p.254).

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Ribeiro's Os índios e a Civilização was originally commissioned by UNESCO as an account of the progressive and successful assimilation of the Indian by the peculiarly Brazilian process of "racial democracy". But his conclusions did not match the assumption on which the proposal for the project was based:

Com efeito, de todos os grupos indígenas sobre os quais obtivemos informação fidedigna, podemos dizer que não foram assimilados à sociedade nacional como parte indistinguível dela. Ao contrário dessa expectativa, a maioria deles foi exterminada e os que sobreviveram permanecem indígenas: já não nos seus hábitos e costumes, mas na auto-identificação como povos distintos do brasileiro e vítimas de sua dominação (op.cit., p.8).

O nosso estudo, apesar de referir-se apenas ao século XX, conduz a outra interpretação, segundo a qual não houve assimilação das entidades étnicas, mas absorção de indivíduos desgarrados, ao passo que aquelas entidades étnicas desapareciam, ou se transfiguravam para sobreviver (op.cit., p.424).

Os fatos examinados permitem afirmar que a condição de brasileiro e a de indígena são tão opostas e tão distintas que não se pode falar de uma assimilação do indígena mesmo dos mais aculturados. Em lugar da assimilação, o que prevalece é uma acomodação penosa que concilia certa participação na vida nacional com a perpetuação da identidade étnica discrepante (op.cit., p.428).

Nevertheless, in stark contradiction to these conclusions and to a variety of historical evidence, the vast majority of the literature examined in this study perpetuates the myth of integration and assimilation as the desirable and successful outcome of Indian/white relations. Even more important, the same "success" has been given an extended significance in many of the texts to embrace various kinds of social, racial and political harmony purported to characterise the history of Brazil. The concepts of "democracia racial", "luso-tropicalismo", "brasilidade" and the ideologies of "Rumo ao Oeste", Integralismo and "conciliação" have all drawn heavily on the notion of a fully assimilated indigenous presence in the Brazilian physiognomy, psychology and

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culture, and of a history of cordial cooperation of the races in the construction of the nation.

The roots of this notion of integration are to be found in the approach taken by those intellectuals involved in the earliest colonial relations with the inhabitants of the New World: the Jesuit missionaries. The evangelical or civilisatory mission and the colonialist process of integration have been inseparable ever since 1494, when Pope Alexander VI entrusted the Castilian and Portuguese crowns with the conversion of the indigenous populations of the Indies in return for a political and economic monopoly over those dominions. As an analysis of a variety of Indianist texts will show, the missionary/convert relationship has continued to symbolise the entire complex of cultural, political and economic levels at which the process of colonialist domination works, whether in the context of foreign imperialism or that of internal neo-colonialism.

Anthony Pagden's study, The Fall of Natural Man: the American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology, sheds some important light on this fundamental link between theological and philosophical views of primitive man and the politics of colonialism. Pagden examines the sixteenth-century debate in which Spanish theologians attempted to define the ecumenical status of the newly-discovered South American Indians, in the light of Aristotelian theory of natural slavery. In the first place, the participants in the debate all shared a view of evangelisation in the New World as an historical inevitability, the final step in the cultural evolution of primitive societies towards their acceptance into the world community or *oikumene* - Christendom:

For Las Casas, no less than for Vitoria, culture is primarily the medium through which men learn to exploit the God-given potential in nature. Once this initial culture-acquiring stage of

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human development has been reached, the social order of each race begins to grow in complexity, until it finally reaches the level of civility immediately prior to the final step forward. This step is, of course, conversion to Christianity - and through conversion the acquisition of true *scientia*, the access to a fully evolved cultural world. Thus the Roman empire preceded the coming of Christ himself and the "empire" of the Mexican and the Inca preceded the coming of the Spaniards.⁷

However, for the proponents of just war and natural slavery, such as Vitoria and Sepúlveda, the obstacle which prevented the Indians from taking this final step was their "barbaric" condition. The acts of sodomy, bestiality and cannibalism attributed to the Indians constituted a violation of the natural order and demonstrated their inability to distinguish between the rigid categories which divide up the world; like their failure to develop a literature, this evidence of irrationality barred them from the community of men and confined them to the status of barbarians.

Bartolomé de Las Casas' Apologetica historia represented a radical departure from this view, in the first place because it revised the concept of barbarism, discriminating between four categories which had previously been lumped together:- the barbarism of the non-Christian, an essentially ethnocentric prejudice which assumes the primacy of the colonising culture in relation to that of the colony; the *relative* barbarism which is the quality of "foreignness" displayed by an individual in being unable to understand the language of another society; the barbarism of the individual who has lost moral control over him or herself, a definition which Las Casas found particularly appropriate to the conduct of many Spaniards in the New World, and the *absolute*

7. Anthony Pagden, The Fall of Natural Man: the American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology (Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp.142-43.

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barbarism of the true natural slave, the *barbaria simpliciter*, who is unable to interpret the laws of natural justice or to understand the language of his own society (op.cit., pp.126-34).

In practice, Las Casas considers this last category to be a very rare occurrence, and he applies only the first two of his definitions to the American Indian; thus the Indian's is a relative barbarism, separating him from the rest of humanity only by degree and not in essence. In support of this, much of the Apologetica historia is devoted to a description of the non-Christian cultural achievements of the New World that were usually ignored by the Aristotelians, and to explaining how Amerindian culture differed radically from European norms, something Pagden considers to be the "first piece of comparative ethnology". A more extensive and influential contribution to this relativistic view of indigenous culture was the sixteenth-century missionary José de Acosta's Historia natural y moral de las Indias. Believing in the value of empirical knowledge, De Acosta wrote from his experience of direct personal contact with indigenous societies; his account of Indian mores conveys a great sense of novelty, an awareness of the unique nature of American culture and the need to understand it on its own terms, using new language.

Thus the critical step forward which paved the way for the modern discipline of ethnology was the European's recognition of other cultures as having a validity and existence in their own right, and not simply as perverted or barbarised forms of European, Christian civilisation. The history of Indianist literature and indigenist policy shows, however, that until very recently this advance in ideas had not been absorbed by intellectuals in Brazil. In both artistic and political spheres, it has

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been the assumption that tribal groups would, as a desirable and natural matter of course, become "civilised", abandoning their own forms of social organisation, subsistence agriculture or nomadic economy and traditional beliefs to be integrated into the national economy and society with its infinitely preferable religion and technological marvels. Simultaneously, the political and social integrality of Brazil as Colony, Empire and Republic has regularly found a symbolic confirmation in contemporary Indianist works of the respective periods. The eighteenth-century epic poems O Uruguai, Caramurú and A Muhraida, written at a critical time for the Jesuit missions in the colony, all conclude with the submission of entire Indian tribes to colonial rule, and the no less important drama of religious conversion, very much with the sense that the Indian is being brought into the fold of the righteous community.

Nineteenth-century Indianism presents a more complex picture of socio-political and race relations and develops a theme which gives further credibility to Anthony Pagden's account of the theological debate surrounding the Amerindian. The integrity at stake during Empire is both that of a federation of states, and the stability of a master/slave plantation economy - a small minority of rural oligarchies and their political representatives with a large majority of black slaves, coloured freemen and middle class whites, all alienated from the machinery of power. It is in this context that an important literary stereotype evolved to become an almost standard element in any Romantic Indianist work - the Good and Bad Indian, or the Tupi and the Tapuia.

One of the major linguistic and ethnic groupings, particularly as understood by nineteenth-century scholars, the Tupi tribes were considered to possess one of the most highly developed cultures to be

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found within Brazilian territory, producing sophisticated ceramic and vegetal artefacts, sleeping in hammocks and practising advanced forms of agriculture. Their relatively pacific character and receptiveness to the seductive attractions of Western technology have contributed to the fact that they have suffered a greater degree of detribalisation, disintegration and assimilation than other groups (see Ribeiro, *op.cit.*, pp.250-51). Writers of fiction have therefore tended to make the Tupi warrior a special kind of hero who legitimises the political power of the plantation baron, defending the Imperialist ideology of integration and the civilisatory process with Liberal, Romantic values such as freedom and redemptive love. The most typical and best known example is Peri, the Guarani Indian of José de Alencar's novel of the same name, but there are many more.

Meanwhile, the Tapuia or, as they are more modernly known, the Jê tribes (e.g. the Timbira or Canela), have traditionally attracted a reputation for intractability, extreme aggressiveness and primitive culture, living primarily as semi-nomadic hunter-gatherers, sleeping on the ground in improvised shelters and producing few hand-made artefacts. They have consequently been portrayed in literature as the villainous, negative counterpart of the Tupi, representing a constant military and moral threat to the security of the ruling *fazenda* community, rejecting its economic and social structure, values and religion, and invariably caricatured as the devil incarnate, devouring their victims raw on the battlefield.

The intentionality behind this stereotype immediately becomes suspect when we realise that the classification of Tupi and Jê in terms of cultural evolution is itself inappropriate and erroneous. For while

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there is a greater cultural proximity between many Tupi tribes and the white frontier populations with which they have come into contact, this in fact represents a similar specialised adaptation to the particular environment which these groups share i.e. tropical rainforest. Jê Indians such as the Canela are by contrast highly adapted to life in areas of dense scrub vegetation, a habitat that prohibits the use of heavy agricultural or domestic implements, pottery or canoes, of anything which might hinder the task of food-gathering. Nevertheless, that lifestyle is ordered by a complex and conservative form of social organisation; the tribe is divided into two exogamic groups subdivided into seven matrilinear clans in four age groups, whose location in the village is related to the universal elements, celestial bodies, colours and the cardinal points. The Canelas' adherence to this highly evolved social structure has enabled them to resist the military, economic and cultural pressures that have absorbed many other tribes into national society (Ribeiro, op.cit., pp.360-65); as a result it has offered ideal material for a stereotyped "Bad Indian", the primitive barbarian who refuses to recognise and be reconciled to the only legitimate social order, that of the white rural patriarch. The same stereotype has also served to assuage the national collective guilt for a history of extermination committed against the Indian.

1.4.

Indianist writing since the nineteenth century has also explored the myth of integration on another level, that of biological or racial assimilation. In the earlier texts of the Romantic Indianist movement, inter-racial sexual attachments are always tragic in their outcome, for in

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the context of recent political Independence and the struggle for Liberal reforms, the colonial relationship between Portuguese *conquistador* and Indian is necessarily seen as an oppressive one. During the second half of the nineteenth century, however, the consolidation of the coffee economy and a stable succession of conservative, non-reformist governments is reflected by a more conciliatory view of miscègenation. Rather than denouncing the historical injustices of colonialism, the marriage of Indian and white becomes an attempt to define contemporary society and culture. It appears in its most characteristic form in the novels of Alencar and is absorbed by late nineteenth-century racial thinking with its notion of *mestiçagem*, into which the African element is finally admitted. For, remarkable though it may seem, during most of the fifty years of the Indianist movement, the presence of a majority of black slaves and coloured freemen in Brazilian society is rarely acknowledged in the literature. This is normally explained by a plausible argument: that the fundamental role of the slave in the coffee economy of the Empire precluded the adoption of the African as a literary symbol of Brazilian nationality.

But a different perspective on the problem may be more revealing. If it is true, as Sérgio Buarque de Holanda and many others have suggested,⁸ that the myth of Indian ancestry was adopted by the Romantics as an expression of political Independence, this still does not explain why the Indianist movement lasted so long into the Second Reign, to the end of the 1870s, in fact. Rather than simply an alternative nationalist symbol to the figure of the African, the Romantic Indian

8. Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, "Prefácio literário", Obras Completas de Domingos José Gonçalves de Magalhães, vol.II (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Ministério da Educação, 1939), pp.X-XI.

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matured to become the basis of a rationalisation of the major social inequalities of Empire and in particular, slavery. The principal instrument of this rationalisation is the stereotype of the freedom-loving Indian and the resigned, submissive African, one that, like the Tupi/Tapuia stereotype, is based on a misrepresentation and distortion of cultural differences. While it is certainly true that the Indian's primarily hunter-gatherer, semi-nomadic lifestyle made him rebel instinctively against any kind of captivity and forced routine labour, it is equally true that large numbers of Indians were and have continued to be exploited as slave labour. The decline in their economic importance was largely due to the fact that they were unable to resist the diseases and excessive physical demands which the white labour regime brought with it. On the other hand, the myth of the African as one reconciled to a destiny of servitude was encouraged by his efficiency as a worker already accustomed to the sedentary agricultural lifestyle of his native culture and resistant to the diseases imported by the Europeans. The existence of the *capitão-do-mato* or slave-hunter, however, the history of the *quilombos* or run-away slave hideouts and the participation of blacks in the many class and racially inspired revolts during Colony and Empire, must explode the myth of the African as predestined for, resigned to his/her slavery.

José Honório Rodrigues' book Conciliação e Reforma no Brasil illuminates and confirms many of the ideas raised so far. It examines the notion of conciliation, both as an overt ideology implemented during the Second Reign and as a basic characteristic of Brazilian political history; that is, the tendency for governments to avoid fundamental economic or social reforms by applying concessional, palliative measures in order to defuse any immediate crisis and prevent open, bloody conflict:

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O Poder foi sempre um círculo de ferro, onde é difícil penetrar, mas quando um ou uns iguais do grupo minoritário se mostra ou mostram-se rebeldes, é possível fazer a conciliação, buscar a coexistência evitando o conflito, e fazendo à maioria as concessões mínimas indispensáveis ao êxito sempre temporário, sempre transferível para adiante, sempre realizado em tempo travado, longo, de forma lenta e gradual.⁹

Interestingly, Rodrigues cites the sixteenth-century shipwrecked sailor Diogo Alvares Caramuru as the archetypal conciliator of Brazilian society, the natural survivor living in harmony with both European and Indian (op.cit., p.31). I shall examine the literary and historical evolution of this semi-mythical figure in more detail, especially as it reflects the ideological changes involved in the shift from a colonial to an independent Romantic literature. But while the early Indianists reject the Caramuru myth, seeing only too clearly the historical contradictions of this symbol of Conquest and conciliation, it might be expected to have experienced a resurgence of interest during the course of the Second Reign. For a writer such as Alencar, though, the notion of conciliation was to be represented, not as a question of heroic initiative but as the inherited psychology of a whole nation, a modern, *mestiço* race of *brasileiros*. For if, in many other Indianist works, insurmountable social and religious barriers always prevent the erotic union of Indian and white, the protagonists of Alencar's O Guarani and Iracema are successfully united, if briefly, and produce (so this is implied), a new generation of *mestiço* offspring. The Indian is no longer destroyed by his encounter with the colonial invader, to sink back into a mythical, historical past; instead he survives into the future, as a democratising,

9. José Honório Rodrigues, Conciliação e Reforma no Brasil: um desafio histórico-cultural, 2ª ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1982), p.13.

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moderating force within the racial and psychological makeup of the modern Brazilian.

This idea of racial democracy, so dear to Alencar, has remained an important tendency within Brazilian sociological and political thought in the twentieth century. In Gilberto Freyre's influential Casa Grande e Senzala (1933), as Carlos Guilherme Mota has shown,¹⁰ class and racial conflicts are eclipsed in the attempt to reconstitute and interpret the "Brazilian character" through a psychological and cultural approach to the national past. That national past, for a writer with close links and loyalties to the declining rural aristocracy of the First Republic, is primarily that of patriarchal *fazenda* society. Consequently, Casa Grande e Senzala largely consists of a re-evaluation of the psychological and cultural contribution of African and Indian to the national character, as a result of social and sexual contact with the white patriarch. An example of this approach is Freyre's often repeated suggestion that the modern Brazilian inherited his/her habit of frequent showering and hair-combing from the Indian; a less contentious explanation might, of course, argue that the Brazil's tropical climate makes such a habit desirable to anyone, regardless of race or culture!

When Casa Grande e Senzala was published, a movement of important cultural and political dimensions was reaching maturity, which relied upon the same myth of miscegenation and racial integration, although in a different historical context. As the power of the traditional family oligarchies of São Paulo and their political representative, the PRP, began to wane, its disenchanting intellectuals trod widely divergent paths

10. Carlos Guilherme Mota, Ideologia da cultura brasileira (1933-1974) (Pontos de partida para uma revisão histórica), 4^a ed. (São Paulo: Ática, 1978), pp. 57-58.

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in their search for a place or *acomodação* within the new political structure. The reaction of Menotti del Picchia, Cassiano Ricardo and Plínio Salgado, in order of increasing radicalness, was a shift to the extreme right, a reassertion of traditional rural values against the modern urban culture of industrial society, and a militant, populist nationalism with a strong irrationalist streak. The historical symbol which successfully united these elements was the *bandeirante*, the legendary pioneer, Indian-killer and -slaver and hunter of precious stones, whose long and dangerous expeditions were responsible for substantial territorial gains, extending Brazil's western frontiers to their present limits.

In their fiction and politico-historical texts, Ricardo and Salgado re-elaborate and idealise the figure of the *bandeirante*, condoning or understating the extent of the atrocities he committed against the Indian, even reconciling him to the Indian by virtue of their racial ties. For these writers, the *mameluco bandeirante*, *mestiço* of Portuguese and indigenous blood, carries within him the mysterious tradition of Indian beliefs and emotions which draw him back to the mythical Brazilian Far West. The idea of the modern *bandeirante*, the Brazilian patriot inspired by the intuitive psychological or spiritual presence of the Indian, is central to the ideology of the political movement founded by Plínio Salgado - Integralismo, a Brazilian variant of European fascism. *Mestiçagem* of Indian and white thus continues to symbolise the notion of political and social integration, this time at the service of a totalitarian ideology. Amongst the historical distortions and contradictions of Integralismo, one of the more interesting ironies is its appeal to sectors of the largely German immigrant populations of the

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southern states, with their tradition of racist thought and the recent memory of bitter conflict with the local Indians.

Although the rise of the dictator Getúlio Vargas put a virtual end to Integralismo as a significant political force in Brazil, the *gaúcho* President's policies fed on similar myths; the policies of corporativism and internal colonialism are variations on the theme of integration and the indigenous call of the *mestiço* pioneer to the Far West. Moreover, the "Indianist" mythology of Verdeamarelismo/Anta has turned full circle since Vargas' initiative to translate the policy of Rumo ao Oeste into a practical programme of Amazonian development, and is once again used to the detriment of the same Indians who first provided its symbolic imagery. A 1984 exhibition of photographs in the Salesian Indian Museum in Manaus demonstrated the collaboration between Salesian missionaries and the National Postal Service, with its so-named Bandeirante aeroplanes, in the task of "integrating" the Indian politically and socially into national society. Accompanying images of Indian children dressed in paramilitary uniform, waving Brazilian flags and lined up as if on parade to meet these modern pioneers and agents of civilisation, the captions read as follows:

Para os mais distantes e para os mais carentes, além da mensagem da fé, o apoio e a afirmação de integrar a todos no mundo dos homens válidos. Crianças do trinômio FAB-missionário-índio de Taraquá (missão salesiana) responsável pela educação e integração à pátria brasileira de centenas de alunos nas sete escolas em povoados indígenas. Ontem, através das selvas e rios os bandeirantes desbravaram e conquistaram a Amazônia. Hoje através dos vôos do correio aéreo nacional, auxiliam sua integração.

Integration, as a policy of geographical, economic, political and social incorporation of all regions, classes and races into one homogeneous identity known as "Brazil", has been an almost compulsive obsession for governments of this huge, unwieldy country. Even an

otherwise dissident historian such as José Honório Rodrigues is able to affirm, in a chapter "Tese e antiteses da história do Brasil":

A integridade territorial, a unidade linguística e política e a homogeneidade do povo são as maiores vitórias do nosso processo histórico. Elas se completaram apesar de várias discórdias. As diferenças regionais, sociais e raciais - quanto mais escura a pele mais baixa a condição social - não impediram a unidade. Todos se sentem igualmente brasileiros, dos mais modestos aos mais poderosos (op.cit., p.130).

What this "Brazilianness" effectively means, students of anthropology, sociology and culture will no doubt be pondering for some time to come, with few satisfactory answers other, perhaps, than that of a nationalist myth imposed by a centralist, integrating ideology.

Meanwhile, the anthropological evidence of Darcy Ribeiro and others has conclusively discredited the myth of integration as far as the Indians are concerned. One of its principle fallacies is the inevitability of material and cultural improvement for the Indian assimilated into national society; in reality, the Indian has access only to the lowest, most deprived echelon of Brazilian society, that of the farm labourer or rubber-tapper, whose economic conditions offer a worse, not better, alternative to tribal society. In explaining this misconception Darcy Ribeiro implicitly makes the link between indigenist and national politics which I have drawn above. Both preach the integration of disadvantaged, marginalised groups into national society, yet both have achieved only further marginalisation and deprivation:

Aqueles que só podem admitir o índio como um futuro não-índio devem compreender que a assimilação depende menos de uma política indigenista que das condições de vida da população total do País. Quando o lavrador gozar de maior amparo, for dono da terra que trabalha, e libertar-se das condições de exploração em que hoje estiola, estará alcançada uma das condições básicas para a assimilação do índio já aculturado (op.cit., p.197).

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Alfredo Bosi has referred to the same recent shift in sociological thinking, the "viragem" as he calls it, precisely in connection with the ideology of integration:

Antes da viragem, os sociólogos rematavam as suas brilhantes descrições do mundo operário ou do mundo rústico brasileiro auspiciando a integração das camadas pobres no sistema racional inclusivo. Fora da integração funcional na esfera "desenvolvida", a ciência só via "anomia" e "regressão". Hoje, o que se lastima é precisamente a rapidez e a violência da "integração" a qualquer custo que destrói a natureza e ameaça os valores de dignidade e solidariedade familiar e vicinal do pobre dando-lhe, em troca, laços de dependência económica mais apertados. Não se tratava, portanto, de esperar pela integração na rede da produção dominante, mas de pôr a nu a irracionalidade do sistema global.¹¹

Part of this contemporary critique of the irrationalism of a capitalist system which has produced such marginalisation, dependency and poverty, has been the reappraisal of Oswald de Andrade, whose writing on the Indian, primitivism and development, together with that of Mário de Andrade, stands apart from the other works examined in this study. Although emerging out of the same movement which produced the right-wing mythology of Verdeamarelismo/Anta - 1920s Modernism - Oswald's Manifesto Antropófago and Mário's Macunaíma represent two totally original, constructive attempts to confront the relationship between Brazil's developing and primitive cultures.

For Oswald, the appeal of indigenous culture is not its conciliatory receptiveness to European conquest, its capacity for integration, but precisely the opposite: its resistance to colonial subjugation, its sceptical view of the dominant culture and its unsophisticated, primitivist perception of experience; the Indian is adopted as a symbol of cultural and political subversion. Antropofagia

11. Alfredo Bosi, "Um testemunho do presente", IN Carlos Guilherme Mota, Ideologia da cultura brasileira..., op.cit., pp.ix-x.

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draws on a different kind of irrationalism that is not the obscurantist subjectivism of Anta but the new Freudian psychology of the unconscious, and the subversive, revolutionary power of language as explored in Dada and Surrealism. The central symbol of this ideology of subversion is the theme of cannibalism, which the Antropófagos interpreted at its ritualistic level; that is, the assimilation of the victim's courage and other positive qualities through the consumption and digestion of his body. In itself a subversion of the dominant mythology of tribal "integration", then, Antropofagia also proposes a new response to the technological, cultural and economic pressures to which the primitive Brazil was becoming increasingly exposed with her entry into the modern industrial world: Brazil could only retain her economic and cultural independence and primitive identity by a self-possessed act of "cannibalism", selectively devouring and digesting the culture, technology and capital of the developed world in such a way as to make them her own, to "totemise the taboo".

Although more sceptical than Oswald about the possibility of a synthesis between the primitive and the modern, Mário was no less convinced of the link between primitive and popular culture, their common experience of political and economic marginalisation yet their centrality to any genuine discussion of national identity. The "rhapsody" Macunaíma is both the pinnacle of Mário's project to reincorporate those cultures into the mainstream of Brazilian art, and also a tragic vision of their betrayal and alienation as a result of their exposure to the modern capitalist world. It is a vision sadly confirmed by the history of Indian/white relations in Brazil before and since. The mark of Mário's artistic integrity is his refusal to rewrite that history, his

determination to offer it as a grim, shameful experience upon which to construct a better future.

In his essay, Ensaio sobre a música brasileira, Mário implicitly denounced the dishonesty of those Indianists and neo-Indianists who have proposed a national art falsely inspired by the "integration" of the Indian into national society. This appeal for truth and responsibility stands as a fitting preface to any account of the Indian's place in Brazilian culture and ideas:

(...) 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.¹²

12. Mário de Andrade, Ensaio sobre a música brasileira, 3ª ed. (São Paulo: Martins, 1972), pp.15-16.

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2.1. Introduction

The figure of the missionary accompanies the Indian throughout this history like a shadow; his image is an ambivalent one, like that of some black-robed guardian angel: for some a protector against the cruelty and exploitation of the white colonist, for others a saviour leading the Indian out his/her barbaric, heretical darkness into the light of the Christian community. Still others have recognised in him an Angel of Death, the insidious advance-guard of the colonising process, shattering the Indian's cosmology, social structure and collectivist culture so as to prepare him for a class- and labour-based economy.

To its credit, during the last two decades the Catholic Church in Brazil has more or less renounced this latter role and, in its attempts to identify with the country's poor and oppressed, has been providing genuine support to the Indian's struggle for adequate health care and land rights. Meanwhile, the Protestant missionaries have now replaced the Jesuits as the self-appointed agents of "civilisation", profoundly disrupting indigenous societies in their aim to bring "the Word" to the "Bibleless Tribes" and incorporate them into the "world community".¹

But for two centuries up to its expulsion from Brazil and the rest of the Portuguese Empire, it was the Society of Jesus which determined and regulated the tribal communities' "integration" into white society. The political and economic access of the Church to the human dimension

1. See, for example, Søren Hvalkof and Peter Aaby (eds.), Is God an American? An Anthropological Perspective on the Missionary Work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) (Copenhagen/London: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs and Survival International, 1981).

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of the colonial enterprise was guaranteed from its inception; on 7th June 1494, Pope Alexander VI signed the Treaty of Tordesillas which, as well as dividing up the territories of South America between the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns, also imposed upon them the task of converting the land's native inhabitants to the Catholic faith. The founding of the militant Society of Jesus in 1539 was the other major step in the Papacy's project to extend internationally its defences against the encroachment of the Protestant Reformation.

It is not coincidental, then, that the first two centuries of writing on the Indian are almost exclusively the work of the Jesuits. This is a fact of inestimable importance to the later development of Indianist literature, since it was the Jesuits' detailed accounts of Indian culture and colonial relations that were the predominant sources for these writers, rather than any contemporary ethnographical texts. The myths and stereotypes of the eighteenth-century Indianist epics and Romantic Indianist literature, although overlaid with Enlightenment and Liberal ideology, are to a large degree inherited from this early Jesuit tradition. Moreover, it is itself a hybrid tradition, formed out of the mythological and theological preconceptions and expectations of a Medieval Europe about to step into the New World, and out of the missionaries' own increasingly embittered experience of the colonial reality, as they found their dream of mass conversion continually threatened and frustrated. Indeed, if the texts examined here do reveal any development, it is this rapid shift from the euphoric optimism of Discovery, when the hospitable Indian apparently offered an infinite potential for Christian virtues, to sceptical disillusionment, as the same Indian discovered that, in return, he was being offered disease,

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exploitation and alienation. In a kind of second Fall, the naked, edenic innocent is transformed into a bestial, satanic monster.

2.2. The *tábua rasa*: Vaz de Caminha's Letter to D.Manuel

If Pedro Alvares Cabral's "discovery" of the Brazilian coast in April 1500 was accidental, the impulse to explore and colonise tropical South America was nonetheless fired by a whole complex of medieval myths and expectations of both theological and secular origin.² Nostalgia for a Golden Age of economic and spiritual plenitude is a characteristic response to moments of major political and social change, whether as an expression of conservative reaction or as a means of legitimising new, progressive systems of thought and behaviour. Portugal, with her rising mercantile class and redundant, land-hungry aristocracy, her commercial expansion to Africa and the East, and her Counter-Reformation, was experiencing just such a moment in common with the rest of Europe. As the limits of the known world rapidly expanded, the Golden Age acquired a geographical dimension, merging with legends of paradisiacal lands or Christian kingdoms overseas. The wishful thinking of Medieval Christendom, in its desire to uncover a universal ecumenical community, had preserved since the second century A.D. the legend of a non-Christian people living in Asia, whose way of life was essentially, though unconsciously, Christian. From the twelfth century, the country of Prester John perpetuated for the Portuguese this myth of a wealthy, devoutly

2. These are thoroughly examined in Sérgio Buarque de Holanda's Visão do Paraíso: os motivos edênicos no descobrimento e colonização do Brasil (São Paulo: José Olympio, 1969).

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Christian kingdom;³ the belief that Prester John's kingdom lay somewhere south of the N. African Arab territories was one of the justifications for the Portuguese voyages initiated by Henry the Navigator.

Through a long list of such examples, Biblical, Classical and pagan sources were merging to construct a geographical image of lost innocence, the infancy of Man before the Fall of Adam or Satan. The myth had important theological implications, for if a people were discovered on Earth in a state of innocence, the entire doctrine of Original Sin and universal corruption would be put into question. Medieval scholars determined that the Terrestrial Paradise would be situated in a temperate region - "non ibi frigi, non aestus"- beyond the barrier of a "torrid" zone, identified as the Equatorial belt, and in the East.⁴ It would be a land of eternal spring, perfect health, infinite natural resources, of God-given fruits that could be enjoyed without need for toil and drudgery. This central edenic myth was embroidered with a whole number of additional legends of fantastic, anthropomorphic fauna, of the "isle femelle" with its warrior population of misanthropic Amazons and, of course, of gold. The possibility of direct access to the gold supplies of the Sudan had motivated repeated efforts by the Iberian kingdoms to gain a foothold in N. Africa, and eventually to approach the area from the rear, by sailing down the coast. A faith in the material, and even spiritual, powers of this metal was one of the strongest motivations for Columbus' voyage of discovery: "el oro es excelentísimo: del oro se hace

3. George Boas, "The Noble Savage" and "Earthly Paradises", Essays on Primitivism and Related Ideas in the Middle Ages (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1948), pp.139-40 and 161.

4. Holanda, Visão do Paraíso, op.cit., p.157.

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tesoro y con él, quien lo tiene, hace cuanto quiere en el mundo, y llega a que echa las almas al paraíso."⁵

The South American continent, and especially the tropical and subtropical coast of Brazil, could not have offered a fuller realisation of the expectations raised by the myth of the Terrestrial Paradise. If the search for mineral wealth in the Portuguese colony was protracted and eclipsed by the spectacular conquests of the Spanish in their Andean and Mexican territories, Brazil provided other compensations: its edenic climate, prodigious variety of flora and fauna, and its people. Chroniclers, who included the Jesuit Simão de Vasconcelos, continued until well into the seventeenth century to elaborate treatises claiming Brazil to be the location of the Biblical Eden, sometimes even defining the exact spot.⁶ In 1744, Pedro de Rates Honequim was executed for this same heresy, claiming that Brazil had been saved from the Flood, that its four major rivers were those of the Garden of Eden, and that its native inhabitants were descended from the lost tribes of Israel. More modern writers, such as Afonso Celso in his Porque me ufano de meu país (1901), have found the myth of the Brazilian Paradise equally useful to their theories of chauvinistic nationalism.

Some of the earliest descriptions of the New World and its people enjoyed an enormous popularity in Europe, and exercised a great influence on the subsequent evolution of philosophical and political ideas. Amerigo Vespucci's "Mundus Novus" letter of 1503, in particular, was quickly

5. D. Martín Fernández Navarrete, Colección de los viajes y Descubrimientos que hicieron por Mar los Españoles, 5 vols. (Madrid, 1825-37), quoted in Holanda, op.cit., p.14.

6. Serafim Soares Leite, "O tratado do Paraíso na América e o ufanismo brasileiro", Novas Páginas de História do Brasil, (Lisbon: 1963), pp.379-82.

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published in numerous editions and several languages, and provided the first images of the "natural state" that can be traced through Erasmus' The Praise of Folly (1508) and More's Utopia (1516) to Montaigne's "Des Cannibales" (1579) and Rousseau's Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes (1753).⁷ However, although the Brazilian Indian was the inspiration for much of this European tradition of radical thought, Portuguese writing played little or no role in its development. Montaigne's essay, for instance, relies for its account of Tupinambá tribespeople on the texts of the French Franciscan and Capuchin friars, André Thevet and Jean de Léry. Conversely, the Portuguese tradition of Indianist writing remained remarkably isolated from the literature in other languages, preferring to consult its own colonial and Jesuit texts; even the nineteenth-century Indianists seem to have absorbed their image of "natural man" via Rousseau and the European Romantics rather than direct from the original Spanish and French sources used by the latter, whilst for their historical and descriptive detail they returned to Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão, Fernão Cardim and Vasconcelos.

This isolation from other European perceptions of the Indian and, as we shall see, from the intense theological debate concerning the status of the Indian in Spanish America, gives the Jesuit literature a distinctive character, and one which reflects the nature of the missionaries' relationship to the indigenous population. For Sérgio Buarque de Holanda,⁸ the Portuguese travel literature of the sixteenth century demonstrates a greater sense of realism, a greater resistance to

7. See Afonso Arinos de Melo Franco, O índio brasileiro e a revolução francesa: as origens brasileiros da teoria da bondade natural (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1976).

8. Visão do Paraíso..., op.cit., pp.1-11.

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fantastic invention, than that of the Spanish explorers. This realism arises out of a medieval world-view that is based on an acceptance of the world as it is, in expectation of a better after-life, in contrast to the imaginative attempts of Renaissance culture to liberate man through fantasy, magic and experiment. Paradoxically, the Portuguese abroad adopt an "illusory realism" or credulity in relation to the marvellous and the impossible, which are acceptable providing they do not enter the empirical sphere, whereas the natural wonders of the real world are perceived and recorded unsensationally. This is partly due to the existing half-century of Portuguese experience of tropical and equatorial landscapes in Africa, but it also has to do, in the case of the Jesuits, with a more immediate experience, that of the missions. The Fathers' task - to bring the entire indigenous population under their economic and psychological control and thereby integrate them into the process of colonisation and into the Portuguese/Catholic Empire - faced an immense obstacle: the Indians' cultural bonds, their beliefs, nomadic, collectivist economy, their sense of tribal identity. The way in which the Indians and their culture are represented in the Jesuit literature of the Colony reflects this struggle in all its bitterness and brutality.

Against this background of the subsequent two and a half centuries of Jesuit administration of the Indians, Pero Vaz de Caminha's letter to D. Manuel records an exceptional moment in the history of relations between the two communities. On the one hand, it shows the European's first perceptions of the American tribal as they are moulded by the evangelical project assigned to Conquest and by the optimistic expectations that the mythology of the Terrestrial Paradise generated. On the other hand, it registers the first, all-too brief stage in the social

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and commercial relations between the two races: the development of mutual trust, the first free exchange of goods and, most remarkable, despite the limitations of a medieval mentality, the spontaneously favourable, positive impressions of a minor Portuguese clerk on encountering an alien, tribal culture.

Caminha was on board one of thirteen ships commanded by Pedro Alvares Cabral which were on their way to India via the Cape of Good Hope. They were blown westwards across the Atlantic and touched the Brazilian coast in the modern state of Porto Seguro, on 22nd April, 1500. Caminha's first descriptions of the twenty or so Indians⁹ who appeared on the beach in welcome is brief and predominantly factual, noting their bows, arrows and feather head-gear; but it begins with a detail which expresses more than simply the curiosity of the primitive ethnographer - the Indians' nudity:

Eram pardos, todos nus, sem coisa alguma que lhes cobrisse suas vergonhas.¹⁰

This is significant, both because it is just the first of several, progressively complex observations of the same phenomenon, and because of its peculiarly ambivalent euphemism for the genitals and female breasts: "vergonhas" or "shames". The second meeting between the two groups, when two Indians, "mancebos e de bons corpos", are brought on board ship, allows Caminha to study at greater length the two physical features which had commanded his attention before all else:

9. Probably ancestors of today's Pataxó who still face violence and starvation in their efforts to recover traditional lands to the north, in the state of Bahia; see Survival International News no.2 (1983) and 10 (1985) and Information Pack BRZ/5/March 1983.

10. A Carta de Pêro Vaz de Caminha ed. Jaime Cortesão, Obras Completas de Jaime Cortesão, vol.13 (Lisbon: Portugalia, n/d), p.224. Quotations use the modernised spelling of Cortesão's edition.

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A feição deles é serem pardos, maneira de avermelhados, de bons rostos e bons narizes, bem feitos. Andam nus, sem cobertura alguma. Não fazem o menor caso de encobrir ou de mostrar suas vergonhas; e nisso têm tanta inocência como em mostrar o rosto (op.cit., p.226).

The Indians' nakedness, together with their bronze skin-colour, takes priority over all the remaining elements of the description because, in Caminha's understanding, they are the only features which are not definable in terms of cultural relativism, that is, by approximating to some comparable aspect of European dress or appearance. The body-paint, feather head-dresses and lip-plugs whose detailed description follows are, however alien and unfamiliar, nevertheless capable of being comprehended as adornment and therefore of being awarded an aesthetic judgement, or simply the observation that the "head-dress was very round, thick and even and needed no extra care to keep it up" (p.227). Similarly, the Indians' physique merits Caminha's admiration ("de bons rostos e bons narizes, bem feitos"), their pubic hair is described as "well cropped and kept", and the figure and sexual features of one of the women who later appear are praised as worthy of the envy of any Portuguese lady.

Yet none of the Indians' sophisticated adornments is considered as "dress"; moreover, their nudity is defined precisely and exclusively as the lack of covering for the genitals. Like their skin-colour, the Indians' nudity is not reducible to a question of custom or habit for Caminha - it is an integral part of their identity as different physiological and moral beings, for it is invested in the writer's perception with a highly significant moral and theological content. The euphemism "vergonhas" clearly reflects more upon European sexual prohibitions or taboos, and more specifically the Judeo-Christian notion of sin, than on the Indians' own attitudes. Caminha himself is aware of the cultural specificity with which his language is loaded, or so his repeated word-play would suggest:

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(...) e certo era tão bem feita e tão redonda, e sua vergonha (que ela não tinha) tão graciosa, que a muitas mulheres da nossa terra, vendo-lhe tais feições, fizera vergonha, por não terem a sua como ela (p.232).

([The Indian girl] was so well-formed and rounded, and her shame (which she did not have) so fine, that many women of our country, seeing such features, would be ashamed not to have such as hers.)

On another occasion, the Indians' lack of self-consciousness regarding their nudity seems to have transferred itself to the Portuguese crew; which is perhaps another way of saying that Caminha uses that lack of self-consciousness on the part of the Indian to rationalise and excuse his and his companions' unrestrained gloating on the girls' breasts:

Ali andavam entre eles três ou quatro moças, bem moças e bem gentis, com cabelos muito pretos e compridos pelas espáduas, e suas vergonhas tão altas, tão cerradinhas e tão limpas das cabeleiras que, de as muito bem olharmos, não tínhamos nenhuma vergonha (p.231).

(Amongst them were three or four girls, really young and pretty, with very dark, long hair down their backs, and their shames so erect and firm and free of hair that we were not at all ashamed to look closely at them.)

If Caminha's tortuous punning is bound up with the duplicity and hypocrisy of Western sexual morality, the contrast he draws with the Indians' "shamelessness" is no less significant. His inability to describe the Indians' genitals and their nakedness in neutral language, in terms that are not loaded with negative content, reflects the assumption that they lack a moral and even intellectual quality innate to the European; they are *without* shame, and *without* Sin - "e suas vergonhas tão nuas e com tanta inocência descobertas, que nisso não havia vergonha alguma" (p.239).

The leap from shamelessness and innocence to the theological implication, that this is the hoped-for edenic people who had escaped the Fall, underlies implicitly all of Caminha's discussion of nakedness. One has only to compare Caminha's language with that of Genesis, chapter 2,

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verse 25, which speaks of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden: "And they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed", and with chapter 3, verse 7, after they have eaten from the tree of knowledge of good and evil: "And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons." That connection is only made consciously in the closing paragraphs of the letter, where Caminha writes: "Assim, Senhor, a inocência desta gente é tal, que a de Adão não seria maior, quanto a vergonha" (p.255).¹¹

It is enough, though, for the consequences of the Portuguese explorers' first contact with the Indians, the apparent confirmation of the myth of the Terrestrial Paradise, to be all too evident. Caminha's enthusiastic, eulogistic report of the Indians contains in it the seed of an enterprise which was to have a profoundly disruptive and destructive effect on the indigenous population: "Porém o melhor fruto, que dela se pode tirar me parece que será salvar esta gente. E esta deve ser a principal semente que Vossa Alteza em ela deve lançar" (pp.256-57).

Before examining the influence which early perceptions of the Indians such as Caminha's were to have on the character of the evangelical mission, I wish to demonstrate how, right from the beginning, this deceptively ingenuous view of tribal mentality and character is also bound up with the economic dimension of Conquest. On the third day after the landing, Caminha is already jumping to hasty conclusions in his interpretation of the sign language which the Indians use to overcome the linguistic barrier. The Indians had in fact had no contact with metals,

11. Moreover, had it been discovered that the Indians were circumcised, this might have confirmed some of the medieval edenic theories which proposed that they were the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel.

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yet, in his wish to see another of the New World myths realised, Caminha, and no doubt the rest of the crew as a whole, believes they are revealing the existence of gold and silver in the territory:

Porém um deles pôs olho no colar do Capitão, e começou de acenar com a mão para a terra e depois para o colar, como que nos dizendo que ali havia ouro. Também olhou para um castiçal de prata e assim mesmo acenava para a terra e novamente para o castiçal como se lá também houvesse prata (p.227).

After venturing an even more wishful translation of another similar gesture involving a rosary and the same gold necklace - "como dizendo que dariam ouro por aquilo" - Caminha himself begins to place doubts on the accuracy of these deductions; and, not without admitting that, as far as any gifts and barter are concerned, the Portuguese will understand only as much as is convenient:

Isto tomávamos nós assim por assim o desejarmos. Mas se ele queria dizer que levaria as contas e mais o colar, isto não o queríamos nós entender, porque não lho havíamos de dar (p.228).

The results of the initial gifts of shirts, rosary beads and bells are not slow in revealing themselves; the first visit of two Indians quickly turns into a regular reception of two, three and even four hundred. Caminha paints a vivid picture of the delicate relationship of trust which develops as food and music are shared, and weapons are gradually laid down or exchanged for other articles:

(...) E mal desembarcáramos, alguns dos nossos passaram logo o rio, e meteram-se entre eles. Alguns aguardavam; outros afastavam-se. Era, porém, a coisa de maneira que todos andavam misturados. Eles se ofereciam desses arcos com suas setas por sombreiros e carapuças de linho ou por qualquer coisa que lhes davam.

Passaram além tantos dos nossos, e andavam assim misturados com eles, que eles se esquivavam e afastavam-se. E deles alguns iam-se para cima onde outros estavam (pp.237-38).

Amongst the description of the bustle and merry-making it is easy to miss the subtle shift which is on the verge of taking place even during such a short encounter between the two societies, the shift from a

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relationship based on mutual trust, a common sense of humanity and a free exchange of goods, to one in which the Indian's labour is employed in the service of the European. Barely noticeable, it is nevertheless there, in the unmistakable image of the Indians loading up the timber for the first shipment of the first profitable export commodity to leave the country, the first stage of colonial exploitation, and the product which was to give the colony its name - *pau-brasil*:

Andavam todos tão dispostos, tão bem feitos e galantes com suas tinturas, que pareciam bem. Acarretavam dessa lenha, quanta podiam, com mui boa vontade, e levavam-na aos batéis (p.249).

The infinite spiritual potential which Caminha attributed to the Indian, and which I shall now examine, was already linked in his mind to a parallel notion of infinite economic exploitability. And the key to both was the missionary:

E bem creio que, se Vossa Alteza aqui mandar quem entre eles mais devagar ande, que todos serão tornados ao desejo de Vossa Alteza (p.255).

I have already indicated that Caminha's perception of the Indians' edenic innocence depended upon a negative image of their moral identity - the absence of "vergonha", shame or Sin. The euphoric optimism surrounding the future role of the Indian in both the ecclesiastical mission and the colonial project depended on a similarly negative image of indigenous culture, on the failure to recognise that culture as such. For Caminha, the combination of innocence, timidity and physical cleanliness approximated the Indian to the animal kingdom, which by definition excludes any possibility of culture or civilisation, although several members of the crew soon visited an Indian village and saw houses, hammocks and delicately woven fabrics:

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(...) E naquilo me parece ainda mais que são como aves ou alimárias monteses, às quais faz o ar melhor pena e melhor cabelo que às mansas, porque os corpos seus são tão limpos, tão gordos e formosos, que não pode mais ser.

Isto me faz presumir que não têm casas nem moradas a que se acolham, e o ar, a que se criam, os faz tais (p.242).

More than this assumed absence of material culture, though, it is Caminha's and his successors' failure to acknowledge any kind of tribal belief system or cosmology, which explains the initial faith in the unlimited malleability of the indigenous psychology. This faith is reinforced by the Indians' great capacity for mimicry and their fascination for ritual. These predilections lead them to participate enthusiastically in the mass on the final day of the landing, kneeling and standing in imitation of the Portuguese Christians and kissing the crucifixes which are hung about their necks. We are witnessing the crystallisation of the great illusion of mass conversion, the *tábua rasa* or blank slate of tribal consciousness which was awaiting, passively, the imprint of any ideology or creed the coloniser thought fit to give it. The Indians' illusory receptiveness to the process of evangelisation seemed to confirm the historical role which the Church had appointed to itself in the colonial enterprise:

Parece-me gente de tal inocência que, se homem os entendesse e eles a nós, seriam logo cristãos, porque eles, segundo parece, não têm, nem entendem em nenhuma crença.

(...) E imprimir-se-á ligeiramente neles qualquer cunho, que lhes quiserem dar. E pois Nosso Senhor, que lhes deu bons corpos e bons rostos, como a bons homens, por aqui nos trouxe, creio que não foi sem causa (p.250).

By 1583, however, the first generation of Jesuit missionaries had seen the illusion melt before their eyes, and had returned to their task with a realism whose zeal and ruthlessness matched only the bitterness of their disappointment.

2.3. The second Fall: Nóbrega, Anchieta, and the Indian as Devil

Before the arrival of the Jesuits, though, the indigenous populations of the Atlantic coast experienced nearly fifty years of contact with secular white society, in the form of deported criminals, sailors and a few early traders and settlers. The first official expeditions of the 1530s encountered patriarchal colonies already established under the control of legendary figures such as João Ramalho, the Bacharel of Cananéia and Diogo Álvares Caramuru. Shipwrecked or marooned, these solitary white strangers managed, through their impressive use of European technology, their military skill or simply their mythical prestige as non-Indians, to impose their will on the local tribal communities, take Indian wives and set up self-styled kingdoms founded on the first generation of *mamelucos* or Indian/white *mestiços*. It was only two centuries later that the literary possibilities of such stories, which became symbolic foundation myths of racial integration and even evangelistic courage, began to be exploited (See next chapter).¹² Meanwhile these patriarchs performed an important political role as mediators in the subsequent history of the colony; in addition, they were the first owners and traders of Indian slaves.

The first ships to export saleable cargoes of brazil-wood from the colony also took young Indian men and women, persuaded that they were going to a promised land but who were in reality exhibited around the European courts as exotic curiosities. Soon, the tribal communities on the coast became saturated with the metal tools and axes which they had

12. For a more thorough examination of the Caramuru myth and its evolution, see David Treece, "Caramuru the Myth: Conquest and Conciliation", Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv, 10, no.2 (1984), pp.139-73.

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received in return for their labour and which, then as now, were the single most important instrument in their path towards "integration". French competition intensified demand for the red timber but the Indians, who worked only to the extent that their subsistence economy required it, became less and less prepared to supply the Portuguese need for manpower. Meanwhile, following Martim Afonso de Sousa's two-year expedition of 1530, and the division of the colony into administrative *capitanias*, the growing population of colonists discovered a more lucrative, labour-intensive industry: sugar mills began to appear in all the centres of settlement. The royal decision to create the *capitanias*, fourteen huge feudal *latifúndios* awarded to loyal members of the Portuguese aristocracy, also resolved the labour problem. For these hereditary lords, or *donatários*, enjoyed considerable juridical and economic rights over their territories, including the acquisition and sale of Indian slaves. To begin with, slaves were the "rescued" prisoners of enemy tribes, bought with the justification that they were being saved from death by cannibalism - a fate that was in reality infinitely more attractive than the slow torture of work in the sugar mills. As the demand for slaves increased, the Portuguese incited inter-tribal wars in order to obtain more prisoners, before moving on to undisguised, forced enslavement.¹³

One focus for such activities, and an important sugar-producing centre, was Bahia, the future capital of Brazil and major port of entry

13. For the following synthesis of early colonial history, the chief source is John Hemming, Red Gold: the Conquest of the Brazilian Indians (London: Macmillan, 1978), pp.10-12, 34-38, 79-114 & 120-37; see also C.R.Boxer, Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire 1415-1825, vol.III, Brazil and the Maranhão (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963) and Alexandre Marchant, Do escambo à escravidão: as relações econômicas de portugueses e índios na colonização do Brasil 1500-1580 (São Paulo: Cia. Editora Nacional, 1943).

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for slaves from Africa. It was no coincidence that the first party of six Jesuits landed in Bahia, in 1549, together with the first governor of Brazil, Tomé de Souza. Souza's instructions were to identify the hostile sector of the local Tupinambá, killing and enslaving them, and then to subject the rest to a feudal regime of tribute. Ironically, though, the pretext for the enterprise was the evangelical mission to convert the same Indians to the Catholic faith. After a period of open confrontation and brutality under the administration of Duarte da Costa, the third governor, Mem de Sá, resumed Tomé de Souza's more systematic policy of simultaneous military and missionary action, dividing the indigenous population between those determined to resist and those who agreed to abandon their tribal customs and submit to the regime and morality of the Jesuit settlements. Thus, while the inhabitants of hundreds of Tupinambá and Caeté villages were slaughtered in intertribal incidents and official campaigns supported by the Fathers, other hundreds chose arguably the lesser of two evils, giving their lives to the prosperity of the colony. By 1610, Bahia boasted 8,000 mission Indians and 7,000 Indian and African slaves on the plantations, in comparison to two thousand whites and a further 3-4,000 black slaves. Indeed, by the end of the sixteenth century, just 128 Jesuits controlled almost all the Indians under Portuguese rule in Brazil.

Perhaps the single most important campaign in which the Jesuits played a central role, important apart from anything else because it provides material for a Jesuit drama and several later Indianist works, was the war against the Tamoió confederation, which led to the founding of Rio de Janeiro. The Tamoiós, a Tupinambá tribe renowned for their music and dancing, were allied to the French who, under the leadership of

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Nicholas de Villegaignon, had established the colony of Antarctic France on an island in the Bay of Guanabara. The Tamoiós occupied lands between Cabo Frio, to the east of modern Rio, and Piratininga to the west, the first mission *aldeia* to be created by the Jesuit leader, Manuel da Nóbrega, in 1553, and future site of the city of São Paulo. Despite a heavy defeat in 1560 at the hands of Mem de Sá, the Tamoiós remained an unsubdued and serious threat to the Portuguese, especially since the collapse of the latter's own alliance with the Tupinikin of Espírito Santo. Nóbrega and a younger colleague, José de Anchieta, were among the most militant advocates of an intensified attack on the Tamoiós, not least because of their passionate desire to see the expulsion of the Protestant French, who included Jean de Léry and André Thevet. A punitive raid headed by Anchieta against the Tupinikin rebels in 1561 led to a combined counter-attack uniting Tupinikin and Tamoiós, which ended only with the action of a loyal chief, Tibiriça, and a siege that split families in two, pitting sons, fathers and brothers against one another.

In 1563, Nóbrega and Anchieta risked their lives by going directly to the Tamoió settlements of Iperoig, ostensibly on a diplomatic mission of peace, but with the added purpose of spying out the tribe's military resources. While Anchieta remained there for three months as a hostage, a truce was arranged between the Tamoiós and those Tupinikin loyal to the Portuguese, leaving the way open for an attack on the Tamoiós and French who occupied Rio de Janeiro. A protracted and bitter two-year war from 1565 to 1567 finally achieved the Jesuits' ambition to build a college and *aldeia* in Rio. By the time the subjugation of the Tamoiós was completed, in 1575, tens of thousands had been killed, enslaved, with

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families split up, and the remainder had fled - the Tamoiós were effectively annihilated.

The Jesuit Fathers were indisputably a key element in the divisive military strategy of the Portuguese against tribes which obstructed or threatened the plan of colonial settlement. Nevertheless, for those Indians who survived or escaped such massacres by entering the mission *aldeias*, the Jesuits appeared as their welcome and sympathetic saviours from the even more brutal exploitation that would have occurred under an unregulated labour system. In the first few years following their arrival the Jesuits, too, shared Vaz de Caminha's enthusiasm and optimism regarding the Indians' spiritual potential. The correspondence which Nóbrega sent to his superior during the months of 1549 contains much that is familiar from Caminha's letter of fifty years previously: the erroneous conviction that the Indians have no beliefs of their own - "Hé gente que nenhum conhecimento tem de Deus, nem idolos"¹⁴; their capacity and affinity for Christian culture - "Espantam-se eles muito de sabermos ler e escrever, do que têm grande inveja, e desejo de aprender, e desejam ser cristãos como nós" (10th August, *op.cit.*, p.51); the notion of Indian consciousness as a *tábua rasa* or blank slate waiting for the Word to be imprinted on it - "Cá poucas letras bastam, porque é tudo papel branco e não há mais que escrever à vontade" (10th August, *op.cit.*, p.54); even the edenic image of the Indian as a child of Nature - "E em muitas coisas guardam a lei natural" (? August, *op.cit.*, p.65). He condemned the colonists' slaving attacks and spoke of Indian violence as a result of

14. P. Manuel da Nóbrega, Cartas do Brasil e mais escritas (Coimbra: Acta Universitatis Conimbricensis, 1955), (10th? April 1549) p.21.

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provocation. Mass conversions, baptisms and marriages, rising to hundreds on occasions, seemed to confirm the success of the mission.

By August 1551, however, Nóbrega had reached the conclusion that "Todos querem e desejam ser cristãos; mas deixar seus costumes lhes parece áspero" (op.cit., p.86). The conversions had been based on the same fascination with ritual and music which Caminha had witnessed, and lacked any intellectual basis, any understanding of the theological doctrine which Catholic devotion entailed. The mythologies and codes of behaviour governing every aspect of the Indian's social, economic, sexual and spiritual life, which had taken thousands of years to evolve and which were the source of tribal identity, could not be erased through a brief ceremony. The Fathers quickly recognised this, and the mission *aldeias* were their highly effective way of responding to the problem. Slavery, too, rapidly became an acceptable instrument in the effort to win souls to the kingdom of God.

The practice of removing Indian children from their tribes, indoctrinating them and then returning them to their people to spread the Faith, had had limited success. The *aldeias* represented an alternative method, taking entire tribes out of their home environment and concentrating them within the confines of a purpose-built settlement. There the Indian was subject to a totalitarian regime of twenty-four hour supervision, a chronological routine intended to leave no room for tribal culture. As well as being permanently exposed to Catholic doctrine and the interrogation of the catechism, this meant the suppression of indigenous rites celebrating birth, puberty, marriage and death, of the making and drinking of *cauim*, the ceremonial spirit brewed from manioc, of the spiritual role of the *pagé* or medicine-man, and of the ritual of

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human sacrifice. The missions imposed upon the Indians a Western social structure based on the nuclear family, and allotted individual dwellings accordingly. This destroyed the complex clan systems of parentage, marriage and collective identity by which the Indians had lived, putting an end to the fellowship of the communal long-houses and to the easy-going tribal attitude to sexual partnerships. From a semi-nomadic, hunter-gatherer existence in which tribes roamed over hundreds of miles in their search for game, and moved their villages every few years by the slash-and-burn method of farming, the Indians had to accept the narrow boundaries of the *aldeia*, the stifling discipline of routine daily plantation labour, and an accumulative economy that was totally alien to their tradition of subsistence.

Vaz de Caminha's letter had pointed to the language barrier as one of the major obstacles to conversion, and the Jesuits took up this challenge with their characteristic intellectual keenness. As well as becoming proficient in the many indigenous languages they encountered, and producing aids to learning, such as Anchieta's Arte de gramática da língua mais usada na costa do Brasil, they introduced a kind of *lingua franca*, the so-called *língua geral* based on a synthesis of the most common tribal dialects of the Tupi-Guarani group. Still known in Amazônia today as Nheengatu, its function during the colonial period was to enhance the Jesuits' control over the cultural and geographical diversity of tribal groups, attenuating their sense of linguistic individuality and independence. By retaining an indigenous language as the medium for communication, rather than Portuguese, they also limited the degree of access which white settlers might gain to the Indians.

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The linguistic question contributed to the dual stereotype which was now emerging in the Portuguese perception of the Indian, and to its refinement along ethnic lines. As the Tupi-speaking tribes of the coast became annihilated or incorporated into the missions, the image of intractability passed to the Tapuia, or Jê-speaking, groups such as the Aimoré, who had been driven inland by the pre-Colombian migrations of the Tupi. Their different physical appearance - tall, pale, long-haired - their completely nomadic culture and uncompromising military ruthlessness, set them apart as savagely cannibalistic barbarians. But perhaps of equal importance in the Tapuia resistance to contact with the white community was the fact that their languages were quite unfamiliar to the Jesuits, and made the setting up of missions an impossible task.¹⁵

The mission *aldeias* had one further devastating consequence for the Indians that the Jesuits had not anticipated - their exposure to disease. Gathered together in large numbers in close contact with the white community, the Indians were decimated by the common Eurasian and African viruses and bacterial infections to which they had no natural immunity: venereal disease, influenza, whooping cough, measles and smallpox swept across the Atlantic coast during the 1550s and 1560s and repeatedly thereafter, and even struck tribes in the interior, killing thousands. Eight thousand died in Rio de Janeiro alone in 1556.¹⁶ The Fathers' response was to care for the sick and dead as best they could, to explain the epidemics as Divine punishment for the Indians' heretical sinfulness, and to fill up the missions again with new *reduções* from the interior.

15. Hemming, *Red Gold*..., op.cit., p.95.

16. Op.cit., p.140.

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As early as January 1550, less than a year after his arrival in the colony, Nóbrega was contemplating the use of coercion as an instrument in bringing the Indians into the ecumenical "fold": "(...) e talvez por medo se converterão mais depressa do que o não fará por amor, tanto andam corrompidos nos costumes e longe da verdade" (6th January 1550, Cartas do Brasil, op.cit., p.70). By 1557, following the death of Bishop Sardinha at the hands of the Caeté, force and confinement were recognised as the only sure means of subjecting the Indians to both civil and ecclesiastical control, to "Mantê-los em justiça e verdade entre si como vasallos d'El-Rei, e sojeitos à Igreja" (August 1557, op.cit., p.256). The Natural Law which they had once apparently obeyed instinctively, now needed to be imposed upon them: "Primeiramente o gentio se deve sujeitar e fazê-lo viver como criaturas que são racionais, fazendo-lhe guardar a lei natural" (May 1558, op.cit., p.278). "Como se tem experimentado"; Nóbrega's voice of experience now recommends the slaving expeditions which he had once denounced, as the solution to the joint problems of labour and evangelisation that the colony faced. Nowhere is there a more unequivocal example of the identity of economic and ecclesiastical interests, the equation of the Indians' spiritual well-being with the prosperity of the Crown - "(...) e teriam vida espiritual, conhecendo a seu criador e vassalagem a S.A. e obediência aos cristãos, e todos viveram melhor e abastados e S.A. teria grossas rendas nestas terras" (May 1558, op.cit., p.280).

Nóbrega's pragmatism, the ease with which the Indians' right to humane treatment is subordinated to the practical concerns of the evangelical mission and the colonial labour shortage, is all the more striking in the light of the momentous theological/philosophical debate

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which was taking place during the same years in Valladolid. Bartolomé de las Casas' rehabilitation of the cultural image of the Indians of South America, his defence of peaceful methods of evangelisation and his denunciation of the *encomienda* system were, if limited in their immediate practical consequences, nevertheless an important advance and an influential precedent for future discussions of tribal man.¹⁷ However, there is virtually no reference to the debate in the Brazilian context until the nineteenth century, when the historian Varnhagen clashed with Liberal Indianists over the question of Government indigenist policy; moreover, Sepúlveda's Aristotelian views on Just War and Natural Slavery received more attention than those of Las Casas. Meanwhile, the terms and form of the argument as the Jesuits saw it in sixteenth-century Brazil are best studied in Nóbrega's Diálogo sobre a conversão do gentio (1556-57).

The structure of the dialogue, a Classical genre revived during the Renaissance (viz. Cervantes' Coloquio de los perros) allows Nóbrega to confront the missionaries' initial optimism and the evidence of their experience through the mouths of two "ordinary" friars, Matos Nogueira and Gonçalo Alvares. For Nogueira, who apologises for talking like a blacksmith, the Indians are akin to "ferro frio", ready to enter the furnace and moulded to the required shape and need, a variation on the image of the *tábua rasa*.¹⁸ But to Alvares, their very lack of religious sense, far from offering a blank slate, actually presents an obstacle to

17. See Lewis Hanke, Aristotle and the American Indians: a Study in Race Prejudice in the Modern World (Ontario: Hollis and Carter, 1959) and Anthony Pagden, The Fall of Natural Man: the American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

18. P. Manuel da Nóbrega, Diálogo sobre a conversão do gentio (Lisbon: União Gráfica, 1954), p.69.

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conversion; the concept of worship, which he defines religiously and politically, is a necessary prerequisite for the assimilation of Catholic doctrine:

Se tiveram rei, poderão-se converter, ou se adoraram alguma cousa; mas. como nam sabem que cousa hé crer nem adorar, não podem entender ha pregação do Evangelho, pois ella se funda em fazer crer e adorar a hum soo Deus, e a esse só servir; e como este gentio nam adora nada, nem cree nada, todo o que lhe dizeis se fica nada (op.cit., p.53).

Ministering to the Indians is therefore comparable to casting pearls before swine; indeed, the notions of bestiality and humanity are discussed at some length, for the Indians' right to be considered "próximos", neighbours, and therefore to be admitted into the ecumenical community, depends upon it. The criterion is the faculty of reason: "(...) a criatura racional sobre todas o [o Criador] conheça e honre; pera ella forão criadas e feitas todas as cousas" (op.cit., p.56). Remarking on the difficulty of conversion, Alvares says: "(...) estes gentios não têm razões" (op.cit., p.59), which may refer to the Indians' lack of justification in resisting the message of the Gospel, but may equally express a simple denial of their capacity for reason.

Nogueira takes a different approach to the problem, suggesting that the difference between the Christian and the Indian is not one of nature, but of degree. After the Fall, Adam sank to the status of an animal, with the result that "todos, asi Portugueses, como Castelhanos, como Tamcios, como Aimorés, ficamos semelhantes a bestas por natureza corrupta, e nisto todos somos iguais" (op.cit., p.63). If, as Alvares protests, the Indians appear so much more bestial than ourselves, it is because civilisation has allowed some peoples to rise above their primitive origins, leaving others behind: "Terem os romanos e outros gentios mais policia que estes não lhes veio de terem naturalmente nilhor

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entendimento, mas de terem melhor criação e criarem-se mais politicamente" (p.65). Nevertheless, in spite of their lack of "criação", the legacy of Noah's cursed son Ham, they are to be credited with some of the signs of civilisation: "Nas cousas de seu mester e em que elles tratão, tem tam boas sotilezas, e tão boas invenções, e tão discretas palavras como todos" (ibid.). And Nogueira is emphatic in asserting that the Indians have the faculties which constitute the soul: understanding, memory and will.

Meanwhile, if, relative to the European, the Indian is ignorant, this is an advantage, since it is not intellect ("rezão demonstrativa") that is required to be persuaded of the elements of the Catholic doctrine, but faith ("rezão humana"): "Mais fácil hé de converter um ignorante que hum malicioso e soberbo", or, indeed, than a Jew or Roman philosopher (p.66). In other words, by virtue of their limited mentality, the Indians possess a correspondingly restricted capacity for corruption and a greater potential for salvation. By illustration, Nogueira remarks that, in comparison with Roman customs and morality, indigenous culture is much less highly developed and sophisticated. As a result, whereas the Indian sins in only two or three of the Commandments, the Romans transgressed them all. Álvares can only oppose to this philosophical view of tribal morality and amenity to conversion, his experience of working with people who will be baptised in one instant and revert to their primitive "vices" the next. Although it ends on a positive note, recalling the successes of the Mission, the *Diálogo* does not resolve the argument; it simply points up the gulf between the Jesuits' initial expectations of the Indian and their subsequent experience of frustration in the face of a culture whose strength and internal cohesion they did not anticipate or understand.

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The final text to be examined in this chapter, Anchieta's drama Na Festa de São Lourenço (1583), takes us beyond that dialectic of expectation and disillusionment and beyond the sense of incomprehension suggested by Nóbrega's letters and the Diálogo. Philosophical debate has given way to a functional, propagandist literature committed to the immediate and practical task of conversion. The Diálogo sobre a conversão do gentio was performed in Brazil on at least three occasions between 1573 and 1584,¹⁹ but its fine points of theology can have meant little or nothing to the audiences for whom Anchieta's *autos* were intended. Indeed, Anchieta's theatrical work represents a vindication of Matos Nogueira's discussion of "rezão demonstrativa" and "rezão humana" in the Diálogo (p.18): although didactic in aim, it appeals less to the head than to the heart, to the Indians' own religious sense and to their personal experience of recent historical events. The drama examined here actually seeks to alter the Indians' memory of those events as part of the process of cultural indoctrination. The other major element in that process is its vilification of all the tribal practices and traditions which conflicted with Catholic morality and with the regime of the missions.

One such practice - cannibalism - needs some prior comment, since it is such an important feature of the various representations of Indian culture from Anchieta, through the eighteenth-century epics, to Romantic

19. Lothar Hessel, Georges Raeders, O teatro jesuítico no Brasil (Porto Alegre: Ed. da URGs, 1972), p.19; the authors' sympathy with Anchieta's aims should be borne in mind when consulting this text. See also Leodegário A. de Azevedo Filho, Anchieta, a Idade Média e o Parroco (Rio de Janeiro: Gernasa, 1966); Oscar Fernández, "José de Anchieta and Early Theatre Activity in Brazil", Luso-Brazilian Review, vol.15, no.1 (Summer 1978), pp.26-43, and Richard A. Preto-Rodas, "Anchieta and Vieira: Drama as Sermon, Sermon as Drama", Luso-Brazilian Review, vol.7, no.2 (December 1970), pp.96-103.

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Indianism and Modernism. W.Arens has illuminated the problematic nature of cannibalism as myth and reality, as a measure, not so much of genuine tribal primitivism, as of the need for other cultures to define their own level of civilisation by comparison with some example of pre-historic human development or barbarism.²⁰ For Arens, "The significant question is not why people eat human flesh, but why one group invariably assumes that others do" (op.cit., p.139). The mythical tradition of cannibalism can be traced through European folklore from the tales of Hansel and Gretel and Jack and the Beanstalk to the more recent legend of Dracula, and there it expresses fear of an "inverted physical and moral nightmare world" (op.cit., p.151), one in which the most elementary social prohibitions (incest being another), are absent.

However, the mythical understanding which clearly motivates that tradition is probably also responsible to a large degree for Western assumptions about the existence of cannibalism amongst tribal peoples in Asia, Africa and South America. To begin with, there is a need to distinguish between the very rare and exceptional practice of cannibalism for survival in extreme conditions; ritual cannibalism which may involve the symbolic eating of a token piece of the victim's flesh or even of an artificial image, and some putative form of "true" cannibalism, in which an entire body is consumed. In addition, difficulties arise over possible distortions or misperceptions that may be generated in transmitting accounts of symbolic rituals from one culture to another. One has only to consider the likely result of attempting to explain to an Amazonian tribal the nature of the Catholic Eucharist, where transubstantiation is

20. W. Arens, The Man-Eating Myth: Anthropology and Anthropophagy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

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held to be real, where the bread and wine are the flesh and blood of Christ. Moreover, most reports of acts of cannibalism are unreliable or second-hand, many of them traceable back to a single, unverifiable story, such as Hans Staden's seminal account of a Tupinambá human sacrifice in 1552.²¹ Often, reputations for cannibalism are obtained from a rival tribe which wishes to establish its own moral supremacy with respect to its neighbour, just as every culture in the world has its name for "barbarian", in order to define "the other". The Caribs of Hispaniola, from which the term "cannibal" is derived, suffered just such a defamation of character on the part of their Arawak neighbours, shortly after Conquest.

Whatever the reality of tribal cannibalism in sixteenth-century Brazil, however, its existence was firmly established in the Jesuit accounts of Indian culture from the middle of the century onwards, such as Fernão Cardim's Do princípio e origem dos índios do Brasil e de seus costumes, adoração e cerimônias (1584). Cardim begins his lengthy, detailed description "Do modo que este gentio tem acerca de matar e comer carne humana" with the claim: "De todas as honras e gostos da vida, nenhum é tamanho para este gentio como matar e tomar nomes nas cabeças de seus contrários, nem entre elles ha festa que chegue ás que fazem na morte dos que matão com grandes ceremonias, os quaes fazem desta maneira".²² The account is conspicuously unsensational, adopting a factual, documentary style that bears little resemblance to Anchieta's treatment of the subject:

21. Hemming, *op.cit.*, pp.30-31.

22. Fernão Cardim, Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1939), p.159.

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(...) e então se entrega ao carnicheiro ou magarefe, o qual lhe faz um buraco abaixo do estomago, segundo seu estylo, por onde os meninos primeiro metem a mão e tirão pelas tripas, até que o magarefe corta por onde quer, e o que lhe fica na mão é o quinhão de cada um, e o mais se reparte pela comunidade, salvo algumas partes principais que por grande honra, se dão aos hospedes mais honrados, as quaes elles levão muito assadas, de maneira que não se corrompam, e sobre ellas depois em suas terras fazem festas e vinhos de novo" (op.cit., pp.167-68).

Anchieta's *auto* Na Festa de São Lourenço presents some interesting contradictions in its representation of the Indian character, particularly in the light of Nóbrega's discussion of the relationship between intellectual capacity and sin. Drawing on the medieval, satirical tradition of Gil Vicente, Anchieta's tribal devils possess a degree of wit and imagination that is a far cry from the infantile ingenuousness of Vaz de Caminha's bird-like innocents. The edenic Indian of half a century before has eaten from the Tree of Knowledge, losing his mythical moral stature whilst gaining in human depth and reality.

This development in colonial perceptions of the Indian reflects the social proximity of missionary and Indian in the microcosmic society of the *aldeia*, another expression of which is the execution of the play itself, as performance. Twenty-five dramas were staged between 1557 and 1598 in the halls of the Jesuit colleges, in public squares and in the *aldeias* with their natural forest backdrop, usually on the occasion of ecclesiastical visits or sacred festivals.²³ Not only were the majority of the audiences of tribal origin, Indians also enacted the roles written for them by Anchieta. Many of the *autos* are bi- or tri-lingual (the case of the present text), juxtaposing Spanish or Portuguese with Tupi-Guarani. As well as distinguishing in this way between the dramatic functions of

23. Hessel and Raeders, *ibid.* and p.95.

different sections of the plays, this also made them more accessible to their primary target, the Indian.

First performed on 10th August 1583, on the Morro de São Lourenço, Niterói, across the bay from the newly-founded colony of Rio de Janeiro, Na Festa de São Lourenço was one of Anchieta's most successful dramas and it provided the basic framework for at least three other texts, the Auto de São Lourenço, Na Festa do Natal and the Auto da Vila de Vitória or São Maurício.²⁴ Its central religious topic, the martyrdom of the patron saint of the settlement at the hands of the Romans, is linked to an event from the more immediate history of the colony: the war against the Tamoios. A parallel is thus drawn between the early struggles of the Church against its persecutors and the efforts of the Jesuits to bring Christianity to Brazil in the teeth of indigenous hostility and godlessness. Anchieta appeals both to his audience's sense of humour and to its fear of the supernatural, presenting a satirical caricature of the Indian and Roman persecutors of the Church. Alternately arrogant and cowardly, they are punished for their tyrannical defiance of Divine authority with the same torture that they inflicted upon the Christian martyrs. However, Anchieta draws an important distinction between the Roman pagans and the modern Indian heathen: whereas the former are historically and morally beyond redemption, the Indians, even those mortal enemies of the Portuguese-Tupinikin alliance, still have the possibility of repentance. The play's extremely simple structure hinges on this notion of repentance, as the offending Indians are "persuaded" to abandon their scheme of corruption and to serve the Christian martyrs as executioners.

24. Hessel and Raeders, *ibid.*

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After an initial song on the saint's martyrdom, three devils enter, the "king" Guaixará and his servants Aimbirê and Saravaia. These names are not taken at random, for in July 1566 the Tamcio chief Guaixará of Cabo Frio assembled 180 war-canoes for a battle against the Portuguese; chief Aimbirê, whose daughter was married to a Frenchman, was seized by the Portuguese during a truce and escaped in his shackles - he went to Iperoig during Nóbrega and Anchieta's visit there and had to be restrained from killing the Jesuits;²⁵ Saravaia, meanwhile, is thought to have been a spy working for the French.²⁶ Right from the beginning, then, Satan's aides in the archetypal battle between Good and Evil are identified as some of the chief enemies of the joint civil-missionary project to integrate the indigenous population into the economic structure of the colony.

That role takes the form of an attempt to repossess the hearts and minds of the Indians who have accepted the regime and morality of the mission *aldeia*, to promote the culture of war-making, polygamy, magic, dance, cannibalism and alcohol that was the horror of the Jesuits:

Meu sistema é agradável.
Não quero que seja constringido,
nem abolido.
Pretendo
alvorçar as tabas tôdas.

Boa cousa é beber
até vomitar cauí.
Isso é apreciadíssimo.
Isso se recomenda,
isso é admirável!

25. Hemming, *op.cit.*, pp.130 and 134.

26. José de Anchieta, *Poesias* ed. Maria de Lourdes de Paula Martins (São Paulo: Museu Paulista, Boletim IV, Documentação Lingüística, 4, Ano IV-VI, 1954), p.695, note 229.

São aqui conceituados os moçacaras
beberrões.

Quem bebe até esgotar-se o cauim,
êsse é valente,
ansioso por lutar.

É bom dançar,
adornar-se, tingir-se de vermelho,
empenar o corpo, pintar as pernas,
fazer-se negro, fumar,
curandeirar...

De enfurecer-se, andar matando,
comer um ao outro, prender tapuias,
amancebar-se, ser desonesto,
espião, adúltero
- não quero que o gentio deixe.

Para isso
convivo com os índios,
induzindo-os a acreditarem em mim.
Vêm inútilmente afastar-me
os tais "padres", agora,
apregoando a lei de Deus.²⁷

Guaixará asks Aimbirê the names of those tribes he has been able to "corrupt", and these include the Tamoiós of the Ilha do Governador, the site of Villegaignon's French colony. As for the Temiminós who are settled in São Lourenço, however, Aimbirê has encountered an obstacle, the patron saint, "Seu valente guardião" (p.692) and his brother-in-arms, Saint Sebastian, the patron saint of Rio de Janeiro. Guaixará recalls that he was responsible for the deaths of the two martyrs, in the first of a series of invented connections between the Classical pagan Empire which persecuted the early Christians, and the heathen Indians who are obstructing the spread of Christianity in the New World. Although Aimbirê reminds his chief of the failure of his battle at Cabo Frio in 1566, Guaixará is determined to defy the power of the saints and to tempt the

27. Anchieta, op.cit., pp.685-86; quotations in Portuguese are from the translations provided at the foot of the Tupi-Guarani text in this edition.

Temiminós to recant on their faith. However, when openly confronted by São Lourenço, Aimbirê reveals his pusillanimity:

- Ai, eles me esmagarão!
é-me terrível mirá-los...
(...)
- Olha! eles vêm açoitar-nos!
Tenho medo, todos os meus músculos
tremem, estão ficando duros... (op.cit., p.698).

Far from leading a genuine return to traditional tribal loyalties, Guaixará is accused of usurping the only legitimate claim to command the Indians' loyalty, that of their Creator:

- Quem, algum dia,
para propriedade vossa,
vos entregou os índios?
O próprio Deus,
em sua santidade,
modelou-lhes corpo e alma (op.cit., p.699).

Significantly, the two saints allow Guaixará to categorise the corruption which he has wrought in the *aldeia*, only to remind him of the redeeming power of the confession and the communion.

However, their patience finally runs out, and the devils are taken prisoner in spite of Saravaia's attempts at bribery: "Eu darei ovas de peixe/ em retribuição, a ti.../ Gostas de farinha-puba?/ Queres dinheiro?" (p.709). The Guardian Angel of the *aldeia* then addresses the audience, explaining his mission to protect the village and reciting the history of the Tamoiós war and the military and spiritual victory of the two Saints:

Para sempre, na verdade, vossas almas
eles amarão, compadecendo-se delas,
amparando-as eternamente,
aperfeiçoando-as, santificando-as,
seus velhos hábitos extirpando.

Amarrarão os diabos,
quando êstes vos quiserem para prêsas.
Não permitirão que vos toquem.
Amando muito a vossas almas,
tomar-vos-ão como familiares.

Evitai,
de hoje em diante, serdes maus,
para extinguirdes vossos velhos hábitos
- a bebida, o fétido adultério,
mentiras, brigas,
ferimentos mútuos, guerras (op.cit., pp.714-15).

A brief song celebrates the descent of the devils into Hell, and in the third act they are enlisted into the service of the saints for the punishment of their pagan predecessors, the Roman emperors. Thus ironically, the cannibalistic violence and drinking bouts which had previously expressed their heresy and hostility to the missions, are now given a legitimate object:

Quem vamos nós comer?
- Os que foram inimigos de São Lourenço.
- Aquêles repugnantes chefes?
Hoje, com isso, mudarei de nome.
Serão muitos os meus apelidos!

Muito bem! suas entranhas
serão o meu quinhão.
- Vou morder o seu coração.
- Comerão também os que ficaram em nossas casas.
Convidaremos todos êles.

Tataurana,
traze a tua muçurana!
Urubu, Jaguaruçu,
trazei também a ingapema!
Caboré, vem correndo
comer os inimigos!

- Aqui está a minha muçurana grossa.
Eu lhe comerei os braços,
Jaguaruçu o pescoço,
Urubu sua caveira,
Caboré as suas pernas.

- Aqui estou,
vou levar as suas tripas e bofes
para minha velha sogra.
Veio também a panela,
cozerão à minha vista (op.cit., pp.720-21).

In a clear parallel of Saravaia's earlier confrontation with the saints, the pagan Emperor Valeriano trembles with fear, whilst Décio echoes

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Guaixará's defiance of the Christian God's authority: "No temas, que mi poder,/ que los dioses inmortales/ me quisieron conceder,/ nunca se podrá vencer,/ pues no hay fuerzas iguales" (p.723). As they are subjected to the same torture by fire which Saint Lawrence suffered, Aimbiré comically adopts a Castilian voice in order to mock their descent from power and to swear his loyalty to Christ. Completing a spectacle that has relied heavily on the Baroque appeal to fear, the Angel and the Temor de Deus appear in order to warn the audience of the fires of Hell which await the sinner. The play ends with a childrens' dance and the promise to abandon tribal culture forever: "Repudiamos nossos vícios,/ não crendo nos pajés,/ nem dançando, girando,/ praticando curandeirismo" (p.743).

As well as being an invaluable document of the change in Jesuit perceptions of the Indian and tribal culture since their arrival in 1549, Anchieta's *autos* are exceptional as a record of the actual process of cultural transformation which the missions sought to achieve amongst the indigenous populations. Whereas all the remaining texts examined in this study are *about* the Indian, Na Festa de São Lourenço was written *for* and performed by the Indian. In it we can see at work the substitution of a European mythology based on the rise and expansion of Christianity for the Indians' own history of colonial defeat and subjugation. The tribal heroes of the Tamoiós war are to be re-cast in the indigenous memory as latter-day persecutors of the Church and the murderers of its saints. Tribal culture is not the rightful heritage of the Indian, nor a source of indigenous identity, but the worm of corruption introduced by the Devil's agents into the community of God's creatures, in order to lead them to Damnation.

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Two centuries after the first performance of the play, a Franciscan theologian published an equally distorted account of Indian culture and early colonial history, in an attempt to defend the Jesuits' self-appointed mission in Brazil. By this time, however, the colony's political and economic importance within the Portuguese Empire had changed significantly, new ideologies were questioning the relationship between the Indian and white society, and the Jesuits' role in that relationship was at an end. A new experiment in "integration" was beginning.

CHAPTER 3. THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE INDIANIST EPIC

3.1. Introduction

Two centuries separate the last text examined and the three epic poems which are the subject of the present chapter. If the absence of any literature on the Indian during the seventeenth century and most of the eighteenth is indicative of anything other than the generally low level of cultural activity during this part of the colonial period, it must be the basic continuity which the Jesuit mission system represented in the relationship between the two societies, indigenous and white, and which was inimical to thematic novelty. The new literature appears precisely at a moment of change, when that continuity was being brought into question, when the role of the Society of Jesus in the administration of the Indians was being challenged. The three texts - O Uruguai (1768), Caramuru (1781) and A Muhraida (1785) - are all concerned in their different ways with this moment of political change, with the replacement of the religious missions by a civil administration and an indigenist policy of integration.

Those events, in their turn, are the result of two major developments in the history of the colony: its growing economic prosperity, based principally on the profits of mineral extraction, and the expansion of its territorial frontiers through the pioneering activities of the *bandeiras*. The key to the effective occupation and exploitation of these new territories was free access to an indigenous labour pool; the obstacle in its path, the restrictive control which the Jesuit missions exercised over those same Indians. The rise of Brazil as a potentially independent nation also explains the acceptability of the

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Indianist topic for a major literary form, and the survival of two of these works as part of the heritage of the Romantic Indianist movement. The epic is concerned with defining a sense of nationhood through some heroic event of national history. The three epic poems considered here, although loyal to the integrity of the Portuguese Empire and certainly not overtly nationalist, nevertheless revealed the potential role of the Indianist theme in the construction of a national identity, as Brazil emerged as an economy increasingly capable of challenging metropolitan rule. Significantly in this respect, it is A Muhraida, the most provincial of the three texts, the most rooted in local, contingent factors, which enjoyed the least subsequent success and the least interest on the part of the Romantics.

Both ideologically, then, and in terms of their historical relation to the political events of their time, the eighteenth-century Indianist epics form a bridge between the early colonial and Jesuit tradition of writing and nineteenth-century Romanticism. There are certainly parallels to be found between the child-like innocence of Basílio da Gama's Tape Guarani Indians in O Uruguai, and Vaz de Caminha's edenic description of the Indians at Porto Seguro in 1500. Frei José de Santa Rita Durão's Caramurú, meanwhile, echoes Anchieta's damning view of Indian culture, at the same time celebrating the Jesuits' faith in the project of evangelisation.

The chief innovation of these last two works, and which is in large part responsible for the interest of the Romantics, is the erotic element, although it has a distinct function for each of the two authors. In the case of O Uruguai, the love episode is the first recognition of a real, independent tribal world occupied by sentient human beings, and it

stands as evidence of the tragic destruction of that world by Europeans. The sexual relationship of Caramuru involves a white man and an Indian, and it expresses a more complacent view of the colonial enterprise, the political and cultural success of Conquest and of the notion of interracial integration. Again, the absence of the erotic element from A Muhraida must explain its failure to be incorporated into the canon of colonial works adopted by the Romantics as their nationalist inspiration.

But more than nationalism and the sexual theme, there is a deeper ideological connection between the Indianism of the Romantics and that of the eighteenth-century writers, and it has its roots in the politics of integration. Behind both Pombal's policy of "emancipation" and the conciliatory, "Liberal" indigenist policy of the Second Reign, there lie the same contradictory assumptions, the same language that seeks to reconcile the occupation of tribal lands and the exploitation of Indian labour with the notion of individual freedom and enterprise. Whether it was from the slavery and the Jesuit missions of the eighteenth century or from the overt campaigns of extermination of the early nineteenth, both regimes sought to "liberate" the Indian in order to integrate him/her economically into the programmes of intensive capitalist agriculture that were penetrating the interior.

As settlement and exploration pushed westwards, inland into the basins of the rivers Plate and Amazon, the pressure on both the mission villages and on the free Indian populations intensified. The colonists of São Paulo were poorer than their counterparts further up the coast, due to their isolation and the relative lack of success of sugar production in the area. The *paulistas*, predominantly descended from the family of the patriarch João Ramalho, depended instead for their prestige and

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wealth upon the trade in Indian slaves. Slaving expeditions soon became organised affairs, led by tough *mamelucos*, the offspring of Portuguese colonists and female Indian slaves, and were known as *bandeiras*. *Bandeiras* of as many as 3,000 men, a large proportion of them Indians, set out each year from 1600 onwards, at first against the Carijó Guarani Indians of the region, but increasingly in attacks on the Spanish Jesuit missions of the Guairá, situated along the tributaries of the river Paraná. Thousands of Indians were taken captive and forced to march the long route to São Paulo, where they were sold to settlers. The Jesuits were forced to arm their parishioners illegally and to flee southwards, setting up new missions on the Uruguay and in the modern states of Rio Grande do Sul and S. Mato Grosso. Whereas many such missions eventually fell to the *bandeirantes*, especially the legendary Antônio Raposo Tavares, the Paraguayan missions, including Sete Povos, were extraordinarily successful in resisting these attacks and survived as prosperous and stable communities until the Pombaline legislation of the 1750s.¹

In the Amazon, meanwhile, which was settled rather later, the Jesuits enjoyed more widespread security and wealth, particularly under the administration of Antônio Vieira. The 1686 Regulations of Missions in the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará effected a compromise between the interests of the missionaries and those of the colonists. Indians were divided into three groups: those responsible for supplying the agricultural needs of the *aldeias*, those used by the Jesuits to bring down *reduções* of Indians from the interior, and a third group available for two-month periods to the government and individual settlers. Later amendments increased the accessibility of the indigenous labour pool to

1. John Hemming, *Red Gold*, op.cit., Chs.12 & 13.

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the colonists, but the Jesuits remained firmly in control and were able illegally to divert large numbers of Indians into the mission system, ignoring the prohibition on their use on the tobacco plantations and sugar *engenhos*.²

This situation changed dramatically following the signing of the *Tratado de Limites* in Madrid in 1750, by the Spanish and Portuguese governments. As well as resolving some anomalies concerning the respective possessions of the two powers in the New World, the Treaty was in effect a ratification of the immense territorial gains achieved by the *bandeiras* along the western frontier, which represented a two-fold increase on the area defined by the 1494 Line of Tordesillas. The legislation issued just five years later by the Marquis of Pombal, the so-called Enlightened Despot who ruled the Portuguese Empire from 1755, was clearly intended to make effective those gains. The Jesuits were stripped of their spiritual powers in the colony, the first stage in their eventual expulsion from Portugal and its dominions in 1759. Simultaneously, two edicts, the so-called Law of Liberties, "freed" the Indians from the slavery legislation of the 1680s and from the regime of the Jesuit missions, whose administration was passed into the hands of lay *diretores*. Although heavily couched in the language of Enlightenment liberalism, the text of the Laws does not completely conceal the economic aims which lay behind the "emancipation" of the Indians, the promotion of interracial marriage and the elimination of racial prejudice:

2. Colin M. MacLachlan, "The Indian Labor Structure in the Portuguese Amazon, 1700-1800", *Colonial Roots of Modern Brazil* ed. Dauril Alden (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1973), pp.201-07.

Alvará de 4 de abril de 1755. - Considerando el-rei a grande conveniência de se povoarem os seus domínios da América, e o quanto para tal fim podia concorrer a comunicação com os índios por meio do casamento, foi servido declarar:

Que os seus vassallos do reino e da América, que casassem com índias, não ficariam por isso com infâmia alguma, antes se fariam dignos da sua real atenção.

Que nas terras em que se estabelecessem, seriam preferidos para os lugares e ocupações que soubessem na graduação das suas pessoas.

Que seus filhos e descendentes seriam hábeis e capazes de qualquer emprego, honra ou dignidade, sem necessitarem de dispensa alguma, motivadas destas alianças, gozando do mesmo favor as contraídas antes desta lei.

(...)

Que aos vassallos casados com índias, ou a seus descendentes ficava rigorosamente proibido dar o nome de *caboucos*, ou outro semelhante, que se pudesse haver por injurioso; pena aos contraventores, precedendo queixa da parte injuriada, de desterro para fora da comarca, dentro de um mês, sem apelação nem agravo, até mandar el-rei o contrário.³

The repeal of the existing slavery legislation, which occupies the second *alvará* of 6th June, 1755, is justified by the low numbers of Indians encouraged to settle in the white community as a result of the living conditions of those already there:

(...) com prejuízo da salvação de suas almas, e grave dano do estado, e dos moradores, a quem de todo faleciam braços para ajudá-los na cultura das suas terras (...) (op.cit., p.224).

The *diretoria* system was thus an attempt to draw the Indians into the economy as free and willing wage labourers, half of them to supply government needs and the *aldeia* plantations, the other half to be employed by individual settlers. The failure of the policy and its consequences will be discussed briefly in the next chapter, but suffice it to say that conditions were far from liberal: wages were absurdly unrealistic and varied according to levels of production, workers had to endure a ten and a half-hour day beginning at five in the morning, and

3. IN João Francisco Lisboa, Crônica do Brasil Colonial (Apontamentos para a História do Maranhão) (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1976), pp.223-24.

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the result was high rates of death and desertion. The aim to encourage an arable economy had only limited success, and the predominant activity remained that of gathering or collection of forest products. Much of the labour force was diverted by the government for pioneering and frontier expeditions, and for the construction of frontier fortresses to guard against encroachment by the Spanish.⁴

Meanwhile, the political changes resulting from the Treaty of Madrid were not implemented altogether smoothly or without opposition. Such was the case of Sete Povos, the Spanish Jesuit missions on the river Uruguai which now found themselves on Portuguese territory and under orders to move across the border. The exact nature of life in the Paraguayan missions has yet to be satisfactorily determined, but the loyalty of the Indians, their determined resistance to the expulsion even after the Jesuits had bowed to the orders of their superiors, gives considerable credence to the suggestion that this was a unique social experiment. The totalitarian regime of the mission system found here its most successful example, a prosperous, independent and self-sufficient state founded on the egalitarian, but highly disciplined organisation of an exceptionally sedentary people, the Tape Guarani. Nevertheless, contemporary and subsequent accounts of Sete Povos justified the offensive against the rebel "Republic" by denouncing the wealth amassed by the Jesuits at the expense of their "slaves", whom they kept in the darkest ignorance, inciting them against secular society:

Nos Sertoens dos referidos Rios Uruguai, e Paraguai, se achou estabelecida huma poderosa Republica, a qual só nas margens, e territórios daquelles dous Rios tinha fundado não menos de trinta

4. MacLachlan, *op.cit.*, pp.209-22.

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e huma grandes Povoações, habitadas de quasi cem mil Almas; e tão ricas, e opulentas em fructos, e cabedáis para os ditos Padres, como pobres, e infelices para os desgraçados Indios que nellas fechavão como Escravos.⁵

The Indians' obedience was allegedly so blind that they accepted the lashings administered by the Fathers, and then "levantandose vão dar-lhe as graças, e beijar-lhe a mão. (...) Estas pobrissimas familias vivem na mais rigida obediencia, em mayor escravidão, que as Negras dos Mineiros" (op.cit., p.23). Whatever the exact nature of the regime, its historical importance lay in the radical challenge which it posed to the political control of metropolitan Portugal, in the person of Pombal, over the colony. The missions represented an obstacle, not just to the Portuguese/Spanish boundary changes and economic development of the region, but also to the integrality of the Portuguese Empire.

It was thus that, in spite of the Indians' repeated requests that they should be allowed to remain in Sete Povos, joint Spanish/Portuguese forces were sent to implement the results of the Treaty of Madrid. The first campaign of 1754 ended in a compromise which soon proved unacceptable to the European governments. And so, in 1756, the allied armies proceeded to carry out a massacre of 1,400 Indians at the Battle of Caibaté. When the soldiers finally entered the deserted missions, it was alleged that great treasures and wealth were discovered, confirming the anti-Jesuit propaganda which claimed that the rebellion had been

5. Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, Marquês de Pombal (?), Relação Abbreviada da República, que os Religiosos Jesuitas das Provincias de Portugal, e Hespanha, estabelecerão nos Dominios Ultramarinos das duas Monarchias, e da Guerra, que nelles tem movido, e sustentado contra os Exercitos Hespanhoes, e Portuguezes; Formada pelos registos das Secretarias dos dous respectivos Principaes Commissarios, E Plenipotentiarios; e por outros Documentos authenticos, Recueil de pièces, pour servir d'addition et de preuve à la Relation abregée... (Paris: 1758), p.6.

incited by the Fathers in order to defend their illegitimate, tyrannical empire over the Indians.⁶

3.2. Basilio da Gama and *O Uruguai*

Published in 1769, thirteen years after these events, *O Uruguai* appears at first sight to be dedicated entirely to this view of the Jesuits and the campaign against Sete Povos. Indeed, such is that impression that a defender of the Society of Jesus saw fit subsequently to produce a "Refutação das calumnias contra os Jesuítas contidas no poema "Uruguay" de José Basilio da Gama".⁷ The immediate circumstances of the text's publication, the author's wish to disassociate himself from the Order, also encourage such an interpretation. However, as Antônio Cândido has pointed out,⁸ those passages of the poem most directly concerned with the Jesuits are also the least successfully executed. Another critic has suggested that various illogicalities and factual contradictions in the work can only be explained by accepting that the propagandistic thrust of the poem was grafted onto it at a late stage in its composition.⁹

In fact, the chief interest of *O Uruguai* lies precisely in its ambivalence, its simultaneous loyalty to the political claims of the

6. Clovis Lugon, *A República "Comunista" Cristã dos Guaranis* 3ª ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1977), ch.XVII, pp.283-305; Hemming, *Red Gold*, op.cit., pp.462-74; Capitão Jacinto Rodrigues da Cunha, "Diário da expedição de Gomes Freire de Andrada às missões do Uruguay, testemunha presencial", *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, 3ª série, no.10 (1853), pp.137-321.

7. Anon., *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, tomo LXVIII, Parte 1 (Rio de Janeiro: 1907), pp.93-224.

8. Antônio Cândido, "A dois séculos d'*O Uruguai*", *Vários Escritos* (São Paulo: Duas Cidades, 1970), p.175.

9. Waltensir Dutra, "O Arcadismo na Poesia Lírica, épica e satírica", *A Literatura no Brasil*, ed. Afrânio Coutinho, 5 vols., 2ª ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Sul Americana, 1968), vol.I, p.344.

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Portuguese Empire and sympathetic identification with the tribal victims of European colonialism. It is that ambivalence which makes it the most "modern" of the three eighteenth-century epics and the most genuinely anticipatory of the Romantic Indianist movement. There is one further piece of evidence outside the text which gives additional weight to the notion that O Uruguai carries within it the murmurings of an embryonic Indianist nationalism - Basílio's "Soneto a Tupac Amaru", "Ao Inca que no Peru armando algumas tribus declarou guerra aos Hespanhoes e por algum tempo os debellou":

Dos curvos arcos, açoitando os ares,
Vôa a setta veloz do indio adusto;
O horror, a confusão, o espanto, o susto
Passam da terra e vão gelar os mares.

Ferindo a vista os tremulos cocares
Animoso esquadrão de chefe augusto
Rompe as cadêas do hespanhol injusto
E torna a vindicar os patrios lares.

Inca valente, generoso indiano!
Ao real sangue que te alenta as vêias
Une a memoria do paterno damno.

Honra as cinzas de dor e injurias chelas,
Qu'inda fumando a morte, o roubo, o ingano,
Clamam vingança as tépidas areias.¹⁰

José Basílio da Gama was born in the town now known as Tiradentes, in the Province of Minas Gerais, in 1741. His father, a wealthy farmer, died soon afterwards, and José was sent Rio to study with the Jesuits and enter the Order. Their expulsion from the colony in 1759 cut short this ecclesiastical career, and he was forced to leave the country for Europe, where he came into contact with the Italian Arcadian movement. During a visit to Portugal he was arrested and condemned to

10. José Basílio da Gama, Obras poéticas (Rio de Janeiro: Garnier, 1921), p.219.

be deported to Angola, on suspicion of supporting the Jesuits. He was spared this fate, however, after writing an "Epitalâmio" for the wedding of Pombal's daughter and pleading his innocence. O Uruguai, dedicated to Pombal himself, was published in the same year of 1769, and Basílio remained loyal to his protector even after the latter's downfall (Cândido, op.cit., p.168).

Basílio da Gama's links with the Escola Mineira (via Silva Alvarenga) appear tenuous, and it would be begging the question to seek causes for the ambiguities of O Uruguai in the emergent nationalist sentiment of that movement. The two most significant influences on his literary development must rather have been the years of his childhood and adolescence spent in Brazil during the events depicted in the poem, and the Arcadian movement which had by then spread from Italy to Portugal. Certainly, the disruption of an American Arcadia, a harmonious, idyllic world, by the violence and material ambition of modern civilisation, is a central theme of the work. The poem opens with a strikingly negative portrayal of the ravages of war:

Fumam ainda nas desertas praias
Lagos de sangue tépidos e impuros
Em que ondeiam cadáveres despídos,
Pasto de corvos. Dura inda nos vales
O rouco som da irada artilharia.''

The most often quoted lines of the poem, from the second Canto, are an even more vehement expression of regret for the trauma of Conquest, the momentous violation of natural barriers by the European:

"Gentes de Europa, nunca vos trouxera
"O mar e o vento a nós. Ah! não de balde
"Estendeu entre nós a natureza
"Todo esse plano espaço imenso de águas" (II, 171-4, p.45).

11. José Basílio da Gama, O Uruguai (Rio de Janeiro: Agir, 1964), p.20.

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Against this background, the Indian characters, although not yet permitted to occupy the centre of the stage, display a real human substance, and their arguments an ingenuous but natural legitimacy, beside which the words of the Portuguese commander Gomes Freire de Andrada have the hollow ring of expediency. The more conciliatory of the two tribal envoys, Cacambo, expresses doubts about the political wisdom of exchanging Sete Povos for the Colônia do Sacramento, a hard-won and valuable Portuguese possession. In addition, he questions the government's economic reasoning, since the agricultural prosperity of the region will inevitably depend upon the availability of indigenous labour; at the same time, Basílio has him unwittingly denounce the Jesuits' tyrannical exploitation of their wards in violation of the supreme authority of the Imperial government:

(...)

"As campinas que vês e a nossa terra
"- Sem o nosso suor e os nossos braços -
"De que serve ao teu rei? Aqui não temos
"Nem altas minas, nem caudalosos
"Rios de areias de ouro. Essa riqueza
"Que cobre os templos dos benditos padres,
"Fruto da sua indústria e do comércio
"Da folha e peles, é riqueza sua.
"Com o arbítrio dos corpos e das almas
"O céu lha deu em sorte. A nós somente
"Nos toca arar e cultivar a terra,
"Sem outra paga mais que o repartido
"Por mãos escassas mísero sustento.
"Pobres choupanas, e algodões tecidos,
"E o arco, e as setas. e as vistosas penas
"São as nossas fantásticas riquezas.
"Muito suor, e pouco ou nenhum fasto.

(...)

"Vê que o nome dos reis não nos assusta.
"O teu está mui longe; e nós os índios
"Não temos outro rei mais do que os padres" (II, 86-110,
pp.41-42).

Sepé, on the other hand, appeals directly to the natural justice of age-old land rights, which gives his rebellion the legitimacy of a patriotic defence of the fatherland:

"(...) e todos sabem
"Que estas terras, que pisas, o céu livres
"Deu aos nossos avós; nós também livres
"As recebemos dos antepassados.
"Livres as hão de herdar os nossos filhos.
"Desconhecemos, detestamos jugo
"Que não seja o do céu, por mão dos padres.
"As frechas partirão nossas contendas
"Dentro de pouco tempo; e o vosso Mundo,
"Se nele um resto houver de humanidade,
"Julgará entre nós: se defendemos
"- Tu a injustiça, e nós o Deus e a Pátria" (II, 176-88, p.46).

In opposition to these arguments, the rationale of Gomes Freire de Andrada's discourse only becomes fully comprehensible in the light of Pombal's "emancipation" legislation of 1755. For Andrada's manipulation of the concepts of liberty and slavery exactly corresponds to that of the Laws of Liberty, and seems intended to pre-empt Sepé's impassioned, reiterated appeal to an absolute freedom, as quoted above: "livres...livres...livres". For the Portuguese commander, liberty has very specific cultural and political conditions attached to it: to begin with, there can be no genuine freedom in the absence of civilised institutions, in other words, in the Indians' nomadic, forest existence of permanent tribal warfare:

"Fez-vos livres o céu, mas se o ser livres
"Era viver errantes e dispersos,
"Sem companheiros, sem amigos, sempre
"Com as armas na mão em dura guerra,
"Ter por justiça a força, e pelos bosques
"Viver do acaso, eu julgo que inda fora
"Melhor a escravidão que a liberdade (II, 119-25, p.43).

Secondly, the mission regime has imposed upon the Indians an illegitimate servitude, usurping the "natural" authority of the Portuguese Crown which, being natural, a "public" cause as opposed to the "private" interests of the Indians, must therefore represent a higher form of freedom:

"Mas nem a escravidão, nem a miséria
"Quer o benigno rei que o fruto seja
"Da sua proteção. Esse absoluto
"Império ilimitado, que exercitam

"Em vós os padres, - como vós, vassallos -
"É império tirânico, que usurpam.
"Nem são senhores, nem vós sois escravos.
"O rei é vosso pai: quer-vos felices.
"Sois livres, como eu sou; e sereis livres,
"Não sendo aqui, em outra qualquer parte.
"Mas deveis entregar-nos estas terras.
"Ao bem público cede o bem privado.
"O sossego de Europa o pede.
"Assim o manda o rei. Vós sois rebeldes,
"Se não obedeceis; mas os rebeldes,
"Eu sei que não sois vós - são os bons padres,
"Que vos dizem a todos que sois livres,
"E se servem de vós como de escravos (II, 126-43, pp.43-44).

The legitimacy of this "liberation" of the Indians from the economic and political control of the Fathers, and their incorporation into the "free" economy and society of the Portuguese Empire, depends very much upon the familiar terms of the relationship between Indian and Portuguese. Interestingly, Andrada's assurance that "O rei é vosso pai" seems intended to challenge that other claim to fatherhood, that of the Jesuit *padres*. That paternalism, and the correspondingly infantile status of the Indians, are demonstrated earlier in the Canto, as the General bestows upon his "children" the magnanimity of a strict but merciful parent:

(...) - "Tentem-se os meios
"De brandura e de amor; se isto não basta,
"Farei a meu pesar o último esforço."
Mandou, dizendo assim, que os índios todos
Que tinha prisioneiros no seu campo
Fossem vestidos das formosas cores,
Que a inculta gente simples tanto adora.
Abraçou-os a todos, como filhos,
E deu a todos liberdade. (...) (II, 26-34, pp.37-38)

The closing scene of the poem, when "correct" political relations between the two peoples have been restored, resembles a family portrait, the patriarch at its centre with his children gathered around him:

(...) Em roda o cercam
(Nem se enganaram) procurando abrigo
Chorosas mães, e filhos inocentes,
E curvos pais e tímidas donzelas (V, 129-32, p.97).

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However, before that reconciliation can take place, the rebels must be punished, their disobedience checked with a severity that more than matches Andrada's reply to the defiant Cacambo:

"Dentro de pouco tempo um meu aceno
"Vai cobrir este monte e essas campinas
"De semivivos palpitantes corpos
"De míseros mortais, que inda não sabem
"Por que causa o seu sangue vai agora
"Lavar a terra e recolher-se em lagos.
(...)" (II, 159-64, p. 45)

It is very much in spite of himself, then, and in spite of the uncompromising political argument of the poem, that Basílio allows his Indian protagonists to achieve an epic stature far exceeding their role as passive, childlike victims of manipulation. More than in the scenes of explicit military heroism which complete Canto II, this epic stature is revealed through a secondary, inner narrative that is otherwise superfluous to the historical events of the poem. Cacambo's mission to set fire to the enemy camp, his separation from Lindóia and his final death at the hands of the corrupt Jesuits, are all separated from the real external referent by a new narrative perspective and a special poetic space which the Indian inhabits. Antônio Cândido has given an excellent analysis of the cinematic-like sequence in Canto IV, which transports the reader across a natural landscape from the Portuguese camp to the mission *aldeia*.¹² A similar technique is used at the beginning of Canto III to bridge, yet also emphasise, the physical and mythical distance between Portuguese and Indian. It is the barrier of a forbiddingly hostile, barren terrain, whose special relationship to the Indian prefigures Bernardo Guimarães' *O índio Afonso*, and even more strikingly, Euclides da Cunha's account of another war against primitive

12. Op cit., pp.179-81.

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rebels, Os Sertões. In this respect, the conspicuous paucity of ethnographic detail in O Uruguai, in contrast to Caramuru, is significant, for those few details which Basílio does include function precisely to underline the harmony between the Indian and his land, a harmony which excludes the European.

One such instance is his account of the tribal practice of stubble-burning, in order to encourage the top growth of vegetation. For the author, this exemplifies the civilisation of the Indian, the principle by which "A Arte emenda a natureza". But it also demonstrates the latter's strength, for by abandoning the practice for the duration of the war, the Indians are able to deny their opponents the pasture needed by the horses of their mounted regiments. This alliance between man and earth, personifying the hostility of the continent towards the Imperial invader, produces scenes remarkably comparable to those found in Os Sertões:

Mas agora sabendo por espias
As nossas marchas, conservavam sempre
Seccas as torradíssimas campinas;
Nem consentiam, por fazer-nos guerra,
Que a chama benfeitora e a cinza fria
Fertilizasse o árido terreno.
O cavalo até li forte e brioso,
E costumado a não ter mais sustento,
Naqueles climas, do que a verde relva
Da mimosa campina, desfalece.
Nem mais, se o seu senhor o afaga, encurva
Os pés, e cava o chão coas as mãos, e o vale
Rinchando atroa, e açouta o ar coas clinas (III, 30-41, p.57).

Similarly, in the first Canto the landscape appears actively to participate in the Indians' resistance to the Portuguese - "Porém o rio e a forma do terreno/ Nos faz não vista e nunca usada guerra" (212-13, p.33). During Cacambo's mission to set the enemy camp alight, the river collaborates by calming its current as the Indian dives into its waters: "Já sabia entanto/ A nova emprêsa na limosa gruta/ O pátrio rio; e dando

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um jeito à urna/ Fez que as águas corresse[m] mais serenas" (III, 92-95, p.60). In contrast to the perspective of Caramurú, here the colonial power is seen from within the tribal environment as an outsider, alien to a people and landscape living in harmonious self-sufficiency.

We now enter another world "na outra margem", in which Cacambo passes through all the stages of a kind of epic quest in miniature. It begins with the vision or dream of Sepé, who exhorts Cacambo to avenge his death, echoing, as one critic has noted,¹³ the appearance of Hector to Aeneas. The vision provides Cacambo with the characteristic isolation of the tragic hero and his proud, soaring spirit devoted to the heroic, patriotic mission - "(...) quer sobre o largo rio/ Ir peito a peito a contrastar coa morte" (III, 81-82, p.60). The epic mood is reinforced by references to Ulysses and the destruction of Troy, and, again, by the hero's semi-magical powers over his environment, as he conjures up the animate forces of the fire from two dry sticks "(...) Cresce então/ O incêndio furioso, e o irado vento/ Arrebata às mãos cheias vivas chamas" (III, 127-29, p.62). And, if the tragic hero at the top of the wheel of fortune must eventually fall, his mythical status nevertheless remains intact, for it is only after completing this mission that Cacambo returns to meet his betrayal at the hand of his false protector Padre Balda.

The climax of this inner mythical narrative which Basílio constructs for the Indian is the death of Lindóia after her forced separation from Cacambo. It is the episode which most appealed to the Romantic Indianists, and for reasons that are not simply confined to its pathos. On the one hand it allows Basílio to convey the disruption of the

13. Mário Camarinha da Silva, editor's note, no.52, to O Uruguai, op.cit., p.58.

Arcadian, tribal world at an individual level, in terms of the frustrated sexual relationship between the two Indians. On the other hand, Lindóia's intact virginity (she takes her own life rather than yield to Balda's protégé Baldetta) means that the integrity of her special poetic space is also preserved intact. After her vision of the future downfall of the corrupt Jesuit empire, she withdraws into the flower-strewn grotto, "delicioso e triste", prepared for her by the old sorceress Tanajura. There, she is discovered by her brother, wrapped in the coils of a snake; after hesitating an ominous three times, he lets loose an arrow, and the emotional pitch is intensified as the animal writhes grotesquely in its own blood and venom, apparently signifying Lindóia's salvation. However, the venom is already working in her veins, allowing her the far preferable death, the *liebestod*, which will reunite her with Cacambo. Abandoned without a proper burial, like her lover, "exposta às feras e às famintas aves", she nevertheless reaffirms, if at a tragically passive level, the heroic and ultimately hopeless resistance of her people and their vulnerable innocence, and so becomes the first in a long tradition of Romantic Indianist heroines.

3.3 Santa Rita Durão and Caramuru¹⁴

The story of Diogo Álvares Caramuru, the Portuguese sailor shipwrecked on the coast of Bahia, spared from execution by the local Indians and who married their chief's daughter, is chiefly known through an epic poem published in 1781 by the Franciscan theologian, Frei José de Santa Rita Durão. However, numerous other versions of the myth exist, in

14. For a more detailed account of the Caramuru myth and Durão's poem, see David Treece, "Caramuru the Myth: Conquest and Conciliation", Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv, Neue Folge, Jahrgang 10, Heft 2 (1984), pp.139-73.

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early colonial *crônicas*, later historical texts and various works of fiction, and together they demonstrate the difficulty of defining such legends as uniform, immutable facts. Whereas most critics have noted the limited interest and value of Durão's poem, its tedious stylistic conservatism, none has realised sufficiently that the text is above all remarkable for its vehemently Catholic perspective, its consequent perversion of many elements fundamental to the traditional story and its damning view of the Indians. This is all the more striking in the light of contemporary developments in European thought, which had been offering increasingly favourable images of primitive man, culminating with Rousseau's Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes, published in 1755. While there is no concrete evidence to suggest that Basilio da Gama had read the Discours before writing O Uruguai, my analysis of the poem has revealed a number of modern tendencies that clearly anticipate the Romantic Indianists. Caramuru, by contrast, although published twelve years later, betrays no influence of these trends and is closer in spirit to Anchieta's didactic dramas of two centuries previously.

Durão's peculiarly reactionary response to the Indianist theme can largely be explained by the immediate circumstances of the poem's composition and by the major ideological conflicts to which they point: namely, his attitude to the expulsion of the Jesuits and the termination of their missionary role amongst Brazil's Indian populations. It is hardly surprising that there should have been some attempt to reaffirm the value of the ecclesiastical contribution to the colonial project, and Santa Rita Durão seems to have been a sufficiently extraordinary character to undertake the task.

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After becoming a respected doctor of philosophy and theology in Portugal, ambition led him to enter into a friendship with D. João Cosme, the Bishop of Leiria, whose influence he hoped would benefit his career. To this end he wrote a Pastoral, the most violent invective yet against the Jesuits, which was published in the Bishop's name. However, the latter repaid Durão's services by taking the entire credit for the piece, and disowned his protégé. Durão spent many years travelling throughout Europe recovering from the injury of this ingratitude, pursued by a gnawing sense of guilt which led him to seek an audience with the Pope and to publish a Retractação of his earlier libel.¹⁵

The poem Caramurú may be seen as a further attempt to expiate this guilt; in this way it is possible to explain Santa Rita Durão's portrayal of Diogo Álvares as a forerunner of the Jesuit missionaries, with its huge exaggeration of his religious role amongst the Indians. Durão constructs a whole messianic mythology around the arrival of Diogo, combining existing legends with some of his own invention. For instance, the episode of the Ilha do Corvo tells of how Saint Aureo was miraculously transported to a distant, unknown land to bring the Word of God to a dying man, Guaçu. The man had already dreamt of this visit and of the "Homem com barbas, branco, e venerando",¹⁶ who would fulfil his faith in the ultimate salvation of mankind: "Mas nunca duvidei que alguém se visse,/ Que de tantas miserias nos remisse" (I, 49). On his death the old man is placed on the island to point the way to the "paiz do metal

15. Artur Viegas, O poeta Santa Rita Durão. Revelações históricas de sua vida e do seu século (Brussels: L'edition d'Art Gaudio, 1914).

16. José de Santa Rita Durão, Caramurú, poema épico do descobrimento da Bahia (Lisboa: Regia Officina Typografica, 1781), I, 48. References give canto and stanza numbers from this edition. See also Caramurú ed. Hernâni Cidade, 2ª ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Agir, 1961).

rico" - the references to Brazil are obvious and there is a clear invitation to identify Saint Aureo and Diogo Alvares, whose coming has also been anticipated in the Indian collective subconscious. Durão suggests this by staging a theological debate between Diogo Alvares and the chief of the Tupinambá Indians, Gupeva. Gupeva expounds a series of theological concepts - the Devil, Hell, Sin, an omnipotent God of truth - which bear no relation to the many accounts of tribal culture previous to its exposure to Catholicism.¹⁷ These beliefs were, according to Gupeva, transmitted down the generations in an unrecognisable form, their true meaning obscured, forgotten or deliberately suppressed in cases where they conflicted with sinful indigenous customs:

Outra lei depois desta é fama antiga,
Que observada já foi das nossas gentes;
Mas ignoramos hoje a que ela obriga,
Porque os nossos maiores, pouco crentes,
Achando-a de seus vícios inimiga,
Recusaram guardá-la, mal contentes (III, 80).

Diogo's arrival has been further prefigured in the legend of Sumé, an itinerant miracle-maker and agent of civilisation, and probably a fusion of indigenous messianic figures and the Christian evangelist, Saint Thomas (São Tomé):¹⁸

Mas da memória o tempo não acaba,
Que pregara Sumé, santo emboaba.

Homem foi de semblante reverendo,
Branco de cor, como tu, barbado,
Que desde donde o Sol nos vem nascendo,
De um filho de Tupá vinha mandado (III, 80-81).

17. E.g. Jean de Léry, Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil, autrement dit Amérique (Lausanne: Bibliothèque Romande, 1972).

18. See Luís da Câmara Cascudo, Dicionário do folclore brasileiro, 3ª ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Edições de Ouro, 1972), p.836.

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More than all the poem's other many distortions of Indian culture, however, it is this last idea, "filho de Tupá", which stands at the centre of Durão's messianic interpretation of the Caramuru myth, and which brings all the above elements together. If any single image is responsible for the survival of the myth right up to the present, then it is the hero's firing of the musket, which saves him from execution and establishes the origins of his prestige within the tribe. Indeed, amongst the many varied explanations for Caramuru's adopted indigenous name, the one which has enjoyed most credibility relates to this prodigious demonstration of European technology and power.¹⁹ The Jesuit chronicler Simão de Vasconcellos, for instance, tells the story in the following words:

(...) o homem de fogo (que assi lhe chamarão) que de longe feria, e matava, quaes se virão a furia de hum Vulcano, ficãrão desmaiados, e derão a fugir pellos mattos, ficando assi provado o valor, e arte mais que humana (na opinião desta gente) de Diogo Álvares, (...) e aqui lhe acrescentarão o nome, chamandolhe o grande Caramurú.²⁰

Although the word is in fact the indigenous name for the moray eel, referring to Diogo's initial emergence from the sea after his shipwreck, it is this explanation of "man of fire" which has remained most popular, suggesting a cultural, as well as military, conquest of the Indian. A brand of fireworks in Brazil still uses the name, and contemporary children's literature perpetuates the image of Diogo firing his musket while the Indians look on in amazement or flee in terror. Durão's account of the event enhances its epic significance to the full. In most other versions Diogo cooperates with the Tupinambá tribespeople in recovering

19. Treece, op.cit., p.160.

20. Simão de Vasconcellos, Chronica da Companhia de Jesu do Estado do Brasil (Lisboa: Officina de Henrique Valente de Oliveira, Impressor del Rey N.S., 1663), p.38.

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objects from the wreck, at the same time managing to conceal a musket, powder and shot with which he impresses the Indians by killing a bird. Durão, however, is unable to let Diogo humiliate himself by collaborating in his imprisonment. In the poem Diogo has kept, along with the other weapons, a suit of armour which he has somehow hidden in a cave. Durão is thus able to make the hero's subjugation of his captors a more calculated triumph; he first appears in his armour when Gupeva's tribe is being attacked by Sergipe, "o principe valente", and convinces the Indians that he is the evil spirit Anhangá, transforming the Indians' understandable surprise into quivering, sub-human terror:

Entanto a gente barbara, prostrada,
Tão fora de si está, por cobardia,
Que sem sentido, estúpida, assombrada,
Só mostra viva estar, porque tremia (II, 13).

Then comes Diogo's lesson of technology and European weaponry, the source of his mythical, semi-divine status:

Estando a turba longe de cuidá-lo,
Fica o bárbaro ao golpe estremecido,
E cai por terra, no tremendo abalo
Da chama, do fracasso e do estampido;
Qual do horrído trovão com raio e estalo
Algum junto a quem cai, fica aturdido,
Tal Gupeva ficou, crendo formada
No arcabuz do Diogo um trovoadá.

Toda em terra prostrada, exclama e grita
A turba rude, em mísero desmaio,
E faz horror, que estúpida repita
- Tupá Caramuru! - temendo um raio.
Pretendem ter por Deus, quando o permita
O que estão vendo em pavoroso ensaio,
Entre horríveis trovões do márcio jogo,
Vomitar chamas e abrasar com fogo (II, 44-45).

In the opening stanza of the poem, Caramuru is identified as *Filho do Trovão*, a highly significant adaptation of the false etymology, "o homem de fogo", which was already common currency. Durão is exploiting one of the most widely propagated fallacies concerning tribal beliefs, namely

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that Tupã "source or mother of thunder" was a supreme creator god in the tradition of European religions. This was the word commonly used by the Jesuit missionaries to translate the notion of an omnipotent Christian God into terms comprehensible to the Indians. Thus, as the son of thunder, the Son of God, Diogo is elevated to the status of a Christ-figure, the archetypal Messiah of the colonisers' Christian culture. As an American Christ, Diogo has arrived to reveal the true nature of Indian religion which, as we saw above, had long since been concealed from the Indians themselves. Effectively, this means that indigenous culture is simply a disguised form of Catholicism, and the Indians' denial of this latent tradition through their primitive practices therefore constitutes an unforgivable blasphemy. One such practice, which Durão focuses on with a fervour worthy of Anchieta, is cannibalism; indeed, Durão reiterates the Jesuit's comparison of tribal corruption and the pagan heresies of the Ancient Romans and Greeks:

Correm, depois de crê-lo, ao pasto horrendo;
E, retalhando o corpo em mil pedaços,
Vai cada um, famélico, trazendo,
Qual um pé, qual a mão, qual outro os braços;
Outros na crua carne iam comendo,
Tanto na infame gula eram devassos.
Tais há que as assam nos ardentes fossos;
Alguns torrando estão na chama os ossos.

Que horror da humanidade ver tragada
Da própria espécie a carne já corrupta!
Quanto não deve a Europa abençoada
▲ Fé do Redentor, que humilde escuta?
Não era aquela infâmia praticada
Só dessa gente miseranda e bruta:
Roma e Cartago o sabe no noturno,
Horível sacrificio de Saturno (I, 17-18).

Paradoxically, though, while Durão's Indians behave "like animals", he nevertheless gives them the intellectual capacity to know that they are doing wrong. During the preparation and ritual cannibalism of two Caeté

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Indians in Canto V, Diogo attempts to release one of the prisoners, but the latter prefers to be killed, with a justification that owes more to the Western dualistic tradition in philosophy and theology than it does to any tribal cosmology: "o espirito, a razão, o pensamento/ Sou eu, e nada mais: a carne inmundada/ Forma-se cada dia do alimento" (V, 63). Even a state of primitive ignorance is unacceptable to Diogo as an excuse:

Tornai a culpa a vós; e a vós somente
(o Heroe responde assim) Se com estudo
Procurais sobre a Terra o bem presente,
Porque não procurais o Author de tudo?
Para o mais tendes lume, instincto, e mente;
Somente contra Deos buscais o escudo
Em a vossa ignorancia a brutal culpa!
Essa ignorancia he crime, e não desculpa (III, 10).

The possibility of salvation does exist, though, and it is offered through the archetypal colonial marriage between Indian and white, which follows the European's military conquest of the territory. Whereas the earlier accounts suggest that Diogo fought with the local Tupinambá against a neighbouring Tapuia group, Durão increases the scale of the war to an implausible degree. The enemy aggressor, Sergipe, is joined by an impossible alliance of tribes which include the Potiguar from the North-east and the Carijó from the region of Rio Grande do Sul. By bringing together tribes separated by thousands of miles and representing the entire indigenous population of Brazil, Durão transforms Diogo's local influence into a total military conquest of the country.

Diogo's political conquest was achieved, in reality, like that of João Ramalho in São Paulo, by taking full advantage of the Indians' polygamous marriage system and establishing a large patriarchal family. The different accounts of the legend have tended progressively to attenuate the element of polygamy and to offer Paraguaçu (a name probably invented by Vasconcellos) as a single representative figure, an ideal

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symbol of the Indian convert and of the embodiment of the Catholic ethic in the *mestiço* colonial family. Moreover, all the versions of the myth except Durão's attribute the role of evangelisation exclusively to Paraguaçu; her vision of the Virgin leads to the discovery of a box containing an image, to which the couple raises a chapel and abbey.

In the poem *Caramurú*, meanwhile, she has a more secondary, passive function; Diogo falls in love with her at first sight but, typically of Durão's prudishness, the hero's incipient passion is checked by a pious rationalism, something central to the author's view of civilisation and primitivism as he sees it reflected in the two races. Diogo's contemplation of marriage could hardly be more pedestrian: "Que pode ser? Sou fraco; ela é formosa.../ Eu livre... ela donzela... Será esposa" (II, 84). After he has helped Gupeva defeat the national alliance of tribes, he is offered the daughters of the subjugated chiefs; as one editor of the poem explains, "Os chefes indígenas oferecem as filhas a Diogo Alvares, para se honrar com o seu parentesco. O lusitano aceita o parentesco, mas não as donzelas, por casta fidelidade a Paraguaçu".²¹

This sanitised image of the European coloniser's sexual attitudes stands in sharp contrast to the instinctive sensuality and even bestiality of the Indian characters. For instance, one of the enemy chiefs, Jararaca ("snake"), plans to abduct Paraguaçu, having seen her asleep in the forest; his brute sensibility is awed by the girl's divine beauty:

21. Hernâni Cidade, *Caramurú* (Rio de Janeiro: Agir, 1961), p.84.

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Este de Paraguaçu perdido amante,
Com ciúmes da donzela ardendo vinha;
impeto que à razão, batendo as asas,
Apaga o claro lume e acende as brasas.
(...)

No diáfano reflexo da onda pura
Avistou dentro de água buliçosa,
Tremulando, a belíssima figura.
Pasma, nem crê que imagem tão formosa
Seja cópia de humana criatura.
E, remirando a face prodigiosa,
Olha de um lado e d'outro, e busca, atento,
Quem seja original deste portento (IV, 1 & 4).

Even the affable Gupeva is rejected by Paraguaçu, for "Nada sabem de amor barbaras gentes,/ Nem arde em peito rude a amante chama" (I, 80).

The most important example of this unacceptable tribal sexuality concerns Moema, whose tragic exclusion from the central marriage of the Caramuru myth appealed to the Romantics more than any other element of the story. This purely fictional incident developed out of Diogo's departure for Europe on a passing French ship. In several of the early accounts, his favourite Indian wife swims out to join him, but from Vasconcellos on, this image of pursuit is transferred to the other wives or "concubines". The notion of the Indian's self-sacrifice and dedication to her white master is therefore transformed into jealousy, abandonment and despair. Diogo takes his preferred partner with him whilst of the rest, at least one drowns in the attempt to follow, a picture of desperate sexual rivalry which corresponds to Diogo's total military control over the nation's tribes. His ability to reject all but the most socially prestigious i.e. the "princess", enhances his power over the Indians.

But the elements of jealousy, abandonment and despair imply something rather different in Durão's version of the story, for he is the first to find a racial meaning in the death of the drowned girl, whom he names Moema. Let us first consider Durão's description of Paraguaçu:

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Paraguaçu gentil (tal nome teve),
Bem diversa de gente tão nojosa,
De cor tão alva como a branca neve,
E donde não é neve, era de rosa (II, 78).

Durão goes to great pains to emphasise the physical and moral distance between Paraguaçu and the other Indians, and her consequent proximity to Diogo. His use of the terms "Certa dama gentil brasileira", "donzela" and "A bela americana" instead of "índia" or "gentia" is indicative of this. She has the erotic sensitivity of a *civilizada*, as we have seen, and her knowledge of Portuguese, conveniently learnt from a captive of the tribe, gives her a special intimacy of communication with Diogo. Antônio Cândido rightly sees this racial transformation as part of an ideal cultural union or *mestiçagem* between Europe and America, in which the Portuguese Diogo praises the marvels of Brazil, adopting a tribal name and certain of the less contentious aspects of indigenous culture, while the Indian Paraguaçu speaks for European civilisation (op.cit.).

This is only half the truth, however, for I would propose that Durão's Paraguaçu is in fact a pure white European in disguise. The author's refusal to confront the historical reality of miscegenation, which is central to the story of Caramuru, brings him to a denial of Paraguaçu's dark Indian blood, and to describe what is effectively the marriage of white to white. Meanwhile, he projects the dangerous, dark sexuality of the Indian woman onto the fictitious figure of Moema, who clings hopelessly to the hull of the ship, suggesting a symbolic image of phallic impalement and sexual frustration. Durão does not deny the seductiveness of the forbidden Indian woman for the European male; indeed he indicates in the poem that Diogo was not immune to the attractive Moema, who complains that he did acknowledge her sexuality in some casual, non-committal way, ultimately to reject her:

Bem puderas, cruel, ter sido esquivo,
Quando eu a fé rendia ao teu engano;
(...)
Porém, deixando o coração cativo,
Com fazer-te a meus rogos sempre humano,
Fugiste-me, traidor, e desta sorte
Paga meu fino amor tão crua morte? (VI, 39)

Moema's death (her name means "a débil ou desfalecida, a exausta pelo cansaço" ²²) signifies for Durão the moral obstacle to any publically sanctioned relationship of sexuality between the white man and Indian woman. It is only through a process of racial expurgation, such as that seen in the figure of Paraguaçu, and culminating in her conversion to Christianity, that the marriage can take place. The victim of that expurgation, the Indian's sexual identity, is personified by Moema, who expresses her bitterness in terms of resentment against Paraguaçu:

Por serva, por escrava, te seguira,
Se não temera de chamar senhora
A vil Paraguaçu, que, sem que o creia,
Sobre ser-me inferior, é nescia e feia (VI, 40).

For the first generation of Romantic Indianists, and those of the movement's final phase, Moema represents a vital tradition, the tragedy of social and racial exclusion. By focusing on this episode, of course, they were obliged to ignore the poem's central theme, the celebration of a successful mixed marriage and therefore of the oppressive colonial relationship itself. Only in the ideal, mythical world of Alencar's novels, with their faith in the emergence of a truly *mestiço*, Brazilian consciousness, does contemplation of that marriage become possible again. Although still present within the movement's contradictory ideology, the assumed supremacy of white values and therefore the legitimacy of Conquest are forced to make way for the celebration of the Indian

22. Irmão José Gregório, Contribuição indígena ao Brasil, 3 vols. (Belo Horizonte: União Brasileira de Educação e Ensino, 1980), vol.III, p.944.

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him/herself. The power of the political elite is never for one moment questioned; what has changed is that, whereas for Durão as for Anchieta, tribal integration means the negation of indigenous culture, for the Romantics it signifies the assimilation of that culture into a broader concept of nationality.

3.4 Henrique João Wilkens, Cypriano Pereira Alho and *A Muhraida*

1. Where, in this context of literary and political change, must we situate *A Muhraida*, a poem recounting the "conversion and reconciliation of the great and fierce nation of the heathen Muhra", and written in 1785 by a soldier stationed in the Upper Amazon, shortly after the events concerned? Ever since 1826, when Ferdinand Denis first drew the attention of young Brazilian writers to *O Uruguai* and *Caramurú*, critics and literary historians have acknowledged the historical role of these two poems in suggesting themes for a *nativista* literature and its most characteristic expression, Romantic Indianism. In 1819, just seven years before Denis' proposals, the Royal Press in Lisbon published the first printed edition of a "poema heroico", *A Muhraida, ou A Conversão, e reconciliação do Gentio Muhra*, written in 1785 on the Upper Negro by one Henrique João Wilkens. Yet despite the declared Indianist purport of the poem, its concern with recent events comparable to those depicted in *O Uruguai*, there is not a single mention of *A Muhraida* in the critical writings or fiction of those involved in the Indianist movement. Indeed, it is only since Mário Ypiranga Monteiro's article of 1966²³ that the

23. Mário Ypiranga Monteiro, "A Muhraida", *Jornal de Letras*, May 1966, nos. 193/194.

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existence of the poem has begun to be widely known about and that it has been subject to critical attention.

Amongst the possible reasons for this disparity between the subsequent fortunes of these works, the first that must be discounted is the anti-provincial prejudice of the literary establishment in the capital. For if Caramurú and O Uruguai were published by the Royal Press in Lisbon, the latter with three subsequent editions early in the nineteenth century, then so, too, was A Muhraida, with the additional patronage of the Bishop of Eucarpia, "Provisor do Arcebispado d'Evora, do Conselho de S. Magestade". Neither can the issue of literary quality be raised in defence of its relegation to oblivion; although not a masterpiece, by comparison with Caramurú, A Muhraida is certainly brief, to the point and readable.

The origins of this failure of the poem to be assimilated into the Romantic Indianist heritage must be sought elsewhere, in the nature of its relationship to the events and historical circumstances which produced it, and in the level on which it recounts those events. The most striking difference between A Muhraida and the other two epics is the absence of an erotic element in the former; this alone might suffice to explain its lack of appeal to the Romantics, if one remembers that it is Paraguaçu, Moema, Cacambo and Lindóia, the Indian protagonists of the amorous episodes from Caramurú and O Uruguai, who survive into the Romantic tradition, rather than the political events of those works.

But the lack of an amorous element, indeed, of any named, individualised Indian character in A Muhraida, is indicative of a more fundamental and general feature of the poem's treatment of its subject: its basic concern with a narrowly local and historical context and the

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immediate political and economic forces at work in it. What distinguishes O Uruguai and Caramurú is that their erotic episodes raise the significance of the works as a whole out of the political context onto a mythical level of nationally symbolic importance. A Muhraida never transcends that context, and for that very reason provides a much sharper insight into contemporary attitudes to official indigenist policy and into the reality of its application at a local level. On the one hand, it pays homage to João Pereira Caldas, governor of Pará and an important participant in the execution of the Tratado de Limites for the Amazon region. Another figure who is celebrated in the poem is Mathias Fernandes, the Director of the Indian mission where the Mura are settled. The example of this mission and the conversion of the Mura as portrayed in the poem are a tribute to the alleged success of Pombal's "emancipation" legislation of 1755, passing administration of Indian affairs into lay hands and "integrating" the indigenous population into the dominant society and economy.

At the same time, the poem is ingenuously frank in acknowledging the other side of the reformist coin of Pombal's Laws of Liberty, the commercial and economic motives of colonisation and agricultural exploitation. It is this undisguised concern with the economics underlying the official public rhetoric of emancipation and conversion, no doubt a result of the author's close personal involvement in the local events concerned, which gives the poem a quality of historical immediacy that sets it apart from the other two works with their mythical, epic scale.

If, in its manuscript form, A Muhraida's rejection by the Romantic Indianist movement appears inevitable, this did not prevent one admirer of the poem from adopting it as a token of changing cultural attitudes

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towards the Brazilian colony following the turn of the nineteenth century. Three years before Independence, in 1819, a printed edition of the original manuscript appeared in Portugal, "Dado à luz, e offerecido ao Exmo. e Revmo. Senhor D. Antonio José d'Oliveira (...) pelo seu capellão o P. Cypriano Pereira Alho, Presbytero Eborense".²⁴ While the original text is not radically altered in the new edition, Pereira Alho does provide his own introduction, some additional notes and minor amendments which, taken together, constitute a significant shift of emphasis. That is, the bestial, demonic image of the Mura given in the manuscript is perceptibly softened and mitigated by an energetic enthusiasm for the novelty of the tribe's cultural life, its eating habits and artistic skills. The wonderment of the early travellers at the natural and human marvels of the New World has therefore returned as a symptom of a new sense of geographical and cultural identity, capable of inspiring loyalty in those whose lives have been directly linked to that of the Colony.

In his dedication of the poem to d'Oliveira, Pereira Alho refers to the fact that his superior was born in Brazil, and is clearly conscious of his own experience as vicar of the parish of Moura, on the River Negro, for many years after 1792, until he returned to Lisbon and began working as a librarian at Évora. If Pereira Alho's offering of the poem to his ecclesiastical superior suggests an element of personal ambition, he nevertheless chose to edit a poem written in Brazil, about a region that was particularly familiar to him, rather than some Arcadian work or theological tract devoid of any local interest. His mistake lay in trusting merely to the poem's Indianist theme and ethnological content,

24. *A Muhraida, Senhor, ou A conversão, e reconciliação do Gentio Muhra. Poema heroico em seis cantos, composto por H.J.Wilkens (Lisbon: Na Imprensa Regia, 1819).*

when rather more, that is to say, a memorable, tragic love myth, was needed to guarantee its survival into the future.

3.4.2 Very little is known of the life of Henrique João Wilkens, the author of A Muhraida, and the details given by his first critic, Mário Ypiranga,²⁵ are all taken from Inocêncio Francisco da Silva's Dicionário Bibliográfico Português, of 1858-1923. His surname suggests he may have been of English or possibly German birth or descent, but his known biography begins only with his appointment as "cabo de esquadra da milícia reinol" in Barcelos, on the river Negro, where he took part in a failed expedition against rebel Indians in the region. He was favoured with rapid promotion, being able to offer his skills as an engineer and later as an apprentice to the astronomer Inácio Samartoni, and was awarded the honour of Cavaleiro da Ordem de Cristo. By 1787 we know that he was Comandante militar of the barracks at Ega, since letters addressed to and from him appear amongst the military correspondence reporting the reduction of the Mura,²⁶ which indicates that he had first-hand knowledge of the events recounted in the poem. Monteiro repeatedly suggests that the original version of A Muhraida was written in the Mura language and that Pereira Alho was therefore obliged to learn this in order to translate it into Portuguese *oitava rima*; in making the suggestion, however, it appears that Monteiro did not have the benefit of the original manuscript, which was fortunately available to this author.

25. Mário Ypiranga Monteiro, Fases da literatura amazonense, 1^o vol. (Manaus: Imprensa Oficial, 1977), pp.142-44.

26. Antônio Carlos da Fonseca Coutinho, "Notícias da voluntaria redução de paz e amizade da feroz nação do gentio Mura nos annos de 1784, 1785 e 1786, do Furriel Commandante do destacamento do lugar de Santo Antonio do Maripi, no Rio Jupurá", Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, tomo XXXVI, 1^a parte, 1873, pp.323-92.

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The Mura, or Murá, the name given by neighbouring tribes to the Indians who call themselves Buhuraen, are first recorded as inhabiting the right bank of the river Madeira in 1714. They were noted for their hostility towards the Jesuit mission of Abacaxis, founded above the mouth of the Jamary in about 1723 and later transferred downstream. Having been the victims of an act of betrayal by a Portuguese trader, who kidnapped and sold some of their number as slaves, they became the scourge of the region for a hundred years, resorting to guerrilla-style ambush tactics after an expedition led by João de Souza inflicted great losses on them. By the 1770s they were expanding into the territory north of the Solimões and to the lower Purus, areas which were being increasingly emptied of their indigenous populations as a result of military attacks and the work of the missions.

In 1784, when Brazilian-born colonists were demanding their extermination as the only alternative to the complete collapse of colonial power in the Amazon, and punitive expeditions remained ineffective, the Mura suddenly and unexpectedly made peace with the whites. Five of them entered the village of Santo Antônio de Maripá, on the lower Japurá river, to be followed by other pacific appearances in Tefe, Alvarães and Borba, where numbers grew within three years to over a thousand. By the end of 1786, when Wilkens had completed his poem, the whole tribe had been settled in permanent villages and continued on peaceful terms with the white community into the nineteenth century, until deep social and racial antagonisms led to their participation in the Cabanagem. It seems that this decision to abandon their resistance to the military and cultural pressures of white society was a result of progressive debilitation through epidemics, increasing non-tribal influences and the relentless

wars waged on them by the Mundurucú, who were advancing westward from the Madeira.²⁷ However, in the words of the legendary sertanista and ethnologist, Curt Nimuendajú, "é característico para a situação dos civilizados que a crença popular atribuiu este sucesso não às expedições militares e sim às fervorosas preces do bispo D.Fr.Caetano Brandão."²⁸ It is this religious explanation which forms the miraculous conversion of the poem, "O Triunfo da Fé" of the subtitle.

As the dedicatee of the poem, Wilkens' superior, João Pereira Caldas, figures in the poem as one of the agents of the divine miracle. The dedication (dated 1789) appeals to Pereira Caldas' memory of the events as incontrovertible evidence of the poem's authenticity, "(...) circunstancia esta bem ponderável, para quem, como Vossa Excellencia, não foi mero espectador, mas sim, depois de Deos, o primeiro motor e Agente dos oportunos meyo, que este fim interessante ao serviço de Deos e da Soberana conseguirão completamente."²⁹ The reference to God and the Sovereign in one breath here is the first example of a characteristic duality in the poem's justification of events, the will of Providence and political and economic considerations repeatedly reinforcing each other. In fact, it was Pereira Caldas' recommendations of a military, rather than conciliatory, policy in dealing with tribes such as the Timbira, which encouraged the influential traveller and writer, Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, in his scepticism regarding the practical viability of the

27. Julian H. Steward, Handbook of South American Indians (Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1948), vol.3, pp.255-62.

28. Curt Nimuendaju, "As Tribus do Alto Madeira", Jornal de la Société des Americanistes de Paris, 17 (1925), p.140.

29. Henrique João Wilkens, Muhraida ou O Triunfo da Fé, na bem fundada Esperança da enteira Converção, e reconciliação da grande, e feroz nação do Gentio Muhura. Poema Heroico composto, e compendiado em Seis Cantos (1785); the manuscript is in the Archive of the Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, a xerox copy having been kindly made available to me by Carlos Moreira.

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Pombaline legislation. Experience of the Muras' stubborn resistance and the obstacle this posed to the realisation of the agricultural projects proposed for the region "proved" the impracticality of the Laws of Emancipation.³⁰ Furthermore, in one of his letters written during the events concerned, Pereira Caldas expresses some reservations concerning the wisdom of "pacifying" the Mura, when this might leave their enemy, the Mundurucús, in undisputed mastery over the region; it is the prospect of gaining an ally and reducing the numbers of the enemy, rather than a pious dedication to God's mission of evangelisation, which prompts him to press ahead with this policy:

Sabia eu também já da carnagem, que o outro gentio *Mundurucú* havia feito nos mesmos *Muras*; e máo é que reduzidos estes se venham aquelles introduzir n'esse rio, e fazer o seu estabelecimento no Guatazes, para que se bem livre d'uns, não deixe de ficar sempre infestada d'outros essa navegação; porém menos inimigos haverá a combater, e para a seu tempo se castigarem os referidos *Muras* nos serão de grande ajuda e vantagem (Coutinho, op.cit., pp.378-79).

As the correspondence edited by Coutinho indicates, the process of "descimento" and peaceful reconciliation was by no means the instantaneous and unreserved success depicted in the poem.

Yet, despite the violent inconsistency, to a modern reader, of the military leaders' preferred faith in a policy of extermination, the pragmatic, tactical criteria for their acceptance of the Mura's peace initiative, and the poem's glorification of the divine miracle of conversion, it would be mistaken to view the latter as a hypocritical cloak for the former, and wrong to interpret the fiction as a mere falsification, as the elaboration of an official history. For while, as I

30. IN Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, Viagem filosófica pelas capitâneas do Grão Pará, Rio Negro, Mato Grosso e Cuiabá (Conselho Federal de Cultura, Dep. da Imprensa Nacional, 1974), ed. Eduardo Galvão and Carlos A. Moreira Neto; introduction: pp.9-17.

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shall show, justice is certainly not done to the reality of those wrongs suffered by the Mura at the hands of the colonial power, it is also true to say that the poem reflects a coherent code of moral and political reasoning in which economic or military considerations are quite compatible with religious sincerity, and where the avowal of one need not imply the denial of the other. After all the evidence cited above for Pereira Caldas' pragmatism and even his support for the policy of extermination, another letter, also written in the midst of the events, conveys a readiness to believe in the Mura offer of peace as the work of God:

(...) o que tudo me deixa contente e muito satisfeito; porque não obstante, que desde logo não devamos dar inteiro credito ás promessas d'aquelles barbaros, e que por ora sobre elles e sobre alguns seus pretendidos enganos, nos devamos com prudencia e cautela regular; tambem não devemos duvidar da infinita misericordia de Deus, para que elle permitta se realize uma obra tanto da sua gloria, e tanto da sua piedade, em libertar a estes miseraveis povos de tão cruel flagello.

Em taes termos pois, se ahi tornarem, lhe continuará vossa mercê o mesmo agasalho, e toda a conveniente pratica que vossa mercê saberá bem intimar-lhes, propondo-lhes a principal felicidade que obterão em se reduzirem ao gremio da igreja, e a vassallagem da rainha nossa senhora, que protege, e manda tratar os indios com a maior humanidade, ainda mesmo perdoando-lhes os seus insultos e delictos (...) (Coutinho, op.cit., pp.329-30).

The documented correspondence confirms, then, the complementary and not contradictory relation between religious compassion and politico-economic expediency which characterises A. Muhraida. It is this un-selfconscious ability to sustain both moral and material motives on equal terms which makes the poem so different from the later Indianism of, say, Alencar; for the latter, subject to the new constraints of Liberal, Rousseauian ideology, the subservience and sacrifice of the Indian are on the one hand condemned with the sense of outrage made commonplace by Gonçalves

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Dias, and on the other legitimised and mythologised within the Catholic, Imperial order of things, to which sacrifice and conciliation are sacred.

But the above extract also raises another possibility, another way of looking at the apparent contradictions within the poem and within the policies of its protagonists, which has nothing to do with the religious issue. For the two paragraphs cited reveal to the full the contrast between, on the one hand, a position of hostility and alienation, Pereira Caldas' mistrust of "as promessas d'aquelles barbaros" and, on the other, an attitude of benevolent paternalism, the monarch's order that the Indians should be treated with humanity and tolerance. This discrepancy is indicative of a crisis in the direction of indigenist policy in the Amazon, an uncertainty over which path to adopt. The sceptical conclusions of Rodrigues Ferreira's Viagem Filosófica were reached following the author's travels of 1783-92, over thirty years after the promulgation of the Laws of Emancipation. The effects of these laws, succesful or otherwise, should therefore have manifested themselves by this time; in fact, if Rodrigues Ferreira is to be taken as a reliable indicator of the contemporary mood of indigenist opinion, their failure appears conclusive. For Carlos Moreira, Rodrigues Ferreira's attitude is representative of the period between the fall of Pombal and the end of the eighteenth century, when the Portuguese King, D. João VI, began to institute a number of decrees (*Cartas Régias*) authorising "Just Wars" of extermination against tribes considered "incapable of civilisation" (op.cit., p.14). At a time when the dominant mood was for a return to methods of violence and enslavement in dealing with the Indians, the "voluntary reduction in peace and friendship of the fierce nation of the heathen Mura" must have been a source of some embarrassment to the

proponents of the new policy. This sense of political embarrassment, as well as the compatibility of religious and economic concerns for those involved, goes some way towards explaining the curious combination in the poem, of vengeful outrage against the Mura, the wish that they should be "tamed" to enjoy the material, political and spiritual benefits of civilised society, and pious wonder and gratitude before the spectacle of their conversion and baptism.

3.4.3 The "Argumento" which precedes the text of the poem itself brings these three attitudes together in its summary of the plot. It begins: "O feroz, indomavel e formidavel Gentio Muhura (...) sempre foi fatal aos navegantes do ditto Rio Madeira" (p.4), describing their intractability, their hostility to other tribes, their reign of terror in which everyone, men, women and children, were killed without distinction, and where no-one was free from the terror which their nomadic, guerrilla-like movements inspired. Set against this reputation is God's instrument in the "reconciliação, conversão e estabelecimento" of the Mura, "hum homem rustico, e ordinario, por nome Mathias Fernandes", the Director of the Imaripi Indian mission and already accepted into the confidence of the tribe. Fernandes persuades them to visit the other white settlements and missions down-river, where they are warmly welcomed and showered with gifts, on the recommendation of Lieutenant-colonel João Baptista Mardel. Mardel is rewarded with "o particular gosto, e a spiritual consolação de ver que, no dia nove de Junho deste corr^{to} Anno de 1785, os dittos Principaes Muhuras, (...) por sua livre, spontanea vontade, e motu proprio, sem preceder persuasão alguma, não sem hum particular toque da mão do Omnipotente arbitro dos coraçoes humanos, offerecerão vinte innocentes

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Muhuras, filhos dos dittos, pedindo o Santo baptismo, o que com inexplicavel jubilo, e não sem lagrimas de ternura, se lhes concedeo, e se effectuou (...)" (p.6). Following this spectacle of voluntary baptism, at which Mardel acts as godfather, the purpose and value of the new mission villages established in response to the miracle, are assessed on all their spiritual, political and economic merits:

(...) a maior honra, e gloria de DEOS; a exaltação e propagação da Santa Fé Catholica Romana; a conversão de inmensa multidão de Gentios; a salvação das suas almas, o interessantissimo adiantamento da população do Estado do Pará, e Dominios de Sua Magestade Fidelissima, nossa Augusta Soberana; o socego e esperança dos seus ditozos Vassallos no commercio e navegação deste vasto continente e seus grandes Rios, e ultimamente o conhecimento de tantos Rios e terrenos, cheyos de preciosos interessantes generos, uteis no commercio e opulencia do Estado, que o terror das crueldades e ferocidade deste Gentio tinha inutilizado ou summamente difficultado (pp.6-7).

In contrast to this promise of peace and prosperity, Canto I describes the state of affairs which prevailed before the relationship between the white community and the Mura was resolved. It is a fascinating reversal of the oppressive view of colonial society which has become accepted since the nineteenth century. For here the Indian is not an enslaved victim of the *conquistador* but instead, paradoxically, the prisoner of his own freedom from religious, economic and political law. Like the Tupinambá of Durão's *Caramurú*, he is "o misero mortal, que em captiveiro/ Da culpa, e da ignorancia navegando", needs God's illumination and guidance. The forest does not represent the world of Natural, Divine law but a denial of it, by which the Indians, "Abuzando da mesma liberdade/ Que lhes concede esse Ente Omnipotente" (p.10), enjoy effortlessly the goods and produce surrounding them, while the poor, devout colonist must risk freedom and life in order to win them for himself. In this condemnation, "Da doce liberdade disfructando/ Os bens,

os privilegios, e os desvios/ Da sórdida avareza (...)" (ibid.), there is more than a hint of a rationalisation of the envy and resentment felt by European colonists in a region of such natural abundance and economic potential, especially when they saw its indigenous inhabitants satisfying only their immediate needs and obstructing a more lucrative exploitation of its resources. It is interesting to observe how the economic motive invades the Christian morality by which the poem judges the Mura, as the term "ambition", unknown to the Indian, becomes a positive virtue worthy of pursuit. The Amazon river appears to compete with

as produçoens da terra precioza,
Servindo a Ambição de util enganno,
Valor, e variedades prodigiosas,
Uteis à sociedade e tracto humano,
A não serem colheitas perigozas,
Que a Liberdade e vida tem custado,
A muitos, que as havião frequentado (ibid.).

If, in the poem's scheme of things, the Indian has been removed from his true role as oppressed victim of a colonial invader, his place is taken by the colonist, who is depicted as the careworn, vulnerable traveller, the stray lamb at the mercy of the wolf:

A desgarrada logo acomettendo,
Faz certa preza, sem ser presentido.
A ensanguentada fauce então lambendo,
A negra grutta já restuhido,
Cruel, insaciavel, se prepara,
Medita nova empreza, e se repára (p.11).

This solitary, defenceless traveller, "O incauto Navegante, que passando,/ Vai de perigos mil preocupado,/ Só do mais iminente descuidado" (p.12), may without warning be thrown from his boat, struck by a shower of arrows and, in order to save his life, be forced to sacrifice his freedom and possessions. Not even in Durão's *Caramurú*, let alone in Basílio da Gama's more sympathetic poem, is the colonial relationship between

Portuguese and Indian so distorted, to the extent that the roles of guileless victim and ruthless exploiter have been totally reversed.

Having established the political grounds for the Indians' exclusion from white society, there remains the moral rationalisation of that exclusion. It is this moral condemnation of the Mura which is responsible for the poem's detailed accounts, literal and metaphorical, of their cruelties and atrocities, supported by copious notes. Living in the "densas trevas da Gentilidade", they hunt their human victims with poisoned arrows, "Repugnante à razão, à humanidade", killing whites and other Indians alike in order to consume their flesh. The words "fero", "feroz" and "fereza" are repeatedly applied to them in order to deny their humanity. Devoid of compassion and mercy, the Mura resembles an "Ave de rapina":

Não mitiga o cruel, o feroz peito,
A tenra idade do mimoso infante,
Nem a piedade move, nem respecto
Do decrepito Velho, o incessante
Rogo, e clamor, só fica satisfeito,
Vendo o cadaver frio (...) (p.12).

The mechanism by which the Mura, as a tribe, are tamed from this condition and brought to recognise the political and economic order which they have combatted for so long, is an invention: the visitation of an angel to a Mura warrior in the form of a relative believed drowned, "não sendo verosimel, que sem particular providencia (...) fizessem o que em tantos annos anteriores, nunca conseguisse pode" (p.17). Indeed, in view of the formidable moral and political barrier constructed in the first canto against integration or even peaceful relations between the two communities, only a miracle, as Wilkens observes, can now explain the outcome. Despite the heroic efforts of Jesuits, Carmelites and Mercenarians to "reduce" the tribe "Com dadivas, promessas, e caricias

(...) Nada a fereza indomita abrandáva;/ Nada impedia as barbaras sevicias" (p.15). They are compared to an unsuspecting child who strokes the wild beast before it wakes from its stupor and turns against him. But in this situation of apparent hopelessness, God sends his ambassador in human form, who succeeds in convincing the Mura warrior of the existence of his Creator. However, as much as the Angel's words of mystical faith, it is the example of an existing mission *aldeia*, the *tapuia* settlement of S. Antônio de Imaripi, which persuades the Mura to bring the rest of his tribe into the ecumenical and political fold of white society:

Vamos seguindo, em quanto ha claridade,
O caminho da Aldea, em que vivendo
Tapuyas, como nos, mas satisfeitos,
A Ley de hum Deos conhecem, seus preceitos (p.21).

The *aldeia*'s Director, Mathias Fernandes, has protected the *tapuias* from attacks by hostile Muras, and has been entrusted by God with leading the new converts to the paternal wing of João Baptista Mardel, Comissario at Ega. The most substantial argument, the "Força irresistivel da Verdade" which finally prompts the warrior to call his tribespeople to task, is the promise of prosperity:

Tereis nos Povos vossos numerosos
Abundantes colheitas sazoadas.
Vereis nos Portos vossos ventajosos
Comercios florecer, e procuradas
Serão as Armas vossas. Poderozas
Enfim sereis, amadas, invejadas
Serão vossas venturas, finalmente,
Podeis felices ser eternamente (p.22).

This is the invitation which lies at the heart of the Emancipation legislation, to abandon a subsistence economy for one based on wage labour and trade:

Por ventura co'a paz, sendo alliados
Dos Brancos, dos Tapuyas moradores
Dos mesmos Povos, por nos assollados,
Não seremos tambem merecedores
De sermos no Commercio contemplados?

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De achar para os efeitos compradores,
Se o tempo, que em mil crimes empregado
For na Pesca, ou Colheita aproveitado? (p.23)

Wilkens adds a note defending the plausibility of such a speech, observing that the Mura did show considerable interest in the material products of white civilisation, especially tools and clothes, which they seized from their victims. Being isolated from trade with the neighbouring tribes with whom they were at war, Wilkens recognises the attractiveness of an alliance with the white community, which could provide these goods.

Before the young warrior finally sways the will of his people, the voice of experience and scepticism is heard from an old man, who reminds them of the conflicts of the past, the whites' betrayal of offers of friendship and aid. He is the jealous guardian of the principle of liberty, a principle which, following the arguments of the first Canto, has taken on a negative connotation of "lawlessness":

Queres que, ao ferro, generozo peito
Entregue o Pai? ou perca a liberdade,
A doce liberdade, o valerozo
Muhura, em grilhão pezado, e vergonhozo? (p.24)

This objection, the unreliability of Portuguese promises of peace, has been raised simply to be knocked down, and in order to refute any claims of unjust indigenist policy. A note refers to the period i.e. before Pombal's Laws of Liberty, when colonists could buy Indian slaves in "just war" to provide them with food and labour; the new legislation has abolished such slavery, which continues only through individual violations of the Law - abuses of the Indian population can therefore no longer be imputed to Government policy and must be dismissed as exceptional cases. The point is raised again in Canto IV, as the Muras inundate the *tapuia* settlements and are reunited with relatives in a tumultuous welcome and

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exchange of gifts, healing all the wounds of former conflicts. Mathias Fernandes admits the crimes of the past but assures the Indians that

Desafrentado o Muhura agora alcança
A Paz, que elle, que o Rey, que eu dezejava.
Sereis nossos Irmãos, Filhos da Igreja,
Concidadãos, Amigos, do Orbe inveja (p.28).

They will enjoy the protection of the governor, João Pereira Caldas, "que buscava/ Os meyo, que ninguem vos molestasse" (p.29) and the benevolence of João Baptista Mardel. As he preaches the message of conversion, Mathias is described as a new Moses leading the Mura from the bondage of the Devil, as the Israelites were led out of Egypt; and when they arrive at Ega, Mardel greets them as the Prodigal Son returned:

Assim de hum filho auzencia lamentando
Pai amorozo, a vello quando chega,
Nos braços recebendo, palpitando
O peito (...) (p.31).

Another biblical metaphor confirms the simultaneously religious and economic success of the "reconciliation" of the Mura: the parable of the sowing and harvesting of the seeds of faith. Within the one image are compressed a whole series of terms and ideas expressing both the material and political nature of this new "alliance" with the white community and its God:

Plantada pela Mão do Omnipotente,
Na semente da Fé, da Graça o fructo,
Dispõem que da Colheita a innocente
Primicia se lhe offreça, que o producto
Antecipado seja, e permanente
Padrão, do seu Dominio absoluto,
De altos designios Seus, e de alliança
Dispozição, motivo de Esperança (p.38).

If Divine Providence, and its ambassador, the Angel, are responsible for persuading the Mura of the good faith of the "alliance", then the agent of suspicion and cynicism is naturally the Devil. As in Santa Rita Durão's contradictory theological reasoning, the Mura are at

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one and the same time the authors of their rebellion, and so condemnable, and also the passive pawns in a game of tug-of-war between the forces of Good and Evil. Wilkens' poem suggests, however, that on balance their primitivism and irrationalism create a more natural propensity to Evil, and to an association with the Devil. When God's messenger descends to earth in Canto II, the Devil is also preparing his own ambassadors in human form, the apostates. Wilkens explains in a note that the apostates, renegade mission Indians, rejoined their tribespeople and enjoyed an even more notorious reputation than the Mura themselves in their violence against the white community. As the "reconciliation" nears its successful conclusion, Satan makes a last ditch attempt to retain a hold over his natural servants, the Mura. On this occasion, the link between primitivism, bestiality and Evil, all enemies of Christian rationalism, is established more firmly. The demons are entrusted with the mission, ultimately a futile one, of appealing to the irrational side of the Mura - "As luzes lhe offuscai da intelligencia" - to provoke final doubts and suspicions in the form of omens and visions depicting the new laws and allegiances as "insofrivel Jugo", intended to ensure white power and to replace liberty with "a mesma vassalagem". Meanwhile, the Indians' Guardian Angel must fight with the weapons of Faith and Truth:

"Os olhos levantai, vede essas Féras,
Pois serem racionaes só a forma indica:
Já quasi a substituir-nos nas Esferas
Celestes destinadas; (...) (p.39)

This contradiction - between the Muras' intractable savagery and irrationalism, and their capacity to be persuaded by example and reason to enter the white community - is central to the character of A. Muhraida. It is explicable only in terms of the conflicting theological, political and economic interests to which the poem testifies. Some of the poem's

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most forceful imagery describes the taming of the bloodthirsty, cannibalistic wolf of the first Canto into the infantile convert, pleading for the baptismal protection of a military God-father. The Indians' ruthless violence, blasphemous cultural practices and denial of Western economic and political principles justifies their exclusion from white society and the pre- and post-Pombaline policy of extermination. With the failure of that policy in the case of the Mura, and the introduction of the Laws of Emancipation, the concept of integration is more acceptable. However, it is not until the miracle of voluntary reconciliation that this policy of integration is seen to be a success. Consequently, at a moment when figures such as the Governor Pereira Caldas and Rodrigues Ferreira are expressing scepticism about Emancipation and are advocating a return to military coercion, the author is torn between two explanations for the Muras' unsolicited pacification: one that attributes the event to Divine intervention, and another which actually admits the success of the lay mission system.

This dilemma extends to the entire structure and significance of the poem, and in particular to the transformation which the Indians undergo. On the one hand, the Mura are simply unthinking instruments of Evil; yet their eventual recognition of the Europeans' economic and political systems must involve some rational illumination, possibly precipitated by the example of Mathias Fernandes' mission *aldeia* but only ultimately conceivable as a result of Divine intervention. In other words, the poem depicts a miracle that is far more fantastic and implausible than a mere unexpected mass conversion: the transformation of the Mura from instinctive, primitive beasts to sentient, rational human beings. If, as is the case, that transformation does not stand up to close

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examination, then the poem leaves us with a whole series of contradictions which are central to this period of Indianist literature and official indigenist policy. A Muhraida brings into confrontation a colonialist ideology, whose priority is the population and exploitation of a rich and "wasted" agricultural region, and a native, non-Christian subsistence culture which demonstrably is able to supply its material needs without recourse to oppressive economic and political institutions. It records the white community's fear and hatred of an alien culture which seems to threaten colonial society and its values, yet at the same time depicts the spectacle of a voluntary move towards integration and the acceptance of those values. Finally, it is forced into the admission that the Indian, although cruelly caricatured as a demonic beast wallowing in his primitive misery, nevertheless wishes to improve his condition - that he is, after all, a human being.

CHAPTER FOUR. ROMANTIC INDIANISM: ORIGINS AND BEGINNINGS (1835-50)

4.1 Introduction

Although widely regarded as one of the most vigorous expressions of nationalism in the country's history, and a regular source of course texts for universities teaching Brazilian studies, the last twenty years have seen a marked dearth of original criticism and analysis of nineteenth-century Indianism. The movement represents a tradition lasting fifty years and embraces at least thirty works of fiction and poetry, yet it continues to be described almost unanimously as a more or less uniform and static phenomenon, whose language, imagery and central protagonist, the Indian "knight", were definitively fixed by Gonçalves Dias and José de Alencar. Indeed, the exceptional quality and character of these two writers has meant that an admittedly mediocre but not inconsiderable body of minor Indianists has been virtually ignored; consequently there has been no attempt to evaluate just how exceptional or typical the two major figures are in relation to the Indianist mainstream. The only concession made to any notion of historical evolution has been the identification of Alencar's letters attacking the Indianist epic poem, A Confederação dos Tamóios, which are considered to mark the rise and predominance of the novel within the movement.

The polemic surrounding A Confederação dos Tamóios certainly does represent a significant stage in the development of Brazilian Indianism; but it must be viewed, along with the attitudes of its instigator, Alencar, against a broader background of historical change which is registered on a literary level by the movement as a whole. As I shall demonstrate, one fundamental assumption - the desirability of some form

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of integration, whether cultural, social or political - extends across the entire breadth of the movement, determining and explaining the contradictions of something which is much more than a tradition or school of literature. But within those basic shared limitations, there exist really considerable differences in theme and ideological position, narrative or poetic levels of discourse, and technical and stylistic treatment, which are only fully comprehensible if seen as a reflection of the major political developments affecting the writers and their subject, the Indian, during this period.

For the half-century which connects the earliest and latest Indianist works, from 1835 to 1888, was also a period of significant shifts in the balance of power between the Crown, the parliamentary parties and the more radical dissenting voices which threatened the unity and stability of Empire itself. The public debate concerning official indigenist policy is an important touchstone of this process, and of the artist's place within it. It was a focus for divergent political and cultural viewpoints, the representatives of which virtually all played prominent roles in the evolution of the Indianist movement: José Bonifácio, Gonçalves Dias, Joaquim Norberto, Gonçalves de Magalhães, F.A. de Varnhagen, João Francisco Lisboa, Couto de Magalhães and Joaquim Nabuco.

The next three chapters will identify the three principal stages in that political evolution and in the corresponding development of the literature.¹ The first of these, occupying the years from 1835 to 1850, is a period which saw the consolidation of Brazil's Independence from

1. A condensed account of this analysis appears in David H. Treece, "Victims, Allies, Rebels: Towards a New History of Nineteenth-Century Indianism in Brazil", *Portuguese Studies*, Vol.I (1985-86), pp.56-98.

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Portugal, followed by open civil conflict and instability as the forces of Liberalism struggled to turn the "Republican experiment" of the Regency into a reality; and which, finally, resulted in the marginalisation of large sectors of the population, including the radical Liberals, from any significant participation in the political process. A whole series of violent provincial uprisings during the years following the Abdication of Pedro I expressed a range of demands for reforms and decentralisation of power, all of which were effectively frustrated by severe military repression, by the famous conservative reaction, in which many parliamentary deputies shifted their party allegiances, and by the Majority of Pedro II. The Indian populations, who did not remain indifferent to, or isolated from, those regional rebellions, were subject for much of the same period to a general policy of indiscriminate extermination, a continuation of that promoted before Independence during the reign of D. João VI.

Indianist writing in this first phase, whether genuinely committed to defending the contemporary plight of the Indian or simply concerned with elaborating a nationalist mythology for the Independence cause, takes an unequivocal stance in condemning Portuguese colonialist treatment of the country's first inhabitants. This literature records the destruction of an ideal, natural society by the modern, colonial civilisation of Europe, and thereby relegates the Indian to a mythical past, surviving into the present only as epic tradition in a fictive folk memory. Sexual relations between Indians and between Indian and white are doomed to failure, tragically marred by the historical weight of Conquest and offering no hope of offspring for the future. Individual freedom, bulwark of Liberal and Romantic ideology and of the language of

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Independence, finds a perfect representative in the figure of the nomadic hunter and forest-dweller. As such, the Indian protagonist raises serious implications for the legitimacy of a national economy based on African slave labour. However, although formulated by a predominantly Liberal and Abolitionist group of writers, the attitude to slavery expressed in the earlier Indianist writings already has some of the ambiguity and compromise which is to characterise the works of the second phase.

The literary depiction of the Indian in the above terms reaches a kind of crisis point in about 1850, due to two important debates, one political and the other literary, both of them related to the Majority of Pedro II and the particular character of the Second Reign. The first of these was conducted principally through the journal Guanabara, which was edited by three well-established authors, two of them Indianists. Pedro's accession to the throne completed an important shift in indigenist policy, roughly speaking, from one of extermination to integration, and articles supporting this approach had already been published elsewhere, in the Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, for instance. However, the publication in Guanabara of the historian Varnhagen's "Memorial Orgânico" in 1851 provoked a controversy which lasted on and off for some fifteen years. Against the prevailing tide of mild concessions to Liberal reformism, such as that which brought about the abolition of the slave trade from Africa, Varnhagen advocated a ruthless use of force, the reintroduction of the *bandeiras* or pioneer slaving expeditions, in order to subject the Indian to white control and to make his lands available for exploitation by Brazilian and immigrant settlers. The article promptly polarised opinion on government Indian

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policy and led a number of prominent literary figures to write, expressing in the main their opposition to Varnhagen's views.

If, for many intellectuals, the social importance of the Indianist theme had thus been reaffirmed, the literary portrayal of the Indian simply as a symbol of national Independence perhaps seemed by now to have outlasted its usefulness. At a time when the political climate was one of repressive stability, when the consolidation of a prosperous plantation economy was being matched by a policy of "conciliation" designed to protect the tranquility of the conservative oligarchies from threatening radical forces, the ideological possibilities of the Indianist theme underwent a fundamental reassessment. One of the participants in the Guanabara debate, Gonçalves de Magalhães, was instrumental in bringing about this reassessment when, in 1856, he published his epic poem A Confederação dos Tamoios. In a series of letters José de Alencar set out his criticisms of the poem, thus successfully challenging Magalhães' hitherto unquestioned artistic authority and polarising old and new attitudes towards the Indianist theme. A Confederação dos Tamoios celebrated certain values - Independence, patriotism, liberty and religion - which were no longer sufficient to sustain a literature that had long since proved its independence from Portugal.

In accordance with the more conciliatory indigenist policy of integration and with the myth of national unity, the new Indianism rather attempts to identify a set of common cultural and historical experiences that will define a unique sense of "Brazilianness", transcending the very real cultural, racial and class differences which divided and opposed individual Brazilians. One such division is that separating freeman and black slave, which is, remarkably, "transcended" by the entire fifty years

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of the Indianist movement's existence, whose end closely coincides with the announcement of Abolition in 1888. The very lack of overt references to the issue of black slavery in the literature on Indians makes any attempt to connect the two somewhat speculative. On the other hand, that historical coincidence, together with public discussion of African, immigrant and white labour and the frequent treatment of the slavery theme in an Indianist context, suggest that Romantic Indianism was profoundly bound up with the slave-owning economy of the Second Reign and with its attempts to justify and rationalise itself. While the stereotypes of the freedom-loving Indian and the naturally servile African remain prevalent, a number of texts depict the tribal warrior as a slave, whether on a metaphorical level of total submission and semi-religious adoration of the white *senhora*, or as the loyal servant and Guardian Angel of the patriarch. In both cases there is an implicit contrast between the humiliation and repression of forced enslavement with its affront to Romantic Liberal values, and the voluntary servility of the Indian, who recognises the legitimacy of the white social and political order and its culture, and who is prepared to sacrifice his personal freedom and identity in its defence. It is with this example of the Ideal Slave, epitomised in Alencar's *Peri*, that Indianism seeks to vindicate the role of the African in the economic structure of Imperial Brazil.

The third phase, from 1870 to 1888, is a response to new developments which were now challenging both the political and economic foundations of Empire and therefore the viability of the Indianist movement itself: Abolitionism, Republicanism and immigration. Liberal abolitionists such as Joaquim Nabuco saw in the free labour market and

the encouragement of immigrant settlement a guarantee of economic progress. Such an attitude also implied an important change in perceptions of Brazilian culture and nationality. The movement towards Abolition meant that the African was finally being admitted as a significant component of the national physiognomy, even though his servile status had until now denied him a place in the official literary image of Brazilian nationality. By the end of the Second Reign well over half the population was coloured, whilst the influx of European immigrants that had begun at mid-century was now intensifying, so that the Indianists' old nationalist myth of a *mestiçagem* of just two races, Portuguese and Indian, was no longer sustainable. Nabuco's criticisms of Alencar's fiction therefore adopt a superficially Realist position, but they have deeper roots in an *ocidentalista* perspective towards Brazilian culture, a rejection of indigenist, *nativista* values in favour of European models of economic and cultural development. It is a perspective which is also, perhaps surprisingly in the light of Nabuco's abolitionist credentials, linked to a return to the repressive Indian policies advocated earlier in the century by Varnhagen.

Indianist writing during the last two decades 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 that seeks to continue or revive the classic, tragic Indianism of Gonçalves Dias but which, in the light of the literary and ideological changes that have meanwhile taken place, necessarily fails in the attempt.

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It will have become evident from the scheme outlined above that we are dealing here, not with a loose collection of thematically linked texts which happen to have been written during Empire, but with a genuine movement, a coherent mythology, a complex of perceptions of the Indian which is inseparable from the structure, stability and ultimate collapse of the Imperial regime. Clearly, the Indianist movement, like other cultural institutions and developments that appeared during the first half of the century, constitutes part of the consolidation of the political and economic order which served the interests of the victorious conservative landowning class after the end of the Regency. But more than that, it carries within it the same ideological contradictions which the intellectual elite was forced to swallow and contain in order to accommodate itself within the essentially rigid and non-reformist structure of the Second Reign, but which were bound to be thrown up again sooner or later when other pressures began to impinge on the regime.

The tragic and morally outraged writing of the early Indianists emerges out of the Liberal upsurge of the Regency period, and allows them to link colonial and more recent atrocities against the Indians to the injustices and inequalities that characterised contemporary Brazilian society, such as slavery. However, even at this stage the contradictory, diluted nature of this home-grown brand of Liberalism is apparent for, as the work of Gonçalves Dias shows, integration, whether of the Indian or of the other marginalised sectors of Brazilian society, was already being invoked as an alternative to the geographical and political *disintegration* of Empire, as a defence against the unleashing of the dangerous monster of radicalism, Brazil's Sleeping Giant. Although nominally Liberal, the Regency governments of Feijó, Evaristo da Veiga and Vasconcelos in fact

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strongly resisted the two chief demands of the Liberals: decentralisation of power and the institution of a single governing Chamber. They were more loyal to the notions of national unity and authority than to the principles of Liberalism, and imposed a "nativista" solidarity at all levels, bringing together *moderados* and *exaltados* under the banner of the Sociedade Defensora da Liberdade e Independência Nacional.²

The Majority of Pedro II in 1840 takes this process a step further with the conservative reaction that saw the Lei de interpretação of the radical Ato Adicional and other retrograde measures; "O conservador sem cargos faz-se revolucionário; o liberal no poder esquece a pólvora incendiária" (op.cit., p.335). With the institution of the government of Conciliation, in the mid-1850s, and the suppression of any genuine Liberal influence on the political process, the original significance of the Indianist aesthetic, its celebration of individual liberty, has become meaningless and redundant. Nevertheless, this does not prevent it from being used to legitimise a quite different order and ideology; thus we have the mythology of the voluntary Indian slave and the *mestiço* marriage, in which freedom is sacrificed to the greater good and stability and unity are ensured by the integration of races, classes and cultures. Liberalism, although disguised by the rhetoric of Romanticism, now becomes associated with feudal power:

O anseio liberal, latente na tensão das camadas superpostas, doura-se de arremedos feudais, de um esquema sonhado de mando com os senhores territoriais donos das armas e dos capangas. A cor letrada e romântica da doutrina não lhe retira o conteúdo rural, no desejo de um plano político de baixo para cima, não do povo, este excessivamente pobre e desarmado para aspirar ao controle das rédeas do poder (ibid.).

2. Raymundo Faoro, Os Donos do Poder: formação do Patronato Político Brasileiro, 2 vols., 5ª ed. (Porto Alegre: Globo, 1979), Vol.I, pp.299-304.

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By the same token, the apparently progressive, Liberal indigenist policy of the Second Reign, with its repeal of D. João VI's brutal extermination charters, was simply another nail in the coffin of tribal liberty and another blow for the economic strength of Empire; integration meant the incorporation of indigenous labour and land into the latifundist structure of the Brazilian economy. As Republicanism reemerged as a significant force in the 1870s, writers such as Bernardo Guimarães and Sousândrade were able to show how Alencar's integrated Indian was a distortion, both of the social reality of the interior and of the fragmentation and marginalisation of modern American society as a whole.

Roberto Schwarz has already exposed this contradiction between the imported (perhaps also inherited) ideology of bourgeois Liberalism and the political reality of the Second Reign, with its paternalistic system of *favor*, as it occurs in the works of two authors, Alencar and Machado de Assis.³ An analysis of the fifty years of Indianist writing, especially in the light of the debate on indigenist policy, such as I am proposing, will allow us to see the crystallisation, consolidation and collapse of that contradiction taking place as an historical process. By way of introduction, there is no better illustration of this process, of Faoro's notion of the "ruralisation" of Brazilian Liberalism and of how a Liberal, pro-indigenist ideology could be put to the service of an essentially exploitative economic system i.e. agricultural capitalism, than the career of Teófilo Ottoni.

Ottoni was secretary of the Republican Clube dos Amigos Unidos, the "revolutionary" movement centred in Minas Gerais which brought about

3. Roberto Schwarz, Ao Vencedor as Batatas: forma literária e processo social nos inícios do romance brasileiro (São Paulo: Duas Cidades, 1977).

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the Abdication of Pedro I. Following the split between the radical "exaltados" or "luzias" and the moderates, a consequence of the frustration of the other constitutional reforms demanded by the Party, he attempted to reunite the two wings, leading the campaign for the Ato Adicional. This was instituted in 1834, abolishing the Moderating Power of the Monarchy and the Upper House, granting autonomy to the Provinces and creating a Federation. After the conservative reaction of 1840 and the emasculation of the Ato by means of a "lei de interpretação", there was a rebellion in Minas, during which Ottoni was arrested. Thereafter he was known nationally as a prominent *luzia*, returning to Parliament in 1845 to take a subdued part in the Liberal/Monarchist coalition until Paraná's government of *transação* or Conciliation was installed in 1851.

For the next twelve years Ottoni turned to business and to a radical scheme to develop communications links between the Minas interior and the North-eastern coast of the province. In 1847, his family textiles firm, Ottoni e Cia, presented to the government its "Condições para a Incorporação de Uma Companhia de Comércio e Navegação do Rio Mucuri, que se Denominará Cia. do Mucuri". The legalisation of the company brought with it considerable privileges, tax exemptions and exclusive rights; as Ottoni's biographer and chief apologist notes, this programme of colonisation, navigation and road-building represented a challenge to the landowning economy of the conservative oligarchies on behalf of the new force of industrial capitalism:

A Cia. do Mucuri era uma réplica aos senhores de engenho. Com sua vasta plataforma industrial - colonização, navegação, estradas - era bem a dinâmica economia democrática, livre e alegre, opondo-se à aristocracia fundiária, escravocrata e parada.⁴

4. Paulo Pinheiro Chagas, Teófilo Ottoni, Ministro do Povo (Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia, 1978), p.157.

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However, the Mucuri valley was also the homeland of the Giporoks and other groups of Indians, remnants of the Botocudos who had been the victim of systematic campaigns of extermination under D. João VI. Ottoni's first observations of these tribes evince a degree of humanitarian outrage and compassion, albeit highly paternalistic, that would be worthy of the early Indianists such as Gonçalves Dias:

Dói-me dentro da alma ter de exprimir perante V. Sas. a convicção em que estou de que os pobres selvagens não encontraram aqui aquela proteção desinteressada e nobre a que eles têm direito. Foi preciso que eu me esforçasse para abafar sentimentos de ódio, que se desculpam com a morte da família Viola, único atentado que os índios, há muitos anos cometeram, neste município, e que é atenuado por diversas circunstâncias, especialmente pela consideração de que o cacique Giporok, quando cometeu essa violência, procurava libertar os filhos, detidos em escravidão. E não posso deixar de ponderar a V. Sas. que se tem feito um tráfico infame com os filhos dos selvagens, conforme o diz aqui a fama pública. Já escrevi ao sr. Juiz de Direito desta Comarca que mande força para estes lugares, não tanto para defender os habitantes, senão para proteger os pobres índios, os quais, segundo a eloqüente expressão que eles mesmos empregam, *estão mansos como os cágados* (op.cit., p.163).

Nevertheless, by 1852, when Ottoni had announced "Aqui farei a minha Filadélfia!" on the spot now occupied by the town of his name, the project had suffered the first attacks by the Botocudo groups whose lands were thus being invaded. These attacks and severe outbreaks of malaria led to mass desertions on the part of his workers. Ottoni's response demonstrates the remarkable facility with which Liberal ideology could draw a qualitative moral distinction between slavery and an equally exploitative system of paid labour. He converted a number of friendly Indians from the locality and employed them, rather unsuccessfully, on one of his road-building projects. Pragmatism and expediency, as Pinheiro Chagas is lamely forced to admit, could work wonders with unprofitable political principles:

E ele que não queria escravos trabalhando na Cia. do Mucuri, vê-se forçado, pela falta de braços, a contratá-los, dizendo,

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melancolicamente, em seu relatório de 1853: "não há filosofia contra a experiência!...(op.cit., p.179).

Otoni soon found other, more persuasive arguments within his Liberal philosophy, though, with which to rationalise this exploitation of indigenous manpower. The Cia. do Mucuri now assumed a missionary role of "rehabilitation" through the medium of the work ethic; the Indians' integration into the "free" labour system of capitalism was to bring about their full self-realisation as human beings awakened to the "natural" concepts of individual enterprise and private property:

Estou convencido das vantagens de um novo plano de catequese, de que muito desejo ver um ensaio dirigido conscienciosamente. O modo de aldear os índios, usado até aqui, consiste em obrigá-los a trabalhar em comum, sob a administração de diretores, que são os verdadeiros proprietários de tudo quanto produz o trabalho dos aldeados. Desde o tempo dos Jesuitas, este método não tem tido outro resultado senão conservar os índios pacíficos e obedientes no aldeamento, servindo de instrumento à prosperidade e indevidos ganhos dos catequizadores, sem que a inteligência dos catequizados faça o menor progresso. Tenho procurado marchar no Mucuri por caminho diverso. Sendo os laços de família poderosos entre os Nak-Nanuks, procurei do amor da família fazer desabrochar, entre eles, o sentimento de propriedade, aconselhando-os a que se fixem ao solo, e o cultivem no próprio proveito (Report sent to President of Minas, 1854, op.cit., p.184).

The Company's "protection" of the Indians thus guaranteed their basic human rights to liberty, security, property and freedom from oppression: "A democracia impregnara de sua substância o Mucuri. Acabara com a exploração do homem pelo homem. Extinguira o tráfico. Dignificara a família. Estabelecera o direito do índio sobre a terra. Defendera a sua liberdade e valorizara-o, como ser humano, pelo trabalho livre e remunerado" (op.cit., p.194).

Otoni reported these achievements in his "Notícia sobre os Selvagens do Mucuri" of 1858, which had been requested by Joaquim Manuel de Macedo as material for his "Memória" to the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro. Otoni invokes as his inspiration the example of

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the North American occupation of Pennsylvania. Indeed, the legal agreements, by which the Nak-Nanuks "freely" surrendered their title over ancient tribal lands to the Cia. do Mucuri, closely resemble those which had dispossessed the North American Indians of their territories earlier in the century: "As terras são divididas com grande espírito de justiça. Aqueles que, por comum acordo, cabem aos índios, têm sua posse devidamente registrada, o que lhes assegura um direito certo" [!] (op.cit., p.192).

This was the reality which lay behind Ottoni's Liberal mission of 'integration, then: the seizure of Indian lands, and the destruction of the collective subsistence economy of tribal culture so as to exploit the Indian in a capitalist system of wage-labour. It is this reality which has enabled a more recent commentator to attack Ottoni's hypocrisy, if from an even more reactionary position as a *saudoso* monarchist. As Leônidas Lorentz states, the Liberal Ottoni was a slave-owner by his own admission; not only did the Company have at its disposal one hundred black slaves, Indian slaves were also numbered amongst the goods belonging to the Cia. do Mucuri in its report to the shareholders. Teófilo's brother, Augusto Benedito, was Diretor dos índios do Mucuri e do Todos os Santos, with control over a further one hundred Indians.⁵ As Pinheiro Chagas is forced to confirm (op.cit., p.245), the Indians were effectively abandoned after the collapse of the Company. They were not given the lands or tools they had been promised, they were deprived of their fishing and hunting-grounds and were consequently forced to work as virtual slave-labour, while Ottoni and his family enriched themselves

5. Leônidas Lorentz, Teófilo Ottoni no tribunal da história (Rio de Janeiro: ed. do autor, 1981), pp.71-74.

as *nouveaux latifundiários*. It was this same reality that was concealed by João Francisco Lisboa's "conciliatory", Liberal solution to the debate on indigenist policy in the 1850s:

Sem dúvida, por mais bárbaros que fossem, tinham os indígenas direito à própria conservação, por meio dos dons que a terra fornece, ou espontâneos, ou solicitados pelo trabalho. Mas esse direito se podia conciliar, e tornar-se até mais amplo, real e eficaz, com a ocupação simultânea dos europeus; porque a civilização, sobre melhorar a condição moral dos selvagens, devia tornar-lhes mais fáceis ao mesmo tempo todos os gozos e cômodos da vida. A iniquidade pois consistiu, não na ocupação da terra vaga e inculta, mas no abuso da opressão e das vexações exercidas contra as hordas errantes.⁶

4.2 Indian Policy from Pombal to Pedro II

The last important political change in the history of the literature on Indians to which I have referred was the legislation introduced in 1755 by Pombal. The two Emancipation Laws, ending the longstanding role of the Jesuits in the mediation between indigenous and white society, and giving the Indians the nominal status of ordinary free citizens, provided a stimulus for the first three substantial Indianist works that I examined in the last chapter. But they also produced serious social consequences whose effects were to emerge in a violent form in the nineteenth century, and continued to supply thematic material for literary texts during Empire.

In the Amazonian state of Pará, the "liberation" of indigenous communities from the mission of social organisation and labour control exposed them to an inevitable process of tribal disintegration and marginalisation. Ill-prepared to compete socially or economically with the rest of the regional population, these communities became transformed

6. João Francisco Lisboa, Crônica do Brasil Colonial..., op.cit., pp.175-76.

into a dispersed, propertyless mass alienated both from the intact, isolated tribal groups of the interior and from the rural white population. These detribalised Indians, known as *tapuios*, formed a great labour reserve force in Amazônia which, according to Carlos Moreira de Araújo Neto,⁷ was to constitute a potential source of revolt following Independence, and as such played an important part in the Cabanagem, one of the provincial uprisings expressing discontent during the Regency. The visible social and psychological effects of this process of detribalisation were recorded by the ethnographers and travellers, Spix and Martius, in 1823:

O traço característico da raça, imbecilidade sonsa e taciturna, que se traduz sobretudo pelo olhar soturno e pelos modos acanhados dos indígenas americanos, ainda mais se acentua aos primeiros passos (...). O modo como os tratam muitos dos atuais fazendeiros também contribui para tal decadência moral e física. Nem a feição nacional, ou deformações físicas (tatuagens), nem os hábitos e costumes característicos destes pobres restos dos primitivos indígenas revelam a que tribu eles pertenciam outrora.⁸

Someone else who witnessed and documented the condition of the *tapuio* was Ferdinand Denis, who played such a vital role in the development of Brazil's national literature and of the Indianist movement. In his geographical works, Denis makes the same important sociological distinction between the pure, intact tribal groups of the interior and the *caboclo* or *tapuio*, the product of contact with white civilisation. Similarly, the central theme of his fiction and that of his followers is the nostalgic mourning of the dispersal and exile of the conquered

7. Carlos de Araújo Moreira Neto, A Política Indigenista Brasileira Durante o século XIX, tese de doutoramento apresentada à Cadeira de Antropologia da Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciência e Letras de Rio Claro (mimeographed copy), São Paulo, 1971), p.5.

8. J.B. von Spix and C.F.P. von Martius, Viagem pelo Brasil, trad. Lúcia Furquim Lahmeyer, from Reise in Brasilien (Munich, 1823), 4 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1938), vol.I, p.197.

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indigenous races of Brazil, their corruption and decay. Yet the Brazilian Indianists, who were directly inspired to adopt the indigenous theme by the example and encouragement of Denis, never really addressed the social reality of detribalisation until late in the century, in the fiction of Bernardo Guimarães, for example. Until then, Indianism is concerned with nationally significant military and political events in colonial history or with mythical Romantic encounters between Indian and white, for which descriptions of Indian culture and society are primarily based on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century accounts.

This serious omission arises out of more than simply a Romantic preference for an idealised, Rousseauian view of a Golden Age of Natural Man, for the Indianists had both Denis' documentation and the immediate evidence of tribal disintegration on their own soil. Rather, it is a consequence of the terms in which the nineteenth-century debate on Indian policy was argued. For the intellectuals who took part in that debate, many of them prominent writers, the choice was simply between extermination and integration, the first representing the oppressive colonial policy of Portugal from which the Independence process had successfully freed Brazil; while the second symbolised the conciliatory ideology of national and social unity that belonged to the Second Reign. Between those alternatives there could exist no grey area questioning the value of assimilation into white society from the viewpoint of the Indian's own cultural integrity and identity, or denouncing the exploitative nature of the Imperial economy for its more marginalised elements.

That debate would probably not have taken place, had it not been for the extermination policy to which the indigenous population was

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subjected during the years immediately before and following Independence. D. João VI's Carta Régia of 1798 was the first of a series of charters which abolished the Pombaline legislation of 1755 and ordered military campaigns or "guerras justas" against particular groups of Indians considered "incivilizáveis": the various tribes inhabiting the Provinces of Bahia and São Paulo; the Botocudos of Minas Gerais, who were decimated by eighteen years of wars, and the Timbira of Maranhão, who were the object of particularly vicious methods of extermination, such as the deliberate introduction of disease, in a campaign which lasted from 1798 to 1831. The pioneering expeditions of the seventeenth century, the *bandeiras*, were revived especially for the purpose, and Indian prisoners were given to the captors as slaves for a period of fifteen years, which in most cases meant life.⁹

One of the most serious objections to this policy of extermination was raised during the reign of Pedro I, by the so-called "Patriarch of Independence", José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva. In 1823, José Bonifácio, then a *deputado* and government minister, presented to Parliament his "Apontamentos para a civilização dos índios Bravos do Brasil", recommending radical reforms to the existing policy with a view to the effective integration of the tribal population into the economic and social structure of the newly independent nation. The document is one of the first explicit attempts to link the Indian question to that of the generally oppressive colonial policies suffered by Brazil under Portuguese rule. As such it marks the beginning of that alliance between nationalism, Liberalism and the Indianist theme which is so characteristic of the

9. Oscar Beozzo, Leis e Regimentos das Missões: Política indigenista no Brasil (São Paulo: Loyola, 1983), pp.71-74.

literary movement's first phase. José Bonifácio denounced the two million deaths of Indians that had taken place since Conquest, and the total failure of Pombal's Laws of Liberty:

Segundo nossas Leis os Indios devião gozar dos privilegios da raça Europêa; mas este beneficio tem sido illusorio, por que a pobreza em que se achão, a ignorancia por falta de educação, e estimulos, e as vexações continuas dos brancos os tornão abjectos e despreziveis como os negros.¹⁰

He blamed the white colonist for

os medos continuos, e arraigados, em que os tem posto os captiveiros antigos; o desprezo com que geralmente os tratamos, o roubo continuo das suas melhores terras, os serviços a que os sujeitamos, pagando-lhes pequenos ou nenhuns jornaes, alimentando-os mal, enganando-os nos contractos de compra, e venda, que com elles fazemos, e tirando-os annos, e annos de suas familias e roças para os serviços do Estado, e dos particulares; e por fim enxertando-lhes todos os nossos vicios, e molestias, sem lhes comunicar-mos nossas virtudes, e talentos (op.cit., p.103).

José Bonifácio's criticism of the past systems of mission administration, which had rendered the Indians "useless to the State", were echoed in the same year by José Arouche de Toledo Rendon, in his "Memória sobre as aldeias de índios da Província de S.Paulo":

Estamos na epocha feliz de não sermos colonos: o Brasil é um Império constitucional: a mais viçosa vergonhea da Casa de Brangança é o seu 1º Imperador. Trata-se de augmentar as forças d'este gigante com o augmento da sua população; entre os diversos meios de conseguir este tão útil como necessário fim terá sempre lugar o da civilização e catechese dos Indios, que vivem em hordas errantes nas immensas matas do solo brasileiro.¹¹

Rendon recommended four basic principles for a new indigenist policy: an end to military repression; the provision of aid and decent treatment;

10. Also known as "Apontamentos para a civilização dos índios Bárbaros do Reino do Brasil", Obras Científicas, políticas e sociais de José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva ed. Edgard de Cerqueira Falcão, 3 vols. (São Paulo: Empresa Graphica da Revista dos Tribunais, 1963), vol.II, pp.103-114.

11. José Arouche de Toledo Rendon, "Memoria sobre as aldeias de índios da Província de São Paulo, segundo as observações feitas no anno de 1798 - Opinião do auctor sobre a sua civilização", Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, tomo 4 (1842), p.295.

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the settlement of Indians near white communities to encourage them to adopt white methods of farming, and, most important, the splitting up of families, separating children from their parents for the purposes of "education", the eradication of tribal culture and the instillation of sedentary habits of work.

However, the integrationist proposals of José Bonifácio and Toledo Rendon were rejected by the conservative Assembléia of the First Reign. They had to wait until the Regency, eight years later, when the 1798 Cartas Régias were revoked by a Liberal government and the Indian acquired the status of orphan, subject to a range of new administrative laws designed to open up the interior to more intensive agricultural activity.

The artist Jean Baptiste Debret reproduced the text of one of the new decrees in his Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil, which records the author's impressions of the country and its people gained during fifteen years spent there from 1816. Debret was a member of the Missão Artística Francesa which had been invited to Brazil by D. João VI for the purpose of setting up a native Academy of Fine Arts. A number of Botocudo Indians, almost certainly captured during the "guerras justas", were brought to Rio to be drawn by him, and the book contains illustrations depicting "índios civilizados" who, he notes, were indispensable intermediaries on his visits to the interior. It is an indication of the extent of detribalisation since the Pombaline legislation that Debret refers to the variety of civil and menial domestic positions now occupied by *tapuios* and *caboclos*, from the soldiers employed in the repression of slave revolts in Bahia and in the *descidas*

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of uncontacted Indians in Curitiba, to the laundrywomen serving the wealthy families of Rio.¹²

For Debret, the Liberal legislation of 1831 unashamedly sought to reconcile the economic needs of a young independent nation with the principles of individual freedom, private property and enterprise:

A análise das qualidades físicas e morais dos indígenas selvagens deve seguir-se, naturalmente, o bem merecido elogio da filantropia fraternal dos legisladores brasileiros, que, apenas investidos do poder regenerador da prosperidade da sua mãe pátria, se apressaram em abolir a escravidão dos índios prisioneiros de guerra e, mais ainda, em lhes assegurar o direito de propriedade da terra por eles escolhida para exercício de sua indústria, meio judicioso de lhes fazer compreender as vantagens da civilização e de acelerar o progresso tão necessário ao território brasileiro (op.cit., p.71).

However, the language of integration found its most characteristic expression, not within the Liberal, "Republican" experiment of the Regency, but in the Second Reign and the regime of Conciliation. During the next eighteen years, the country experienced a series of violent political and social uprisings, one of them with important racial implications, which challenged both the unity of the nation and the economic order which had controlled it for centuries. In the conservative reaction which followed, the Liberal, capitalist overtones of the concept of integration gave way to the principle of a single, socially, politically and racially united people i.e. the maintenance and reinforcement of the traditional class and economic structure.

The Liberal pressure which forced the abdication of Pedro I represented a desire for fundamental changes in the system and policies of government that would give substance and reality to the country's nominal independence from Portugal. As one representative asked in the

12. Jean Baptiste Debret, Viagem pitoresca e histórica ao Brasil (trans.) (São Paulo: Círculo do livro, n/d), vol.I, pp.14, 20 & 39.

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Chamber of Deputies in 1831: "Como há de marchar o regime novo com as mesmas molas do regime velho? Como há o governo nacional, criado e organizado de novo, de caminhar conservando todos os elementos do governo velho pelo Brasil? Se tal acontecer haverá convulsões nas províncias, como já tem começado a haver."¹³ But the reforms implicit in these questions were not implemented, the traditional oligarchies of Portuguese origin and descent retained their hold on the archaic colonial power structure that guaranteed their privileged position, and the regional upheavals feared by the speaker extended over eighteen years of violent reaction to that continued ethnic and class dominance. The catalogue of disturbances during these years is an extensive one: the military revolt in Rio de Janeiro (3rd April 1832); the Abrilada in Recife (14th April 1832); the Cabanada in Pernambuco (1832); the revolts in Pará (April-June 1832); the military uprising in Bahia (27th October 1832); the attempted assassination of Evaristo da Veiga (8th November 1832); the federalist revolts in Bahia (February 1832 and April 1833); violent struggles in Alagoas involving over 15,000 people; the military revolt in Ouro Preto (March 1833); street fighting in Pará (April 1833); the killings of Portuguese "mata-bicudos" in Mato Grosso (May and September 1834); the 40,000 dead as a result of the Cabanagem in Pará (1835); 11,000 involved in the Balaiada in Maranhão, with 5,000 killed (1838-45); the *malé* revolt with mass executions and deportations; the Carneirada in Pernambuco (January 1835); the assassination of the President of Rio Grande do Norte (1838); the 3,000 imprisoned and 1,200 killed in the Sabinada in Bahia (1837-38); the Farrapos war involving 20,000 in Rio

13. Paulo e Souza, quoted in José Honório Rodrigues, Conciliação e Reforma no Brasil: um desafio histórico-cultural, 2ª ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1982), p.49.

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Grande do Sul (1835-45); the Bem-te-vi revolt in Piauí (February 1840); the revolution of 1842 in Minas Gerais and São Paulo; the bloody struggle between "lisos" and "cabeludos" in Alagoas; the Rio Formoso rebellion in Pernambuco (1847); the anti-Portuguese riots in Recife and Rio de Janeiro (1848), and the killings before and during the Revolução da Praia in Recife (1848) (Rodrigues, op.cit., pp.51-53).

During the course of the present chapter I shall demonstrate how the character of Indianist writing in the first phase of the movement very much reflects the mood of conflict, instability and federal disintegration created by these events. One incident in particular, the Cabanagem, is of special interest because it involved Indian populations and even provided the material for an Indianist novel. For Carlos Moreira, the racial and social implications of the Cabanagem give it a revolutionary character that sets it apart from the other movements of the period. Military officers and regional politicians themselves perceived the revolt as a conspiracy of the local coloured population to do away with the white landowners and traders of the region, whom they identified as their oppressors. The first "exceptional" measures taken in response to the sporadic rebellions which occurred in 1834 were punitive expeditions composed of regular troops or "patriotas", against the *quilombos*, run-away slave hide-outs, and against Indian and *tapuio* settlements. Such raids often served in addition to clear areas for agricultural use, to settle old scores and to recruit many of the tribes of the Upper Amazon into forced labour. However, in the language of the local representatives of the Imperial order, these repressive measures were the only means of preserving the integrity of Empire from the threats to its morality, authority and hierarchy, such as military insubordination, disrespect for the Catholic religion and press libel:

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Dizer-vos, Senhores, que estas foram as causas das horrorosas desgraças porque passou esta Província, que estas foram as causas dos males porque tem passado a Província do Rio Grande de São Pedro do Sul, e estão ameaçando a da Bahia; que estas são ainda as causas que ameaçam a existência do Império do Brasil, é dizer-vos bem claramente que deveis pôr quanto esteja da vossa parte para a destruição do germen de tantos males, estatuindo medidas que lhes sejam diametralmente opostas. Não farei agora a exposição detalhada dos horrores inventados nesta revolução espantosa em que o barbarismo parecia querer devorar de um só trago toda a civilização existente... (Moreira, op.cit., pp.18-19, citing Francisco Soares D'Andréa).

This cataclysmic association of revolutionary forces with the anarchic barbarism of primitive hordes is one of the chief motors in the work of that most characteristic of the poets of the first Indianist phase, Gonçalves Dias. It also helps define the central stereotype of the movement to which I referred in my general introduction, contrasting the faceless, hostile and irreconcilable tribe, on the one hand and, on the other, the Romantic Indian hero, the loyal friend and servant of the white community.

Amongst the consequences of the repression of the Cabanagem, which included the destruction of agricultural areas, widespread malnutrition, disease and depopulation, was one which concerned freedom of movement and labour, and which served to reinforce the racial divisions which had been central to the revolt in the first place. Marechal Soares D'Andréa, the officer responsible for the success of that repression, issued a series of "Instruções para a Organização dos Corpos de Trabalhadores" and "Instruções Gerais para os Comandantes Militares da Província do Pará". These gave military commanders the responsibility of compiling a register of all households under their jurisdiction, defining the activity of each member, obliging families to hire out their *agregados* or retainers, to work in some "género de vida útil", and arresting any strangers or "vagabundos", generally identified as "homens

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de cor". Several of the traditional militia corps were abolished, and recruitment for the army was now drawn from the respectable white families, barring Indians, *tapuios* or *mestiços* from any military career as such. Instead, the latter were weeded out together with those not considered to be engaged in any useful employment, and were conscripted into labour corps under the command of military officers (Moreira, *op.cit.*, pp.2-26).

This reorganisation of the population along ethnic and corresponding socio-economic lines must also be seen in the light of the resurgence of racist theory in the nineteenth century. Strongly influenced by the ideas of Joseph de Maistre, the most important exponent of the notion of racial inferiority as far as the Indian was concerned was Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen. Varnhagen's conflict with the advocates of a more conciliatory, assimilatory Indian policy, and of a more indigenist view of Brazilian culture in general, marks the end of the first phase of the Indianist movement.

4.3 The rise of an Indianist movement in Brazil

Since it was to the figures of Basílio da Gama and Santa Rita Durão that the Romantics turned when seeking evidence of an authentically "Brazilian" literature before political Independence, it is worthwhile considering whether there was any kind of transition or preparation for an Indianist aesthetic during the period between the eighteenth-century epics and the first appearance of Romantic ideas on Brazilian soil in the 1820s. If, as I have shown, Basílio's O Uruguai reveals a degree of ambiguity in its political sympathies regarding the Indian and the colonial government, another text of the same period was not so

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equivocal. It is a poem from the satirical Cartas Chilenas, published in 1788 by Tomás Antônio Gonzaga, and is remarkably outspoken for its time, in its uncompromising condemnation of the centuries of slaughter carried out by Europeans in the name of colonialism. More than that, its rehabilitation of the humanity of the Indian, who had for so long been relegated to the status of brute animal by the likes of Anchieta and Durão, and its identification with the victims of Portuguese colonial oppression, would qualify it for inclusion amongst the first works of Romantic Indianism:

Talvez, prezado amigo, que nós, hoje,
sintamos os castigos dos insultos
que nossos pais fizeram; êstes campos
estão cobertos de insepultos ossos
de inumeráveis homens que mataram.
Aqui os europeus se divertiam
em andarem à caça dos gentios
como à caça das feras, pelos matos.
Havia tal que dava, aos seus cachorros,
por diário sustento, humana carne,
querendo desculpar tão grave culpa
com dizer que os gentios, bem que tinham
a nossa semelhança, enquanto aos corpos,
não eram como nós, enquanto às almas.
Que muito, pois, que Deus levante o braço
e puna os descendentes de uns tiranos
que, sem razão alguma e por capricho,
espalharam na terra tanto sangue!¹⁴

New developments in the European philosophical tradition were also penetrating Brazil's cultural and intellectual milieu at this time; in 1784 Antônio Pereira de Souza Caldas wrote his "Ode ao homem selvagem" after reading Rousseau's Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes (1755). The early Indianists' image of a lost tribal world of innocence and freedom was already beginning to crystallise:

14. Tomás Antônio Gonzaga, Obras Completas (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1957), p.291.

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ó Razão, onde habitas?... na morada
Do crime furiosa,
Polida, mas cruel, paramentada
Com as roupas do Vício; ou na ditosa
Cabana virtuosa
Do selvagem grosseiro?... Dize... aonde?
Eu te chamo, ó philosopho! responde.¹⁵

A few years later, in 1790, another publication of a more theoretical nature appeared, the Tratado de Educação Física by Francisco de Melo Franco, this time inspired largely by Rousseau's émile, which offers Indian culture as a model for European child-rearing. It was about this time that middle-class European parents were dressing their children in exotic costume and naming them after the characters of such novels as Saint-Pierre's Paul et Virginie (1786), the story of a fatherless couple raised by their mothers in French North America.

By 1821, however, the defence of the Indian in Brazil, along with that of the black, had assumed an overtly political dimension as part of the debate surrounding the Independence movement. A fascinating collection of open but semi-anonymous correspondence between several nationalists and their loyalist opponents reveals how the country's non-white populations had become central to both native and Portuguese perceptions of Brazil's identity as an independent culture and nation. This exchange of letters, some of them attributed to the future Liberal statesman, Evaristo da Veiga, was sparked off by a "Memória" printed in the Investigador, No.84, in June 1818, which had spoken of "hordas de negrinhos, terra de macacos, de negros e serpentes" and had asked: "e não

15. Antônio Pereira de Souza Caldas, Poesias Sacras e Profanas, 2 vols. (Paris: P.N. Rougeron, 1821), vol.II, p.129.

será eminentemente impolitico hir sepultar tanta gloria, e patriotismo [dos Portuguezes] nos Bosques e ermos do Brasil entre Indios e Pretos?"¹⁶

The arguments put forward by one of the correspondents, in particular, in defence of his country's ethnic and cultural image, are identical to the basic guiding principles of Romantic Indianist writing. To begin with, the rehabilitation of the "primitive" races within a Liberal, fraternal concept of common nationhood:

(...) porque a considero Patria commum dos homens, e a estes todos irmãos; sem que nada lhes dê de mais, ou de menos, na entidade, haverem nascido n'Azia, Europa, Affrica, ou America; todos são homens; todos tem huma mesma origem; todos são aptos aquanto os homens o pôdem ser ao bem, e mal; e só a educação, o exemplo, os temperamentos, e livre Alvedrio, que pelo SUPREMO AUTOR da Natureza lhes foi conferido, os faz diversificar em sentimentos, e costumes.¹⁷

Then the heroic, aristocratic ancestry of the modern Brazilian as a descendant of Indians such as Antônio Felipe Camarão, who in alliance with the Portuguese expelled the Dutch from the North-east of the Colony:

(...) não vê Vm. que quando deprime os Indios, deprime com elles a todo o Brazil, e a maior parte dos seus habitantes, (aqui doeme o cabelo) que ou por alliança, ou por descendencia la tem alguma coiza de commum com esses Indios? Com quem contrairão os primeiros Portuguezes, que ao Brazil vierão as suas allianças propagadoras da raça humana? Não foi por accazo com as mui carinhosas, e solicitas Indias? Foi sem duvida, e dellas descendem muito honradas, e nobres, familias, sem que por isso deixem de ser tão honradas, nobres e illustres, como o são, e pôdem ser as que descendem dos Romanos, dos Godos, e tambem dos Moiros, e Judeus, que cá segundo o meu fraco bestunto não são menos gente, do que

16. "Justa Retribuição dada ao compadre de Lisboa em desagravo dos brasileiros offendidos por varias asserções, que escreveu na sua carta em resposta ao compadre de Belem, pelo filho do Compadre de Rio de Janeiro, que offerece, e dedica aos seus patricios" (Rio de Janeiro: na Typographia Regia, 1821), pp.3-4.

17. "Carta do Compadre do Rio de S. Francisco do Norte, ao filho do compadre do Rio de Janeiro, na qual se lhe queixa do paralelo, que faz dos indios com os cavallos, de não conceder aos homens pretos maior dignidade, que a de reis do rozaio, e de asseverar, que o Brazil ainda agora está engatinhando; E crê provar o contrario de tudo isso, por J.J. do C.M." (Rio de Janeiro: na Impressão Nacional, 1821), pp.3-4.

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todos os outros, de que fiz menção, e até me vejo muito obrigado a crer, que tudo isto está muito encorporado já hoje (op.cit., p.6).

The notion of the indigenous environment, and by extension of Brazil as a whole, as a Terrestrial Paradise of freedom and abundance:

Porque ainda prevalecem n'elles os costumes dos seus antepassados; e muito mais porque a natural, e espontanea fertilidade do pingissimo Brazil lhe fornece, a troco de muito poucas fadigas, quanto as suas naturaes, e muito comedidas carencias lhes exigem para conservação de suas robustas saudes, longas vidas, e amadas, preciozas Liberdades ao mesmo tempo que as nossas capriçosas invenções, e gabadas sciencias nos atenuão, e consomem (...) (op.cit., p.8).

And, finally, the Liberals' faith in the process of social, economic and cultural integration of the Indian as a necessary step in the Independent nation's progress towards prosperity:

(...) fallo dos Christianizados; elles se nos prestão quando os precisamos para a navegação dos Rios centraes; na qual são eminentes, e para outros mesteres, que estão a seu alcance, e isto muito fiel e de boa vontade, huma vez que se lhe dê abundante sustento, e se tratem com agrado e franqueza; elles nos fornecem alguns generos de comercio, e sempre os achamos promptos, ou seja para conquistar os Indios Selvagens, ou para nos oppormos as hostilidades delles.

Os Indios não são menos abilidozos para as Letras, Artes, e Officios; disso temos sobejas experiencias, e quando a População Brazilica tornar mais difficultoza a manutenção diaria de cada individuo ver-se-ão os Indios tomar os seus lugares na Sociedade como os outros individuos, que a compoem hoje (op.cit., p.8).

José Bonifácio has already been mentioned as the author of a set of proposals for a new indigenist policy of integration. However, his contribution to the "pro-Indian" movement did not stop there. Implicated in a restoration conspiracy during the Regency, he was exiled to Europe

and there wrote and published a number of poems under the pseudonym of Américo Elísio. Amongst these is "A Criação", which again revives the myth of the American Terrestrial Paradise, but with an important new development. The initial Fall from grace, which the edenic Brazil is usually deemed to have escaped, signifies more than simply the universal loss of innocence. For the poem actually depicts a second Fall, the destruction of that American Paradise by the agents of Conquest. In this vision, the *homem-monstro* is no longer the tribal savage of the medieval imagination, but the barbarous European who has butchered countless Indians in his lust for gold, and whom José Bonifácio describes as God's final and most regrettable creation:

Lá de Haiti nas praias assustadas
De ver cavados lenhos, que orgulhosos
Cerram em largo bôjo espanto e morte,
Desembarcaram ousados homens-monstros;
E após o estandarte correm, voam,
Que fanatismo, que cobiça alçaram
Imbeles povos, índios inocentes!
Do armado espanhol provam as iras.
Que Deus fizera um mundo, crêem os tigres,
Para ser prêsa sua. Em tôda parte
Americano sangue, inda fumando,
A terra ensopa, e amolenta as patas
Dos soberbos ginetes andaluzes.¹⁸

But of all the precedents and influences which helped to crystallise a self-conscious Indianist movement, the most important are indisputably the writings and personal initiative of Ferdinand Denis.¹⁹ As far as the texts of the movement's first phase are concerned, it is revealing that these early Indianists owe more to Denis' revival of interest in the eighteenth-century epics than to his own ventures into

18. Poesias de Américo Elísio, Obras de José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1946), pp.29-30.

19. For a general study, see Paul Hazard, "De l'ancien au nouveau monde. Les origines du Romantisme au Brésil", Revue de Littérature Comparée, 1927, pp.111-28.

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narrative fiction e.g. Les Maxacalis (1823). For the ultimate conclusion of this long short story is the marginalisation, disintegration and eventual annihilation of the Indian. The Brazilian Indianists of the first phase, meanwhile, are concerned on the whole, more with the historical and mythical dimensions of the colonial conflict between Indian and white, than with its product, the *tapuia*.

Born in Paris in 1798, Denis spent three years visiting the towns and interior of Brazil between 1816 and 1819, having interrupted a voyage to India. The parallel with the first, chance encounter of the Portuguese with the landscape and native people of the colony was not lost on him, for in the opening pages of Le Brésil..., one of several works that were the fruit of this visit, he called his readers' attention to the momentous novelty of that encounter, inviting them to experience it again as if for the first time: "Faisons maintenant comme les vieux voyageurs, assistons à leur entrevue avec les indigènes; il semble qu'il y avait dans ce premier acte de possession quelque chose de caractéristique, qui a échappé à tous les histoires, et qui prend sa source dans le génie intime des deux nations se trouvant pour la première fois en présence".²⁰ Earlier, in his Scènes de la nature sous les tropiques, et de leur influence sur la poésie (1824), he had invited French writers to make use of this sense of exotic rediscovery for the purpose of revitalising the colours and images of their literature. Two years later, in the Résumé de l'histoire littéraire du Brésil (1826), he now addresses himself to the young artistic élite of Brazil, with the proposal of a new literature which would be consonant with the political Independence which the nation had

20. Jean Ferdinand Denis, Brésil: l'Univers, ou Histoire et Description de tous les peuples, de leurs religions, mœurs, coutumes etc. (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1837), pp.2-3.

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since won. This radical proposal saw a new set of literary values, popular, primitive and medieval, to be found in the figure of the Indian; it marks the true beginning of the Romantics' idealisation of that Indian in his/her nostalgically remote, pre-Colombian innocence:

Son temps des fables mystérieuses et poétiques, ce seront les siècles où vivaient les peuples que nous avons anéantis, qui nous étonnent par leur courage, et qui ont retrempe peut-être les nations sorties du vieux monde: le souvenir de leur grandeur sauvage remplira l'âme de fierté, leurs croyances religieuses animeront les déserts; les chants poétiques, conservés chez quelques nations, embelliront les forêts. Le merveilleux, si nécessaire à la poésie, se trouvera dans les antiques coutumes de ces peuples, comme dans la force incompréhensible d'une nature variant continuellement ses phénomènes... Leurs combats, leurs sacrifices, nos conquêtes, tout présente de brillants tableaux. A l'arrivée des Européens, ils croient, dans leur simplicité, se confier à des dieux; mais quand ils sentent qu'ils doivent combattre des hommes, ils meurent et ne sont pas vaincus.²¹

Contact with these new ideas did not only come about through the medium of the printed word; Denis also had an opportunity to discuss them with the two most important figures of the movement during their respective periods of residence in Paris. Indeed, Ferdinand Denis was not alone in his interest, as a foreigner, in the development of Brazilian culture. In the enthusiasm surrounding Independence, the welcome given to European investment was accompanied by invitations to artists, geographers and scientists to explore and evaluate the material and cultural resources of the country. This was to result, later in the century, in the invaluable travel accounts of Saint-Hilaire, John Mawe and Spix and Martius, and in the studies of tribal groups made by Von den Steinen, Prince Adalbert of Prussia and Koch-Grünberg, which contributed to the birth of ethnography as a serious discipline. The cultural dialogue

21. Jean Ferdinand Denis, Résumé de l'histoire littéraire du Portugal suivi du Résumé de l'histoire littéraire du Brésil (Paris: Leconte et Durey, 1826), p.529).

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with Europe began, however, when an academy, the Missão Artística, was founded in 1816, in Rio, at the instigation of the Brazilian Foreign Minister, the Conde d'Abarca, and the Portuguese ambassador in France, the Marquês de Marialva. Led by its secretary of fine arts, Lebreton, the academy included architects, writers, sculptors, some of whose names were to remain associated with the Brazilian literary scene for years to come e.g. Debret, Auguste Taunay. After an initial setback due to insufficient materials and organisation, it was revived in 1820 by Henrique José da Silva and, according to Denis, continued to play an important part in the cultural life of Rio (Brésil, op.cit., pp.102-03).

Among those keen to introduce Portuguese and Brazilian literature to a European audience and to confirm their place within the Western tradition, was Eugène de Monglave, a French Liberal journalist. His project to have thirty representative works in Portuguese translated into French, although never completed, was nevertheless responsible for the republication of Durão's Caramuru and therefore, indirectly, for its exposure to a new readership in Brazil. The appearance of a second translation shortly afterwards suggests that the theme of the encounter between tribal and Western man, already exploited a quarter of a century earlier by Chateaubriand in Atala, René and Les Natchez, continued to fire the imagination of European writers and readers. Another traveller to Brazil, Daniel Gavet, spent seven years there and in Uruguay, learning the local languages and translating several works from Spanish and Portuguese. Encouraged by Denis' suggestions and by his *conto*, Les Maxakalis, he published a reinterpretation of the Caramuru legend,

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Jakaré-Quassou, ou les Tupinambás, Chronique Brésilienne (1830), in collaboration with Philippe Boucher.²²

The importance of Jakaré-Quassou for the history of Brazilian Indianism is that it shifts the central element of the Caramuru myth, Diogo's cultural "conquest" of the Indians and his marriage to Paraguaçu, into a historical background. At the forefront of the novel is another, tragic relationship involving an Indian, Tamanduá, and Inez, the daughter of the Portuguese governor who is holding him captive. Inez is a saviour figure, protesting against her father's cruel treatment of the Indians, and defending Tamanduá against the slanderous attacks of the priest. This potential union of Indian and white is doomed, however, since the oppressive paternal figure of the governor Coutinho has betrothed Inez to his evil ally, Almada. Meanwhile, Tamanduá finds himself at the centre of a whole series of other disastrous relationships. His abandoned Indian lover, Moëma (adapted from Durão's poem), succumbs fatalistically to the prophecies of the tribal *pajé* or medicine-man, announcing her imminent death. A further tragedy occurs when enemies within the tribe exploit the suspicious behaviour of Tamanduá's friend, Jakaré, with the result that Tamanduá dies saving his friend from an attack by a jaguar, while Jakaré passes into the tribe's folklore falsely condemned as a murderer. An epilogue narrates the mournful exile of the remnants of the tribe and bemoans the powerlessness of one good priest against the destruction wrought by Conquest: "Si tous les Portugais avaient été comme toi...!!" ... Il y avait quelque chose d'horrible dans ces confidences de la douleur

22. Antônio Cândido, Formação da literatura brasileira (Momentos decisivos), 2 vols. (São Paulo: Itatiaia, 1975), vol.I, p.329; see also David Treece, "Caramuru the Myth...", *op.cit.*, pp.145-46.

faites par le sauvage à l'homme civilisé: c'était comme une malédiction lancée du fond du désert contre l'ancien monde et ses bourreaux".²³

Jakaré-Quassou therefore constitutes a considerable remodelling of the Caramuru story, by its removal of the Diogo/Paraguaçu relationship into the background; its replacement of this by a tragic web of relationships involving Indians and whites, at whose centre and origin stands the European; the development of the tragic female heroine, Moëma, and the raising of the Portuguese governor into an oppressive father figure. It is a formula that was adopted more than once during the course of the Indianist movement, for which Durão's celebratory foundation myth no longer represented an acceptable view of colonial history. In addition, it establishes the dominant mood of the first Indianist phase, in which the contemplation of Natural Man and all that he represents increasingly becomes a tragic, nostalgic regret for something which has irrevocably passed away. Such a perspective was vitally necessary to the mythological underpinning of the Liberal ideology that characterises this period. The continued existence of an intact tribal society would have militated against, on the one hand, the Liberal indigenist policy of integration, which proposed the assimilation of the Indian into Brazilian society as the only alternative to a more violent annihilation; and, on the other hand, the mythical status of the ideology itself, as formulated in Rousseau's Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes.

For Rousseau states emphatically in his Preface to the Discours that "l'homme naturel" which he is seeking to rediscover within civilised

23. Daniel Gavet and Philippe Boucher, Jakaré-Quassou, ou les Tupinambás. Chronique Brésilienne (Paris: Timothée de Hay, 1830), p.364).

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European man no more exists in any contemporary human society than it has done at any past moment in the history of mankind. Rather, it represents an ideal, hypothetical condition, "un état qui n'existe plus, qui n'a peut-être point existé, qui probablement n'existera jamais".²⁴ Rousseau's description of the shift from "l'état naturel" to "l'état social" is therefore not an historical or anthropological account, but an abstract representation of man's alienation from his natural self. Thus, when he cites a case of real primitivism, such as the Venezuelan Caribs, it is not as an example of that abstract ideal, but of an intermediate state, a Golden Age, between the purely instinctive "self-interest" of Natural Man, and the rationally cultivated "self-love" of Civil Man:

(...) cette période du développement des facultés humaines, tenant un juste milieu entre l'indolence de l'état primitif et la pétulante activité de notre amour-propre, dut être l'époque la plus heureuse et la plus durable. (...) L'exemple des sauvages qu'on a presque tous trouvés à ce point semble confirmer que le genre humain était fait pour y rester toujours, que cet état est la véritable jeunesse du monde, et que tous les progrès ultérieurs ont été en apparence autant de pas vers la perfection de l'individu, et en effet vers la décrépitude de l'espèce (op.cit., p.79).

Pursuing his examination of the Caribs, Rousseau proposes that the only difference between "sensation", the instinctive feeling of the animals, and "entendement", which is held to characterise the human being, is one of degree. It is man's heightened sensibility which allows him to liberate himself from the immediate dependence upon fear for his self-preservation, "et c'est surtout dans la conscience de cette liberté que se montre la spiritualité de son âme" (op.cit., p.53). The Indian enjoys an ideal condition of physical and spiritual tranquillity, freed from the lower animals' instinctive fears and impulses, and from that

24. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes (Paris: Editions Fernand Nathan, 1981), p.40.

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other kind of urgency, the unnaturally heightened desires and ambitions of Civil Man. In this way, the Indian's social and political freedom, more than once already put forward as a model by European philosophers, now acquires a further dimension. It is the supreme liberty of Natural Man in contact with the world through his senses, learning the full extent of his needs and fulfilling them by actions that are sufficient to preserve the tranquillity of his spirit and the harmony of his world. This defines, at least in part, the spirit of the Indianist poetry of Gonçalves Dias; the poems evoke a special world that, for all its wars, indeed because of them and their ritual, is in perfect harmony with itself until the arrival of the European.

It is ironic that the Brazilian most responsible for disseminating and promoting Ferdinand Denis' recommendations for a new Romantic aesthetic, Gonçalves de Magalhães, should have demonstrated in his own Indianist works the least sympathy for, or understanding of, the ideas I have just discussed. Indeed, the conservative Magalhães provides one of the most extreme illustrations of the contradictory, equivocal nature of Romantic Indianism. His epic poem, A Confederação dos Tamóios (1856), and theoretical Indianist writings, which will be examined in the next chapter, conceal beneath a thin veneer of token Liberal outrage and picturesque exoticism, the same condonation of the colonial government's often genocidal policies against the Indians that was expressed by the reactionary historian, Varnhagen. Yet Magalhães is also rightly credited with formulating the radically new set of literary principles upon which Romantic Indianism was founded.

Born in Rio in 1811 and educated under the guidance of the Franciscan philosopher and orator, Monte Alverne, he led the first

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generation of Brazilian Romantics, on the whole writers whose financial security, ancestral respectability and prestigious public careers made the transformation from Liberal Abolitionists to apologists for the Imperial *status quo* an easy one. Whilst in Paris studying medicine, he came into contact with Ferdinand Denis and Almeida Garrett and under their influence published the Suspiros poéticos e Saudades (1836) and, together with Azevedo Coutinho, Torres Homem and Araújo Porto Alegre, founded the first journal of Brazilian Romanticism, Niterói.

In his "Discurso sobre a História da Literatura do Brasil" (1836), and in the preface to the Suspiros poéticos..., he sets out the premises of the new school. These proposed a freedom of form and artistic creation dominated, not by Classical precepts, but by the direct influence and impression of nature on the spirit of the poet, as already set out by Ferdinand Denis. The goal of art was to be a pseudo-religious elevation of the soul, a notion combining the philosophies of Kant and Hegel and the Christian sentimentalism of Chateaubriand and Monte Alverne.²⁵ The immediate implication of the first of these principles for Brazilian nationalism was the movement of *nativismo*; Nature was no longer an abstract, Arcadian ideal, but a real local environment involving everything that was original and specific to the Brazilian landscape.

In fact, although certainly innovative for their time and place, the poems of Suspiros poéticos... offer few examples of language evoking an environment which can be identified as Brazilian. Furthermore, the figure of the Indian, whose potential contribution to a national literature had been so strongly emphasised by Denis, is conspicuous by

25. Domingos José Gonçalves de Magalhães, Obras, vol.VIII, Opúsculos históricos e litterarios (Rio de Janeiro: Garnier, 1865), pp.241-71.

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its absence. In two poems only do the now celebrated characters from the eighteenth-century epics of Durão and Basílio da Gama receive a token mention. In "Um passeio às Tulherias", the poet's residence in Paris recalls the visit to Europe by Paraguaçu and Diogo Álvares, and provides the pretext for an obligatory lamentation on the effects of Conquest. The homesickness of "Invocação à Saudade", meanwhile, is suggested through the images of the two tragic Indianist heroines who die separated from the one they love: Lindóia and Moema:

Tu matas, oh saudade!... As crêspas ondas,
Delirante Moema, e quase insana,
Por ti ferida se arremessa... e morre...²⁶

Nevertheless, the accumulative effect of the developments I have been describing in the past few pages did manifest itself, by the 1830s, in the form of a self-conscious artistic and cultural movement. The Indian had been used as a symbol of the American colony in paintings and illustrations even during the reign of João VI, and after Independence the Brazilian tribal began to appear in statues, on the façades of official buildings and decorating the walls of aristocratic mansions.²⁷ Tragic Indian figures such as Durão's Moema and Gonçalves Dias' Marabá became the subject for paintings by Victor Meirelles de Lima and Rodolfo Amoêdo, respectively. Patriots renounced their Portuguese names in favour of indigenous ones, such as Canguçu, Baitinga, Muriti, Jurema, Araripe or, in the case of the Viscount of Jequitinonha, Francisco Jê Acaiaba Montezuma. Even Pedro I, as Grand-Master of the freemasons, adopted an Indian name, albeit one derived from the higher civilisations of Spanish America -

26. Frederico José da Silva Ramos ed., Grandes poetas românticos do Brasil (São Paulo: Edições Lep Ltda, 1949), pp.88 & 119.

27. Nelson Werneck Sodré, História da Literatura brasileira: seus fundamentos econômicos, 5ª ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1969), p.273.

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Guatimozim (op.cit., pp.274 & 276). Political parties and their publications also sought to affirm their nationalist credentials in the same way; after Independence the newspaper supporting José Bonifácio was called O Tamoió, the adherents of the restoration cause were called *caramurus*, and the moderate division of the Liberal Party after 1842 was known as the *ximangos*.

Indigenous languages and their influence upon the Portuguese spoken in Brazil became a serious object of interest, largely as a result of the enthusiasm of Pedro II and his patronage of the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, which was founded in 1839. The first editions of its journal included articles demonstrating an increasing scientific and scholarly interest in indigenist matters: reproductions from manuscripts of a Thesouro descoberto no maximo Rio Amazonas and a Noticia sobre os indios Tupinambás, an História dos indios cavalleiros ou da nação Guaycurú, Sousa Caldas' "Ode ao homem selvagem" and an article by Januário da Cunha Barbosa entitled "Se a introdução dos escravos africanos no Brasil embaraça a Civilização dos nossos indigenas, dispensando-se-lhes o trabalho, que todo foi confiado a escravos negros". As a result of Pedro II's proposals for the study and teaching of indigenous languages, Tupi might also have become available as a university subject, had it not been for the fall of Empire.

Meanwhile, another, perhaps more reliable gauge of the popularity of the movement amongst Brazil's educated élite is its penetration into theatrical activity. Indianist dramas and musical works did indeed occupy the stage on numerous occasions, especially during the 1850s: Joaquim Noberto provided the Indianist libretto for Domingos José Ferreira's Colomba (1854), while Carlos Gomes' famous opera, Il Guarani, based on

Alencar's novel, was performed internationally. The opera Volta de Columella (1857), staged in the theatre of S. Januário de S. Pedro, was the first to be performed by Indian actors.²⁸ These trends were encouraged by the organisation of a competition under the auspices of the Brazilian Conservatório Dramático. Amongst the submissions were three works based on traditional Indianist themes: Lindoya, "tragédia lírica em quatro actos", by Ferreira França, Moema e Paraguaçu, by Francisco Bonifácio de Abreu (1859) and another version of the Moema episode; in addition there exists an undated "drama histórico em quatro actos, Caramuru", by Eduardo Carijé Baraúna.²⁹ The most popular Indianist drama was Manuel de Macedo's Cobá, which enjoyed a period of particular success during the 1860s, and is included in Sábato Magaldi's Panorama do Teatro Brasileiro under the heading "Dramaturgia ao gosto do público".³⁰ By then, however, Romantic Indianism had moved on to concerns quite different from those expressed in the first texts published almost thirty years previously.

4.4 Indianist writing up to Gonçalves Dias

1. Ladislau dos Santos Titara, the "Metamorphose Original" and *Paraguassú*.

The career and poetry of Ladislau dos Santos Titara are an excellent example of the relationship which I have been describing, between the atmosphere of political conflict, the struggle for nationalist

28. Ferdinand Wolf, O Brasil Literário, trans. from Le Brésil Littéraire (1863) (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1955), p.341.

29. Augusto de Freitas Lopes Gonçalves, Dicionário histórico e literário do teatro no Brasil (Rio de Janeiro: Cátedra, 1979), vol.III, pp.90, 201 & 229, and J. Galante de Sousa, O Teatro no Brasil, 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1960), vol.II, p.244.

30. Sábato Magaldi, Panorama do Teatro Brasileiro (São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1962), and Wolf, op.cit., p.334.

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self-assertion, and the mood of Indianist writing during the first phase. Born in 1801 in Capuame, in the province of Bahia, the son of a lawyer, Titara began training in his father's profession, but his studies were interrupted by the Independence wars. He took part on the nationalist side and, following the example of many of his compatriots at this time, changed his name from the original Ladislau do Espírito Santo Mello, in order to disown his Portuguese ancestry. According to Sacramento Blake,³¹ he was both a prominent military officer and a writer of some standing; he gained several honours including the Order of the Rose, was a member of the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro and produced a number of works on military law. As a poet he was very prolific, publishing eight volumes between 1827 and 1852,³² and was a pupil of the Indianist playwright, Ferreira França.

The "Metamorphose Original - Moema, e Camorogí" (first published with Paraguassú in 1835) marks the beginning of that strand of Indianism which seeks to create a sense of national identity through the fusion of landscape and myth, inventing a pre-Cabraline, indigenous cultural heritage for the young nation. The poem concerns two Indians, Moema and Camorogí, who are united by "O Deus das Bodas" on the banks of the river Pitanga, in Bahia. The link between myth and place is reinforced by the choice of name, for Camuruji is a town in the municipality of Taperoá, also in Bahia. In addition, a number of indigenous words designating animals and plants peculiar to the Brazilian landscape e.g. *jacarandá*, *potumujus*, *oyticica*, are included to reflect in linguistic terms this sense

31. Augusto Victorino Alves Sacramento Blake, Diccionario Bibliographico Brasileiro, 6 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1899), vol.V, pp.279-80.

32. Nelson Werneck Sodré, *op.cit.*, p.121.

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of independent identity. The familiar name of Moema, meanwhile, now removed from the original tragic episode of Santa Rita Durão's poem, has acquired its own tradition of sentimental associations.

The poem purports to explain the origin of the *dorminhoco*, the bird of indolence: Moema wakes at dawn and urges her new husband to join her in exploring their idyllic home together. He, disturbed from his sleep, becomes enraged and almost kills Moema, who calls for protection from the spirit of the forest and is transformed into a bird. Camorogí returns home down-cast, led on by the singing voice of his wife; the god Tupá takes pity on him and transforms him, too, into a bird, the voiceless Dorminhoco:

E só, se incauta mosca vai pousar-lhe
No cabis-baixo bico, mal desperto,
Come-a, coxila, e languido redorme.³³

As well as contributing to the invented tradition of national folklore, the poem offers a mythical explanation for the disappearance of the Indian; rather than suffering a drawn-out process of extermination and marginalisation, the Indian is placed in a prehistoric world, a poetic space which preserves the indigenous ideal intact.

The "poema épico", Paraguassú, is quite different, for it is the first example of the overtly political function of Indianist writing in the first phase, supplying the Independence cause with an ideological and historical legitimacy. Here Titara reinterprets the foundation myth of Santa Rita Durão's Caramurú so as to highlight the role of the Indian heroine as the precursor of the nineteenth-century Independence forces. During much of the poem, the name Paraguassú has a token significance,

33. Obras Poéticas (Bahia: Typ. do Diário, 1835), vol.III, p.26. See also Antônio Joaquim de Mello's "Os Cabetés" and "Itaé", Biografias de Alguns Poetas e homens illustres da Provincia de Pernambuco, 3 vols. (Recife: Typ. Universal, 1858), vol.II, pp.100-03 & 218-29.

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recalling both the legendary mother of the Colony and the particular geographical context from which she derives her name: the river Paraguaçu, which flows into the Bahia de Todos os Santos. For the text concerns one part of the Independence campaign, the events in which the poet himself took part in his native province. Actually written in 1831, and therefore before the provincial revolts of the Regency, which might have put the story in a different light, the poem is dedicated to the Viscount of Pirajá, who led the campaign in its early stages. It is preceded, and each Canto followed, by extensive lists of credits to all the officers involved in the war.

The first Canto sees the Viscount besieging the town from which he gained his title; meanwhile, as Portuguese aid is being sent from Lisbon, the future Emperor, Pedro I, is visited in a dream with the advice that he must support the *baianos* with forces from the capital. The "Gênio do Brasil" who appears to him carrying a bow and defending the principles of "Liberdade, Valor, União e Glória", is unmistakably a tribal warrior, albeit a rather literary one, wearing "negras tranças/ Esparsas na cerviz, lhe a frente ensombra/ Cocar de plumas" while "do hombro espaçoso/ Pende envolto o carcaz em lindas pelles/ De bi-color Panthéra" (op.cit., vol.IV, p.7).

As the Cantos progress through battle after battle towards the final triumph of the Independence struggle, the myth of indigenous ancestry and the common cause of Brazilian and Indian is developed. Tribal names are invoked frequently, sometimes referring to white nationalist forces, the "Novos Tupinambás", for example, and sometimes to regiments of conscripted Indians, who did indeed take part in the war. As a result, Brazilian and Indian soldiers fighting under the same banner

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become indistinguishable, their cause and the fatherland they are defending become identical. The officer Carvalho is thus able to encourage his men with the example of a tradition of tribal bravery and self-sacrifice that is at once their own: "Que o morrer pela Patria he vida honrosa,/ Muito ha, Tupiniquins, que sabeis bravos" (op.cit., p.61). In Canto IV, the commander Pirajá appeals to unrecruited local tribes, again uniting both Indian and Brazilian interests against a common colonial enemy:

Os contrarios não são outros d'aquelles,
Em quem vexame, opprobrio, e iniquas mortes
Punistes mais, que bravos, tendo à frente
Heroína, cujo Neto ser me ufana:
Contra Toimocês vis, Tupá socorre (op.cit., pp.159-60).

Here Pirajá offers his own ancestral credentials as part of his argument, claiming descendance from Paraguaçu, the Indian mother of the founding family of Bahia, the Caramurus.

Significantly, the traditional white, Portuguese hero of the Caramuru legend is not even honoured with a name. Instead he appears briefly, in an explanatory note, as "seu Esposo", the captive of the despotic governor of Bahia, Pereira Coutinho. As in other nineteenth-century accounts of the legend, it is the Indian, female protagonist who takes the heroic role, defending the first capital of Brazil against the colonial tyrant:

(...) fez de repente reunir os seus conterraneos, e á testa delles, dos Tamoyos, e d'outros tribus, que chamara do Reconcavo, sitiou a Cidade e depois de sanguinolentas acções, e forte resistencia de Coutinho, que perdera nellas um filho, o poseram em fugida com todos os seus, que abrigando-se á bordo dos navios, escaparam-se para os Ilhéos, ficando a Bahia livre de taes verdugos.

4.4.2 Firmino Rodrigues Silva and the "Nênia" to Bernardino Ribeiro

Often considered to be the germ of the Indianist movement,³⁴ Rodrigues Silva's obituary "Nênia" was written in 1837 to commemorate the death of Francisco Bernardino Ribeiro, a poet and lecturer at the Law Faculty of São Paulo. It was here, from within the Sociedade Filomática, that an important branch of the literary school heralding the birth of Brazilian Romanticism developed. Rodrigues Silva (1815-79) was a member of the Society, but after gaining his reputation with the "Nênia", he abandoned literature to pursue a career as magistrate, journalist and politician, serving as Conservative *deputado* for Minas Gerais and going on to become a senator during Empire.³⁵

Described by one critic as the first true example of "poesia americana" (Silva Ramos, *ibid.*), the "Nênia" was first published in the Minerva Brasiliense, one of the principal vehicles for the new Romanticism and which, like the journal of the Instituto Histórico and Guanabara, brought together politics, science and literature under one umbrella. It was subsequently reproduced in various nineteenth-century anthologies and mentioned in Alencar's discussion of the Indianist aesthetic in the polemical letters on A Confederação dos Tamoiós.

Rodrigues Silva's innovation is that, after addressing Niterói, the town opposite Rio in the Bay of Guanabara, the poet's and his friend's birthplace and the title of the first journal of Brazilian Romanticism, the poem speaks with the voice of Niterói herself, the Indian mother mourning the loss of her child. As one of the most eminent

34. See, for example, Silvio Romero, História da Literatura Brasileira, 5 vols., 3ª ed. (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1943), vol.I, pp.75-79.

35. Péricles Eugênio da Silva Ramos, "Uma Nenia formosa", Suplemento Literário do Estado de São Paulo, 12/9/64, and Antônio Cândido, Formação da Literatura Brasileira..., *op.cit.*, vol.I, pp.308-13 & 331.

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representatives of the Independent ruling-class culture being consolidated in the country, Ribeiro is embraced and mourned by the maternal, indigenous symbol of the national capital, the son and inheritor of an uninterrupted native identity:

Sem dó, nem compaixão roubou-me a morte
Do meu cocar a penna mais mimosa,
A joia peregrina de meu cinto,
O lírio mais formoso das campinas,
O lume de meus olhos! - Oh! meu filho,
Inda canta a araponga, e o rio volve
Na ruiva areia a lobrega corrente;
Inda retouca a laranjeira a coma
Verde-negra de flôres alvejantes,
E tu já não existes!! - Sol brilhante,
Numen de meus pais, que he do meu filho?
ó Tupá, ó Tupá, que mal te hei feito?³⁶

The last two lines of this stanza form a refrain throughout the poem, attributing the cause of the son's death to an incomprehensible supernatural curse, the undeserved punishment of an angry God. In the last stanza, however, it is interrupted by the chorus of Nature's sounds, waves upon the shore, wind in the forests and the echoes of valleys and mountains. The Brazilian landscape, its mythical indigenous inhabitants and the modern representative of the national culture are thus identified in one simple image of maternal loss. As we have already seen, that relationship is neither exceptional nor novel, but constitutes one of the fundamental characteristics of Indianist writing of the first phase. The importance of Rodrigues Silva's "Nênia", especially for the later Indianists such as Alencar, lies in the impassioned voice of the female Indian, allowed to articulate for the first time the sentiment of nationalism as an individual, rather than as the faceless tribal masses that populate the literature hitherto.

36. F. Rodrigues Silva, "Nenia, ao meu bom amigo O Dr. Francisco Bernardino Ribeiro", *Minerva Brasiliense*, vol.II, no.18 (15th July, 1844), p.560.

4.4.3 Teixeira e Sousa and *Os Três Dias de um Noivado*

Together with Gonçalves Dias, Teixeira e Sousa represents an atypical, dissident tendency, both within the Indianist movement and within Brazilian Romanticism as a whole. Unlike some of the most eminent apologists of the Imperial status quo, such as Gonçalves de Magalhães, Porto-Alegre or Alencar, these writers did not enjoy the advantages of financial security, ancestral respectability and a prestigious political, diplomatic or military career. Rather there are good reasons to suppose that an acute consciousness of their racial and social origins led them to adopt a critical, pessimistic view of life under Empire.

Antônio Gonçalves Teixeira e Sousa was the eldest of five children born to a Portuguese trader and his black mistress in Santa Helena, Cabo Frio, in 1812. The Independence crisis led his father into heavy debt and Antônio, who was already studying Latin, was obliged to become apprenticed as a carpenter. While still a young man he suffered the deaths of his entire family, and in 1840 moved permanently to Rio, where he had completed his apprenticeship.³⁷ It was in Rio that he met and began a lifelong friendship with the future publisher, Francisco de Paula Brito, also a mulatto from a modest family of artisans. The association with Paula Brito requires some comment, since it confirms the evidence of *Os Três Dias de um Noivado* and of the poetry of Gonçalves Dias, which suggests that there existed within the Brazilian intellectual community a group of mulattos and *mestiços* without a political voice but prepared to question the social and economic foundations of the Imperial regime in their writing.

37. J. Norberto de Sousa Silva, "Notícia sobre Antônio Gonçalves Teixeira e Sousa e suas obras", Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, no.39, 1ª parte (1876), pp.197-216.

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Jean-Michel Massa describes Paula Brito as a self-made man; certainly, it was due to his idealism, generosity and willingness to take risks in the face of considerable financial difficulties, that many young writers were encouraged and their first works made available to the public.³⁸ More specifically, he gave Teixeira e Sousa the moral support and stimulus that his social status denied him elsewhere in the artistic establishment.³⁹ As a source of continuity and personal encouragement, Paula Brito probably offered the solidarity needed by mulatto writers who, like himself, found the material obstacles to self-improvement multiplied by virtue of their race. Indeed, another mulatto, Machado de Assis, was also employed by Paula Brito during the early years of his career, before he began publishing his first volumes of poetry and the novels. The poems of Machado's Americanas, a late contribution to Brazilian Indianism, belong to the third phase of the movement; but their concern with the problem of social marginalisation suggests a significant point of continuity with Teixeira e Sousa's bitterly pessimistic brand of Indianism.

Having helped Paula Brito open a printer's and stationer's shop, Teixeira e Sousa took notice of his encouragement, and that of Gonçalves de Magalhães and Cunha Barbosa, and began to earn a meagre living writing dramas, novels and poetry: the Cantos lyricos and Os Três Dias de um Noivado (1844). In 1847, he published the novel As Tardes de um pintor ou As intrigas de um jesuíta which, though not strictly an Indianist work, is interesting for its historical setting: Gomes Freire de Andrada's

38. Jean-Michel Massa, "La Jeunesse de Machado de Assis (1839-70): Essai de biographie intellectuelle" (undated doctoral thesis, University of Poitiers), p.87.

39. Antônio Cândido, Formação da Literatura Brasileira..., op.cit., vol.II, p.126.

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campaign of 1754-56 against the Guarani Missions in Uruguay, the subject of Basílio da Gama's Indianist epic. The author's concern is with history, but from a critical standpoint for, although his sources are primarily the traditional *crônicas*, he warns against relying too much on their accuracy and impartiality. The central plot concerns the scandalous love affair of a Jesuit priest; in Chapter XVIII, the main account of the contemporary political situation, Teixeira e Sousa describes the power of the missionaries, their huge *fazendas*, arbitrary theocratic rule and military and sexual exploitation of the Indians. Training them to fight against other tribes, they "converteram em seu proveito as disposições naturais dos indígenas, tanto de um, como de outro sexo".⁴⁰

Teixeira e Sousa also specifies a historical context in his more successful Indianist poem, Os Três Dias de um Noivado. The date of 1715 is given, suggesting a period of well established colonisation, long after the initial encounter between white and Indian. The location is also well defined, for this longish narrative poem opens with a description of the tropical landscape of the coast at Cabo Frio, the poet's home region. According to Joaquim Norberto (*ibid.*), Teixeira e Sousa often walked in the Narandyba forest of the poem, was familiar with the chapel of the Virgem de Saquarema which appears in it, knew the cliffs and cave off Itaúna with their strange wailing sound that was the inspiration for the episode of the "caverna sagrada das meditações", and would have heard there the traditional tale of Corimbaba and Miryba, which forms the plot of the poem. Whether these details are accurate or not, the explicit location of the action in the poet's native region confirms the tendency

40. Teixeira e Sousa, As Tardes de um Pintor ou As Intrigas de um Jesuíta (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Três, 1973), pp.175-82.

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for the Indianist writers of this period to express their *nativismo* as a sense of identity with local landscapes as much as with the Independent nation as a whole.

As far as the social condition of its characters is concerned, though, the poem is less typical of early Indianism, for the protagonists are a converted, "civilizado" Guarani and a *mestiça*. *Os Três Dias...* deals, then, not with the archetypal colonial clash of the races in the Golden Age of unadulterated tribal culture, but with the social and historical consequences of that clash. However, it differs fundamentally from the "conciliatory" Indianism of Alencar, with its alliances and marriages. For here the marriage is a childless, futureless one, interrupted after three days by the tragic weight of history, racial conflict and alienation. As such it allows Teixeira e Sousa to make some of the most bitterly personal denunciations of social and racial marginalisation under Empire that are likely to be found in the literature of the period.

The young couple, Corimbaba and Miry'ba, return newly married to the idyllic scenery of a village in Cabo Frio, and enjoy the traditional tribal celebrations. However, the success of the marriage is marred by Miry'ba's memory of the occasion which brought them together, her mother's death, and by her increasing sense of exile and isolation. It is at this time that Corimbaba witnesses a curious incident in which a boy, in trying to save a small dove, the *rola*, from the clutches of a falcon and then from a snake, kills both snake and dove. This is interpreted as an ill omen by the Indian Coapara and, sure enough, the boy is later killed by a falling tree that has been struck by lightning.

On the day following their wedding-night, Corimbaba contradicts his wife's wishes and accompanies his friends on a hunting expedition,

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during which he becomes separated from the others and drifts far around the coast in his canoe. Inland he comes across an ancient hermit, who tells him of his disillusionment with humanity and who advises Corimbaba to visit the "caverna dos mysterios". There, an oracle develops the mysterious symbolism of the earlier incident involving the boy and the dove; it is a parable of jealousy and hasty conclusions which anticipates the tragic outcome of the story. For, waiting in despair for the return of her husband, Miry'ba has fainted in the arms of a stranger who knocks at the door; it is her Portuguese father who, believed dead, has been searching for her since he was shipwrecked. However, when Corimbaba returns to the house and sees his wife in the arms of another man he misinterprets the situation and stabs Miry'ba, who has time only to reveal the truth before she dies, quickly followed by the suicide of Corimbaba.

The bare bones of the plot, then, appear to tell the story of a marriage destroyed by mistrust and jealousy, confirming the old man's pessimistic view of the human condition and conforming to the fatal forces of the oracle's premonition. But the precedents in the lives of the characters, their origins and social instability, form a more oppressive background which hangs over the marriage and provides the more interesting historical and racial implications of the tragedy.

In the first place there is Corimbaba, reputedly descended from invincible chiefs of the Guarani nation, but whose conversion to Christianity has effected a transformation such that "quem o tractara/ O crêra cidadão da antiga Europa".⁴¹ The narrator comments that this

41. Antônio Gonçalves Teixeira e Sousa, *Os Três Dias de um Noivado* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Imparcial de Paula Brito, 1844), Canto I, stanza xlvii.

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transformation is to be responsible in part for the tragedy to follow:
"(...) Mais feliz fôra,/ Si tranquilo vivendo em seu deserto,/ Em menos
aprendesse" (Canto I, xlvi). It is clear that the harmony of their world,
which should have been confirmed by the couple's marriage, has been
destroyed long since:

Feliz, oh sim feliz! pois nessas eras
Essas telhas, que os valles dadivavam
Nos filhos venturosos das florestas,
Só abrigavam paz, só a innocencia,
D'aquelles, que, corruptos, não libavam
O liquor empestado das cidades,
Que pouco a pouco philtre-se insensível
Nos jovens corações! (Canto I, xxxvi)

As he tries to dispel Miry'ba's feelings of alienation and foreignness
amongst the strangers of her new home, Corimbaba describes the
historical facts of colonial greed, violence and exploitation which must
unite all those who, with indigenous blood in their veins, have been its
victims. This is the first of a series of remarkably frank indictments of
the historical treatment of the non-white races in Brazil, which gives
the lie to the dominant Indianist rhetoric of a united, integrated nation:

"Somos uma nação... antes reliquias
De uma grande nação!... Dispersos restos,
Escapados ás ondas tormentosas
Dos mares da cubiça! A nossa raça,
Só porque habitára um paiz rico...
Nefando crime aos olhos da politica
Lá das terras dos brancos, (assim chamam
Seu saber a respeito aos outros povos)
Ou ante os vãos pretextos religiosos,
Perseguida, assolada a ferro, e fogo
Foi quase exterminada! Longo tempo
Proscriptas estas raças descórreeram
Pelos vastos sertões! as que escaparam
Ao ferro d'ambição, apavorados
Emigraram p'ra sempre, e se esconderam
Lá pelas virgens matas do Amazonas! (Canto III, xxiv)

However, in one of a number of passages of unmistakable
autobiographical and sociological significance, Miry'ba bears witness to

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her personal sense of social marginalisation. Ironically, in spite of the common experience of oppression which should draw her to the Indians, she is nevertheless alienated from both communities. For she is a *mestiça*, neither Indian nor white and, as if to intensify this ethnic and social limbo, she has been orphaned, abandoned to a future of exile and dependency:

"Irei, sem vós, vagar na terra estranha
(Continúa outra vez) sem esperanças!
Hei de comer o pão da caridade,
Molhado pelo pranto da miséria!
Ao passar pela estrada os caminhantes
Me dirão - allí vae uma estrangeira,
Vagabunda entre nós: seus paes nasceram
Aonde ninguem sabe; e nem cuidaram
Em lhe deixar sustento; - e desta sorte
Todos me julgarão filha lançada,
Alta noute, nas portas dos visinhos!
Ah! que eu serei olhada com desprezo,
Obrigada a pedir, ou condemnada
A servir, como escrava, e assim a vida
Me será mais penosa do que a morte!" (Canto II, lxxvi)

The seeds of racial disharmony have already been sown, then, and pollute the marriage from the beginning; but the actual tragedy is precipitated by the symbolic return of Miry'ba's white blood in the form of her missing father, the source of Corimbaba's mistaken jealousy. Here too, though, Teixeira e Sousa ventures beyond a purely mythical expression of the racial divide to highlight its more concrete social consequences. During his account to Corimbaba of the atrocities and hardships suffered by the Indians, the old hermit of the forest denounces above all the racial prejudice which excluded them from social advancement of any kind:

"Não vi mais que a injustiça em toda parte!
A cor do homem, accidente mero,
(Fallo pois dos caboucos destas terras)
Foi á perseguição pretexto infame!
Teve-se em menor conta os seus serviços,
E olhou-se com desprezo os seus talentos,
Seus feitos, seu valor, suas virtudes!
E a baça cor da pelle era barreira
Aos empregos, e premios merecidos!" (Canto IV, liv)

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Only the most wilfully narrow reading of this passage could ignore its contemporary implications, its thinly disguised attack on the discrimination suffered by the non-white races in nineteenth-century Brazil, made more pointed by the author's, surely ironic, disclaimer in parentheses. Admittedly, the Liberals' revision of colonial history makes such a condemnation explicable within the immediate, obvious context of the poem. But to that explanation must be added the weight of Teixeira e Sousa's personal experiences, his racial origins as a mulatto, which must undeniably have made him acutely aware of the social disadvantages of being poor and coloured. Moreover, the coincidence between the circumstances of the author's own life and those of his female protagonist makes it difficult to avoid the conclusion that Os Três Dias de um Noivado is in part a barely veiled denunciation of social conditions under Empire for the landless, classless mulatto. Both Miry'ba and Teixeira e Sousa are of mixed race, both are orphaned, the poem being dedicated to the author's parents (Teixeira e Sousa also lost his four brothers and sisters) and both are separated from their family home, obliged to live in an unfamiliar environment in poverty, dependent upon the favour of others. Miry'ba's lament on her orphanhood and her song of exile, whose intensity and emphasis are otherwise difficult to account for, now acquire a secondary significance, speaking both for the author and for a whole, marginalised sector of Brazilian society under Empire:

Por graça em mesa alhéa
Feliz quem não comeu;
Feliz quem não bebeu
Nas festas dos estranhos! (Canto III, xii)

4.4.4 Gonçalves Dias

1. Introduction

The above analysis of Teixeira e Sousa's Os Três Dias de um Noivado naturally invites comparison with the work of his more celebrated contemporary, Gonçalves Dias. The latter's personal and professional life, his non-fictional writings and his Indianist poetry together bear witness to the same experience of social alienation, the same consciousness of racial and economic disadvantage, and the same bitter disgust with the oppressive conditions upon which the prosperity of Empire was based. However, although, like Teixeira e Sousa, he represents a rather untypical tendency within the essentially legitimist framework of the movement, Gonçalves Dias does not question the basic ideological assumptions of Indianism. His work and career demonstrate the same accommodation of radical Liberal principles to the interests of a centralised, oligarchic and slave-owning state, that characterises the movement as a whole. What makes the Indianism of Gonçalves Dias so interesting is that this ideological compromise exists in a state of tension which gives his work an intensity not to be found elsewhere in those of his generation.

It is perhaps here that an explanation must be sought for the unprecedented contemporary success of the poetry amongst the educated elite of Brazilian society; a success, incidentally, which contrasts with the relative obscurity of Teixeira e Sousa during his lifetime, despite his outstanding talent.⁴² Gonçalves Dias touched a vital nerve in the consciousness of a new, fragile and unstable grouping within the political community. Repeating Otávio Tarquínio de Sousa, Raymundo Faoro notes that the radical wing of the Liberal Party, the *exaltados*, "provinham da parte

42. Antônio Cândido, Formação..., op.cit., vol.II, p.377.

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da população ainda socialmente indefinida, sem posição estável". As Regent, Feijó was governing an illusory social structure, supported by a "middle class" which had no function within Brazil's master-slave, plantation economy and therefore no *raison d'être*.⁴³ I described earlier the subsequent neutralisation of that Liberal grouping in the rightward shift that accompanied the Majority of Pedro II, a development, incidentally, from which the poet's career benefited to a considerable degree. As the voice of that contradictory, compromised generation, Gonçalves Dias might touch the Liberal nerve, but never snap it; he wrote some of the most passionate indictments of slavery and of the genocide of the Indian, and painted one of the bitterest pictures of social marginalisation, but not once did he challenge the integrationist, nationalist mythology upon which the continuity of the Imperial *status quo* depended. Indeed, his fears of federal disintegration and anarchy are fully consonant with the dominant political rhetoric of the Second Reign.

In any case, the Indianist poetry of Gonçalves Dias certainly struck a chord in the Brazilian, and even European, imagination. Until the publication of the "Poesias Americanas", the number of texts devoted to Indianism was small and of very limited public success; it was Gonçalves Dias who, in terms of sheer numbers of copies, "popularised" the movement within the restricted readership of the nineteenth century. After the initial success of the Primeiros Cantos in 1847, he was offered Crown support for the publication of the Segundos Cantos. With the appearance of a complete edition of the Cantos in Leipzig in 1857, articles and translations into German were produced, and by the end of the decade the entire first editions of the Primeiros, Segundos and Últimos Cantos were

43. Raymundo Faoro, Os Donos do Poder..., op.cit., vol.I, p.317.

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sold out. Two thousand copies of the first Leipzig edition were sold in Brazil, with customs duties being officially waived for their entry into the country, and after two years the edition was almost sold out in Europe, too. The demand for copies led to commercial wrangles between the publishing houses of Brockhaus and Garnier over the third edition, and to the unauthorised introduction of some copies into Brazil. The poet was celebrated in France, Spain, Germany and England and was compared favourably with Zorilla, Victor Hugo and Longfellow.

4.4.4.2 Biographical outline⁴⁴

Antônio Gonçalves Dias was born on 10th August, 1823, in political and social circumstances that must have given him an acute awareness of the important issues of his time. He was illegitimate, of mixed blood, and was born while his parents were fleeing the xenophobic political reprisals which followed the declaration of Independence in the northern state of Maranhão. His father, João Manuel, was a small shop-keeper from Trás-os-Montes and his mother, Vicência Mendes Ferreira, was probably a *cafusa*, of Indian and African blood. During the two years which João Manuel spent in exile in Portugal, the child lived alone with his mother on a small *fazenda* at Boa Vista, not far from Caxias. The poet's early childhood, then, was spent in the midst of the natural Brazilian landscape, surrounded by black slaves from the cotton plantations and by the "índios mansos" who came to trade in the towns and villages.

44. The chief sources for G.D.'s biography are L.M.Pereira, A vida de Gonçalves Dias (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1943); Manuel Bandeira, "Gonçalves Dias: esboço biográfico", Poesia e Prosa, 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: José Aguilar, 1958), vol.II, pp.617-804, republished in a condensed form in Gonçalves Dias, Poesia Completa e Prosa Escolhida (Rio de Janeiro: José Aguilar, 1959), and Antônio Henriques Leal, Gonçalves Dias (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1874).

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After returning to Brazil in 1825, Antônio's father abandoned Vicência, moved back to Caxias and married D. Adelaide Ramos de Almeida. Although he left little written mention of his mother, we do know that Antônio retained a deep affection and regard for her throughout his life, visiting her whenever he was in Maranhão and supporting her financially. By contrast, he found little love in the new environment of his step-mother's home, and was forbidden to see Vicência. His father had taught him to read and write and, having impressed his school-teacher, it was decided that he should go to Coimbra to study. D. Adelaide agreed to pay for his education, but only after some concerned local civic dignitaries had offered to put up the money. Antônio left for Portugal in 1838, aged fifteen.

However, it was only through the hospitality and generosity of a group of *maranhense* friends in Coimbra, including his life-long confidant, Alexandre Teófilo de Carvalho Leal, that was able to continue his education. For D. Adelaide was one of those Conservative *cabanos* who suffered financial losses as a result of the Liberal Balaiada revolt in 1839. Now cut off from his source of support in Brazil, he entered the University in 1840 to study French, English and German. There he became exposed to the influence of the major figures of contemporary Portuguese and French literature, such as Herculano, Castilho, Garrett, Hugo, Lamartine and Chateaubriand, and contributed to the Crónica Literária directed by the medievalist Serpa Pimentel. He had also begun to write his own poetry by this time, and composed the two dramas, Patkul and Beatriz Cenci. Although he obtained a degree in Law and was optimistic of a career in the profession, a family incident prevented him from

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proceeding to take his doctorate, and he returned penniless to Brazil in 1845.

After taking a canoe journey up the river Itapicuru to enjoy a brief reunion with his mother and with the roots of his childhood, he moved to Caxias, and there experienced the first of many moods of alienation and exile, the sense of being "a foreigner in his own land". He also felt the humiliation of economic dependence, which a strong sense of pride repeatedly refused but which absolute necessity forced him to accept. He became an active member of the group of *cabanos* surrounding the newspaper O Brado de Caxias and was gaining a name for himself as a poet, but his personal life was far from happy and in 1846 he moved to São Luiz and the more convivial family atmosphere of the home of his student friend, Teófilo. The latter arranged a legal post for him in Rio, and there Gonçalves Dias entered a period of greater optimism. He had the Primeiro Cantos published in 1847, and was able to use the libraries for his historical researches; he planned a Brazilian epic and a História dos Jesuítas no Brasil, and wrote the play Leonor de Mendonça and the medievalist poems of Sextilhas de Frei Antão.

Despite this flurry of activity, for some while Gonçalves Dias had no regular source of income, until two other friends, Serra and Alves Branco, obtained for him the post of "secretário e professor adjunto de Latim" in the newly created Liceu de Niterói. After the publication of the Segundos Cantos in 1848 he was completely occupied with journalistic activities: whilst working as correspondent for the Jornal do Comércio for proceedings in the Senado, he reported on the Câmara debates for the Correio Mercantil. He wrote literary criticism for the Correio da Tarde under the pseudonym of Optimus Criticus and published *crônicas* and

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folhetins teatrais. For his reporting of the parliamentary debates he was nominated as a teacher of Latin and History at the Imperial Colégio D. Pedro II, and after the publication of Meditação on the Emperor's birthday he was made Cavaleiro da Ordem da Rosa. Meanwhile he was working on the literary review Guanabara with Macedo and Porto-Alegre, and had become a member of the Instituto Histórico.

It was at the first session of the latter, that its President, Pedro II, assigned research projects to its most prominent members, the subject selected for Gonçalves Dias being a comparative study of the tribal peoples of the Pacific Islands and Brazil. This allowed the poet to pursue his own research interests in greater depth, and bore fruit in the form of Brasil e Oceânia, which he read to the Instituto during sessions extending over almost a year. Lúcia Miguel Pereira describes it enthusiastically as "o primeiro trabalho da etnografia brasileira" (op.cit., p.102); certainly, as Fritz Ackermann has shown, much of the detailed ethnographic material contained in it also found its way into the Indianist poetry.⁴⁵

During his preparation of the últimos Cantos, published in 1851, Gonçalves Dias abandoned his political reporting and was subsequently appointed by the government to survey the state of public education in the north of the country and to collect various historical documents from the region. It was about this time that he proposed to Ana Amélia, a cousin of his friend Teófilo, and was refused, a snub which, for him and his biographers, was attributable in part to the family's racial prejudice. He then embarked on a series of unsatisfactory sexual encounters that

45. Fritz Ackermann, A Obra Poética de Antônio Gonçalves Dias, tr. Egon Schaden (São Paulo: Conselho Estadual de Cultura, 1964), pp.92-99.

punctuated the rest of his life, adding syphilis to an increasing list of ailments. The search for sexual fulfilment and for the social intimacy of the family life that he had never enjoyed, still remained unresolved when he did eventually marry.

From this point on, Gonçalves Dias devoted his mind above all to history and ethnography. As Secretary of Foreign Affairs he received a dispensation to go to Europe with his wife, and it was there that their only child, Bibi, died at the age of two. The poet was celebrated and welcomed by literary circles in Portugal, and he spent a good deal of time with Ferdinand Denis in Paris, where he reported on the International Exhibition. In 1856 he was appointed to lead the Ethnography Section of the disastrous Comissão Científica de Exploração that was sent to evaluate the scientific and cultural resources of northern Brazil. In 1861 he resigned from the post and went to Maranhão, where he visited family and friends and almost stood as a *saquarema* candidate for Parliament, withdrawing only at the last minute. He continued his work for the Comissão in isolation from his colleagues, at the same time investigating the state of education in the Solimões, Negro and Madeira regions of Amazonas. These travels were much more satisfactory and, enduring quite elemental conditions at times, Gonçalves Dias visited the deep interior, reaching Venezuela and Peru, and brought back a valuable collection of tribal artefacts.

By now, the several editions of his lyric poetry had sold well, and he had made an important contribution to Brazilian ethnography with Brasil e Oceânia and his Dicionário da Língua Tupi. Despite these achievements, though, he suffered from an increasing sense of defeat and depression; the four published cantos of the epic Os Timbiras had not

been well received and the História dos Jesuítas remained unfinished. In 1863, having completed his last tour of Europe, he embarked as the only passenger on a ship bound for Brazil, suffering from a chronic inflammation of the liver and a lung disorder as well as his many other complaints. The ship foundered off the Brazilian coast near Guimarães and was abandoned by its crew; it is not known for certain whether Gonçalves Dias was still alive when the ship went down, taking the poet, and the manuscripts of his two major works, the História dos Jesuítas and Os Timbiras, with it.

4.4.4.3 Conquest and slavery: the Liberal revision of colonial history

If there is a single impression which emerges from an examination of the career of Gonçalves Dias, it is the ambiguity of his relationship to the dominant political and cultural establishment and, particularly, to Pedro II. His student friends at Coimbra had all been Liberals, and the prose writings such as Meditação are unequivocally the work of an abolitionist. Yet he twice flirted with active Conservative politics and succeeded in finding a secure, if not spectacular, niche within the nepotistic career structure of the Second Reign. For someone like Gonçalves Dias, who had experienced a degree of poverty and economic dependence upon friends, the issue of patronage was a very sensitive one. When under pressure to accept Crown support for the publication of the Segundos Cantos in return for the dedication of the book to the Emperor, he protested vehemently against this invasion of his artistic independence:

Então não estive pelos autos; não tinha aceitado o dinheiro, não o aceitaria, com tal condição; fiz-me de pedra e cal, e disse alto e bom som que os mandava bugiar a todos eles - Serra, Alves Branco, Imperador, Princesas e os trezentos mil réis. Que tenho eu com

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eles, que me fizeram eles, que relação há entre mim e eles, que lhes fosse eu dedicar o meu trabalho, os meus estudos de um ano?

(...) Demais não sou cortesão e não o quero ser; não quero sobretudo aparecer aos pulhas diverso do que sou.

(...) é preciso ter alguma coragem para se poder afrontar com certeza na opinião do vulgo, quando se acaba de louvar um destes - o epíteto de lisonjeiro ou adulator! é cousa que não poderei fazer nunca, ainda que me sobrasse vontade para isso: não posso, não sei (op.cit., pp.91-92).

Nevertheless, although he refused to grant the dedication, and received his membership of the Order of the Rose with indifference, even annoyance, he did accept the money, and Pedro's name appeared at the head of several other texts e.g. "Entusiasmo Ardente" and the four published cantos of Os Timbiras (op.cit., pp.101 & 205).

Gonçalves Dias' political statements evince the same incertitude and ambiguity. It might be thought that the poet's experience as a parliamentary correspondent would have produced some coherent perspective on the recent political development of his country. But, as Manuel Bandeira has noted, all that emerges is a vaguely resentful monarchism and a general cynicism with regard to politicians and to the political process as a whole: "Não atraía, porém, a política, como a via praticada no Brasil. Cria na necessidade do governo monárquico, queria ao Imperador, em quem reconhecia 'qualidades de um rei literato', mas para ele 'no Brasil, onde quer que seja, qualquer que seja a côr política, não passa ela nunca do individualismo, não é nunca mais do que isso!" (op.cit., p.673). The other dimension of this cynicism is his irrational, apocalyptic interpretation of Brazilian history, which will be the subject of the next section.

It is, then, once again a demonstration of the contradictory nature of this generation of the intellectual community, as well as of the Indianist movement itself, that an essentially loyal, if reluctant,

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apologist for the Imperial regime, one of the beneficiaries of its paternalistic career structure, should have written in prose and verse one of the most searing indictments of Brazil's treatment of its non-white races. The most obvious and basic change which nineteenth-century Indianism brought to literary perceptions of the country's tribal population was its massive revision of colonial history. For the writers of the eighteenth century and before, such as Durão and even Basílio da Gama, the slavery, military repression and cultural disruption of Conquest (rarely seen as such) were vindicated by the success of the economic schemes for which they were the preparation, whether the Jesuit mission system or Pombal's project of tribal integration. By contrast, for a Romantic Indianist such as Gonçalves Dias Conquest was a historical disaster of cataclysmic proportions, a shameful episode in the country's development, with incalculable social and psychological consequences for its victims, and grave moral implications for the legitimacy of the modern, Imperial order of things.

The poet's own interest in colonial history dates back to his student days and his readings of the texts of the *cronistas* and travel writers. A few years later, about the time of the publication of the Primeiros Cantos, he began to gather material for a projected series of historical novels about his native province, including various documents concerning a "decreto sôbre a liberdade dos índios", probably the 1831 anti-extirmination legislation, or Pombal's Laws of Liberty. His most sustained and ambitious historical project, however, which he began about the same time, was the História dos Jesuítas, his intended entry for a competition organised by the Instituto Histórico. Ten years later, when in Europe, he was still gathering material for the work: "Voltado para o seu

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trabalho acerca dos jesuitas, Gonçalves Dias dava certamente preferência aos documentos sobre estes, tanto mais quanto achava que a história da Companhia de Jesus era a história da colonização do Brasil" (L.M. Pereira, op.cit., p.210). Although, unfortunately, nothing of the work survived apart from some proposed plans submitted to the Instituto, remarks elsewhere confirm that he saw the role of the Jesuits in the administration of the Indian populations as fundamental to the understanding of the nation's history.

Of the extant historical texts, his "Reflexões sobre os Anais Históricos do Maranhão por Bernardo Pereira de Berredo" was the most contentious and polemical, for it is an uncompromising denunciation of a process that amounted to genocide, for which the Society of Jesus held a large portion of the responsibility. First published in 1849, in the review Guanabara, it provoked a minor controversy, leading to an exchange of views between the poet and a number of interested historians. These included a fellow *maranhense*, João Francisco Lisboa, a vigorous critic of what he saw as the Indianist mania, "este falso patriotismo *caboclo*" promoted by Pedro II through the Instituto Histórico and by Gonçalves Dias in his poetry, and whose extravagances, in his capacity as a historian of the rational European tradition, he could not tolerate:

Mas o que não podemos sofrer de boa sombra, na nossa qualidade de grego, do mais puro sangue de Atenas, é que nos queiram obrigar a volver trezentos anos atrás, passando-se as ficções do romance e da poesia para a história e vida real."⁴⁶

However, Lisboa revised his dismissive attitude to Gonçalves Dias' defence of the Indian a few years later, when confronted with the reactionary views of F.A. de Varnhagen. As a result of this new debate on indigenist

46. João Francisco Lisboa, Crônica do Brasil Colonial..., op.cit., p.159.

policy, which will be examined in the next chapter, Lisboa remained convinced of the essential barbarism of the Indians, but acknowledged that Gonçalves Dias had performed a valuable service in raising the issue of tribal rights. As we shall see, it led him to a new judgement, "em que a condenação dos invasores é inevitável" (op.cit., p.579), and to the conclusion that the basic interests of the Indians should be reconciled with the economic needs of the nation as a whole.

Meanwhile, it is worth quoting at length from the "Reflexões..." in order to show just how deep was the poet's understanding, not only of the sheer extent of the crimes committed, but also of the consequent problem of social marginalisation suffered by the mission Indians:

Imprevidência, resignação e heroicidade, eis o índio.

Tudo isto é índio, tudo isto é nosso; e tudo isto está como perdido para muitos anos.

Sim, a escravidão dos índios foi um grande erro, e a sua destruição foi e será uma grande calamidade. Convinha que alguém nos revelasse até que ponto este erro foi injusto e monstruoso, até onde chegaram essas calamidades no passado, até onde chegarão no futuro: eis a história.

Todos [os índios] foram vencidos, desbaratados e escravizados: quando o não podiam [os portugueses] com as armas, mandavam-lhe um padre da Companhia com um crucifixo e palavras de paz, que os trazia sujeitos e cativos para definhar e morrer nas nossas plantações. (...)

Cobiça de poder aumentar a Companhia, cobiça de pôr um pé na América como já o tinham posto na índia, cobiça de infiltrar-se na população nascente com o leite de sua doutrina, cobiça enfim de conquistar um mundo.(...)

Assim, não podemos considerar o índio no estado de catequese senão como ente de transição; (...) nesse estado o índio não era nem selvagem nem civilizado, nem pagão nem católico; mas passando, sem preparatório, instantaneamente de um para outro estado, tornara-se igualmente incapaz de ambos - de viver nas cidades com os homens que chamamos civilizados ou de viver nas selvas entre os que chamamos bárbaros.⁴⁷

47. Obras Posthumas de A. Gonçalves Dias, 3 vols. (São Luiz: Typ. de B. de Mattos, 1867,8), vol.III, pp.197-224, and in L.M.Pereira, op.cit., pp.309-10.

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However, in his concluding comments on the historical purpose of Conquest Gonçalves Dias' analytical method seems to break down; the genocide of the Indians is at first, ironically, seen as a necessary sacrifice for the evolution of the Brazilian nation, before being attributed despairingly to the wrath of a vengeful God:

Marcado no livro eterno o último período para a total extinção da raça americana no Brasil, foram os jesuítas o precioso instrumento da Providência para que sobre os cadáveres de tal raça, decimada pela fome e pelos trabalhos, deteriorada pelos padecimentos físicos e morais, se erguesse outra raça mais nova, mais forte, mais bela... (...)

(...) - dobrada razão teremos para avançar que eles [os jesuítas] foram, não a arma dos portugueses para acabar com os costumes americanos, que esses já estavam acabados havia muito; mas instrumento de Deus para extinguir a raça que talvez contrariava seus altos desígnios (op.cit., p.312).

An important distinction needs to be made, though, between Gonçalves Dias' appeal to a divine explanation for Conquest and that of Indianists such as Santa Rita Durão or Gonçalves de Magalhães. Whereas the latter subordinated everything to the glory of the Divine plan and therefore justified all the atrocities committed in its name, for Gonçalves Dias the destructive hand of Providence remained incomprehensibly ruthless, and he did not allow it to compromise his sense of moral outrage: "Mas nem por descobrir em tudo isso 'a mão da Providência' podia 'adorar o flagelo que nos manda, nem o instrumento de que se serve'" (ibid.). The roots of this irrational, apocalyptic vision of history are to be found in his experience and perception of contemporary political events. The Indianist poetry is, on a second and perhaps more disturbing level, the expression of this view of the historical process, a process that is not progressive, but repetitive, cataclysmic and destructive.

I shall argue that the connection between Conquest and Empire, although rarely made explicitly in the poetry, is nonetheless a real and

powerful motor behind the tragic intensity of the Indianism of Gonçalves Dias. There is one text, however, in which that historical connection is laid bare, in which the barbarically oppressive conditions suffered by the majority of Brazilians, past and present, are condemned uncompromisingly: that text is Meditação. Although finished in May, 1846, Meditação did not appear in the review Guanabara until 1849, and the poet's advice to his friend Alexandre Teófilo on editing the second chapter indicates an awareness of the controversial, bold nature of the views expressed in it: "Cortem sem dó - o que julgarem mau - ou perigoso de imprimir".⁴⁸ The work is an apocalyptic vision of Brazilian politics and society, whose economic and racial groups are arranged in concentric circles, the white ruling élite at the centre and the coloured, subject classes radiating from it. The tone throughout is that of a biblical narrative, recounting the rise and eventual destruction of a kind of American Babylon.

The narrator, a representative of the Imperial regime, is first shown the spectacle of mass black slavery, upon which the prosperity of the country's white ruling class is based:

E os homens de côr preta teem as mãos presas em longas correntes de ferro, cujos anneis vão de uns a outros - eternos como a maldição que passa de pais a filhos!
(...)

Mas grande parte de sua população é escrava - mas a sua riqueza consiste nos escravos - mas o sorriso - o deleite do seu commerciante - do seu agricola - e o alimento de todos os seus habitantes é comprado á custa do sangue do escravo! (...)

E nos labios do estrangeiro, que aporta ao Brasil, desponta um sorriso ironico e despeitoso - e elle diz consigo, que a terra - da escravidão - não póde durar muito.⁴⁹

48. Manuel Bandeira IN Gonçalves Dias, Poesia Completa e Prosa, op.cit., p.22.

49. Obras Posthumas ..., op.cit., vol.III, p.17.

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He is then confronted by an old man, the witness of the nation's history; he promises him a future of progress, achieved through the patriotism of the country's citizens, in which the institutional problems of its early Independence will have been ironed out. The old man replies by comparing the freedom of the land's indigenous peoples before Conquest and the subsequent tyranny of the white man:

Ouvia-se de instante a instante o som profundo, cavernoso e agonizante de uma raça que desaparecia de sobre a face da terra.

E era horrível e pavoroso esse bradar do desespero como seria o de milhões de indivíduos que ao mesmo tempo se afundassem no oceano.

E cadaveres infindos, expostos á inclemencia do tempo e á profanação dos homens, serviam de pasto aos animaes immundos (op.cit., p.81).

But the most interesting passage of the work depicts the surviving "free" Indian and coloured populations and their discussion of the future. Here Gonçalves Dias defines two culturally and historically distinct social groups who are nevertheless united by a common condition of marginalisation. Made economically irrelevant by the exclusive labour structure of master and slave, and therefore alienated from the machinery of power, they occupy a dispossessed, redundant limbo, vulnerable to the manipulation of warring political forces:

E os homens de raça indigena e os de côr mestiça - disseram em voz alta:- "E nós que faremos?"

"Qual será o nosso lugar entre os homens que são senhores, e os homens que são escravos?"

"Não queremos quinhoar o pão do escravo, e não nos podemos sentar á meza dos ricos e dos poderosos.

"E no entanto este sólo abençoado produz fructos saborosos em todos os quadros do anno - suas florestas abundam de caça - e os seus rios são piscosos.

"Os brancos governam - os negros servem - bem é que nós sejamos livres.

"Vivamos pois na indolencia e na ociosidade, pois que não necessitamos trabalhar para viver.

"Separemo'-nos, que é força separarmo'-nos, lembremo'-nos porém que somos todos irmãos, e que a nossa causa é a mesma.

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"E seremos felizes, porque os individuos carecerão do nosso braço para a sua vingança, e os homens politicos para as suas revoluções.

"Deixar-nos-hão no ocio, porque precisarão de nós - e porque a nossa ociosidade lhes será necessaria.

"E nós seremos felizes" (op.cit., pp.93-94).

This does indeed correspond to a real sector of nineteenth-century Brazilian society, the poor and alienated *tapuios*, *mestiços* and white freemen who, as we saw, rose up in the many provincial revolts which shook Brazil during the Regency period. But it also suggests a resemblance to that other group out of which Gonçalves Dias himself emerged, and whose marginalisation was experienced at a different level: the landless class of white and mulatto artisans, traders and civil servants who, in the industrial countries of Europe, constituted an increasingly powerful *bourgeoisie*, but who remained impotent in the essentially feudal economy of Imperial Brazil. It was this layer of society that spawned the radical Liberal movement which, although effectively silenced with the Majority of Pedro II, had allied itself with the country's urban and rural poor in a potentially revolutionary wave of unrest. Significantly, in Gonçalves Dias' apocalyptic vision that revolutionary potential is not repressed and contained, as was historically the case, but erupts into the Final Cataclysm, as the city is set alight and blood flows like wine at a banquet.

These twin elements of his perception of colonial and Imperial society, the oppression of Conquest and slavery, and the monster of radicalism and revolution, are the two contradictory forces which give the Indianism of Gonçalves Dias its characteristic drama and intensity. It is interesting to discover the same language of cataclysm and revolution occurring briefly in his non-polemical, scientific study, Brasil e Oceânia. This was the comparative study of Pacific and Brazilian

tribal peoples commissioned by Pedro II and written between 1852 and 1854. Here Gonçalves Dias takes a more measured look at the history and culture of the Indians, and makes his contribution to the debate on indigenist policy.

The great upheaval experienced by the Tupi races before Conquest was the mass migration to the Atlantic coast, which came to be explained in tribal mythology as the result of some natural catastrophe: "Fallão as suas tradições de um grande cataclysmo, após o qual elles se haverião estabelecido nestas paragens. Talvez usassem desta linguagem figurada para exprimir uma grande revolução ou emigração como usão os mexicanos do mesmo modo de dizer para significar uma invasão de povos barbaros (...)".⁵⁰ In at least one poem from the "Poesias Americanas", as I shall demonstrate, Gonçalves Dias makes use of this mythological tribal perception of historical events to convey the psychological trauma of Conquest for the Indian.

Another general feature of the poetry which has parallels in Brazil e Oceânia and reflects the author's ideological outlook is the fragmentation of tribal society. Addressing the question of whether the Indians were enjoying a period of cultural progress or undergoing a decline, Gonçalves Dias notes that inter-tribal conflict was an important source of weakness in the struggle against the European invader: "Os elementos grosseiros que os retinão em sociedade pouco e pouco se desfazião: principiavão a fraccionar-se, e as tribus a transformar-se em familias inimigas umas das outras" (op.cit., p.255). In the poetry a significant distinction is made between the normal ritual warfare of

50. Antônio Gonçalves Dias, Brazil e Oceania. Estudo ethnographico (Rio de Janeiro: Felix Ferreira, 1879), p.16.

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tribal culture, with its accepted cycle of reprisal and revenge, and the divisive internecine conflicts fomented by the Portuguese in order to weaken their enemy. It is perhaps a source of no surprise to discover that Gonçalves Dias' fear of social and political disintegration, such as he portrays in the Indianist poetry, leads him to advocate the same Liberal policy towards the Indians that was to characterise the "conciliatory" Second Reign: their incorporation into the national economic and cultural community - integration:

(...) quisera não que fosse isto considerado como o panegyrico de uma raça, que mais merece commiseração do que louvor; mas como um brado, embora fraco, em favor da catechese dos indigenas. Em uma época em que tanto se trata da colonisação estrangeira, cujas utilidades e vantagens estou bem longe de contestar, seria bem que um pouco nos voltassemos para as nossas florestas, e considerassemos se alguma antipatia ha entre a philantropia e o amor da prosperidade nacional, ou se se dá alguma repugnancia para que sob o mesmo impulso progridão a catechese e a colonisação (op.cit., p.414).

There are few poems amongst the Indianist writing of Gonçalves Dias in which the great historical weight of slavery and oppression, described so thoroughly in the prose works, is not present in some form or other. On some occasions it provides the central event of the poem concerned, whilst on others it stands as a tragically ironic background, an imminent fate of which the reader, but not the Indian protagonist, is aware. "O Canto do Piaga" contains something of both methods; here the *piaga* "medicine-man" reveals to his tribe his nocturnal vision of the evil spirit Anhangá and the latter's warning of an approaching "fantasma" from across the sea. The success of the poem lies in its dramatic structure, which is based on a progressive shift in the identity of the narrator. In part 1 it is the *piaga* himself who describes the prodigious apparition of Anhangá and then the physical sensation of fear he experiences:

Abro os olhos, inquieto, medroso,
Manitôs! que prodígios que vi!

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Arde o pau de resina fumosa,
Não fui eu, não fui eu, que o acendi!

(...)

O meu sangue gelou-se nas veias,
Todo inteiro - ossos, carnes - tremi,
Frio horror me coou pelos membros,
Frio vento no rosto senti.⁵¹

The metre of the poem, based on Gonçalves Dias' favourite rhythmic unit, the anapaest, contributes to the sense of drama; in the first section it suggests the urgency of the *piaga's* appeal to his tribe. In part II the same rhythm reinforces the accusatory tone of the Anhangá, whose voice takes over the narrative, reprimanding the *piaga* for not having understood the signs of the impending disaster. In the following section it imitates the tread of an inexorably advancing doom, as the "monstro" appears on the horizon and its shape and form gradually become distinguishable. Here, in an unprecedented imaginative leap, Gonçalves Dias constructs an image of the arrival of Conquest as it might have been perceived by the Indian. Lacking any experience of European culture and technology, the Indian can only make sense of the ship in terms of his/her own world. Its masts therefore appear as the trees of the forest, its rigging a dense web of tropical creepers, its hold the belly of the monster itself and its sails a host of white wings. As well as conveying an impression of tribal psychology, the poem thus sustains in a dramatic form the historical irony of the situation, in which the full significance of the monster's arrival, the devastating tragedy of Conquest, remains hidden from the Indian until it is too late.

51. Gonçalves Dias, Poesia Completa e Prosa Escolhida (PCP), op.cit., p.106.

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The final section is divided exactly in two by the question: "Não sabeis o que o monstro procura?/ Não sabeis a que vem, o que quer?". But it is only with the beginning of a new stanza that the monster's true intent is revealed: "Vem matar vossos bravos guerreiros,/ Vem roubar-vos a filha, a mulher!" - it is coming to defile tribal culture, to enslave the Indians in their thousands and to drive the rest into exile. By now we have forgotten that this is still the *piaga* repeating the words of the Anhangá; they now have the effect of an anonymous prophecy that derives, not from dreams and omens, but from the inevitability of history.

The trauma of Conquest is suggested more directly in "Deprecação", which takes the form of a prayer addressed to the "god" Tupã in the wake of an Indian massacre and the dispersal of the tribe into the interior. It is our first example of the poet's apocalyptic interpretation of Conquest, by which he appears to share the Indians' shock and incomprehension, their disbelief at seeing their world and the power of their cosmology so easily shattered. If, as Diogo Álvares Caramuru proved, men can also wield the lightning-bolt, then even the gods may be overthrown. In spite of the depth of his historical knowledge, overwhelmed by it, perhaps, Gonçalves Dias turns, like his Indians, to Providence for an answer:

Anhangá impiedoso nos trouxe de longe
Os homens que o raio manejam cruentos,
Que vivem sem pátria, que vagam sem tino
Trás do ouro correndo, voraces, sedentos.

E a terra em que pisam, e os campos e os rios
Que assaltam, são nossos; tu és nosso Deus:
Por que lhes concedes tão alta pujança,
Se os raios de morte, que vibram, são teus?

The physical devastation of Conquest is expressed in the simple language of loss and emptiness; the shores that were once peopled with brave warriors and their canoes now bear nothing but the ebb and flow of the

tide. Even the ritual removal of the dead warriors' remains to their place of exile has become a difficult task, so few are the survivors.

If the tight construction of these short poems allows Gonçalves Dias to convey the dramatic immediacy of the emotional and psychological trauma of Conquest, the longer, freer verse forms provide space for depicting the actual process by which thousands of Indians were killed or enslaved. "Poema Americano", a fragment of a larger work probably written in 1861 during one of the poet's visits to Amazonas,⁵² deals with a problem which he discusses in Brasil e Oceânia, the degeneration of the tribal military ethos into the divisive internecine warfare that was so effectively exploited by the Portuguese. The poem concerns an alliance of two tribes near the island of Marajó, at the mouth of the Amazon, and their eventual disintegration as the result of an unnecessary conflict. Once again the ironic perspective of post-Conquest history anticipates the tragedy which is to befall the Indians; the opening lines indicate that the events are to be narrated from a present era of sterility and exile, for they describe, in language rich in indigenous vocabulary, a former age of plenitude:

Fértil a terra produzia outrora
Deleitosa abundância: em tôda a quadra
Lourejava o caju, pendia o milho
Das verdes hastes - uberosas glebas
Aqui, ali, rachavam-se, mostrando
A macaxeira, o aipi - da vida esp'rança (PCP, p.645).

A wise old man of the tribe of Cranjé advises his people that they must choose between the peaceable, industrious life of agriculture or the restless existence of perpetual war. Obeying, as they must in the poet's historical vision, the military ethic, they take the second course.

52. Obras Posthumas, op.cit., vol.I, p.117.

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The old man casts a battle-club on the ground before them, and so guarantees them constant victory. However, it is a guarantee which only functions within the controlled, ritualistic environment of tribal warfare, with its natural equilibrium of victory and revenge, defeat and renewal. When more profound internal divisions appear, as the old man warns, the organism of war turns from an endemic to an epidemic state, the natural harmony is upset and the community becomes exposed to the dangerous threat of alien forces:

Com arma igual sereis nunca vencidos,
Disse; mas aí de vós - de vossos netos,
Dos últimos vindouros, se rebentam
Discórdias entre irmãos - Tristes! se acaso
Não pondes côbro ao mal! Há de o contágio
Lavar por todos vós - té que vos faça,
Dominados de atroz vingança infausta,
A estranhos fins servir em dano próprio! (ibid.)

The abrupt ending of the poem cuts short the inevitable onslaught of Conquest and the realisation of the "estranhos fins", clearly the Portuguese project to subjugate the Indians and colonise their lands. The beginning of the tribe's collapse is suggested, though, when a tribeless, orphaned young girl, Tapera, appears and provokes rivalry between the two allied chiefs, each of whom wishes her for himself.

In the poem "Tabira (poesia americana)", from the Segundos Cantos, however, the role of the Portuguese in the manipulation of inter-tribal conflict is made explicit. Tabira is the legendary chief of the Tobajaras who, after converting to Christianity, has negotiated an alliance with the Portuguese or *caraíbas*. Stanzas 4 and 5 of the poem denounce the betrayal with which the Tobajaras' loyalty was rewarded, the slavery into which they were unwittingly led:

Hão de os teus, miserandos escravos,
Tais triunfos um dia chorar!
Caraíbas tais feitos aplaudem,

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Mas sorrindo vos forjam cadeias,
E pesadas algemas, e peias,
Que traidores vos hão-de lançar! (PCP, p.239)

The alliance, symbolised by Tabira's renunciation of his tribal beliefs - "é Tabira - cruel, inimigo,/ Já nem crê, renegado, em Tupã!" - draws the Tobajaras into a fatal conflict with their Potiguar neighbours. Although defeated, the Potiguar have at least escaped the fate of those Tobajara warriors who survived only to be enslaved, and to recount the downfall of their people:

Insepultos na terra inclemente
Muitos dormem; mas há quem lh'inveja
Essa morte do bravo em peleja,
Quem a vida do escravo maldiz!

Perhaps the most unusual and interesting of the texts which deals with Conquest is "O Canto do índio", from the Primeiros Cantos. My inclusion of the poem under this heading may be surprising, for it is normally, when examined at all, taken at face value: as the love-song of an Indian for the white woman he discovers bathing naked. Lúcia Miguel Pereira encourages this interpretation when she notes that the poem was written during the canoe journey up the river Itapicuru to his mother's home in 1845, and she speculates that it may have been inspired by an analagous incident along the way (op.cit., pp.55-56). However, the poem's overtly religious imagery and its structure support a more disturbing analysis, one which reflects Gonçalves Dias' understanding of the central role of the Jesuit missionary and the catechesis in the process of tribal subjection and "integration".

The poem shifts between two metrical forms, corresponding to the two levels of discourse at which the text functions, and which culminate together in the Indian's promise to abandon his freedom and culture for the woman as she appears in her total, seductive nakedness. A series of

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quadros of *redondilha maior* convey the emotional and psychological impact of the vision, gradually unfolding her beauty as she emerges from the water. Alternating with this are stanzas of decasyllabic lines which describe the sacrifices he would make simply in order to continue seeing her; these, too, form a progression, from his acceptance of physical pain, even death, for a glimpse of her, to the renunciation of his tribal liberty and sovereignty in order that she should become his queen and govern his people. The combination of stunningly sensual imagery, psychological insight, the interplay between sexual attraction and self-abnegation, and the historical irony which holds these elements together, make of this poem one of Gonçalves Dias' finest achievements.

The opening stanzas create a delicate natural setting of sunset with its characteristic sounds and bird-songs, revealing the richly sensuous life of the forest. Out of this setting appears the sparkling vision of the bather, which at first can elicit no more than the astonished exclamation: "Eu a vi, que se banhava..." (PCP, p.108), and metaphorical images of clear springs and stars. Over the next groups of *redondilhas* her hair and neck are revealed, then her smiling face and the lips speaking incomprehensible words. Finally she rises naked from the water, presenting an irresistible sight to the Indian:

Bem como gôtas de orvalho
Nas folhas de flor mimosa,
Do seu corpo a onda em fios
Se deslizava amorosa.

Meanwhile, the impassioned appeals which accompany the apparition - "ó Virgem, Virgem dos Cristãos formosa" - suggest that the Indian's seduction is working at more than a simply sexual level. The language of his "Canto" draws on a biblical and specifically Hispanic tradition, in which religious and sexual adoration are expressed in identical terms,

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making any distinction between the two very difficult to determine. The Song of Songs, for instance, or the medieval Cantigas de Santa Maria of Alfonso X, in which the Virgin Mary takes the same role as that of the aristocratic Lady, interceding with God on behalf of her devotee just as the *Senhora* pleads for her knight. By its religious vocabulary and use of capitals, the poem plays on this ambiguity so as to expose the insidious power which Christianity exercised over the Indians who were exposed to the influence of the Jesuits. The white Virgin's sexual attraction resembles the fascinating aesthetic attraction of the Catholic ritual which, as we saw in Chapter 2, drew many Indians into the repressive regime of the missions.

As well as conveying this sense of awestruck, naïve fascination, the poem also reveals the tragic irony by which this religion of self-sacrifice led the Indians unwittingly to sacrifice their lands, liberty and cultural identity to the Portuguese project of colonisation. Speaking the language of martyrdom - "Calcara agros espinhos" - the Indian protests to the Virgin that, in return for her love, he would endure pain and ignominious death at the hands of his enemies, that he would abandon his people's cult of war:

Sem que dos meus irmãos ouvisse o canto,
Sem que o som do Boré que incita à guerra
Me infiltrasse o valor que m'hás roubado (...)

and, finally, that he would give up his freedom and his hatred of the Portuguese, and exchange his warrior's club for the iron manacles of a slave:

Vencer por teu amor meu ódio antigo,
Trocar a maça do poder por ferros
E ser, por te gozar, escravo deles.

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The irony that renders the beauty of the seduction so insidious, and the Indian's innocent faith so tragic, is the depressing historical fact that he and his people *did* undergo all those trials and humiliations, that the Jesuit mission of evangelisation was the principal tool, apart from sheer force, in clearing thousands of acres of tribal lands of their inhabitants and in supplying the colony's demand for mass slave labour. In this poem Gonçalves Dias shows us the psychological and social forces of that process at work, and their dependence on the Indian's trust and ignorance of the real motives behind the white priest's promises of salvation. Enchanted by the Virgin's incomprehensible words, he allows them, literally, to "captivate his life, his will and his strength" and so unwittingly surrenders himself to his betrayers:

Outra vez - dentre os seus lábios
Uma voz se desprendia;
Terna voz, cheia de encantos,
Que eu entender não podia.

Que importa? Ésse falar deixou-me n'alma
Sentir d'amôres tão sereno e fundo,
Que a vida me prendeu, vontade e fôrça.

Turning now to the últimos Cantos, if there is one poem that might be considered to depict an ideal, self-contained world from which the historical reality of Conquest is absent, it would probably be "I-Juca Pirama". At first sight the ritual around which the drama and emotions of the poem revolve make it timeless. The eventual recognition of the prisoner's true bravery and filial devotion produces an ending of reconciliation, reconfirming tribal values and leaving Indian society intact. Nevertheless, that reconciliation only derives its full force from the historical context which, although not usually acknowledged, is clearly established early in the poem. In the first section we read that the prisoner is a stranger, the member of some remote tribe, whilst in

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the third section it is stated that he has neither tribe nor family. The mystery is unfolded in the "Canto de morte", in which he is allowed to tell his story:

Vi lutas de bravos,
Vi fortes - escravos!
De estranhos ignavos
Calcados aos pés.

E os campos talados,
E os arcos quebrados,
E os piagas coitados
Já sem maracás;
E os meigos cantores,
Servindo a senhores,
Que vinham traidores,
Com mostras de paz.

Aos golpes do imigo
Meu último amigo,
Sem lar, sem abrigo
Caiu junto a mi! (PCP, p.361)

He and his father are the last survivors of a Tupi tribe that fell victim to the European invader and his treachery; they have been wandering in exile as if only in order finally to rediscover their lost world in another place, amongst the Timbira who are holding the warrior prisoner. He is given an opportunity to reaffirm the traditional values of his people within the honourable context of his captivity, through some act of bravery. And this he does, giving new life to his old, decrepit father and to the tribe which Conquest appeared to have destroyed:

Era êle, o Tupi; nem fôra justo
Que a fama dos Tupis - o nome, a glória,
Aturado labor de tantos anos,
Derradeiro brasão da raça extinta,
De um jacto e por um só se aniquilasse (PCP, p.370).

"I-Juca-Pirama" is therefore exceptional amongst the poems I have so far examined, in that it offers an imaginative recreation of a world which Brazilian history has seemingly consigned to oblivion. At the same time, in common with the other Indianist texts, it endows the tribal warrior

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with a mythical status without essentially idealising him. The Indian's historical plight of subjugation and marginalisation remains constantly present in one form or another, without being sentimentalised, a rare achievement, especially for a Romantic.

Thus far the connection between the colonial exploitation of the Indian and the contemporary oppression of the non-white population under Empire has remained confined to the prose texts. In the poems examined above, Gonçalves Dias invites his readers to share his outrage at the atrocities committed on Brazilian soil before his nation's Independence, but he does not force them to confront the moral contradictions of their own regime, founded as it is on a new era of inhumanity and tyranny. The four extant cantos of Os Timbiras are another matter altogether. For, in addition to the now familiar historical pattern of Conquest and enslavement, the poem includes a lengthy condemnation of the legacy of annihilation and slavery inherited by the modern age of "progress". Furthermore, the poet's particular choice of subject, a war between the Timbiras and Gamelas, suggests that he wished to remind his readers that Conquest, the white man's persecution of the Indians and seizure of their lands, did not end in 1600, or even in 1755, but continued into their own century.

It is perhaps for these reasons that Gonçalves Dias discovered, much to his annoyance, that Pedro II had kept his copy of the poem for some long while in a drawer without apparently having read it (L.M.Pereira, op.cit., p.215). The Emperor may, of course, have judged that the text, incomplete as it was and less than inspiring, did not deserve the attention and recognition he had awarded to his other works. He had, after all, granted Gonçalves Dias membership of the Order of the Rose for

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his Meditação, which was far more openly critical of Empire. On the other hand, the poor reception given to the poem may simply reflect Pedro's total lack of artistic judgement. Only the previous year he had sat through an entire reading of the ten long cantos of Gonçalves de Magalhães' A Confederação dos Tamóios, and was now defending it in public! More significantly, this was no longer 1847, when Gonçalves Dias had originally written the text of his epic poem, when the Liberal Abolitionist language of Meditação was still acceptable, and when the regime could consider banning the traffic in slaves from Africa; this was 1857, times had changed, Paraná's essentially Conservative government of "Conciliation" had just ended, and a new generation of Indianist writing had arrived on the scene to celebrate, and not criticise, the Imperial order.

By contrast, Os Timbiras belongs unequivocally to the first phase of the movement. Describing how he conceived the idea for this ambitious project, Gonçalves Dias suggests that he was inspired less by the history of inter-tribal and Indian/white conflict, than by the challenge of conveying the epic substance of the pre-Cabraline age, the Indian in his mythical environment:

Saberás que estive cousa de cinquenta dias em uma chácara do Serra, em Macacos, e durante todo aquêlo santo ócio, como diria Virgílio, nada mais fiz do que fumar, caçar e imaginar. Imaginei um poema... como nunca ouviste falar de outro: magotes de tigres, de quatis, de cascavéis; imaginei mangueiras e jabuticabeiras, copadas, jequitabás e ipês arrogantes, sapucaeias e jambeiros, de palmeiras nem falamos; guerreiros diabólicos, mulheres feiticeiras, sapos e jacarés sem conta: enfim, um *Gênese* americano, uma *Iliáda Brasileira*, uma criação recriada (Bandeira, op.cit., p.687).

Yet the evidence of the poem itself indicates that the author's overriding preoccupation remained the disruption of that mythical world and the disintegration of tribal society following Conquest. The extended form

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of the epic certainly allows Gonçalves Dias to narrate that history at some length and with a greater wealth of descriptive detail, but at a cost. Indeed, it can be argued that the poem's failure to win public interest, on its initial publication and since, is due to a basic incompatibility between the scale and structure of the epic and the concentrated, dramatic immediacy of the poet's tragic vision of history.

According to his short summary of the complete work, and that of his biographer, Antônio Henriques Leal, who had read a further eight cantos, the plot was to take a painfully, monotonously familiar course:

Passa-se a ação no Maranhão e vai terminar no Amazonas com a dispersão dos Timbiras; guerras entre eles e depois com os portugueses (Bandeira, op.cit., p.687).

De pós o encontro das duas tribus inimigas, saem os gamelas vencedores da pugna e são repelidos os timbiras de Tapuitapera (Alcântara), parte recalçados para o Mearim e Itapecuru, e o grosso da tribo, abeirando a costa da Província, interna-se pelo Amazonas, onde se tresmalha, perecendo o chefe que ao acolher-se no cimo de uma copada árvore onde procurava abrigar-se de uma bandeira de resgate é aí picado por uma cobra coral.⁵³

A fragile alliance between the Timbiras and Gamelas (Canelas) collapses when Itajuba's legendary, almost supernatural status is brought into question and the Gamela chief, Gurupema, challenges his authority to rule over the two tribes. In its turn, the unity of the Timbira nation is threatened by the emergence of two factions, one hungry for war and the other alarmed by Japeguá's ominous dream in which he sees dead warriors heaped up beside pools of blood and broken weapons. The fourth canto ends as a Timbira peace mission to the Gamela camp is rebuffed, and the tribes prepare for an inexorable war of destruction.

53. Cassiano Ricardo, "Gonçalves Dias e o Indianismo", A Literatura no Brasil, ed. Afrânio Coutinho, 5 vols., 2ª ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Sul Americana, 1968), vol.II, p.91.

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Once again, the tragic historical outcome of the conflict, plainly visible to all but its protagonists and victims, is ironically present in the image of the Indian warrior with which the poem's introduction opens. All that remains from the culture and society "agora extinto" that is about to be evoked, is the pathetic spectacle of defeat and exile:

(...) - Evoco a sombra
Do selvagem guerreiro!... Torvo o aspecto,
Severo e quase mudo, a lentos passos,
Caminha incerto, - o bipartido arco
Nas mãos sustenta, e dos despídos ombros
Pende-lhe a rôta aljava... as entornadas,
Agora inúteis setas, vão mostrando
A marcha triste e os passos mal seguros
De quem, na terra de seus pais, embalde
Procura asilo, e foge o humano trato (PCP, p.475).

In Canto II there is a foretaste of the conflict and disruption which, as the remaining, unpublished pages of the poem were to have depicted, swept across Brazil with the expeditions of the *bandeiras*. Women rarely enter the masculine, military environment of Gonçalves Dias' Indianist poetry, and when they do appear, as I shall show, it is as a symbol of division and alienation. Here the female figure is Coema, Itajuba's lover, whose death is recounted in the funereal setting of night in the Timbira camp. Coema was abducted and killed by the very Tupinambá warrior to whom Itajuba had given shelter and protection as he and his people fled from the European invader. It is interesting that Gonçalves Dias makes a factual error in his efforts to characterise the Tupinambá as a treacherous Tapuia, the stereotyped race of savages. The Timbira chief should never have heeded his tales of the white foreigner, Mair, and his weapons of thunder and lightning:

Já de Orapacém os mais guerreiros
Mordem o pó, e as tabas feitas cinza
Clamam vingança em vão contra os estranhos,
Talvez d'outros estranhos perseguidos,
Em punição talvez d'atroz delito.
Orapacém, fugindo, brada sempre:

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Mair! Mair! Tupã! - Terror que mostra,
Brados que solta, e as derrocadas tabas,
Desde Tapuitapera alto proclamam
Do vencedor a indômita pujança.
Ai! não viesse nunca às nossas tabas
O tapuia mendaz, que os bravos feitos
Narrava do Mair; nunca os ouviras,
Flor de beleza, luz de amor, Coema! (PCP, p.492)

In the third canto of the poem, however, Gonçalves Dias adopts a quite unprecedented method in his denunciation of Conquest, stepping outside the dramatic context of the story itself in order to assume a direct, personal voice of condemnation. The reader is reminded that the tribes of Itajuba are now fossils beneath the earth's crust, just one chapter in a history of extermination and exploitation that continues into the present age:

(...) - Chame-lhe progresso
Quem do extermínio secular se ufana;
Eu modesto cantor do povo extinto
Chorarei nos vastíssimos sepulcros,
Que vão do mar ao Andes, e do Prata
Ao largo e doce mar das Amazonas.
Ali me sentarei meditabundo
Em sítio, onde não oíçam meus ouvidos
Os sons freqüentes d'européus machados
Por mãos de escravos Afros manejados:
Nem veja as matas arrasar, e os troncos,
Donde chorando a preciosa goma,
Resina virtuosa e grato incenso
A nossa incúria grande eterno asselam;
(...) (PCP, p.498).

The rubber industry, to which this is an unmistakable reference, was acquiring economic importance precisely when Os Timbiras was being written, expanding steadily towards its boom at the end of the century. After the vulcanisation process was discovered in 1842,

the rapid rise in the demand for rubber in Europe and North America was reflected in the mounting volume of exports from Brazil, which was virtually the only source of rubber in the world before 1900. From an initial shipment of 31 tons in 1827, Brazil's exports of rubber rose to nearly 1500 tons in 1850, 3000 tons in 1867, and about 7000 tons in 1880. (...) Almost all of the rubber shipped from Brazil originated in the provinces of Amazonas and Pará, where the population at least doubled, exports expanded

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fivefold, and provincial revenues increased by fifteen times in the last two decades of the Empire.⁵⁴

In order that such an expansion could take place and the new population be securely settled without "interference" from the tribal groups whose lands were being expropriated, large numbers of Indians were, in the still current euphemism of indigenist policy, "removed" or "relocated". For instance, in the north of the Amazon, war was effectively declared against the Waimiri and Atroari tribes, and hundreds of Indians were massacred by the armed expeditions sent from Manaus by the provincial government.⁵⁵ Gonçalves Dias himself saw the effect of this military and economic onslaught on the tribal people of the region when he visited the Rio Negro in 1861 and observed the atrocious living and working conditions endured by the Indians:

Acreditas que um índio no Alto Rio Negro, remando como cristãos em galé de mouro, trabalha cinco dias para ganhar uma vara de pano americano? E que destes cinco dias lhes pode resultar trabalho para mais dez ou quinze, como acontece, sem que recebam nem salário, nem canoa para o regresso, nem mesmo farinha para seu sustento, como também acontece? (Bandeira, op.cit., p.755)

We can only speculate, although with a good degree of certainty, as to whether Gonçalves Dias had these developments in mind when he wrote the last passage quoted from Os Timbiras. Something which we can be sure he was acutely aware of, after reading his prose works, is the extermination policy of "guerra justa" waged against a number of tribes during the reigns of João VI and Pedro I. One of the chief areas of repression was Maranhão, the poet's home province, which he frequently visited and which provides the setting for Os Timbiras. Moreover, as I

54. Rollie E. Poppino, Brazil. The land and people, 2^a ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), p.140.

55. "The final attack on the Waimiri and Atroari", Survival International Review, Autumn/Winter, 1982, vol.7, nos.3-4, p.40.

indicated in an earlier section, the Timbiras were one of the tribes which suffered most from these campaigns, along with a sub-group, the Gamelas or Canelas:

No Maranhão não foi menor a violência contra os índios. Como sua produção era de algodão e arroz, a lavoura não progredia porque todo o lado direito do rio Itapicuru achava-se "infestado de gentio Gamela e Timbira, que ocupa as mais preciosas terras daquele continente até ao rio Tocantins, flagelando diariamente aqueles lavradores, e causando-lhes consideráveis prejuízos, já com correrias, matando os escravos e brancos, que encontram, e já incendiando as fazendas e paíóis". "Este entrave que experimenta a lavoura, clama por providência", escrevia Manuel Antônio Xavier em 1822, relatando as duas forças armadas que foram guerrear o gentio limítrofe das fazendas, "tendo os governos e generais da Província auxiliado com tropas do regimento de linha essas expedições".⁵⁶

It can hardly be coincidental that Gonçalves Dias chose as the subject of his Indianist epic the disintegration and extermination of the two tribes of his native region which, just twenty-five years before, had been the target of a ruthless, official campaign of military repression and were now being exposed to a new form of economic "Conquest". On the contrary, and here Gonçalves Dias rejects the simplistic nationalism of the first Indianists, his point is that the official and unofficial atrocities committed against the Indian by white society are not a thing of the past, not simply the mark of an oppressive Portuguese colonialism from which Independence has freed the Brazilian nation; but that the resumption and renewal of such policies after 1822 is evidence that Empire, at least under Pedro I, signified continuity rather than a break with the colonial regime.

As further extracts from the same Canto of Os Timbiras indicate, Gonçalves Dias does not confine this interpretation of Independence and

56. José Honório Rodrigues, Independência: Revolução e Contra-revolução, 4 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Francisco Alves, 1975), vol.II, p.109.

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Empire to the issue of Indian policy, but explicitly generalises his argument to question the economic and political foundations of Empire as a whole. Clearly modelled on Cacambo's speech from Basílio da Gama's O Uruguai ("Gentes de Europa, nunca vos trouxera/ O mar e o vento a nós."), the following passage offers a striking denial of the liberty and Independence which the Indianist movement was supposed to celebrate:

América infeliz, já tão ditosa
Antes que o mar e os ventos não trouxessem
A nós o ferro e os cascavéis da Europa?!
Velho tutor e ávaro cubiçou-te,
Desvalida pupila, a herança pingue
Cedeste, fraca; e entrelaçaste os anos
Da mocidade em flor - às cãs e à vida
Do velho, que já pende e já declina
Do leito conjugal imerecido
À campá, onde talvez cuida encontrar-te! (PCP, p.499)

The first three lines express, like Cacambo's lament, regret that Conquest ever took place, the iron and rattle-snakes referring as much to the slavery and economic poison of the nineteenth century as to that of the sixteenth. The grotesque sexual imagery which follows points, however, to something else: a perverse, incestuous relationship between the colony and its former ruler which promises, not the birth of new, prosperous generations of free Brazilians, but a sterile life in which the potential wealth of the young nation is sacrificed in order to sustain the needs of a declining European power. As Portugal, Brazil's aged guardian, lusts after his nubile ward and her rich inheritance (the Novo Aurélio gives for *pingue* "Fértil, fecundo; produtivo; rendoso, lucrativo"), she is forced to spend the first years of her mature economic womanhood ("mocidade em flor") in the marriage bed with an old man who has one foot in the grave. Despite her maturity and economic fertility, Brazil remains in the clutches of her European ruler who, far from giving her her freedom, has exchanged his overt paternalism for a perverted form of wedlock. This

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wedlock, symbolised by the continuing link with the Portuguese Crown through Pedro I, means that for Gonçalves Dias Empire is simply the colonial regime under another name.

Once again, however, the poet's response to the social and economic oppression which this continuity represents for the majority of Brazilians is not a shift towards the more radical, revolutionary wing of active Liberal politics, such as had been manifested during the Regency. Instead he retreats into an essentially reactionary, irrational position of despair, surrendering to the biblical notion of some form of Divine Retribution or cosmic punishment for the accumulated wrongs of mankind:

Em sítio onde os meus olhos não descubram
Triste arremêdo de longínquas terras.
Aos crimes das nações Deus não perdoa;
Do pai aos filhos e do filho aos netos,
Porque um dêles de todo apague a culpa,
Virá correndo a maldição - contínua,
Como fuzis de uma cadeia eterna.
Virão nas nossas festas mais solenes
Miríades de sombras miserandas,
Escarnecendo, secar o nosso orgulho
De nação; mas nação que tem por base
Os frios ossos da nação senhora,
E por cimento a cinza profanada
Dos mortos, amassada aos pés de escravos.
Não me deslumbra a luz da velha Europa;
Há de apagar-se mas que a inunde agora:
E nós!... sugamos leite mau na infância,
Foi corrompido o ar que respiramos,
Havemos de acabar talvez primeiro (PCP, p.498).

As my analysis of the Indianist poetry of Gonçalves Dias so far has shown, in spite of his profound knowledge of the historical conditions by which the colonial process worked, the concept of Nemesis plays an important role in his representation of Conquest. It is as if cold historical analysis is inadequate to explain the sheer extent of this incomprehensible, cataclysmic destruction and abuse of human life; and it

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is of course in those same terms of shocked incomprehension that his Indians express their perception of the event.

But such an attitude also has its roots in the poet's own experience and interpretation of the violent political upheavals of his time. A comparison between the Indianist poetry and the texts which depict the provincial conflicts of the Regency reveals the same apocalyptic language, the same nightmarish vision of futile destruction. History, like the eternal round of ritual war and reprisal in the Indian world, is not progressive but cyclical; both processes are afflicted by inexplicable cataclysms that appear, in their horror and chaos, to be the retribution of a wrathful God.

This spectre of chaos rears its head most dramatically, perhaps, in "A Desordem de Caxias", which depicts the Balaiada, the revolt that shook the poet's native province of Maranhão between 1838 and 1845. Gonçalves Dias is unable to analyse this upheaval in terms of the struggle of classes or ideologies, such as Absolutism, Liberalism, Republicanism and Federalism. Instead he sees only material collapse, human carnage and distress, a nightmare in which the perpetrators of violence cannot be distinguished from its victims. The forces being unleashed are compared to the elemental clashes of nature which are impersonal, uncontrollable and inexplicable:

Como, quando o vulcão prepara a lava
Nas entranhas da terra, e à noite lança,
Pela sangrenta rúbida cratera,
Mais viva chama em turbilhão de fumo;
(...)
Assim tão bem, quando abafadas rosnam
Sanhas do povo, antes que em fúrias rompam,
Propaga-se confuso borborinho,
Cresce a agitação naquele e neste,
E um quê de febre lhes transtorna o siso (PCP, p.548).

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"Malditos sejais vós!", the poet utters at the rebels, for abandoning God, worshipping the "culto" of politics and sacrificing human blood "no antropófago altar". This and other phrases such as "miserandos, insepultos guerreiros" give added weight to my contention that the "political" poetry and the Indianist texts are concerned with essentially the same vision of futile destruction. But with one difference: until Conquest, when the Portuguese exploited the Indians' cultural propensity to war beyond its natural, controlled limits, conflict in the tribal world is ritualistic and self-sustaining, a perpetual cycle of victory and defeat within which society continues to flourish.

It is the divisive conflicts leading to tribal disintegration which have most in common with the social and political instability that as Gonçalves Dias feared, threatened the unity of Empire during its early years. His reluctant support for the Monarchy derives from these fears, as is demonstrated in the poem "A Restauração do Rio Grande do Sul e ao nascimento do herdeiro presuntivo", written, like many of these circumstantial pieces, in 1845. Again, it deals not with ideologies but with sentiments of horror, grief and tribulation produced by the rebellion in Brazil's southernmost state in that year. The end of the poem heralds the birth of a new member of the royal family, a symbol of the unifying force which Monarchy exerted over this potentially fragmented country:

(...) - ei-la que nasce,
E a discórdia civil - raivando ulula,
E o civil batalhar soberbo - infrene
O extremo arranco soluçou raivoso (PCP, p.602).

The fear of national disintegration runs through the few written political statements that Gonçalves Dias left to us; for example, in a letter to Alexandre Teófilo he discusses the problem of the Província Cisplatina, essentially the same issue which concerned him in the last

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poem discussed. Possession of what is now Uruguay had been disputed ever since the territorial changes that led to the events described in Basilio da Gama's O Uruguai. In 1828 Uruguay was declared an independent buffer state, but its people were divided into two factions, one supported by the Argentinian dictator Rosas and the other by the Brazilian government. Gonçalves Dias feared that inaction on his country's part could lead to an invasion of Rio Grande do Sul by Rosas, or to the secession of that province from the Empire, under the leadership of Chico Pedro:

Ora o Jacuí [Chico Pedro] é homem de se bater ao mesmo tempo com o Rosas e com o Império: Tem caráter e não recua. Se o governo o declara rebelde, se se não aproveita desta circunstância para quebrar essa espécie de simpatia e fraternidade que há entre os rio-grandenses e republicanos do Prata por meio da guerra e represálias que os separará para sempre; ou antes se as tropas do governo se encontram com as do Jacuí, que as tem evitado até agora, temos a guerra civil em vez da guerra externa. Nas melhores condições imagináveis poderia o ministério sustentar-se mas o Rio Grande êsse fica perdido para o Império - digo - Império porque considero a possibilidade de que o Brasil poderá continuar a subsistir com outra denominação que não a de Império (PCP, p.810).

That "other denomination" which the poet was afraid might define some new dispensation for his country was presumably Federation, which in its rejection of strong centralised power represented for him an equally disastrous path.

It is in the light of these preoccupations, then, that one should read the Indianist poems, with their depiction of inter-tribal warfare and Conquest. The conflicts which divide the Tobajaras and Potiguares in "Tabira", or the Timbiras and the Gamelas in the epic Os Timbiras, leave them vulnerable to their cataclysmic destruction as nations at the hands of an alien power, the Portuguese. But if, as in the case cited above, Gonçalves Dias was sometimes able to apply a coherent political analysis to the crisis he feared was imminent, there is also a stronger, more irrational dimension to his pessimism which we have seen reflected

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equally clearly in his Indianist writing: the expectation of Divine retribution for an accumulation of crimes committed throughout the nation's history. Political unrest and unresolved social injustices, such as slavery and the oppression of the Indian, were to explode in some cathartic convulsion. An essential ambiguity underlies this sense of nemesis, though, for the anticipation of a supernatural punishment beyond the control of Man is inseparable from the poet's barely articulated fears of revolutionary social upheaval. As in the extract already cited from Meditação, there is merely the vague prophetic sense of an impending crisis as the nation moves closer and closer to the limits of moral and political collapse: "E nos lábios do estrangeiro, que aporta ao Brasil, desponta um sorriso ironico e despeitoso - elle diz consigo, que a terra - da escravidão - não póde durar muito" (Obras Posthumas..., op.cit., vol.III, p.17). Similarly, in 1861 Gonçalves Dias warned: "O Brasil parece-me que se aproxima de uma crise, muito breve, e eu não lhe vejo remédio" (L.M.Pereira, op.cit., p.272).

As elsewhere in his work e.g. "O Orgulhoso", "Vila Maldita", "Dies Irae", the devastation and horror of Conquest is frequently seen in the Indianist poetry as a form of inexplicable divine retribution, whether for man's neglect of his religion or simply for the now forgotten wrongs of the past. In "Deprecação", for instance, the European invasion is the "vingança" of Tupã against his people - "O Piaga nos disse que breve seria,/ A que nos infliges cruel punição". Similarly, when, in Os Timbiras, Itajuba seeks Tupã's clemency, the *piaga* warns the tribe that its devotion has been too little and too late:

Só quando ruge a negra tempestade,
Só quando a fúria d'Anhangá fuzila
Raios do escuro céu na terra aflita
Do piaga vos lembrais? Tanta lembrança,
Tarda e fatal, guerreiros! Quantas vezes

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Não fui, eu mesmo, nos terreiros vossos
Fincar o santo maracá? Debalde,
Debalde o fui, que à noite o achava sempre
Sem ofertas, que aos Deuses tanto prezem! (PCP, p.510)

At the culmination of this poetry of nemesis and apocalypse, though, is "O Gigante de pedra", which typifies Gonçalves Dias' perception of the historical process. Narrated in present tenses and participles, Brazil's geological, racial and political development is witnessed by the indifferent eye of the Sleeping Giant, not as a teleological, organic sequence of events but as an eternally repeated cycle of growth and destruction, rather like that described in the poem "História":

Triste lição de experiência deixam
Os evos no passar e os mesmos atos
Renovados sem fim por muitos povos,
Sob nomes diversos se encadeiam:
(...) (PCP, p.416)

In one section of "O Gigante de pedra", the history of the Indians, their culture, the emergence of internal disunity, internecine conflict and their eventual downfall at the hands of the Portuguese, is recounted through all its stages. But within the endless, futile cycle of life as viewed by the Giant, this is a brief, insignificant moment quickly overtaken by other conflicts and upheavals:

Com soberba indiferença
Sente extinta a antiga crença
Dos Tamóios, dos Pajés;
Nem vê que duras desgraças,
Que lutas de novas raças
Se lhe atropelam aos pés! (PCP, p.353)

The quotation from Victor Hugo's "Le Géant" which heads the poem encourages an interpretation of the Brazilian Giant as the nation's dormant martial spirit which must some day awaken and reclaim its glory. Certainly, against the formless, meaningless background of history which he has witnessed, the Giant, as the personification of the Brazilian land,

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is the only focus of stability and continuity. Like the image of the Sugar Loaf mountain embracing the Southern Cross, the Giant symbolises that identity of beliefs - nationhood and religion - which must survive and transcend the disruptive conflicts of the country's history.

But Gonçalves Dias' description of the Giant together with the warning which ends the poem suggest that he anticipates more than a simple revival of this spirit of nationalism as Brazil's salvation. Despite the apparent immutability of the Giant in his dumb indifference, there are threatening indications that his sleep is tense and restless: "Devera cuidadoso, sanhudo velar", "Co'os braços no peito cruzados nervosos". The same primeval cataclysm which first petrified him into his granite silence may at any moment be repeated, only this time to unleash his long repressed forces of rebellion:

Em duro granito repousa o gigante,
Que os raios sòmente poderam fundir.
(...)
De lavas ardentes seus membros fundidos
Avultam imensos: só Deus poderá
Rebelde lançá-lo dos montes erguidos,
Curvados ao pêso, que sôbre lhe 'stá (ibid.).

There will come a moment in the arrogance and pride of human history, when the unity of "crença e pátria" is abandoned for chaos and doubt, when even the most basic assumptions will collapse and greater forces will take their revenge:

Porém se algum dia fortuna inconstante
Poder-nos a crença e a pátria acabar,
Arroja-te às ondas, ó duro gigante,
Inunda êstes montes, desloca êste mar!

The myth of nemesis is therefore a fusion of the two contradictory but related responses of Gonçalves Dias to the historical iniquity and perfidy of Conquest and the contemporary injustice of mass slavery under Empire. They are essentially two sides of the same coin: on

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the one hand, a disgusted call for some kind of apocalyptic judgement and punishment of those crimes, a natural or supernatural stroke of atonement and catharsis; and on the other hand, his fears of the form which that punishment might take in reality i.e. radical socio-political upheaval or revolution and national disintegration. But if, as we have seen, Gonçalves Dias' Indianism records the violent chaos and disintegration that, for him, were common both to the recent history of Brazil and to the colonial encounter between Indian and white, then the poetry is also an imaginative attempt to recuperate the absent or lost harmony of those worlds, to construct an ideal, "integrated" tribal society.

4.4.4.4 Exile and integration: an ideal society.

Writing to his friend Antônio Henriques Leal whilst in Amazônia, Gonçalves Dias described the inspiration which the Indian world represented to one disillusioned and embittered by his own society:

Vós que, semelhantes a mim e a muitos outros, talvez sem razão, vos entristeceis ou irritais com o jeito que as nossas cousas vão tomando, acaso porque se vos tornou menos risonho o céu da vossa imaginação, - vós que, num acesso de hipocondria, chegastes a desamar a terra de que sois filhos e a descer dos homens de quem sois irmãos, - vinde-me aqui passar um quarto de hora em noite de luar sereno (...) e haveis de achar-vos outro, e, como nos tempos felizes da juventude, capaz ainda das ilusões floridas, da confiança ilimitada, da fé robusta nos sucessos, nos homens, no futuro, e, sequer por alguns momentos podereis sentir, haveis de sentir orgulho de vos chamardes "brasileiro" também (Bandeira, op.cit., p.751).

The poet's sense of fellowship with tribal society goes back to his earliest Indianist writings. In "Visões.1 - O índio", written in Portugal in 1844 but excluded from the first published volumes of poetry, there is an archetypal dialogue between "the poet", "O Cantor", and "the Indian", the son of the last Tupi chief. Gonçalves Dias does not evade the question of the artificiality of such a meeting; in fact, he draws

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attention to the role of imagination, or fiction, in making it possible - "E noutro quadro da minha alma os olhos/ Mais distinta visão me figuraram" - for it is only there, in the imaginary space of the poem, that he can confront his nation's guilty conscience with the figure of its victim, and at the same time discover the humanity that he cannot find in his own society. The resultant dialogue goes right to the heart of the central ideological contradiction which, as I have emphasised, characterises Romantic Indianism: the notion of a socially and racially integrated nation, yet one which is founded on the genocide, slavery and marginalisation of its non-white population. The Indian of the poem registers the extreme irony of the situation, that his jailer and executioner should be the one to speak the language of reconciliation:

(O Cantor) Não somos nós irmãos - a tua pátria
Não é a pátria minha? Ali marcada
Não tinhas outra vida - outro futuro?

(O índio) És dos grandes também - tu que assim falas.
Dêsses que aos índios têm no rol de escravos?
Irónico sorrindo me inquiria (PCP, p.595).

However, he recognises in the poet someone different, a kindred spirit whose flights of imagination seek the same liberty which the Indian finds in his forest, and whose vision allows him to face the truth of Conquest with honesty and sincerity. It is in recognition of this special relationship that the Indian invites the poet to sit with him and hear the history of his people, the apocalyptic omens of destruction, the anger of their gods and their defeat, slavery and exile. Ultimately, though, in spite of the poet's privileged insight, there can be no reconciliation between the two societies, the myth of a common national identity remains a myth, for the white man and the Indian inhabit two irrevocably separated worlds:

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Adeus, Cantor - adeus! que a minha pátria
Não é a tua, não - mas este vasto
Frondoso praino - êstes vestidos serros,
E o imenso azul dos céus.

The remaining Indianist poems are dedicated to the two dimensions of this question of integration: on the one hand, the ritual and cultural self-sufficiency of tribal society, the only truly integrated society; and, on the other hand, the struggle of the exile and marginal to find a place within it. "Canto do Guerreiro" raises a fundamental issue of style upon which the effect and significance of many of these poems depends: the rejection of traditional Hispanic metres (i.e. those based on syllable counting) in favour of metres based on rhythmic units, in particular the anapaest. For Manuel Bandeira, this choice serves to reinforce certain sentiments associated with the tribal character, "onde há movimentos belicosos ou sentimento de orgulho, indignação, revolta" (op.cit., p.788). But more than that, this rhythmic emphasis is allied to an overall simplicity of form through which Gonçalves Dias restores to his work an essentially ritualistic, musical quality. Taking the form of pseudo-folk poetry and tribal songs or chants commemorating aspects of tribal life and tradition, these poems represent the utterances of men, and occasionally women, attempting to fix their existence within the shifting natural cycles of life and death. Structures tend to be limited to repeated, interchangeable stanzas free from narrative development and capable of standing alone as independent, self-contained units.

Furthermore, "O Canto do Guerreiro" is the prime example of the depiction of the military ethos as the chief expression of this sense of integral tribal identity:

Valente na guerra
Quem há, como eu sou?
Quem vibra o tacape
Com mais valentia?

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Quem golpes daria
Fatais, como eu dou?
- Guerreiros, ouvi-me;
- Quem há, como eu sou? (PCP, p.104)

Indeed, with a few conspicuous exceptions, the Indianist poetry is dominated by this ethos, its figures celebrating, preparing for, fighting and recounting perpetual wars. The critical consensus has seen this concern with military values as a simple variation on the medievalist or chivalresque genre to which Gonçalves Dias was introduced during his student days in Coimbra. For instance, in reference to "I-Juca Pirama", José Guilherme Merquior suggests that "A existência dos silvícolas é apresentada em tom heróico, como se os nossos índios saíssem das novelas de cavalaria."⁵⁷ Antônio Cândido goes further:

Note-se que o indianismo de Gonçalves Dias (...) é parente do medievismo coimbrão, que praticou *in loco* e deve ter influido no seu propósito de aplicar à pátria o mesmo critério de pesquisa lírica e heróica do passado. As Sextilhas de Frei Antão, "O Soldado Espanhol", "O Trovador" (poemas medievistas) poder-se-iam considerar pares simétricos d'Os Timbiras, do "I-Juca Pirama", da "Canção do Guerreiro"[sic], pela redução do índio aos padrões da Cavalaria" (op.cit., vol.II, pp.83-84).

It is certainly true that the Indianist and medievalist movements are analogous in their attempt to locate ideal values in a past, mythical age. But such a reductionist definition of the poetry of Gonçalves Dias ignores both the immense historical and moral conscience which underlies his vision of tribal society, and the peculiar nature of the military ethos as it is depicted in the poetry. Taking up Antônio Cândido's example of the Sextilhas de Frei Antão, it needs to be said that the military spirit is here overshadowed by a morality which is strikingly absent from Gonçalves Dias' Indianist poetry - Christianity. The medieval

57. José Guilherme Merquior, Breve História da literatura brasileira (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1977), p.67.

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wars are emphatically portrayed as religious wars, fought for the expansion of a political and cultural empire and consequently loaded with racist ideology and language. Two extracts from the "Loa da Princesa Santa" will serve to illustrate this:

Dava o rei uma batalha,
Deus lhe acudia do céu;
Quantas terras que ganhava,
Dava ao Senhor que lhas deu,
E só em fazer mosteiros
Gastava muito do seu (PCP, p.285).

São homens de fero aspeito,
Homens de má condição,
Que vivem na lei nojenta
Do seu nojento alcorão... (PCP, p.290).

By contrast, war in the Indianist poetry is not fought for the possession of land or wealth, nor in defence of a religion, but for the affirmation of personal and collective identity, the identity of the warrior and the tribe. As such, it functions as ritual, a symbolic, if brutal conflict between equals in which the participants are not distinguished on moral terms. Courage is the right of the defeated as well as of the victorious; the enemy exists not as an evil to be eliminated and subjugated but as a challenge and test of the bravery of his rival.

In addition, the tribal culture depicted in the Indianist writing of Gonçalves Dias is a typically masculine environment, from which the psychology of sexual relationships is generally excluded. Significantly, the few instances of female Indians in the poetry record experiences of sexual failure, frustration or alienation. The protagonist of "Leito de folhas verdes" can be seen precisely as the victim of an exclusively masculine, militarist culture in which love does not figure very highly; she waits in vain for her lover who, we may speculate, prefers the

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company of his fellow warriors or the excitement of the hunt to the intimacy of a sexual encounter. But whereas in "Marabá", as we shall see, the woman's rejection has historical and racial origins, here her abandonment and frustration are linked to the natural harmony of the forest and its temporal cycles of growth and reproduction.

For the poem does not explain the lover's absence, rather it records the passing of a moment of potential sexual fulfilment which has remained unrealised in the indifferent, random environment of nature. In the central metaphor of the poem, the Indian girl appears as a virgin flower of the forest which time has left unfertilised in the few hours granted to it before it must fade. One of Gonçalves Dias' most finely structured and executed pieces, the text expresses the sentiment of frustration and disappointment indirectly, in the subtle but meaningful passage of time. It begins with the breeze of dusk and the aromas of the forest, evoking a sensual atmosphere of expectancy as the girl prepares her bed of leaves and flowers. The third stanza suggests, in its image of sexual ripeness, the flowers opening their petals and releasing aphrodisiac perfumes, a delicately veiled gesture of erotic invitation:

Do tamarindo a flor abriu-se, há pouco,
Já solta o bogari mais doce aroma!
Como prece de amor, como estas preces,
No silêncio da noite o bosque exala.

Exactly at the centre of the poem, the fifth stanza brings this metaphor of potent, fertile expectancy to its definitive point of tension, as the girl prepares for the unique, unrepeatable moment of self-realisation:

A flor que desabrocha ao romper d'alva
Um só giro do sol, não mais, vegeta:
Eu sou aquela flor que espero ainda
Doce raio do sol que me dê vida.

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But in the very interval while she is speaking, declaring her virginity and loyalty ("Meus olhos outros olhos nunca viram"), the moment has passed unaltered, night has turned to day and the flower now "jaz entreaberta", intact and useless; the dawn which should have brought her lover to her finds her still alone, still virgin. The poem thus confirms the necessarily passive and unsatisfactory sexual experience of women in the contingent world of nature and in the masculine, militarist culture of tribal society as Gonçalves Dias sees it.

Moreover, the arrogance and bravado of the male Indians, their competing claims of superior strength and prowess have a strong sexual element of their own, and suggest that, in part, the poetry represents the sublimation of a sexual impulse which the poet's own unsuccessful marriage and extra-marital affairs were unable to resolve. As I shall show in Chapter 6, the phallic overtones of "O Canto do Guerreiro" ("Quem vibra o tacape/ Com mais valentia?/ Quem golpes daria/ Fatais, como eu dou?") were certainly evident enough to the later generation of Bernardo Guimarães, who was "inspired" to write an obscene, satirical parody of Gonçalves Dias' poem.

"O Canto do Guerreiro" demonstrates a further aspect of tribal war as portrayed in the Indianist poetry: its harmonic, organic nature. War, the hunt, and even death are integral parts of a self-sufficient way of life; violence, whatever the number of dead, does not have the devastating, destructive power of the colonial wars between Indian and white. Instead it is a ritualistic and natural process, a collision of elemental forces springing out of the forest environment:

E então se de novo
Eu toco o Boré;
Qual fonte que salta
De rocha empinada,
Que vai marulhosa,

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Fremente e queixosa,
Que raiva apagada
De todo não é,
Tal éles se escoam
Aos sons do Boré. ("O Canto do Guerreiro", *ibid.*)

As a ritual, tribal war does not disrupt the basic harmony of indigenous society but reconfirms it; like the symbolic, token confrontations between birds and animals, it reproduces an ever-changing pattern of victory and defeat whilst allowing the organism as a whole to survive and flourish. Affirming his respect for this principle in the fourth canto of Os Timbiras, "o forasteiro", the wise stranger who lives amongst the Gamelas, opposes the renewal of war against the Timbiras because it is unnecessary, an unjust defiance of the proven supremacy of the Timbiras. The Gamela chief has been fairly defeated and must allow his rival to enjoy his victory, for both defeat and victory are necessary to the harmony of their world:

Se o filho de Jaguar trazer-nos manda
Do chefe desditoso o frio corpo,
Aceite-se... se não... voltemos sempre,
Ou com êle, ou sem êle, às nossas tabas,
Às nossas tabas mudas, lacrimosas,
Que hão-de certo enlutar nossos guerreiros,
Quer vencedores voltem, quer vencidos (PCP, p.519).

"Canção do Tamoio" explores this organic tribal cosmology further, in the relationship it establishes between life and death. Gonçalves Dias describes the tradition upon which the poem is based in his ethnographic work, Brasil e Oceânia. The new-born child is given a bow and arrows and his/her father sings a "canção natalícia" which prepares the child for the struggle of life, for the need to be strong and confront death:

Por uma antithese philosophica, nas cores de que o pintavão no berço representavão a guerra e o luto; e se na cova procuravão dar ao cadaver a posição que tinha o feto no utero, contrapondo a sepultura ao berço: assim tambem ao centrar na vida apontavão para o fim que os esperava, como se o grito balbuciante da criança, e o ultimo suspiro do moribundo

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formassem um só hiato, e fosse o primeiro ai da existencia o primeiro passo para a morte (op.cit., p.193).

Life is a dynamic battle, whose motivation is not pleasure, nor the fear of death, but the struggle itself; the short lines and familiar rhythm of the Indianist poetry suggest the urgent intensity and brevity of the life experience, which demand that it be lived to the full:

Não chores, meu filho;
Não chores, que a vida
é luta renhida:
Viver é lutar.
A vida é combate,
Que os fracos abate,
Que os fortes, os bravos,
Só pode exaltar.
(...)
As armas ensaia,
Penetra na vida:
Pesada ou querida,
Viver é lutar (PCP, p.372).

Death is therefore not tragic, but simply a further dimension of life which must be faced with vigour and courage. It is described in the natural imagery of vegetal collapse and decomposition in the forest, such as when a tree is struck down by a lightning bolt and falls back into the cycle of decay and renewal. The death of the Gamela chief in the first canto of *Os Timbiras*, for example, appears as the conclusion of a magnificent, organic clash of elements:

(...) o colosso verga,
Inclina-se, desaba, cai de chofre,
E o pó levanta e atroa forte os ecos.
Assim cai na floresta um tronco anoso,
E o som da queda se propaga ao longe! (PCP, p.479)

The tribal ethos of war thus defines Gonçalves Dias' vision of Indian society as an integrated, organic world, whose rituals and life-cycles incorporate the individual into a perfect collective identity. Conquest, on the other hand, signifies the irremediable disruption of that world, the distortion and manipulation of the ritual culture of war, the

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rupture of tribal alliances and the wrenching of the individual from his/her perfectly integrated society. In his account of this last effect of Conquest, which I shall now examine, it is clear that Gonçalves Dias brings to the theme of tribal exile and alienation his own experience as one of a marginalised sector of nineteenth-century Brazilian society, economically dependent on the ruling oligarchies of slave-owning *latifundiários* yet excluded from the political process by a lack of property or capital, and denied social acceptance by virtue of racial and/or class origins.

The poem "Marabá" provides the most vivid example of this theme of social marginalisation, and it invites biographical interpretations associated with the event which supposedly inspired "Tu não queres ligarte commigo" - the rejection of the poet's proposal of marriage to Ana Amélia in 1851. Marabá, like Miry'ba from Os Três Dias de um Noivado, is so named because of her mixed blood which, as in Teixeira e Sousa's poem, is the source of her estrangement from the community of the tribe. Gonçalves Dias explains in a note that the episode was suggested to him by a passage in Vasconcelos' Crônica da Companhia de Jesus: "Tinha certa velha enterrado vivo um menino, filho de sua nora, no mesmo ponto em que o parira, por ser filho a que chamam marabá que quer dizer de mistura (aborreçível entre esta gente)" (PCP, p.679).

What gives this account of sexual rejection its special significance is that, unlike the case of Isabel in O Guarani, for instance, Marabá's isolation is due to her white blood and not her indigenous origins. Gonçalves Dias does not therefore draw upon the essentially racist tradition of tragic, dark-skinned heroines, such as Durão's Moema, who are the victims of their prohibited, exotic sexual appeal. Marabá's

beauty is ironically that of the classic European Virgin, pale and blue-eyed:

Meus olhos são garços, são cor das safiras,
Têm luz das estrelas, têm meigo brilhar;
Imitam as nuvens de um céu anilado,
As cores imitam das vagas do mar!
(...)
É alvo meu rosto da alvura dos lírios,
Da cor das areias batidas do mar;
As aves mais brancas, as conchas mais puras
Não têm mais alvura, não têm mais brilhar (PCP, p.371).

Yet although steeped in the natural imagery of the tribal environment, it is precisely that Westernised beauty which is spurned by the Indian warriors:

Se algum dos guerreiros não foge a meus passos:
- "Teus olhos são garços",
Responde anojado, "mas és Marabá:
"Quero antes uns olhos bem pretos, luzentes,
"Uns olhos fulgentes,
"Bem pretos, retintos, não cor d'anajá!"
(...)
Se ainda me escuta meus agros delírios:
- "és alva de lírios",
Sorrindo responde, "mas és Marabá:
"Quero antes um rosto de jambo corado,
"Um rosto crestado
"Do sol do deserto, não flor de cajá" (ibid.).

The virginal beauty of European femininity is thus symbolic, in this tribal context, not of virtuous chastity but of sexual frustration and exclusion. The Marabá may protest seductively her attractions:

Meu colo de leve se encurva engraçado,
Com hástea pendente do cactus em flor;
Mimosa, indolente, resvalo no prado,
Como um soluçado suspiro de amor! (ibid.)

but her words of amorous affection will remain unsaid and the symbol of her virginity, the *arasóia* "feather skirt", will remain forever intact.

The figure of the social outcast appears in a number of non-Indianist poems, too, such as "O Assassino", "O Baile" and "Agar no Deserto", and it should not be forgotten that exile and the solitude of

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the human individual are stock Romantic themes. But the substantial evidence of Gonçalves Dias' prose and verse writings together with the political and social conditions under which they were produced, as examined above, clearly indicate that exile and marginalisation have a special significance for this most complex of Indianist poets. In further support of this view, I refer the reader to "Estâncias", perhaps the most personal of the poet's visions of the fellowship and community of tribal culture. Inspired by the death of his daughter, the poem testifies first to a disintegrated society of lonely individuals, comparable only to the terrible alienation of the Indian following Conquest:

Ando como êle incessante,
Forasteiro, vago, errante,
Sem próprio abrigo, sem lar,
Sem ter uma voz amiga
Que em minha aflição me diga
Dessas palavras que fazem
A dor no peito abrandar! (PCP, p.627)

But the similarity between these two fragmented societies is only partial; for while the Indian has seen families and tribes broken up and scattered across the interior of the country, the inner cohesion and integrality of his people has not been destroyed. Carrying the remains of his dead about with him in his wanderings, the Indian continues to live in constant communion with his tribe:

Por isso onde quer que chega
Da vida n'amplo deserto,
Como que a pátria tem perto,
Nunca dos seus longe está! (ibid.)

By contrast, for the poet the loss of his daughter signifies the irremediable disruption of family bonds; death is definitive, casting the individual into a social void, the empty space which separates him from her place of burial:

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Mas qual teu jazigo? e onde
Jazem teus restos mortais?...
êsse lugar que te esconde,
Não vi: - não verei jamais (ibid.).

"I-Juca Pirama" represents the highpoint of this search for an alternative to the society of alienation and fragmentation which is the poet's experience of life in Brazil under the Second Reign. For it is a celebration of tribal integrality, of the preservation of family ties and of the total inclusion of the individual within the community. Because it recounts the struggle of a young captive warrior faced with execution to protect his dying father, critics have seen in the poem the triumph of a Western morality of filial devotion over the martial tribal culture of courage and resistance. But this is to ignore the dramatic structure of the text in its entirety, for while the bond of paternity is an important theme, it is subordinated to the main climax of the poem, which is the moment of tribal reconciliation and reintegration. The father disowns his son because, ironically, he has asked that his life be spared in order to care for the old man, and has therefore betrayed the highest values of the tribe. Reacting to this rejection and to the accusation of cowardice, the warrior gives proof of his bravery and so reaffirms those values. Consequently he is restored to his father's bosom and, more important, is able to resume his role in the symbolic ritual of tribal communion and assimilation - death by cannibalism.

I noted earlier in this chapter that the force and significance of this drama of tribal reintegration depends upon the historical antecedents given early on in the poem: the defeat, dispersal and virtual annihilation of the Tupi community whose last exiled survivors are the old man and his son, following Conquest. The mythical isolation of the Timbiras provides an imaginary space in which the bonds of collective

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tribal identity can be reconstituted. In using the ritual of cannibalism to enact and confirm this reincorporation of the individual into the tribe, Gonçalves Dias sets himself apart from the entire tradition of Indianist writing, which for three centuries interpreted and caricatured cannibalism as proof of the Indian's primitive barbarism. Indeed, he is unique within nineteenth-century Indianism for this interpretation, and it is not until the Modernist movement that the ritual significance of cannibalism is once again reasserted.

The rhythmic diversity and richness of the poem's individual sections and their dramatic effect have already been thoroughly analysed.⁵⁸ Something which needs to be added is that those metres based on the poet's most characteristic rhythmic unit, the anapaest, appear precisely at the moments of greatest structural and dramatic importance. For example, section IV, the "canto de morte", section VII, the father's curse on his son, or section II, where the prisoner has been prepared for his execution and sits awaiting his death, urged on by the poem itself to face it honourably:

Folga morrendo; porque além dos Andes
Revive o forte,
Que soube ufano contrastar os médos
Da fria morte (PCP, p.360).

The intervening sections are descriptive or narrative passages, linked and swept on by the dramatic and rhythmic force of the ritual; it is this impulse which drives the poem to what seems an inevitable conclusion; the inner momentum and law of the Indian cosmos dictates that the ritual must be fulfilled and the execution take place. The old man's respect for this law overrides the imminent loss of his son; noticing, in spite of

58. Manuel Bandeira, "A poética de Gonçalves Dias", *Poesia e Prosa*, op.cit., vol.II, pp.788 ff.

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his blindness, that the warrior's tribal *coma*, or mane of hair, is missing, he realises that his son has been captive and has therefore, by going free, violated the code of execution:

- E a musurana funeral rompeste,
Dos falsos manitôs quebraste a maça...

In the belief that he has been released out of generosity, he returns with his son to the Timbira village to request that the ritual should go ahead: "Em tudo o rito se cumpra!"

He is then informed that his son has betrayed the values of his people by weeping in the face of death, and so condemns him to the worst fate possible for one born into the collective, integral identity of the tribe - exile. The biblical curse which follows is an invocation of absolute exclusion, the sum of those experiences and fears voiced by Gonçalves Dias throughout his work, and the shattering negation of the social cohesion which he sees as characteristic of the Indian world:

"Possas tu, isolado na terra,
Sem arrimo e sem pátria vagando,
Rejeitado da morte na guerra,
Rejeitado dos homens na paz,
Ser das gentes o espectro execrado;
Não encontres amor nas mulheres,
Teus amigos, se amigos tiveres,
Tenham alma inconstante e falaz!
(...) (p.370)

The restoration of his son to him, after he proves his bravery by a furious onslaught against the whole tribe, is correspondingly absolute in its force and significance. It is expressed in the language of the Prodigal Son's homecoming:

O guerreiro parou, caiu nos braços
Do velho pai, que o cinge contra o peito,
Com lágrimas de júbilo bradando:
"Este, sim, que é meu filho muito amado!
"E pois que o acho em fim, qual sempre o tive,
"Corram livres as lágrimas que choro,
"Estas lágrimas, sim, que não deshonram" (FCP, p.370).

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For the chief of the Timbiras the warrior has also been restored to his rightful place as a member of tribal society; having earlier rejected his cowardly flesh as unfit for the consumption of brave tribesmen ("... não queremos/Com carne vil enfraquecer os fortes"), he now invites him to prepare for the death which he has earned: " - Basta, guerreiro ilustre! assaz lutaste,/ E para o sacrificio é mister forças - ". The ritual which is about to be enacted thus confirms the Indian's rediscovery of his tribal identity in both literal and symbolic terms. His gesture of filial devotion does not usurp the dominant warrior culture of his people, but momentarily questions it, only to reassert and enrich that culture. By honouring the ritual and accepting his assimilation into the body of the tribe, he is fulfilling the role laid out for him within the social and cosmic order of the Indian world: I-Juca Pirama - "o que há de ser morto, e que é digno de ser morto".

CHAPTER 5. ROMANTIC INDIANISM: CONCILIATION (1850-70)

5.1 Introduction

Os Três Dias de um Noivado and the poetry of Gonçalves Dias are a far cry from the first Indianists' patriotic celebration of Brazilian Independence and collective national identity. Testifying instead to a divided, prejudice-ridden society haunted by the exiled "tribes" of landless, powerless freemen, they also bear little relation to the kind of Indianism which followed - Alencar's mythology of Indian/white relations based on collaboration, self-sacrifice and conciliation. The clear change in thematic preoccupations and ideological positions which occurs at this stage of the Indianist movement coincides with a new political atmosphere, one that provided the conditions for two of the most economically stable and prosperous decades of Empire. That stability depended, as José Honório Rodrigues describes, on the confidence of the ruling, land-owning élite in the maintenance of its *status quo* for the foreseeable future and in the postponement or avoidance of the fundamental reforms demanded by Liberal politicians:

A conciliação e a inconciliação, a história cruenta e incruenta alternam-se no processo histórico brasileiro, mas foi a partir de 1849 que se buscou uma fórmula para evitar que os liberais, aliados naturais dos conservadores, participassem das correntes mamelucas radicais e ameaçassem, pela sua colaboração mais poderosa e inteligente, o poder econômico latifundiário: este precisava de tranquilidade e de ordem para os seus negócios.¹

Thus, by the middle of the century, the radical ideological and civil conflicts which characterised the first three decades of Independence, and the Indianist writing of that period, were provisionally resolved, if

1. José Honório Rodrigues, Conciliação e Reforma no Brasil: Um desafio histórico-cultural, 2ª ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1982), pp. 57-58.

only on a superficial level, by certain, relatively innocuous concessions to Liberal reformism and by a conscious policy of compromise between the two parliamentary parties. The new official indigenist policy of the Second Reign is a case in point, serving as a typical expression of a "Liberal" regime which in reality did not alter or challenge the traditional economic structure, but reinforced it.

The campaign for a humane Indian policy which had been conducted during the First Reign by José Bonifácio and Toledo Rondon was renewed after the Majority of Pedro II in 1840, with the aim of reinstating and confirming the reforms that had been introduced in 1831, during the Regency. Gonçalves Dias was not alone in calling for a decisive repudiation of the colonial policy of extermination and enslavement carried out by João VI and continued by Pedro I, and for the implementation of a Liberal project of social and economic integration. In 1845, José Joaquim Machado de Oliveira wrote a report for the Instituto Histórico on the mission villages of São Paulo, condemning "a idéa fixa de exterminar, trucidar e desolar homens e cousas":

Embalde se quiz cohonestar com esses resultados o grande attentado da escravidão dos indigenas: nem elles nem a impotente e inqualificavel legislação portugueza, relativa aos indios do Brasil, poderam justificar perante a Europa civilisada, em presença do bom senso, o barbarismo e deshumanidade do governo portuguez, já em autorisar e tolerar aquella escravidão, já em desprezar a preponderancia e energia que lhe convinha empregar para que essas disposições legislativas tivessem em sua execução a efficacia que lhes era attribuida.²

In the same year a new *Regulamento* was issued, which officially replaced the repressive indigenist policy of "Guerra Justa" with a more

2. José Joaquim Machado de Oliveira, "Noticia raciocinada sobre as aldeas de indios da provincia de S. Paulo, desde o seu começo até a actualidade" (1845), *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, vol.8, 1846, p.205.

conciliatory programme of integration. Certain guarantees were now offered to those Indians who had survived extermination, and administration of the mission villages was handed over to Italian Capuchin friars. Equally, if not more significant, was the 1850 *Lei de Terras*, which effectively consolidated the power of the *latifundiários*, guaranteeing them access to this new pool of labour. Along with smallholders and *sertanejos*, the Indians could now be evicted from their traditional lands and moved to areas where they would be more closely subject to economic and social control.

These changes in agrarian legislation had important links with another superficial concession to the pressures for Liberal reform. In 1850 the Queiróz Law was passed, banning the traffic in slaves from Africa and, although the internal slave trade continued alive and well, this advance went some way towards neutralising abolitionist opinion and towards preserving Brazil's moral image abroad. The new indigenist policy was clearly a response to the labour shortage which occurred in certain areas and was anticipated elsewhere, as a result of the abolition of the African slave traffic. Carlos Moreira describes the relationship between tribal integration and the process of Abolition during Empire as follows:

A rusticidade do índio e sua aceitação de um regime de trabalho em condições servis que se mantinha sem modificações essenciais, nestas áreas, durante todo o decorrer do século, transformavam-na na solução mais adequada à crônica carência de força de trabalho dessas áreas. Todos os esforços de integração do índio à sociedade nacional, acompanhados dos inevitáveis discursos e projetos sobre a redenção do silvícola de seu estado de selvageria e de miséria, subordinavam-se, integralmente, aos propósitos de sua eventual utilização como força de trabalho dócil e barata.³

3. Carlos de Araújo Moreira Neto, A Política Indigenista Brasileira Durante o século XIX, tese de doutoramento apresentada à Cadeira de Antropologia da Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciência e Letras de Rio Claro (mimeographed copy), São Paulo, 1971), pp.68-69).

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We have already seen an example of this policy in action, in the case of Teófilo Ottoni and the Indians of the Mucuri valley (viz. pp.128-32).

Meanwhile, the political developments I have outlined above, and particularly the relationship between the abolition of the slave traffic and the policy of tribal integration, help to illuminate the ambiguous attitude towards slavery to be found in Cobé, the only surviving original theatrical contribution to the Indianist movement. Published in 1852 by Joaquim Manuel de Macedo, the highly successful novelist, Liberal politician and author of the abolitionist work, As Vitimas Algozes, Cobé establishes one of the central myths or formulae of Indianist writing of the second phase - the self-sacrifice of the Indian as a voluntary slave. On the one hand, the very literal self-sacrifice which takes place in Cobé may be interpreted as a martyrdom, a means of exposing the indefensible human demands imposed by one class upon another. Nevertheless, the language and action of the play make a strong appeal to a different tradition, one which legitimises the subjection of the slave to his master - the Judeo-Christian ethic of sacrifice as a way to salvation. The salvation of the ruling white community, symbolised by the Portuguese nobleman's daughter, Branca, is the priority to which all else is sacrificed, including the freedom and life of the Indian.

Macedo was born in Itaboraí, in the Province of Rio de Janeiro, and qualified as a doctor in 1844, the same year that he published his instantly successful novel A Moreninha. Considered Brazil's principal novelist until the appearance of Alencar, he also enjoyed an active career as journalist, poet, playwright and critic, and as teacher of history and geography in the Colégio Pedro II and for the children of the Imperial family. He worked with Porto-Alegre and Gonçalves Dias on the review

Guanabara and on other journals and newspapers that voiced the views of the Liberal Party, for which he was both provincial and federal deputy during the Second Reign.⁴ Interestingly, a minor contribution to the Indianist movement appears in A Moreninha: the heroine, Carolina, sings a ballad about the spring on the island; this legend of "As lágrimas de amor", in the manner of Titara's "Metamorphose Original", provides a mythical Indianist backdrop to the sentimental events of the novel and a *nativista* touch to the landscape in which the plot is located. A *tamoia* girl, Aí, loves but is unnoticed by the warrior Acitin; but her tears of despair soften the stone roof of Acitin's cave and fall on his eyelids, ears and heart, awakening his love for Aí.

Cobé, written eight years later, soon after the *Lei de Terras* and the *Regulamento* reforming indigenist policy, is manifestly more ideological in nature. It is set in the familiar Indianist territory of the 1560 war between the Portuguese and the French-Tamoio alliance, which led to the founding of Rio de Janeiro. A prisoner of the Portuguese and slave to the household of Dom Rodrigo, the young Indian Cobé is torn between two conflicting sets of loyalties. On the one hand, his love for Rodrigo's daughter, Branca, compels him to accept his captivity, but on the other, his sense of guilt and the bitter reproaches of his mother move him to escape and rejoin his tribespeople. Branca, meanwhile, who loves Estácio, a soldier of lower birth, is oblivious to Cobé's feelings for her; she has resolved to commit suicide since she has been promised by her father to the villain Dom Gil, who is one of the Indians' most hated oppressors.

4. Antônio Cândido, Formação da Literatura Brasileira. Momentos Decisivos (São Paulo: Itatiaia, 1975), vol.II, p.377.

The play is steeped in the literal and metaphorical language of slavery, which defines each of these relationships set up by the plot. Cobé's mother, Agassamu, curses her son for submitting voluntarily to the slavery that has subjected an entire race under the colonial yoke:

Escravo! escravo! os olhos tens erguido
 Até a filha do senhor que serves;
 Ousas amar a filha de um fidalgo,
 E a seus pés tua honra sacrificas.
 Pois bem; cede aos impulsos desse afeto:
 Fica! e consuma a obra da vergonha!
 Devorador remorso há de pungir-te;
 Em toda parte te acharás com ele,
 Como um espectro vingativo e fero.
 Bastardo vil da geração dos bravos,
 Fica, que os bravos corarão de olhar-te
 Vivo, e te negarão morto uma cova!⁵

Cobé himself realises, meanwhile, that if his own relationship to Branca is doomed from the beginning by the barriers of race and class, his status as her servant will become intolerable upon her marriage to Dom Gil, the archetypal colonial tyrant. Branca innocently describes Cobé's impossible situation when she sings her song of the captive Indian, an adaptation of the *cantiga de amor* along Indianist lines:

Pobre tamoio cativo
 Jovem fidalga adorou,
 Sua paixão extremosa
 Com façanhas ilustrou.
 Era belo, forte e bravo,
 Mas era também escravo.
 (...)
 Pobre tamoio cativo
 Que adoras com tal primor,
 Está mui alta quem amas,
 Lá não chega o teu amor.
 Tu és belo, forte e bravo,
 Mas aí que és também escravo.
 (...)
 Pobre tamoio cativo
 Foge para a solidão
 Se não queres ver o escárnio

5. Joaquim Manuel de Macedo, Teatro Completo, vol.II (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Nacional de Teatro, 1979), pp.25-26.

Pagar a tua paixão,
Não és nem forte, nem bravo,
Porque sofres ser escravo (op.cit., pp.53-54).

Cobé is thus a "slave" to his love for the white woman, yet ironically is prevented by his servile condition from pursuing that love.

Branca, meanwhile, whose symbolic name unmistakably links her to the cause of the white community, is to become the slave of a colonial tyrant whom she is forced to marry. By contrast, she protests to Dom Gil that her heart is the willing captive of the man she loves, Estácio:

Preso tenho a minh'alma, e até confesso
Que amo, que beijo meus queridos ferros.
Eis o que eu sou... eis o que eu sinto e penso.
Senhor Dom Gil, não posso nunca amar-vos;
Em respeito a meu pai seguir-vos hei-de.
Vossa escrava serei, não vossa esposa (op.cit., p.58).

Later, when Cobé holds in his hands the fatal poison which could deliver her from her torture, she declares, begging on her knees: "és agora o senhor... eu sou a escrava" (op.cit., p.71).

The act which dissolves all these different bonds of slavery and restores social relations to their "just" state is Cobé's decision to take the poison himself and then kill Dom Gil. In so doing, he avenges his personal honour and the crimes against his people, saves the heiress of the white community from its oppressor, and resolves his own impossible love. This is not a martyrdom imposed on the Indian by an unjust society, but a free and rationally meditated decision which he chooses in recognition of the structure and values of white society. For, just as his love for Branca redeems him from his heathen, savage condition ("Quando seus olhos para mim se volvem,/Meu furor de selvagem desaparece" [pp.35-36]), his self-sacrifice also receives the consecration of white civilisation, in the form of the Christian oath by which he swears to save Branca.

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It is worth bearing in mind, when considering this and other Indianist texts in which the theme of slavery appears, that in other dramas of contemporary Brazilian society, such as the plays of Martins Pena or Alencar's O Demônio Familiar, the subservient roles of Agassamu and Cobé would have been taken by black African slaves. It is therefore reasonable to make a connection between the colonial status of the Indian slave and the issue of slavery under Empire, which must have been patently obvious to contemporary audiences of the play. We can speculate as to whether Cobé actually provided the blueprint for Alencar's ideal slave, Peri. What is at least certain is that the play reflects a conception of social relations and obligations according to which the interests of the individual, especially one of a class or race already marginalised from power, might legitimately be subordinated to the needs of the Imperial ruling élite. Whether Cobé expresses Macedo's support of the policy of integration as a means of replacing black slaves with Indian labour, or whether it simply offers the voluntary Indian slave as a model for economic relations, it does not reject the institution of slavery itself.

Once again this exposes the ideological contortions which a Liberal intellectual such as Macedo had to perform in order to be able to live with the invidious and anachronistic socio-economic order of the Second Reign. By the time we reach O Guarani, just five years later, the tensions and distortions arising out of the attempt to square Liberal principles of equality and freedom with the reality of Empire have largely disappeared. The contradictions remain, but the tragic intensity of the Indianism of Gonçalves Dias, Teixeira e Sousa and Macedo has been replaced with a mythology that is self-assured and confident in its

ability to resolve the struggle between reformism and conservatism, rebellion and authority.

The intervening years, from 1853 to 1857, represent the period of preparation for this mood of "compromise" at the political level, for the government of the Marquis of Paraná which held office during that time was appointed to implement a policy of Conciliation. For its advocates, Conciliation signified the renunciation by both Conservative and Liberal parties of their narrow, partisan and personal antagonisms, the abandonment of non-consultative, coercive methods of government and decision-making, and a willingness to consider new ideas, all for the sake of the "national good":

A conciliação seria o "olvido de todas as desavenças e pesares", uma trégua, uma política neutra, isenta de paixão, que restabelecesse a normalidade do regime constitucional pelo concurso de todos os que compreendessem que "acima da causa dos partidos estava a causa do Brasil" (Rodrigues, *op.cit.*, p.62).

The policy was defended in the Chamber of Deputies by Nabuco de Araújo, in the press by Sales Torres Homem and in the army by the Duke of Caxias, who had directed the "pacification" of the provincial revolts in the early 1840s and so paved the way for a new era of "peace and cooperation". Figures such as Caxias represented a moderating influence, taming and subduing the country's revolutionary forces in order to promote the spirit of "one Nation", the notion that "o brasileiro do outro lado também é brasileiro e não deve ser excluído, mas incorporado" (*op.cit.*, p.64).

Nabuco de Araújo's analysis of Conciliation deals with the other side of the political relationship; for Nabuco, the objective of government was to harness certain extreme, intolerant elements within the Brazilian establishment, those whose wealth, property and position gave

them a special interest in the institutions of authority. These elements were not to be challenged or provoked, but groomed, tempered and turned to the public good (op.cit., p.63). Even an opponent of Conciliation, such as Justiniano José da Rocha, shared this view that some form of compromise between the radical, extreme forces at either end of the political spectrum was indispensable and urgent if revolution were to be avoided:

Se porém perder-se o ensejo; se os anos de 1855 e 1856 correrem tão infecundos para a grande causa da transação como correram os três anos que lhes precederam; se o poder compreender tão mal o seu dever para com a pátria, que continue exagerando cada vez mais as suas conquistas, então... Ah! quem sabe se os defensores da causa nacional, da causa da liberdade e da ordem, não terão de ir defendê-la contra as exagerações de uma nova reação democrática nos seus limites extremos da ordem social, não terão de ir defendê-la, não já contra os que quiseram a supressão do senado, a ruína de instituições essenciais, mas contra os que acometeram todo o edifício político, e todo o edifício social, contra os que quiserem uma constituinte!⁶

The Indianist (and regionalist) novels of José de Alencar, as I shall show in the third part of this chapter, are concerned with just such a reconciliation of extreme, antagonistic social and political forces. These texts, and those which constitute this second phase of the Indianist movement, sustain the ideology of Conciliation at two levels: the first, through the dramatic conflict and reconciliation of the Indian, or marginal, and the authoritarian patriarch; and secondly, through the mythical process of *mestiçagem*, a sexual, racial and cultural marriage of Indian and white, and the foundation of a harmoniously integrated nation. However, these works also demonstrate the specious nature of this ideology of Conciliation and the real implications of its practise. Conciliation preaches collaboration, the renunciation of conflict for the

6. R. Magalhães Júnior, Três Panfletários do Segundo Reinado (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1956), pp.218-19.

sake of the "national good" and of a transcendent notion of corporate national identity, in the face of a socio-economic reality that amounts to a division of labour along racial lines, instituted and maintained under brutal conditions of force i.e. slavery, and in the face of the mass alienation of the majority of the population from genuine political and economic participation. As the Indianist literature of this period also reveals, the sacrifices made by each party in this process of Conciliation are in no sense equal; while the traditional power of the white landowner remains unchallenged, merely "Brazilianised", the Indian or marginal sacrifices his/her freedom, cultural identity and future to the prosperity of Empire.

Nevertheless, the ideological battle which was to determine the real fate of the Indian during the Second Reign was not so easily or quickly resolved. The 1845 *Regulamento* and the *Lei de Terras* of 1850 were not welcomed by all; the policy of replacing black with Indian labour was opposed by powerful farmers, such as senator Vergueiro, whose capital was invested in slaves or who were committed to colonisation projects using European immigrants. One defender of such interests was the historian Varnhagen; his polemical "Memorial Orgânico" began a debate whose parallels and connections with the literary debate surrounding A Confederação dos Tamboios have not previously been recognised, even though, as we shall now see, the participants in each case were prominent intellectuals and writers, many of them Indianists.

5.2 Varnhagen and "Os índios Bravos"

An important vehicle for Liberal views on Abolition and on a more conciliatory indigenist policy was the artistic, scientific and literary review, Guanabara, edited by Porto-Alegre, Gonçalves Dias and Macedo during the years 1849-55. Besides these political articles, Guanabara published literary material of an Indianist nature - Macedo's Cobá, and a short story, Aricó e Caocochee ou Uma voz no deserto, by João Henrique Helliot - as well as historical and social comment, such as Gonçalves Dias' "Reflexões sobre os Annaes Históricos do Maranhão" and Meditação. It is worth briefly considering Aricó e Caocochee, since it illustrates how the theory of tribal integration could be, and was, translated into fiction. The story confronts the harsh reality of colonial violence and exploitation of the Indian with a model, integrated society.

It opens in Palma, between the rivers Iguazu and Uruguay, where the tribespeople of chief Condá have been "reduzidos, e aldeados" by Captain Hermógenes Carneiro. They are now loyal defenders of the white community, pacifying other tribes, rescuing captured children and farming their own land with tools donated by the community:

Até aqui tudo concorria para que se esperasse bom resultado da alliança com os Índios, que já reduzidos, e em harmonia com os moradores, franqueavam os sertões de Goioen, e davam lugar a novas explorações, e descobertas neste interessante rio. A humanidade ficou satisfeita e o philantropo contemplava com prazer o lisonjeiro quadro, que o futuro apresentava.⁷

However, during the Captain's absence, a vicious rumour is spread of an imminent rebellion, and a battallion is sent to massacre those responsible. As a result, Condá's invitation to a neighbouring tribe to

7. Guanabara (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Guanabarensis de L.A.F. de Menezes, 1850), vol.I, p.159.

join him in defending the settlement is viewed with suspicion, and the *agoureiro*, or soothsayer, predicts disaster:

Elles impacientes vos esperam para imolar-vos; eu vos antevejo estendidos, estrangulados e mortos no campo; observo cadaveres arrastados pelas feras, sem que mão nenhuma junte vossos ossos para depositar no sepulchro de vossos antepassados (...) (op.cit., p.165).

Two chiefs and their people are, however, persuaded to remain with Condá, and as a result the young couple, Aricó and Condá's nephew Caocochee, are separated. One day Aricó returns to her lover's camp to find the only living survivor of the warriors who had accompanied Condá and were subsequently massacred. After a desperate search through the mutilated corpses, she is informed that Caocochee is in fact safe and alive elsewhere, and the couple is eventually reunited.

Returning to Palma some years later, the narrator recalls its history and speculates, in the manner of Gonçalves Dias, as to whether the recent "guerra civil" (the Farroupilhas war of Rio Grande Sul which came to an end only in 1845) is a punishment for the carnage practised against "os legitimos filhos do solo americano!" It can be justly argued that these events and a number of inconsistencies in the plot do not bear out the Indians' continued faith in the white community. Nevertheless, when the narrator meets Condá, his wife and the now married Caocochee and Aricó, all dressed as Westerners, they defend integration, albeit somewhat unconvincingly, as a far preferable alternative to their former marginalised, nomadic existence:

Não procuram mais o seu antigo modo de vida? Ao principio (respondeo Condá), houve bastante dificuldade em persuadil-os que entre os brancos havia gente humana, e benfazeja; mas a constante bondade e carinho com que foram tratados pelo Snr. capitão Hermogenes e sua gente, fez com que taes escrupulos fossem desvanecidos, e acabou de convencil-os, que era melhor associarem-se com nosco, do que seguirem a vida errante de seus antepassados (op.cit., p.172).

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In the light of such strong support for integration, both in the literary and non-fictional contributions to Guanabara, it is not difficult to understand the storm caused by the appearance in the journal of Varnhagen's "Memorial Orgânico" (1851). This proposed a programme for the future colonisation of the interior, which gave considerable advantages to the European immigrant while envisaging the exclusion of both African and Indian from a share in that future. The Indian was considered a physical obstacle to this development and to the progress of civilisation under Empire; a nomadic invader, he had neither a right to possession of the land he occupied, nor the moral or intellectual capacity to govern himself. Furthermore, as "uma gente estranha ao pacto social", an outlaw and barbarian, he could be subjected to the Aristotelian notion of "just conquest", for which purpose the *bandeiras* and the legislation of 1798 might usefully be revived. Quoting senator Vergueiro, Varnhagen offers a definition of the civil status of the Indian that closely resembles more recent legislative proposals:

A raça india não tem a capacidade necessaria para reger-se. Ou porque sua natureza tenha menos aptidão para a civilização, ou porque está ainda muito longe disso, o que observo é que netos e bisnetos dos indios aldeados não dão de si cousa alguma, não adiantam nada. Portanto em consequencia desta incapacidade ou difficuldade para chegarem á civilização, resulta a necessidade de uma tutela: não podem reger-se por si, não têm sufficiencia para isso, não podem estar independentes, e essa tutela tinham-na as aldéas nos seus directores (...).

Mas, se os considerarmos estranhos ao pacto social, se os reputamos uma nação forasteira que nos molesta e prejudica, temos todo o direito de conquistá-los, e não ha direito de conquista mais justo que o da civilização sobre a barbarie. "Um povo barbaro e que desconhece os deveres da humanidade e as leis da guerra, diz o celebre jurisconsulto americano Bello, deve tratar-se como inimigo do genero humano" (Guanabara, op.cit., vol.I, pp.396-97).

One of the first published responses to these statements was the article "Civilização dos Indígenas" (1852), by Manuel Antônio de Almeida,

whose highly popular novel, Memórias de um Sargento de Milícias, began to appear in instalments in the Correio Mercantil in the same year.⁸ Basing his reply on Liberal, humanitarian principles and comparing Varnhagen with the colonial "barbarians" such as Mem de Sá, "o devastador dos Tamboios", he exposes the concept of "tutelage" as a new form of slavery, and the arguments on extermination as simply colonialist greed. Also in 1852, the influential historian, critic, novelist, playwright and poet, Joaquim Norberto, wrote his "Memória Histórica e Documentada das Aldeias de Índios da Província do Rio de Janeiro", winning the Prêmio Imperial with its praise of the *aldeia* mission system and its attack on coercive colonial practices:

Um dia os tempos vindouros perguntarão á America pelas suas primitivas florestas, pelos seus primitivos habitantes, e o que lhe responderá ella?

"Eis o céo, eis a terra, o resto... perguntai á fome, á peste e á escravidão trazidas da Europa pelos povos que lhes succederam n'estas plagas; perguntai ao machado derrubador e ao facho incendiario que prostraram e reduziram a cinzas as produções das sementes que o chão trazia em suas entranhas fecundas, que germinaram á voz de Deos, que floresceram e vingaram á força do volver de seculos e seculos!"⁹

The second volume of Guanabara (1854) carried an article by Henrique de Beaurepaire Rohan, entitled "Considerações acerca da conquista, catechese e civilização dos selvagens no Brasil". Here, Rohan refutes with the evidence of his own experience Varnhagen's claim that the Indians could contribute nothing to society, and expresses his dislike of the methods of the Capuchin missionaries, the *barbadinhos*:

(...) quem, como eu, os observou nos seus alojamentos selvagens, e teve occasião de estudar sua aptidão industrial, sua indole pacifica e sua natural propensão para a vida social, reconhecerá,

8. Marques Rebêlo, Vida e obra de Manuel Antônio de Almeida (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1943), pp.25-34.

9. Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, vol.17, 3ª serie, no.14, 1854, p.229.

por certo, sua inapreciável importância para o futuro engrandecimento do Brasil. Entretanto, julga o nosso governo que muito faz a favor delles, quando os brinda com um *barbadinho*! Por sua parte, entende o *barbadinho*, que desempenha cabalmente a sua missão pregando a essa gente simples o jejum e a castidade! São factos estes que mil vezes me teriam feito rir, se se não apoderasse de mim o sentimento penoso das miserias do meu paiz! (op.cit., vol.II, pp.191-92).

He even went so far as to condemn the Liberal *Regulamento* of 1845 as a worthless sham, "mais uma ficção administrativa, do que um verdadeiro meio de tornar effectivo o pensamento que o dictou. Há já cito annos que foi publicado, sem que até o presente, tenha, em cousa alguma, melhorado a sorte dos selvagens" (op.cit., pp.194-95).

The debate was given a fresh impulse when Varnhagen published his highly acclaimed *História Geral do Brazil* (1854), with its preface "Os Indios perante a Nacionalidade Brasileira". Here, accompanying an unashamedly contemptuous description of tribal customs, he gives his anti-Rousseauian view of the Indian: "Desgraçadamente o estudo profundo da barbárie humana, em todos os países, prova que, sem os vínculos das leis e da religião, o triste mortal propende tanto à ferocidade, que quase se metamorfoseia em fera...".¹⁰ Conquest, meanwhile, was the Tupi Indians' just deserts for their own expulsion of the earlier inhabitants of the Atlantic coast, the Tapuias: "A seu turno devia chegar-lhes o dia da expiação. Veio a trazê-lo o descobrimento e colonização, effectuados pela Europa cristã" (op.cit., p.56).

Varnhagen even went to the trouble of finding a mythical "Indianist" basis for these political and historical views; *Sumé, Lenda Mytho-Religiosa Americana* (1855) is one of two, very idiosyncratic

10. Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen, *História Geral do Brasil antes da sua Separação e Independência de Portugal*, 7ª ed. (São Paulo: Melhoramentos, 1959), vol.I, pp.52-53.

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contributions to the Indianist movement. In Varnhagen's case, the disparity between the movement's celebration of tribal culture and Indian rights and his own anti-indigenist political views is unusually conspicuous. It is perhaps explicable in terms of his social origins as one of a European immigrant family; José Honório Rodrigues speaks of a new colonialist class in nineteenth-century Brazil, imbued with the racist ideas of the German school to which Varnhagen, with his family ties and close contact with Europe, was probably not immune. This class projected a dual image of the Indian: on one hand, the idealised mythical Indian for external tourist consumption, "para inglês ver" and, on the other, the degenerate, primitive savage, a racial blot on the image of Brazilian nationality.¹¹

Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen was born in 1816 in the Province of São Paulo, the son of a German, was educated in Portugal, trained as a military engineer and fought in the Portuguese civil war on the side of the Constitutionals against the absolutist *miguelista* faction. As a result of his ancestry and these activities in Europe he encountered some difficulty in establishing his nationality as a Brazilian, and spent much of his life attempting to resolve the problem. During his diplomatic career, spent mainly in Europe, he gathered material for his monumental História Geral do Brazil, in whose publication in Paris he was helped by Ferdinand Denis. Criticised for his study trips to Europe by such figures as Alencar, Varnhagen was anxious to prove that he was making a genuine and valuable contribution to Brazilian culture. The História Geral was .

11. José Honório Rodrigues, Independência: Revolução e contra-revolução, 4 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Francisco Alves, 1975), vol.II, p.105.

that proof and it gained the admiration of international figures such as the explorers Humboldt and Von Martius.

Varnhagen's first contact with the Indianist movement is ambiguously positive. He knew Von Martius, and had been recommended to Pedro II by Prince Maximilian von Neuwied, both of these being eminent explorers and authors of important accounts of travels in the Brazilian interior. On his first return to Brazil since his childhood, Varnhagen presented to the Instituto Histórico a letter from Von Martius thanking the Instituto for his membership. In Heitor Lyra's words, Varnhagen "aproveitou a oportunidade para falar em defesa da civilização dos nossos índios, que a seu ver estavam em perigo de se extinguir".¹² In 1875 he travelled to Copenhagen and brought to the attention of Pedro II the work of Eckout, the artist who accompanied Count Maurice of Nassau during the Dutch colonisation of North-east Brazil, and whose paintings of Indians are now well known. However, the ferocity of his attacks on the indigenist policy of integration and the peculiar character of his own Indianist writing suggest that for Varnhagen the Indian represented little more than a token nationalist symbol, a convenient repository of anti-colonialist sentiments. The *nativista* enthusiasm for tribal culture, and the Liberal, Romantic values that are characteristically associated with the Indian by the literature of the period, are strikingly absent here.

In addition to an historical study of Diogo Álvares Caramuru, published in 1848, Varnhagen also produced his own version of the legend, O Caramuru, Romance histórico brasileiro, which appeared in an anthology

12. Heitor Lyra, História de Dom Pedro II (1825-1891), 2 vols. (Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia, 1977), vol.II, p.122.

of Brazilian poetry in 1853, subtitled "O matrimônio de um Bisavô". Although it does not show any fundamental departure from the traditional plot of the story, the popular, ballad-like tone of the poem marks an interesting shift of emphasis which affects both the political implications of the central foundation theme, and the relationship between Diogo and Paraguaçu. In a note to the poem he confirms his aim to "popularise" the myth by reproducing the style of the Portuguese *xácara*¹³; in addition, the 1859 and 1861 editions of the poem were evidently intended to enhance its accessibility to the public, being produced "de formato liliputiano", meaning booklet form measuring a couple of inches square.

Written in the ballad-like form of rhyming *quadrás* of *redondilha menor*, the poem begins in popular story-telling fashion:

Consente que eu conte,
Que o sei todavia,
Um conto d'amores
Que li n'outro dia.¹⁴

By introducing the Caramuru myth as "Um conto d'amores", Varnhagen completely deflates the traditional epic heroism of Diogo Alvares in his role of pioneer and coloniser, and transforms him into a nondescript sailor who is infatuated with the Indian chief's daughter. Indeed, in his historical assessment of the legend, he casts doubts on the authenticity of the aristocratic status attributed to Diogo by the historian Rocha Pitta, in adding to him the name Corrêa, "isto quando o Caramurú não passaria naturalmente nos seus tempos de algum miseravel grumete".¹⁵ In

13. F.A. de Varnhagen, ed. Florilegio da poesia brasileira, 3 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Publicações da Academia Brasileira, 1946), vol.III, p.225, note 1.

14. F.A. de Varnhagen, O Caramurú. Romance histórico brasileiro (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. de Pinto de Sousa, 1861), p.1.

15. F.A. de Varnhagen, "O Caramurú perante a história", Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, 3 (no.10), p.143.

the ballad, too, he appears as a common sailor who deserts his ship in order to escape the tyranny of his superiors:

Soffrer antes quero
Qualquer tyrannia
Que o vil contramestre
Que a mim me zurzia.

Stupefied and seemingly incapable of doing anything for himself, Diogo has to be saved twice by Paraguaçu from the hungry clutches of her tribespeople. Much of the poem's comic and often brutal "realism" is derived from the problems caused by this tempestuous love affair in the Brazilian jungle. Paraguaçu, who dominates her father, "o valente Uivia", as well as Diogo, is already pregnant by the latter and pleads that her husband be spared from death by ritual cannibalism. Uivia is unconvinced, and cannot understand his daughter's kill-joy attitude:

"Não sejas tontinha"
O pai respondia;
"Dos usos antigos
Respeita a valia

Sem bailes, sem festas
A vida enfastia:
Sem vinho e moquem
Não ha cortesia."

She is forced to intervene directly, risking her own life and that of her unborn child by blocking the death-blow with unnatural strength:

Qual era o novo anjo,
Que assim suspendia
Um golpe fatal,
Quem não desconfia?

Um anjo da terra
É, sem poesia,
A filha do forte,
Do valente Uivia (...).

As a result she involves her father in a civil war and threatens all their lives, until Uivia subdues his people and the couple is married.

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Varnhagen's denigration of the traditionally heroic figure of Caramuru, enhancing the role of the indigenous female in the myth, is quite comprehensible within the context of a nationalist literature which, as we saw in the last chapter, produced a number of new adaptations of the legend. However, it also seems likely that there were more immediate political motives, connected with the symbolic importance of Indian names within the rivalries between parties and causes in Imperial Brazil. I noted earlier that the Restoration movement took its more common name from the newspaper which represented its views, the Caramuru, and that its most famous leader was José Bonifácio, a precursor of literary Indianism and the author of a policy document on tribal integration. In opposition to his reputation as "Patriarca da Independência", a so-called "versão antiandradina" gained credibility during the "Liberal" Second Reign, largely through the efforts of members of the Instituto Histórico, in particular the Marquês de Sapucaí, Januário da Cunha Barbosa and Varnhagen. Varnhagen may also have borne a personal grudge, since his father was the administrator of an iron works in Ipanema, and had been accused of incompetence by José Bonifácio.¹⁶ Certainly, the poem's emasculation of Diogo Álvares and its denial of the colonial "patriarch"'s aristocratic credentials have much to do with the anti-Liberal, absolutist connotations which the name Caramuru had now acquired, as a symbol of support for Pedro I and a continuing Portuguese domination of Brazilian affairs.

Varnhagen's other Indianist work, Sumé (1855), has rather more sinister implications as far as its tribal protagonists are concerned.

16. Emília Viotti da Costa, Da Monarquia à república: Momentos decisivos (São Paulo: Ciências Humanas, 1979), pp.88-97.

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The text's endorsement of the principles of Just War and Divine authority and its virulently anti-Rousseauian view of tribal man owe much to the influence of Joseph de Maistre, whom Varnhagen quotes in the introduction to the História Geral. An important exponent of French reactionary and irrationalist thought, de Maistre (1753-1821) was one of the most vehement critics of the Enlightenment and of the Revolution, opposing to the *philosophes'* rationalism his sense of community, history, faith, intuition and Providence. In the Study of Sovereignty, he considers Rousseau's rational attempts to resolve the question of the "nature of man" as absurd since, in the first place, the contrast between natural and social states is nonsensical, the two being one and the same - what exists is God's creation and is therefore all "natural". Secondly, the primitive desert tribes cannot be looked to as an example of the purely "natural" state, for they are only in the infancy of their social development and are therefore not yet whole, not fully human, just as a child does not constitute the whole, adult man. Moreover, rational attempts to determine the nature of humanity are futile and blasphemous, because God's plan is knowable only through intuition and revelation:

Rather than tiring oneself out in the search of error, it would take little effort to turn one's eyes to the source of all creation; but so simple, sure and consoling a method of philosophizing is not to the taste of writers of this unhappy age whose true illness is an aversion to good sense.¹⁷

In the Seventh St. Petersburg Dialogue, de Maistre uses the same argument, that all the manifestations of worldly existence are God's creations and therefore natural and divine, as a justification of war. Killing is man's natural activity in life, as it is for the rest of the

17. J.S. McClelland, The French Right (From de Maistre to Maurras) (London: Jonathan Cape, 1970), p.43.

animal kingdom, and thus it constitutes a law of the world, a positive process fulfilling God's will:

Thus it is worked out, from maggots up to man, the universal law of the violent destruction of living beings. The whole earth, continually steeped in blood, is nothing but an immense altar on which every living thing must be sacrificed without end, without restraint, without respite until the consummation of the world, the extinction of evil, the death of death (op.cit., p.52).

For Varnhagen, as for de Maistre, the Indians themselves, the followers of Rousseau and the opponents of Just War are defying the principle of Divine Authority, a principle which informs the entire political and cultural perspective of the author of the História Geral. The use of force against generations of Indians is justified by the assertion that even such historically celebrated figures such as Cunhambebe and Aimbirê did not possess the morality and civilisation bestowed on the European by Divine Providence. As if to give further weight to the idea of the Indians' rebellion against God's word, he refers to the myth of Sumé, the evangelical saint who miraculously escaped persecution in his efforts to bring the lessons of Christianity to the inhabitants of the New World: "E se chegássemos a crer que o tradicional Sumé fora o apóstolo S. Thomé, a catequese e civilização pela persuasão havia já sido em vão anteriormente ensaiada pela mesma Providência divina" (História Geral, op.cit., "Discurso Preliminar", p.xix). A note invites the reader to see Varnhagen's own version of the myth, Sumé: Lenda mytho-religiosa americana, "recolhida em outras eras por um Indio Moranduçara. Agora traduzida e dada á luz com algumas notas por um Paulista de Sorocaba". As the extended title suggests, the legend constitutes an attempt to establish for the principles of Divine Authority and Just War a mythical basis akin to the stories of the Old Testament scriptures.

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The narrator hears a voice revealing that he has been chosen to disclose the legend to posterity, an age of truth "quando a paz e a justiça reinem na terra do Cruzeiro" i.e. Imperial Brazil. He then discovers the Holy Scriptures and receives a vision of Sumé's voyage to the islands of the Caribbean, explicitly identifying him with the itinerant apostle Thomas. Sumé appears to the American barbarians, who merely laugh and shoot arrows at him, only to flee in terror when their missiles are deflected harmlessly or return miraculously to them. He is similarly attacked in Maranhão, the northern province of Brazil, and continues to the West, where he discovers tribes living in permanent conflict and debauchery. Only when he crosses the river São Francisco does he meet a people who seem to respect the social organisation based on authority which God has designed for humanity. The tribe, led by Serigy, is preparing to go to war against a neighbouring community which has rebelled against its rule. This forms the pretext for a long digression on law, authority and social hierarchy in which de Maistre's ideas concerning war, inequality and slavery, find their vindication:

E Sumé vendo que estes povos castigavam a rebellião, julgou-os respeitadores das instituições da sociedade civil, e pensou que o ouviriam.

Porque a sociedade civil não pode subsistir sem a idéa do castigo.

Pois as multidões que não temem se desenfream, e se fazem barbaramente arrogantes.

E ás vezes o predomínio da recta razão, que é a suprema lei, constante, immutável e eterna para os homens, só pode alcançar-se por meio da força. (...)

E não duvideis que as leis foram feitas para proveito e segurança dos homens e para sua felicidade. (...)

A Providencia que sujeitára ao homem os animaes, fez os homens sujeitos uns aos outros, desde que os creou desiguaes physica e intellectualmente.

E esta desigualdade, longe de ser nociva ao genero humano, é um predicado indispensavel á vida e conservação do corpo social.

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E a igualdade entre os homens, como alguns a querem entender, sem maduro exame, é uma verdadeira quimera, que apenas encontrareis no silencio dos sepulcros.¹⁸

After being helped to victory by Sumé, however, Serigy's tribe forgets or ignores these lessons, and reverts to its former ways of paganism, self-mutilation, polygamy and cannibalism. Sumé disappears in a cloud of fire, leaving his steps imprinted in the rocks, to continue his thankless mission in Cabo Frio, protected by miracles and by the creation of the Sleeping Giant set in the mountains overlooking Niterói.

The text ends with Sumé lamenting the fate of these tribes, whose destruction extends through the generations like an apocalyptic punishment for their refusal to recognise God's law. Echoing the earlier quoted passage from the História Geral, in which Conquest is vindicated as an historical inevitability, the consequence of the Indians' own conquest of the coastal territories, Sumé foresees their annihilation and assimilation by a superior race:

Logo os povos corriam como loucos, e as tribus se disseminavam nomades, e faziam umas ás outras guerra e não tinham territorio por patria, e as fronteiras de suas nações não se extendiam alem das do alcance dos tiros de seus arcos e se exterminavam umas ás outras ou pelo menos todos se enfraqueciam.

E Sumé sentado sobre uma pedra de granito chorava a sorte do povo condemnado, que deveria perecer ou fundir-se em outro povo pela presença de algum conquistador mais forte de espirito e coração, e bem quisto do Senhor (op.cit., pp.35-36).

Extermination, Varnhagen's recommended policy for the government on the indigenist question, is thus presented as the fulfilment of a pseudo-Biblical prophecy, a necessary preparation for a subsequent age of peace and justice reserved for God's chosen people, the white Christian society of Empire.

18. F.A. de Varnhagen, Sumé. Lenda mytho-religiosa americana (Madrid: Imprensa da V. de Dominguez, 1855), pp.23-27.

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Interestingly enough, one of the most vehement reactions to Varnhagen's views came from the historian João Francisco Lisboa, a vigorous critic of the Indianist movement. He objected to the Indianists' idealisation of tribal culture, their rehabilitation of the Indian as the basis of Brazilian nationality to the detriment of the other elements which contributed to colonisation:

(...) E eis aí todo o mundo a compor-se e menear-se a exemplo e feição dos reis, e aturdindo-nos em prosa e verso com tabas, muçuranas, iverapemas, janúbias e maracás. Tal propõe que nos atos oficiais e no parlamento não se use de outra língua senão da geral ou túpica; este lastima que tidas as nossas vilas e cidades conhecidas por nomes portugueses, ou de santos, se não batizem desde já, e como princípio de reabilitação, com termos, e vozes tupinambás; este outro clama enfim que esses bons e veneráveis antepassados viviam aqui felizes e tranqüilos até a época da conquista, e que já é tempo de fazer-se grande e solene reparação às iniquidades dela. Ora, se tudo isto não constitui uma escola organizada para a completa reabilitação das raças vencidas - melhor diríamos, quase extintas - dos antigos selvagens, revela ao menos uma tendência e reação formal, não menos exagerada que indiscreta, contra as idéias outrora dominantes.¹⁹

But if he mocked the poetry of the Primeiros and Últimos Cantos, he nevertheless considered Gonçalves Dias' denunciation of colonial abuses a valuable opening for serious discussion. Writing under the pseudonym of Timon, he first expresses an evaluation of tribal culture that differs little from that of Varnhagen:

Timon conclui, à vista de tantos fatos, atestados por tantos e tão autorizados escritores, que os nossos antigos selvagens eram não somente um povo bruto, feroz, cruel e sanguinário, senão também indolente, inerte, profundamente corrompido, dado à crápula e à devassidão, e já entregue no meio daquela bronca barbária a todos os vícios e torpezas da mais refinada civilização tiberiana (op.cit., p.174).

Nevertheless, this does not prevent him from addressing the separate problem of Indian rights:

19. João Francisco Lisboa, Crônica do Brasil Colonial (Apontamentos para a História do Maranhão) (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1976), pp.158-59.

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Mas é tempo de passarmos à solução das outras questões. *Eram os aborígenes proprietários das terras que pisavam, e tinham direito exclusivo a possuí-las, repelindo os invasores europeus? E foi deveras uma desgraça para estas regiões, que na luta travada a vitória se declarasse pelo arcabuz e pela espada contra a flecha e o tacape?* (ibid.)

Varnhagen's simplistic analysis of the available alternatives - Civilisation or Barbarism - is brought into question:

Deveras o Brasil não poderia civilizar-se sem a escravidão dos indígenas, conseguida pela força e pela guerra? São com efeito vãos e ilusórios, simples fantasia de cabeças ocas, os meios brandos e persuasivos da catequese? Ou por outra, e generalizando estas idéias, a coação e o terror, a escravidão e a guerra, são os grandes e verdadeiros instrumentos de civilização e de propaganda religiosa? (op.cit., 588).

Lisboa's solution to the problem, the policy of integration, typifies, not only the ideological and political accommodation supposedly represented by Conciliation, but also the same compromise and contradiction which, as I have argued, lies at the heart of the Romantic Indianist movement. It hinges on a quotation from the French historian and political theorist, Alexis de Tocqueville who, in his Democracy in America, discusses the related questions of black slavery and the liberty of the Indian. De Tocqueville identifies the crucial sophism of Liberal reasoning which enabled Teófilo Ottoni to condemn the slavery of the African in one breath, and in the other justify the wage slavery of those Indians whom he employed on his industrial schemes in the Mucuri valley. For de Tocqueville, and Lisboa, slavery clearly deprives the African of a fundamental human right: the individual's possession of his or her own person. Yet the Indian, despite an appearance of freedom, also remains deprived of the genuine condition of Liberty so long as he or she refuses to acknowledge the social and economic obligations of law and work, that are the mark of civilisation:

"Os europeus nunca puderam modificar inteiramente o caráter dos índios; e com o poder de destruí-los, jamais tiveram o de

policia-los e submetê-los. O negro acha-se colocado nos extremos confins da escravidão, o índio nos da liberdade. E certo, a escravidão não produz no primeiro resultados mais funestos que a independência no segundo.

"O negro perdeu até a propriedade da sua pessoa, e mal poderia dispor da própria existência, sem cometer uma espécie de furto contra o senhor.

" O índio é senhor de si desde que é capaz de obrar. Pode-se dizer que nunca conheceu a autoridade da família. A sua vontade nunca dobrou-se ante a vontade de nenhum dos seus semelhantes; e ninguém pôde jamais ensinar-lhe a distinguir a obediência razoada e voluntária, duma vergonhosa sujeição. Até o nome de - lei - ignora, e em seu conceito a liberdade é a isenção de todos os vínculos sociais. Nesta bárbara independência se apraz, e mais quisera perecer, que sacrificar a mínima parte dela. A civilização pouco ou nada poderá com um homem desta têmpera" (op.cit., p.187).

Lisboa's rather more optimistic analysis of the prospects for the civilisation of the Indian depends on this definition of liberty, as the social realisation of the individual through the exercise of his/her legal responsibilities and through the activity of labour. Integration, as well as ensuring the peaceful coexistence of Indian and colonist to their mutual benefit, would reconcile these Liberal principles with the economic aspirations of those wishing to open up the Brazilian interior to more intensive agricultural development:

Sem dúvida, por mais bárbaros que fossem, tinham os indigenas direito à própria conservação, por meio dos dons que a terra fornece, ou espontâneos, ou solicitados pelo trabalho. Mas esse direito se podia conciliar, e tornar-se até mais amplo, real e eficaz, com a ocupação simultânea dos europeus; porque a civilização, sobre melhorar a condição moral dos selvagens, devia tornar-lhes mais fáceis ao mesmo tempo todos os gozos e cômodos da vida. A iniquidade pois consistiu, não na ocupação da terra vaga e inculta, mas no abuso da opressão e das vexações exercidas contra as hordas errantes (op.cit., pp.175-76).

In addition to Varnhagen's own reply "Os Indios Bravos e o Sr. Lisboa" (1867), Lisboa's argument was subject to a "Diatribes contra a Timonice do Jornal Maranhense" (1859), under the pseudonym of Erasmo. This author defends Varnhagen's alleged hypocrisy on the slavery question and on the colonial treatment of the Indian and, at the same time,

attacks Lisboa's attempt to justify the right of primitive tribes to their way of life:

E certo, se não é lícito embargar aos índios ferozes a sua liberdade de viver como quizerem, de se devorarem, e extinguirem mutuamente, e quem tiver a desgraça de lhes cair nas unhas, então defende às escâncaras o canibalismo puro em opposição com as instituições civilisadoras, com a moral social e christã! Veja-se o absurdo resultado de sustentar proposições absolutas e extremas, quando há falta de critério!²⁰

It is intriguing to speculate whether the author of this "Diatribes" is the same Erasmo who began his political "Cartas de Erasmo" six years later: José de Alencar, whose views on Conciliation and whose fictional portrayal of the ideal relationship between the Indian and white society I shall examine later in this chapter.

5.3 Gonçalves de Magalhães and *A Confederação dos Tamóios*

Alencar made his resounding entry into the literary scene with his series of letters criticising the epic Indianist poem *A Confederação dos Tamóios* (1856), by the prestigious figurehead of Brazilian Romanticism, Gonçalves de Magalhães. In 1860 Magalhães published one of the last substantial comments on Varnhagen's anti-indigenist views, "Os Índigenas do Brasil perante a História", whose ambivalence explains to a large extent the anachronistic nature of his poem. Despite paying lip-service to the conventional Liberal condemnation of colonial slavery and exploitation, and notwithstanding his avowed intention to "reabilitar o elemento indígena que faz parte da população do Brasil", his essential loyalty to the values of white, European civilisation differs little from that of Varnhagen. The landowners of colonial Brazil, he suggests, were

20. Erasmo, *Diatribes contra a Timonice do Jornal de Timon Maranhense acerca da Historia Geral do Brazil do Senhor Varnhagen* (Lisbon: Typ. de José da Costa, 1859), p.34.

not as ambitious or greedy as was commonly depicted, and the deplorable deeds that concerned modern historians were somehow exceptional and abhorrent to the majority of civilised Europeans:

O que porém não deixa de causar espanto, é a parcialidade extemporanea com que se tenta hoje justificar crimes inúteis, que encheram de horror as almas generosas dos proprios compatriotas daquelles mãos que os praticavam.²¹

Meanwhile, his rehabilitation of the indigenous element is based, not on the value and integrity of tribal culture in its own right, but on those aspects which most appear to resemble European civilisation: the Indians' sense of religion, their receptiveness to established European notions of justice, social order, government and God-given freedom. What is more, in the epic A Confederação dos Tamoios, Magalhães follows Varnhagen closely in his reliance on the principles of Providence and Divine Authority to justify the extermination of the Tamoios in the foundation of Rio. These Indians emerge as mythical heroes, not because they defended their homeland against invading Portuguese colonialist forces, but because they died as part of God's plan, in a war which was to lead to the founding of the future capital of the Brazilian Empire. As Magalhães says in a note to the second edition of the poem:

Eu não ponho no poema a civilização e os colonos portugueses de um lado; a barbaria e os Indígenas do outro. No poema, como nos documentos históricos que estudei, marcham os Portugueses apoiados sempre por imenso número de indígenas, que foram os instrumentos de tudo o que então se fez de notável na nossa terra. (...) Afinal a vitória é da civilização e do futuro, para o que também Aimbire concorre com o exemplo do amor filial (...).²²

21. Domingos José Gonçalves de Magalhães, "Os Indígenas do Brasil perante a História", Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, vol.XXIII (1860), pp.48-49.

22. Domingos José Gonçalves de Magalhães, A Confederação dos Tamoios (Rio de Janeiro: Dous de Dezembro, 1856), note 311.

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The critical consensus has defined Magalhães' lyric poetry as characteristic of his generation, the heir to the neo-Classical tradition of the First Reign and therefore out of place in the Romantic environment of the nineteenth century. Nelson Werneck Sodré, for instance, endorses Cassiano Nunes' claim that "Embora defendessem o romantismo, Gonçalves de Magalhães e Araújo Pôrto Alegre não passaram de clássicos fatigantes."²³ The predominance of a formal Classicism certainly explains the dullness of the Suspiros Poéticos and their apparent lack of modernity for the contemporary reader. But it should be remembered that Gonçalves Dias shared that same Classical inheritance and combined its simplicity and economy of style with the Romantic themes of his Indianist poetry to great effect. The anachronistic and defective nature of Magalhães' work, in particular A Confederação dos Tamoios, has to do, not so much with the history of aesthetic developments in Brazilian literature, but with deep, unresolved ideological conflicts which he exposes as both an Indianist and as an unquestioning defender of the Imperial regime.

As a young man Magalhães joined the Academia das Belas Artes, which was set up by D. João VI with the help of the Missão Francesa, and studied Fine Art under Debret. His first important influence, though, before his contact with Ferdinand Denis in Europe, was the Franciscan philosopher and orator, Monte Alverne, considered by Antônio Cândido the conscience of the First Reign (Formação..., op.cit., I, p.300). It was Monte Alverne's Christian sentimentalism, heavily indebted to Chateaubriand, together with a patriotic dedication to the Independence cause and to the

23. Nelson Werneck Sodré, História da Literatura Brasileira: Seus Fundamentos Econômicos, 5ª ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1969), p.209.

Imperial Monarchy, which defined the limited brand of "Liberalism" of this first Romantic generation.

Magalhães began his epic poem possibly as early as 1837, in Brussels, and it was while he was working as *Encarregado de Negócios* in Turin that he received permission, in 1855, to travel to Rio to offer the work to Pedro II. The Emperor paid for the publication of the first edition and for two Italian translations, and defended the poem when it received the criticisms of Alencar and others in the pages of the Diário do Rio de Janeiro.²⁴ As I have already noted, he even sat for seven hours through a reading of the entire text, no mean feat, even were this one of the greatest contributions to world literature. Pedro's admiration was returned by Magalhães; the edition used here includes a dedication to the Emperor praising the Liberal policies implemented under his reign. In addition it carries the Imperial crest and a handwritten inscription which indicates that the book was a present from Pedro to his sister.

The text deals with the most frequented subject of Indianist writing in Brazil, the Portuguese war against the Tamoió/French alliance and the subsequent founding of Rio de Janeiro in the mid-sixteenth century (see pp.49-51). Its interpretation of the virtual annihilation of the Tamoios exposes a number of related contradictions which, elsewhere in the Indianist movement, are simply concealed or superficially resolved. Alencar, just a year later in his first Indianist novel, was confidently to reconcile the sacrifice and slavery of the Indian with the principle of Liberty and the defence of Empire. In A Confederação dos Tamoios, meanwhile, Magalhães' Catholic, Imperialist nationalism and the

24. Heitor Lyra, op.cit., vol.II, p.14.

Indianists' Liberal, Romantic sympathy for the tribal cause remain manifestly antagonistic.

In choosing the epic genre, Magalhães is declaring his intention to identify a sense of collective national identity through some heroic military/political achievement from the country's history. Like Santa Rita Durão's Caramurú, A Confederação... is based on a foundation myth, the difference being that, in contrast to the colonial capital of Bahia, the subject of Magalhães' poem is Rio, the haven of the exiled Portuguese Royal Family and the capital city of Empire. Nationalism equals Independence, and Independence, as we shall see, becomes synonymous with Empire. Speaking of the lyric poetry, Sérgio Buarque de Holanda states:

(...) a vontade de traduzir em literatura o mesmo ideal de independência que em política já se realizara com antecipação de quatorze anos é nêle tão intencional, tão agressiva mesmo, que Gonçalves Dias, a seu lado, passará por um restaurador, verdadeiro "caramurú" das letras.

(...)

A oposição que se desenvolve na Confederação dos Tamóios não é ao menos a da antítese romântica e literária entre o civilizado e o selvagem, mas a que pode inspirar um nativismo estreito e prosaico.²⁵

However, it is his selection of precisely this event in the history of Indian/white relations that leads Magalhães into the mass of structural and ideological difficulties which plague the poem. For there is a basic, glaring disparity between the successful conclusion of the nineteenth-century Independence struggles which the Tamóios war is supposed to prefigure, and the depressing, devastating defeat of these early colonial freedom-fighters, the Indians. The historical fact of a war of

25. Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, "Prefácio literário", Obras Completas de D.J.G. de Magalhães, vol.II (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Ministério da Educação, 1939), pp.xi & xiii.

annihilation against the Tamoiós points, not to a continuity between the cultural tradition of the Indian and that of the Independent Brazilian nation, but to an irremediable rupture. The Portuguese Romantic, Alexandre Herculano, demonstrated his understanding of this essential discontinuity, the alienation produced by Conquest, when he criticised Magalhães' use of the epic:

Podem os conquistadores, as raças que foram sobrepor-se às raças primitivas aniquilando-as, herdar-lhes o cúmulo dos seus poucos ou muitos haveres materiaes: o que não lhes herdaram, não apropriam a si é o cúmulo das suas tradições, das suas saudades, dos seus affetos collectivos; em summa a sua poesia épica.²⁶

Magalhães' solution to this problem is basically that of the first Indianists such as Ladislau dos Santos, who found a precedent for the Independence struggles of their own age in the historical examples of tribal resistance to Portuguese colonial oppression. The Tamoiós' military defeat is to be turned into a moral victory, all the more so because, without their heroic defence of their territory, Mem de Sá would never have hastened to found the city and prevent the French from establishing themselves there. In Canto VI, the Indian Jagoanharo is lifted high above the colony by Saint Sebastian, its patron saint, in order to be shown a vision of the country's future history, and therefore to see the vindication of his people's present defeat:

Vê dos Tupis as descendentes tribos,
Um só povo formando, unidas todas,
Com ali se recordam que pelejam
Contra os filhos dos seus perseguidores
(Magalhães, op.cit., p.181).

The author defends this justification of his argument in the final note to the second edition of the poem:

26. Alexandre Herculano, "Carta a D. Pedro II, sobre A Confederação dos Tamoiós" (1856), Brasília, vol.X, Coimbra, 1958, p.314.

Mas o homem corajoso que pugna pelos seus naturaes direitos, que morre por amor da sua liberadade, e do seu pátrio ninho, invadido por estrangeiros, qualquer que seja o seu estado, selvagem como civilisado, offerece um grande espectáculo, um nobre exemplo, credor dos louvores do poetas, e digno de ser por todos imitado (...).²⁷

But if, as Magalhães suggests (see above, p.260), victory belongs to the future, then there are serious structural consequences for an epic poem which seeks to depict a triumph of indigenous resistance. The conclusion of this historical incident, and of the text, is one of anticlimactic defeat in which there is no victorious hero (even the Portuguese commander Estácio de Sá is killed), no optimism and no celebration. Indeed, the whole of the first eight cantos of the poem are devoted to the alliance itself and to the ideological and historical issues involved, whilst the remaining events - the peace negotiations conducted by Anchieta and Nóbrega, and the final Portuguese victory - are compressed somewhat anticlimactically into the last two cantos.

Moreover, the slavery of the Indians who survived the war is anticipated fatalistically in the opening stanzas of the text:

Assim fugiste, oh cara liberdade,
De luto envolta; e só com sangue agora
Te é dado o triunfar! - Ai, pobres índios!
Uns faziam gemer a virgem terra
Com repetidos golpes das enxadas;
Outros nos densos matos mutilavam
Arabutas, jacarandás, graúnas,
E os bosques rebramavam co'as pancadas
Ressoantes dos machados: - parecia
Que de dor se carpiam, por se verem
Roçados pelas mãos de homens escravos (op.cit., p.14).

Similarly, in Canto IV the tribal pajé gives his prophecy of the doom which awaits those who remain to confront the Portuguese, and he urges his people to flee into the interior with the ashes of their ancestors:

27. D.J.G. de Magalhães, A Confederação dos Tamoiós (Rio de Janeiro: Garnier, 1864).

(...) estas florestas,
 A cuja sombra nossos pais dormiram
 O sossegado sono do homem livre,
 Vão ser em breve a cinzas reduzidas
 Por essas mãos iníquas, sempre armadas
 De mortal fogo contra vós, incautos,
 Que com tanta candura os recebestes!
 Agora é tarde, e a resistência inútil...
 Fugi, Tamóios meus; fugi, deixai-lhes
 De Niterói as margens deleitosas,
 Que eles invejam tanto, e onde pretendem
 À custa vossa apascentar seu ócio,
 E erguer co'as vossas mãos suas cidades.

Tudo deixai-lhes, sim; fugi, mas livres,
 Que a par da liberdade tudo é nada;
 E aqui sereis escravos. (...) (p.119)

The chief defender of this supreme principle of liberty is Aimbire, the same leader of the Tamóio resistance who, in Anchieta's drama Na Festa de São Lourenço, appeared as the diabolical persecutor of the Jesuits and corruptor of the Indians. Set against Aimbire is Tibiriça, another historical figure, the converted Tupinikin chief whose daughter was married to João Ramalho. As an ally of the Portuguese, Tibiriça played a vital role in the defence of São Paulo (São Vicente) against the Tamóio attack of July 1561, leading Christian Tupinikin against their immediate tribal relatives, brother against brother, father against son.²⁸ Between these two representatives of patriotic resistance and collaboration stands Tibiriça's nephew, Jagoanharo who, after lapsing from his conversion, took part and was killed in the attack on the settlement (ibid.). In Canto V of the poem, Jagoanharo visits his uncle in a vain attempt to persuade him to rejoin his people. Tibiriça's glowing praise of European civilisation over the barbarism of tribal society bears little relation to the spectacle of inequality and exploitation that Jagoanharo witnesses as he walks through the settlement: rows of *índios reduzidos*

28. Hemming, op.cit., pp.127-28.

chained up in readiness for a fate which Tibiriça does not admit to: "Só não mostrou o carcere da villa,/Onde, como animaes, os pobres Indios/A fome, á sede e á força se amansavam" (pp.141-42).

However, in the following canto Saint Sebastian lifts Jagoanharo high above the site of the future capital city, further up the coast, and there, in a privileged vision of the future liberation of the colony from Portuguese rule, he sees the vindication of the Indians' present oppression:

(...)
E a nova cidade do Janeiro,
Que em breve tem de ser ali fundada
Co'a minha proteção (...
...) cabeça ilustre
De todo o vasto Império Brasileiro,
Do qual a Cruz será o alçado emblema
Da sua liberdade e independência (p.181).

Catholicism is more than just the cultural symbol of the Imperial order, though; it also provides the whole mythological and ideological framework that gives the defeat and slavery of the Tamoiós their meaning and justification. The Indians can console themselves with the knowledge that they have made the sacrifice of a Christian martyr, whose end is the establishment of God's kingdom on earth:

Tu só, Religião sublime e santa
Do Deus por nosso amor martirizado,
Tu só consolador óleo verteste
Nos ulcerados corações dos Indios.

Although the Portuguese are the immediate beneficiaries of the war, ultimately the Indians' defeat is the work of God - their God-given liberty is to be sacrificed to a greater Plan:

Desse humano porvir, a Deus presente,
O véu ergui, oh Indio, a um breve quadro;
Que nem tudo convém mostrar-te agora.
Tu, que n'alma só vês a liberdade,
Por quem afouto afrontarás a morte,
Sabe que o teu poder será vencido
Por um poder maior e sobre-humano,

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Contra o qual dos mortais forças não valem.
Da verdade será essa vitória,
E não daqueles que fruí-la aspiram,
Que de tão longe vem após o ganho,
Sem saber que outro fim mais alto os chama (p.188).

That Plan, as revealed in the saint's vision, is the liberation of the Brazilian nation and the consolidation of its Independence, chiefly through the efforts of the Imperial monarchs. Magalhães' account of the flight of the Royal court from Lisbon to Rio, the division of the two crowns, Pedro I's Abdication and the Majority of Pedro II emerges as a constant and dedicated struggle on the part of the Monarchy to free the country from Portuguese domination. For Gonçalves Dias, as we saw, the very institutional continuity of the monarchy signified, not a break with the colonial regime, but its preservation. But in the poem, João VI and Pedro I together bow to God's will, recognising "(...) que uma só vontade, e um mesmo cetro/Já não podem unir Nações distintas" (p.163). A new Empire is built, "E Pedro, o Defensor dos seus direitos,/Ufano de o fundar, sobe a êsse Trono,/Que tem por base amor e liberdade". Abdication comes about not as a result of Liberal protests against the King's increasingly absolutist, pro-Portuguese style of government, but as a necessary sacrifice; Pedro must return to Portugal to perform another act of liberation, defending that throne from the illegitimate claims of his brother Miguel:

Órfão deixa seu Filho, tenro infante
Que inda não pode sopesar o cetro,
E mais três filhas ternas sem defesa!
Tanto êle crê no amor dêsse bom povo!
E vai por alto impulso, além dos mares,
Opor-se ao próprio irmão em campo armado,
Libertar essa terra em que nascera,
Terra de seus avós, sempre querida.

The Majority of Pedro II, "Excelso Imperador, que justo empunhas/O cetro do Brasil", raises the Empire to greater heights, inspiring a more intense

loyalty after the provincial disturbances of the Regency: "A discórdia acendendo a civil guerra/Nos campos do Uruguai (...)/Fará nascer, para apoiar-lhe o trono,/Novos amôres e virtudes novas" (p.181).

Jagoanharo is at first persuaded by this vision to become a Christian and join white society. But in the square outside the church he witnesses the arrival of more Indian slaves, including Aimbire's wife Iguaçú, and we are reminded of the former captivity of Aimbire and his parents. The poem's interpretation of colonial history as a necessary preparation for Independence and Empire has left some questions unanswered, then; in what way can the daily abuses and exploitation of the Indian by the white settler be explained within the scheme of patriotic resistance and liberation? Are the Indians, in their defence of their natural freedom, not justified in attacking the missionaries and Indian converts who collaborated with the Portuguese in their oppression of the Indian?

To the first of these questions Magalhães responds with the same explanation that he gives in his essay "Os índios do Brasil perante a História". The colonists' atrocious treatment of the Indian does not arise out of some common racist ideology, nor from the political and economic structures of colonialism. Rather, it is exceptional, an aberration, the betrayal of values which represent the pinnacle of white civilisation, both European and Brazilian - Christianity. Jagoanharo, in his ingenuous wisdom, recognises that the colonists' hypocrisy is a distortion of their own culture:

Vossos pais o seu Deus crucificaram;
Derramaram seu sangue; e vós, perversos,
Para mais insultar cobardemente
A êsse Deus, que adorais por zombaria,
Vindes aqui roubar-nos, e matar-nos
Com palavras de amor, a cruz mostrando.

As for the bitter, destructive conflict between the free tribal groups of Aimbire and Jagoanharo, and the mission converts under Tibiriça, this exposes for a second time the limitations of Magalhães' Liberalism. Ultimately, the mission of evangelisation and conversion, a central element of the colonial project and therefore of the Catholic Empire of the nineteenth century, takes precedence over the Indians' claim to liberty. The symbol of this ideological conflict is the herculean battle between Tibiriça and his nephew Jagoanharo, which occupies over fifty lines of Canto VIII and constitutes its major climax:

(...)
Braço a braço
Se atracam, lutam, corcoveiam ambos,
Ambos como um só corpo rodopiam,
Suam, fumegam, rugem; treme a terra,
E aos encontrões da mole a igreja treme,
De terror convulsando a quantos cobre!

Tibiriça's haste to fetch some holy water for the baptism of the man whose brains he has just smashed against the wall of the church reflects very vividly the Aristotelian principle of Just War, by which Nóbrega justified the slaving campaigns against "uncooperative" tribal groups. Tibiriça's final words to his nephew are an eloquent expression of this principle: "Tirei-te a vida, mas ao menos salvo-te essa alma". Although he describes the whole scene as "atroz carnificina", Magalhães does not condemn Tibiriça, indeed elsewhere he praises his piety. Saint Sebastian, too, in his appearance to Jagoanharo in Canto VI, asserts the same priority of the evangelical mission over the social and political conditions under which it is administered:

Indio, si amas a terra em que nasceste,
E si podes amar o seu futuro,
A verdade da Cruz aceita e adora.
Que importa quem a traz ser inimigo,
Si o bem fica e supera os males todos! (p.188).

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Having sacrificed the principle of Liberty to the cause of Independence and Empire, then, Magalhães now proceeds to subordinate this emasculated brand of Liberalism to his more profound Catholic loyalty. In so doing, he is laying bare some of the tensions and contradictions which are less conspicuous, but nonetheless present, elsewhere in the Indianist movement. The third ideological conflict raised by the poem, which remains to be examined, concerns the Romantic dialectic between Nature and Civilisation; here Magalhães distances himself even further from the mainstream of nineteenth-century Indianist writing, and betrays just how reactionary his view of nationality and national culture is in relation to that of his contemporaries.

As we shall see in the next section, Alencar led the attack on A Confederação dos Tamoios with his criticisms of the poet's manifest lack of sympathy with the Indian and the tribal environment, his failure to penetrate that world and identify with it as a Brazilian. Effectively, the few instances of descriptions of tribal culture in the poem have a very specific purpose, that of emphasising, not a unique sense of tribal identity, but the Tamoios' proximity to white civilisation and their consequent amenity to conversion and integration into the Catholic Empire. Moreover, Magalhães calls upon the now familiar ethnic stereotype of the civilised Tupi and the intractable, savage Tapuia to reinforce this characterisation. The Tamoios are distinguished by their musical talents, something widely documented by the colonial historians whom Magalhães consults, such as Gabriel Soares and Rocha Pitta; in Magalhães' conception of art, set out twenty years previously in the "Discurso sobre a História da Literatura do Brasil" (see pp.155-56), this gives them a special poetic status, for music, poetry and religion are never far apart:

(...) Elles não erram
Sem tabas, nos sertões, como os terríveis
Ferozes Aimorés, raça Tapuia.
Natural, inspirada poesia
De todos os distingue, os ennobrece,
E tratáveis os torna, inda que altivos (Canto II, p.33).

Their religious sense likewise confirms the conclusions of the essay "Os índios do Brasil..."; whereas the Indianist tradition tends to refer to the spirit of thunder, Tupã, as the Indians' "God", Magalhães introduces the less familiar figure of Monan (Munhã),²⁹ "the Creator", as the supreme deity analogous to the Christian God: "E crêem que acima de Tupã, primeiro/E unico, Monan tudo criara" (ibid.). The derivation of the tribal name, Tupi, from that of the God Tupã, strikes him as analogous to the formation of "Christian".³⁰ In itself, then, the Tamoiós' innate cultural proximity to the Catholicism of the white community already predisposes them to identify with Civilisation rather than Nature.

Moreover, Nature, far from offering the Indian the Terrestrial Eden celebrated in general terms at the beginning of the poem, is instead a hostile environment, a domain of uncontrollable elemental forces. The opening description of the Amazon, for instance:

E de horrendo estridor pejando os ermos,
De vale em vale, entre asperas fraguras,
Onde atroam também gritos das feras,
Das serpes os sibilos, e os trinados
Dos passaros, e a voz dos roucos ventos (...)

O Amazonas co'o Oceano enfurecido
Luta renhida trava interminavel,
Para roubar-lhe o leito; e ronca, e espuma,
Qual no lago, enlaçada a cauda a um tronco,
Feroz sucuriuba horrída ronca (...) (p.5).

29. Irmão José Gregório, Contribuição Indígena ao Brasil, 3 vols. (Belo Horizonte: União Brasileira de Educação e Ensino, 1980), vol.III, p.950.

30. Op.cit., vol.III, pp.1190-91.

Similarly, the nocturnal landscape through which Aimbire and his men make their way in Canto IV is not so much a place of freedom as a Gothic "mansion" of fear:

Espessa é a floresta, emaranhada
De parasitas mil, que se entrelaçam,
Enroscados aos troncos como serpes,
E abraçando-os lhes sorvem força e vida (...)

Desta negra mansão o horror redobra
O funebre clamor da voz nocturna,
O echo dos ventos que entre as folhas gemem,
O echo do rio que o trovão simula,
E lento se prolonga reboando;
E o echo inda mais funebre e monotono,
Como o som do martelo sobre a incude,
Da imovel araponga, que soluça
De ancião jequitibá na altiva coma.
Esta é a voz da Natureza em luto,
Voz terrível que os homens apavora,
E a ideia lhes desperta do infinito (pp.114-15).

I have already spoken of the confrontation and battle between Tibiriça and Jagoanharo as symbolic of an ideological conflict in the poem between Catholicism and the principle of Liberty. A Christian convert, dressed in the European's clothes, Tibiriça also stands for Civilisation, and he comes close to seducing Jagoanharo into the culture and economy of white society. Aimbire, on the other hand, the supreme representative of Liberty and Nature, remains intransigent in his rejection of Civilisation. Interestingly, in the comparison Aimbire draws between the European and the savage Aimoré, ironically also a pale-faced tribe, it is the former which comes off worse as the more barbaric of the two races:

(...) O Aimoré fero,
Que d'água tem horror, e sangue bebe,
O Aimoré que co'o tigre rivaliza,
E a quem só praz a guerra e o sangue nosso,
Tanto horror, tanta infâmia não pratica (p.45).

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When, in Canto IX, the other Indian chiefs are involved in peace negotiations with the Jesuit missionaries, Aimbire refuses to be drawn into the discussion of Civilisation; he intervenes only to make his political demands, that the enemy prisoners be handed over and the Tamoiós be left in peace in their own land:

Porque tanto falar inutilmente,
Como o incessante urrar do mar na praia?
O que eu disse, está dito, e terminemos.
Restituam os nossos prisioneiros,
E, si quiserem paz, em paz nos deixem (p.277).

This intransigence is vital to the characterisation of Aimbire. Significantly, it is he, and not Tibiriça or Jagoanharo, who emerges as the hero of the poem; neither Tibiriça, the ally and convert, nor Jagoanharo, who is hovering between the two societies, can adequately embody the Liberal, Romantic ideal which must be sacrificed to the future Independence of the nation, yet still survive intact, as an unattainable ideal. Both those secondary characters make sacrifices, one his religion, the other his life, and as a result are absorbed into the history of colonisation and Independence. Aimbire, by contrast, remains in a mythical space apart; he does not die in battle, but takes his own life, throwing himself into the sea after his dead wife Iguassú. They are discovered shortly afterwards, when construction of the settlement at Rio is beginning, in a lovers' embrace that recalls the *liebestod* of Cacambo and Lindóia in Basílio da Gama's O Uruguai:

Vio-os Anchieta com chorosos olhos;
Para a terra os tirou; e nessa praia,
Que inda depois de mortos abraçaram,
Dêo-lhes a requia, para sempre unidos!

There are two incidental episodes in the poem, meanwhile, in which the possibility of some more conciliatory relationship between the two races, as opposed to the sacrifice and alienation of the Indian, is

raised, only to be left in serious doubt. These involve two interracial sexual partnerships, one of which fails to materialise, while the other exists as an ideal, exceptional case. The first occurs in Canto VII, when Aimbire is about to kill Brás Cubas, the evil colonist who enslaved his entire family. Suddenly, Aimbire is confronted by the angelic figure of Maria, Brás Cubas' *cabocla* daughter, who pleads for her father's life:

Anjo da guarda ali do céu baixado,
 Para salvar o pecador da morte,
 Tanto assombro ao Tamoió não causara,
 Como essa aparição tão repentina,
 Que da lua ao palor, em tal soidade,
 Mais inspira terror misterioso.

Maria, symbolically named, is a *mestiça* variation on a stock Indianist figure, the female saviour, Christian convert and sexual mediator between the two cultures (viz. Paraguaçu). However, true to his role of intransigence, Aimbire is not swayed from his original aim to avenge his family, and he kills Brás Cubas, subsequently marrying one of his own tribe, Iguassú.

The other potential relationship concerns Aimbire's daughter, Potira, and the Frenchman, Ernesto, who has been accepted by the Indians as someone loyal to his word. Aimbire makes the couple's marriage conditional upon his success in avenging his father's death, which attaches to it a certain unattainable, ideal quality. For the crimes against his people inevitably remain eternally unavenged and, although the marriage does go ahead, its power to reconcile the two races is overshadowed by the larger historical reality of the Tamoiós war. In addition, Ernesto's nationality removes him from the political issues of Portuguese colonisation and Brazilian Independence. He constitutes an exceptional, isolated case of a European, like Chateaubriand's René, who has abandoned the moral collapse of his own society in favour of the

desert-like solitude of the virgin American territory. Just as Aimbire embodies the mythical principle of Liberty which has been sacrificed to the future of the nation, tribal society offers Ernesto the ideal Liberal values which have been banished from Europe:

Eu, que nela nasci, eu que a conheço,
Para sempre a fugi... Embora digam
Que homens incultos sois em terra inculta;
Antes, antes assim. Aqui, ao menos,
Longe dessas nações civilizadas,
Somos todos iguais (...).

In Chateaubriand's Les Natchez, René finds this illusion disappointed by his experience of life in the New World; Ernesto's marriage to Potira apparently survives the defeat of the Tamoiós, but its artificial, exceptional status within the poem's historical and political context makes the reader question its significance. Much is made of Ernesto's fair hair when Aimbire first meets him in Canto III, and it becomes the symbol of the ultimate impossibility of his assimilation. Aimbire ventures the illusory hope that time may erase the racial barriers dividing the two peoples:

Si o sol deu sua cor aos teus cabelos,
Como nos deu a pele, também pode
Com seus raios crestar a cor da lua,
Que afogueada brilha no teu rosto,
E em trevas converter-te a coma de ouro...

But the dominant argument of Magalhães' poem, as I have shown, is that national consolidation and Independence will only be achieved through the sacrifice of liberty and life on the part of one of those races - the Indian. It is only in the work of Alencar that the theme of *mestiçagem*, representing both social and cultural intercourse, and a kind of political collaboration between the white patriarch and the coloured marginal, begins to be seriously considered as the basis of a new notion of *brasilidade*, the notion of "racial democracy".

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The next section will describe how Alencar succeeds in resolving at a mythical level the ideological contradictions raised so far by the Indianist movement, and by Gonçalves de Magalhães in particular. The sacrifice of liberty, identity and life which is imposed upon the Tamoiós of Magalhães' poem by the inexorable will of Providence is, in Alencar's O Guarani, given freely and voluntarily by the Indian. The tragedy of defeat and annihilation, curiously the basis of Magalhães' epic view of Independence and Empire, gives way to a celebration of conciliation between the races, and therefore to a vision of nationality that is more fully concordant with the political atmosphere of the 1850s.

5.4 José de Alencar

5.4.1 Introduction

The letters written by José de Alencar to the Diário do Rio de Janeiro over a number of weeks in 1856 and subsequently published in book form mark the end of Magalhães' authority as the leader of Brazilian Romanticism, and the emergence of a new wave of Indianist writing. The public response which these letters aroused - Pôrto-Alegre, Monte Alverne, Alexandre Herculano and Pedro II were amongst the contributors to the debate - is an indication, both of the reputation and prestige surrounding Magalhães, and of the depth of change which Alencar was bringing about. The poem A Confederação dos Tamoiós and Alencar's criticisms of it were symptomatic of a crisis of credibility regarding the function of the Indianist theme. For the defenders of A Confederação, such as Pedro II, Monte Alverne and Pôrto-Alegre, the poem celebrated the traditional "Liberal"/Indianist values of Independence, patriotism, liberty and religion; although, as I have shown, the

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ideological contradictions inherent in the movement are brought to a critical point in Magalhães' poem. The major texts examined so far, those of Teixeira e Sousa, Gonçalves Dias, Macedo and Gonçalves de Magalhães, demonstrate an increasingly unsustainable tension between the writer's Liberal conscience and his loyalty to the oppressive political and economic structure of Empire.

Alencar's achievement and the key to the success of his novels, is his resolution of these apparently (and in reality) unresolvable tensions and contradictions through the use of myth, and in particular through his manipulation of the concept of *mestiçagem*. The questions raised by Varnhagen's "Memorial Orgânico" - the reality of tribal primitivism and the obstacle this posed to economic development - indicated that the defiant, exiled Indian warrior, as symbol of freedom and Independence, had outlived its usefulness. Leaving aside Alencar's stylistic criticisms of the poem, the main thrust of his attack on A Confederação dos Tamoios concerns what is essentially Magalhães' detachment from the society and culture which are his subject. This detachment reflects to a large extent the tragic historical rupture which the poem conveys, in spite of the author's attempts to identify some form of continuity between the struggles of Conquest and Independence. Alencar, by contrast, proposes to submerge himself in the tribal world, to define, not the factors of alienation between the Indian and white, such as conflict, militarism and genocide, but those elements of tribal culture and psychology which have been assimilated by Brazilian society and which therefore point to a process of conciliation:

Se algum dia fosse poeta, e quizesse cantar a minha terra e as suas bellezas, se quizesse compor um poema nacional, pediria a Deus que me fizesse esquecer por um momento as minhas idéas de homem civilizado.

Filho da natureza embrenhar-me-ia por essas mattas seculares; contemplaria as maravilhas de Deus, veria o sól erguer-se no seu mar de ouro, a lua deslizar-se no azul do céu; ouviria o murmurio das ondas e o écho profundo e solemne das florestas.³¹

In describing the change of direction which Alencar brought to the movement, Afrânio Coutinho also unintentionally reveals the links between his "conciliatory" brand of Indianism and the Imperial indigenist policy of integration:

O que houve de nôvo foi a integração do indígena, foi a sua incorporação à literatura com a cosmogonia, a concepção da vida, os hábitos, os gostos, os ideais que lhe são peculiares (...) Não importa que o poeta comunique ou transfira à ideologia indígena algo de sua própria concepção cristã. O que importa é que êle se coloca "dentro" da mente selvagem.³²

Thus it is no longer political Independence which is at issue, but rather the cultural and racial formation of modern Brazilian society. *Mestiçagem* therefore plays a central role in Alencar's mythology of collaborative Indian/white relations, both at the literal level of sexual intercourse and as a metaphor for the dialogue between the two races. Dividing his country's literature into three stages of development - pre-Colonial, Colonial and Independent - Alencar defines the second phase, that of O Guarani and Iracema, in just such terms, as a formative period of *mestiçagem*:

O segundo período é histórico: representa o consórcio do povo invasor com a terra americana, que dele recebia a cultura, e lhe retribuía nos eflúvios de sua natureza virgem e nas reverberações de um solo esplêndido.

Ao concheço desta pujante criação, a têmpera se apura, toma alas a fantasia, a linguagem se impregna de módulos mais suaves: formam-se outros costumes, e uma existência nova, pautada por diverso clima, vai surgindo.

31. José Aderaldo Castello (ed.), A Polêmica sobre "A Confederação dos Tambores" (São Paulo: Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras da Universidade de São Paulo, 1953), p.5.

32. Afrânio Coutinho, A Tradição Afortunada (O Espírito de Nacionalidade na crítica brasileira) (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1968), p.93.

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É a gestação lenta do povo americano, que devia sair da estirpe lusa, para continuar no novo mundo as gloriosas tradições de seu progenitor.³³

There are two dimensions to this process of racial conciliation as it appears in Alencar's Indianist fiction. One, examined chiefly in O Guarani but reproduced in a series of regionalist novels, is the power struggle between the white patriarch, the representative of the Imperial ruling class, and a marginal, socially inferior figure e.g. the Indian. The extreme forces of authoritarianism and rebellion which these figures embody are eventually reconciled through the intervention of a number of Christian formulae, the myths of sacrifice and salvation, and particularly through the mitigating influence of a female character, the daughter of the patriarch. She, as the motor of sexual contact and standing at the centre of the conflict, acquires a psychological maturity and consciousness of her identity as a Brazilian, the symbol of a new generation which has learnt to exercise power without stifling the indigenous spirit of freedom and rebellion.

This leads to the other dimension of the process, the sexual union itself, which provides the new, Brazilian generation with a truly *mestiço* identity. Whereas O Guarani constructs the ideal, mythical conditions within which this union can take place, Iracema addresses, albeit still at a mythical level, the historical reality of racial oppression, betrayal and guilt within which the colonial relationship occurred. Iracema's exiled offspring, drifting afloat on the ocean, symbolises the *mestiço* identity from which the modern Brazilian has become alienated as a result

33. José de Alencar, "Benção Paterna", Sonhos d'Ouro: Ficção Completa (Rio de Janeiro: José Aguilar, 1965), vol.I, p.495.

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of these experiences, but which must nevertheless be confronted and assumed as the only authentic definition of nationality.

Something which has been left unmentioned until now, but which is central to the effectiveness and coherence of Alencar's mythology of racial conciliation, is the fact that O Guarani is the first novel of the Indianist movement. Apart from one dramatic work, Macedo's Cobé, verse-forms dominate the first twenty years of Indianist writing, and short verse-forms on the whole, at that. The few attempts to use the extended epic genre met with little success, as we have seen, and tend to have been overwhelmed by the historical or narrative material which was thrust upon them. For Alencar, by contrast, the novel offers a structural breadth that is able to accommodate both the intricacies and details of narrative plot and the grand scale of his myths of racial and social democracy. Indeed, the Portuguese *romance* is more suggestive of the mythical potential of the genre than is the English word *novel*.

These two innovations, the use of the novel form and the elaboration of mythologies within that novelistic structure, justify the inclusion of Alencar within a major tradition in nineteenth-century Western literature. In particular, comparison with a number of authors Alencar is known to have read reveals some important parallels which confirm my interpretation of the ideological significance of his work. Chateaubriand and Fenimore Cooper might be considered obvious choices for comparative study, given their explicit recourse to the Indianist theme. However, as my analysis of O Guarani and Iracema will show, Chateaubriand's preoccupation with the philosophical, Rousseauian implications of the European adventure in the New World has little meaning within Alencar's perspective; here the natural Brazilian landscape

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is not an exotic metaphor of existential solitude, but a real source of national cultural identity. Similarly, Cooper's anti-miscegenist viewpoint, his horror of any real social approximation of the races other than the isolated fraternal relationship between pioneer and Indian in the forest, is the antithesis of Alencar's ideal of *mestiçagem*.

The work of Victor Hugo offers some more genuine points of contact, although I can find little evidence of any direct influence on Alencar. The connection lies in both authors' interest in myth and in the Biblical sources which underly the mythologies constructed in their texts. Pierre Albouy has traced the development of this Romantic interest in the Judeo-Christian mythical tradition back to the seventeenth-century notion that "La mythologie n'est qu'un vaste 'plagiat' de la Bible". Comparative religious studies in the following century removed Christianity from the centre of this relationship and began to recognise parallels between Western mythologies and those of primitive tribal cultures. For instance, Lafitau discovered what he believed were links between the folkloric traditions of North American Indians and the legends contained in the Bible and the works of Homer. A quotation from Hugo's La Fin de Satan (1854) illustrates his conviction, following the voyages of his exile, that there is an intimate unity between all religions:

Trimourti! Trinité! Triade! Triple Hécate!
Brahma, c'est Abraham; dans Adonis éclate
Adonai; Jovis jaillit de Jéhovah.

It is the location of this "christianisme antérieur" in the primitive environment of Nature which allows us to incorporate Alencar into this tradition: "Cette identité des religions et des mythologies provient, non point d'une révélation primitive recueillie et transmise par

des prêtres, mais de l'universalité de l'unique 'bible' primitive: la nature".³⁴ I have already referred to some of the Christian formulae or myths, such as salvation and self-sacrifice, which are used to give the actions of Alencar's Indian characters their moral legitimacy. In O Guarani, Peri instinctively dedicates himself to the salvation of the White Virgin of his dreams, "rising again" from his intended martyrdom at the hands of the Aimorés in order to redeem the colonial community and lead its representative, Ceci, into a New Eden. In Iracema, meanwhile, the landscape of Ceará provides the edenic setting for an adaptation of the Genesis myth. Much is made of the few similarities between genuine indigenous traditions and biblical mythology, such as the twin Flood legends of Tamandaré and Noah. Os Filhos de Tupã constructs an entire mythology to explain the genealogy of Brazil's tribal groups, including elements of the biblical story of Cain and Abel.

However, it is Balzac and Walter Scott who provide the most illuminating points of comparison with Alencar's perception of his country's political and historical formation. Whereas the Romantic novels of Scott formed the staple diet of his domestic family life as a young man, the linguistic difficulties which Balzac's work presented to the student Alencar made his study of the author very much a labour of love. Josué Montello has observed that Balzac and Alencar shared a similar conception of their role as artists, a similar utilitarian view of the novel and of their historical mission.³⁵ In addition, they held a number of basic political convictions in common, even though these were

34. Pierre Albouy, La Création Mythologique chez Victor Hugo (Paris: José Corté, 1968), p.89.

35. Josué Montello, "A 'Comédia Humana' de José de Alencar", Clã no.21, Dezembro 1965, pp.11-12.

born out of different historical contexts: the same legitimist faith in constitutional monarchy and the same Catholicism. Moreover, Balzac experienced the same disparity that faced Alencar, between his social and political ideals and the reality, in his case French society after the Restoration. Hence, according to Pierre Barberis³⁶, his belief in the ideal principle of the aristocracy as "la pensée d'une société", yet his criticism of the contemporary French aristocracy "comme classe faillie et égoïste". Preferring to uphold the ideal rather than the reality, Balzac resorts to the same method of historical revision, the substitution of myth for fact, which Alencar is to adopt in O Guarani. The Republican conspirators of the *charbonnerie* and their repression are thus erased from Balzac's account of the Restoration Monarchy:

Comment faire aller de pair la formulation d'un idéal de monarchie rationnelle avec une réalité monarchique qui en était parfaitement éloignée? Tout simplement, en alignant le fait sur le droit, en idéalisant la Restauration, en lui prêtant malgré les descriptions qu'on en donne, une orientation qui devait, normalement, annuler ces peintures (ibid.).

The ideological and artistic parallels between the two writers extend to their interpretation of the relationship between conqueror and conquered, authority and rebel. Like Thierry and Walter Scott, Balzac attributes the right to social ascendancy, not to the recent colonial invader, but to the indigenous subject race. Alencar must have been familiar with the struggle between patriotic Saxons and the Norman regime in Scott's Ivanhoe. In his own novels, as elsewhere in the Indianist movement, the legitimacy of the Indian's battle against the European colonist is rarely questioned. More significant is the link

36. Pierre Barberis, Mythes Balzaciens (Paris: Armand Colin, 1972), p.37.

between the American "savage" and the European peasant, both representing a potential force for rebellion or revolution:

Chez Balzac, le héros sauvage, celui que l'on découvre avec surprise pardelà les oppositions spectaculaires du libéralisme et de l'Ancien régime, c'est en premier lieu le paysan (Marche-à-Terre d'abord, le père Fourchon ensuite); c'est le réfractaire et le "chauffeur", le semi-bandit (Butifer dans Le Médecin de campagne, Farrabesche dans Le Curé de village), l'homme qui a refusé la conscription.³⁷

Now it will be clear from what has been said so far in this chapter that the notions of European Liberalism, "the masses" and "la classe bourgeoisie" on which this analysis of Balzac's France depends, cannot be applied in the same way to the Second Reign without serious distortions of the economic conditions prevalent in Brazil in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, on the general level of social struggle between the marginal or rebel and the ruling class, the comparison still stands; both Balzac and Alencar defend the middle way, the way of constitutional monarchy, the Moderating Power which exists to preserve a delicate balance between aristocratic absolutism and radical liberalism. Moreover, more than one critic has noted the conscious association which Balzac establishes between the "stark antagonism, the brute ferocity, the endless hostilities" which lie close to the surface of Fenimore Cooper's Leatherstocking novels, and the atmosphere of struggle in the Comédie humaine.³⁸ For H. Levin, "the poor relation, Lisbeth Fischer, is the Mohican in ambush, the eternal revolutionary" (ibid.), while the "primitive warfare over possession" which occupies Les Paysans is explicitly related

37. Pierre Barberis, Balzac: une mythologie réaliste (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1971).

38. H. Levin, The Gates of Horn: a Study of five French realists (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p.212.

to the natural environment of the tribal world, where civilisation is seen to break down:

One need not travel to America, remarks the journalist Étienne Blondet, in order to behold Cooper's redskins. "After all, it's an Indian's life surrounded by enemies, and I am defending my scalp," announces Vautrin, when he makes his appearance on the stage. "Paris, you see, is like a forest in the new world, agitated by twenty sorts of savage tribes - Illinois and Hurons living on the products of the different social classes," so he warns Rastignac in Le père Goriot. "You are hunting after millions".³⁹

Les Chouans, originally entitled Le Dernier Chouan and closely modelled on The Last of the Mohicans, offers further examples of the peasant/Indian relationship, and interesting parallels with Alencar's model of indigenous culture and its "medieval" tradition of loyalty and service. The Breton peasant evinces the same combination of simplicity, ancient superstition, respect for tradition and heroism as are displayed by Alencar's Peri or Poti:

Là, les coutumes féodales sont encore respectées. Là, les antiquaires retrouvent debout les monuments des druides, et le génie de la civilisation moderne s'effraye de pénétrer à travers d'immenses forêts primordiales. Une incroyable férocité, un entêtement brutal, mais aussi la foi du serment; l'absence complète de nos lois, de nos mœurs, de notre habillement, de nos monnaies nouvelles, de notre langage, mais aussi la simplicité patriarcale et d'héroïques vertus s'accordent à rendre les habitants de ces campagnes plus pauvres de combinaisons intellectuelles que ne le sont les Mohicans et les Peaux-Rouges de l'Amérique septentrionale, mais aussi grands, aussi rusés, aussi durs qu'eux.⁴⁰

When confronted by the figure of Francine de Verneuil, the primitive simplicity of the *chouan* expresses itself in terms that are identical to Peri's awed worship of Cecilia, the Virgin of his vision:

39. Op.cit., p.211; see also John Cruickshank (ed.), French Literature and its background, 6 vols. (London, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), vol.IV, The Early Nineteenth Century, p.118.

40. Honoré de Balzac, Les Chouans (Une passion dans le désert) ou La Bretagne en 1799 (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1898), pp.19-20.

(...) Le chouan remit son bonnet de laine rouge sur sa tête, resta debout, et se grattait l'oreille à la manière des gens embarrassés, lorsqu'il vit Francine lui apparaître comme par magie.

- Sainte Anne d'Auray! s'écria-t-il.

Tout à coup, il laissa tomber son fouet, joignit les mains et demeura en extase. Une faible rougeur illumina son visage grossier, et ses yeux brillèrent comme des diamants perdus dans de la fange.

- Est-ce bien la garce à Cottin? dit-il d'une voix si sourde que lui seul pouvait s'entendre. - êtes-vous *godaine*? reprit-il après une pause.

(...)

- Je n'oserais point vous toucher, ajouta Marche-à-Terre en avançant néanmoins sa large main vers Francine comme pour s'assurer du poids d'une grosse chaîne d'or qui tournait autour de son cou et descendait jusqu'à sa taille (op.cit., p.131).

My analysis of the relationship between the patriarch and the marginal in O Guarani and the regionalist novels will reveal similar connections between Alencar's view of a conciliation of antagonistic political forces through the moderating influence of the monarchy, and the ideas both of Balzac and Scott. The notion of an unspoken contract or political equilibrium between the centre of power and its margins appears in probably the most popular novel of Walter Scott, a novel with which Alencar must have been intimately familiar. Towards the end of Ivanhoe, the "King of Outlaws", Robin Hood, who has aided Richard Coeur-de-Lion in the overthrow of his tyrant brother, John, feasts his king in Sherwood Forest. However, noticing that his men are encouraged by the drink and merriment to boast of "their successful infraction of the laws", he thinks it wise to cut short the celebration. In his own words: "And know, moreover, that they who jest with Majesty even in its gayest mood, are but toying with the lion's whelp, which, on slight provocation, uses both fangs and claws."⁴¹ Ivanhoe recognises the delicate balance of power, the danger of conflict which exists between his defiant outlaws and a jealous

41. Sir Walter Scott, Ivanhoe (London: Dean and Son, n/d), p.217.

guardian of authority. Richard, too, is equally aware of the value of reconciliation, and of a government of tolerance and generosity, if the rebellious tendencies of the outlaw are to be curbed:

He once more extended his hand to Robin Hood, assured him of his full pardon and future favour, as well as his firm resolution to restrain the tyrannical exercise of the forest rights and other oppressive laws, by which so many English yeomen were driven into a state of rebellion (op.cit., p.219).

In the same way, Peri and the marginal figures from Alencar's regionalist novels are brought to a compromise with the patriarch, by which their need for freedom is tolerated and indulged in the service of the regime. As in Balzac's novels, women are typically the agents of this change in the balance of power, offering the possibility of an alternative, ideal world:

(...) il est à noter qu'elles fonctionnent toujours comme signe d'optimisme et d'ouverture et que la possibilité du rapprochement femme-héros sauvage est toujours signe de ce qu'une chance reste au monde et de ce qu'on lui pense sinon un avenir du moins un sens possible (Barberis, Une mythologie..., ibid.).

I have devoted a considerable part of this introduction to the ideological links between Alencar's work and that of a number of European writers, not in order to suggest that Alencar's Indianism is purely derivative, nor simply to establish his place within that particular tradition, although that should now remain indisputable. Rather, my intention is to demonstrate that, by once again appealing to an external model of socio-political order (no longer simply the philosophy of Liberalism but, more important, the notion of the Moderating Power of the monarchy), an Indianist writer could construct a mythology which would resolve the basic ideological contradictions inherent in the movement. What is more, the influence of these sources on Alencar's artistic and political thinking does not have to be debated purely on the basis of an

isolated analysis of the novels themselves. Over the following pages I shall show that there exists a fundamental coherence between the vision of Brazilian society as manifested in the fiction, and the overtly political views which Alencar expressed during his parliamentary career and as a newspaper columnist.

I showed in the previous section how the inflexibility of the Imperial economic structure, based as it was on the concentration of land and human capital i.e. slaves, in the hands of a traditional white minority, had imposed an intolerable strain on the Liberal assumptions underlying Romantic Indianism. We also saw how Magalhães appeals to Christian morality and the Divine Plan in order to rationalise this contradiction and to legitimise the social and political sacrifices which are imposed upon the Indian for the future prosperity of Empire. As I have suggested, Alencar's solution is to elaborate a rather more sophisticated mythology based on the same tradition of Christian formulae, and to add to it the concept of *mestiçagem*. This innovation has consequences that are more far-reaching than its significance for Indianism alone may suggest. For this myth - of a conciliatory, collaborative relationship between the races on the basis of a history of close social and sexual contact - is the first manifestation of a line of sociological thought, the theory of "democracia racial", which continues to have its advocates up to the present day.

Essentially, the theory proposes that the peculiar character of Brazilian society is such that the progressive integration of racial groups into the national community, as *brasileiros*, is able to transcend the barriers of class which normally divide a nation and set it into conflict. Brazilian society enjoys a unique flexibility in its racial

relationships, to which analyses based on the principle of class struggle cannot sensibly be applied. *Mestiçagem* is therefore symbolic of a process of democratisation, in which the normal hierarchy of master and slave is broken down, something which is shown as taking place in the final pages of O Guarani. As José Honório Rodrigues has indicated, though, social or racial mobility should not be confused with democracy; at least as far as the Second Reign is concerned, the only sector to which any kind of mobility was granted was the small group of landless freemen, from which, as we have seen, intellectuals such as Teixeira e Sousa and Gonçalves Dias emerged in their attempt to gain a foothold within the paternalistic structure of Empire. In any case, the freedom even of this group was illusory, circumscribed by the rigidly exclusive economic relationship between master and slave:

(...) livre apenas em certos aspectos da sua liberdade individual, porque política e socialmente era também submetido ao senhoriato, não ganhava as aspirações que pleiteava do grupo de cima, e detestava o grupo inferior, do qual sentia uma distância incomensurável (Independência..., op.cit., vol.II, p.133).

However, according to the apologists for the notion of racial democracy, such as João Camillo de Oliveira Torres, even before the advent of the French Revolution, Brazil boasted a classless society: "A América foi o paraíso do pioneiro isolado, do aventureiro. No Brasil somou-se tudo isto à 'democracia racial'".⁴² The black slave was unable to participate in this democracy, not chiefly because he or she was denied basic human rights of freedom and political representation, but because the African was as yet an "unnaturalised foreigner", still to be absorbed

42. João Camillo de Oliveira Torres, A Democracia Coroada: Teoria Política do Império do Brasil, 2ª ed. (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1964), p.37.

by the inevitable, and characteristically Brazilian, process of racial assimilation:

Não podemos, porém, considerar os escravos como "cidadãos", nem dizer que eles constituíam uma "classe". Eram antes uma população dentro do povo brasileiro, estrangeiros não assimilados. Com o correr dos tempos, os indivíduos de origem africana como que se "naturalizavam" brasileiros, incorporando-se devidamente ao seio da comunidade nacional. (...) Esse movimento vinha dos tempos coloniais e projetou-se ao longo do Império, na série de exemplos que todos conhecem, que indicam a queda sucessiva das barreiras que separavam os senhores de seus antigos escravos. Barreiras que, no fundo, não eram senão as que habitualmente separavam naturais de estrangeiros, agravadas com a posição jurídica especial do instituto da escravidão (op.cit., p.39).

Similarly, in Torres' analysis the Imperial ruling élite was not, as we may now define it, the representative of the class interests of the slave- and landowning oligarchy, but a government "of all the people": "O Império, conscientemente, não foi um governo de casta: procurava, juridicamente, ser a organização política de toda a comunidade, e não o instrumento de domínio de uma classe sobre as outras" (op.cit., p.382). Given the lack of organised public opinion and the absence of universal suffrage, the Emperor was obliged to represent the people, giving them a voice in the political process and ensuring that a democratic balance between government and opposition was maintained (p.97). The Liberal principles of freedom and equality of opportunity were thus made reality through a long but steady process of reform:

(...) dentro das intenções e dos motivos conscientes da política, procurava-se o estabelecimento de um regime de liberdade e de igualdade de possibilidades para o maior número e que permitisse, sem choques, um progressivo desenvolvimento das garantias efetivas de liberdade e de igualdade. Os exemplos da Abolição e da legislação eleitoral mostram muito bem o que se pretendia: ninguém poderá negar a sincera boa vontade dos estadistas imperiais (op.cit., p.382).

Although rather less blatantly at variance with the facts, Gilberto Freyre's account of the decline of the traditional landowning

class of Imperial Brazil depends upon the same concept of racial or cultural democratisation. The progressive *mestiçagem* of Brazilian society has led, he suggests, to the evolution of "formas chamadas individuais e, ao mesmo tempo, étnica e culturalmente mistas, de família, de economia e de cultura, tão numerosas, desde então, no Brasil, ao lado das cada dia menos poderosas, e étnica e culturalmente menos puras, famílias patriarcais de origem portuguesa".⁴³ The apparently inflexible social structure produced by a slave economy has been continually eroded, subverted even, by the democratic impulse characteristic of Brazil's history of miscegenation:

Integração, amadurecimento e desintegração que não se verificaram nunca, independentemente de outro processo igualmente característico da formação brasileira: o de amalgamento de raças e culturas, principal dissolvente de quanto houve de rígido nos limites impostos pelo sistema mais ou menos feudal de relações entre os homens às situações não tanto de raça como de classe, de grupos e indivíduos. (...)

Até que o que havia de mais renitentemente aristocrático na organização patriarcal da família, de economia e de cultura foi atingido pelo que sempre houve de contagiosamente democrático ou democratizante e até anarquizante, no amalgamento de raças e culturas (...) (op.cit., pp.637-38).

As we shall now see, this notion of a progressive *mestiçagem*, the gradual democratisation of Brazilian society through a process innate to the country's racial and cultural formation, is central to Alencar's political thinking and to the significance of his Indianist novels. Referring to another of his works Alencar asks:

Mas não será franca e democrática a sociedade onde se passam as cenas do romance? Onde dous moços pobres e desconhecidos são convidados a jantar, logo depois de rápido conhecimento pela manhã em um encontro? Onde a fidalguia é representada por titulares de

43. Gilberto Freyre, Sobrados e Mucambos: Decadência do Patriarcado Rural e Desenvolvimento do Urbano, 2ª ed., 3 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1951), vol.II, p.640.

carregação, como um barão que foi tropeiro, um conde que foi belchior, e um conselheiro que tem casa de consignações?⁴⁴

The conciliatory relationship between master and slave, patriarch and marginal, which is presented in O Guarani, reflects Alencar's faith in this racial and social democracy of his, and his belief that sudden, violent change was no substitute for the gradual, but inexorable advance of social progress. Nowhere is this belief more apparent than in his statements concerning the institution of slavery in Brazil. Although morally opposed to the principle of slavery - he supported the Queirós Law abolishing the traffic in slaves and was instrumental in improving the conditions of the trade within Brazil - Alencar viewed total and immediate Abolition as an inevitable prelude to economic collapse and civil war. Such a step would constitute a dangerous interruption of the natural evolution of Brazilian society towards universal emancipation:

O que se observava era apenas o progresso contínuo, suave e natural, da revolução íntima, que desde muito se opera no Brasil e que tende a realizar a emancipação pelo melhoramento dos costumes, pela generosidade do povo brasileiro, pela nossa civilização que pulula com uma força imensa...⁴⁵

5.4.2 Career and ideas

José de Alencar was born on May 1st, 1829, in Mecejana, in the north-eastern province of Ceará. The Alencares were an old and prominent family closely involved in the political history of the region. The author's father, José Martiniano, was a priest and Liberal activist in the Independence struggles; he represented Ceará in the joint parliament in Lisbon and took part in various uprisings, including the Confederação do

44. José de Alencar, "Os 'Sonhos d'Ouro'", Obra Completa, 4 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: José Aguilar, 1960), vol.IV, p.938.

45. R. Magalhães Júnior, José de Alencar e sua época, 2ª ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1977), p.279.

Equador, a movement for the liberation of the northern states. At the age of nine, the young José made a journey across the north-eastern *sertão* to Bahia; this experience of direct contact with the rural interior and its landscapes is said to have inspired him to write O Guarani, Iracema and O Sertanejo. Literary ventures dating from this period of his youth include a novel, later discarded, based on the 1817 Pernambuco rebellion; the atmosphere which surrounded Alencar in the domestic environment was that of his father's political activities - the family home was the meeting-place for the Clube Maiorista, a group which saw in the early accession of Pedro II the possible realisation of their Liberal ambitions. The young José also witnessed the failures and repression which its members encountered, including the arrests of its leaders, his father amongst them.

In 1846 Alencar moved to São Paulo to study law; but the bohemian lifestyle of the young intellectual community did not appeal to him, and he withdrew into the solitude of his own company, devoting his time and energies to contemporary foreign literature: Balzac, Dumas Fils, Vigny, Hugo, Chateaubriand, Marryat, Scott, Fenimore Cooper and others. Following a brief visit to his home province in 1848 he began to take an interest in the colonial history of Brazil, and to read the travel literature and *crônicas* of the period with a view to writing an historical novel. One result of these studies was a biographical essay on the legendary "índio civilizado" and ally of the Portuguese, Antônio Filipe Camarão (the Potiguar warrior Poty, from Iracema).

Moving to Rio, he practised advocacy for a short while before applying for an editorial position on the Jornal do Commercio, which had recently been vacated by Francisco Otaviano. Although refused this post

he was offered another on Otaviano's own newspaper, the Correio Mercantil, whose future collaborators were to include the novelists Manuel Antônio de Almeida, Joaquim Manuel de Macedo and Machado de Assis. It was during this time (1854-55), the height of the Paraná ministry of Conciliation, that Alencar produced the regular *crônicas* or columns of "Ao Correr da Pena", which proved very successful until they were considered too controversial and were stopped. Amongst other comment of a topical and political nature, we find here his somewhat ambivalent views on the policy of Conciliation.

On the one hand, as the following extract from a piece on the birthday of Pedro II illustrates, he considered Conciliation, as implemented under the Second Reign, to be totally dependent on the system of royal patronage, the balanced distribution of "graças" to those "cujos serviços a munificência imperial julgou dever remunerar":

êste ano (...) as circunstâncias favoráveis de uma atualidade calma e serena permitiram que a munificência imperial pudesse ao mesmo tempo pagar as dívidas da nação e auxiliar a realização do pensamento de união e concórdia, que é o programa de governo do Sr. D. Pedro II e o seu voto o mais ardente como brasileiro e como soberano.

êste ano já a tolerância tinha passado a esponja por sobre todos êstes nomes de guabiru e de praeiro, de luzia e de saquarema, de exaltado e conservador, aos quais outrora os ódios políticos fizeram representar na luta encarniçada dos partidos o papel de guelfos e gibelinos.⁴⁶

As Alencar remarks elsewhere, the guiding principle of this system was that "tudo tem um preço", including justice and the integrity of the country's statesmen. The consequence of such a policy was the replacement of a genuine debate between clearly defined ideological positions, by the

46. José de Alencar, Obra Completa, 4 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: José Aguilar, 1960), vol.IV, p.691; all quotations are taken from this edition unless otherwise indicated. References begin with the abbreviation OC, followed by the volume and page number.

false, spineless conciliation of "conversa", in which principles disappeared, convictions became confused and opinion followed the dictates of expediency and personal ambition.

On the other hand, he proposed a new party of conciliation, to be born out of the "confusão de idéias extremas", but nevertheless committed to a real, dynamic exchange of viewpoints, an authentic dialectic between government and an effective opposition:

Reabilite-se esta bela idéia da conciliação dos espíritos, evite-se que seja substituída por uma conciliação de interesses individuais: aceitem-se todas as adesões, mas não se suplique nem uma; chamem-se todas as inteligências a concorrer para o bem do país, mas não se exija uma transigência imoral que não pode ser duradoura: respeitem-se todas as opiniões e deixe-se a oposição inteiramente livre, porque se for leal, auxiliará o governo; se for licenciosa, se desacreditará por si mesma (OC, IV, p.748).

It was not for these opinions, however, that Alencar's column began to be censored and that forced him to leave the Correio Mercantil, but for his attacks on economic speculation and the vice of "o lucro". Together with some friends he attempted an enthusiastic revival of the waning Diário do Rio de Janeiro as a vehicle for his ideas on Conciliation, but with little commercial success. It was at this time that his father named him in his will, requesting that he continue the family tradition of active Liberal politics. Alencar seems to have lacked confidence and faith in that tradition, however, and he failed to win the parliamentary election for his home province when he stood as a candidate in 1856.

In the same year he published the famous series of letters criticising Magalhães' recently published Indianist epic, A Confederação dos Tamboios. Shortly afterwards the novel O Guarani began to appear in instalments in the Diário do Rio de Janeiro. Cinco Minutos and A Viúvinha were also being published in the same form, but did not reach the

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unprecedented popularity of O Guarani. However, the critics were either stunned or piqued into silence, and in this absence of "official" recognition Alencar turned to the theatre, which he felt needed to be revived. His dramas Verso e Reverso and A Noite de S. João were well received, and O Demônio Familiar was performed before the Emperor and Empress, to whom it was dedicated. These theatrical activities marked the beginning of a life-long friendship with Machado de Assis, then a critic and journalist, who remained a constant source of positive criticism and support.

In 1858, after returning to advocacy, he was appointed to a post in one of the new government departments through the influence of Senator Nabuco. Alencar's increasing alienation from his family's political roots must be seen against the background of widespread changes in party allegiance during this period; prominent figures such as Nabuco, Saraiva, Zacarias and Paranhos left the Conservative camp for the Liberals. The appointment of a new Conservative administration 1859 led to Alencar's promotion to the position of "consultor dos Negócios da Justiça". When, after his father's death in the following year, he stood for the second time as an electoral candidate for Ceará, and won his seat, it was not as a Liberal but as a Conservative. However, Alencar made an unimpressive parliamentary speaker, and his political reputation did not match the respect he had won as a novelist. It was a career interrupted by exhaustion and illness, and he retired to convalesce in the peaceful rural setting of Tijuca, then just outside Rio. There he met his future wife, the daughter of a British industrialist, and found a domestic environment more conducive to his literary activities. As well as studying the indigenous languages of Brazil, he wrote As Minas de Prata and Iracema,

both novels enjoying a success equal to that of his earlier works, whose first and second editions had almost sold out by 1863.

In 1865, having recovered and being anxious to return to politics, Alencar began to publish the anonymous Cartas de Erasmo, in which he resumed his discussion of Conciliation, calling for a truly representative electoral system along the lines of the British parliamentary monarchy. Fundamental to his notion of political Conciliation is the role of the monarch as a disinterested arbitrator, the voice of the national conscience restraining the excesses of government and opposition:

O Poder Moderador é o eu nacional, a consciência ilustrada do povo. Assim como a criatura humana no correr da vida é admoestada por um senso íntimo, que a obriga a refletir sobre a moralidade do ato que vai praticar; a nação recebe do monarca o mesmo serviço; e muitas vezes o remordimento precursor da má paixão evita suas consequências, obrigando o povo a refletir (OC, IV, p.1085).

However, as far as Pedro II himself is concerned, Alencar's opinion shifts from one of admiration and faith in his capacity to fulfil this role of Moderator - "Monarca, eu vos amo e respeito, sois nestes tempos calamitosos de indiferentismo e descrença um entusiasmo e uma fé para o povo" (OC, IV, p.1050, November 1865) - to one that is increasingly critical, demanding a more responsible exercise of his political duties. Looking back over the history of the Second Reign, he concludes that, during Conciliation, Pedro made insufficient use of his powers to dissolve the Lower Chamber, whilst in the earlier and more recent periods of party conflict he took too little account of public opinion.

This leads Alencar to his sustained attacks on what he saw as an absolutist tendency in the current regime, an abuse of "o Poder Pessoal", which even prompted him to collaborate temporarily on the newly founded paper, A República. No doubt Alencar's failure to be selected for a life peerage, an ambition blocked by Pedro on the grounds that the novelist

was already Minister of Justice, gave Alencar personal cause to attack the notion of "Poder Pessoal". But these arbitrary political actions, such as the 1868 appointment of the Itaboraí government in the face of an opposition majority, were becoming more evident, and they signalled the end of the political consensus which, despite its ups and downs, had guaranteed Imperial rule for nearly fifty years.

If, for Alencar, the continued stability and prosperity of Empire depended on a political system of tolerant government, effective opposition and the moderating power of the monarch, its principal economic base, slavery, was for him no less vital. It was thus that Alencar, while praising the Queiróz Law that abolished the traffic from Africa, nevertheless opposed the Law of the Free Womb that was to mark the end of slavery in Brazil. The conditions of slavery could be improved so as to make them "humane", a view which he implemented during his period of office as Minister of Justice, when he ended the practice of open slave auctions at the Valongo market. But as for the institution itself, "(...) por isso que é uma instituição condenada pela moral, uma instituição caduca, não pode ser modificada: será extinta um dia, não pode ser alterada".⁴⁷

With his position in the cabinet weakened as a result of the Senate debacle, he resigned and dedicated the remaining decade of his life to literature. O Tronco do Ipê, O Sertanejo, A Guerra dos Mascates,

47. Luís Viana Filho, A Vida de José de Alencar (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Nacional do Livro, 1979), p.228; this and the following works are the sources for the biographical sketch given here: R. Magalhães Júnior, José de Alencar e sua época, op.cit.; José de Alencar, "Como e Porque sou romancista", Obras Completas, O Guarani (Rio de Janeiro: Letras e Artes, 1967), pp.9-29; Brito Broca, "Alencar: Vida, Obra e Milagre", Ensaio da mão canhestra (São Paulo: Polis, 1981); Raimundo de Menezes, José de Alencar: literato e político (São Paulo: Martins, 1965) and Cartas e Documentos de José de Alencar, 2ª ed. (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1977).

Ubirajara and Senhora were all written at this time, together with Til, which was published in *folhetim* form in A República. Several projects remained unfinished, such as the Indianist epic, Os Filhos de Tupã, begun in 1863. The drama O Jesuíta, which had been rejected by the director João Caetano as early as 1861, had an unhappy first performance in 1875, when the theatre was empty on all but two nights. Meanwhile, criticisms of the play marked the beginning of a decisive literary polemic between Alencar and Joaquim Nabuco. Like the attacks on Alencar by Castilho and Távora in Questões do Dia (1871-72), this was superficially a bitter, often personal wrangle over linguistic trivialities and the validity of the Indianist theme. However, it was charged with political overtones, and was symptomatic of the emergence of new ideologies and theories of culture which were anathema to Alencar.

In 1876 he travelled to Europe, and was well received in Portugal. However, he left the continent with a somewhat jaundiced impression, above all of the spectacle of industrialisation in the northern cities such as Liverpool. He soon entered a physical and psychological decline, remaining politically intransigent and resentful of what he saw as the lack of public recognition of his work. He died shortly after his return to Brazil, in 1877, of the tuberculosis which he had contracted in his youth. Only then did he begin to receive the wide critical acclaim which he had longed for throughout his career.

5.4.3 O Guarani

O Guarani, published in the last year of the Paraná ministry, may be described as the classic novel of Conciliation, reproducing on a mythical level the elements of Alencar's thinking that have been outlined

above: the dynamic, dialectical struggle of antagonistic political forces towards a more genuine national unity and progress; the translation of this onto a cultural level in the portrayal of *mestiçagem*, the marriage of two races, Indian and white, and the achievement of a mature self-awareness of a "Brazilian" identity; the role of a moderating, restraining influence on the absolutist tendencies of those in power, and the need to legitimise an ideal, "humane" form of slavery.

This correspondence between the author's socio-political ideology and his fiction is further confirmed by the fact that the basic plot structure of Q Guarani is repeated in a whole series of regionalist novels representing the same power struggle and its successful resolution. Q Tronco do Ipá, Til and Q Sertanejo all depict the crisis of a patriarchal regime ruled by an oppressive *fazendeiro* (Joaquim Freitas, Luís Galvão or Capitão-Mor Campelo), the more contemporary equivalent of the *fidalg*o, Dom Antônio de Mariz, who is the colonial patriarch of Q Guarani. And each of these novels sets the patriarch into conflict with a marginal figure (Mário, Jão Fera or Arnaldo), distanced from the source of power by his social circumstances, racial origins, or special relationship with the indigenous, natural world, and who refuses to submit to the arbitrary tyranny of the *fazendeiro*. The conflict is resolved through the mediation of an adolescent female figure, the patriarch's daughter (Alice, Berta or Dona Flor); while her love for the marginal succeeds in taming his rebellious, destructive impulse, she is also able to temper the excessive authoritarianism of the *fazendeiro*, reaching a mature awareness of her own Brazilian identity in the process.

However, of all the different versions of this basic scheme, Q Guarani was, significantly, the most popular during the author's

lifetime and has remained so. As well as Scalvini's Italian libretto for Carlos Gomes' operatic setting, Il Guarany (1870), which played at La Scala, Milan and London's Covent Garden, the novel gave rise to a drama in three acts, Guarany ou O Amor no deserto (1875), and even an illustrated literary journal under the same title.⁴⁸ The simplified plot structures of the two theatrical versions suggest that the idealised historical setting of O Guarani holds a special mythical appeal which is lacking in the regionalist novels. The social structure depicted in the latter texts bears a close resemblance to the reality of rural Brazil in the Second Reign, limiting the extent to which Alencar can plausibly depict a major transformation in the relationships between its characters. In O Guarani, meanwhile, he is able to exploit to the full the historical distance and legendary atmosphere of the colonial backdrop, effortlessly sweeping away one order to replace it with an ideal vision of his nation's future, the Indian warrior and the naturalised *americana* floating off together on the tide of the Flood towards a New World.

The plot of the novel concerns the family of the Portuguese *fidalgos* Dom Antônio de Mariz in its isolated "fortress" somewhere between Rio and São Paulo at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the events which lead to the destruction of all but two of its members. The son and heir, Dom Diogo, is sent away early in the novel and thus survives to reappear in As Minas de Prata; the daughter Cecília is saved by a Goitacá Indian, Peri, who adores the white Virgin and is dedicated to her protection. The destruction of the patriarchal community on the Paquequer river is brought about by internal and external forces: the

48. A. Scalvini, Il Guarany, Opera-Ballo in Quattro Atti (Milano: Coi Tipi di Francesco Lucca, 1870); Anon.?, Guarany ou O Amor no deserto (Lisboa: Typ. 62, Rua do Crucifixo 66, 1875); O Guarany, Ano 1, No.1, Jan.1871.

undermining of its unity by a mutiny of its resident band of "aventureiros", led by the power-crazy renegade missionary, Loredano; and by the attacks of the local Aimoré Indians, set off by the killing of one of the tribe's women at the hands of Dom Diogo.

The chief historical source for the plot which Alencar himself acknowledges is Balthazar da Silva Lisboa's Annaes do Rio de Janeiro (1834).⁴⁹ One of his major criticisms of Magalhães' Indianist epic was precisely its slavish adherence to the events as described in that document. As we shall see, Alencar's fictionalisation of the colonial adventure is by no means the arbitrary, extravagant fabrication which Augusto Meyer calls "romancear".⁵⁰ What it does represent is the construction of a coherent, but ideal, mythical vision of the process of *mestiçagem* which he saw as the key to the nation's cultural and political identity. Given his close knowledge of Lisboa's text, of the *crônicas* of Soares and Vasconcellos, and judging from his own writing on the subject, it is indisputable that Alencar must have been well acquainted with the history of slavery, betrayal and genocide of the Indian, to which soldiers such as Dom Antônio de Mariz, rewarded for his services in the devastating war against the Tamoios, contributed.⁵¹

Yet, while the reality of racial prejudice and violent oppression is acknowledged in the novel, the text is chiefly concerned with a set of characters and their relationships that are distinguished by their exceptional nature within the colonial context. D. Antônio is presented as

49. Balthazar da Silva Lisboa, Annaes do Rio de Janeiro 7 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Na Typ. Imp. e const. de Seignot-Plancher e Ca., 1834).

50. Augusto Meyer, "Alencar", A Chave e a Máscara (Rio de Janeiro: O Cruzeiro, 1964), p.257.

51. See, for example, the extract from Alencar's biography of Antônio Filipe Camarão, of 1849, quoted in Magalhães Júnior, op.cit., pp.36-37.

owning no slaves, Indian or African; as a virtuous knight, a man of his word, and not a slaughterer of Indians; as someone who will strip his own son Diogo of his right to defend the family as an honourable *fidalgo* and expel him from the community for the accidental killing of an Indian woman - an extraordinary condemnation of an event which must have been commonplace:

(...) um fidalgo que mata uma criatura fraca e inofensiva, comete uma ação baixa e indigna. (...) para mim, os índios quando nos atacam, são inimigos que devemos combater, quando nos respeitam são vassallos de uma terra que conquistamos; mas são homens! (OC, II, p.50).

Alencar does not present this attitude as universal within the society of the novel, but as a special, advanced view of the colonial relationship which prepares the *fidalgo's* daughter for the momentous transformation of the book's climax. Dom Antônio's military position with regard to the Indians is a defensive one, the fortification of the "casa do Paquequer" and the maintenance of a band of "aventureiros" for the protection of the family. However, Alencar seems unable to disguise the real, historical function of such bands, and Chapter 3 of the novel reveals the name "aventureiro" to be a euphemism for *bandeirante*:

Naquele tempo dava-se o nome de "bandeiras" a essas caravanas de aventureiros que se entranhavam pelos sertões do Brasil, à busca de ouro, de brilhantes e esmeraldas, ou à descoberta de rios e terras ainda desconhecidos (OC, II, p.33).

The description leaves something to be desired, of course, for as the notes to the text indicate, albeit somewhat cryptically, the principal source of income for the wealthy colonist was the "ganhos" from the *bandeiras'* slaving expeditions, their "explorações e correrias pelo interior". It is even suggested that Dom Antônio participated in such raids, since his "niece" Dona Isabel is rumoured to be the "fruto dos amores do velho fidalgo por uma índia que havia cativado em uma das suas

explorações" (OC, II, p.32). As if to rectify this stain on his character and restore him to his special moral status, we read in a "flashback" in the Second Part that he subsequently saved an Indian woman from the hands of his men, and that this woman was the mother of Peri. This is the initial step in the evolution of the mutually contractual relationship between the novel's two archetypal male figures, the white patriarch and the Indian warrior.

That relationship develops against a background of racial prejudice and aggression that is expressed particularly through the character of Dom Antônio's *paulista* wife, Dona Lauriana. Whereas her husband instinctively allies himself with Cecilia, she sides with her son, defending his killing of the *índia*. When Cecilia voices her fears for Peri's life, Dona Lauriana remarks: "Não se perde grande coisa", and she struggles vigorously to expel him from the household, claiming that he deliberately plotted to terrorise the family with his captive lynx. Her attitude epitomises the basic denial of the indigenous contribution to Brazilian nationality and culture, against which the novel is working: "(...) essa casta de gente, que nem gente é, só pode viver bem nos matos" (OC, II, p.75).

Even Isabel, herself half Indian, is infected by the prejudice of which she is a victim; she would like to erase the stigma of her indigenous blood, to remove the barrier which defines her only as Cecilia's *half-sister*. While Cecilia ironically envies her dark skin, she declares: "E eu daria a minha vida para ter a tua alvura, Cecilia" (OC, II, p.46). This hatred of her racial *brasilidade* as a *mestiça* is the basis of her aversion to Peri and her attraction to Dom Álvaro; it is a *brasilidade* which like Isabel herself, has no future to offer because it

is born out of an oppressive colonial relationship, the rape of the Indian:

Em Isabel o índio fizera a mesma impressão que lhe causava sempre a presença de um homem daquela cor; lembrara-se de sua mãe infeliz, da raça de que provinha, e da causa do desdém com que era geralmente tratada (OC, II, p.101).

Dom Antônio's downfall is not simply an accident of fate, then, but obeys an internal necessity for change. The Aimoré attack on the Paquequer, and the killing of the *índia* which precipitates it, are symptoms of the colonial community's alienation from the roots of the country's racial and cultural identity. It is that alienation which is to be overcome on a mythical, ideal level by the new, independent generation of Ceci. As the opening description of the landscape surrounding the settlement suggests; Alencar believes that there is another world of social relationships imaginable beyond the rigid, inflexible hierarchy of master and slave. Silviano Santiago's otherwise excellent essay on the novel⁵² fails to grasp this distinction; the relationship between the two rivers does indeed reflect a hierarchical structure of power, in which the Paquequer is lord over the *rochedos* but is itself subordinate to its "king":

Dir-se-ia que vassalo e tributário desse rei das águas, o pequeno rio, altivo e sobranceiro contra os rochedos, curva-se humildemente aos pés do suserano (OC, II, p.27).

But Alencar's faith in that structure is not unquestioning, nor does he deny the possibility of a more just, "Liberal" order of things:

Perde então a beleza selvática; (...) escravo submisso, sofre o látigo do senhor.

52. Silviano Santiago, "Liderança e Hierarquia em Alencar", Vale Quanto Pesa (Ensaios sobre questões político-culturais) (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1982), pp.89-116.

Não é neste lugar que ele deve ser visto; sim três ou quatro léguas acima de sua foz, onde livre ainda, como o filho indômito desta pátria da liberdade (...) (ibid.).

Something which is critical to the interpretation of Dom Antônio's downfall as a necessary one, is the nature of his relationship to Spain and Portugal, and the notion of medieval chivalry which he represents. The novel is set at the beginning of the seventeenth century when Portugal, and therefore Brazil, were under Spanish rule. In loyalty to his country, Dom Antônio has laid down his arms rather than serve the Spanish, and has isolated himself in his "little Portugal" on the Paquequer. As a first-generation colonist, a "foreigner" in an alien land, Dom Antônio is asserting in this way his obstinately Portuguese identity, his attachment to the Old World: "Aqui sou português,... Nesta terra que me foi dada pelo meu rei e conquistada pelo meu braço, nesta terra livre, tu reinarás, Portugal, como viverás na alma de teus filhos. Eu o juro!" (OC, II, p.30). Profoundly embedded in this sense of Portuguese identity is the medieval ethic of chivalry. There are many clear references to the fortress as "um castelo feudal na Idade Média", Dom Antônio's men as "vassalos" protected by the "rico-homem", his "escudeiro" Aires Gomes; his own appearance - "conhecia-se imediatamente que era um fidalgo pela altivez do gesto e pelo traço de cavalheiro" (OC, II, p.46) - and the chivalric code of behaviour which demands that Dom Antônio expels his son and recognises Peri as a "knight" in the guise of an Indian.

These instances have generally been presented as proof for the claim that Alencar's Indianism is simply a Brazilian variant on the current of Romantic medievalism represented, in Europe, by Walter Scott or Alexandre Herculano. However, this is to ignore the ultimately negative, anachronistic nature of this medievalism as it appears in the

novel. Aires Gomes, for instance, is Portuguese chivalry at its most comic and anti-Brazilian, totally out of tune with the New World and its inhabitants, such as Peri, who ties him to a tree for his troubles: "(...) e maldizer da selvajaria de semelhante terra! Ah! quem o dera nos tojos e charnecas de sua pátria!" (OC, II, p.120). It is the spirit of chivalry which prevents Dom Antônio from leaving the Paquequer when it is threatened with destruction - he is a part of the old order, and must perish with it:

Tal era o sentimento de honra naqueles antigos cavalheiros, que Dom Antônio nem um momento admitiu a idéia de fugir para salvar sua filha; se houvesse outro meio, decerto o receberia como um favor do céu; mas aquele era impossível (OC, II, p.252).

Thus it is the obsolete nature of Dom Antônio's patriarchal, medievalist values and his continued attachment to Portugal which make the destruction of his regime necessary, so that a new generation, that of Cecília, can create a new, genuinely Brazilian society.

The structure of the novel is therefore of fundamental importance to the understanding of its ideological implications. In the first of the text's four parts appear all the elements of conflict that motivate the rest of the plot: Isabel's despair in the face of her racial identity, and her attraction to Álvaro; Dona Lauriana's hatred of Peri and her attempts to have him expelled from the community; Dom Diogo's killing of the *índia* and the discovery of her body by her tribespeople; and Loredano's conspiracy with Bento Simões and Rui Soeiro.

Despite its appearance of calm and stability, the patriarchal community of the Paquequer contains an inherent quality of precariousness which is symbolised by the location of the fortress, dominating the area but perched on the edge of a precipice. This precipice represents the way towards change, an abyss between two worlds which must be crossed but

which carries with it the danger of destruction. The chasm outside Cecilia's window is the scene of several such moves towards change: it is there that Loredano drops the bracelet, Alvaro's gift to Cecilia, and so attempts to disrupt the conventional love-match between the couple; Peri must descend into its depths at risk to his life in order to retrieve the bracelet and restore the well-being of the community; it is by passing across a flimsy plank over the chasm that Loredano hopes to enter Cecilia's room and abduct her, realising his destructive dream of power. On several occasions Loredano comments on the symbolic meaning of this precarious journey to power, such as when he convinces his accomplices of his irresistible influence over them: "Quando uma vez se pôs o pé sobre o precipício, amigos, é preciso caminhar por cima dele, para não rolar e ir ao fundo. Caminhemos pois" (OC, II, p.86). The Aimoré Indians eventually invade the house by scaling the cliffs of the "abismo", thus destroying the barrier of apparent security which separated the community from chaos; and lastly, it is by crossing the bridge formed by a palm tree bent over the precipice that Peri and Ceci escape to their new world, fulfilling the movement towards change that is prefigured so early in the novel.

Another symbol of the momentous transformation which the novel records, is the cataclysmic potential of the river, one of the natural forces to which human activity is normally oblivious:

Tudo era grande e pomposo no cenário que a natureza, sublime artista, tinha decorado para os dramas majestosos dos elementos, em que o homem é apenas um simples comparsa (OC, II, p.27).

At the end of the novel nature asserts itself; in defiance of the order and hierarchy which it seemed to confirm in the opening pages, the river wakes like Gonçalves Dias' Sleeping Giant, to announce the apocalyptic moment of change:

Nesse momento o rio arquejou como um gigante estorcendo-se em convulsões, e deitou-se de novo no seu leito, soltando um gemido profundo e cavernoso. (...)

Dir-se-ia que algum monstro enorme, dessas jibóias tremendas que vivem nas profundezas da água, mordendo a raiz de uma rocha, fazia girar a cauda imensa, apertando nas suas mil voltas a mata que se estendia pelas margens.

Ou que o Paraíba, levantando-se qual novo Briaréu no meio do deserto, estendia os cem braços titânicos, e apertava ao peito, estrangulando-a em uma convulsão horrível, toda essa floresta secular que nascera com o mundo (OC, II, p.272).

The flood is linked quite explicitly to the Biblical myth of Noah, by means of the almost identical indigenous legend of Tamandaré, which Peri recounts to Ceci in the closing pages. The point here is that the myth does not, as Afonso Romano de Sant'Anna suggests,⁵³ impose a closed structure on the novel, but an open one; God, saddened by the wickedness of Man on his Earth, decides to destroy him, but allows his favourite, Noah, to survive and "replenish the earth", to begin mankind afresh, like Tamandaré and his "companheira". It is this new, ideal society of the future which Peri and Ceci are permitted to create after Nature, avenging itself by an act of purification, sweeps away the old, decadent order so as to recover the primeval innocence and harmony of the Terrestrial Paradise.

Let us now examine the process by which this new society, based on a completely different relationship to that of the colonial regime, is made possible. Social convention, reflecting the social and political structures imposed by colonialism, points in the novel to an expected marriage between Alvaro and Cecília, preserving an all-white, Portuguese-dominated patriarchal order. Isabel looks upon this relationship with

53. Afonso Romano de Sant'Anna, "O Guarani", Análise Estrutural de Romances Brasileiros (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1973), pp.54-83.

resigned hopelessness, seeing herself inevitably excluded, her only future that of solitude and marginalisation, or suicide:

Pensava no seu amor infeliz, na solidão de sua alma, tão erma de recordações doces, de esperanças queridas. Toda essa tarde fora um martírio para ela; vira Álvaro falar a Cecília, adivinhara quase as suas palavras. Há poucos momentos tinha percebido a sombra do moço que atravessara a esplanada, e sabia que não era por sua causa que ele passava (OC, II, pp.61-62).

However, from the beginning, Alvaro's own feelings for Cecília are by no means free of ambiguity; his love has neither the sensual passion of Loredano nor the idolatry of Peri, but is the conventionalised "afeição" of the chivalresque code of courtly love:

Em Álvaro, cavalheiro delicado e cortês, o sentimento era uma afeição nobre e pura, cheia da graciosa timidez que perfuma as primeiras flores do coração, e do entusiasmo cavalheiresco que tanta poesia dava aos amores daquele tempo de crença e lealdade (OC, II, p.59).

Conventional, restrained and traditionally unrequited, Álvaro's chivalresque sentiments are inevitably overwhelmed by the much more powerful attraction of Isabel, her "poder de sedução irresistível". From the moment when she returns to him the flower which he had intended for Cecília and thereby, in a manner characteristic of the novel, establishes a strand of communication, the image of Isabel begins to replace that of the other woman in his thoughts:

(...) seu pensamento estava bem longe dele e esvoaçava em torno da imagem de Cecília, junto da qual via os grandes olhos negros e aveludados de Isabel embebidos numa languidez melancólica; era a primeira vez que aquele rosto moreno e aquela beleza ardente e voluptuosa se viera confundir em sonhos com o anjo louro dos seus amores (OC, II, p.114).

The remainder of the novel traces Álvaro's struggle with his sense of guilt, for the betrayal of his duties as a *cavalheiro*, his promise of marriage given to Cecília's father, and the admission of his true feelings for Isabel. This admission, a Romantic rejection of Classical conventions,

and also of the obsolete code of Portuguese chivalry, can only come at the moment of death, when the house is being besieged by the Indians. Until that final *Liebestod*, Álvaro cannot compromise his code of honour; like Dom Antônio, he cannot survive the collapse of the old order:

Então nos momentos extremos, à borda do túmulo, quando a morte o tivesse já desligado da terra, poderia com o último suspiro balbuciar a primeira palavra do seu amor: poderia confessar a Isabel que a amava.

Até então lutaria (OC, II, p.205).

Cecília's liberation from the conventional marriage to Álvaro, towards her final union with Peri, follows a similar path, although it is complicated by the structures of power and subjugation which exist between Indian and white. Her childish dreams are at first filled with myths of chivalry, the fantasy that a gallant knight will come and "cair a seus pés tímido e suplicante" (OC, II, p.42). This image is initially strong enough to dispel the melancholy and repulsion aroused by the intrusion of an Indian figure into her dreams. But when her inherited colonial prejudices are overcome, the feeling of revulsion turns to pity:

Mas o escravo suplicante erguia os olhos tão magoados, tão cheios de preces mudas e de resignação, que ela sentia um quer que seja de inexprimível, e ficava triste, triste, até que fugia e ia chorar (ibid.).

Throughout most of the novel it is this attitude of pity, determined by Peri's social status as a slave, which characterises their relationship. However, from the very beginning Cecília's sensibility is instinctively attracted to the Indian's natural world; her clothes and the decoration of her room incorporate the skins and feathers of the forest animals and birds, and she experiences the delight of what she is eventually to recognise as her own, native environment:

Tudo para ela tinha um encanto inexprimível; as lágrimas da noite que tremiam como brilhantes das folhas das palmeiras; a borboleta que ainda com as asas entorpecidas esperava o calor do sol para reanimar-se; a viuvinha que escondida na ramagem avisava

o companheiro que o dia vinha raiando; tudo lhe fazia soltar um grito de surpresa e de prazer (OC, II, p.67).

Cecilia gradually realises the superficial nature of her love for Alvaro, recognising that it has been artificially exaggerated by the rivalry of Isabel. When she deliberately encourages the affair between Isabel and Álvaro, first by returning the latter's gifts and then passing them to Isabel, hers is less an act of self-sacrifice than of self-liberation, in order that she can pursue her more genuine feelings for Peri.

I have already considered one example of religious metaphor or myth, the figure of the white Virgin, as it is used to describe the process of colonial subjugation in Gonçalves Dias' "Canto do índio". Peri's relationship to Cecilia is equally defined in terms of the worship of a divine female source of authority and consolation. In Chapter 2 of the Second Part the narrator recounts Peri's first encounter with Dom Antônio and Cecília; the relationship begins with two reciprocal acts of salvation, the first of several Christian formulae that are to bring about the ultimate reconciliation of white and Indian. In spite of the state of war between the two races, Dom Antônio has rescued Peri's mother from the *aventureiros*; two days later Peri saves Cecília from a falling boulder - to him, this angelic apparition is the embodiment of the "senhora dos brancos", the image of the Virgin Mary which he found in an abandoned church and which appeared to him in a dream:

"De noite Peri teve um sonho; a senhora apareceu; estava triste e falou assim:

"Peri, guerreiro livre, tu és meu escravo; tu me seguirás por toda a parte, como a estrela grande acompanha o dia.

"A lua tinha voltado o seu arco vermelho, quando tornamos da guerra: todas as noites Peri via a senhora na sua nuvem; ela não tocava a terra, e Peri não podia subir ao céu.

(...)

"Assim Peri ficou triste.

"A senhora não apareceu mais; e Peri via sempre a senhora nos seus olhos.

(...)

"Sua mãe veio e disse:

"Peri, filho de Ararê, guerreiro branco salvou tua mãe; virgem branca também.

"Peri tomou suas armas e partiu; ia ver o guerreiro branco para ser amigo; e a filha da senhora para ser escravo.

"O sol chegava ao meio do céu e Peri chegava também ao rio; avistou longe a tua casa grande.

"A virgem branca apareceu.

"Era a senhora que Peri tinha visto; não estava triste como da primeira vez; estava alegre; tinha deixado lá a nuvem e as estrelas (OC, II, pp.98-99).

Incarnation and Salvation, two of the central tenets of Christian theology, are thus combined in a mythological explanation for Peri's desertion of his society and culture, and his devotional relationship to Cecília, the devotion of the medieval knight to his feudal *senhora*, of the slave to his mistress. Christianity is the basis for the reconciliation of the two alienated cultures and races, but it necessarily implies the subordination and sacrifice of the one, the Indian, to the other, the white.

Peri's love for Cecília is therefore totally selfless, "um culto, espécie de idolatria fanática, na qual não entrava um só pensamento de egoísmo" (OC, II, p.59). He is the ideal guardian of the patriarchal society of the Paquequer, "um gênio benfazejo das florestas do Brasil" (OC, II, p.97); like a guardian angel, he uses semi-magical, supernatural powers to ensure Cecília's well-being and to preserve her, and thus the future of the community, from danger. He protects her from animals and insects, from the arrows of the hostile Aimorés and from the evil Loredano, even dreaming of a moonbeam to guard over her. His plan to foil the Aimoré attack involves poisoning his own body, so that by consuming his flesh in the ritual of cannibalism, the enemy warriors will also die. Although saved at the last minute from execution, Peri seems bound to die

from the effects of the *curare* which is already working in his veins. His mysterious journey into the forest, where a communion with Nature brings him from a death-like sleep to a miraculous revival, resembles the biblical Resurrection of Christ, the archetypal Saviour:

O dia declinou: veio a tarde, e sob essa abóbada espessa em que Peri dormia como em um santuário, nem um rumor revelara o que aí se passou.

Quando o primeiro reflexo do dia purpureou o horizonte, as folhas se abriram, e Peri exausto de forças, vacilante, emagrecido como se acabasse de uma longa enfermidade, saiu do seu retiro (OC, II, p.241).

His final act of salvation is to carry Cecília away from the scene of destruction before the old colonial community is annihilated in the explosion which Dom Antônio has prepared; even as the flood waters rise and threaten to engulf her, he tears a tree from its roots with superhuman strength, willing the survival of the land's "chosen people": "Tu viverás!".

Like Dom Antônio and Cecília, then, Peri has a special, ideal status in relation to the reality of colonial history; he wanders virtually as he pleases in the household on the Paquequer, having abandoned his family and tribe for a life of voluntary servitude. In order to reinforce the special status of his Indian hero, Alencar draws on the stereotype whose tradition, as I have shown, has its roots in the earliest contact between missionaries and Indians - the stereotype of the amenable, civilised Tupi and the intractable, savage Tapuia. In so doing he actually makes two factual errors, the first being that the Aimorés, a Tapuia tribe, inhabited the Serra do Mar, close to the location of Dom Antônio's fortress. However, his description of the Indians, "povo sem pátria e sem religião, que se alimentava de carne humana e vivia como feras no chão e pelas grutas e cavernas" (OC, II, p.81), is a classic

caricature of the faceless, anonymous tribe, the pack of savage beasts devoid of the intelligence which marks out the member of human society:

Os cabelos arruivados caíam-lhe sobre a fronte e ocultavam inteiramente a parte mais nobre do rosto, criada por Deus para a sede da inteligência, e para o trono donde o pensamento deve reinar sobre a matéria.

Os lábios decompostos, arregaçados por uma contração dos músculos faciais, tinham perdido a expressão suave e doce que imprimem o sorriso e a palavra; de lábios de homem se haviam transformado em mandíbulas de fera, afeitas ao grito e ao bramido.

Os dentes agudos como a presa do jaguar, já não tinham o esmalte que a natureza lhes dera; armas ao mesmo tempo que instrumentos da alimentação, o sangue os tingira da cor amarelenta que têm os dentes dos animais carniceiros (OC, II, pp.208-09).

Peri, meanwhile, is the individual singled out from the collective identity of the tribe by his special qualities, and who is therefore ready to be integrated into Alencar's *mestiço* society. He is a Goitacá (Waitacá), also a tribe that is not in fact native to the area which provides the setting for the novel. As Alencar notes, though (OC, II, p.105), these Indians were famous for their skill as archers and swimmers and for their bravery and mobility in war. The Goitacá chief, Peri, reveals his cultural and moral superiority to the Aimorés in the battle which leads to his deliberate capture. Having proved his physical mastery over them, he surrenders voluntarily, yet remains psychologically in total control of the situation:

Ergueu-se, e com um soberbo desdém estendeu os punhos aos selvagens que por mandado do velho se dispunham a ligar-lhe os braços: parecia antes um rei que dava uma ordem aos seus vassallos, do que um cativo que se sujeitava aos vencedores; tal era a altivez do seu porte, e o desprezo com que encarava o inimigo (OC, II, p.212).

Moreover, his "esposa do túmulo", the Indian girl chosen to make his last moments as pleasurable as possible, is shown as recognising his cultural supremacy, suddenly realising the barbarism of her own people and their cannibalism:

(...) pela primeira vez seu instinto natural parecia revelar-lhe a atrocidade desse costume tradicional de seus pais, a que ela tantas vezes assistira com prazer (OC, II, p.221).

However, Peri's special qualities of loyalty and self-sacrifice are not sufficient alone to bring about the transformation, the *mestiçagem* of colonial society which is anticipated by the developments so far. In order that his final act of salvation can take place and a new society be born, a fundamental change is necessary in the relationship between the Indian and the *fidalgo* and his daughter, a change in the exercise of authority. From the moment when Peri agrees to remain in Cecília's service, she becomes aware of her power as *senhora* and heir to her father's absolute rule:

Ver aquela alma selvagem, livre como as aves que planavam no ar, ou como os rios que corriam na várzea; aquela natureza forte e vigorosa que fazia prodígios de força e coragem; aquela vontade indomável como a torrente que se precipita do alto da serra; prostrar-se a seus pés submissa, vencida, escrava! (OC, II, pp.106-07).

The limitations of Peri's apparent freedom as a voluntary slave in the household are only tested and exposed when there is an open conflict of wills. This occurs at a climactic moment in the novel when Dom Antônio and his daughter forbid him to sacrifice his life in the Aimoré camp, a sacrifice which Peri knows is their only hope, forcing him to violate the normally unspoken law of obedience to his colonial masters:

Cecília ergueu-se com um movimento instantâneo; de pé e pálida, soberba de cólera e indignação, a gentil e graciosa menina de outrora se tinha de repente transformado numa rainha imperiosa... Atirando a cabecinha loura sobre o ombro esquerdo com um gesto de energia, ela estendeu a mão para Peri:

- Proibo-te que saias desta casa!... (...)

Peri deu um passo para a porta; D. Antônio o reteve:

- Tua senhora, disse o fidalgo friamente, acaba de te dar uma ordem; tu a cumprirás. Tranqüiliza-te, minha filha; Peri é meu prisioneiro.

Ouvindo esta palavra que destruía todas as suas esperanças, que o impossibilitava de salvar sua senhora, o índio retraíndo-se deu um salto e caiu no meio da sala.

ROMANTIC INDIANISM: CONCILIATION

- Peri é livre!... gritou ele fora de si; Peri obedece a ninguém mais; fará o que lhe manda o coração (OC, II, pp.207-08).

Peri's predicament, his rebellion against the authority of the patriarch and their final reconciliation, as Dom Antônio knights the Indian and confides his daughter to his safe-keeping, demonstrate the necessarily precarious balance of power that must be nurtured if the community is to survive. On the one hand, it needs to be remembered that Peri never actually challenges the principle of patriarchal authority itself; he only seeks to temper it, to moderate its absolutist excesses and thereby create a space within which his own impulse to freedom is permitted to function for the benefit of the regime as a whole. It is worth, in this respect, comparing Peri's momentary clash with patriarchal authority and Loredano's more revolutionary attempt to overthrow Dom Antônio's regime. An Italian fisherman's son "de baixa extração", Loredano is intent on a radical transformation, not just of the relationships between individuals and classes, but of the entire structure of society. He is inflamed...

(...) pela impossibilidade moral que a sua condição criava, pela barreira que se elevava entre ele, pobre colono, e a filha de D. Antônio de Mariz, rico fidalgo de solar e brasão.

Para destruir esta barreira e igualar as posições, seria necessário um acontecimento extraordinário, um fato que alterasse completamente as leis da sociedade naquele tempo mais rigorosas do que hoje; era preciso uma dessas situações em face das quais os indivíduos, qualquer que seja a sua hierarquia, nobres e párias, nivelam-se; e descem ou sobem à condição de homens (OC, II, p.59).

Alencar's demonic characterisation of Loredano as the agent of such a revolution allows us to put into perspective his invocation of the principle of liberty in the novel. Rather like Gomes Freire's manipulation of the concept in *Q Uraguai*, here liberty has only limited, relative claims, that are ultimately subordinate to the survival of the existing political order. Peri's willingness to sacrifice a proportion of his

freedom actually appears to give the ideal society of the novel a greater "Liberal" legitimacy; the Indian symbol of liberty has been freely incorporated into a new, more mature regime.

Loredano, by contrast, in challenging the authority of Dom Antônio, is questioning and threatening something more fundamental to Alencar's thinking, the principle which provides an entire theological underpinning for his political views - Divine authority. In the first Chapter of Part II he is exposed as a former Carmelite priest, who abandons his ministry on discovering the existence of an immense store of hidden treasure. His first step in pursuit of this obsession is to betray the trust of a dying man to whom he is giving absolution, and to keep the vital map for himself. Repudiating his religion, he becomes the archetypal Fallen Angel, defying his God:

(...) estremecendo ainda e pálido de terror, o réprobo levantou o braço como desafiando a cólera do céu, e soltou uma blasfêmia horrível:

- Podeis matar-me; mas se me deixardes a vida, hei de ser rico e poderoso, contra a vontade do mundo inteiro!

Havia nestas palavras um quer que seja da sanha e raiva impotente de Satanás precipitado no abismo pela sentença irrevogável do Criador (OC, II, p.95).

Thus when he is finally brought to justice and burnt at the stake in a crude *auto da fé*, it is as much for his crimes as a heretic as for his attempt to usurp the power of Dom Antônio.

Against Loredano's diabolical revolutionary, then, Peri is the "good rebel"; as Dom Antônio is forced to recognise, his freedom and identity as a marginal living in the limbo between civilisation and nature, society and forest, are vital to his role as guardian of Cecília and of the white community. He knows that in the historical reality of colonial, patriarchal Brazil, the Indian could only enter white society as a slave and by accepting its laws; as such he could not protect Cecília:

"Se Peri fosse cristão, e um homem quisesse te ofender, ele não poderia matá-lo, porque o teu Deus manda que um homem não mate outro. Peri selvagem não respeita ninguém; quem ofenda sua senhora é seu inimigo, e morre!" (OC, II, p.163).

It is only in the ideal, perfectly integrated society glimpsed in the Epilogue of the novel, the New Eden after the Flood, that Peri's freedom can be reconciled with the survival of a genuinely Brazilian society and culture. After the destruction of the fortress on the Paquequer, Cecilia wakes to find herself alone in the forest with Peri. A fundamental rupture has taken place between past and present; the loss of her parents and her expulsion from the isolated security of the fortress into the real world of her native land have brought about the maturity from a girl into a woman. It is a maturity that gives her a new view of things, a special communication with nature:

Volvendo ao passado admirava-se de sua existência, como os olhos se deslumbram com a claridade depois de um sono profundo; não se reconhecia na imagem do que fora outrora, na menina isenta e travessa.

Toda a sua vida estava mudada; e desgraça tinha operado essa revolução repentina, e um outro sentimento ainda confuso ia talvez completar a transformação misteriosa da mulher.

Em torno dela tudo se ressentia dessa mudança; as cores tinham tons harmoniosas, o ar perfumes inebriantes, a luz reflexos aveludados, que seus sentidos não conheciam (OC, II, p.260).

A major part of that rupture with the past is the change in the relationship between *senhora* and Indian; without the social structure of the patriarchal community and its physical foundations, which have until now alienated Cecilia from the forest, the barrier between the two characters is broken down. The relationship can no longer be determined by the hierarchy of class and race, only by their common experience of the natural, forest environment which is to be the new Brazil:

No meio de homens civilizados, era um índio ignorante, nascido de uma raça bárbara, a quem a civilização repelia e

marcava o lugar de cativo. Embora para Cecília e D. Antônio fosse um amigo, era apenas um amigo escravo.

Aqui, porém, todas as distinções desapareciam; o filho das matas, voltando ao seio da sua mãe, recobrava a liberdade; era o rei do deserto. o senhor das florestas, dominando pelo direito da força e da coragem (OC, II, pp.261-62).

They can now exchange roles and cultures: Ceci (her new, "indigenised" name) takes the part of the guardian angel as Peri lies exhausted in the canoe: "Dorme, disse ela, dorme; Ceci vela" (ibid.); while Peri accepts Christianity. Refusing to let him leave her with her relatives in Rio, Ceci enters Peri's world, abandoning her western clothes for the costume of the Indian, and setting adrift the canoe which is their link with white society. Choosing between the white-dominated, colonial order now represented by her brother Diogo, and the liberal, fraternal society of her new "brother", Peri, she recognises that she belongs to this world, the Brazil in which she was born and has grown up, just as Peri has done: "... Viveremos juntos como ontem, como hoje, como amanhã. Tu cuidas?... Eu também sou filha desta terra; também me criei no seio desta natureza. Amo este belo país..." (OC, II, p.270).

In the kiss which ends the novel, the new relationship between Peri and Ceci changes from one of brother and sister to that of man and woman; from a fraternal love, and one that therefore has no future beyond their own lives, to a sexual love capable of "replenishing the earth" as Noah and his family do in the Old Testament myth. Recognising herself as "uma filha das florestas, uma verdadeira americana" (OC, II, p.267), Ceci is asserting her nationality as a Brazilian, and at the same time is defining that nationality in terms of a new set of "natural" values. Or rather, they are the traditional religious values of love and self-sacrifice, overlaid with the Liberal principles of equality and freedom, and renewed by the natural world. In making endless sacrifices, dying and

being resurrected, Peri is announcing a new Christianity for Brazil, an Empire of conciliation in which the sins and conflicts of the colonial past have been wiped away.

As I have indicated, Alencar continued to explore and rework the basic plot structure of O Guarani in three subsequent regionalist novels. While the ideal, mythical strength of the original, its powerfully ingenuous resolution of racial and political conflict, is less evident in these other texts, nevertheless the variations and adjustments which they make to the formula of Alencar's first novel are extremely revealing, often following through to their logical conclusion some of the ideas which remain implicit or undeveloped in O Guarani. Moreover, taken together these differences suggest that Alencar's faith in the vision of Conciliation which he constructed in 1857, the last year of the Paraná ministry, became increasingly eroded and embittered as the political consensus of Empire began to collapse. Whereas O Guarani is largely structured around the Flood myth, a myth of renewal and reconstruction, the regionalist novels tend to be increasingly dominated by the realities of the past, by the notion of crime and retribution, and by the image of a guilty, repressed society.

In the latest of the three texts, O Sertanejo (1876), the authoritarianism of the rural patriarch, here a cearense baron, Capitão-Mor Gonçalo Pires Campelo, assumes tyrannical, despotic proportions:

Não davam conta de suas ações senão a Deus; e essa mesma era uma conta de grão-capitão, como diz o anexim, por tal modo arranjada com o auxílio do capelão devidamente peitado, que a consciência do católico ficava sempre lograda. Exerciam soberanamente o direito de vida e de morte, *jus vitae e necis*, sobre seus vassallos, os quais eram todos quantos podia abranger o seu braço forte na imensidade daquele sertão. Eram os únicos justiceiros em seus domínios, e procediam de plano, sumarissimamente, sem apelo nem agravo, em qualquer das três ordens, a baixa, média e a alta justiça. Não careciam para isso de tribunais, nem de ministros e

juizes; sua vontade era ao mesmo tempo a lei e a sentença; bastava o executor.

Tais potentados, nados e crescidos no gozo e prática de um despotismo sem freio, acostumados a ver todas as cabeças curvarem-se ao seu aceno, e a receberem as demonstrações de um acatamento timorato, que passava de vassalagem e chegava a superstição, não podiam, como bem se compreende, viver em paz senão isolados e tão distantes, que a arrogância de um não afrontasse o outro (OC, III, p.980).

Similarly, of the three female protagonists in these novels, Campelo's daughter Dona Flor, is the most unquestioning defender of patriarchal authority, and the most outspoken in her condemnation of the rebel. The crisis of the regime comes about when Campelo orders Arnaldo, his chief cowboy, to reveal the whereabouts of his old friend Jó, who has been wrongly implicated in the starting of a fire in the *fazenda*. Arnaldo refuses to betray his friend, challenging the Capitão-Mor's omnipotence and defying his men's attempts to bring him to order. Flor fails to persuade Arnaldo to ask her father's forgiveness, but when he eventually returns of his own accord, she attempts to reward what she sees as his repentance with a gift:

"Tinha feito tenção de não lha dar mais, por causa da desobediência que ele praticou, sobretudo depois de enganar-me, fugindo de minha companhia. Mas como ele achou a *Bonina* e voltou arrependido, eu quero perdoar-lhe, como meu pai" (OC, III, p.948).

Naturally, Arnaldo will not submit to the paternalism implicit in this gesture of forgiveness, and he indignantly throws the gift into the fire. Although ultimately reconciled, the two characters remain physically distant from each other; respecting the parameters of the social reality which is his subject, Alencar does not, as in *O Guarani*, insist upon a marriage between the *sertanejo* and the *fazendeiro's* daughter. Instead, Dona Flor vows to marry no-one, and so declares her unspoken loyalty to Arnaldo:

O sertanejo interrogou o semblante de Flor, que pousando nele seus olhos aveludados, respondeu:

- Deus não quer que eu me case, Arnaldo.

No transporte do júbilo que inundou-lhe a alma, o sertanejo alçou as mãos cruzadas para render graças ao Deus que lhe conservava pura e imaculada a mulher de sua adoração (OC, III, p.1066).

Meanwhile, Arnaldo's *alter ego* in the novel, Aleixo Vargas, reveals the potential dangers to which an open conflict of extreme positions - the absolutism of the patriarch and the rebellious intransigence of the marginal - can lead. Aleixo is asked by an admirer of Dona Flor to communicate his affections to the young woman. However, on fulfilling this promise he is punished and humiliated by the Capitão-Mor for such a display of disrespect, and has his ear pulled as if he were a child. Intent on exacting his revenge, Aleixo offers his services to the *fazendeiro's* rival, Marcos Fragoso, and is instrumental in bringing about the near abduction of Dona Flor. Significantly, it is Arnaldo, the "good", ultimately loyal rebel, who intervenes to save the day with the help of the local Jucá Indians, forcing the Capitão-Mor to acknowledge his debt to the marginal.

The misuse of patriarchal authority is represented rather less simplistically in O Tronco do Ipê (1871). Here the *fazendeiro* - Joaquim Freitas, Barão da Espera - has committed a crime prior to the action of the novel, whose consequences, rather like Dom Antônio's rape of Isabel's mother and Dom Diogo's killing of the *índia*, are later visited upon him. As the result of an act of cowardice, Joaquim becomes the owner of the *fazenda* Nossa Senhora do Boqueirão, which had belonged to his protector and benefactor, the *comendador* Figueira. The rightful heir to the property, Figueira's son and Joaquim's childhood companion, José, drowns in the whirlpool of the Boqueirão after Joaquim, momentarily stretching out his hand to save him, withdraws it rather than risk his own life.

José's dispossessed son Mário takes the part of the embittered "marginal", a dependant in the Freitas household until his suspicions lead him to the truth, and the Barão is forced to beg his forgiveness. Interestingly, this role of marginality in the novel is divided between the resentful, rebellious Mário, who grows up in the forest surrounding the *fazenda* and rejecting his usurper's charity, and his friend Benedito, the mediator with nature and with the past. Benedito is an old black slave who, although long since freed, has remained voluntarily with his wife on the edge of the *fazenda* in loyalty to Mário and to his father's memory. Alencar's myth of voluntary servitude thus finds here its most overt manifestation.

But the most interesting variation on the formula set out in *O Guarani* is *Til* (1871-72), whose curious cast of characters is a far cry from the mythical, archetypal figures which inhabit Alencar's first *romance histórico*. As before, the role of conciliator is played by an adolescent female, Berta, who ends the novel refusing to accompany her childhood companion, Miguel, on his journey to a new life in the city. Having lived all her life in the natural environment of the Brazilian countryside, she prefers to devote the remainder of her existence to the sick animals and degenerate human inhabitants of the forest: the mad slave Zana, the retarded young epileptic Brás, and the violent *caboclo*, descendant of Caiapó Indians, João Fera: "- Não, Miguel. Lá todos são felizes! Meu lugar é aqui, onde todos sofrem" (OC, III, p.853). She is the only person able to communicate with Brás, and it is her "influência misteriosa e sobrenatural" which pacifies the violent impulses of João Fera:

Sua alma se impregnava do fluido luminoso dos olhos de Berta, e ele sentia-se trespassado pelo desprezo que vertia no sorriso acerbo esse coração nobre e puro, sublevado pela

indignação. De repente começaram a tremer-lhe os músculos da face, como os ramos do pinheiro percutidos pela borrasca; e as pálpebras caíram-lhe, vendando-lhe a pupila ardente e rúbida (OC, III, p.730).

Ironically, though, Berta is also the focus for the conflict between the novel's oppressive patriarchal figure, the *fazendeiro* Luís Galvão and the marginal, the "índio manso" Jão Fera. Years earlier, Luis falls in love with a poor girl named Besita. While he hesitates, worried by her unpromising financial prospects, he loses her to another man, Ribeiro who, immediately following their wedding, deserts her for a long period. During his absence one night, Luís visits and rapes his former lover, and Ribeiro, who has meanwhile returned home unnoticed, suspects the truth and strangles his wife. The orphaned offspring of the rape, Berta, is raised by a humble family on the margins of the *fazenda*.

Jão Fera is the modern, degenerate counterpart to Peri, more interesting and complex than his ideal model; for he draws out the contradictions that are rendered unproblematic in the Guarani hero, combining both the creative and destructive principles, the Indian as both *homem-monstro* and *bom selvagem*. His devotion to the patriarch, Luís Galvão, is violently disillusioned by the events which he witnesses between Luís and Besita. Having sacrificed his own love for Besita to the happiness of his friend, he sees that sacrifice betrayed, and the object of his love defiled and murdered. This turns him into the twisted, embittered *capanga*, the hired killer known as "o Bugre", the epithet applied pejoratively to the Indian in the Brazilian interior. Ironically, the only person to defend his character is the guilt-ridden *fazendeiro*, Luís Galvão, who cannot afford to provoke the witness to his crimes:

- O Bugre é uma fera, na verdade; contam-se dele as maiores atrocidades; porém esse homem de más entranhas tem um resto de consciência e probidade. Não há exemplo de haver atirado a alguém

por trás do pau, ou de emboscada: ataca sempre de frente, expondo-se ao perigo (OC, III, 713).

Revealing to no-one what has happened, Jão Fera dedicates himself to Berta's protection, seeing in her the living image of her mother. Indeed, it is only by her special influence that he is restrained for so long from killing the two men who destroyed Besita and left her daughter an orphan. However, stirred one day by a premonition that Berta is in danger, he discovers her mother's murderer, Ribeiro, about to lay his hands on the girl as she lies asleep. Dragging him into the forest, he then tears him apart with his bare hands. But on hearing the truth about her origins, Berta will not accept Luís as her father; instead she turns to Jão, redeeming him from his embittered, alienated condition and rewarding the sacrifice which was betrayed so cruelly:

- Não! não!... exclamou ela. Meu pai és tu, que me recebeste dos braços de minha pobre mãe, com seu último suspiro. És tu, que a adoravas, como a uma santa; e quando ela deixou este mundo, não tiveste no coração outro sentimento mais, senão ódio a todos, menos a mim, que te lembrava ela. Oh! eu compreendo agora, Jão, o que te fez mau!... Mas fique eu neste mundo, em lugar dela, para fazer-te bom!... (OC, III, p.850-51)

The novel is therefore a disturbing parody of O Guarani and the ideal, world of conciliation it represents; for Jão Fera, a disfigured travesty of the Guarani Indian, Peri, there is no just society worth defending but the poor Berta, the offspring of a double crime of violence. While the patriarchal regime continues, guilty and decaying, its victims also live on in the world of the suffering, an adoptive father and daughter consoling each other in their loss and remorse, without hope for the future. Conflict is not resolved openly, in a dynamic equilibrium between equally opposed forces; rather it is suffocated, suppressed onto a level of unconfessed crime, oppressive guilt and frustrated revenge whose outcome is only further resentment and violence. Alencar's myth of

Conciliation has given way to the reality of the Second Reign, a reality which, as the author himself feared, was merely concealed by the superficial politics of party compromise and unanimity. As we shall now see, however, Alencar was also able to use the mythical structure of the Indianist *romance* to present the historical experience of oppression, sacrifice, betrayal and guilt which his country would have to confront in order to assume its authentic, *mestiço* identity.

5.4.4 Iracema and Ubirajara

One of the most significant aspects of Alencar's mythology of racial and social democracy, as we have seen it set it out so far in O Guarani, is the nature of the marriage itself. Like many other features of the ideal relationship between Indian and white patriarch in the novel, the union of a male Indian and a white female is anomalous or exceptional, rather than typical of colonial history. However, in Alencar's second Indianist novel, Iracema (1865), this arrangement has been replaced by the more characteristic sexual partnership of male European and female Indian, a change which is symptomatic of the novel's significance as a whole. For, although the events of Iracema occur within an even more intensely mythical atmosphere than that of O Guarani, removing them from the real world, the process of *mestiçagem* which it depicts is nevertheless the historical one. The marriage of races, cultures and social forces is not projected into an imaginary future beyond the space of the novel, as is the case in O Guarani, but now occurs *within* that space, and its offspring remains as the legacy of alienation and guilt which Alencar invites his readers to confront.

Correspondingly, the complex pattern of mythical formulae which pointed towards the confident, open future of O Guarani - Incarnation, Sacrifice and Salvation; Reconciliation, and the Flood - gives way to a relatively simple structure whose mythical basis - an adaptation of the Edenic Fall - represents the permanence of historical experience, or the weight of Original Sin, within the present. The central conflict in Iracema is between the colonial, patriarchal forces of war, alienation and betrayal, and the indigenous, matriarchal forces of love, reconciliation and sacrifice; the outcome is the tragic sacrifice and death of the Indian, and the birth of an orphaned, exiled child of the two races, the Brazilian heir to that history of conflict. Interestingly, an identical struggle forms the basis of the Indianist work which Alencar began in 1863 - the epic poem Os Filhos de Tupã - suggesting that the poem may have been a first version of the *lenda* which appeared two years later as Iracema.

As a reply to Gonçalves de Magalhães' A Confederação dos Tamoios which Alencar had criticised in 1856, Os Filhos de Tupã is a decided failure. It suffers from the same prosaicism and other stylistic shortcomings that plague Magalhães' poem, indicating that Alencar's successful choice of prose fiction as the medium for his Indianist writing is inseparable from the mythical scale and complexity which are the mark of his work. Indeed, he himself wrote of the constraints which this experiment with the verse epic had imposed on him: "Desde que não se é gênio, para que pear o pensamento em moldes tão estreitos; é preferível dizer em prosa, pois assim ao menos não sai mutilada".⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the "Fábula" which, along with the extensive preliminary notes and two

54. Raimundo de Menezes, Cartas e Documentos de J. de A., op.cit., p.7.

plans, accompanies the text of the poem, is of interest; for it is an attempt to construct a genealogy for the Brazilian nation out of a mythical account of pre-Conquest and early colonial history, an account based not, as far as I am aware, on ethnographical sources or genuine indigenous traditions, except in one case, but on a synthesis of several Biblical myths.

The "Fábula" begins with the Creation of the Earth by Tupã, which is followed by a variation on the Old Testament story of Cain and Abel: two sons are born, Tupi and Ara, whose colouring prefigures that of the two races which are to meet at Conquest. Tupi has hair "cor da tempestade", while Ara "tinha os cabelos do sol ao raiar". Tupã creates a woman, Abaci, to sleep with both sons and produce a warrior race which will rule the world. However, Tupi kills his brother in jealousy, and as a result he and his people are cursed by Tupã with a destiny of self-annihilation:

No dia em que o pai de teu povo gerar, como eu, do mesmo tronco, dois filhos gêmeos, trema a tua raça. Se a tua mão derramar outra vez o teu sangue, a minha cólera será aplacada, senão... Nesse dia começará a discórdia em tua raça. Os irmãos matarão os irmãos, as mulheres os maridos, as mães os filhos. Ela abandonará o berço e se espalhará pelo mundo; as nações se dividirão e se tornarão estranhas e se devorarão (OC, IV, p.558).

Until that moment of destruction i.e. Conquest, Tupi will inherit one land (Brazil?), while Ara, "dos filhos da minha luz, dos cabelos do sol", will populate another land (Europe?) together with Abaci. Eventually, Ara will carry out Tupã's demand for retribution, exterminating the already weakened race of Tupi and reuniting the common blood which was first spilt in Tupi's act of jealousy and which now, "misturado outra vez se há de gerar o maior povo da terra" (ibid.). Conquest and *mestiçagem*, bringing about the birth of Brazilian nationality, are thus explained as the

inevitable culmination of a pre-ordained reunification of the two races, reconciling Tupã's twin sons and restoring a primeval cosmic unity.

The remainder of the "Fábula" recounts the fulfilment of Tupã's prophecy; from the three Indian nations which are Tupi's offspring - the Tupis, the Tamóios and the Tabajaras - the fated twins are born to re-enact the original crime of their ancestors. This new generation reproduces the same struggle between antithetical forces which we are to see in Iracema: on the one hand, Caribe, representing a militant, inflexible nationalism - "Coração duro e inflexível onde só nasce um grande sentimento - amor da pátria, o amor da raça e a glória do seu povo"; and on the other hand, Guarane, like the amenable, pacific and self-sacrificing Guarani Indian of Alencar's first novel - "Caráter forte também mas sensível e terno - escravo do amor e da amizade - Ao amor sacrifica tudo, pátria, laços de sangue, glória - " (OC, IV, p.559). Guarane is sacrificed to the creation of the new *mestiço* race, anticipating the fate of the female Indian in Iracema.

The first canto of the poem itself is concerned with the violation and sacrifice of this matriarchal principle of passivity and love. The Brazilian forest, as yet inviolate and immaculate, combines the qualities of woman as bride and mother, virginity and fertility. It is an unstable combination, inevitably anticipating the sexual act and the loss of Edenic innocence. Conquest, leading to the self-realisation of the virgin American land, appears in the form of the steam-engine, the classic symbol of phallic violation:

Seu hálito abrasado já te escalda,
De longe embora, a fronte. Em breve tempo
Aqui virá pisar com férrea pata
As flores mais mimosas de teus vales
E a túnica de relvas que te cobre (OC, IV, p.565).

Far from constituting an act of humiliation and destruction, though, this violent union between Nature and Civilisation, Europe and America, is to the glory of this mother of Brazilian nationality. Sanctified in her marriage, she is raised to the status of a queen amongst nations, "Das índias a mais moça e a mais formosa" (OC, IV, p.566). Nevertheless, the poem ends with a scene of growing stillness, darkness and silence, as Caribe's wife Cendira searches in vain on the battlefield for her dead husband, a tragic figure of solitude and abandonment.

The Indian protagonist who gives her name to Alencar's novel Iracema brings together both these dimensions of indigenous womanhood as they appear in Os Filhos de Tupã - the mother of Brazilian nationality and the sacrificial victim of abandonment - and so accounts for the tragic ambivalence of the text. The plot is deceptively simple, and is based on the events which led to the colonisation of Alencar's native province, Ceará, in the north-east of the country. The Potiguar Indians were the largest and most unified of all the coastal tribes, and through their populous villages and relatively advanced farming methods they gained a reputation as a civilised people. They were allied with the French, who were the earliest European presence in the region, against their traditional enemy, the coastal Tobajara of Olinda and their Portuguese allies. However, a truce at the end of the sixteenth century meant that the Potiguar now joined the Portuguese in their campaigns into the interior against other tribes, including another group of Tobajara.

Martim Soares Moreno went on one such campaign in 1603, taking part in the defeat of thirty villages on the Camocim river, the last to fall being that of Chief Irapuã. Soares Moreno subsequently pushed expansion further west, with the intention of opening up the territory to

European settlement, and to prove that colonisation was viable he took a *mestiço* son born in Ceará back with him to the Governor General of Brazil. He personified the policy of alliance and *mestiçagem*, fighting, tattooed and painted, alongside the Indians, and was befriended by both the main tribes. In particular, he gained the loyalty of the Potiguar warrior Poti, or Antônio Filipe Camarão, whose biography Alencar wrote during his youth, and who earned the unprecedented esteem of the Portuguese after his services to them in the wars against the Dutch. However, because of the harsh geographical conditions of the region, and in spite of the efforts of Jesuits and laymen alike, it was some years before serious colonisation of Ceará came about.⁵⁵

These events take second place to the central drama of the novel, although the theme of war and alliance, and the initial failure to establish a colony in the region, are clearly vital to the significance of the text. In purporting to explain the origins of the settlement and its name, *Iracema* ultimately points to the oppression and betrayal of the Indian at the hands of the European, yet it does so at a psychological, rather than political, level. Losing his way in the interior, the Portuguese soldier Martim Soares comes across a village of the enemy Tobajara, but is nevertheless welcomed and falls in love with the shaman's daughter, Iracema. The ensuing intertribal and interracial wars force the couple to take refuge amongst the Potiguar, and they subsequently set up an idyllic home in the forest, producing a son. However, for reasons which are not immediately obvious, Martim's love for the *índia* fades and, alone and abandoned, Iracema dies of grief.

55. Hemming, *op.cit.*, pp.207-10, 294-98, 304 & following.

Alencar explicitly links the orphanhood and exile of Iracema's son, Moacir, to his own sense of alienation from his native roots, something which, as I have shown, had as much to do with his increasing isolation from the family's political traditions as with his geographical distance from Ceará. The prologue of the novel is the confession of "um filho ausente, para muitos estranho, esquecido talvez dos poucos amigos e só lembrado pela incessante desafeição" (OC, III, p.193). But if this suggests an emergent regionalist sentiment within the dominant nationalism of the Indianist movement, it is important to recognise that Alencar's appeal is much broader than this, and that the "Verdes mares bravios de minha terra natal" which he invokes in the first line of the text can refer as much to the Brazilian coastline as a whole, as to that of his native province. For, in a way characteristic of the novel, with its lack of suspense or expectation, this opening chapter takes the reader straight to the book's ending, and to the boat which is drifting in exile on the open sea, in search of "o rochedo pátrio nas solidões do oceano" (OC, III, p.195). The *mestiço* child of Iracema and Martim, "filho da dor", is more than simply the first citizen of a remote provincial settlement; he is the symbol of an entire Brazilian people which has been alienated from its *mestiço* identity and separated from its indigenous roots: "O primeiro cearense, ainda no berço, emigrava da terra da pátria. Havia aí a predestinação de uma raça?" (OC, III, p.245).

The text of the novel proposes, then, to explain how this child, together with a white-skinned young man and a dog, come to be drifting in this boat, and to reveal the true nature of the *saudade* which attaches them to the "terra do exílio". Thus the second chapter opens in the forest, and finds the Tobajara Indian girl, Iracema, integrated into the

harmony of her world. That harmony is suddenly shattered by the appearance of Martim, and from that moment a whole series of opposing symbolic values are established, defining the two characters and the forces they represent: interior and coast, fertility and death, stability and departure. The alien warrior, perhaps an evil spirit of the forest, carries the mark of death: "Tem nas faces o branco das areias que bordam o mar, nos olhos o azul triste das águas profundas" (OC, III, p.197). Indeed, when later threatened by his rival Irapuã and told that his possession of Iracema must mean death, he confesses: "Os guerreiros de meu sangue trazem a morte consigo, filha dos tabajaras. Não a temem para si, não a poupam para o inimigo" (OC, III, p.205). Paradoxically, though, Iracema commits the first act of aggression, in her reaction to this intrusion into her world and to the danger this signifies. She shoots an arrow, wounding Martim's cheek, but again, paradoxically, he is the one to show tolerance and restraint, respecting the Christian cult of womanhood:

De primeiro ímpeto, a mão lesta caiu sobre a cruz da espada; mas logo sorriu. O moço guerreiro aprendeu na religião de sua mãe, onde a mulher é símbolo de ternura e amor (OC, III, p.197).

Iracema then breaks the arrow of peace, and the first cycle of attraction and conciliation takes over from the initial gesture of conflict. Martim is welcomed into the cabin of Iracema's father, the *pajé* Araquém, and receives the ritual of hospitality - fire, food, water and peace-pipe.

The incident is falsely reassuring, though, for there are more profound cultural, racial and political forces which militate against a successful relationship between the couple. One is the barrier of Iracema's tribal role as daughter of the *pajé*, and as keeper of "o segredo da jurema e o mistério do sonho", which both demand that she remain a virgin. The other is Martim's status as an enemy warrior amongst the

Tobajara, and the bonds of loyalty which call him back to his own people; at the centre of these affections stands the figure of his white fiancée. As soon becomes apparent, around the straightforward plot of the novel there is woven an ever-tightening web of impossible attractions and inevitable conflicts which can only lead to death. On the one hand, the political conditions of Conquest have determined that the white soldier and the Indian woman will be drawn inexorably to each other, by the same irresistible sexual necessity that unites the two races in Os Filhos de Tupã. But on the other hand, those same conditions mean that Iracema and Martim approach the relationship on unequal terms and with different expectations, preparing the ground for the oppression, betrayal and sacrifice which are bound to follow.

For Iracema it is a first, virgin love, dedicated, selfless and self-sacrificing; when Martim betrays her in his imagination, dreaming of the girl in his homeland, she expresses, not jealousy, but regret, remaining concerned only for his happiness. Taking him to the secret wood of the *jurema*, she risks death by violating her vows, and invites him to drink the liquor which will allow him to be reunited in his dreams with "o anjo puro dos amores infantis" (OC, III, p.202). Like Peri, she becomes the white man's protectress, hiding him in the forest from his enemy Irapuã. Risking her life a second time she goes secretly to meet his Potiguar friend, Poti, giving him the information which he needs to storm the Tobajara camp and rescue Martim:

Foi com um tom misturado de doçura e tristeza que replicou:

- O estrangeiro está salvo; os irmãos de Iracema vão morrer, porque ela não falará (OC, III, p.212).

On the fatal night described in Chapter XV, she makes the critical sacrifice; Iracema's father senses that some momentous event is taking

place, prefiguring the great sacrifice and betrayal of his entire people in the name of Conquest:

No recanto escuro o velho Pajé, imerso em funda contemplação e alheio às coisas deste mundo, soltou um gemido doloroso. Pressentira o coração o que não viram os olhos? Ou foi algum funesto presságio para a raça de seus filhos, que assim ecoou n'alma de Araquém? (OC, III, p.217)

In one act of abandonment, Iracema gives up her virginity to Martim and betrays her duty to the sacred wine of Tupã, knowing all the while that she is only sharing Martim's love with another:

Um triste sorriso punziu os lábios de Iracema:
- O estrangeiro vai viver para sempre à cintura da virgem branca, nunca mais seus olhos verão a filha de Araquém, e ele já quer que o sono feche suas pálpebras e que o sonho o leve à terra de seus irmãos! (OC, III, p.218)

As if this were not enough, she then deserts her people in order to follow Martim, seeing them killed in battle by her lover's allies. When her brother Caubi visits her in her new home and generously offers to treat Martim as a brother, she sends him away and so confirms the final and complete break with her origins. Iracema is all self-sacrifice, selfless dedication to the white warrior: "Iracema tudo sofre por seu guerreiro e senhor. A ata é doce e saborosa; mas, quando a machucam, azeda. Tua esposa quer que seu amor encha teu coração das doçuras do mel" (OC, III, p.225).

Martim, meanwhile, for all the metaphorical, poetic language of the novel, is essentially the archetypal promiscuous male colonist, realising through the submissive Indian woman his fantasies of the exotic and forbidden sexual experience. His exploitative use of the narcotic and aphrodisiac liquor, the *jurema*, translates onto a psychological level the process of colonial oppression and betrayal which, for Alencar, lies at the heart of his country's crisis of identity. On the first occasion, when

Iracema freely offers him the *jurema*, Martim's dream represents the Romantic impulse to escape the domestic, conventional world of his European lover, in search of the symbol of Nature and sexual freedom:

Mas por que, mal de volta ao berço da pátria, o jovem guerreiro de novo deixa o teto paterno e demanda o sertão?

Já atravessa as florestas; já chega aos campos do Ipu. Busca na selva a filha do Pajé. Segue o rasto ligeiro da virgem arisca, saltando à brisa com o crebro suspiro o doce nome:

- Iracema! Iracema! (OC, III, p.203)

Martim is presented with a sexual choice, representative of the cultural dilemma faced by the Brazilian nation in its evolution towards maturity, between his distant, absent, white fiancée, and the immediate, seductive presence of the Indian: "Lá espera a virgem loura dos castos afetos; aqui lhe sorri a virgem morena dos ardentes amores" (OC, III, p.217). On the one hand, Martim's loyalty to his European mistress has receded into his conscience to become an abstraction, a focus of guilt; on the other hand, in the "aqui" of the colonial context, his fantasy has suddenly become available as a reality. Like a good Christian, he closes his eyes "e enche sua alma com o nome e a veneração de seu Deus" (ibid.) in an effort to dispel the image of temptation, and to postpone the responsibility which this choice entails.

Martim's religious view of the dilemma is important, because it relieves him of this responsibility, placing him in the position of a moral victim at the mercy of conflicting loyalties and temptations. Significantly, however, Alencar inverts the traditional roles of temptress and victim as they appear in the Genesis myth; Iracema is described as the vulnerable "saí, fascinado pela serpente", which is Martim. Iracema attributes the worm of corruption to herself: " - O mel dos lábios de Iracema é como o favo que a abelha fabrica no tronco da andiroba: tem na doçura o veneno" (OC, III, p.205); but as we shall see, she remains free of

guilt. For Martim, instead of openly assuming the responsibility which the politics of colonialism have imposed upon him, searches for a means of avoiding the guilt of betrayal while enjoying the fulfilment of his exotic sexual fantasy. In wishing to have his cake and eat it, Martim betrays both women, remaining loyal to neither and producing a son who lacks both a mother and a homeland.

In a fit of inspiration, he asks, or rather orders Iracema to violate her vows for a second time, on this occasion against her will, and to bring him the *jurema* once again. Snatching the liquor from her hands, he intends to savour the illusion of sexual possession, albeit a frustrated one, without assuming its real consequences. By a hypocritical stroke of rationalisation, Martim transfers his own fears of corruption to Iracema, whom he claims to be sparing from the guilt which the sexual act would entail:

Agora podia viver com Iracema e colher em seus lábios o beijo, que ali viçava entre sorrisos como o fruto na corola da flor. Podia amá-la e sugar desse amor o mel e o perfume, sem deixar veneno no seio da virgem.

O gozo era vida, pois o sentia mais forte e intenso; o mal era sonho e ilusão, que da virgem não possuía senão a imagem.

Iracema afastara-se opressa e suspirosa (OC, III, p.218).

Ironically, however, Iracema forces the reality upon Martim, obliging him to accept the responsibility he thought to escape by means of the *jurema*. As he dreams, reaching out and calling her name, she naturally responds and goes to him, "as the *juruti* goes to its nest at the call of its companion". Consummating the marriage which Martim believes to be only a fantasy, but which Conquest has made inevitable, Iracema nevertheless remains the innocent, frail bird uncorrupted by the sexual act; the body washed by the river on the following morning is still "o corpo casto da recente esposa".

However, what leads to the eventual tragedy of Iracema's abandonment and death, is Martim's refusal to accept the truth of colonial history and confirm the break with his white mistress, his refusal to acknowledge that in waking to discover Iracema in his arms, he is simply waking to reality. Instead, he continues to hide behind the guilt of his betrayal of the other woman and to treat Iracema as his seducer and corruptress, poisoning the relationship from its inception:

A pocema dos guerreiros, troando pelo vale, o arrancou ao doce engano; sentiu que já não sonhava, mas vivia. Sua mão cruel abafou nos lábios da virgem o beijo que ali se espanejava.

- Os beijos de Iracema são doces no sonho; o guerreiro branco encheu deles sua alma. Na vida, os lábios da virgem de Tupã amargam e doem como o espinho da jurema.

A filha de Araquém escondeu no coração a sua ventura. Ficou tímida e inquieta como a ave que presente a borrasca no horizonte. Afastou-se rápida e partiu (OC, III, p.218).

The idyllic home in the forest, isolated both from the Tobajara village which they have abandoned, and from the camp of Martim's Potiguar allies, appears to provide the hope for the colonial marriage; it resembles the mythical paradise which Peri and Ceci discover, a place where Eden may be redeemed and a new society begun. The hope is illusory, however, for even before they arrive there, during their journey to the coast, Martim reaffirms his ties with his former home in a symbolic act of communion:

Os olhos do guerreiro branco se dilataram pela vasta imensidade; seu peito suspirou. Esse mar beijava também as brancas areias de Potengi, seu berço natal, onde ele vira a luz americana. Arrojou-se nas ondas e pensou banhar seu corpo nas águas da pátria, como banhara sua alma nas saudades dela (OC, III, p.226).

Similarly, the place where they eventually settle is chosen by Martim for military reasons; having gained the friendship of all the Potiguar tribes on the east-west coast, he considers this inlet an ideal refuge for Portuguese ships on their way to fight the French and Tobajara Indians.

The historical significance of the settlement for the future of the Indian is revealed by the ancient chief Maranguab, whose words to Martim, Poti and Iracema are explained in a note to the text as a prediction of the colonial destruction of his people: "Tupã quis que estes olhos vissem, antes de se apagarem, o gavião branco junto da narceja" (OC, III, p.229). Despite the alliances and friendships, and the apparent renewal of Martim's love for Iracema, the embryonic colony is overshadowed by the image of the white bird of prey standing next to its victim. The alienation which is already gnawing at the relationship between Martim and Iracema symbolises the broader, fundamental alienation of white and Indian. In both cases, the Indian is the faithful, conciliatory partner offering friendship and love, and in both cases the Indian is sacrificed and betrayed. Iracema and her people are victims of a masculinist, militarist, colonial mentality which has a morbid impulse to confront love with death. In the language of Romanticism, it discovers its ideal and, somehow knowing it to be impossible, feels compelled to destroy it.

Interestingly, fraternal love seems to present an alternative to the tragic sexual relationship between Martim and Iracema; Caubi's offer of friendship as a brother to Martim represents the basis of peace and alliance between two warring peoples. But it is the friendship between Martim and Poti that stands as the strongest example of reconciliation between white and Indian and, as Iracema fears, it proves more durable than her own influence:

Os dois irmãos encostaram a fronte na fronte e o peito no peito, para exprimir que não tinham ambos mais que uma cabeça e um coração.

- Poti está contente porque vê seu irmão, que o mau espírito da floresta arrebatou de seus olhos.

- Feliz é o guerreiro que tem ao flanco um amigo como o bravo Poti; todos os guerreiros o invejarão.

Iracema suspirou, pensando que a afeição do pitiguara bastava à felicidade do estrangeiro (OC, III, p.220).

Indeed, Martim does seem to prefer the masculine company of Poti, who is the pretext, if not the active cause, of the white man's prolonged absences at war and of his reluctance to return to Iracema. Poti lives with the couple in the forest to form an unusual emotional triangle; on being separated from Martim he hears words of regret that equal the affection shown by Iracema for her husband:

- A cabana de Poti ficará deserta e triste.
- Deserto e triste será o coração de teu irmão longe de ti
(p.226).

While the birth of Moacir momentarily strengthens the bonds between Martim and Iracema, the *índia* is increasingly compelled to compete with Poti for her husband's loyalty. The expressions of love offered by the two Indians demonstrate how the relationships differ: between the men there is a bond of equality, whereas Iracema's attachment is one of "clinging" dedication and self-denial:

- Poti cantava:
 - Como a cobra que tem duas cabeças em um só corpo, assim é a amizade de Coatiabo [Martim] e Poti.
- Acudiu Iracema:
 - Como a ostra que não deixa o rochedo, ainda depois de morta, assim é Iracema junto a seu esposo (OC, III, p.233).

These songs, and the ceremonial painting of his body by the two Indians, are intended to celebrate Martim's ritual assimilation as a Indian, a "filho de Tupã", and his acceptance of his new "pátria". Again, the qualities which they each invoke represent the contrasting values that define their respective relationships. Poti asks that Martim should have the strength and speed of the warrior, while Iracema wishes that her husband's courage be tempered with "doçura", "Assim como a abelha fabrica mel no coração negro do jacarandá" (OC, III, p.232). However, it is the masculine, warrior fraternity which ultimately gains possession of Martim. Iracema dies, not so much because Martim continues to long for

the "virgem branca", but because he deserts her to accompany "o inseparável", Poti, in his distant wars against her tribespeople. Confirming this, Martim does not abandon his new "pátria" definitively, even though Iracema tells him, before the birth of the child, that with her death all the ties keeping him in the country would be severed:

Quando teu filho deixar o seio de Iracema, ela morrerá, como a abati depois que deu seu fruto. Então o guerreiro branco não terá mais quem o prenda na terra estrangeira (OC, III, p.239).

In fact, she is proved wrong, for Martim does eventually return, to found a colony based on the brotherhood of Indian and white man, sanctioned by God:

Poti foi o primeiro que ajoelhou aos pés do sagrado lenho; não sofria ele que nada mais o separasse de seu irmão branco. Deviam ter ambos um só Deus, como tinham um só coração (OC, III, p.246).

This exclusively male relationship between Indian and white is reminiscent of the North American myth of the Good Companions in the Wilderness, which Leslie Fiedler discusses in relation to Fenimore Cooper's Leatherstocking novels.⁵⁶ Natty Bumppo's friendship with the Mohicans Uncas and Chingachgook constitutes what Fiedler considers a basically anti-feminist "homocrotic" relationship, a flight from the dominant woman of white bourgeois society. It is interesting to note, then, that for Martim, his relationship with Poti represents a flight, not from his white mistress, but from the *índia*, Iracema. The explanation for this difference lies in the nature of the historical experience of relations between the two races in each of these contexts, North American and Brazilian. In the former, the white community's social and sexual

56. Leslie A. Fiedler, The Return of the Vanishing American (London: Paladin, 1972).

alienation from the Indian leaves it freer to fantasise about a mythical new American Native in the ideal world of the forest.

Alencar, on the other hand, recognises that he cannot formulate his new Brazilian without confronting the historical reality of miscegenation i.e. *mestiçagem*. The myth of Indian/white brotherhood, based as it apparently is on a notion of equality, may resolve the problem of colonial guilt and sexual oppression. But Indians such as the "loyal" Poti, who voluntarily betrays the long-term interests of his people and fights his fellow-Indians, are a minority, if not exceptions in the history of the colony. The myth is ultimately unsustainable because it is an essentially sterile "marriage". Martim and Poti may live happily ever after as blood brothers sharing battles, war-paint and a common god, but they cannot produce a new *mestiço* generation, the new "race" of Brazilians conscious of their independent, American identity. As Alencar's novel aims to demonstrate, the roots of that Brazilian identity can only be sought within the sexual politics of the relationship between Martim and Iracema, in the history of white betrayal and Indian sacrifice, and in the character of their offspring, the rootless, motherless Moacir, "filho da dor".

But if Iracema presents, or at least departs from, a tragic view of the process of *mestiçagem*, the language and style of the novel are an attempt to celebrate the cultural evidence of *mesticidade* on a purely artistic level. In fact, the majority of critical attention has been concerned, not with the mythical content of the novel which I have just examined, but with its stylistic qualities, its status as a "poema em prosa". On its first publication, Iracema was greeted with the outraged reaction of the academic establishment, such as that of Antônio Henriques

Leal in his "Questão Filológica". As the criticisms of Leal and others indicate quite manifestly, their objections to the novel's unorthodox grammar, syntax, phraseology and vocabulary represent a basic resistance to the point Alencar was consciously attempting to make i.e. that language was as much a part of the new *mestiço* identity of the nation as any other cultural factor, and that Brazilians should therefore recognise the existence of a peculiarly "Brazilian" language. It was precisely against this that Leal and others were protesting: "Não posso, contudo, deixar de insurgir-me contra a falsa doutrina de que a língua é outra no Brasil e que convém transformá-la para que se torne independente."⁵⁷

In a number of statements Alencar makes it clear that *Iracema* was to a large extent intended as a vehicle for these radical new ideas concerning the place of language in the consolidation of an independent culture: "Verá realizadas nele minhas idéias a respeito da literatura nacional; e achará aí poesia inteiramente brasileira, haurida na língua dos selvagens".⁵⁸ The country's unique experience of contact and interaction between the Portuguese colonist and the indigenous landscape and its people requires, not just new myths and vocabulary, but a whole new structure and means of expression:

(...) se esses povos vivem em continentes distintos, sob climas diferentes, não se rompem unicamente os vinculos políticos, opera-se, também, a separação nas idéias, nos sentimentos, nos costumes, e, portanto, na língua, que é a expressão desses fatos morais e sociais.⁵⁹

57. Antônio Henriques Leal, "A Literatura Brasileira Contemporânea", *Locubrações* (São Luís: Magalhães & Cia., 1874), p.213; see also Pinheiro Chagas, "Literatura Brasileira - José de Alencar", *Novos Ensaios Criticos* (V.M. Porto/Moré Editora, 1868), p.198.

58. "Carta ao Dr. Jaguaribe", OC, III, p.255.

59. "Pós-escrito (à 2ª ed.)", OC, III, p.260.

The writer does not need to create that language, for it has already been molded by society, but simply to recognise it his or her own:

(...) o escritor verdadeiramente nacional acha na civilização da sua pátria, e na história já criada pelo povo, os elementos não só da idéia, como da linguagem que a deve exprimir.⁶⁰

If the language, style and structure of *Iracema* are unquestionably artificial, bearing little relation to any real Brazilian vernacular, they nevertheless constitute a remarkable rhetorical success, suggesting a unique mythical and psychological world ordered not by conventional measures of time, but by the cycles of nature. The narrator speaks the same metaphorical language as his characters, as if the story were being told from within the indigenous world by one of its members. The historical background to the novel's events is disposed of in a preliminary "Argumento histórico", eliminating the notion of suspense and allowing a lyrical, rather than narrative structure, to predominate. Chapters closely resemble poetic stanzas, rarely extending beyond a couple of pages, and they mark self-contained episodes which end, not in anticipation or revelation, but conclusion. This is frequently suggested by the image of departure, resignation or nightfall e.g. "A cauã piou, além, na extrema do vale. Caía a noite" (ch.III); "Tornou a sentar-se na rede o velho. A virgem partiu, cerrando a porta da cabana" (ch.XII); "Martim afastou-se para não envergonhar a tristeza de Iracema" (ch.XVIII); "O cristão cingiu o talhe da formosa índia e a estreitou ao peito. Seu lábio pousou no lábio da esposa um beijo, mas áspero e morno" (ch.XXVIII).

By means of a constant flow of metaphorical images, the central, psychological drama of the novel appears to unfold, not as a consequence

60. "Questão Filológica", *Iracema*, ed. do Centenário (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1965), p.240.

of external social or historical forces, but within the natural cycle of life and death in the forest. Familiarity with this world is assumed, and present and imperfect tenses remove events from an objective, historical past into the reader's subjective present:

- As flores da mata já abriram aos raios do sol; as aves já cantaram, disse o guerreiro. Por que só Iracema curva a fronte e emudece? (...)

- A juruti, quando a árvore seca, foge do ninho em que nasceu. Nunca mais a alegria voltará ao seio de Iracema; ela vai ficar como o tronco nu, sem ramas nem sombras (OC, III, p.205).

- Não vêem teus olhos lá o formoso jacarandá, que vai subindo às nuvens? A seus pés ainda está a seca raiz da murta frondosa, que todos os invernos se cobria de rama e bagos vermelhos para abraçar o tronco irmão. Se ela não morresse, o jacarandá não teria sol para crescer tão alto. Iracema é a folha escura que faz sombra em tua alma: deve cair, para que a alegria alumie teu seio (OC, III, p.239).

This is the real substance of the novel, the accumulation of pseudo-indigenous poetic imagery which its characters live and speak, defining them as the inhabitants of a special, mythical environment, a primitive, "Brazilian" world.

Iracema became the object of a new current of criticism in the 1870s, beginning with Távora and Castilho and their Cartas a Cincinnati and Questões do Dia.⁶¹ Questioning the validity of the Indianist theme as an appropriate means of exploring contemporary Brazilian society, they signalled the rise of new scientific, philosophical and literary developments - sociology, Positivism and Realism - which were to lead to an enormous reassessment of the contribution of tribal society to the national culture (see Chapter 7).

61. See, for example, Franklin Távora (Semprônio), "Carta III", Novos Ensaios Críticos, op.cit.

For these and connected reasons, Alencar's last Indianist novel, Ubirajara (1874), belongs in some ways to the final phase of the movement. On the one hand, the copious notes which accompany the text, detailing the documented historical evidence for the tribal culture depicted in the novel, suggest that Alencar was responding to the criticisms that his work lacked authenticity, and was attempting to defend the "Realist" credentials of his Indianism. At the same time, in so doing he was reaffirming the *indigenista* nationalism which lies at the centre of Romantic Indianist writing, rehabilitating the negative image of tribal society as it had been handed down by the colonial *cronistas*. As Silviano Santiago has observed:

A medida que passam os anos, sua visada se torna mais crítica e suas leituras dos cronistas do período colonial mais copiosas, enquanto o texto literário sai menos comprometido com os valores portugueses e mais engajado com as próprias descobertas nacionalistas de Alencar.⁶²

And Alencar himself made his aim quite clear in the novel's "Advertência":

No Brasil é que se tem desenvolvido da parte de certa gente uma aversão para o elemento indígena de nossa literatura, a ponto de eliminarem absolutamente. Contra esse extravagante pretensão lavra mais um protesto o presente livro (OC, III, p.331).

Thus he has notes asserting the symbolic, ritual nature of Indian cannibalism, its similarity to the Christian Eucharist, and other observations of tribal customs and traditions which he cites as evidence of their advanced level of civilisation.

Alencar's purpose extends beyond the mere affirmation of a *nativista* Brazilian identity, though, and is fully consonant with the main project of his Indianist writing, the innovation that took the movement beyond the simple nationalism of the first phase - the theme of

62. Silviano Santiago, "Roteiro para uma leitura intertextual de Ubirajara", Ubirajara, 4^a ed. (São Paulo: Ática, 1976), pp.5-6.

mestiçagem. As one example, note 17, will show, this rehabilitation of tribal culture is a restatement of his faith in the Indians' capacity for civilisation and assimilation into national society, their essential "loyalty", and of his faith in the process of conciliation and integration:

As nações tupis não viviam em um estado perene de guerra, como propalaram alguns escritores. A guerra era frequente; mas não constante. As nações faziam a paz e nela se mantinham até que sobrevinha alguma coisa de rompimento. Então não começavam as hostilidades senão depois de anunciada a guerra ao inimigo, o que se fazia lançando-lhe uma flecha na taba, ou levando-lhe um guerreiro o desafio.

É uma prova do caráter leal dos selvagens. Foi depois da colonização, que os portugueses assaltando-os como a feras e caçando-os a dente de cão, ensinaram-lhe a traição que eles não conheciam.

Taking a pre-Conquest setting, the novel itself presents an extremely simplified version of the themes which we have seen in O Guarani and Iracema: the dialectic between a masculine, patriarchal principle of war, antagonism, alienation, and a feminine, patriarchal principle of love and reconciliation; and the resolution of that conflict by a balanced alliance of equal forces. Uncomplicated by the politics of colonialism, the exclusively tribal environment of the novel allows Alencar to depict this process in the most elemental terms. The hero, Ubirajara, inherits the leadership of the Araguaia Indians and takes as his wife the loyal Jandira. However, during his mission to prove his authority by defeating an enemy Tocantim warrior, he falls in love with the chief's daughter, Araci. He appears in her village as an unidentified stranger and competes successfully against the other young warriors in a series of trials to win Araci's hand. On revealing his true identity, however, tribal honour demands that he must return and lead his tribe in war against the Tocantins. At the crucial moment, though, the Tocantins are attacked by a mutual enemy, the barbarous Tapuias, and when the chief

is blinded by an arrow, Ubirajara is called to lead the two nations jointly against the common threat. His victorious command of this alliance is confirmed by a bigamous marriage, as a result of which Jandira and Araci are obliged to subordinate their rivalry to the patriarchal authority of their common husband and chief.

The reader is guided through this process of conflict, conciliation and alliance by the chapter headings: "O Caçador", "O Guerreiro", "A Noiva", "A Hospitalidade", "Servo de amor", "O Combate nupcial", "A Guerra", "A Batalha" and "A união dos arcos". The battle between Ubirajara and Pojuca, the son of the Tocantim chief, assumes the dimensions of an archetypal, cosmic clash of seemingly irreconcilable forces, locked together in combat for an entire day:

Cada um dos campeões pôs na luta todas as suas forças, bastantes para arrancar o tronco mais robusto da mata,

Ambos, porém, ficaram imóveis. Eram dois jatobás que nasceram juntos e entrelaçaram os galhos ligando-se no mesmo tronco.

Nada os desprende; nada os abala. O tufão passa bramindo sem agitá-los; e eles permanecem quedos pelo volver dos tempos.

Um pajé que passou na orla da mata viu os lutadores e esconjurou-os pensando que eram as almas de dois guerreiros presos no abraço da morte (OC, III, p.273).

As is usual in Alencar's novels, a woman is the agent of the eventual reconciliation which takes place between the two tribes. Note 59 to the text amplifies the otherwise sketchy symbolic distinction between the two lovers of Ubirajara. Jandira's love represents a natural, passionate impulse, the desire for exclusive possession and loyalty, struggling against the laws of tradition which are embodied by Araci. Jandira's death appears to be the only alternative to the satisfaction of this desire for exclusive possession of Ubirajara. Araci's generosity, however, and her respect for the overriding importance of the unified patriarchal structure of their society ("admitia a comunidade e partilha do amor como

um privilégio do guerreiro ilustre"), persuade Jurandir to accept a diminished, but equal matrimonial status in the interests of unity.

The chief interest, of what is Alencar's least problematic Indianist work, lies in the peculiar nature of three of the notes which accompany the text, notes 20-22. Here Alencar attempts an exercise which Machado de Assis was to repeat just a year later in his own *Americanas*: to describe the structure of indigenous society in terms that clearly mirror the Imperial hierarchy of the Second Reign. Within the "hierarquia selvagem" he distinguishes between "uma sociedade civil e uma sociedade política", the latter represented by the *taba* "village", and based on the family unit.⁶³ His portrait of the microcosmic patriarchal society, governed independently by the head of each tribal household, immediately brings to mind the self-styled authoritarian "kingdoms" of Dom Antônio or the *fazendeiros* in the regionalist novels:

O dono da casa, ou literalmente, o que fazia a casa, *moacara*, era a perfeita imagem do patriarca. Ele governava a sua gente; e formava uma sociedade independente no seio da grande sociedade política, de que era membro e para cuja defesa concorria não só por interesse próprio, mas pela honra da nação (OC, III, p.323).

The struggle for overall, national power within the parliamentary "conselho dos *moacaras*" is a vigorous, dynamic process, "essencialmente democrático" but also, as Gonçalves Dias had feared, potentially self-destructive:

O mais audaz e o mais forte impunha-se: a permanência de sua autoridade, bem como sua extensão, dependia do respeito que ele conseguia infundir a seus guerreiros.

No momento em que surgia outro ambicioso a disputar o poder, este tornava-se o prêmio do mais valente. Acontecia então que o vencido com seus sectários, revolta-se; e daí as freqüentes

63. For some idea of the extent to which Alencar has distorted the true nature of the tribal social structure, see Florestan Fernandes, *Organização Social dos Tupinambás*, 2ª ed. (São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1963).

guerras intestinas, que aniquilaram a raça indígena, ainda mais talvez do que a crueldade dos europeus (OC, III, p.324).

Finally, the unmistakable influence of Alencar's critical views on the function of Monarchy, absolutism in government and the misuse of "poder pessoal" is brought to bear upon his description of the often stormy relationship between the warrior chief of the tribe and the representative council of family heads:

Entre o chefe guerreiro (poder executivo) e o conselho dos *moacaras* (poder legislativo) os conflitos eram inevitáveis. Morubixaba haveria, como o célebre Cunhambebe, que era um verdadeiro déspota. O tacape de muito herói tupi há de ter governado tão absolutamente como a espada de César ou de Napoleão (ibid.).

Ubirajara does not constitute a radical departure from the principles which govern the rest of Alencar's Indianist writing, then, the beginning of some kind of concession to the new intellectual developments which were now making their presence felt within the movement. Far from it, the novel reaffirms, even more explicitly and clearly than before, the strongly political character of his writing and the profound coherence between the myths he constructed in his Indianist works and his theories of cultural nationalism and socio-political Conciliation. As I shall now show, Alencar's novels determined the character of Indianist writing during this second phase of the movement; in their different ways, the remaining texts of the period continue to explore the themes of alliance, *mestiçagem* and integration in their attempts to explain and rationalise the social, economic and political foundations of the Imperial regime.

5.5 Other Indianists5.5.1 Lourenço da Silva Araújo Amazonas and *Simá*

Although the first novel of the Indianist movement, Alencar's O Guarani only just preceded another substantial work of prose fiction, one whose concerns could not be further removed from the mythical world of Peri, Ceci and Iracema. Araújo Amazonas' Simá, published in 1857, returns the movement to its roots, to the indigenist policy of integration which, as we saw, is both fundamental to the ideological underpinnings of Romantic Indianism and is characteristic of the broader political atmosphere of Conciliation during this period of the Second Reign. As well as dealing with a local reality, something exceptional in itself within a tradition that is overwhelmingly nationalist, Simá is also the first work of the nineteenth century to confront that earlier experiment in integration, Pombal's Laws of Liberty and his introduction of the diretoria administration of the indigenous population. It is perhaps understandable that until now the Liberal intellectuals of Empire had not known how to approach a policy whose Liberal language and economic motives were essentially identical to those of Pedro II's Regulamento of 1845, yet which had been adopted under a Portuguese colonial regime.

Araújo Amazonas is perceptive enough to understand that the failure of integration in the eighteenth century was not simply a function of the country's political dependence upon Europe. The novel indicates that he clearly shared the Indianists' unanimous abhorrence of the slavery, discrimination and marginalisation suffered by the tribal communities, and their concern with the territorial, social and political integrality of the nation. However, if Alencar's originality lies in his notion of *mestiçagem*, the myth of political and cultural Conciliation as

the basis for Brazilian nationality, Araújo Amazonas must be credited with introducing the economic dimension, absent until now from the literary discussion of Independence. Tracing the consequences of Pombal's policy through to the nineteenth century, he is the first to challenge the stock Indianist myth of an identical anti-colonialist struggle for emancipation on the part of both Indians and Brazilians. Such an Independence would remain equally meaningless for the two groups if the economic grip of a white European élite over the resources of the country, and specifically the Amazon region, continued unaltered. Predictably stopping far short of any more fundamental transformation of the relationship between economic classes *within* the country, Araújo Amazonas puts his faith in the Liberal principle of the filter-down process, by which the emancipation of the oppressed sectors of society would depend upon the material prosperity of the nation as a whole. This might be achieved by a real policy of *mestiçagem*, actively offsetting the disproportionate Portuguese influence through the incorporation, both of the indigenous communities and of an immigrant population from the other European countries, into a programme of colonisation.

Despite its considerable interest to the student of nineteenth-century Indianism, the development of the novel and the history of Amazonian society, *Simá* has yet to find a place within the mainstream of literary historiography and criticism. Although a distinguished military officer and a member of the prestigious Instituto Histórico e Geográfico, Araújo Amazonas also had the misfortune, as a novelist, to inhabit an environment, that of the Amazonian interior, that was far from the intellectual circles of the wealthy urban centres of Rio and São Paulo. *Simá* was published, not by one of the successful houses in the capital,

such as Paula Brito or Garnier, but by a firm in the north-eastern town of Recife. Consequently it does not figure in nineteenth-century histories of Brazilian literature and has not, until now, been examined by any twentieth-century critical account covering the Indianist movement. Only regional studies of Amazonian culture, such as Mário Ypiranga Monteiro's Fatos da literatura amazonense and Márcio Souza's A Expressão Amazonense, have made known the existence of the novel.⁶⁴

Araújo Amazonas was born in 1803 in the province of Bahia, and pursued a military career which led him from the rank of marine officer to that of *comandante das armas* by 1840, when he moved to Amazonas. He gained several military honours, becoming a knight of the Ordem da Rosa and of São Bento de Aviz and a *comendador* of the Portuguese Ordem de Cristo, and died in 1864 as a *capitão de mar e guerra*. While in Amazonas he studied the local archives and maps and published, in 1852, a Diccionario topographico, historico e descriptivo da Comarca do Alto Amazonas, later followed by the Diccionario Tupico-Portuguez e Portuguez-Tupico.⁶⁵ But if his knowledge of the history and culture of the region was therefore considerable, he also had direct experience of more contemporary events, as references in the novel and in the historical dictionary indicate. His predecessor as *comandante das armas* in the district had been responsible for stamping out the Cabanagem rebellion,⁶⁶

64. My thanks to Neide Gondim de Freitas Pinto, of Manaus, for bringing Simá to my attention, and for providing me with a copy of her study of the novel, A Representação da conquista da Amazônia em Simá, Belradão, e Galvez, Imperador do Acre, Dissertação de Mestrado (Porto Alegre: PUC do Rio Grande do Sul, 1982).

65. Anísio Jobim, A Intellectualidade no extremo norte (Manaus: Clássica, 1934), pp.17-18.

66. Antônio José Souto Loureiro, Síntese da história do Amazonas (Manaus: Imprensa Oficial, 1978), p.181, quoted in Freitas Pinto, A Representação da conquista..., op.cit., p.41.

and there are explicit connections in the text between that upheaval and the uprising which provides the material for the novel.

The historical core of the novel is the Manau rebellion of 1757, which led to the formation of a federation of forest tribes, to the occupation of the island of Timoní and the destruction of the settlements of Lamalonga, Caboquena and Bararoá. The Manau, who have since been wiped out, lived 300-400 miles upstream from Lugar da Barra, now Manaus, the modern capital of the state of Amazonas, to which they gave their name. Earlier in the century, their legendary leader Ajuricaba had organised successful armed resistance to the advance of Portuguese slaving expeditions, army troops and missions up the river Negro. He was eventually captured in 1728 and brought down-river in chains, but escaped slavery and entered into legend by leaping into the water never to be seen again, dead or alive.

The Lamalonga rebellion occurred within a few years of the two major political changes affecting the economic and social status of the Indian in the eighteenth century: the 1750 Treaty of Madrid, or *Tratado de Limites*, and the 1755 Laws of Liberty, which nominally abolished Indian slavery, racial discrimination and the mission *aldeias* (see pp.75-77). As we shall see, these changes form the structural pivot of the novel, inviting the reader to compare the conditions enjoyed by the tribal communities before and after the introduction of the *diretoria* system. The Governor of Maranhão-Pará during this period was Mendonça Furtado, the stepbrother of the Marquis of Pombal. It was his reports of the alleged corruption of the Jesuits, of their exploitation of the Indians and their failure to convert them, together with their obstruction of his efforts to recruit manpower for the frontier expeditions, that heavily

influenced Pombal in his decision to announce the 1755 legislation.⁶⁷ He had also contrasted the the role of the Jesuits with that of the more cooperative and efficient Carmelite missionaries, something echoed by Araújo Amazonas in his Diccionario topographico...⁶⁸

As the author's introduction to the novel indicates, the traditional explanation for the Lamalonga rebellion - the separation of the Indian Domingos and his lover on the orders of a Carmelite friar - conceals a more profound political struggle for control of the region. Accepting the Pombaline legislation as a genuinely Liberal, benevolent gesture towards the Indians, Araújo Amazonas deduces that they could only have betrayed such an offer of reconciliation on the instigation of a third party wishing to destabilise the security of Crown authority in the area i.e. the Jesuits and their Spanish colleagues across the border:

Não precisa muita perspicacia para extranhar-se que os Manaos, a Nação mais docil e civilisada do Rio-Negro, achasse asada para subtrahir-se a amizade dos Portuguezes e tornar-se-lhes infensa a occasião precisamente, em que a Metropole se tornava toda concessões e favores ao Paiz, já abolindo a escravidão dos Indigenas pela aurea Lei de 6 de Junho de 1755, já franqueando-os do governo dos Missionarios, e intregando-os a seu livre arbitrio, já habilitando-os, como qualquer outro vassallo Portuguez as honras e empregos em proporção de seu merecimento e capacidade, e ultimamente elevando o Paiz a cathegoria de Capitania.⁶⁹

In the opening pages of the novel itself, this warning against the manipulation of tribal groups by subversive political interests intent on threatening and challenging the territorial integrality of the nation is explicitly linked to the provincial uprisings of the Regency period. The book opens with the description of a *tapera*, the ruined remains of a

67. See Hemming, Red Gold..., op.cit., pp.440-43, 454-61 & 641.

68. Lourenço da Silva Araújo Amazonas, Diccionario topographico, historico, descriptivo da Comarca do Alto Amazonas (Recife: Meira Henriques, 1852), pp.240-42, quoted in Freitas Pinto, op.cit., p.18.

69. Lourenço da Silva Araújo Amazonas, Simá, romance histórico do Alto Amazonas (Pernambuco: Typ. do F.C. de Lemos e Silva, 1857), p.5.

settlement such as the one which is to be the focus of the novel's events. However, it is a pretext for recalling the devastation caused eighty years later by the Mura Indians during "a revolução de 1835" i.e. the Cabanagem. The nineteenth-century Indianists, Araújo Amazonas included, are unanimous in viewing the Cabanagem, not as the response of a brutally exploited coloured population to an unchanging regime of oppressive white control, which it was, but as the spectre of revolutionary chaos and national disintegration, a threat to Empire itself.

The novel begins ten years before the Lamalonga revolt, and some eight years before the Pombaline legislation. A *regatão* or river-trader visits the house of a comfortably successful *tapuio* settler, drugs both him and his daughter and then rapes the latter in her bed, ransacking the house before escaping into the night. Devastated by the incident and by the humiliation it signifies for him, the *tapuio* Marcos razes the house to the ground and disappears with his daughter and a servant. He reemerges ten years later with the child of his daughter, who has since died, at the Carmelite mission where they took refuge after the disaster. The *regatão*, Regis, also reappears, now in the guise of a trainee mission director and, together with an aptly named Jesuit priest, Lolola, he plans to abduct Marcos' beautiful grand-daughter, Simá.

Meanwhile, a large group of the local Manau Indians, Marcos' tribe, is plotting a revolution to regain the independence they consider they have lost with the new "Laws of Liberty". A few, such as the young Domingos de Dary and the "civilizado" Marcos, oppose them, believing this would represent a backward step in the material and cultural progress of the Indians. Domingos and Simá, who have grown up in the same Carmelite

mission, fall in love and are to be married; Regis intervenes, however, spreading the rumour that, by participating in an innocent indigenous marriage ceremony, they and Marcos are reverting to tribal ways. Simá is imprisoned in the mission at Lamalonga, and Marcos (now Severo) and Domingos are reluctantly persuaded to join the Manau rebellion which has been precipitated by the incident. After destroying Lamalonga and numerous other settlements and butchering their Portuguese inhabitants, the rebels reach Caboquena, where Simá is now being held. As she attempts to shield the missionary who has been her friend and protector, Simá is struck by an arrow and Regis, finding her in Marcos' arms and recognising her mother's ring, realises that she must be his own daughter. They are all consumed in the flames of the collapsing church, and as Domingos mourns Simá's death, he indicates his intentions to unite the Indian forces of the region in a renewed onslaught against the white settlements. Eventually, however, he is captured and executed as a scapegoat for what is seen exclusively as a Jesuit plot.

As in Os Três Dias de um Noivado, there are legendary, mythical precedents for the destruction of the marriage between the Indian and the *mestiça*. But, like Teixeira e Sousa's poem, Simá draws on a richer background of historical conditions in order to explain the tragedy. Most important is the social status of Marcos and of his daughter and granddaughter. For all their relative affluence and social pretensions, they are *tapuios*, detribalised Indians alienated from tribal society by the economic and cultural influences of missionaries, traders and soldiers, yet retaining certain links with it, as Simá's indigenous pre-marriage ceremony, and Marcos' decision to join the rebellion indicate. At the same time they are marginalised and discriminated against by the white,

Portuguese-dominated society to which they wish to gain access. Marcos sees his daughter's "respectability", her acceptance into white society as conditional upon her material security:

"Elle é sufficiente, de sobejo mesmo para garantir-lhe uma honesta posição, assim preserva-la do menoscabo e desprezo, em que os Portuguezes tem a nossa raça pelo que chamam nossa indiferença por uma posição social" (op.cit., p.11).

Yet the germ of the plot is a violent act of racial oppression, the rape of Delfina by the Portuguese *regatão*. As Araújo Amazonas shows, the *regatão* is simultaneously the chief agent of the process of detribalisation in Amazônia and the representative of white racial and economic domination over the isolated and fragmented remains of the Indian communities. Seducing the Indian with alcohol, clothes and tools, the *regatão* lures him into a relationship of total economic dependence and debt, forcing him to abandon the collective subsistence economy of the tribe and to sell his labour and produce as a rubber-tapper or gatherer of forest fruits. Ironically, as Darcy Ribeiro has described, the *regatão* perversely sees his role as a civilising mission:

Essas relações amargas são apresentadas com orgulho, pelos regatões, como provas da eficácia dos seus métodos de "civilização" dos índios. Eles se têm na conta de paladinos do que chamam progresso, incumbidos da nobre tarefa de amansar o índio, tirá-lo de uma vida "inútil e improdutiva" para integrá-lo na economia regional. E não só os traficantes e coletores de drogas da mata, mas toda a população que vive em contato imediato com os índios, está imbuida dessa autodestinação de "civilizadores" que, a seus olhos, justifica todas as intervenções na vida dos índios (Os índios e a Civilização..., op.cit., p.356).

In the novel, the process of simultaneous economic and sexual seduction can be observed as Delfina, impressed by Regis' figure and manner, does not suspect the "occulta, sinistra intenção" that is suggested by his aquiline features. Both she and even her cynical father are persuaded to taste the wine which he proposes to sell them:

Regis colheu com interior satisfação a percepção deste efeito; e prudente, não só espaçou outro brinde, como affectou a maior indiferença pelo agrado, que obteve o seu vinho.

(...)

(...) lendo com maligna satisfação naquelles semblantes alterados o resultado que esperava, e conhecendo, que por toda tarefa só lhe restava accelera-lo, propoz ainda um brinde a pretexto da gratidão, que lhe incumbia (op.cit., pp.17 & 19).

When morning dawns and Marcos realises that his weakness for alcohol has been responsible for releasing Delfina into Regis' clutches, he is concerned, less for Delfina herself, than for his own public humiliation, the knowledge that he will be taken for "um tapuia ordinario":

- Oh de certo que não faltará gaiato no Quary e Teffe, que a semelhante noticia, com sardonico sorriso não exclame - o instincto! o instincto! - Não fora tapuia! para não obstante seu character, pretenções e capricho ser tão indifferente a uma pinga, como uma mucura! (op.cit., pp.31-32).

The event has shattered Marcos' hopes of becoming genuinely integrated into the white community and, as if to confirm that failure, he burns down the house and disappears from public view for ten years:

"Desligados pela desgraça dos laços, que até hoje nos prendiam a uma Sociedade, em que havia para conosco alguma deferencia; porquanto a nós tambem incumba poupar-lhe o escandalo, restamos sós" (op.cit., p.33).

As the later occasion of Simá and Domingos' betrothal reveals, the rape of Delfina also exposes the other dimension of racism as it is manifested in the white-dominated society of Amazonas. If the male *tapuia* or *mestiço* is depised, then the woman of indigenous or mixed blood is considered the rightful sexual property of the Portuguese colonist. The visiting admirers of Simá's legendary beauty are incensed by Marcos' insistence that she should marry an Indian:

Os brancos principalmente, affeitos a considerar uma bella Indigena, ou Mameluca, como um direito feudal, resentião-se da impossibilidade, que lhes importava a solicitude e prevenção de Severo a par da habilitação de sua filha para comprehender a sua

dignidade: e este resentimento crecia de ponto a idéa de que elle era destinado para o thalamo de um Indigena (op.cit., p.115).

In the light of these conditions of racial oppression which are experienced by the protagonists in the first half of the novel, the year of 1755 forms a vital chronological fulcrum, marking the beginning of Marcos' attempt to start a new life with his grand-daughter under a different name, and Regis' new assumed role as a mission director. Extended discussions amongst the book's characters focus on the significance of the Pombaline Laws of Liberty, seriously questioning their value for the Indians themselves and anticipating the outcome of the novel. Araújo Amazonas rightly insinuates that the enlightened, humanitarian policy of "emancipation" in fact concealed a momentous blow for the opening up of the newly ratified territories of the Amazon to systematic agricultural exploitation on a grand capitalist scale. Regis alludes to the economic potential of the region, suggesting that its extractivist economy is responsible for its backwardness and that Brazil could lead the world if the banks of the Amazon were properly cultivated. Marcos implicitly agrees, denouncing the colonial government's neglect of the Province until now and anticipating the imminent shift of interest to the area following the 1750 border treaty with Spain:

"Hoje que com os quintos de ouro, que se extrahe da Capitania de Minas, eleva Portugal nas asperesas de Mafra a oitava maravilha do mundo, o que valem as povoações daquella importante porção do nosso território, comparadas ainda com as mais ordinárias aldeas daquelle Reino?" (op.cit., p.20)

Through his characterisation of Regis and Lolola, the author exposes as highly ingenuous the spokesmen for Pombal's policy who believed in the philanthropic motives of the new mission directors. Regis abandons his occupation as *regatão* to join the flood of opportunistic settlers who poured into the region following the announcement of the

new legislation, in expectation of more lucrative forms of activity created by an accessible pool of indigenous manpower. As well as exploiting their labour more intensively than before, these *arrivistas* were now also competing with the Indians for possession of their land and women; local missions experienced a serious decline because their girls were "disappearing" in increasing numbers. Profit, not the emancipation of the Indian, was the principal motive of the new Liberal policy, this attempt to transform the region into a capitalist economy: "Era tão somente para observar e calcular até onde poderiam ser levados, como animaes de ajoujo, e a que especulações e vantagens mais prompta e facilmente se prestariam" (op.cit., p.51).

Loiola, meanwhile, is gradually revealed as the chief protagonist of a Jesuit conspiracy to join forces with the Spanish across the border in an attempt to recover the Society's control over the indigenous communities. In a discussion with one of his rivals, a Carmelite missionary, Loiola issues a veiled threat about the dangers of the new Indian policy; by destroying the old colonial relationship between the Jesuits and the Indians, the Portuguese government is creating a socially unstable population and is storing up potential rebellion for itself:

- Se terá o Paiz melhor aproveitado com o vosso philosphismo, do que com a excessiva religiosidade, como chamaes, dos Jezuitas? e se com a ultima de mão que lhes preparaes, de subtrahir os Indigenas a sua diserção, e arrebatat-lhes o Paiz, que conquistaram com sua Cruz, contaes com Melhor dedicação de sua parte e consideraes o Paiz mais seguro? (op.cit., p.151).

As Domingos fears, the Indians' military struggle for genuine emancipation is to be manipulated by the Jesuits for their own ends, in a cause that serves neither the interests of the nation as a whole, nor those of the Manau community.

The Pombaline legislation does not offer the liberation which the Indians were promised, then. Two speeches, taken from each of the novel's two chronological parts, allow the reader to compare the condition of the Indian before and after 1755. In the first, Marcos describes the open system of slavery as it existed and was regulated under the Jesuit mission administration:

- (...) Que felicidade para vós a de uma sociedade de senhores e escravos! mas em que vós sois os senhores! Que lisonjeira perspectiva a do Indigena, civilisado a vosso modo! Careceis um ligeiro para vossa canoa? arrebatades um chefe a sua familia. Careceis uma serva para vossa casa? arrebatades uma mulher a seu marido, uma filha a seus pais. Que bella civilisação! E o modo de convidar a ella? Levaes vossa Bandeira a um Rio: esta cerca uma maloca: batte-se com quem resiste, atira sobre quem foge, e conduz escravos a quem não poude conseguir fugir ou morrer: destes (escravos) apurada a escolha segundo vossas necessidades, o refugio entregaes a um Missionario para dispor cidadãos ao Estado! Que felicidade para o Indigena! Que outro não sabeis vos tornar um poder selvagem (op.cit., p.22).

Years later, speaking some time after Pombal's laws have begun to take effect, Jarumá, the leader of the Manau revolt, exposes the promise of emancipation for the sham that it is. The open slavery of the mission Indian has been replaced by the slavery of the wage labourer; equality of opportunity is meaningless in a society which has retained all the old racial prejudices, all the traditional economic relationships between master and slave:

- O nosso livre arbitrio! como o explicas, quando subtrahindo-se-nos da direcção dos Missionarios, homens ao menos desinteressados, se nos submete a taes, cuja dedicação é a especulação, e todo o esforço é fazer fortuna no que importarão nosso suor e fadigas. E oxalá que em extorsão somente fique; e que o arbitrio se não extenda a fazer-se sentir ainda mais dolorosamente no amago de nossa Alma! (...) A franqueza de poder o Indigena aspirar, como qualquer outro vassallo Portuguez, as honras e empregos na razão de sua capacidade e merecimento! que escarneo! que sarcasmo! que habilitação póde ter adquirido para as distincções Sociaes, o individuo criado na escravidão, e adrede nella embrutecido? Hide no meio dessa Sociedade, a que se nos diz hoje pertencer-nos fraternalmente: o que observareis? O Portuguez na sala, e o Indigena na cozinha! o Portuguez instruido, e o Indigena ignorante! o Portuguez rico, e o Indigena pobre! e em

resumo o asourrage do Portuguez, e as costas do Indigena! sempre a indignação no coração, e o insulto na boca do Portuguez, e o sentimento no coração, e as lagrimas nos olhos do Indigena!... oh que liberdade, que franquezas, que concessões!!! (op.cit., pp.64-65)

In the light of this powerful indictment of the congenital failure of Pombal's policy of integration, experienced by Marcos at a personal level, how does he justify his initial opposition to the Manau rebellion and his continued efforts to succeed as a prosperous farmer within the white-dominated colonial society of Amazonas? Because, as we shall see, Marcos speaks for the author when he affirms that, whatever the iniquities of both the Jesuit mission system and the *diretoria* administration, in the last resort the material and social progress of the Indians is inextricably bound up with that of the nation as a whole. Both can only be achieved in conditions of true independence, free from the political influence of the Jesuits and neighbouring foreign states, and from the economic dominance of colonial Portugal.

This identity of Indian and national interests clearly has a more substantial political and economic rationale than the tokenistic use of the theme during the first phase of the movement. The narrator compares the "patriotico entusiasmo" of Marcos and Delphina with that of those celebrated Indians, such as Antônio Filipe Camarão and Tibiriça, who fought to preserve Brazilian territory against the threats to its integrity by Dutch and French incursions. For Domingos, also initially opposed to the rebellion, it is the responsibility of the integrated *tapuia* to contribute all his or her energies to the construction and consolidation of an independent national economy, free from the control of foreign interests:

- Quem nega a conveniencia e importancia da Independencia? mas não creio que convenha ser Independente para tornar ao antigo selvagismo. Uma vez havida esta tal ou qual doze de civilização, penso dever-se cultivar, e transmittir a nossos vindouros, com a

recomendação de applica-la oportuna e convenientemente em prol do Paiz, proclamando então uma Independencia real, em virtude da qual não continuem a ser (como nos hoje, se tal fizessemos) escravos em seu proprio Paiz, no que irremissivelmente importará, se inexpertos e precoces tiverem a insensatez de prestarem o seu nome a inauguração de uma tal ordem de cousas, cujo proveito monopolizará o estrangeiro experto, e cubiçozo (op.cit., p.68).

The Carmelite missionary, Frei Raimundo, takes a prophetic look into the future of the nation, the Brazil of the nineteenth century and of the author's own time. His analysis of the country's continued dependence on Portugal even after 1822 echoes the words of both Jarumá and Domingos in relation to the emancipation of their own people. Like the false "liberation" of the Indian following the introduction of the 1755 Laws, Brazil's political Independence preserved the traditional structures of exploitation and subjugation that existed under the colonial regime. Like Domingos' *tapuios*, the modern Brazilian would continue a slave in his own country unless he worked to create a genuinely integrated *mestiço* nation, incorporating the indigenous resources offered by the unconverted Indian communities:

- (...) Em proveito pois de quem deverá ser feita a Independencia? naturalmente de quem em maior escalla reunir predicados Sociaes; e estes não poderão ser senão os Portugueses como proprietarios, unicos capitalistas, exclusivamente commerciantes, e eminentemente mandatarios: predicados, com os quaes não poderá competir a illustração dos poucos Brasileiros, que a tenham. E posto que a Nação se chame Brasileira, ella não importará mais do que uma feitoria dos Portuguezes: porque naturalmente, não se dirigirá senão sob a sua influencia; e pela qual as mais das vezes se explicará a efficacia para os mesmos Nacionaes subirem as posições: o que importará a condição de interpecimento, atraso e oppressão mesma do Paiz (op.cit., p.160).

The hope for this Independent, *mestiço* nation therefore lies with *tapuios* such as Domingos and Simá, who have acquired the best, "natural" qualities of a Rousseauian, tribal childhood, "comtudo afeiçãoados para uma civilização, tal qual então ensaiavam os no Alto Amazonas os Missionarios Carmelitos" (op.cit., p.109).

Simá thus adds a new, economic dimension to Alencar's myth of *mestiço* nationalism, as well as examining the complex set of social, political and economic forces at work in Amazônia during the implementation of Pombal's "Emancipation" legislation. But, if the Lamalonga rebellion is condemned by Marcos and Domingos as the manipulative work of the Jesuits, those same two characters are nevertheless seen joining the Manau cause as a desperate last resort. Realising that the Portuguese, in the form of the *regatão*/mission director, Regis, the effective murderer of Simá and her mother, does indeed remain their master, they are driven to take desperate measures. For Araújo Amazonas, the Manau rebellion is not a self-conscious, organised act of resistance to an oppressive class and ethnic social structure, but the futile, hopeless expression of a people whose sense of common Brazilian nationhood has been destroyed by the selfish ambition of the Portuguese:

A desordem de sua marcha, o alarido de suas vozes, a luz sinistra de seus fachos, o esvoaçar das aves, atemorizadas daquelle insolito estrepito, davam a seu aspecto um horror a arrepiarem-se as carnes, e encruar-se o coração; comparavel só a algumas das nossas restaurações, como que apostadas a levar as lampas a mais furiosa e delirante anarquia (op.cit., p.222).

One of the consequences of this ruthless plundering of the natural and human resources of the region following 1755 is its subsequent administrative neglect and decline, described in the closing pages of the novel. Despite the combined efforts of the North American government and the Imperial Crown early in the nineteenth century to open the Upper Amazon to international navigation, and although elevated from that status of *comarca* to that of *província* in 1850, the region is described as a skeleton of its former self: "Seu destino estava escripto. Actuavam abusos mais torpes que a mesma selvageria, com vigor tal a neutralisar os

mais heróicos esforços, embora de um governo mesmo, animado das mais bellas intenções" (op.cit., p.236). Araújo Amazonas' opening reference to the "recent" events of the Cabanagem (1835) suggests that he has in mind the disease, decimation, agricultural ruin and racial and social divisions which, as we have seen (pp.142-44), followed in the wake of that conflict.

5.5.2 Joaquim Felício dos Santos and *Acayaca*

The next text to be examined, Joaquim Felício dos Santos' *Acayaca* (1866), also deals with a moment of economic transformation during the eighteenth century and with its subsequent political consequences for the history of Brazilian Independence. However, in this case the location is not Amazonas but Minas Gerais, the central event being the rise of the mining industry in that province, which Santos also documented in his Memórias do Distrito Diamantina da Comarca do Serro Frio (1868). The Indian appears, not so much as a significant socio-economic force in those historical developments, but as a mythical presence, a moralistic witness and prophet of the conflicts to come.

The full title of the novel, *Acayaca, Romance Indígena*, carries the date of 1729, and the text itself purports to be the recently discovered manuscript of a work written shortly after the events it describes. It begins with the incursions of the *bandeirantes* into the interior of Minas, their persecution of an Indian tribe and the destruction of its sacred tree, the *Acayaca*. Internal conflict eventually reduces the tribe to a few miserable survivors, thus leaving the way open to the exploitation of the gold ore which has been discovered around Tejuco, the site of modern Diamantina. The author's account of the *bandeiras* is a further example of the Romantics' radical revision of colonial history:

(...) tomavam-lhes [aos índios] as terras e campos, em que caçavam, tratavam-nos como si não pertencessem à especie humana, roubavam suas filhas, escravizavam os prisioneiros, e davam-lhes caça como aos animaes ferozes.⁷⁰

The *pagé*, Pyrakassú, watches the destruction of his people and foresees their ultimate abandonment by their god Tupã:

"Fugireis para os bosques, occultar-vos-eis nas brenhas; e ahí sereis caçados a tiros, apanhados a laço, como fazieis com as feras. Violentarão vossas mulheres, prostituirão vossas filhas; e quando escapardes á moçaba, sereis reduzidos á escravidão!" (op.cit., pp.40-41)

But he leaves the Portuguese with a curse, predicting a future in which they, too, will suffer exile, slavery and persecution by others greedy for their wealth:

"Tomastes nossas terras, expulsastes-nos da *taba*; mas vossos filhos serão tambem expatriados, e vel-os-heis arrastados em correntes para irem perecer em um paiz, onde o sol cresta e ennegrece a pelle. Hoje, nossos perseguidores, amanha sereis perseguidos por outros, que virão disputar-vos as riquezas que descobriredes (...)" (op.cit., p.42).

This allusion to deportation to a tropical country of dark-skinned people clearly anticipates the punishment meted out to the conspirators of the 1789 *Inconfidência Mineira*, who were transported to Africa for their attempt to establish an independent Republic in Brazil. Pyrakassú's curse does indeed appear to be responsible for an increasing conflict between the interests of native Brazilians and the Portuguese colonial Crown over the exploitation of the country's natural resources. Diamonds, as yet unknown to man, are discovered accidentally, having crystallised out of the ashes of the Indians' *Acayaca* tree. Dr. Medini, a philanthropic naturalist and alchemist, foresees the pernicious effects of the discovery on the social and moral life of the community, and he attempts to conceal

70. Joaquim Felício dos Santos, *Acayaca, Romance Indígena, 1729* (Ouro Preto: Typ. do Estado de Minas, 1895), p.11.

its true worth. However, the value of the mineral is unintentionally revealed to an ambitious *mineiro*, Bernardo da Fonseca Lobo, who goes to King João V of Portugal with the the intention of enriching himself as mediator in the extraction of the diamonds. He ends up with a worthless position as *tabellião* and *capitão-mor* of the Principality, though, while the king, "principe devasso, dissoluto, immoral, pusillanime, supersticioso" (op.cit., p.99), imposes a monopoly on mining in the colony, beginning a totalitarian regime that terrorises the lives of the *mineiros*, including the narrator:

Nesse barbaro regimento, cujo nome só nos faz tremer de horror, excogitaram-se todos os meios de vexar-nos para salvarem-se os interesses da corôa. Tudo se previniu, desceu-se aos mais insignificantes detalhes; lançou-se mão dos meios os mais infames e immoraes. As penas de confisco e de degredo, de galés, despejos, ahí são prodigalisadas a cada pagina (op.cit., p.116).

Cajuby, whose wedding was interrupted by the ominous destruction of the Acayaca tree, is one the few Indian survivors who continue to haunt Tejuco, communing with the dead of the massacre in the Tapynhangá, the "Caverna do Diabo". It is suggested that she has played a supernatural role in the mysterious disappearance of Bernardo da Fonseca Lobo and in the death of the *mameluco* Thomaz Bueno, the bitterest of the Indians' enemies and the last living member of the *bandeira* which cut down the Acayaca. The deaths of these characters and the repressive tyranny suffered by the region are therefore depicted as a form of retribution for the colonial oppression to which the Indians were subjected. By the same token, however, the narrator announces the advent of a further cathartic period of social upheaval, the struggle for Independence, which will atone for the crimes of Conquest and give way to a new age of peace, prosperity and justice - Empire:

Não desanimemos.
Ha presentemente no horisonte do mundo social uma negra,
tempestuosa [sic].
Que venha a tempestade: é Deus quem a manda!...
As tempestades estragam, mas purificam e dão novo vigor à
natureza.
Que venha, ella é do futuro!... (op.cit., p.120).

5.5.3 Fagundes Varela and *Anchieta ou O Evangelho nas selvas*

My analysis of the Indianist writing of Gonçalves Dias, Gonçalves de Magalhães and Alencar has revealed a strong undercurrent of theological thinking, which informs their different interpretations of colonial history - the themes of Divine retribution, the Divine Plan, Sacrifice and Salvation. Until now, however, the movement's view of the Jesuits and their role in the history of Conquest and colonialism has been overwhelmingly critical; the Indians' assimilation of white religious values and their integration into national society would be achieved in spite of the Jesuit missions, rather than because of them. Fagundes Varela's *Anchieta ou O Evangelho nas selvas* therefore marks an important change, for it presents the evangelical mission as the central purpose of Conquest, whose culmination was to be the redemption of God's chosen people and the discovery of the Promised Land - Imperial Brazil.

Luis Nicolau Fagundes Varela (1841-75) grew up on his grandfather's farm at Rio Claro, in the Province of Rio de Janeiro, and spent his youth in a variety of towns in his native province, in São Paulo and Goiás, where his father was appointed to a succession of legal and administrative posts. Varela began to study law in São Paulo, but a delicate constitution and moody character, an unsuccessful marriage and the deaths of his wife and son meant that most of his life was spent moving between the bohemian student circuits of the city and the family

farms. The epicurean, Byronic mentality of the intellectual circles of São Paulo, which is reflected in the poems of the Cantos e Fantasias (1865), evidently had much to do with the alcoholism that destroyed his family life and left his wife and children in desperate financial straits.

Attempting to explain the religious character of Anchieta ou O Evangelho nas selvas, Edgard Cavalheiro suggests that Varela sought some kind of religious regeneration, a Romantic salvation after the years of dissipation.⁷¹ Antônio Cândido similarly sees the poem as a response to this moral crisis: "Largado no mato, em más condições financeiras, é possível que o burguês repontasse de quando em vez no boêmio, punindo-o com o remorso, mais grupal que individual, da carreira sem horizonte, da queda de nível" (Formação..., op.cit., vol.II, p.265). Certainly, Anchieta... is an expression of faith, not only in the possibility of individual salvation but also in the landscape and institutions of Brazil as the ideal refuge of Christian values. The structural relationship in the poem, between the evangelical career of Anchieta and the life of Christ which he narrates, may be weakly executed, but it is not unnecessary to the significance of the work, as Cândido suggests it is (*ibid.*). Nor could the narrative have been equally well set in China or the Congo, in the first place because Varela is drawing on an important tradition which associates Brazil with the myth of the Terrestrial Paradise; and secondly because there are significant parallels between the biblical text and the colonial events in which Anchieta is the protagonist.

We are returned once again to the historical episode of the Tamoiós war in which, as we have seen, Anchieta played an important

71. Edgard Cavalheiro, Agundes Varela, 3ª ed. (São Paulo: Martins, 1953), pp.235-36.

political and military role (see pp.51-52). The first of the poem's ten overly long cantos depicts the journey of an Indian tribe which is travelling, not in search of war, but on a pilgrimage, having exchanged their traditional necklaces of human teeth for "o divino emblema do Calvário,/A Cruz da Redenção".⁷² These would have been Tupinikin Indians, with whom the Portuguese succeeded in arranging an alliance, but who later found themselves fighting against their immediate relatives as the alliance broke down. The dual image of the Indian, perpetuated by the literary tradition in Brazil since Anchieta's own *autos*, thus reverts to its original function defining, on the one hand, the innocent tribes who are naturally receptive to the teachings of Christianity, and on the other, the bestial, cannibalistic hordes whose purpose is the destruction of Good.

The chief representative of the first group is the girl Naida, "Uma singela filha das florestas,/Uma criança tímida, mimosa,/Bela como a inocência" (I, xlii), whom Anchieta discovers contemplating the images of Christ in the manger and on the cross. One day, during the missionary's long narrative of the story of the Fall and Redemption, Naida has a terrible dream in which she sees the Devil, "O negro Gênio/Da perdição eterna! O anjo rebelde" (V, ii) standing over her amidst a scene of death and the rotting remains of living creatures. The word "Caim!" is found written everywhere and is uttered by a dark figure with bloody hands, who looks suspiciously about him as a serene landscape feebly attempts to break through. This is replaced by an overflowing river of blood, the bloodstained face of Christ and images of flowers and jewels.

72. Fagundes Varela, Poesias Completas (São Paulo: Saraiva, 1956), pp.619-922; for ease of reference, the Canto and stanza numbers are given with each quotation.

During the night that follows this dream the faithful Indians are attacked by "Infensas turbas/De feros inimigos do Evangelho,/Rudes cabildas de remotas brenhas" (V, ii). Innocent children, the old and sick alike, are mercilessly slaughtered without resistance, and the enemy escapes, "rugindo, pelas matas,/Sequiosas de sangue, - ébrios de raiva!" Other victims of a similar attack appear, wounded and bloodstained, with the news of the death of another missionary. The survivors return to find the martyr struck down on a hill, "o Calvário alpestre", in an attitude of pious adoration. A horseman later tells of the fighting in Guanabara against the French, and of the death of Estácio de Sá at the hands of "As feias hordas/Dos Tamoios cruéis".

This juxtaposition of Scripture, dream and historical events invites the reader to interpret the Tamoio attack as a repetition of Cain's bloody crime, the jealous slaughter of God-fearing man by his brother. By the same token, the death of the missionary recalls Christ's martyrdom, as he dies at the hands of the people he wishes to save. The parallels are completed with the slow death of Naida, the symbol of innocence, as Anchieta brings the Crucifixion story to its climax in the Last Supper and the Gethsemane episode. In effect, the entire Christian mythology of Fall, Betrayal, Sacrifice and Redemption has been reproduced in the colonial history of the New World, whose Indians are the latter-day persecutors of Christ, as well as his disciples.

Evidently, this view of Conquest and the Jesuit mission has important implications for the future of Brazil. The poem looks beyond the Crucifixion and the Portuguese victory over the Tamoios; in the epilogue of the final canto, we read of the success of Anchieta's mission and the spread of Christianity in the New World:

A Idolatria expira entre os gentios.
 (...) Desde as ribeiras
 Do magestoso e plácido Amazonas
 Até às margens do opulento Prata,
 Ressoam pelo espaço os belos cantos
 Da Igreja Universal! (X, 1)

Ten years have passed, and as Anchieta lies dying he speaks of the future empire which will be built by God's chosen people on these foundations. Before uttering the final words - "Adeus! Nossa missão está completa!" - he reveals that this "Universal Church", the realisation of God's kingdom on Earth, is in fact the ecclesiastical and political Empire of the Second Reign with all its institutions:

Ah! não é tudo, não é tudo ainda!
 Nesta divina previsão da glória
 é o império da lei, a magestade
 Suprema da justiça, a luz serena
 E firme da verdade, clareando
 A escola, os templos e os degraus do trono!
 (...)
 Mas, entre o sólio e o povo resplandece
 O sinal da aliança, a nivea pomba,
 Sustendo o verde ramo de oliveira,
 Descansa aos pés do soberano ilustre
 Que há de elevar o templo do futuro,
 Arca sublime das grandezas pátrias,
 E reviver o século de Augusto
 No ciclo de ouro da brasileira história!... (X, viii)

5.5.4 Araripe Júnior, the *Contos Brasileiros* and *Jacina, a Marabá*

Several writers who were to establish their reputations in other fields towards the end of Empire and in the first years of the Republic also experimented with Indianism early in their careers e.g. Machado de Assis, and Franklin Távora who, before criticising Alencar's work and defending the new Realist and regionalist developments in Brazilian literature, published his own novel Os índios do Jaguaribe (1862) (unfortunately unavailable to the present author). Tristão de Alencar Araripe Júnior, who was to make an important contribution to the

evolution of critical ideas in the shift away from Romanticism, also produced two Indianist short stories and a *novela* during his student days. The particular interest of these texts is that, whereas the first of them reproduce, almost slavishly, the central elements of Alencar's work, the *novela*, published just two years later, seriously questions the principle of alliance and *mestiçagem* upon which Alencar's mythology of Conciliation depends, and so points towards the developments of the last phase of the movement.

A relative of Alencar, born in 1848 in Fortaleza, in the novelist's home province of Ceará, Araripe Júnior advocated in his earliest critical essays e.g. the "Carta sôbre a literatura brasílica" (1869), the same rehabilitation of the Indian which Alencar had stated as his objective in *Iracema* and *Ubirajara*.⁷³ Based on that premise, the two Indianist short stories of *Contos Brasileiros* (1868), published under the pseudonym of Oscar Jagoanharo, reaffirm the move away from the classic masculine, epic values of the movement's first phase, towards the sentimental and sexual themes of the second.

"Tabyra" is set in 1532, shortly after the foundation of the north-eastern colony of Olinda, and it concerns the alliance between the local Tobajara Indians, under their chief Tabyra, and the Portuguese settlers, represented by the governor of Pernambuco, Duarte Coelho. The peace and security of the *capitania* is threatened by the Caeté Indians, allies of the French and the murderers of the first bishop to visit Brazil, Bishop Sardinha. They are caricatured with the crudeness that is usually applied to the Tapuia tribes: "Cruéis e sem o minimo vislumbre de

73. Tristão de Alencar Araripe Júnior, *Obra Crítica de Araripe Júnior*, 5 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Casa de Rui Barbosa, 1958), vol.I, pp.23-42.

piiedade, pareciam antes feras do que criaturas humanas."⁷⁴ It is to be the task of the Tobajaras to honour their alliance and so justify Duarte Coelho's high opinion of them, discrediting the negative views of his lieutenant, Lucena:

Quem doutrinará esta misera e barbara gente, que no seu alphabeto nem siquer encontra letras para pronunciar as santas palavras, que formam o apanagio do verdadeiro filho da Lusitania? Si elles não têm fé, nem lei, nem rei! Pois não estais vendo, senhor, que não é possível que a Providencia abandone assim os filhos da Igreja Catholica á sanha dos indomitos Caetés, que zombam do seu culto e todos os dias insultam a divindade com as suas festas infames e horrorosas! (op.cit., p.23)

Clearly modelled on Alencar's Peri, Tabyra, "um ente phantastico, ou mysterioso genio das selvas", is torn between this new loyalty to the white colonist and his deep-seated, instinctive sympathy with those of his own race:

Recordou-se de que, alliado aos emboabas [the Portuguese], estava fazendo guerra aos guerreiros de sua cor; e teve saudades dos tempos escoados, e quiz amaldiçoar por momentos essa raça... (op.cit., p.36).

But, the reader is told, "A liberdade e a lealdade no selvagem americano formam os dogmas da sua religião", and so Tabyra leads his warriors into battle against the Caeté, fighting a "duelo terrivel" of titanic dimensions with their chief Jacaré, tearing an arrow from his eye before killing his opponent. Whereas in earlier texts, the Indian is shown as sacrificing his life or his tribal identity for the good of the white community, Tabyra's sacrifice is that of a broken spirit, the "indio aniquilado" crushed by the weight of regret, guilt even, for his part in a war against people of his own race:

74. Oscar Jagoanharo, Contos Brasileiros (Recife: Typ. do Correio Pernambucano, 1868), p.17.

Apenas se descobriam allí, como os signaes de um vulcão extinto, as reliquias de um heroe ferido pelo infortunio e assoberbado pelas contingencias da perecível materia (op.cit., p.87).

Predictably, though, it finds its vindication in the symbolic scene of fraternity with which the story ends: "O donatario estreitou o amigo entre os braços, e por momentos só se escutaram as palpitações daquelles dous nobres corações" (op.cit., p.88).

"Jaguarassú e Sahy" depicts the struggle between the forces of love and war which we saw portrayed in Alencar's Iracema. Jaguarassú is a Tupinambá chief, a "new Hercules" of epic proportions, who meets his match in the person of Sahy. The daughter of a neighbouring tribal chief, Sahy challenges the traditional order of masculine authority and dominance, repelling the sexual advances of the warriors of her own tribe: "Caprichosa, faceira e altivasinha, ella com o simples bater do mimoso pé impunha respeito e veneração ao mais enfurecido selvagem" (op.cit., p.96). As the *pagé* warns, Sahy's influence is to undermine Jaguarassú's resolve as a warrior, interfering with his traditional duties to the tribe:

"A sombra da mulher está diante de seus olhos; elle não pode enchergar o caminho que o deve conduzir a vitoria. O espirito de Jaguarassú não é o mesmo!"

O *pagé* dizia a verdade, Sahy transformara o jaguar em manso cordeiro (op.cit., p.104).

As a result, he allows himself to be captured by a rival warrior, and the story ends tragically with his execution and Sahy's suicide.

Araripe Júnior's more original contribution to the Indianist movement is the *novela* Jacina, a Marabá (1870), in which *mestiçagem* introduces, not conciliation, but conflict into tribal society, as evidence of the oppressive sexual and political relationship between white man and Indian. The historical context is yet again the Tamoios war, examined

this time from the perspective of the Portuguese alliance with the Guaianaz Indians, enemies of the Tamoios. While the tribal *morubixaba*, Inimbó, has long since been cowed by colonial rule, and his son has succumbed to the influence of the Jesuits, the strongest defender of independence and tribal tradition is ironically Jacina, an Amazon-like figure similar to Sahy and, unknown to herself, a *mestiça* or *marabá*. In an unspoken warning to Jacina, Inimbó predicts that this irony will be her downfall: "Jacina! O ódio que vota a filha aos emboabas reverterá um dia talvez contra o seu próprio sangue".⁷⁵

Indeed, the independence which she advocates for the tribe also characterises her own social and sexual isolation, as well as her tragic fate at the end of the story. The young warrior Urutágua, who has returned to lead joint Indian and white forces against the Tamoios, but is distracted from this responsibility by his love for Jacina. She, however, despises him because he remains fascinated by the white god, Abaruna. Under her influence, the traditional values of the tribe begin to recover their ascendancy, and the *pagé* regains his spiritual control from the missionary. As a result, Jacina's unusually pale complexion is denounced as being that of a *marabá*; like the evil French spy, Morangana, who earlier infiltrated the Guaianaz camp in order prepare the way for a Tamoio attack, Jacina's white blood has become an intolerable and dangerous presence:

"E o Morangarana, que confunde a tribo com o sangue que derramou as veias de Jacina, será o chefe dos guaianases. Não vêem eles as faces da virgem como são desiguais na cor às de seus irmãos?" (op.cit., p.152)

75. Tristão de Alencar Araripe Júnior, *Jacina, a Marabá* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Três, 1973), p.34.

Urutágua risks the defeat of his people by attempting to save Jacina from execution, in the face even of her own ironic accusations: "Morreu Urutágua! Por que abandonou o mais valente guerreiro guaianás as virentes florestas que o viram nascer?" (op.cit., pp.179-80) He ends the book about to plunge to his death, with Jacina's corpse in his canoe, in a final, futile attempt to destroy Morangarana and those of his race.

As I shall show in the next chapter, Araripe Júnior's Indianist *novela* heralds a new phase in the movement, one in which the myth of Conciliation is discredited and in which the processes of *mestiçagem* and detribalisation are expressive, not of racial democracy or socio-political integration, but of the fragmentation and alienation of Brazilian society. In a sense, then, the movement returns during these last two decades of Empire to its beginnings; but at the same time, by following through the consequences of this transformation of tribal society in its contact with the white population, it inevitably anticipates the end of the tradition of mythical, nationalist Indianism, and the emergence of a new literary genre - regionalism - and a new kind of primitive, indigenous figure, the *caboclo*.