

**THE CONSTRUCTION OF A CITY:
SALVADOR IN THE WRITINGS OF JORGE AMADO**

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Abstract

This thesis analyses the evolution of the city of Salvador in the novels of Brazilian writer Jorge Amado in order to identify different conceptualisations and perceptions of the city. For more than half a century, Amado was the best-selling Brazilian author, both in his own country and abroad. His work may be divided loosely into urban and rural novels. The majority of his urban novels focused on Salvador, the capital of Bahia state. Over a 60-year period, Amado portrayed Salvador in different forms: the city started out as a fragmented space in his first novel and was depicted as a potentially syncretic place in his last one. Several studies have analysed Amado's works from a myriad of perspectives: gender, race, carnivalesque motifs and political history are the most prominent themes in these analyses. However, these studies tend to ignore or downplay the importance of Salvador itself: its transformation across multiple narratives and how the city's characteristics greatly influence these narratives. The city was the original capital of Brazil, it has one of the largest black populations in the country and a very characteristic syncretic culture that draws on Afro-Brazilian practices. Amado is the best-known chronicler of Salvador. The objective of this dissertation is to assert the importance of Salvador in the writer's work and in a general discussion of how urban spaces may be conceived and occupied.

The evolution of this fictional Salvador takes place over eight novels that represent four different periods of Amado's work: *O País do Carnaval* and *Suor*, the two earliest works; *Jubiabá* and *Capitães da Areia*, the socialist realist novels from the late 1930s; *A Morte e a Morte de Quincas Berro Dágua* and *Os Pastores da Noite*, two picaresque works from the early 1960s; and finally *Dona Flor e Seus Dois Maridos* and *Tenda dos Milagres*, the novels about hybridity from the late 1960s. The analysis of these novels reveals a process which moves towards the creation of an ideal city. To unveil this urban model, this thesis examines Amado's construct through several city binaries: order versus disorder, upper-class districts versus lower-class areas, as well as racial and cultural binaries. Such an investigation will demand the use of both literary and social theory, including Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of carnival, concepts of heterotopia as laid out by Michel Foucault and Edward Soja, Richard Sennett's examination of homogeneous and heterogeneous spaces, and Roberto Da Matta's analysis of Brazilian society. The starting point for this investigation is Henri Lefèbvre's concepts of spatial notions (lived and conceived spaces). In the process, this study places Amado's Salvador in the context of other Brazilian and world cities at the time and probes the ideologies that underlie different perspectives of urban space.

Declaration

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INTRODUCTION

A Syncretic Village: The Main Elements of Jorge Amado's Salvador

This book opens with a city that was, symbolically, a world: it closes with a world that has become, in many practical aspects, a city.

Lewis Mumford¹

This thesis explores the evolution of the city of Salvador in Jorge Amado's novels. Amado is one of the most popular Brazilian writers in Brazil and abroad, even since his death in 2001. His literary work has been translated into approximately 40 languages and spans a period of 60 years. By reading his entire collection of urban novels, the evolution of his fictional Salvador becomes clear. In his first novel, Salvador appears as a decaying space but it becomes a thriving city in the last novels, even though they are set during the same general historical period. What happened between these works? This study will analyse how these changes happened and discover the outcome. By investigating the evolution of Amado's fictional Salvador, we will be able to understand more fully his body of work. Other studies, which will be discussed here, have concentrated on different aspects of Amado's fiction, such as gender, race, politics, religion and national identity. Yet, these are partial assessments of

¹ Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations and Its Prospects* (London: Harcourt, 1989), p. xi.

his work that leave gaps and unresolved contradictions. Amado was very familiar with Candomblé, the Afro-Brazilian religion, and he provided detailed descriptions of its practices; simultaneously, he was accused of deliberately distorting or adapting these practices for his narratives. Critics argue that his female characters are mere sexual objects, yet some are independent and assertive in the city's patriarchal environment in both *Suor* (1934) and *Dona Flor e Seus Dois Maridos* (Dona Flor and Her Two Husbands, 1966).² Amado's fictional Salvador brings together all of the above aspects. Thus, an in-depth analysis might allow a broader, more complete assessment of Amado's work.

Above all, the importance of the object of this thesis may be found in the unique characteristics of São Salvador da Bahia de Todos os Santos, as the city was called during its foundation. It was the most important city of Brazil until the 18th century, when Rio replaced it as the capital of the Portuguese colony and, later, the Brazilian empire and republic. As Earl E. Fitz observes, other urban centres have been important in Brazil's cultural development, but Salvador, along with Rio, remains one of 'the nation's cultural lodestones', which resonates 'most immediately with people around the globe'.³ More than any other Brazilian city, Salvador bridges Brazil's past and present. J R de Araújo Filho, a geographer from São Paulo, once wrote that Salvador is the only major Brazilian city that may present simultaneously to the visitor two landscapes: 'a antiga, tipicamente colonial, assemelhando-se a Ouro Preto na região da Sé, Pelourinho e Carmo; ao lado de outra, bastante moderna.'⁴ In addition, even though Salvador is only the third most populous city in Brazil, it has the largest black population in the country. According to Brazil's foundational myth, three ethnicities comprised the population of the country: native Indians, black Africans and white

² Where English-language editions of the novels were published, the translated titles will appear in brackets, along with the original publication date of the Brazilian edition.

³ Earl E. Fitz, 'Salvador da Bahia and Rio de Janeiro: An Inter-American Perspective', *Review: Literature and Arts of the Americas*, 44, n. 2 (Oct 2011), p. 197.

⁴ JR de Araújo Filho, 'Alguns Aspectos da Cidade do Salvador', in *Cidade do Salvador: Aspectos Geográficos, Históricos, Sociais e Antropológicos* (Salvador: Imprensa Oficial da Bahia, 1960), p. 96.

Europeans. In Salvador, unlike in any other Brazilian city, the influence of black culture is intense and cultivated to the point that the city became known as the ‘Black Rome’ or ‘Mecca of Blackness’. As Patrícia Pinho observes, these epithets emphasise Salvador’s character as both a global city and a central location in the network of black people and symbols.⁵ Such a mixture of heritages came to define the city and its social practices.

Despite all these characteristics, few authors have written about Salvador. Jorge Amado has an entire oeuvre about the city and its unique characteristics. Many people, both in Brazil and abroad, have viewed and interpreted Brazil through Amado’s novels.⁶ Paulo Tavares asserted that ‘nenhum escritor jamais foi tão baiano quanto Jorge Amado’ because of ‘o caráter baiano típico das personagens por ele levadas a todos os povos’, and also because Bahia was the setting of most of his novels.⁷ These works were translated into around 40 languages, ranging from English to Vietnamese.⁸ In Amado’s Salvador, Brazilians could see themselves reflected and foreigners were able to devise an entire country. Lilia Schwarcz comments that the author was turned onto a certain model in order to think about a Brazil that is rooted deep in Bahia.⁹

Even a superficial look at Amado’s body of work will attest to the importance of Salvador. Of Amado’s 26 novels and novellas, 12 focus mainly on an exploration of Salvador or selected areas of the city. It also appears in the communist trilogy *Os Subterrâneos da Liberdade* (1954), which takes place largely in Rio de Janeiro. The city functions as a point of reference in the ‘cacao novels’, the cycle of narratives that are set in the plantations of

⁵ Patrícia de Santana Pinho, *Mama Africa: Reinventing Blackness in Bahia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), p. 47. The expression ‘Black Rome’ was coined by Candomblé priestess Mãe Aninha in an interview to anthropologist Ruth Landes. See Pinho, p. 44; and Ruth Landes, *The City of Women* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1994), p. 17.

⁶ Carmen Chaves Tesser, ‘A Postcolonial Reading of a Colonized *Malandro*’, in *Jorge Amado: New Critical Essays*, ed. by Earl E. Fitz, Keith H. Brower and Enrique Martinez-Vidal (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 224.

⁷ Paulo Tavares, *O Baiano Jorge Amado e Sua Obra* (Rio de Janeiro: Record, 1980), p. 167.

⁸ Tavares, *O Baiano Jorge Amado*, p. 196.

⁹ Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, ‘Introdução’, in *O Brasil Best-Seller de Jorge Amado: Literatura e Identidade Nacional* (São Paulo: Senac São Paulo, 2003), p. 10.

Southern Bahia; for example, *Terras do Sem-Fim* (Violent Land, 1943). The ending of *Tereza Batista Cansada de Guerra* (Tereza Batista, Home from the Wars, 1972) takes place in Salvador, with an Aristophanes-inspired prostitute strike. Moreover, Salvador represents a promised land for the inhabitants of the Mangue Seco village in Northern Bahia, which is the setting for *Tieta do Agreste* (Tieta, 1977). Finally, Amado wrote at least three versions of a free-form guide to Salvador, *Bahia de Todos os Santos – Guia de Ruas e Mistérios* (1945), which actually serves as a companion to Amado's fictional universe.¹⁰ Therefore, the weight of Salvador in Amado's work is undeniable.

Cities are complex constructs. Consequently, the analysis of Amado's fictional Salvador must rely on tools from different areas: literary theory, social studies, and political and cultural history. The study of this fictional city must actually consider two cities: the construct and the implied outcome, that is, an urban space model. The construct is the city in which the characters move and which influences the unfolding of the narrative; while the implied outcome is that whereby the narratives suggest an ideal to be achieved. In Amado's first novels, this outcome is implied by the expectations of the characters contrasted with a negative description of Salvador. Conversely, in Amado's novels post-1960, this outcome is suggested by the reinforcement of his perception of Salvador's positive aspects. The ideal feature of this implied outcome recalls a utopia. For this reason, we must pause briefly to examine the issue of utopian cities and the manner in which they might relate to Amado's Salvador.

Thomas More devised the neologism 'utopia' to depict a perfect fictional society in *Utopia* (1516). A utopia is 'no place', that is, somewhere that resembles no actual historical society. Thomas More's original *Utopia* was isolated from the rest of the world, much like

¹⁰ Ilana Seltzer Goldstein, *O Brasil Best-Seller de Jorge Amado: Literatura e Identidade Nacional* (São Paulo: Senac São Paulo, 2003), p. 221.

the literary utopian worlds that came after it: the Soviet science fiction *Red Star*, for instance, which will be discussed further in Chapter 2, provides an extreme example of this; a colony on Mars. Thus, literary utopia came to be associated with the specific kind of idealised society depicted by More. Nevertheless, this use of the word ‘utopia’ is restrictive. Later literary works transformed More’s original concept. For example, George Orwell wrote *1984* as a failed Communist utopia turned totalitarian dystopia, which was also inspired by a historical society, Stalinist Soviet Union.¹¹ Paul Theroux’s *The Mosquito Coast* tells the story of a family who moved from twentieth-century civilisation to the jungles of Central America to establish a utopia in the wild. In addition, More’s utopian island is influenced deeply by the rise of humanist logic in the Renaissance, despite the implications of the word he had created.¹²

Amado’s novels may not strictly be classified as utopian literature since he did not write about perfect imaginary places. He wrote about how an imperfect place, Salvador, could be improved. Depending on the narrative, the Bahian author gave more or less detailed descriptions of what the model for a better city might be: one character envisages it in *Tenda dos Milagres* (Tent of Miracles, 1969) and *Dona Flor* culminates with the actual transformation of Salvador into an idealised place. Studies that use the word ‘utopia’ to refer to his work or locate this idea in space are far from rare.¹³ As Fátima Vieira notes, the concept of utopia is related to one of four characteristics: ‘the identification of that society with the idea of “good place” [*eutopia*]’; the literary form; urging the reader to action in the case of political utopias; and the ‘desire for a better life’, which is caused by ‘discontentment

¹¹ Actually, Orwell refers to the novel as a ‘utopia’ to a friend. See George Orwell, Ian M. A. Angus, and Sonia Orwell, *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell*. Edited by Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books in association with Secker & Warburg, 1970), p. 475.

¹² Fátima Vieira, ‘The Concept of Utopia’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature*, ed. by Gregory Claeys (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 4.

¹³ As in the excellent *Jorge Amado: Romance em Tempo de Utopia* by Eduardo de Assis Duarte (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Record, 1996). See also Paul B. Dixon, ‘Malandro Heaven: Amado’s Utopian Vision’, in *Jorge Amado: New Critical Essays*, ed. by Keith H. Brower, Earl Fitz, Enrique Martínez Vidal (London: Routledge, 2001).

with the society one lives in'.¹⁴ Amado's ideal implies that Salvador fits into at least three of these categories, but he never engages in a fully detailed description of his utopian intent. Given all these factors, I shall refer to the idealised Salvador in Amado's novels as an urban space ideal or model, even though critics have previously called it a utopia.

There is also the matter of how Amado constructed Salvador throughout his novels. Many critics and readers outside Brazil tend to relate Amado especially with the 'exotic' aspects of his later works, such as the sensual and humorous Salvador from *Dona Flor*.¹⁵ Yet, his first portrayal of Salvador, in *O País do Carnaval* (1931), was of a decaying city. Then, he made Salvador into a lively but deeply flawed urban space in *Jubiabá* (Jubiabá, 1935), and finally he projected ideas for a better society in the Salvador construct from *Dona Flor* and *Tenda*. This does not mean that he was constantly adding new elements to the city in his novels. Quite the contrary, these elements had been in place since his first novel: religion, politics, race and gender dynamics, cultural traditions, carnival and play. Amado simply chose to re-work them repeatedly. Antônio Candido argued that the limitation of themes led precisely to the evolution of Amado's prose.¹⁶ It may also be noted that these themes are limited by his Salvador. Before proceeding to a detailed analysis of the recurrent themes in this thesis, it is necessary to explore the history of the city that provided the inspiration for Amado's construct.

¹⁴ Vieira, p. 6. For a detailed exploration of these characteristics, see also Ruth Levitas, *The Concept of Utopia* (London: Philip Allan, 1990).

¹⁵ Alain-Philippe Durand, 'The French Jorge Amado', *Romance Notes*, 50(2) (2010), p. 195.

¹⁶ Antonio Candido, in *Caderno de Leituras – A Literatura de Jorge Amado* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2008), p. 71.

A Guide to Salvador

I must now present a picture of the real-life Salvador. Jorge Amado modelled his fictional city on the actual Salvador, capital of the state of Bahia in North-East Brazil. In Amado's novels, and in reality, people refer constantly to the city using the state name. For this reason, Amado called his tour guide of the city, *Bahia de Todos os Santos*. When the Portuguese arrived in that part of the Brazilian coast in the sixteenth century, different peoples had already been there. They had been attracted by the sprawling Bahia de Todos os Santos, with its islands and hilly coast since as early as 800 BC, according to archaeological findings.¹⁷ In 1501, a Portuguese fleet, led by Gonçalo Coelho, first traded with one of many Tupinambá tribes in the area. A few years later, a castaway called Diogo Álvares Correia, known by the Indians as 'sea snake' (Caramuru), built a village there – in an area that would become known as the Barra district – during the first decades of the sixteenth century. Tupinambás, Europeans and their mixed-race children lived together under Caramuru's leadership. Antônio Risério called this an 'aldeia sincrética'; it contained the origins of the 'tessitura biossemiótica' that would soon form contemporary Brazil.¹⁸ This mixture of cultures would appear ever more prominently in Amado's fiction as his work evolved.

During the mid-sixteenth century, the Portuguese King D. João III decided to take a firmer grasp of the new land. In 1549, he dispatched Tomé de Sousa to build a fortress-city in Bahia de Todos os Santos. Its objective was to function as 'the heart in the middle of the body, from where all other colonial administrative divisions could be supported and ruled', as friar Vicente do Salvador wrote.¹⁹ Curiously, Tupinambás used to compare Brazil with a dove, whose chest was Bahia. Soon, the outpost grew into a large administrative city that

¹⁷ Valentín Calderón, *O Sambaqui da Pedra Oca: Relatório de uma Pesquisa*. Vol. 2, *Publicações do Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Bahia* (Salvador: Universidade da Bahia, 1964). See also André Prous, and Emilio Fogaça, 'Archaeology of the Pleistocene-Holocene Boundary in Brazil', *Quaternary International*, 53–54 (1999), 21–4.

¹⁸ Antônio Risério, *Uma História da Cidade da Bahia*. Electronic edn. (Rio de Janeiro: Versal, 2004), 1- Da Aldeia ao Engenho, 77 of 131.

¹⁹ Quoted in Risério, *Cidade da Bahia*, 1 Da Aldeia ao Engenho – 131 of 196.

developed steadily until the late eighteenth century, when the discovery of gold and precious stones further south in Minas Gerais transformed Rio de Janeiro into the new capital of the colony. This signified the beginning of the city's decadence, which was only slowed by the incipient industrialisation of the late nineteenth century.²⁰

These industries, which were mainly textile or food, remained excessively dependent on the primary sector of the economy and agricultural exports, unlike the industrial complexes of São Paulo and Minas Gerais, for example. What kept Salvador's economy afloat in that period were the industries that participated in the processing of cacao, a commodity whose prices had been rising in the international market in the first half of the twentieth century.²¹ In 1930, revolution brought a new Brazilian president, Getúlio Vargas, and some hope of change that would not be entirely fulfilled. In fact, Getúlio Vargas created a tax structure that only reinforced this situation of immobility in Northern Brazil. It was during this period that Amado began writing his Salvador novels. Most of these works, as well as many later ones, are set in the first half of the twentieth century. In the 1930s, the city functioned mainly as a port for exporting cacao, the main Bahian product, which came from Ilhéus, a richer and more developed city in Southern Bahia at that time. Moreover, Salvador's economy remained afloat thanks to a huge structure of public and administrative services. During this period, Salvador remained stuck in a system similar to that implemented by the Portuguese metropolis centuries before. Only now, as Fernand Braudel points out, the 'developed sectors' of the country (i.e. Rio de Janeiro, Minas and São Paulo), were 'in the same position *vis-à-vis* their undeveloped sectors' (i.e. North and North-East Brazil) as the

²⁰ Risério, *Cidade da Bahia*, 5 Terra em Transe – 13 of 300.

²¹ Milton Santos, *O Centro da Cidade do Salvador. Estudo de Geografia Urbana*. (Salvador: Publicações da Universidade da Bahia, 1959), pp. 45-46.

mother country once was *vis-à-vis* its former colony. In addition, ‘one is sacrificed to the other’.²² Marshall Berman wrote about Russia in the nineteenth century in these terms:

One of the crucial facts about modern Russian history is that the economy of the Russian Empire was stagnating, and in some ways even regressing, at the very moment when the economies of the Western nations were taking off and surging spectacularly ahead.²³

If one substitutes Northeast for ‘Russia’ and Southeast for ‘Western nations’, one can paint an accurate picture of the socio-economic dynamics in Brazil during the 1930s. This is reflected in the population growth rate that occurred around this time: between 1920 and 1940, it grew an average of 0.20% per year, the smallest rate among all Brazilian state capitals in the same period.²⁴ Yet, Salvador in the 1950s was much larger than it was in the 1900s, but this was not related to progress. Milton Santos explains: ‘Isso, porém não se deve ao dinamismo próprio à cidade, mas pelo contrário, à ausência de dinamismo e de ação sobre a sua zona de influência.’²⁵ Between 1940 and 1950, the city added 126,792 people to its resident population; 70 per cent of whom comprised immigrants.²⁶

In the 1950s, despite the aforementioned industries, most of Salvador’s population worked in the informal economy, as house cleaners, washerwomen and street vendors, or they did not work at all.²⁷ Amado’s lumpen characters in novels like *A Morte e a Morte de Quincas Berro Dágua* (The Two Deaths of Quincas Wateryell, 1961) and *Os Pastores da Noite* (Shepherds of the Night, 1964) reflect this socio-economical context. Despite modernising touches, like the urban transformation of the city centre in the 1930s, Salvador

²² Fernand Braudel, *A History of Civilizations* (London: A. Lane, The Penguin Press, 1994), p. 449.

²³ Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (London: Verso, 1983, 2010), p. 175.

²⁴ Risério, *Cidade da Bahia*, 5 Terra em Transe – 6 of 300.

²⁵ Santos, p. 51.

²⁶ Santos, p. 47.

²⁷ Santos, p. 47.

maintained its 'provincial atmosphere'.²⁸ The discovery of oil reserves in the Recôncavo area around Salvador and the creation of state-owned Petrobrás in 1953 boosted the city's economy. For nearly three decades, Recôncavo remained the sole area of big Brazilian oil production.²⁹ Investment in local industries also came through a federal organisation, Sudene, but the economic and social disparities between North-East and South Brazil remained. For Salvador, this would only translate into effective growth and radical transformation at the beginning of the 1980s.³⁰ Up until then, the city retained most of the characteristics depicted by Amado in his early novels.

Amado lived in Salvador both in his young life and in late adulthood. His novels are set usually in the city's central districts, with which the author was mostly familiar. Pelourinho, the main setting of *Suor*, *Quincas*, *Pastores* and *Tenda*, is at the core of the city's historical centre, or the 'encruzilhada da cidade', as referred to by Amado in his tour guide, *Bahia de Todos os Santos*.³¹

One can trace the history of the city through the evolution of Pelourinho. The facades of its buildings still bear their seventeenth and eighteenth-century architecture to this day. The planning of these colonial streets follows a typically Baroque style: the houses are small – usually two or three-storeys – and their design is similar so that the church at the end of the street may dominate the landscape. The objective of this street planning was to highlight Catholic domination in the Portuguese colony.³² The most important building in the Ladeira do Pelourinho complex, for instance, is Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos Church, which was built in the eighteenth century. Slaves and freed slaves worshipped Our Lady of Rosary

²⁸ Paloma Jorge Amado, 'Um Canto De Amor À Cidade', in *Bahia de Todos os Santos. Guia das Ruas e dos Mistérios da Cidade do Salvador* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2012), p. 308.

²⁹ Risério, *Cidade da Bahia*, 5 Terra em Transe – 127 of 300.

³⁰ P. Jorge Amado, p. 312.

³¹ Jorge Amado, *Bahia de Todos os Santos. Guia das Ruas e dos Mistérios da Cidade do Salvador* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2012), p. 27.

³² Socorro Targino Martinez, quoted in Ana Lúcia Araújo, 'Barroco a Céu Aberto', in *Folha de S. Paulo* (São Paulo: Folha de S. Paulo, 2002), <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/sinapse/ult1063u178.shtml>.

and helped with the funding and construction of the church. Consequently, the building relates closely to the city's black culture and practices: the Catholic cults at Rosário dos Pretos use music inspired by the African-based Candomblé religion, which will be explained further. Actually, Pelourinho is connected to the history of the black community in Salvador. Its name originated from a pillory in the middle of the square, used by the Portuguese to punish black slaves during colonial times.

Progressively, the rich traders and administrative officers who built the colonial houses in the area moved to other districts, such as Vitória, Graça and Barra, which remain upper-class districts today. The decaying colonial houses of the city's historical centre were divided into very small cubicles let by property owners to a miserable population; construction workers, stevedores, house cleaners, washerwomen, and the lumpen in general, who could not afford transportation from the suburbs to their city workplaces. Amado made the connection between old and contemporary modes of slavery throughout his novels, in which Pelourinho is portrayed as both a place of oppression and resistance: 'Ali sofriam os negros como sofrem hoje os pobres que habitam os casarões', he explained in *Bahia de Todos os Santos*.³³ In the 1920s, the Partido Operário, founded by craftsmen and blue-collar workers, gathered regularly in the area in which *Suor* takes place.³⁴ This novel contains both a working-class strike and the claustrophobic building in which Amado lived as a student; 68 Ladeira do Pelourinho. Here is a description of the city centre from 1960: 'Ao lado de ruas modernas, aparecem vielas estreitas e de mau aspecto, em bairros extremamente miseráveis'.³⁵

³³ Amado, *Bahia de Todos os Santos*, p. 55.

³⁴ Risério, *Cidade da Bahia*, 5 Terra em Transe: A Falência das Oposições – 12 of 114.

³⁵ Aroldo de Azevedo, 'Fisionomia da Cidade Do Salvador', in *Cidade do Salvador: Aspectos Geográficos, Históricos, Sociais e Antropológicos* (Salvador: Imprensa Oficial da Bahia, 1960), p. 51.

Pelourinho is located behind the Sé district, which starts at Terreiro de Jesus, a large square named for the Jesuit school built there in 1550. In the seventeenth century, the Jesuits also built a sumptuous church there, which became Salvador's main cathedral after the demolition of Sé Cathedral in 1933. Brazil's first medical school, Faculdade de Medicina da Bahia, is also located at Terreiro de Jesus. Amado made it one of the main settings of *Tenda*, but the square also features prominently in *Dona Flor*. Two other squares complete the administrative district of the city, Praça da Sé and Praça Tomé de Souza, also known as Town Square. The city hall, the old governor's palace and the city council are located in the latter. The Lacerda Elevator connects Praça Tomé de Souza to what was the main financial and commercial area of the city until the second half of the twentieth century, Cidade Baixa (Lower City). The street children from *Capitães da Areia* (Captains of the Sands, 1937) wander across both the city centre and Cidade Baixa.

The middle-class districts of Salvador, like those described by Amado in his later novels, retained their small-town atmosphere until the mid-twentieth century. In the memorial book *Salvador Era Assim*, film director Alberto Luiz da Silva Viana recalls his life in the central district of Dois de Julho. Viana lived in a student's residence on Rua do Cabeça in the 1960s, alongside traditional families who resided in and around Rua do Sodré.³⁶ Several interviewees mention the bourgeoisie and the 'families of good reputation' who lived in the area until the 1970s.³⁷ Old residents refer to Rua do Sodré as a 'quiet street'³⁸ and Dois de Julho a 'ghetto'.³⁹ These testimonies corroborate Antonio Risério's description of Salvador in the first half of the twentieth century as an 'essentially traditional space'.⁴⁰ Adding to the documental aspect of Amado's description, he lived in Rua do Sodré while he was a

³⁶ Jafé Borges, org. *Salvador Era Assim*, vol. 2 (Salvador: Instituto Geográfico e Histórico da Bahia, 2001), p. 111.

³⁷ *Salvador Era Assim*, pp. 114-115.

³⁸ *Salvador Era Assim*, p. 110.

³⁹ *Salvador Era Assim*, p. 115. Terezinha Serrano Batinga uses the word fondly, after recalling her many friends and activities in the neighborhood in the 1950s.

⁴⁰ Risério, *Cidade da Bahia*, 5 Terra em Transe: Metrópole e Memória – 1 of 106.

student.⁴¹ The bulk of *Dona Flor* takes place in the Dois de Julho district. Geographer Milton Santos described the districts that form Salvador's central area in the mid-twentieth century: '[...] um conjunto de bairros bem diferenciados dos outros bairros da cidade, com a justaposição de uma cidade moderna de tipo americano a áreas de cortiços.'⁴²

The richer districts of Salvador in the mid-twentieth century – Graça, Vitória, Barra – are located on the hills beyond Dois de Julho. At the end of the nineteenth century, Vitória was already the favourite address of diplomats, foreigners and rich traders in the city.⁴³ Amado uses these districts as a counterpoint to the poorer historical city centre in his early novels. In his post-1960 works, he details in a satirical tone the everyday practices of the 'grã-finos da Barra e da Graça, gente da Vitória e da avenida Oceânica'.⁴⁴ However, the writer also takes his characters to distant neighbourhoods, such as Itapagipe, which is located on the bay beyond Cidade Baixa. Itapagipe is a petty bourgeoisie district that appears prominently in *Quincas*. Some populous working-class districts spread between the historical city centre and Itapagipe, but far from the bay: for instance, Calçada, Caminho de Areia, Uruguai and Liberdade, whose population is mostly black. Liberdade also has a rich popular cultural scene that includes music, dance and capoeira. Some of the city's inner hills were practically rural areas in the first half of the twentieth century; for example, Brotas, which appears in *Capitães* and *Dona Flor*. Amado completes the map of Salvador with the more recent neighbourhoods on the bay beyond Barra: Pituba, Amaralina and Rio Vermelho, the place in which the Tupinambás allegedly found Diogo Caramuru after his ship was wrecked in the early sixteenth century.

⁴¹ *Salvador Era Assim*, p. 133. Amado's address was 31 Rua do Sodré.

⁴² Milton Santos, 'Uma Definição da Cidade do Salvador', in *Cidade do Salvador: Aspectos Geográficos, Históricos, Sociais e Antropológicos* (Salvador: Imprensa Oficial da Bahia, 1960), p. 128.

⁴³ Risério, *Cidade da Bahia*, 4 Sangue, Suor e Cultura: Estaleiros, Portos e Mares, 2 of 134.

⁴⁴ Amado, *Bahia de Todos os Santos*, p. 115.

Salvador in Literature

Although Amado's work provides a comprehensive view of Salvador, it was not the first important literary interpretation of the city. Indeed, even his style followed a tradition. In depicting Salvador alternatively as a living organism and a network of space-people relations, Amado established himself as an heir to Baroque poet Gregório de Matos e Guerra (1636-1696). Unlike his contemporaries, such as Father Antônio Vieira, Matos mixed formal language with popular diction, as well as images and rhythms of Salvador.⁴⁵ In the seventeenth century, Matos had written satirical verses in which the city was made perversely human, for example: 'Senhora Dona Bahia/nobre e opulenta cidade/madrasta dos naturais/e dos estrangeiros madre'.⁴⁶ Matos anthropomorphised Salvador in order to criticise the city's corruption and social relations of the time. Indeed, the city was united with its inhabitants in his poetry: 'Estupendas usuras nos mercados/Todos os que não furtam muito pobres/E eis aqui a cidade da Bahia'.⁴⁷ Locations, such as the markets, define the city as much as its events, the population and their practices. The poet goes further to identify with the maladies of the city: 'Triste Bahia! ó quão dessemelhante/Estás e estou do nosso antigo estado! Pobre te vejo a ti, tu a mim empenhado/Rica te vi eu já, tu a mim abundante'.⁴⁸ Here, another of Matos's favourite themes is present: the longing for a better and lost past that contrasts with the chaotic current situation of Salvador. As Fátima Regina Nogueira notes, Matos resented the replacement of the old colonial order with an aggressive capitalist system that made Portuguese and foreign traders in the city very rich.⁴⁹ In the following chapters, this view of

⁴⁵ Fitz, 'Salvador da Bahia and Rio de Janeiro', p. 199.

⁴⁶ Gregório De Matos, *Poemas Escolhidos de Gregório De Matos*, ed. by José Miguel Wisnik (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2010), p. 53.

⁴⁷ Matos, p. 45.

⁴⁸ Matos, p. 44.

⁴⁹ Fátima Regina Nogueira, 'A Representação da Cidade como Corpo na Obra Satírica de Gregório De Matos', *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 42 (2005), p. 2.

the city and its elements will be contrasted with Amado's portrayal of Salvador in the twentieth century.

During most of the Imperial period, few Bahian writers found notoriety writing fiction or poetry, and even fewer wrote about Salvador. The notable exception came in the 1880s, at the end of the Imperial period. Xavier Marques (1861-1842) published his first work in 1886; a short-story collection, *Simple Histórias*. Some of his later works would influence Amado's novels; for instance, *O Feiticeiro* (1922) tells the story of a Nagô religion priest that would inspire the treatment of a similar character in Amado's *Jubiabá*. Jubiabá's Candomblé temple was located in the fictional suburban Morro do Capa Negro hill, while Marques's main character presided over Candomblé rituals in the real-life district of Matatu. Marques also described the state repression of Candomblé practices, capoeira and corruption, as Amado would later do in *Jubiabá*, but also in *Pastores* and *Tenda*. Marques's *Jana e Joel* (1899), a romanticised account of life on the islands of Bahia de Todos os Santos, is the matrix of Amado's *Mar Morto* (Sea of Death, 1936).

Adonias Filho (1915-1990) had many biographical aspects in common with Jorge Amado, who was his contemporary: they were born in the area around Ilhéus in Southern Bahia, and both wrote intensely about the region. Different from Amado's narratives, Filho's novels and short stories prioritise the psychological construction of their characters over the description of places. His most acclaimed novels – *Memórias de Lázaro* (Memories of Lazarus, 1952) and *Corpo Vivo* (1962) – are set in Southern Bahia but, towards the end of his career, he also wrote narratives located fully or partially in Salvador. In *Luanda Beira Bahia* (1971), his main character travels from Bahia to Africa and back to search for his family and origins. In the novel, Salvador is connected to the former Portuguese colonies in Africa through their hybrid culture. Cidade Baixa, in which Amado constantly places his lumpen characters, is a mysterious and dangerous place in *Luanda Beira Bahia*, as observed in this

brief description: ‘lugar aonde há perigo com gente do mundo a passar, aventureiros e ladrões, contrabandistas e vagabundos, rameiras caçando homens’.⁵⁰ *O Largo da Palma* (1981) contains six short stories whose only common ground is their setting; Largo da Palma, a square in Nazaré, a middle-class district adjacent to the city centre. The collection may be regarded as a novel about a place because the short stories interweave to form a social map of Largo da Palma in the same way that the different stories in Amado’s *Pastores* outline Salvador as a social space. Filho remains true to his style, though, providing a landscape that is more oneiric than realistic.

Finally, two contemporary writers have re-worked the themes that drove Amado’s depiction of Salvador: oppression and Afro-Brazilian culture. In a universe of male writers, poet Helena Parente Cunha (1930-) wrote a novel focusing on the feminine experience in Salvador’s patriarchal society. Critics usually examine *Mulher no Espelho* (Woman Between Mirrors, 1983) for its post-structuralist narrative that challenges the binary author-character.⁵¹ Nevertheless, Cunha draws from Afro-Brazilian culture to construct her narrative of feminine liberation. As Earl E. Fitz observes, Cunha uses Candomblé to question the idea of purity, ‘whether understood as a function of race, ideology or being’; thereby, echoing the main motif in Amado’s *Tenda*.⁵² Although Cunha does not describe Salvador in realistic detail as Amado does, the city is more than an abstract setting in *Mulher no Espelho*: references to slavery and the cultural and social practices that are typical of Salvador play a formative role in the protagonist’s journey. In *A Rainha do Cine Roma* (2009), Mexican author Alejandro Reyes updates Amado’s realist approach by narrating the everyday life of street children in Salvador’s city centre through the eyes of one. Reyes, a former Zapatista movement member, lived in Salvador for some years and based the novel on his own research in loco. However,

⁵⁰ Adonias Filho, *Luanda Beira Bahia*, 15th edn (Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 1997), p. 81.

⁵¹ Naomi Lindstrom, ‘Narrative Experiment and Social Statement: Helena Parente Cunha’, *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 33 (1996), 141-50. See also Carmen Chaves Tesser, ‘Post-Structuralist Theory Mirrored in Helena Parente Cunha’s Woman between Mirrors’, *Hispania*, 74 (1991), 594-97.

⁵² Fitz, ‘Salvador da Bahia and Rio de Janeiro’, p. 200.

the connection between *A Rainha do Cine Roma* and *Capitães* is not only thematic and stylistic. The interaction between the children and the urban space mirrors Amado's novel as in this excerpt, in which a street child becomes aware of his place in the city's ecosystem, much like Pedro Bala, the protagonist of *Capitães*:

Olhava para ela e ficava com pena de mim, com pena dela, com pena do mundo, dos meus irmãos, do pessoal todo da Baixa de Sapateiros e da Avenida Sete, do Zé Faísca, que apareceu no outro dia morto lá embaixo na Barroquinha, da minha mãe – vai saber onde é que ela estava – da mulherada toda da Montanha, dos travecos da Carlos Gomes, da criançada cheirada, faminta, fodida, espalhada pela cidade toda.⁵³

A Few Concepts

As we shall see further in this Introduction, Amado's city is basically an urban space that is described under the perspectives of order and chaos. To analyse this dichotomy of the city, I shall root the ideas of order and chaos in terms of spatial concepts. However, I will not consider space in this dissertation as an absolute concept; that is, space as something already perfectly realised in the physical world. Rather, Nigel Thrift's definition of space provides a starting point for our understanding of space:

[...] the outcome of a series of highly problematic temporary settlements that divide and connect things up into different kinds of collectives which are slowly provided with the means which render them durable and sustainable.⁵⁴

Thus, space shall be understood as not merely physical location. It is the 'articulation of inter-relations', man-man, man-nature, which 'brings space into being'.⁵⁵ A city, or urban space, is a product of social relations, which, in turn, are influenced by space itself in the creation of

⁵³ Alejandro Reyes, *A Rainha do Cine Roma*. Electronic edn (Lisboa: Leya, 2009), p. 6.

⁵⁴ Nigel Thrift, 'Space: The Fundamental Stuff of Geography', in *Key Concepts in Geography*, ed. by S.L. Holloway, S. Rice and G. Valentine (London: Sage, 2003), p. 95.

⁵⁵ Phil Hubbard, Rob Kitchin, and Gill Valentine, *Key Thinkers on Space and Place* (London: SAGE, 2004), p. 2.

social, cultural, political and economic phenomena. Henri Lefèbvre argues that ‘social space’ may work as a ‘tool for the analysis of society’.⁵⁶ According to him, social space results from the action of productive forces deployed ‘within a (social and determined/determining) spatial practice’.⁵⁷ Zygmunt Bauman goes further to propose that the mere concept of objective physical space has always been a subjective construction: after all, distance used to be measured by ‘human bodies and human relations long before the metal rod called metre [...] was laid down in Sèvres, for everyone to respect and obey.’⁵⁸ Given this, any physical space in which people interact and with which people interfere is a social space. Therefore, any attempt to describe a city, with its multiplicity of human relations, through ‘objective’ measures will be incomplete. In short, for this analysis, I shall adopt a phenomenological approach to space, following Merleau-Ponty’s assertion that ‘space is existential’: human spaces stem from the actions of men on natural spaces.⁵⁹

Lefèbvre uses this humanistic approach to explain notions of space in accordance with three axes. The conceptualised space (representation of space) is conceived by cartographers, scientists and urban planners. The perceived space (spatial practice) is experienced by any society member in their everyday lives. Finally, the lived space (representational space) is that which ‘imagination seeks to change and appropriate’ through images and symbols, such as in works of art and literature.⁶⁰ This three-fold perspective turns space simultaneously into physical location; ‘an existential freedom and a mental expression’.⁶¹ One senses a tension between different orders in the production of space, as described by Lefèbvre. Lived space is

⁵⁶ Henri Lefèbvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), p. 34. Lefèbvre goes further to make ‘representations of space’ different from ‘representational spaces’. The first would involve more exact scientific description of places, while the later would centre on an affective, emotional description of places. This is a highly specialised division that extrapolates the purpose of this dissertation. Instead, I shall use ‘representation of space’ in the broader sense of an interpretation of actual space.

⁵⁷ Lefèbvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 171.

⁵⁸ Zygmunt Bauman, ‘Urban Space Wars: On Destructive Order and Creative Chaos’, *Space and Culture*, 2 (1998), p. 109.

⁵⁹ Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception* (London: Routledge Classics, 2002), p. 342.

⁶⁰ Lefèbvre, *The Production of Space*, pp. 38-39.

⁶¹ Mark Gottdiener, *The Social Production of Urban Space*, 2nd edn (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), p. 123.

less controlled than the other two spatial notions. Conversely, conceptualised space is an instrument of spatial control by authorities, who are able to ensure territorially ‘the homogeneity of the whole’, ‘the segregation of the parts’, and ‘strict hierarchy’, which corresponds to ‘that of social classes’.⁶²

Salvador’s development provides a great example of the tension between representations of space and spatial practices within the urban space. The original layout of Salvador was that of a fortress-city; therefore, the organised growth of urban space was not a major concern of the city’s planners. As Alberto Heráclito Ferreira Filho observes, local elites elected private spaces as the centre of community life.⁶³ Consequently, a network of social relations that grew unobserved soon transformed the original conceived space. Public space – streets and squares – became places for the lower class and their relations. From the colonial era to the imperial period, freed slaves, ‘escravos de ganho’, female street vendors and the lumpen made Salvador’s streets into a place where they could enjoy economic and social freedom; whereas the upper classes equated public spaces with all manner of vice.⁶⁴ By extension, the poor, who comprised mostly black and mixed-race people, became synonymous with wrongdoing. Racial subtexts stemmed from these dynamics and underlay further policies towards public space; thus, generating greater segregation.⁶⁵ Those responsible for the conceptualised space did not foresee – and refused to accept – the creation of the poor’s social networks on the city streets. Different perceptions have clashed during the last three centuries over legitimacy in the occupation of public space in Salvador, with its own particular characteristics. In Amado’s novels, two levels must be considered in which these notions of space operate. First, obviously, the novels themselves contain a

⁶² Lefebvre, ‘Space, Social Product and Use Value’, in *State, Space, World: Selected Essays*, ed. by Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden (London: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), p. 188.

⁶³ Alberto Heráclito Ferreira Filho, ‘Desafricanizar as Ruas: Elites Letradas, Mulheres Pobres e Cultura Popular em Salvador (1890-1937)’, *Afro-Ásia* (1998-1999), p. 239.

⁶⁴ Ferreira Filho, p. 240. See also Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, *O Espetáculo das Raças: Cientistas, Instituições e Questão Racial no Brasil, 1870-1930* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1993, 2011).

⁶⁵ Ferreira Filho, p. 246.

representational space. In addition, the characters in the novels have their own conflicting notions of space. Amado's fiction, which takes place in the first six decades of the twentieth century, addresses the on-going tension surrounding notions of space in Salvador. Moreover, as I will argue, his novels present different representations of Salvador as well as proposals of different representations of urban space throughout the years.

I must pause here to argue that there is no such a thing as place, as it is. No two theorists seem to agree about the differences between space and place; if, indeed, any exist. Actually, geographers and cultural theorists offer wildly different explanations of place. Up to the 1970s, positivist geographers tended to conceive it as 'a largely self-contained gathering of people in a bounded locale (territory)'.⁶⁶ Doreen Massey dismisses this formula and calls places 'shared spaces', with greater emphasis on the conflict between what they are and what they ought to become.⁶⁷ Nigel Thrift comments that they are 'settings for interaction',⁶⁸ a phrase that does not necessarily contradict Massey's description yet brings place closer to the concept of absolute space.⁶⁹ Lefèbvre equates place with 'localities made special for one reason or another' or a certain space to which a name was attributed for some reason.⁷⁰ Massey likens a locality to a region encompassing a number of places.⁷¹ Conversely, Michel De Certeau establishes space as a type of place; 'a practiced place'.⁷² As a result of these different interpretations, the definition of place by geographers and cultural theorists remains controversial at the best, or a 'relatively diffuse, ill-defined and inchoate'

⁶⁶ Hubbard et al, p. 5.

⁶⁷ Doreen B. Massey, 'The Political Place of Locality Studies', in *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity, 1994), p. 137.

⁶⁸ Thrift, 'On the Determination of Social Action in Space and Time', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 1 (1983), p. 40.

⁶⁹ It also places Harvey's concept closer to that of Martin Heidegger, who famously wrote that dwelling 'is the manner in which mortals are on the earth'. Martin Heidegger, 'Building, Dwelling, Thinking', in *Poetry, Language, Thought* (New York: Harper Perennial Classics, 1971, 2001), p. 146. He further argues that a space is 'something that has been made room for' (p. 152) 'within the stay of mortals' (p. 155). The words 'space' and 'place' are used interchangeably in his essay for the same static conceptualisation of space (p.152).

⁷⁰ Lefèbvre, pp. 192-193.

⁷¹ Massey, pp. 137-138.

⁷² Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley, Calif.; London: University of California Press, 1988, 1984), p. 117.

concept.⁷³ Consequently, I will use the word to refer to Salvador as a specific kind of space, which is recognised by a name and defined by a set of historical and social relations. I will also use ‘space’ interchangeably with ‘place’ for the same purpose. After all, Salvador, as a city, is ‘a space which is fashioned, shaped and invested by social activities during a finite historical period’.⁷⁴

In Amado’s novels, the different places that form the city of Salvador are perceived as more than simply objective geographical settings; they presuppose and produce social practices. Amado relies greatly on detailed descriptions of the settings in his novels, but his fictional city is also constantly identified in accordance with impressions and historical associations. Pelourinho is the place of suffering in *Suor*, echoing the treatment received there by black slaves in previous centuries; however, it is also the place of freedom in *Quincas*. Moreover, Barra, Vitória and Graça form a single space of oppression in *Capitães*, but signal social ascension in *Dona Flor*. Amado also describes the city through the people who rule over it and shape its defining features: it is Tomé de Souza’s city in *O País*, in reference to its founder, but it belongs to the Candomblé priest Jubiabá in *Jubiabá*. These names explain the city in historical terms; the ownership singularises the space. Alternatively, places and districts, much like surnames, are used to identify people, from Dona Enaide do Xame-Xame in *Dona Flor* to Pacífico do Rio Vermelho in *Tenda*. There are over 2,000 characters in Amado’s works according to a compilation by Paulo Tavares.⁷⁵ In a universe of thousands of characters, parts of Salvador provide the reader with a reference point, but they also function as a two-way definition of both people and place. In more extreme examples, Amado anthropomorphises Salvador, to which he constantly refers as the mysterious Bahia;

⁷³ Hubbard et al, p.6.

⁷⁴ Lefèbvre, p. 73.

⁷⁵ Paulo Tavares, *Criaturas de Jorge Amado: Dicionário Biográfico de Todas as Personagens Imaginárias*. 2nd edn (Rio de Janeiro: Record, 1985), p. xvii.

the night of the city turns into a mythical woman for the prologue to *Os Pastores*.⁷⁶ Finally, as shall be seen in Chapter 4, Amado translates the main constitutive elements of Salvador into the title love triangle from *Dona Flor*. In his Salvador novels, space cannot be disentangled from people. It affects people and is affected by them in ways that may reconfigure it.

A special form of social practice plays a major role throughout Amado's work: Carnival. This festival is central to the narratives in *O País*, *Tenda* and *Dona Flor*; but elements of it also appear in *Jubiabá*, *Capitães*, *Quincas* and *Os Pastores*. One or another form of Carnival may be found in different societies and ages. Its origins, especially its European roots, are widely disputed.⁷⁷ Greeks and Romans also had festivals with music, dance, wine and libertinism; among them, the Bacchanalia, Saturnalia and Lupercalia.⁷⁸ Athens celebrated the beginning of spring with a festival lasting three days dedicated to Dionysus, god of wine and pleasure. However, as Sam Harris observes, the connections between these classical festivals are more literary than historical, as they 'were extinct long before Carnival began'.⁷⁹ Carnival itself is a festival form that is peculiar to Christianity.⁸⁰ Its name appeared in the Middle Ages to refer to a tradition connected to Christianity: it was a period of feasts and celebration held before the 40-day period of Lent, during which meat and fat were proscribed by the Catholic Church in memory of the agony of the Christ.⁸¹ The etymology of 'carnival' originates from one of many Italian-dialect forms, such as

⁷⁶ Amado also turned Salvador into 'the most languid' woman in *ABC de Castro Alves* (1941).

⁷⁷ Max Harris, 'Claiming Pagan Origins for Carnival: Bacchanalia, Saturnalia, and Kalends', *European Medieval Drama*, 10 (2006), p. 57. See also Samuel Kinser, 'Carnival', in *Medieval Folklore*, ed. by Carl Lindhal, John McNamara and John Lindow (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁷⁸ Monica Rector, 'The Code and Message of Carnival: Escolas De Samba', in *Carnival!*, ed. by Thomas A. Sebeok (Berlin ; New York: Mouton Publishers, 1984), p. 38.

⁷⁹ Harris, p. 59.

⁸⁰ Samuel Kinser, 'Why Is Carnival So Wild?', in *Carnival and the Carnavalesque: The Fool, the Reformer, the Wildman, and Others in Early Modern Theatre*, ed. by Konrad Eisenbichler and Wim N. M. Iüsken (Amsterdam ; Atlanta: Rodopi, 1999), p. 44.

⁸¹ Michaeline A. Crichlow, and Piers Armstrong, 'Carnival Praxis, Carnavalesque Strategies and Atlantic Interstices', *Social Identities*, 16 (2010), p. 400.

carnelevare, which means ‘to remove meat’.⁸² Yet, like its pagan precursors, Carnival was also about sex and general pleasure, as implied by the Italian word *carnevale*, that is, ‘valley of the flesh’. Carnivals usually included processions, various competitions and plays, usually farces.⁸³ Throughout the medieval Carnival, marginal popular culture conquered the town square and emerged from the margins, turning the world upside down for a limited time.⁸⁴ During the Renaissance, the popular town square tradition started to fade and was replaced by masked balls that emphasised order and beauty. Therefore, Carnival began as a Dionysian celebration but later became an Apollonian festival. The Brazilian Carnival embodies both the Dionysian and the Apollonian tradition. It originated as a variation of the Portuguese carnival, the *entrudo*, in which people ‘threw all sorts of objects at one another’.⁸⁵ This world, with its own laws, was the basis of Bakhtin’s theory of carnivalisation:

While Carnival lasts, there is no other life outside it. During carnival time life is subject only to its laws, that is, the laws of its own freedom. It has a universal spirit; it is a special condition of the entire world, of the world's revival and renewal, in which all take part. Such is the essence of carnival, vividly felt by all its participants...⁸⁶

This excerpt contains two key aspects of Bakhtin’s concept of Carnival: its impermanence and the freedom from all rules. In his novels, Amado addresses these carnivalesque aspects in Bahian society through different perspectives. Increasingly, he stresses the liberating characteristic of Carnival, especially in his works from the 1960s. Bakhtin observes that carnivalesque freedom leads to an absolute inclusiveness, since there is no hierarchy.⁸⁷

⁸² Rector, p. 39.

⁸³ Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Harper Torchbook, 1978), pp. 184-185.

⁸⁴ Dominick LaCapra, *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1983), p. 301. For further analysis of the limitations of marginal culture in the spotlight, see Umberto Eco, ‘The Frames of Comic “Freedom”’, in *Carnival!*, ed. by Thomas A. Sebeok and Marcia E. Erickson (Berlin; New York; Amsterdam: Moulton Publishers, 1984), p. 7.

⁸⁵ Rector, p. 42.

⁸⁶ M. M. Bakhtin, and Hélène Iswolsky, *Rabelais and His World*. 1st. edn (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1984), p. 7.

⁸⁷ Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, p. 10.

Consequently, Carnival is enriched by varied forms of expression – from ‘large and complex mass actions to individual carnivalistic gestures’.⁸⁸ Roberto Da Matta argues that the inherent dialogism of Carnival is the main element in Amado’s later fiction. To explain dialogism, he cites the Bakhtinian concept of the carnivalisation of society: the freedom from everyday rules temporarily opens a sensual dialogue between all strata in a highly hierarchic society, and thus subverting the order. In doing this, Da Matta concludes, Carnival ‘temporariamente supprime distâncias e a sociedade pode relativizar os seus centros regulares’ to recognise other forms ‘de consciência e de “poder” social’.⁸⁹ Amado captures Carnival as the ‘spirit of another Brazil’, which transforms ambiguity into a positive feature in *Quincas, Pastores* and *Dona Flor*.⁹⁰ According to Da Matta, Amado suggests the conversion of Brazil into a more egalitarian and inclusive place by replacing a binary society with a dialogical society; this way, it would be possible ‘modernizar o nosso país sem, entretanto, deixarmos de ser a sociedade do carnaval’.⁹¹ As we shall see, this ideal society becomes clearer in Amado’s later novels. They reinforce the idea that Amado established Salvador as his preferred place in which to develop a certain concept of Brazilian identity. In the conclusion of this Introduction, the importance of Salvador as a place in which to interpret Brazil in Amado’s novels will be explained.

The emphasis on carnivalisation as an explanation for Amado’s suggested society is rendered problematic by two aspects. First, as Da Matta notes, Carnival is temporary. After a period of festivities in which perceptions of place, class and identity are turned upside down, everything returns to its previous state. Carnivalisation is a precarious phenomenon that does not account for the permanent characteristics emerging from Amado’s construct in his later

⁸⁸ Bakhtin, and Caryl Emerson, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics, Theory and History of Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984, 1999), p. 183.

⁸⁹ Roberto Da Matta, ‘Do País do Carnaval à Carnavalização: O Escritor e Seus Dois Brasis’, *Cadernos de Literatura Brasileira*, March 1997, pp. 131-132. I shall explain dialogism further in Chapter 3.

⁹⁰ Da Matta, ‘Do País do Carnaval à Carnavalização’, p. 133.

⁹¹ Da Matta, ‘Do País do Carnaval à Carnavalização’, p. 135.

works. Second, the festival was – and remains–sanctioned mainly by the official state; that is, those who rule in any given society. These events do not clash with the dominant representation of space. In his concept of Carnival, Bakhtin generalises that many festivals were ‘of different origins and scheduled at different dates but bearing the common traits of popular merriment’.⁹² Yet, these events were organised and offered meaning ‘in highly specific ways to the passage of time’.⁹³ Bakhtin also failed to acknowledge the repercussions of different cultural traditions for the elite and for common people: what Peter Burke refers to respectively as the great tradition and the little tradition.⁹⁴ Medieval people may well have perceived the actual Carnival period more restrictively, as Burke explains:

Carnival was opposed not only to Lent but also to the everyday, not only to the forty days which began on Ash Wednesday but to the rest of the year. Carnival was an enactment of the ‘world turned upside down’, a favourite theme in the popular culture of early modern Europe [...]⁹⁵

In the end, Carnival was an event that was always intended to lead to a kind of normalcy, as it were, which existed previously. ‘By making the low high and the high low’, as Victor Turner observes, reversal rituals ‘reaffirm the hierarchical principle’.⁹⁶ All participants knew that their ecstatic experience would lead to the restoration of world order. Basically, the upper classes in early modern Europe were aware of the internal conflicts within their society and devised these festivals as a ‘means for the subordinates to purge their resentments and to compensate for their frustrations’.⁹⁷ Carnival was never supposed to linger. In Amado’s Salvador novels, though, when the world is turned upside down, it arguably brings a new representation of space with the potential to generate lasting consequences for the city. From

⁹² Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, p. 218.

⁹³ David Wiles, ‘The Carnavalesque in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*’, in *Shakespeare and Carnival : After Bakhtin*, ed. by Ronald Knowles (Basingstoke ; New York: Macmillan, 1998), p. 66.

⁹⁴ Burke, p. 28.

⁹⁵ Burke, p. 188.

⁹⁶ Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), p. 176.

⁹⁷ Burke, p. 201.

O País to *Dona Flor*, the characters strive for a permanent transformation of Salvador. The following chapters will explore how the idea of carnivalisation is applied to Amado's construct.

The Role of Religion

Bahian composer Dorival Caymmi famously wrote that Salvador has 365 churches; an overstatement that reveals the importance of religion to the city's culture and to its landscape. Portuguese colonisers built the numerous Catholic churches in the city, but Catholicism is not the sole influential religion in Salvador. Afro-Brazilian Candomblé also contributed to the city's traditions and culture. Women dressed in white ritual clothes, the 'baianas', can be observed easily on the city streets selling typical regional food, such as acarajé, black-eyed pea fritters that were originally part of the ritual food offered to Iansã, one of Candomblé's deities. Candomblé is the result of the African diaspora and syncretic processes.⁹⁸ Yoruba and Ewe peoples (Sudan), brought to Brazil as slaves, preserved their traditions in Brazil while combining them with those of slaves from other African peoples, such as the Bantu. Pierre Fatumbi Verger locates the opening of the first jeje-nagô Candomblé temple, or 'terreiro' in Salvador – and in Brazil – in the nineteenth century, while Renato da Silveira argues that it had been opened in the eighteenth century.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Teresinha Bernardo, 'Candomblé: Identidades Em Mudança', in *Revista Nures*, n. 7 (São Paulo: Núcleo de Estudos Religião e Sociedade - PUC (SP), Sep-Dec 2007).

⁹⁹ Risério, *Cidade da Bahia*. 4 Sangue, Suor e Cultura – 212-213 of 349.

The mixing of these traditions with Catholic elements was decisive for the survival of Candomblé in Brazil.¹⁰⁰ As early as the nineteenth century, each Candomblé deity – the orishas or ‘orixás’ – had a Catholic mythology counterpart; a saint.¹⁰¹ For instance, the aforementioned Iansã, goddess of the winds, is syncretised with Saint Barbara. This religious syncretism has been increasingly criticised as a departure from African traditions.¹⁰² In his novels, though, Amado depicts syncretism as an intrinsic characteristic of Candomblé in Bahia. Candomblé is rooted in the concept of a large family originating from a common ancestor. Based on this, ethnographer Pierre Verger explains an orixá as a divine ancestor who ‘established bonds in life that granted him or her control over certain forces of nature’, the mastery of certain skills and crafts, such as metal forging, or knowledge of plants and their use.¹⁰³ These ‘intelligent forces of nature’, as immaterial beings, are seen by humans when they ‘manifest’ in the bodies of their living descendants, the ‘eleguns’, mainly in sacred ceremonies.¹⁰⁴ Variations of Candomblé around Brazil include umbanda or macumba (Rio de Janeiro), Xangô (Pernambuco) and batuque (Rio Grande do Sul).¹⁰⁵ Umbanda also mixes indigenous traditions, such as the worship of a spirit called ‘caboclo’ (Indian), and it became widespread in Brazil to the point that even Candomblé is popularly known as macumba. In Salvador, according to a census, there were approximately 1,140 Candomblé temples in 1997.¹⁰⁶

The first descriptions of Afro-Brazilian rituals in Brazilian literature were mostly negative. Júlio Ribeiro described a macumba ceremony in sensationalistic terms in the

¹⁰⁰ J. Reginaldo Prandi, ‘Religião e Sincretismo em Jorge Amado’, in *Caderno de Leituras: O Universo de Jorge Amado*, ed. by Lília Moritz Schwarcz and Ilana Seltzer Goldstein (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2009), p. 50.

¹⁰¹ Prandi, ‘African Gods in Contemporary Brazil: A Sociological Introduction to Candomblé Today’, *International Sociology*, 15 (2000), p. 643. See also Waldemar Valente, *Sincretismo Religioso Afro-Brasileiro*, 3rd edn (São Paulo: Nacional, 1977); and Pierre Fatumbi Verger, *Lendas Africanas dos Orixás* (Salvador: Corrupio, 1985).

¹⁰² Stefania Capone, ‘The “Orisha” Religion’, in *Cultures of the Lusophone Black Atlantic*, ed. by Nancy Priscilla Naro, Roger Sansi-Roca and David Treece (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 220.

¹⁰³ Pierre Fatumbi Verger, *Orixás: Deuses Iorubás na África e no Novo Mundo* (São Paulo: Corrupio, 1992), p. 18.

¹⁰⁴ Zeca Ligiéro, *Iniciação Ao Candomblé*. 2nd edn (Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Editora Record, 1994), p. 43.

¹⁰⁵ Prandi, ‘African Gods in Contemporary Brazil’, p. 641.

¹⁰⁶ Capone, p. 222.

naturalist novel *A Carne* (1888). Melo Morais Filho's 'O Candomblé', a poem from the second half of the nineteenth century, shows an attitude of disgust towards it, as observed by Raymond Sayers.¹⁰⁷ Nineteen years before the abolition of slavery, Joaquim Manoel de Macedo offers a terrifying portrayal of black slaves and their cultural practices in *As Vítimas-Algozes* (1869). Macedo's slaves are bitter and vengeful creatures who engage in deceitful rituals for the superstitious:

Desse culto grotesco, esqualido da feitiçaria sai o gérmen da desmoralização de muitas famílias, cujos chefes por superstição e fraqueza são cativos de um escravo, deixando-se dominar pelo grande feiticeiro.

Saem dele envenenamentos que matam de súbito, ou que aos poucos dilaceram aflitivamente as vidas das vítimas.

Sai dele a conspiração assassina de escravos que levam a desolação a senzalas de parceiros e às casas dos senhores.¹⁰⁸

In the first half of the twentieth century, the aforementioned Xavier Marques offered a more sympathetic description of Afro-Brazilian cults in *O Feiticeiro*. The same positive attitude towards Afro-Brazilian rituals can be found in the works of two Brazilian modernism writers: Mário de Andrade's *Macunaíma, o Herói sem Nenhum Caráter* (Macunaima, 1928) and Raul Bopp's long poem *Cobra Norato* (1931). In Andrade's novel, Macunaíma takes a train to Rio de Janeiro 'se socorrer de Exu diabo em cuja honra se realizava uma macumba no outro dia'.¹⁰⁹ What follows is a detailed description of a macumba ritual. These works contributed to inserting Afro-Brazilian traditions into discussions about Brazilian identity. Up until the 1930s, Candomblé followers were subjected to police persecution. It was Amado, as a federal congressional representative in the 1940s, who proposed a bill guaranteeing freedom of religion in the country; thereby, protecting Candomblé. Brazilian Congress

¹⁰⁷ Raymond Sayers, *The Negro in Brazilian Literature*, (New York: Hispanic Institute, 1956), p. 134.

¹⁰⁸ Joaquim Manoel de Macedo, *As Vítimas-Algozes*. Electronic edn (Fundação Biblioteca Nacional), p. 39.

¹⁰⁹ Mario de Andrade, *Macunaíma, o Herói Sem Nenhum Caráter*. Electronic edn (São Paulo: Nova Fronteira, 2008), Macunaíma Estava Contrariado - 1 of 7.

approved the bill and Amado continued writing about the Afro-Brazilian religion in his Salvador narratives. Even though he might eschew the specificities of ceremonies to make them fit into his narrative, he identified Candomblé with the city of Salvador in most of his work. His Salvador was shrouded in mysteries and secrets that were transmitted late at night by the drums of the ‘terreiros’. Sometimes, these sounds represented resistance to oppression, as in *Jubiabá*; or they signalled a joyous celebration, as in *Tenda*. In either case, Candomblé stands as a cultural practice against the established order in Salvador.

One of the recurrent orixás in Amado’s novels is Exu, the trickster god. In the Yoruba pantheon, he is the messenger between orixás and humans. However, he also has other important responsibilities in the universal order, as explained by Reginaldo Prandi:

[...] sem sua participação não existe movimento, mudança ou reprodução, nem trocas mercantis, nem fecundação biológica. Na época dos primeiros contatos de missionários cristãos com os iorubás na África, Exu foi grosseiramente identificado pelos europeus com o diabo e ele carrega esse fardo até os dias de hoje.¹¹⁰

The main reason for this association between Exu and the Catholic devil is the orixá’s personality traits: reckless, smart and licentious. His iconographic representation usually includes a huge phallus. During the ceremonies, Exu must be appeased before invoking the other orixás so that he does not disturb the proceedings.¹¹¹ Exu is disruptive and transformative, and Amado uses him as a pivotal character many times in his work, not least in *Pastores* and *Dona Flor*. This will be explored in greater detail in Chapters 3 and 4. In addition, these features make Exu a powerful local symbol for the city itself: his protean aspect mirrors that of the modern city, which similarly changes so fast that it is difficult to grasp. Likewise, in Amado’s novels, Exu symbolises the potential for the transformation of

¹¹⁰ Prandi, *Mitologia dos Orixás*, pp. 20-21.

¹¹¹ Prandi, ‘African Gods in Contemporary Brazil’, p. 651.

urban space. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. has noted previously that ‘Exu’s most direct Western kinsman is Hermes’; the messenger of the Greek gods and symbol of change.¹¹² Both are the mediators between gods and humans, the bond that ties the two opposites of the mortal and immortal worlds.

Exu also has a Dionysian essence, which is frivolous and ecstatic. In *Casa Grande e Senzala* (The Masters and the Slaves, 1933), Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre describes as Dionysian the sensual dances of the Xangôs, Afro-Brazilian religious ceremonies from Pernambuco: ‘ruidosos, exuberantes, quase sem nenhuma repressão de impulsos individuais’.¹¹³ These terms could also be used to connect the Xangô dances to Exu. Given these characteristics, the Exu myth connects the three cultures perceived as the basis of Brazilian identity: European whites, African blacks and native Indians.

A trickster is also an important figure in Latin American Indian mythology. Peoples such as the Pemon tell folk tales about Makunaíma, an entity who cannot be categorised as either good or bad. This characteristic relates Exu to other tricksters in mythologies worldwide.¹¹⁴ Mário de Andrade adapted the folk tales of Makunaíma in *Macunaíma* to create a character who could personify Brazilian identity.¹¹⁵ Since Exu has the features of the trickster, the Dionysus and Hermes archetypes, the orixá provides a totalising symbol for Salvador, a city in which the influence of African culture and its mixture with both the Indian and European cultures can be perceived more intensely, as demonstrated in Amado’s work.

¹¹² Henry Louis Gates, Jr., *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of Afro-American Literary Criticism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 8.

¹¹³ Gilberto Freyre, *Casa-Grande & Senzala: Formação da Família Brasileira Sob o Regime de Economia Patriarcal*. 48th edn (São Paulo: Global, 2003), p. 372.

¹¹⁴ Lúcia Sá, ‘Tricksters e Mentirosos Que Abalaram o Brasil’, in *Makunaíma e Jurupari: Cosmogonias Ameríndias*, ed. by Sérgio Luiz Rodrigues Medeiros, Theodor Koch-Grünberg and Ermanno Stradelli (São Paulo, SP: Editora Perspectiva, 2002), pp. 250-251.

¹¹⁵ Mario de Andrade, 1º Prefácio – 3 of 7.

Major Studies of Amado's Work

Considering the volume of Amado's output and his popularity, there are few studies of his work. The celebrations of his centennial in 2012 yielded a few more articles, such as a series of essays in the 2012 volume of the *Comparative Literature Studies Journal*;¹¹⁶ however, until very recently, Amado's works have been studied abroad more than in Brazil.¹¹⁷ This section will highlight the most representative analyses from the literature available about Amado. These studies mainly focus on race, gender, ideology and religion. Scholars have studied these elements separately over the years and their connection to Salvador is not always apparent. Important as these studies are, they provide only a partial assessment of the writer's fiction that may be contradictory because the spatial element is missing.

Two lengthy studies focus on Amado's communist period. Eduardo de Assis Duarte wrote an in-depth analysis of the connection between Amado's fiction from 1931 to 1954 and his political work with the Brazilian Communist Party; *Jorge Amado: Romance em Tempo de Utopia*.¹¹⁸ Duarte concludes that Amado's narratives in this period borrow progressively from the romance novel in order to propel their characters towards a 'destino afirmativo' that conforms to a communist-style utopia.¹¹⁹ Although Salvador is the setting of Amado's most optimistic novels in the period, *Jubiabá*, *Mar Morto* and *Capitães*, Duarte does not question the role of Salvador, the recurring setting of these novels, in the construction of this utopia. The other major study of Amado's communist phase is *Jorge Amado: Política e Literatura*

¹¹⁶ 'Jorge Amado and World Literature', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 49 (2012), 348-404.

¹¹⁷ Almir Aquino Corrêa, and Dawn Taylor, 'Is Jorge Amado the Gateway to Brazil, or Not?', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 49 (2012), p. 364.

¹¹⁸ Duarte, *Romance em Tempo de Utopia*. For Amado's early work and career in the context of Brazilian communist intellectuals in the first half of the twentieth century, see Ana Paula Palamarchuk, 'Ser Intelectual Comunista... Escritores Brasileiros e o Comunismo: 1920-1945', Master's degree dissertation (Unicamp, 1997).

¹¹⁹ Duarte, p. 250.

by Alfredo Wagner Berno de Almeida. This essay examines the reception of Amado's work by Brazilian intelligentsia through the perspective of ideology.¹²⁰ Almeida extends the scope of his analysis to the release and critical reception of *Gabriela, Cravo e Canela* (Gabriela Clove and Cinnamon, 1958), which signals the shift in Amado's work from communist propaganda to the picaresque novel. In his assessment of Amado's career, Almeida argues that the development of the Bahian author's works, much like their reception, related to his allegiances to different institutions, whether they were the Communist Party or the Academia Brasileira de Letras.¹²¹ This conclusion ignores Duarte's description of the repetition of the Romanesque structure under a different register in Amado's later works.¹²² Moreover, as will be argued in this thesis, ideology was just one of many ways in which Amado sought to construct an ideal city. Thus, the institutions in which Amado participated were not the cause of the transformation in his work, but rather instruments through which he could better affect these changes.

Conversely, Bobby J. Chamberlain focuses more on Amado's novels from his later period in *Jorge Amado*, a collection of essays.¹²³ Chamberlain chose to focus specifically on *Gabriela*, *Quincas*, *Capitão-de-Longo-Curso* (Home Is the Sailor, 1961), *Dona Flor*, and *Tereza Batista*. He finds that humour drives form and content in these novels. Language is the main object of these essays, whether it is ambiguity in *Quincas* and *Capitão-de-Longo-Curso* or the parody and stylisation of popular literature in *Tereza Batista*. Amado's earlier novels are assessed in a single chapter as the sharpening of a writer's tools under the constraints of 'narrow ideological view'.¹²⁴ In the final essay, Chamberlain addresses the main criticisms of Amado's novels: 'populism and the consequent romanticisation of poverty,

¹²⁰ Alfredo Wagner Berno de Almeida, *Jorge Amado: Política e Literatura - Um Estudo sobre a Trajetória Intelectual de Jorge Amado* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Campus, 1979).

¹²¹ Almeida, p. 272.

¹²² Duarte, p. 252.

¹²³ Bobby J. Chamberlain, *Jorge Amado* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1990).

¹²⁴ Chamberlain, p. 28.

sexual and racial stereotyping'.¹²⁵ He concludes that critics tend to take 'the wordiness and trite formulas at face value without penetrating their inherent double-voicedness'.¹²⁶ Although Amado may have paid a price for reaching a larger audience, Chamberlain argues, those who examine his work should not disregard Amado's social satire. Incidentally, Chamberlain addresses the transformation of Salvador in the end of *Dona Flor*, but Amado's idealised views of the city remain an isolated observation in his analysis rather than a tool with which to dissect the nature and changes of his work.

Roberto Da Matta conducted a social analysis, taking a number of Amado's novels as a starting point. He engaged extensively with the carnivalesque elements in *O País*, *Gabriela*, *Quincas* and *Dona Flor* in order to examine social relations and ideas of national identity in Brazilian society.¹²⁷ A character's remark in *O País* 'sums up briefly some of the basic elements of the ritual world of Carnival as they are enacted in Brazil'.¹²⁸ A dichotomy between private and public spaces emerges from Da Matta's analysis: the street is the space of disorder and roguery, whereas the house is the space of hierarchy and order.¹²⁹ He notes, however, that this basic opposition is complicated by 'gradations'.¹³⁰ In later novels, Amado both highlights these nuances and challenges the overall opposition between private and public in the context of spatial practices in Salvador, as will be examined in Chapters 3 and 4. Da Matta recognises in *Dona Flor* a celebration of the established order and of hybridity.¹³¹ In his reading, this hybridity indicates a solution for the conflict between 'morar' (inhabiting) and 'viver' (living): 'a reflexão carnalizadora de Jorge Amado' tackles the Brazilian

¹²⁵ Chamberlain, p. 100.

¹²⁶ Chamberlain, p. 101.

¹²⁷ Roberto Da Matta, 'Dona Flor e Seus Dois Maridos: A Relational Novel', *Social Science Information*, 21 (1982). And for a more elaborate version of this study, see Da Matta, *A Casa & a Rua : Espaço, Cidadania, Mulher e Morte no Brasil*. 4th edn (Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Guanabara Koogan, 1991). Da Matta's analyses will be revisited in the following chapters.

¹²⁸ Da Matta, *Carnivals, Rogues, and Heroes: An Interpretation of the Brazilian Dilemma* (London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), p. 63.

¹²⁹ Da Matta, *Carnivals, Rogues, and Heroes*, pp. 64-65.

¹³⁰ Da Matta, *Carnivals, Rogues, and Heroes*, p. 68.

¹³¹ Da Matta, 'Do País do Carnaval à Carnavalização', p. 123.

dilemma to pose a modernising project ‘sem, entretanto, deixarmos de ser a sociedade do carnaval’.¹³² Da Matta’s analysis focuses solely on the characteristics of the three main characters in *Dona Flor*, while paying little attention to the spatial practices and supporting characters that surround the protagonists. I will attempt to plug this gap in my analysis of the novel in Chapter 4.

The main negative criticism of Amado is that he is a populist, pornographic author, who caters to the masses and pays no attention to form. Even though this discussion is not the subject of this thesis, I will highlight the main issues of the critical debate on Amado. Walnice Nogueira Galvão and Roberto Reis produced the most negative analysis of Amado’s work. In his 1988 article ‘Who’s Afraid of (Luso-) Brazilian Literature’, Reis argues that an ‘accurate examination’ of Amado’s fiction reveals a Manichean populist with ‘a male-luxurious comprehension of women, who seem to appear in his novels only to make love (if they are black or mestiza) or to serve as a pain in the neck (if they are white and/or middle-class).’¹³³ In view of this, Reis chastises Brazilianists who ‘see Brazilian culture only through the exotic lens of Jorge Amado’.¹³⁴ Carmen Chaves Tesser proposes a post-colonial reading of both Amado’s work and Reis’s stance (which she initially reveals as hers). She observes that Amado is as popular a writer in Brazil as he is abroad, citing Santiago Colas in her argument that the analysis of Brazilian literature through post-colonial discourse may lead to the ‘trap of a “colonizing discourse,” for even this stance is imperialistic in nature and “foreign” to Brazilian culture in origin’.¹³⁵ Further, she offers that Brazilian intellectuals struggle to point to a Eurocentric hybridity of the Brazilian experience and neglect, ‘as much as possible’, the African element that is a constant in Amado’s novels. To counter Reis’s

¹³² Da Matta, ‘Do País do Carnaval à Carnavalização’, pp. 134-135.

¹³³ Roberto Reis, ‘Who’s Afraid of (Luso-)Brazilian Literature?’, *World Literature Today*, 62 (1988), p. 234. See also David Brookshaw, *Race and Color in Brazilian Literature* (London: Scarecrow, 1986), pp. 164-65.

¹³⁴ Reis, p. 234.

¹³⁵ Tesser, ‘A Postcolonial Reading of a Colonized *Malandro*’, p. 223.

view of Amado's female characters as stereotypical, she argues that they 'are survivors' who 'accommodate themselves as best as they can' in a patriarchal society.¹³⁶ Finally, Tesser claims that it is necessary for Brazilian intellectuals to re-read Amado's work in order to re-evaluate their own definitions of 'cultural spaces and identities'.¹³⁷ Although Tesser does not address it, Reis's article presents an example of this urge for acceptance in foreign academia. Reis first refers to Amado as 'undeserving of any attention within the framework of "serious literature"', but he later contradicts this view by stating that Amado 'does deserve respect as a writer', citing his nomination for the 1984 Neustadt International Prize for Literature.¹³⁸

Walnice Nogueira Galvão endorses Reis's verdict on Amado. Galvão's 1973 essay 'Amado: Respeitoso, Respeitável' criticises *Tereza Batista* for what she perceives as pornographic content that is clearly designed to cater to the mass market.¹³⁹ His populist narrative, she writes, is constructed to glorify the people; 'justificando qualquer barbaridade que sua ficção perpetre'.¹⁴⁰ The violent treatment of the main character in the novel is an example of such barbarity. Galvão describes Tereza Batista as the fantasy woman of Latin-American sexism: 'prostituta, bonita, calorosa', a patriarchal stereotype also identified by other critics in Amado's later novels.¹⁴¹ Although I agree with Galvão, Reis and other critics about the presence of stereotypical female characters in Amado's novels, their criticism fails to address women who do not conform to this model in these narratives. Flor, Norma and Dionísia de Oxóssi in *Dona Flor*, Rosa Palmeirão in *Mar Morto*, Ana Badaró in *Terras do Sem Fim*, Julie and Lurdinha in *O País*, Malvina in *Gabriela*, Linda in *Suor*, Rosa de Oxalá

¹³⁶ Tesser, p. 226.

¹³⁷ Tesser, p. 229.

¹³⁸ Reis, p. 234.

¹³⁹ Walnice Nogueira Galvão, "Amado: Respeitoso, respeitável," in *Saco de Gatos: Ensaios Críticos* (São Paulo: Duas Cidades, 1976), pp. 13–22.

¹⁴⁰ Galvão, p. 16.

¹⁴¹ Galvão, p. 21. See also Brookshaw, p. 165; Susan Canty Quinlan, 'Questioning Jorge Amado's Fictional Women-of-Color: Tereza Batista as Legend or Heroine?', in *Jorge Amado: New Critical Essays*, ed. by K.H. Bower, Earl E. Fitz and Enrique Martínez-Vidal (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 200; and Teófilode Queiroz Júnior, *Preconceito de Cor e a Mulata Brasileira* (São Paulo: Ática, 1975), p. 108.

in *Tenda*, and Manela and Gildete in *O Sumiço da Santa* (The War of the Saints, 1988), among others, are all independent characters with positive and complex roles that do not fit the image of the sensuous, submissive woman. As Chamberlain comments, Amado's 'record on racial and female characterization is thus a checkered one'.¹⁴² Galvão's general criticism of Amado as a populist echoes Bosi's assessment of Amado's later work in his influential *História Concisa da Literatura Brasileira*, which was published originally in 1970:

Ao leitor curioso e glutão a sua obra tem dado de tudo um pouco: pieguice e volúpia em vez de paixão, estereótipos em vez de trato orgânico dos conflitos sociais, [...] descuido formal a pretexto de oralidade... Além do uso às vezes imotivado do calão: o que é, na cabeça do intelectual burguês, a imagem do *eros* do povo.¹⁴³

Bosi's criticism mirrors Reis's assessment that Amado does not write 'serious literature' as he does not conform to a certain literary canon. The Brazilianists attacked by Reis may also be interpreted as Bosi's intellectual bourgeois. It seems that the majority of critics favour the opinion that Amado is a populist whose work does not warrant scrutiny in literary courses.¹⁴⁴ In a profile of Galvão for *Folha de S. Paulo*, a Brazilian newspaper, journalist Mario Sergio Conti claims that her article on Amado was a courageous breakthrough in a moment when most critics respected the Bahian writer.¹⁴⁵ However, Bosi's compendium pre-dates Galvão's essay and has been a staple in literature courses, according to Almir Aquino Corrêa.¹⁴⁶ These facts appear to confirm Tesser's conclusion that Brazilian intellectuals have a perspective of cultural identity that necessarily excludes Amado's work. The criticism above often focuses on what Amado's novels are not – a formally and ideologically accepted work of art – but they never inquire into what they might be if they are assessed using different

¹⁴² Chamberlain, 'Striking a Balance: Amado and His Critics', in *Jorge Amado: New Critical Essays*, ed. by Earl E. Fitz, Keith H. Brower and Enrique Martinez-Vidal (London: Garland, 2001), p. 37. Chamberlain also observes that Amado's critics 'have sometimes been influenced more in their comments by the subsequent films' and series than by the actual descriptions from the books on which they were based (p. 40, 8n).

¹⁴³ Alfredo Bosi, *História Concisa da Literatura Brasileira*. 3rd. edn (São Paulo: Cultrix, 1981), p. 459.

¹⁴⁴ Corrêa, p. 365.

¹⁴⁵ Mario Sergio Conti, 'Quem É Walnice Nogueira Galvão', *Folha de S. Paulo*, 17/03/2002, p. 4.

¹⁴⁶ Corrêa, p. 365.

tools. Tesser observes that Amado managed to blur the lines between high culture and popular culture.¹⁴⁷ Although the critics mentioned above demonstrate the inconsistencies in Amado's narratives (some racial and sexual stereotypes, the repetition of formulae), they tend to ignore their inherent intermediary aspect; oral tradition along with realism, caricature and parody with narrative deconstruction in the case of *Tieta*, picaresque and historical document in *Tenda*, and European and African motifs in most Salvador novels. Whenever critics assess Amado's work through the characteristics of high literature, they miss – or dismiss – the hybridity within.

In the excellent *O Brasil Best-Seller de Jorge Amado: Literatura e Identidade Nacional*, Ilana Seltzer Goldstein considered all these elements in her investigation of the perceptions of Brazilian identity in and through Amado's work. As Goldstein discovered, Amado's work is one of the main references in overseas' discussions about Brazil, along with Carnival, misery and violence.¹⁴⁸ To do so, she included Amado's biographical data in her research of his novels' themes and the reception of film and TV adaptations. She concludes that 'Jorge Amado incorporou seu Brasil *best seller* na própria imagem e agregou suas vivências e utopias pessoais tanto à ficção como à interpretação do Brasil'.¹⁴⁹ Not coincidentally, the novels she analysed in this search for an interpretation of Brazil are mostly Amado's Salvador novels: *O País*, *Jubiabá*, *Tenda* and *Pastores*. The single exception is *Gabriela*, the novel that marked a shift in Amado's style from socialist realism to the picaresque.

Other studies challenged one of the main criticisms to Amado, the repetition of ideas. Jon S. Vincent surveyed the use of humour and play in Amado's later novels, from *Gabriela*

¹⁴⁷ Tesser, p. 225. See also Goldstein, *O Brasil Best-Seller*, p. 205.

¹⁴⁸ Goldstein, *O Brasil Best-Seller*, p. 19. I might add football to her list.

¹⁴⁹ Goldstein, *O Brasil Best-Seller*, p. 294.

to *A Descoberta da América pelos Turcos* (The Discovery of America by the Turks, 1992).¹⁵⁰ Vincent concluded that Amado's narratives frustrate expectations constantly by offering a variety of scripts that include register-based humour, self-contradictory humour and 'accumulative jokes'.¹⁵¹ In another study, Vincent identified the use of popular culture in Amado's novels for multiple purposes, including the ethic orientation of the narrative and the communication of a revolutionary message through popular language.¹⁵² Mark J. Curran identified the preservation of oral popular traditions and cordel literature in Amado's repetition of ideas.¹⁵³

Robert Moser's *The Carnavalesque Defunto* decoded the spiritual traditions in Brazilian society detailed in *Quincas* and *Dona Flor*.¹⁵⁴ Moser argued that death and the supernatural in these novels function as a means of preserving communal links in a changing world.¹⁵⁵ Additionally, he noted that the dead characters bring disorder to an established society.¹⁵⁶ As we shall see in Chapters 3 and 4, the dead in these novels also channel the tension between different notions of space. Together, these studies and many others form a large mosaic that helps us understand and enjoy Amado's body of work. Certainly, many of the elements studied in these works are also present in Amado's Southern Bahia novels; however, as I will argue, their evolution in the Salvador novels helps shape an ideal city.

One study of Amado's fiction, though, dialogues with this dissertation: Jacques Salah's comprehensive essay, *A Bahia de Jorge Amado*, is an updated version of the author's doctoral thesis at Université de Montpellier in 1984 with beautiful photos by Pierre Verger.

¹⁵⁰ Jon S. Vincent, 'The Immanent Imp: Humor in the Later Works of Jorge Amado', in *Jorge Amado: New Critical Essays*, ed. by Keith H. Brower, Earl Fitz, Enrique Martínez Vidal (London: Routledge, 2001).

¹⁵¹ Vincent, 'The Immanent Imp', p. 263. For a definition of accumulative jokes, see Salvatore Attardo, *Linguistic Theories of Humor* (Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1994), pp. 216, 235, 254-56, 263.

¹⁵² Vincent, 'Jorge Amado: Politics and the Novel'. PhD Thesis (University of California in Los Angeles, 1971), pp. 102, 223.

¹⁵³ Mark J. Curran, *Jorge Amado e a Literatura de Cordel* (Salvador: Fundação Cultural do Estado da Bahia, 1981).

¹⁵⁴ Moser puts them in the wider context of national literature by comparing these two novels with the works of other Brazilian authors.

¹⁵⁵ Robert Henry Moser, *The Carnavalesque Defunto: Death and the Dead in Modern Brazilian Literature* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2008), p. 211.

¹⁵⁶ Moser, pp. 182, 204.

Salah sought to explore and explain the ‘city of Bahia’ in Amado’s Salvador novels.¹⁵⁷ To achieve this, he described in different sections religious practices from African-Brazilian Candomblé, local traditions and geographical landmarks. The actual Salvador was contrasted with Amado’s depiction of it in all of his novels without chronological concerns. He considered the portrait of Salvador in each novel as equal parts of the same puzzle; in other words, an all-encompassing description of Salvador. Even though Salah acknowledged the time frame of some novels, he did not consider the historical moment in which Amado wrote each novel, nor the change of style in each. For instance, he weighed equally the description of central Pelourinho in *Suor* (1934) and in *Dona Flor* (1966) without questioning why Pelourinho is naturalistic in the former but romanticised in the latter.¹⁵⁸ The result is a study that portrays the city as a static entity. Not accidentally, Amado’s tour guide of Salvador, *Bahia de Todos os Santos: Guia de Ruas e Mistérios*, works as the main reference throughout Salah’s essay. It is a worthy study, but Salvador and Amado’s perspective of it changed since the Bahian author began writing about the city in *O País*. Each new representation of the urban space hinted closer towards why this fictional Salvador, which drew on the characteristics of the actual Salvador, came to be seen as the place of ‘brasilidade’ by readers of Amado’s novels.

Differently from Salah’s study, the object of this thesis is the literary city, Amado’s construct as it evolved throughout his career, which hopefully will provide a comprehensive view of Amado’s body of work. In doing so, I may discover how Salvador became a symbol of Brazilian identity and an alternative representation of urban space through his narratives.

To date, few literary studies have inserted Amado’s work in the Brazilian literary tradition. One of the significant exceptions is Luiz Costa Lima’s detailed investigation of

¹⁵⁷ Jacques Salah, *A Bahia De Jorge Amado* (Salvador: Casa de Palavras, 2008), p. 25.

¹⁵⁸ Salah, pp. 52-53.

Amado's work up until *Os Pastores* in Afrânio Coutinho's series *A Literatura no Brasil*. Lima draws interesting parallels between Amado's later production and novels by Eça de Queirós.¹⁵⁹ In general, whenever studies mention Amado as part of a literary movement or generation, it is for historical purposes or background information.¹⁶⁰ Literary critics, in general, tend simply to dismiss Amado as populist and repetitive.¹⁶¹ Elsewhere, scholars have contrasted his work with novels by foreign writers, mainly from the Anglo-Saxon tradition (D.H. Lawrence, William Faulkner and John Steinbeck).¹⁶² One may notice that these comparative analyses contrast Amado solely with non-Brazilian writers. Elizabeth Lowe missed the opportunity to insert Amado into a Brazilian literary context in her essay, *The City in Brazilian Literature*.¹⁶³ There are not even significant studies comparing Amado's work with that of his obvious predecessor in Brazilian literary tradition, Gregório de Matos, despite the acknowledgement that the two writers belong to the same tradition.¹⁶⁴

The portrayal of Salvador is a constant throughout the works of both authors. Their accounts of the city may provide an invaluable point of comparison. The following chapters will combine Matos's work with Amado's narratives whenever possible in order to stress the traditions and ruptures in his fiction. This study will also attempt to outline the evolution of Amado's Salvador as a distinctive phenomenon in Brazilian literature.

¹⁵⁹ Luiz Costa Lima, *Modernismo*. ed. by Afrânio Coutinho. Vol. 5, *A Literatura No Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Editorial Sul Americana, 1970), pp. 323-325.

¹⁶⁰ Randal Johnson, 'A Dinâmica do Campo Literário Brasileiro (1930-1945)', *Revista USP* (1995), 164-81.

¹⁶¹ Galvão, pp. 13-22. See also Bosi, pp. 457-459.

¹⁶² In respective order: Sudha Swarnakar, 'The Fallen Woman in Twentieth-Century English and Brazilian Novels: A Comparative Analysis of D.H. Lawrence and Jorge Amado' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 1998); Daniel C. Richardson, 'Towards Faulkner's Presence in Brazil: Race, History, and Place in Faulkner and Amado', *South Atlantic Review*, 65 (2000), pp. 13-27; and Earl E. Fitz, 'The Vox Populi in the Novels of Jorge Amado and John Steinbeck', in *Jorge Amado: New Critical Essays*, ed. by Earl E. Fitz, Keith H. Brower and Enrique Martinez-Vidal (New York ; London: Garland, 2001), pp. 111-123.

¹⁶³ Elizabeth Lowe, *The City in Brazilian Literature* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1982). She notes on p. 18: 'Systematic studies of the city as "organizing principle" should be undertaken for the works of "classical" Brazilian writers such as the great Jorge Amado, the Dickens of Black Bahia; Érico Veríssimo; Coelho Neto; and Graça Aranha.'

¹⁶⁴ Risério, *Cidade da Bahia*, 5 Terra em Transe: A Caminho da Fonte Nova – 65 of 114.

Structure of the Present Work

This thesis will argue that Amado's representation of Salvador configures an on-going process for the construction of an ideal city. In order to provide evidence, I will probe into the mechanisms of this process by analysing eight of Amado's novels across four chapters. The investigation will focus mainly on the recurring elements discussed above: Carnival, Afro-Brazilian traditions, spatial notions, and the binary order-chaos in the production of space. Eventually, other themes will be considered in specific cases, such as the construction of heterotopias in Chapter 2. I will conduct this study in chronological order, since the temporal line stresses the evolving aspect of this process.

Chapter 1 will analyse the embryo of Amado's construct in his first Salvador novels, *O País do Carnaval* and *Suor*. What role does the city play in these first novels? Can Salvador, portrayed here by Amado as a 'ruined city', change? *Suor* was written after Amado joined the Communist Party, while *O País* pre-dates his embracing of Communism. This contrast provides another reason to study these narratives together. The contrast between these two Salvadors may help us understand how ideology starts to shape Amado's utopia.

Chapter 2 addresses Amado's two proletarian novels, *Jubiabá* and *Capitães da Areia*. In these narratives, form and structure differ markedly from those in Amado's previous novels. Both *Jubiabá* and *Capitães* include strong religious subplots. How does this affect Amado's idealised outcome, which is driven by Marxism? I will contrast these novels with a larger social realist and utopian literary tradition, allowing for greater understanding of both the construct and the ideal city within these narratives. To establish the relationship between representation of space and ideology in these narratives, it is important to examine how

certain parts of Salvador are shaped in contrast to the rest of the city and what this difference indicates.

In Chapter 3, I will examine two narratives from Amado's more humorous literary phase: the novella *A Morte e a Morte de Quincas Berro Dágua* and *Os Pastores da Noite*, a novel whose three sections – 'Curió, o Romântico', 'O Compadre de Ogum', and 'Os Amigos do Povo' – can be read separately.¹⁶⁵ These smaller narratives interweave to form a large map of Salvador. This chapter will examine how humour and carnivalesque elements affect Amado's view of the order-chaos binary in Salvador and the conflict between different perceptions of space – those of the lower and upper classes.

The fourth and final chapter focuses on two of Amado's most famous novels, *Dona Flor e Seus Dois Maridos* and *Tenda dos Milagres*. In *Dona Flor*, for the first time in Amado's urban cycle, the eponymous character is a heroine. This will enable a retrospective examination of the role of women in Amado's Salvador. How does Dona Flor shape the remodelling of Salvador, a fantastical event that closes the novel? Conversely, *Tenda* presents the more conventional male hero from Amado's urban oeuvre in a more balanced mix of realist and magical elements. In both novels, gender and race appear prominently along with the themes of miscegenation and Brazilian identity; whereas, these issues were downplayed in the novels outlined in Chapter 3. I will draw on these themes from the works of critics, such as Roberto Da Matta and David Brookshaw, in order to examine the depiction of Salvador in these works. By resorting to different works and ideas together, I aim to understand how Amado re-configures Salvador in the order-chaos axis. Additionally, *Tenda* is, in Amado's own definition, a re-writing of the central themes from *Jubiabá*.¹⁶⁶ This brings the construction of the ideal Salvador to an apparent closure. Is it successful? I will argue that

¹⁶⁵ There are editions of solely one section of the novel, 'O Compadre de Ogum'.

¹⁶⁶ Alice Raillard, e Jorge Amado, *Jorge Amado: Conversas com Alice Raillard*. trans. Annie Dymetman. 1st. edn (Porto: Edições Asa, 1992), p. 91.

Tenda portrays a final version of Amado's ideal city. At the same time, the novel reveals what makes this outcome unlikely in the present. Moreover, as I will probe, Amado's analysis of Salvador in this novel has larger implications in his shaping of a Brazilian identity.

I may refer to other novels in Amado's urban cycle throughout this thesis but they will not be studied in depth for a number of reasons. First, some deal with the city partially or peripherally. *Mar Morto* is set almost exclusively in the harbour area, and it mostly revisits an urban design that is explored more deeply in the two novels outlined in Chapter 2. In *Tereza Batista*, the title character only arrives in Salvador at the end of the narrative, which provides a very limited view of the city. The depiction of places and the treatment of gender repeat the novels that I will study in Chapters 3 and 4. Thus, *Tereza Batista* is more relevant as a study of gender.¹⁶⁷ *Capitão-de-Longo-Curso* offers a brief view of Salvador from the suburbs, which does not add to the interpretation of the city. In contrast, *Quincas* and *Pastores* provide detailed depictions of Salvador and its spatial practices. Finally, *O Sumiço da Santa* serves only to reinforce the representations of space that will be studied in *Dona Flor* and *Tenda*. For the purpose of this analysis – to examine the construction of a city through a writer's fiction –, the chosen narratives supply myriad elements that will demand greater attention.

At the conclusion of this study, a clear view shall emerge of the evolution of urban space in Amado's novels. The importance of these urban novels may lie beyond the fact that they attempt to represent a city in fictional prose. It may be that Amado's representation – or representations – of space, if configured as a radical transformative process, is a unique case in modern literature: the gradual destruction of a city to make it reborn anew under an

¹⁶⁷ See also Ellen H. Douglass, "'Dressing Down' The Warrior-Maiden: Plot, Perspective and Gender Ideology in *Tereza Batista Cansada De Guerra*", in *Jorge Amado: New Critical Essays*, ed. by K.H. Bower, Earl E. Fitz and Enrique Martínez-Vidal (London: Routledge, 2001).

alternative urban model. In addition, Salvador, in its multiple representations throughout Amado's narratives, is a city that summarises the interpretation of an entire country due to its unique syncretic characteristics: the original Brazilian city that continues to maintain the heritage that formed the country at the same time that it grows, according to a certain idea of modernity. Amado's novels, which have depicted Salvador longer and more consistently than the works of any other author, may provide a clear model of the binary order-chaos that explains both a city and a country.

CHAPTER 1

Doomed City: Positivism and Prison in *O País do Carnaval* and *Suor*

Qual homem pode haver tão paciente,
Que vendo o triste estado da Bahia,
Não chore, não suspire e não lamente?

Gregório de Matos¹

Our world, like a charnel-house, is strewn with the detritus of
dead epochs. The great task incumbent on us is that of making
a proper environment for our existence, and clearing away
from our cities the dead bones that putrefy in them. We must
construct cities for to-day.

Le Corbusier²

Le Corbusier wrote the lines above in his essay *Urbanisme*, published in Paris in 1924. He used Paris as an example of old cities that needed to be remodelled for modern times under the joint forces of 'reason and passion'.³ Since the beginning of the twentieth century, governments in Brazil's most important cities seemed to concur with the French architect's view of modern urban spaces. In the 1900s, Pereira Passos, mayor of Rio de Janeiro, initiated a process in which the city's old buildings were destroyed to make way for a tropical version of Paris. Passos was even nicknamed the "Tropical Haussmann" for his

¹ Matos, 'Aos Vícios', in *Poemas Escolhidos*, p. 200.

² Le Corbusier, and Frederick Etchells, *The City of Tomorrow and Its Planning*. 3rd edn (London: Architectural Press, 1971), p. 244.

³ Le Corbusier, p. 244.

projects in Rio, a reference to the architect who renewed Paris under Napoleon III in the nineteenth century.⁴ Writer Lima Barreto described these new buildings as ‘hediondos’.⁵ However, the majority of writers and intellectuals disagreed with Barreto’s view. Poet Olavo Bilac echoed the opinion of the authorities and the bourgeoisie when he wrote in a newspaper in 1904:

Com que alegria cantavam ellas, – as picaretas regeneradoras! E como as almas dos que ali estavam comprehendiam bem o que ellas diziam, no seu clamor incessante e rythmico, celebrando a victoria da hygiene, do bom gosto e da arte!⁶

The Brazilian Republic was in its infancy and progress became the main subject of political discourse. For this to be achieved, it was necessary to remove the remains of colonial and imperial times. The past equalled backwardness. A decade later, under Governor José Joaquim Seabra, Salvador was subjected to radical modernising interventions: large avenues were paved to connect the city centre to the developing upper-class districts of Barra, Campo Grande and Graça; the streets of the commercial Cidade Baixa were enlarged.⁷ Yet these modernising works were not accompanied by any social change, especially for the lower classes. The Revolution of 1930 did not transform this scenario either. When 19-year-old Jorge Amado published his first novel, *O País do Carnaval* (1931), the persistence of this ‘backwardness’ despite all efforts seemed to indicate the impossibility of modernisation in Brazil: the past was viewed as curse and fate

I will argue that this perception guides the construction – or rather, destruction – of Salvador in Amado’s first two urban novels, *O País* and *Suor* (1934). I will also show how a positivist idea of society influences the conceptualisation of space in both novels even though

⁴ Sophia Beal, ‘The Substance of Light: Literature and Public Space in *Belle Époque* Rio De Janeiro (1894-1914)’, *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 49:2 (2012), p. 7.

⁵ Quoted in Beal, p. 10.

⁶ Olavo Bilac, ‘Chronica’, quoted in Beal, p. 9.

⁷ Mário Augusto da Silva Santos, ‘Crescimento Urbano e Habitação em Salvador (1890-1940)’, *Revista de Urbanismo e Arquitetura (UFBA)*, 3 (1990), p. 22.

Amado seems to present different perceptions of, and propose different solutions for, the configuration of Salvador. In both novels, Salvador is portrayed as so full of elements of the past that any attempt to modernise it would be destined to fail. Both works end bitterly, a fact that sets them apart in Amado's body of work. Salvador emerges as a decaying city - or 'ruins', as Amado defines it in *O País*. It is described in a naturalistic style in *Suor*: the city is a sick and oppressing environment that turns men into animals. Nevertheless, what exactly makes this fictional Salvador a condemned city? Which elements oppose what Le Corbusier called 'reason'? Is there any possibility of transforming it into a modern city? Before analysing each novel in search of answers to these questions, it is necessary to explain the historical context in which they were written. At that moment, young Jorge Amado was being introduced to different and competing ideologies that informed his literary work in general and his city construct in particular. By focusing on the construction of Salvador in the narratives, it is possible to understand that, whether Amado intended this or not, the guiding ideologies in each novel are not the ones they appear to be at first glance. *Suor*, for instance, is usually described as socialist propaganda.⁸ However, Amado's description of the city indicates that other ideas underscore the narrative.

Amado experienced the turbulent period of the early 1930s first as a teenager in Salvador, and later as a law student in Rio de Janeiro. The country had consigned the Old Republic to the past. Its political system had consisted of a vicious circle that stifled the democratic process: politicians from São Paulo and Minas Gerais alternately held the presidency of Brazil between 1889 and 1930, amid constant fraud in the elections and rampant corruption. This was the so-called 'café com leite' politics, which catered to the needs of the agrarian elite in Minas and São Paulo, the richest states in the country. The coffee plantation owners from São Paulo were investing in the industrialisation of their state.

⁸ Duarte, p. 50. See also Chamberlain, p. 31; and Goldstein, p. 95.

However, the rest of the country, which included the state of Bahia, had been mostly ignored or forgotten. Local authorities supported the regime as it brought them personal gains.

This political dynamic ended with the revolution of 1930, which installed Getúlio Vargas, a politician from Rio Grande do Sul and one of the revolutionary leaders, who had presented a modernising discourse, as provisional president. However, Vargas took a long time to implement effective transformations in the country. In the early 1930s, there was no significant change in working and social conditions. The same elite still controlled power *de facto* as members of the old oligarchy were among the revolutionary Aliança Liberal against São Paulo.⁹ Vargas handed the administration of the states to inexperienced revolutionary officers. In the case of Bahia, the federal administrator, Juracy Magalhães, actually reinstated members of the old rural oligarchy, the 'coronéis', to power.¹⁰ As in the Sicily of Lampedusa's *Il Gattopardo*, everything changed to remain the same. So much so that as late as 1939, Donald Pierson wrote in his study *Negroes in Brazil* that Salvador remained the same old city, still aware of its old traditions.¹¹ As initial hopes did not translate into effective action, a feeling of helplessness took hold of Salvador's inhabitants. Brazilian politics in general, and local politics in particular, seemed to have returned to the old patterns.

This anxiety and confusion are reflected in Amado's Salvador novels of the period. The restless young male characters of *O País* decry the city's slow pace. In *Suor*, Amado repeated this depiction of the city, yet he also suggested a solution to the anxieties of the first novel. *O País* ends with its main character taking a ship back to Europe; *Suor* ends with its main characters taking to the streets of Salvador. These significant differences in the novels, as we shall see, relate to Amado's involvement with the Communist Party after the publication of *O País*. This fact explains his position on the possibility of transforming his

⁹ Thomas E. Skidmore, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 108.

¹⁰ Risério, *Cidade da Bahia*, 5: Terra em Transe - 74 of 300.

¹¹ Donald Pierson, *Negroes in Brazil*. 2nd edn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), pp. 12-13.

fictional city. Nevertheless, the construction of both novels is informed by the desire for modernity, which becomes more apparent in the presentation of Salvador in the texts.

To understand this desire, I will adopt Marshall Berman's description of modernity in *All That Is Solid Melts into Air*. In Berman's words, modernity is a vital body of experience of 'space and time, of the self and others, of life's possibilities and perils' in an environment that promises us 'transformation of ourselves and the world – and, at the same time, that threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are.'¹² This is a concept that fits the 'post-Enlightenment 19th-century period' when modernity acquired a positive meaning, as Peter Wade observes.¹³ Whatever the historical context, the word 'modernity' has been used in relation to European history. As Derek Gregory notes, 'in most cases until recently' it relates to phenomena that 'place Europe at the centre of the world stage'.¹⁴ At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Brazilian elite was trying to replicate the modernising process that had taken place in Western Europe the century before as one of the consequences of the Industrial Revolution.

As Berman notes above, the 'positive' aspect of this modernity also had a negative component: destruction. It is the first step towards the radical transformation that modernity requires. Marshall Berman calls this appetite for destruction a 'desire for *development*', which he identifies in Goethe's *Faust* (1808-1832).¹⁵ In Goethe's version of the myth, visionary Faust must destroy the last remnants of the old order to construct his city of the future from a blank slate. Similarly, as we will see, the 'colonial city' of Salvador must collapse to make way for progress as Amado envisages it. However, what exactly is this

¹² Berman, p. 15.

¹³ Peter Wade, 'Modernity and Tradition: Shifting Boundaries, Shifting Contexts', in *When Was Latin America Modern?*, ed. by Nicola Miller and Stephen M. Hart (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 50. See also Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. Rev. and expanded. edn (London: Fontana, 1983), p. 208.

¹⁴ Derek Gregory, 'Modernity', in Derek Gregory, Ron Johnston, Geraldine Pratt, Michael J. Watts, and Sarah Whatmore, *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. 5th ed. edn (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), p. 471.

¹⁵ Berman, p. 39.

progress? The two narratives under study in this chapter respond to the desire for modernity differently.

Either way, this anxiety for modernity makes the narratives of *O País* and *Suor* precarious, fragmented: both narratives develop to serve ideas. Later, Amado commented that these early novels were the works of an apprentice, echoing the opinion of many critics.¹⁶ The writer would also be concerned with seeking a viable modernity in later works, but these first narratives seem to argue that any project of modernisation cannot succeed in the city as it is. In the following sections, I will examine each novel separately to highlight which elements of the city turn it into ‘ruins’ and prevent progress.

O País do Carnaval: The City Is Dead

A preface to the first edition of *O País* reveals the intentions of its author:

Este livro pretende contar a história de um homem que, tendo vivido na velha França muito tempo, voltou à pátria disposto a encontrar o sentido da sua vida.

Conta a sua luta, o seu fracasso. Conta a luta dos seus amigos, rapazes de talento, que falharam na existência.

Este livro é um grito. Quase um pedido de socorro. É toda uma geração insatisfeita que procura a sua finalidade.¹⁷

This preamble had been absent from subsequent Brazilian reprints of the novel until its latest edition in 2008. Amado’s ‘cry for help’ follows a pattern of Brazilian literature during that period: 30 years after the beginning of the Republican era, ‘writers were still

¹⁶ Raillard, p. 51. See also Earl E. Fitz, ‘The Vox Populi in the Novels of Jorge Amado and John Steinbeck’, in *Jorge Amado: New Critical Essays*, ed. by Earl E. Fitz, Keith H. Brower and Enrique Martinez-Vidal (New York ; London: Garland, 2001), p. 113; and Celso Lemos de Oliveira, ‘The Early Jorge Amado’, in *Jorge Amado : New Critical Essays*, pp. 160-161.

¹⁷ Jorge Amado, *O País do Carnaval* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2011), p. 10. Further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.

trying to capture ‘the “essence” or “substance” of what it truly meant to be Brazilian’.¹⁸ Modernists of the previous decade such as Oswald de Andrade had embraced the mixture of cultures and praised the modernisation of the country’s most economically important city, São Paulo. Their works were filled with formal inventions to emulate the image of a land that was developing to the rhythm of the machines. The group known as ‘regionalistas’, to which Amado belonged, chose the opposite direction in the 1930s. Their narratives focused on the less developed areas of the country, away from Rio and São Paulo – areas that did not usually appear in Brazilian literature. Rachel de Queiroz, José Lins do Rego, Graciliano Ramos, José Américo de Almeida and others chronicled the dire situation of Northeastern Brazil in what was usually considered a realist style.

O País belongs to a period before Amado truly became a regionalista. When he completed the novel, he had just moved to Rio to study law. There he started mingling with intellectuals who embraced widely different views, ranging from Catholics such as Alceu Amoroso Lima to communists such as Rachel de Queiroz. Thus, he was still weighing up different ideas amidst the anxiety of the times and the disillusionment with the results of the 1930 Revolution. Amado’s generation was, as he wrote in his first novel, dissatisfied; and so were his characters. It might be said that the novel is semi-autobiographical. Both the fictional Rigger and his creator were in search of an identity that could signal a better future. I will argue that the depiction of Salvador in the novel reveals a conflict between a positivist concept of human order and the perception of nature-influenced chaos. Moreover, as we shall see, Amado starts using Salvador as metonymy for Brazil in this novel.

Positivism, as conceived by French philosopher Auguste Comte, describes three stages of knowledge and society. He first detailed these stages in a series of essays collected

¹⁸ Da Matta, *Carnivals, Rogues, and Heroes*, p. 63.

in the tome *The Course in Positivist Philosophy* (1842).¹⁹ The three basic phases in the development of thought and the evolution of societies were: theological, metaphysical and positivist. The first one is defined by the belief in a supernatural force that accounts for all the events in human life. The theological stage is, in turn, divided into three phases: fetishism, polytheism and monotheism. The latter is its peak of historical development, because Comte believed that Catholicism had the power to unify beliefs. In the second stage, the historical age of Enlightenment and human rights, ‘the mind supposes [...] veritable entities (that is, personified abstractions) inherent in all beings and capable of producing all phenomena’.²⁰ Nature is the entity that determines the state and shape of the world and may explain all kinds of phenomena, including human nature and the fate of civilisations. The finishing point of the Comtean evolutionary scale is the actual positivist stage: people cease to search for ‘the causes of phenomena’ to ‘study their laws’.²¹ By doing this, mankind will be registering a ‘perfect harmony, restored from the early theological stage and now in confluence with science’.²² Accordingly, the political motto of positivism was ‘Order and Progress’, which Comte explains in the following way:

Viewed scientifically, it is an instance of that necessary correlation of existence and movement, which we find indicated in the inorganic world, and which becomes still more distinct in Biology.²³

Thus, biological rules must apply to human societies. One might say that positivist thought, in general, had ‘the tendency to look for the sources of psychological phenomena in the environment rather than in the workings of an individual mind’.²⁴ Moreover, Comte’s critics

¹⁹ A platonic relationship with Clotilde de Vaux, together with the revolutionary events in France during that period made him revise his philosophical system in *A General View of Positivism* (1848). See John Stuart Mill, *Auguste Comte and Positivism*, 2nd edn (London: N. Trübner & Co., 1866), p. 132.

²⁰ Auguste Comte, *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte*, trans. Harriet Martineau (New York: William Gowans, 1868), p. 26.

²¹ Comte, *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte*, p. 26.

²² Mike Gane, *Auguste Comte*, ed. by Peter Hamilton, 1st edn, *Key Sociologists* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), p. 8.

²³ Auguste Comte, *A General View of Positivism*, trans. J. H. Bridges, 2nd edn (London: Reeves & Turner, 1880), p. 77.

²⁴ Rom Harré, ‘Positivist Thought in the Nineteenth Century’, in *The Cambridge History of Philosophy, 1870-1945*, ed. by Thomas Baldwin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 15.

point out that there is no difference between the first and final stages.²⁵ The role of women in society, as Comte describes it, emphasises this argument: in the new stage as in the first stage, she is ‘separated from active life in order to develop the highest form of physical and moral unity.’²⁶ Comte envisioned this system because it is ‘woman who has the “highest type of the mutual influence of the cerebral and bodily life.”’²⁷ Yet, the similarities between first and third stages indicate less an evolution than a repeating cycle with minor changes.

Positivism’s heavy reliance on biological explanations for all kinds of phenomena provided the basis for determinism and eugenics in late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Determinism is a branch of positivism that was created by French historian Hippolyte Taine (1828-1893). According to Taine’s theory, men are a product of three elements: race, the moment and milieu. All other explanations for man’s behaviour and development disappear from the deterministic analysis, as Taine explains: ‘when we have considered race, the environment, the moment [...] we have exhausted not only all the real causes, but also all possible causes of the movement’.²⁸ As we shall see, Amado adopts this explanation for the state of Brazilian society in *O País*, but he certainly was not the first Brazilian intellectual to do so. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many Brazilian intellectuals embraced positivism, and especially determinism, as a way to decode Brazilian society: from Euclides da Cunha through Graça Aranha to Paulo Prado.²⁹ When Brazil became a Republic in 1889, the motto ‘Ordem e Progresso’ was inscribed on the Brazilian flag. The Brazilian naturalist literary movement took inspiration from nineteenth-century positivism: the detailed depiction and acceptance of existence according to the manner in which it presents itself to the senses. Empirical observation would simply expose

²⁵ Gane, p. 10.

²⁶ Gane, p. 9.

²⁷ Quoted in Gane, p. 9.

²⁸ Hippolyte Taine, ‘Introduction’, in *Histoire de la Litterature Anglaise*, 4th edn, vol. I (Paris, 1877), p. xiv. My translation from original in French.

²⁹ Alfredo Bosi, *História Concisa da Literatura Brasileira*. 3rd. edn (São Paulo: Cultrix, 1981), pp. 181, 426.

this reality, which, according to determinism, people could not change. As Alfredo Bosi explains, naturalists believed that Darwinism, determinism and the laws of nature control life and seal each individual's fate.³⁰ The positivist view dictates the fate of an entire city in *O País*.

This overview is rather surprising if one considers Amado's progressive views and rebellious ways from very early in his life. He had moved to Salvador from Southern Bahia in 1923, when he was 11, to study in a Jesuit school. From a very young age, Amado instinctively disliked rigid order: he could not stand the strict discipline at school, so he fled to Sergipe, a state that neighbours Bahia in the north, to meet his grandfather in the small town of Itaporanga. He was 13 years old. When he returned to Salvador the next year, he was placed in a more liberal school and started working as a journalist at *Diário da Bahia*. In 1927, he joined some friends to create Academia dos Rebeldes, a group that revolved around non-conformist poet and veteran journalist Pinheiro Viegas, whom Amado and his equally young friends saw as a mentor. In Amado's own words, Salvador in the 1920s 'ainda era uma cidade muito provinciana e, sob vários aspectos, conformista'.³¹ Clearly inspired by the modernist movement from São Paulo, Academia dos Rebeldes – as well as other literary groups who started gathering in Salvador around the same time – attacked Bahian literature, describing it as academic and outdated. Contrary to the São Paulo modernists, though, the Rebeldes dismissed formal experiments and aimed to create Brazilian literature with an emphasis on 'universal' content.³² All the Rebeldes were politically progressive; Amado himself took part in the campaign for the election of Getúlio Vargas between 1928-1929.

³⁰ Bosi, p. 186.

³¹ Raillard, p. 32.

³² Amado, quoted in Aluysio Mendonça Sampaio, *Jorge Amado, o Romancista* (São Paulo: Maltese, 1996), p. 13. Amado explains the Rebeldes' intent further in the interview with his French translator, Alice Raillard: 'uma literatura inserida no momento histórico em que vivíamos e que se inspirava em nossa realidade, a fim de transformá-la', in Raillard, p. 33.

Moreover, the Rebeldes fully enjoyed Salvador's bohemian and cultural life, as Amado recalls:

Era uma vida muito cheia, muito rica, participávamos verdadeiramente da vida do povo, tínhamos contato com todos os setores da vida popular; passávamos o tempo em escolas de capoeira; comecei, com o Edison [Carneiro, soon-to-be an important Bahian ethnographer] e com Artur Ramos, a frequentar os candomblés e a participar da vida religiosa baiana.³³

Amado used this life experience in all of his subsequent Salvador novels, but none of these details can be found in *O País*. Even though he modeled his main characters after Academia dos Rebeldes, these characters seem to share only scepticism with their real-life counterparts. Later, Amado dismissed the novel's pessimism as artificial and 'exclusively literary'.³⁴ Beyond an adolescent imposture, the negative portrayal of Salvador and Brazil in the novel may have mirrored the expectations of the time, when a new government brought the hope of true modernisation to the country but did not seem to fulfill it. Antonio Candido argues that *O País* reflects the uncertainties of its author.³⁵ I agree with Aluysio Sampaio that these uncertainties reflect the anxiety of Brazilians in general at the end of the 1920s.³⁶ A preface to the novel's first edition by Amado's editor, Augusto Schmidt, underscores this argument: 'o seu livro [...] bem representativo de uma geração revoltada que vem surgindo e de que você faz parte' (*O País*, p. 9). In Amado's view, Salvador, the only big city whose cultural life he had experienced until that moment, may have seemed to embody the paralysis of a country – the same notion of the urban space that his characters in *O País* espouse.

The novel follows the return of Paulo Rigger to his hometown, Salvador (or 'cidade da Bahia'), after many years away in Europe. Throughout the narrative, there are many parallels between Amado and his main character. Rigger was the son of a wealthy Bahian

³³ Raillard, p. 34.

³⁴ Raillard, p. 41.

³⁵ Quoted in Sampaio, p. 10.

³⁶ Sampaio, p. 10.

landowner, who sent him to Paris to study law, mirroring Amado's own family story and his experience in Rio de Janeiro. During his stay in France, Rigger was more concerned with a hedonistic life than with his studies. When the novel begins, he appears to be nihilistic in his views of life in general: '*A atitude oposta era sempre a sua atitude*' (*O País*, p. 15). The matters of his homeland do not seem to interest him either: he mocks both positive and negative comments made by his fellow Brazilian travellers during his journey back to Brazil. Rigger disembarks at Rio de Janeiro where he makes the acquaintance of Brazilian politicians. Their opinions bear the same patriotic tone that Rigger derided on the ship. However, this attitude is revealed to be a facade: 'No fundo, entretanto, Paulo Rigger sentia que era um insatisfeito' (*O País*, p. 17).

Rigger stays in Rio de Janeiro with Julie, a French traveller whom he had met on the ship. Julie is a free-spirited woman, a characteristic that both attracts and repels the jealous Rigger. Rio is celebrating its carnival. Rigger quickly becomes fascinated with the hedonistic atmosphere of the streets where people flirt and dance with strangers in apparent disregard for taboos. Yet he does not forgive Julie when she leaves their room to walk the streets on her own. He is feeling increasingly confused and out of place in Rio. When they finally travel to Salvador to visit his widowed mother, Rigger feels unconfessed relief.

When Rigger arrives in Salvador, he makes friends with a group of intellectuals who are seeking a purpose for their lives, much like Rigger himself. The group is formed by Ricardo Braz, a romantic civil servant from Piauí, a state in the north of Brazil, José Lopes, an aspiring writer, Gomes, a pragmatic journalist, and Jerônimo Soares, a light-skinned mulatto, '*sem pretensões, sem vaidades, lugar-comum humano*' (*O País*, p. 27). These young men look up to Pedro Ticiano, a veteran journalist who is a true nihilist, unlike Rigger, who merely poses as one. Despite his activities with this new group of friends, Rigger becomes more and more depressed at the prospect of ending his days in Salvador. During his visit to

his mother, he finds his father's journal and reads that he was unhappy too. A brief visit to his father's farm in Southern Bahia only increases Rigger's discomfort. There, Julie has sex with one of the farm workers, Honório. Rigger fires Honório, beats Julie in retribution and leaves her when they return to Salvador. In order to forget the affair, he starts working intensely on a new project with his friends, *O Estado da Bahia*, a newspaper. Rigger and his friends still believe that something is missing from their lives. The search for a 'meaning' to his life continues.

At this point of the narrative, a parallel plot begins. Rigger believes that he has found the missing element in his life when he meets Maria de Lourdes at the cinema. Maria de Lourdes, or Lourdinha, is a lower-class 16-year-old girl who lives with her godmother in the attic of a boarding house in the city centre. Rigger falls in love with Lourdinha, and moves to the boarding house to be close to her. She is his romantic ideal: innocent and virginal. They soon become engaged. However, when he discovers that Lourdinha had sex once with her ex-boyfriend, he develops conflicted feelings. Rigger finally decides to cancel the wedding. As for Lourdinha, she leaves Salvador to forget Rigger.

Meanwhile, Rigger and his friends have an argument with Gomes over the politics of *O Estado da Bahia* and the group disbands. By the end of the novel, none of them appears to have found happiness. Ticiano, their sceptical leader, dies. Ricardo Braz marries his girlfriend and the couple moves to a small town in Piauí for his new job as a district attorney; however, his achievements still leave him unfulfilled. Here too there are echoes of Amado's own life as he was unsure about a career in law. Lacking a goal in life, José Lopes starts drinking and gambling. He goes missing for a month and then Rigger finally meets up with him, finding him totally transformed, 'bem-vestido, um ar mais sereno' (*O País*, p. 110). Lopes tells Rigger that the communist ideology is the reason for his change. Despite his conversion, Lopes confesses to Rigger that communism is just another illusion that allows him to

continue living. The only one in the group who seems to be genuinely happy is Jerônimo, who goes on to share a flat with a former prostitute and embraces Catholicism. Having failed in his search for happiness in Brazil, Rigger leaves Salvador for Rio de Janeiro, where he takes a ship back to Europe during Carnival celebrations.

As Augusto Schmidt observes in his preface to *O País*, the novel lacks detail on settings, which represents both a defect and a quality (*O País*, p. 8). In fact, Amado keeps the description of places to a minimum in his first Salvador novel. The city is presented through the impressions of the narrator and the characters, and very brief descriptions that establish basic settings for the action. Thus, I will resort to these few descriptions as well as to the characteristics of the real-life places that, as we have seen, inspired or might have inspired the places in the novel. Since *O País* defines place through impressions, it is important to examine the main characters, especially Paulo Rigger, to understand how their perception shapes the construction of Salvador in the novel.

Modern man in a small town

The main plot of *O País* is Rigger's search for happiness. As Amado uses free indirect speech extensively in the novel, it is often unclear where the character's thoughts end and the omniscient narrator's voice begins. As we shall see, Rigger seems to hold the same views of the city as the narrator. Before comparing their impressions, I will look closer at the main character in the novel. By his own definition, Paulo Rigger is a 'tipo cerebral, quase indiferente, tendo perdido há muito o sentido de Deus e não tendo achado o sentido da pátria' (*O País*, p. 17). At 26, he has spent most of his adult life in Paris. His pastime was the 'study of souls' and their feelings. Thus, he seized the opportunities provided by one of the archetypal modern cities of the nineteenth and early twentieth century to satisfy his curiosity.

He visited aristocratic salons and sordid cabarets looking for different forms of pleasure. ‘No seu olhar cansado, muito triste, parecia viver a tragédia do homem que esgotou todas as volúpias e não se satisfaz’ (*O País*, p. 17). Coldness became a strategy to conceal his deep discontentment. Amado outlines Rigger’s backstory in just one page so that the reader may have a thorough perspective of his main character immediately at the beginning of the novel. Rigger is never satisfied in his search for new experiences as he helplessly tries to fulfil unknown desires. His behaviour betrays the anxieties of the modern man.

Georg Simmel’s theory of modern life may help us understand Rigger’s behaviour. In his work, Simmel sought to define the modern man and explore ‘the increasing difficulty of realizing a genuine individuality in modern society’.³⁷ While other scientists chose to probe ‘structures of work and power’, Simmel engaged with the “social” in its purest forms’.³⁸ Thus, the focus of his study was precisely the experiences and interactions of people in big cities like Paris. In his essay ‘The Metropolis and Mental Life’, Simmel describes the modern man:

Thus the metropolitan type of man [...] reacts with his head instead of his heart. [...] The reaction to metropolitan phenomena is shifted to that organ which is least sensitive and quite remote from the depth of the personality.³⁹

When he adopts this rational reaction, the modern man is trying to protect his individuality from the multiple impulses of the modern city, which threaten to overload its citizens’ senses and tear them apart. Thus, the ‘tipo cerebral’ like Rigger adopts a ‘blasé attitude’, as Simmel explains: ‘A life in boundless pursuit of pleasure makes one blasé because it agitates the

³⁷ David Frisby, *Georg Simmel*. Rev. edn (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 27.

³⁸ Thomas S. Henricks, *Play Reconsidered: Sociological Perspectives on Human Expression* (Chesham: University of Illinois Press, 2006), p. 109.

³⁹ Georg Simmel, ‘The Metropolis and Mental Life’, in Georg Simmel, and Kurt Heinrich Wolff, *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*. trans. Kurt Heinrich Wolff (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), pp. 410-411.

nerves to their strongest reactivity for such a long time that they finally cease to react at all.⁴⁰ However, there is a price to be paid for remaining emotionless for a long period in response to the city's stimuli: the devaluation of 'the whole objective world'. Since the outside world generates no emotional reaction, the modern man unavoidably feels worthless.⁴¹ Feeling empty in the archetypal modern metropolis, Paulo Rigger returns to Brazil in search of happiness, a feeling that will give meaning to a life he perceives as worthless.

His dissatisfaction with modern life in Paris leads the reader to believe that Rigger would be content in a place where life was the exact opposite of the one he had experienced in the metropolis. While in Salvador, he muses: 'Ter uma esposa, muito carinho, um filho pequeno com quem brincar, criar galinhas e ciumar. Felicidade...' (*O País*, p. 86). This could not be more different from his Parisian life; it is, in fact, a very rural setting. Thus, the bucolic Salvador apparently stands as the perfect place for him to find happiness: 'sentiu um imenso prazer em brincar com os pintinhos e em dar milho às galinhas na chácara... Tão boa, a vida burguesa da família...' (*O País*, p. 57). Salvador, in the novel, is the anti-Paris. As we will see, the city mainly has the characteristics of a rural setting.

Despite his yearnings, Paulo Rigger is the quintessential modern man as described by Georg Simmel. He has adapted his sensibilities to survive in a modern city. The sort of rural life he aims for might stifle his individuality: he would have to conform to stricter social rules. One of the main characteristics of Brazilian rural society is its patriarchal system, whose values are at odds with the ones that Rigger embraced in Paris. Simmel used the example of small-town life in ancient times and the Middle Ages to show the contrast between the small town and the modern big city. To him, even the contemporary small town

⁴⁰ Simmel, p. 414.

⁴¹ Simmel, p. 415.

sets barriers against individuality that might suffocate the modern man.⁴² The modern city also tries to engulf the modern man in the sameness of the crowd, but it still offers the possibility of discovery and re-invention at every single transformation. Eventually, Rigger realises this. After cancelling his engagement to Lourdinha, and thus shattering his dream of happiness, he contemplates suicide but does not go ahead; ‘ele se agarrara à vida’ (*O País*, p. 87). Life in Salvador does not please him. So he returns to Paris, the only type of place where he could live the way he was prepared to.

Elsewhere in *O País*, Amado reinforces this argument by describing the tiny town in the state of Piauí to which Ricardo Braz moves at the end of the novel. ‘Cidade sem vida, sem movimento, de gente tola’, as travelling salesmen say (*O País*, p. 105). Braz seems to have fulfilled Rigger’s dream of happiness: married to his beloved girlfriend, with a good job in a quiet town; a perfect idyll. However, if Salvador represents a small town in comparison to Paris, the big city, this Piauí town stands as the rural place in contrast to Salvador as the big city. The townspeople meet in the main square, the important people – the mayor, the doctor, the judge and others – chat regularly in front of the town’s only chemist’s, and young people believe in pure romantic love. Braz starts regretting this life:

Pouco trabalho tinha Ricardo. [...] Criava passarinhos, conversava na farmácia. Amava a mulher. E sentia-se profundamente, inteiramente infeliz. Não nascera para aquela vida. A mesma coisa, a falta do inédito, martirizavam-no. [...] Fracassara a sua experiência. (*O País*, p. 108)

Braz fulfils Rigger’s role in the Piauí town-Salvador scheme. He is the big city man who finds himself trapped in a small town that never changes. Salvador at least had some signs of modernity: the bars, the trams, the many newspapers, the fights with conservative intellectuals. Conversely, the inescapable routine of the Piauí town turns it into a dead end: ‘a

⁴² Simmel, p. 417.

redação de *O Cravo*, fechada por falta de notícias' (*O País*, p. 107). Rigger has a similar reaction after he spends some time in Salvador: 'A "cidade de Tomé de Souza" dava-lhe a impressão de uma daquelas cidades de decadência, onde tudo morre aos poucos' (*O País*, p. 31). Braz wants to escape from his life in the small town. Rigger takes the ship back to Europe. Both urban spaces in which they dwell are portrayed as dead places. If they are dead, any attempt to renew them is bound to fail.

Which elements of the city make it that way? The title of the novel may provide a hint of what exactly Amado wants to stress in his depiction of Salvador. Before we unveil these elements of the city, though, I shall contrast Salvador with Rio de Janeiro, which provides the backdrop for some of the events in the book. This comparison will allow us to understand the importance of Salvador as more than just another urban space in the narrative.

Cursed by nature

Amado's descriptions of Rio and Salvador in *O País* allow for a well-defined contrast between the two Brazilian cities. Once again, free indirect speech blends the voices of the narrator and the main character. Rigger dislikes Salvador but his impressions of Rio are very different. As noted earlier, Rio had been modernised at the beginning of the twentieth century. This is the city that Rigger finds when he arrives in Brazil. He considers Rio to be like the great civilised metropolises, as they are: 'cidades do mundo' (*O País*, p. 18). To him, the capital of the Republic 'não era Brasil. Tinha muito das grandes cidades do universo. [...] Paris, Londres, Nova York, Tóquio e Rio de Janeiro pertencem a todos os países e a todas as raças' (*O País*, p. 19). And the description of life on the streets of Rio reveals a characteristically urban cacophony:

Garotos passavam apregoando os jornais da tarde: “A *Noite*, olha o *Globo*, *Diário*”... “*Diário*, *Noite*, *Globo*,” “O discurso do deputado Francisco Ribeiro. A campanha presidencial. O Carnaval que vem aí... O Carnaval... *Noite*...”

Na rua a multidão, acotovelava-se numa grande alegria. Entulhava as casas de negócios comprando fazendas e enfeites. Era o Carnaval que se aproximava. (*O País*, p. 22)

The description above contains some tropes of life in the modern city: the crowd, the multiplicity of visual and sound stimuli, numerous events happening simultaneously, movement. The sentences are short; Amado mostly resorts to describing the actions in rapid succession. ‘Anúncios luminosos ensinavam remédios aos doentes ricos. [...] Passavam automóveis. Gente rica que ia aos teatros. [...] A mulher magra, cadavérica, ambulante, amamentava um filho pequenino.’ (*O País*, p. 78). These descriptions mix speed, technological development, the misery and the malaise of the modern cities as if to confirm Rigger’s initial impression of Rio. We can speculate that this must also have been the impression a young Jorge Amado had when he arrived in Rio in 1930 to study law and finalise *O País*. As a counterpoint to this excerpt, here are some descriptions of action on the streets of Salvador elsewhere in the novel:

Uma preta, na rua, rebolando as ancas, gritava:

- Amendoim torrado! Acarajé e abará!

E, mais longe, um garoto berrava:

- O *Estado da Bahia*... Olha o *Estado da Bahia*. Artigo sobre a carestia da vida... (*O País*, p. 79)

Compraram jornais a um garoto que tiritava vestido em farrapos. (*O País*, p. 101)

The Rio street action provides a contrast between wealth and misery whereas only poverty permeates the street scenes in Salvador. The headlines of Rio newspapers bring the promise of excitement: political activity, the beginning of Carnival celebrations. The Bahian newspaper only prints information about the high cost of living. In the entire novel, Rigger

and his mother seem to be the only well-off people in Salvador; everyone else has to struggle to make ends meet. Similarly, the only private car in the streets of Salvador seems to be Rigger's; everyone else uses buses and trams. The excerpts above also present another crucial difference between Rio and Salvador: there are no obvious crowds in the latter. The dynamism and speed of the Rio scenes cannot be replicated in Salvador not only because the city's pace is slower, but also because the urban space is emptier. In Rio, Rigger watches several paperboys pass by announcing different headlines; in the Salvador scene, only one paperboy shouts a single headline from one newspaper from afar. In the foreground there is a black street vendor selling her products on the street, peanuts, 'acarajé' and 'abará', traditional Candomblé food. The narrator never mentions colourful adverts, affluent people or cultural activities in Salvador. The multiple actions and a sense of constant change, which feature in the Rio street scenes, are absent from Salvador. The repetition of a sequence with a paperboy only stresses the small-town environment and the misery in Salvador. The black street vendor, as we will see further on, also functions as a marker of an archaic place. If Rio bears similarities to Paris in the novel, Salvador shall be antipodal to Rio as well.

The mere thought of settling in Salvador terrifies Rigger. It carries the prospect of a mediocre life without any intellectual challenges, degenerate, 'doente de civilização' (*O País*, p. 19). Salvador was much smaller and much less modern than Rio. Amado's 1930 Salvador in the novel actually resembles Rio de Janeiro in Aluísio Azevedo's short stories, like 'Aos Vinte Anos', from the end of the nineteenth century. There, Rio appeared as 'uma cidade de chácaras contíguas cheias de sol, árvores e verduras', more rural than urban space, where nature takes precedence over human construction.⁴³ In *O País*, children playing football share the streets with automobiles in the city centre; the main character's mother lives in a country house in Garcia, a suburban area at that time though very close to the city centre.

⁴³ Sá, 'A Cidade, A Província e o Circo: Os Contos de *Demônios*', in Aluísio Azevedo, *Demônios*, ed. Lúcia Sá (São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2007), p. xviii.

Yet, at the same time that Salvador has the characteristics of a rural place, it is described as a decaying city. Amado follows a tradition here that, according to Fernando Cesara Gil, saw the urban experience portrayed in Brazilian fiction as being heavily affected by 'imobilidade e paralisia'.⁴⁴ In the nineteenth-century narratives by José de Alencar and the aforementioned Aluísio Azevedo, for instance, urban experience is mixed with traditional rural life. In Brazilian literature from the second half of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century, the city is still socially and economically dependent on the countryside.⁴⁵ Amado exacerbates this sense of paralysis in his depiction of Salvador. This is clear right from the presentation of the city in the novel:

À mesa do bar, alguns rapazes conversavam. A luz das lâmpadas elétricas, na rua, dava chibatadas na escuridão envolvente. Pretas gordas, nas esquinas, vendiam acarajé e mingau. E nas sombras da noite a Bahia parecia uma grande ruína de uma civilização que apenas começara a florescer. (*O País*, p. 25)

In this excerpt, Salvador contrasts with Rio in every single aspect, and especially in the representation of electric lights, a trope of modernity. In Rio, 'luzes [...] plagiavam as estrelas. Uma grande lâmpada elétrica metia inveja à Lua' (*O País*, p. 77). Those lights flaunt mankind's major creation, the big city, which is designed to rival God's, as in the myth of Babel. In Salvador, though, they merely keep the darkness at bay. The scenes of street life – once more, we see baianas who sell typical Bahian food on the streets – are slow, crepuscular, in comparison to the speed and brightness of Rio. Darkness stands as the ever-present past translated into a historically resonant image: the bright lights whip the shadows. In colonial and imperial periods, white masters usually punished black slaves who had broken the law by whipping their backs. The city is 'sick' from a lack of civilisation, so the streetlights may not be enough to stop the invasion of the shadows. This image is

⁴⁴ Fernando Cesara Gil, 'Experiência Urbana e Romance Brasileiro', *Revista de Letras*, Sep-Dec 2004, p. 75.

⁴⁵ Gil, p. 68.

unintentionally ironic since civilisation's methods have included slavery and other types of oppression. Thus, the use of whipping as a metaphor implies that only more oppression may bring modernity to Salvador, as we shall see further on.

This parallel makes the description of Salvador even more disturbing, for the metaphor is not only historical; it also has racial contours. Although the exact location is not identified, this scene might take place in Salvador's city centre, next door to the Pelourinho district, in an area full of bars where intellectuals used to mingle at the time.⁴⁶ As we have seen in the Introduction, this neighbourhood owes its name to a pillory in the central square, a place where black slaves used to be punished for criminal offences. Salvador had – and still has – a large population of blacks and mixed-race people, the mulattos. In the aforementioned scene, white people seem to be fighting the inevitable invasion of the 'barbarians', the blacks and mulattos from the city. In fact, the characters in the bar are Rigger's friends, a group of young intellectuals who engage in a crusade against 'mulatismo' (*O País*, p. 26). Skin colour is equated with conservatism and ignorance in the novel. Ricardo Braz voices the opinion of the group repeatedly and consistently in the novel:

A canalha era o apelido que ele dava aos mulatos seus inimigos, que lhe invejavam a “pose de deputado”. (*O País*, p.40).

Então eu hei de perdoar a burrice crassa daqueles mulatos que publicam uma revista que é uma afronta à gramática e às boas letras do país? (*O País*, p. 53)

They believe that their intellectual superiority makes them the target of 'ódio de todos os mestiços baianos que escreviam' (*O País*, p. 26). These mulattos are perceived as ignorant, but this stupidity is attributed to biological features and environmental influences. Rigger comments: 'Eles não têm culpa. Não foram eles que se fizeram burros' (*O País*, p. 53). In the

⁴⁶ Amado's Academia dos Rebeldes, for instance, usually met at Café das Meninas, a famous meeting point on Rua Chile, a fancy street at the time that connects Praça Municipal to Praça Castro Alves. Their other favourite meeting place was a bar close to Terreiro de Jesus, in the historical city centre. See Sampaio, p. 12; and Raillard, p. 34. Since Amado drew so much from Academia dos Rebeldes to create the main characters in *O País*, we may conclude that their meeting places are references for the novel as well.

preamble, Amado argues that there is ‘uma grande confusão de raças e sentimentos’ in Northern Brazil, which generates ‘uma raça doente e indolente’ (*O País*, p. 11). And Paulo Rigger, later in the novel, states: ‘Mas eu acho que a natureza faz um mal enorme ao Brasil. O homem daqui parece preguiçoso, indolente... Isso deve ser a natureza...’ (*O País*, p. 22). Amado and Rigger follow a deterministic line of thought that was shared by many Brazilian intellectuals in the early twentieth century. Such theories heavily influenced Mário de Andrade, who had written in his travel journal *Na Pancada do Ganzá* (1929), that Northeastern Brazilians were halfway between the primitive and the civilised people, which would explain their poor reasoning skills.⁴⁷ However, the most famous example of this deterministic trend is in *Retrato do Brasil* (1928), an essay by historian Paulo Prado:

‘[...] espalham-se pelo nosso território grupos humanos incertos, humildes, salvo um ou outro foco de expressão nativista, abafados e paralisados em geral por uma natureza estonteadora de pujança, ou terrivelmente implacável. Aí vivem à solta, numa terra comum.’⁴⁸

In *O País*, Rigger stresses the heavy influence of nature on the formation of the tropical social space. Brazil, he argues in a poem, ‘é um pedaço d’África’. Its native race can be only ‘forte,/ triste,/ burra,/ indomável,/ mas profundamente grande,/ porque é grandemente natural,/ toda da sensualidade’ (*O País*, p. 30). According to this view, Brazil became chaotic, resistant to progress. It is the Country of Carnival, as in the novel’s title: ‘Vitória de todo o Instinto, reino da Carne’ (p. 27). Following this rationalisation, Rigger concludes: ‘O único remédio eficaz para o brasileiro é o chicote’ (*O País*, p. 76). This line echoes the whipping of darkness by light in the streets of Salvador. Amado uses the city to voice a deterministic interpretation of Brazil. Rio may not be Brazil, but Salvador stands as a representation of the

⁴⁷ Quoted in Goldstein, p. 102

⁴⁸ Prado, p. 143.

country in the novel. Whereas Rio is a ‘world city’, Salvador is a synthesis of the Brazilian space.

Given all this, Salvador and Rio still share one characteristic in the novel: the carnivalesque element. Actually, Carnival seems to be the element that connects the two cities and the rest of the country. The festival marks the beginning and the end of the novel in Rio de Janeiro. Carnavalesque motifs may also be found in some of the Salvador scenes. Rigger arrives in Salvador along with politicians on their electoral campaign. One of them makes a speech to a large crowd. They follow him across the city streets but they have to stop at Ladeira da Montanha because a drunkard blocks their way to deliver his own speech:

Eu sou o orador da canalha das ruas! O orador dos mendigos, dos cegos que pedem esmolas, dos aleijados (amparam-no para não cair), da lama dos esgotos, das prostitutas... Pela minha boca, ilustres caravaneiros, saúdam-vos os prostíbulo, os hospitais, a podridão das vielas...

O “maior orador do país” agradeceu, emocionado, a saudação dos cegos, dos aleijados, das rameiras e da lama das ruas...

O cortejo seguiu aos vivas e morras. (*O País*, p. 31)

In a carnivalesque manner, the drunkard turns the political comotion upside down by impersonating a politician and exposing the vacuity of his words. In other words, the lumpen takes centre stage, inverting social hierarchy. The drunkard reveals a city that is the underbelly of modernity, dirty and miserable. The crowd is suddenly revealed as lumpen themselves. This scene converses with a seventeenth century poem by Gregório de Matos:

Muitos mulatos desavergonhados
Trazidos sob pés os homens nobres,
Posta nas palmas toda a picardia

Estupendas usuras nos mercados,
Todos os que não furtam muito pobres:
E eis aqui a cidade da Bahia.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Matos, ‘Descreve o que Era Naquele Tempo a Cidade da Bahia’, p. 45

In Matos's verses, there is a similar negative reference to mulattos, as being a typical source of problems in Salvador. In his view, the city was already upside down, with mulattos subjugating the 'good people' of the city. Theft and corruption was the rule, and the population was invariably poor. The rule in this Salvador, as Matos presents it, was that there was no actual rule of law, at least not an official rule by the city. In the absence of the rule of law, urban order was challenged. In Brazil, the Portuguese colony, everything acquired a different meaning from what it had in the Portuguese metropolis.⁵⁰ Rigger displays the same opinion in *O País* as he reacts with a comment: 'este é o país do Carnaval'. Then, he feels an overwhelming sense of estrangement from those people, the Brazilian people (*O País*, p. 31). Carnival seems to be a permanent element in the formation of the entire country, turning everything uncertain. The carnivalesque nature of Salvador seems to mirror the country. The list of Salvador inhabitants in *O País* reads like characters in a masquerade: prostitutes, 'o médico que escreve um trabalho sobre sífilis passa a ser chamado de poeta', 'os juízes dão valiosas opiniões literárias', drunkards, street vendors, and beggars (*O País*, pp. 27, 31). Later, Rigger comments that he only felt like a true Brazilian twice: when he danced in the streets of Rio during Carnival and when he beat Julie (*O País*, p. 50). A Carnival song connects the two events:

Essa mulher há muito tempo me provoca...
Dá nela...
Dá nela... (O País, p. 19)

This is the chorus from Ary Barroso's 'Dá Nela', an actual Carnival hit from 1930. Rigger remembers the song that he heard during Carnival in Rio after battering Julie in the Bahian countryside. As Charles A. Perrone comments, 'the Dionysian urge has become an impulse of

⁵⁰ José Miguel Wisnick, 'Prefácio', in Gregório de Matos, *Poemas Escolhidos de Gregório de Matos*, p. 22.

male-dominant violence of control and punishment'.⁵¹ Carnival, as it is, makes natural, primitive instincts surface. It also prevents the implementation of order in the urban space, at least the order for which Rigger and his friends yearn. The concept of space that Rigger has in mind clearly uses Paris as its template. In this, he is not unlike the elite of the time. Along with his desire for a Eurocentric order, Rigger sees nature as the influence that fosters this chaos, overexciting the senses. The chaos of carnival in the novel is actually a consequence of the dominance of nature in Brazil. Amado states in his preamble: 'Diante da grandiosidade da natureza, o brasileiro pensou que isto aqui fosse um circo. E virou palhaço...' (*O País*, p. 10). His novel has a 'sad' setting, Brazil: 'Natureza grandiosa que faz o homem de uma pequenez clássica' (*O País*, p. 11). Once more, we see the metaphor of whipping, but Amado inverts the image that the narrator describes later in the novel: 'E todo dia a natureza surra, com o chicote do sol, o nortista tragicamente vencido' (*O País*, p. 11). In the novel, as we have seen, the street light whips the natural darkness of the night so that modernity may subjugate the oppression of nature.

The overwhelming presence of nature is translated, as in the preamble, into sadness – this is another difference between Salvador and Rio. Salvador is always described in melancholic tones: it is a place that is involved 'numa tristeza enorme de deixar a vida' (*O País*, p. 30). Later, Rigger is on a bus that stops at Campo Grande square: 'Ficou olhando o casario, as palmeiras do Campo Grande. Tudo respirava uma tristeza de fim da tarde' (*O País*, p. 35). Nature is always present in Salvador's landscape, whether it is in Rigger's mother's country house at Barris or in the palm trees of Campo Grande. Either way, nature is always associated with darkness, or impending darkness, and sadness throughout the novel. This motif seems to exemplify Augusto Schmidt's words in the preface of the novel: 'O país

⁵¹ Charles A. Perrone, 'From Lundu and Modinha to Samba De Enredo and Mpb: Popular Music and the Fiction of Jorge Amado', in *Jorge Amado: New Critical Essays*, ed. by Earl E. Fitz, Keith H. Brower and Enrique Martinez-Vidal (New York; London: Garland, 2001), p. 177.

em que nascemos pesa sobre nós' (*O País*, p. 7). Thus, in the novel, the tropical environment is ultimately responsible for the impossibility of order in Salvador. Another recurrent motif in the novel illustrates this: the paving of the roads. In the novel's Salvador, the streets are full of mud, 'mal calçadas', 'esburacadas' (*O País*, pp. 31, 98, 92). Certainly, this image reflects the idea of a decaying city but it also suggests that any attempt to curb nature by human hand cannot succeed. The place, with its luscious nature, makes progress impossible. Rigger's perceptions of Salvador and Amado's city construct are deterministic.

The contrast between Salvador and Rio – and the use of Salvador to interpret Brazil – turns *O País* into a positivist novel. Its main character and the narrative seem to corroborate Le Corbusier's assessment of old Paris at the beginning of this chapter. The idea of modernity that emerges from the novel is very Eurocentric. According to the narrative, Salvador would only thrive as an urban space if it could follow the lines of Haussmann's Paris much like Pereira Passos did with Rio de Janeiro, a city that, according to the novel, is considered a 'world city' like Paris. However, this conception of space is also deemed impractical by the characters, who reflect Amado's idea that overwhelming nature has turned men into a 'sad race' that does not bother living in a chaotic place. Such chaos, as it is, obstructs any plans to create modern civilisation in Salvador. The connection between a positivist conception of space and a deterministic perception of Salvador turn the Bahian city into a place that is bound to disappear, a set of 'ruins' already. In *O País*, the intrinsic characteristics of the city frustrate any project of spatial order, a notion that continues in *Suor*, as we shall see, even if the conception of space seems to change.

***Suor*: Down with the City**

In 1932, Amado met Rachel de Queiroz and found an answer to the uncertainties that he had expressed in *O País*. The author of *O Quinze* introduced Amado to the Brazilian Communist Party, a fact that would influence his prose for the next twenty years. His second novel, *Cacau* (1933) departed from the existential anguish of *O País* to depict the conflicts between landowners and plantation workers in Southern Bahia. As with *O País*, his intentions were already clear in his presentation of the novel: ‘Será um romance proletário?’⁵² With *Cacau*, Amado changed the focus of his works to describe class struggle and the development of social awareness of the lower classes. Thus, his following Salvador novel, *Suor* (1934) was also highly politically charged. However, it did not change the status of Salvador in Amado’s fiction: he still describes the city as impractical. In this section, I will argue that Amado maintains a negative view of the city but changes the reasons behind this view: instead of chaos, the problem with the city is an old order that makes Salvador into an unbearable binary. Finally, I will show how positivism informs this perspective of the city despite the fact that the novel is structured as communist propaganda.

Suor contains a variation on the usual themes of the proletarian novel – the documenting of working-class life and the promotion of revolutionary ideas – adapting them to a city that did not have a large working class at the time. Therefore, we shall take a look at the historical context and the main social groups in the city before we delve into the analysis of the novel. As previously noted, Salvador was economically stagnant in the first half of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, the city managed to maintain a very diverse social structure. There was an upper class, which was basically composed of those who dealt with cacao

⁵² Jorge Amado, *Cacau* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2010), p. 3.

throughout the process, from plantation to trading; the middle class included public sector workers and small businessmen; and a large lower class. Salvador had few blue-collar workers that could be properly described as proletarians, but there were many people performing informal and irregular services.⁵³

Life could be very difficult for the lower class at a time when labour laws were very limited.⁵⁴ The Great Crash of 1929 made the situation even worse as it resulted in great losses for the Bahian businessmen and plantation owners. Job losses exacerbated poverty and social turmoil.⁵⁵ The first strikes had been organised by proletarian and socialist movements at the end of the 1910s.⁵⁶ The strikes, initiated by the former, also attracted the latter as the communists attempted to raise the political awareness of Salvador's citizens. Notwithstanding these initiatives, of which there were few, a strong proletarian force never emerged.⁵⁷ The lumpenproletariat, however, was large. Friedrich Marx and Karl Engels describe this social group as:

the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of the old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue.⁵⁸

This 'dangerous class' could not achieve social consciousness per se from its position outside the productive process, according to Marx and Engels. In fact, as Nicholas Thoburn explains,

⁵³ Risério, *Cidade da Bahia*, pp.469-470.

⁵⁴ Dain Edward Borges, *The Family in Bahia, Brazil, 1870-1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), p. 34.

⁵⁵ Borges, p. 44.

⁵⁶ Risério, *Cidade da Bahia*, 5 Terra em Transe: A Falência das Oposições, 13 of 114.

⁵⁷ Borges, p. 34.

⁵⁸ Karl Marx, and Friedrich Engels, 'Manifesto of the Communist Party', in *Marx/Engels Selected Works, Vol. One* (Progress Publishers / Marx/Engels Internet Archive, 2004), <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/ch01.htm#007>.

the principal root for the word may be *lump* (*lumpen*, plural form) which means 'scoundrel'.⁵⁹

Marx elaborates on this concept in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon* (1852):

Decayed rogues with dubious means of subsistence and of dubious origin, ruined and adventurous offshoots of the bourgeoisie, rubbed shoulders with vagabonds, discharged soldiers, discharged jailbirds, escaped galley slaves, swindlers, mountebanks, lazzaroni, pickpockets, tricksters, gamblers, maquereaux, brothel-keepers, porters, literati, organ-grinders, ragpickers, knife grinders, tinkers, beggars [...]⁶⁰

The list of characters in *Suor* consists mainly of the lumpen. Amado drew on his life as an adolescent in Salvador to write *Suor*.⁶¹ While still in high school, Amado worked as crime reporter for a local newspaper and lived at 68 Ladeira do Pelourinho, the address of the main characters in this novel. In *Suor*, 68 Ladeira do Pelourinho is an old colonial house turned into boarding house for lower-class people. Maria de Lourdes lived in an early version of this boarding house in *O País*. *Suor* is even more fragmented than *O País* since Amado offers brief sketches of the boarding house dwellers. Some of these characters become more important and recurrent as the narrative progresses.

There is a young black stevedore called Henrique, who becomes one of the leaders of the uprising at the end of the novel. Workplace accidents influence two subplots. One of them involves Cabaça, a blue-collar worker who becomes a beggar after a work accident leaves him disabled. He sleeps near puddles of urine under the main staircase of the boarding house until the untreated sores on his injured feet degenerate into gangrene and probable death. The other accident befalls upon Joaquim, a construction worker. After his death due to the injuries sustained in the accident, his wife, a washerwoman, must take care of her six kids. Unable to pay the rent, she is evicted from the boarding house and walks the streets of wealthy districts

⁵⁹ Nicholas John Thoburn, 'The Lumpenproletariat and the Proletarian Unnameable', University of London, (2000) <http://libcom.org/library/deleuze-marx-politics-nicholas-thoburn-3>.

⁶⁰ Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1978), p. 73.

⁶¹ Luiz Gustavo de Freitas Rossi, 'O Romance da Multidão e os Fantasmas do Casarão 68', in Jorge Amado, *Suor* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2011), p. 113.

to beg for money. Finally, there is Artur, who lost both arms to a machine at the plant where he worked. Now Artur shares a flat with a sandwichman and a snake, Genoveva, which he carries along the streets to advertise products and shops with the sandwichman.⁶²

Two other residents, Linda and Risoleta, who live in the attic, are variations of Maria de Lourdes and her godmother in *O País*. Linda has been raised by Risoleta, a struggling seamstress, to marry a rich man. Linda spends her time reading romantic novels while her godmother works. When Risoleta falls ill, Linda starts working on the streets dressed as a clown to advertise a shop. Álvaro Lima, another blue-collar worker, and a veteran Polish Jewish agitator, Isaac, talk to her about their social condition and class conflict. As Linda becomes more and more socially aware, she goes on to indoctrinate the other boarding house dwellers by the end of the novel. The cast of characters also includes Julieta and Nair, two prostitutes; Severino, an old Spanish anarchist; Carlos, a dreamy musician; Toufik, a young scoundrel who mistreats his mother; Luzia, the landlady; Vera and her sister, the ‘tuberculosa’, whose ominous coughing can be heard by everyone in the boarding house.

The experiences of these characters inform the reader about the city and the social space in which they circulate. After introducing the characters in the boarding house, Amado presents the slum at its backyard, an even more claustrophobic place: ‘Dois andares com dezesseis casas’, as the landlord called these small cells, or ‘holes’. The slum dwellers call it K.T. Espero, a gloomy play on words that means ‘I’ll wait for you here’ (*Suor*, p. 67). Most of the women make a living by washing the clothes of middle- and upper-class clients on the patio of the slum. Their husbands usually work on Salvador’s docks. Occasionally, Seu Samara, the landlord, also rents the patio to immigrants who fled the drought in the Northern backlands en route to the cacao plantations in Southern Bahia. Finally, there is the mysterious

⁶² Jorge Amado, *Suor* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2011), pp. 30-31. Further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.

woman in blue, whose name and backstory are unknown to the other residents. The other characters merely cross her path as she walks up and down the boarding house's dark staircase. She always seems to have been crying but she never speaks to the other dwellers. In the end, she happily confides to Linda that she is going to marry her boss (*Suor*, p. 111).

Amado conveys the binary city through these subplots that contrast the rich and poor areas. The story of the place – 68 Ladeira do Pelourinho, which in turn represents all the buildings in the area – takes precedence over the stories of the characters. Their individual stories converge into a single plot in the last section of the novel that resolves all the individual conflicts. The atmosphere of social unrest explodes when public health officers fine Seu Samara for the precarious condition of the toilets in the attic. Seu Samara, in turn, charges the tenants, who refuse to pay. Seu Samara eventually agrees to pay the fine and his tenants realise their power to mobilise as a group: 'A escada era a única coisa que ligava os inquilinos... Hoje há outra, a solidariedade que nós despertamos', explains Isaac (*Suor*, p. 107). When the workers at the city's tram company decide to go on strike, the police conduct raids across the city to arrest the leaders of the movement. In retaliation, Álvaro Lima mobilises the residents to join the protest on Ladeira do Pelourinho. Here, individual characters become a single entity whose name is their residential address: 'Todo o 68 ali estava. Descera as escadas como um só homem' (*Suor*, p. 110). The police come from the opposite direction to disband the crowd. They shoot Álvaro Lima, who dies in Linda's arms, but the crowd walks defiantly toward the police. Sometime later, Linda, the former ingénue, walks downstairs with a pack of manifestos in her hands: she continues Álvaro Lima's work.

At first glance, we might say that Salvador is a clear binary city in the novel. Thus, I shall explore this binary to understand how the rich and poor districts are sketched out in *Suor*. Obviously, our starting point must be the main setting of the narrative, 68 Ladeira do Pelourinho. The mosaic of subplots made Luiz Gustavo Freitas Rossi call *Suor* a 'crowd

novel' in which the main character is the boarding house itself.⁶³ That is not to say that 68 Ladeira do Pelourinho is a personage in the strict sense, but it is portrayed as a living organism in the novel. Thus, *Suor* can be read as the anatomy of the boarding house whose organs, its dwellers, are dissected by the omniscient narrator. Towards the end of the novel, for instance, while the tension unfolds, Amado animises the building:

Com o calor da tarde, o prédio número 68 da Ladeira do Pelourinho parecia dormir. O seu sono era leve, porém. Qualquer mosca que pousasse sobre aquela fera de mais de mil braços a faria despertar de súbito e os seus braços inúmeros poderiam destruir, raivosos, aquele que atrapalhasse o seu sono. (*Suor*, pp. 100-101)

Later on, the boarding house 'awakes' and 'suas seiscentas bocas não demorariam a rugir' (*Suor*, p. 103). Conversely, its dwellers are objectified, especially women and homosexuals, in the hierarchy of the building. When the men do not have the money for prostitutes, they visit the boarding house's two homosexual male residents. There was another male homosexual at 55 Ladeira do Pelourinho, but 'este era propriedade do outro prédio e os homens do 68 não se metiam com ele' (*Suor*, p. 38). People become commodities and 'prédio' is a metonymical collective for its dwellers. The reference to 55 also implies that the other buildings on the street have a similar social structure, which turns 68 Ladeira do Pelourinho into a microcosm of Pelourinho, a representation of an entire area in Salvador.

With its portrayal of a miserable crowd who are subjected to hunger and sexual obsession, *Suor* follows the naturalistic novels of the nineteenth century, which sought to investigate modern society in detail. Both the theme and style of Amado's novel owe much to Aluísio Azevedo's *O Cortiço* (The Slum, 1890) in particular. Azevedo's narrative takes place in a slum in Rio de Janeiro and its main characters are its residents and the neighbours from

⁶³ Rossi, p. 112.

the surrounding area. In a famous excerpt from the novel, the slum is portrayed as a living organism that is slowly growing out of the mud:

E naquela terra encharcada e fumegante, naquela umidade quente e lodosa, começou a minhocar, a esfervilhar, a crescer, um mundo, uma coisa viva, uma geração, que parecia brotar espontânea, ali mesmo, daquele lameiro, e multiplicar-se como larvas no esterco.⁶⁴

As critics have observed, people and space ‘are inextricably linked’ in *O Cortiço*.⁶⁵ Its environment transforms the slum dwellers into animals. Like Amado, Azevedo was praised for his depiction of crowds, though this was also seen as a result of the writer’s inability to create convincing individual psychological portraits of his characters.⁶⁶ Yet, I might argue that Azevedo’s ‘panoramic view’ permits a broader analysis of place. As much as a deterministic view of these characters, *O Cortiço* offers a critique of the capitalist system that generated such an oppressive environment. The owner of the slum is a self-made businessman who does as little maintenance on the houses as possible to ensure maximum profit, not so different from Seu Samara, the landlord in *Suor*:

Apesar de o cortiço ficar um forno quando fazia sol, os habitantes preferiam os dias quentes aos de chuva. Porque a água entrava pelos buracos do zinco, alagava as casas. E o vento assobiava nas paredes de tábuas. Ficava uma imundície. Ruim com o sol, pior com a chuva. Reclamavam ao proprietário, seu Samara, que respondia:

- Onde encontrariam coisa melhor por trinta mil-réis? (*Suor*, p. 72)

Even though both novels contain a scathing critique of the capitalist system, they differ in their conclusions. Where *O Cortiço* depicts people condemned by their habitat – the verdict Amado also reaches in *O País* – *Suor* gives them the hope of transformation through

⁶⁴ Aluisio Azevedo, *O Cortiço*. electronic edn (Centaur Editions, 2012), p. 13.

⁶⁵ Sá, ‘Zola in Rio de Janeiro: The Production of Space in Aluisio Azevedo’s “O Cortiço”’, *Portuguese Studies*, 26 (2010), p. 187. See also Rossi, p. 116.

⁶⁶ Sá, ‘Zola in Rio de Janeiro’, p. 187. See also Álvaro Lins, ‘Dois Naturalistas: Aluisio Azevedo e Júlio Ribeiro’, *Jornal de Crítica*. 2a. Série (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1943), p. 149; and Lúcia Miguel-Pereira, *Prosa de Ficção (de 1870 a 1920)* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1950), p. 149. For Amado, see Rossi, p. 119.

political engagement. At the end of Azevedo's novel, the slum is burned down, its dwellers become homeless and its owner gets richer. In Amado's narrative, the boarding house dwellers take part in a failed protest, but re-organise to plan a stronger movement for next time. It is a contrast that reveals how the political situation of the country had changed since Amado's previous urban novel: the city is still oppressive but there is a possibility of transformation. In addition, what gives this place its aspect of decay is apparently not the fact that it is overwhelmed by nature but a defective socio-economic system.

The claustrophobic setting gives form to this oppressive order. Pelourinho, the old colonial area, is made up of numerous buildings like the main setting in *Suor*. The narrator observes that the women at 68 Ladeira do Pelourinho 'e de outros sobrados iguais [...] representam bem a humanidade proletária que se move nas ladeiras e ruas escuras' (*Suor*, p. 95). It is dark inside the houses as well, with 'quartos sem eletricidade' as well as its corridors (*Suor*, pp. 7, 8). The tenants in the boarding house have to resort to candles as if they are still living in centuries gone by. Outside the buildings, the dark, narrow alleys represent levels of decline. The boarding house is located in the middle of a hilly street, Ladeira do Pelourinho, which turns into other hilly streets on the way to the Cidade Baixa and Baixa dos Sapateiros. Each of these 'ladeiras' represents a descent towards death. Dulce, a middle-aged prostitute, arrived at 68 'decadente da rua de Baixo' (*Suor*, p. 73). Rua de Baixo refers to Maciel de Baixo Street, which starts near Terreiro de Jesus and runs parallel to Ladeira do Pelourinho, and the two converge at Pelourinho Square, the exact location of the boarding house. Her ruin literally pushes her downhill. The boarding house, as I mentioned, is only the mid-point in her fall:

Nem sempre arranjava homem, estava atrasada no pagamento e se preparava para a mudança. Descia de uma vez duas ladeiras, a do Pelourinho e a do Tabuão, onde ficava a sua nova casa. A ladeira do Tabuão era a última etapa. Dali, ou o necrotério ou o hospital. (*Suor*, p. 73)

Pelourinho's streets turn into a visual translation of the characters' worsening social situation. Dulce is not the only character in Pelourinho who is afraid of being taken to the hospital. All the boarding house tenants fear the ambulance from Assistência: 'Quando ela descia a ladeira era para levar um deles, que dificilmente voltava' (*Suor*, p. 44). In *Suor*, the dark, narrow streets of Pelourinho form the map of a descent into hell. Ironically, the ambulance, which is supposed to give hope of life, signals death, like an updated version of Charon's boat that comes to the area to pick the soon-to-be deceased. *Suor* gives this image a truly physical translation. As one walks past Ladeira do Pelourinho on their way to Cidade Baixa, the streets become narrower and darker. The claustrophobic appearance of Pelourinho is replicated within its colonial buildings. The apartments in 68 Ladeira do Pelourinho are 'abafados' (*Suor*, p. 67). This condition is certainly exacerbated by the dimensions of these apartments:

Dentro dos quartos outros quartos se fizeram, com paredes de tábuas, nem sempre muito juntas, os buracos tapados por bolos de papel ou de pano. A espanhola que alugara o quarto andar transformara os vinte quartos e três salas em quarenta e nove apartamentos que lhe rendiam bom dinheiro. (*Suor*, p. 21)

The boarding house, like the other buildings in the area, was once the residence of rich people: 'um velho sobrado como os outros, apertado na Ladeira do Pelourinho, colonial, ostentando azulejos raros' (*Suor*, p. 8). The rich have moved away from the city centre to the districts that we shall examine further on. The colonial houses became remnants that are now re-used to profit as much as possible from the poor. Thus, the houses are divided into ever-smaller apartments that resemble a 'hole', as one character puts it (*Suor*, p. 67). These small, identical apartments are more than 'buracos'; they resemble cells and Pelourinho is a large prison. Amado uses the word 'buraco' with different meanings throughout the novel, but all these uses convey a sense of being trapped. Most tenants do not have windows, just holes in

the wall through which they can see outside: ‘Chegou ao buraco do quarto e ficou olhando os telhados negros da cidade anciã’ (*Suor*, p. 59). The ‘old city’ is the only view that is on offer to these people, as if to underscore the fact that they are trapped in the colonial area of a city where the old colonial order is very much alive, as we will see in the next section.

The characters perceive Pelourinho as a prison, in opposition to the other areas of the city: ‘Lá fora, havia outra vida. A vida dos grandes automóveis e dos belos vestidos’ (*Suor*, p. 44). ‘Lá fora’ enhances the perception that these characters are confined within the walls of number 68. *Suor* conveys this suggestion of Pelourinho as a prison from its inception. It was reportedly inspired by Kurt Kläber’s 1927 novel, *Passagiere der Dritten Klasse* (Third-Class Passengers).⁶⁷ This German novel follows the woes of émigrés from different countries and backgrounds returning to Germany from the United States of America on board a ship. The claustrophobic setting enhances their collective drama: people confined to successive abstract spaces that were created by capitalist order. The lumpen characters of *Suor* feel trapped in Pelourinho. Thus, ‘outside life’ does not refer to Pelourinho streets but to the wealthier districts of the city where the residences are comfortable and breezier: ‘Numa casa da Barra, palacete com mangueiras na frente e bancos sob a sombra’ (*Suor*, p. 53). Two elements in the description contrast sharply with dark, narrow Pelourinho: nature and shade. The Pelourinho neighbourhood has no trees or plants. There is no space for that except for a small patch on the patio of 68: ‘Havia ainda um capinzal, que chamavam generosamente de quintal, onde uma pimenteira dominava solitária’ (*Suor*, p. 68). The patio doubles as the washerwomen’s workplace while the palm trees with benches underneath in the Barra property provide a place for rest. Whereas Pelourinho is dark and suffocating, Barra properties provide shade and the breeze that comes from the sea nearby. In other modern residences of the rich close to the city centre, new practices increase the segregation of the poor:

⁶⁷ Raillard, p.50.

Elevavam-se, no centro da cidade, novas casas de apartamentos, arranha-céus de dez andares que humilhavam os sobrados coloniais, mas os arranha-céus possuíam um porteiro fardado de roupa azul com botões de general que não permitia sequer que os mendigos se aproximassem da porta de entrada para recolher um níquel. (*Suor*, p. 76)

The rich have moved to modern buildings behind gates – a more effective form of segregation. Their old colonial houses have been recycled for the poor, who only ever enter these wealthy areas as workers: ‘Ele trabalhava no Garcia, era ajudante de pedreiro. Távamos fazendo um sobrado para um doutor que queria o serviço ligeiro’ (*Suor*, p. 51). Garcia, as noted in the analysis of *O País*, is an area where wealthy people built country houses, which seems rural but is close to the city centre. *Suor* establishes the binary city – rich versus poor – in very broad strokes through the characteristics of the districts.

The contrast between rich and poor areas of Salvador, in turn, reinforces the animalisation of the lumpen characters. To the rich in the novel, Salvador is a jungle filled with animals and disease from which they protect themselves by hiding in their properties. These wealthy citizens are not part of the crowd and they certainly do not mix with the crowd: they do not walk the streets and they do not have to dream of a better place; in an inversion of the situation faced by the poor, they are free inside their homes whereas the poor are constrained on the streets. Wealthy people in *Suor* appear behind the gates of their properties.

The plight of Joaquim’s widow illustrates this dynamic. Her husband died after an accident during the construction of the aforementioned upper-class house in Garcia – the same neighbourhood in which Rigger’s mother lives in *O País*. His widow is forced to beg for money on the streets of the rich districts to survive. When she arrives at the gates of a mansion in Barra, she never manages to contact its upper-class residents directly. Rather, the chauffeur and the maid act as go-betweens. Later, a car comes out of the gates and the couple

interact with Joaquim's widow through the window of the car, shooing her away with the help of their driver (*Suor*, pp. 54-55). Here, Amado displays the naturalist metaphor of the poor as beasts that is hammered home throughout the novel: the poor are less than human in a city that resembles a colonial farm. Even contact with these modern slaves is threatening to the rich people in the manner that animals might be. When the owner of the Barra mansion picks up the note that Joaquim's widow had handed to the maid, his wife warns: 'Solta esse papel, Jerônimo! Deve estar cheio de micróbios...' (*Suor*, p. 53). Like animals, the poor are the potential carriers of disease, so they must be kept at a distance, outside the gates. In this sense, every street in the city turns into a prison for the poor. Now that we have analysed the construction of the binary city in the novel, I shall observe how space illustrates the old order of Salvador and serves the propaganda of a new order.

Down with the colonial city

The 'cidade anciã' that is referred to in the narrative signals a historical order that serves the political propaganda in the novel. Despite his familiarity with Pelourinho, Amado could have set his novel in the suburbs of Salvador, such as the 'longínqua Cidade de Palha', a distant favela where one beggar lives (*Suor*, p. 76). However, Pelourinho has a deeper historical connotation, as we noted in the Introduction. The present social order in Salvador is portrayed as a continuation of the old colonial order, an analogy that is stressed by Pelourinho's own history:

[...] no centro da ladeira empedrada, ficava o Pelourinho, montado pelos colonizadores portugueses. Hoje, o pelourinho desaparecera, mas a ladeira que lhe tomara o nome era como um pelourinho também (*Suor*, p. 60).

As Eduardo de Assis Duarte notes, Pelourinho is a space of concrete historicity.⁶⁸ The current capitalist system of Salvador merely perpetuates the old colonial system.⁶⁹ In *O País*, carnivalesque chaos and the influence of nature were responsible for Salvador's unviability; the ever-present past is the culprit in *Suor*. The rich people in Garcia and Barra have other poor people, their servants and maids, to enforce order, like the old foremen and slave drivers on colonial plantations. Many of those foremen and drivers were also slaves, or else freed slaves and mulattos.⁷⁰ Amado makes this reference explicit in the novel in a dialogue between the baiana who sells typical food in front of the boarding house and the stevedore Henrique:

- Negro é escravo. Negro não briga com branco. Branco é senhor dele. Eu soube de um negro que quis brigar com um branco. Foi há muito tempo...

- O negro é liberto, tia.

- Eu sei. Foi a Princesa Isabel, no tempo do Imperador. Mas negro continua a respeitar o branco [...] Você sabe qual é a coisa mais melhor do mundo?

- Qual é, minha tia?

[...]

- Não sabe o que é? É cavalo. Se não fosse cavalo, branco montava em negro... (*Suor*, p. 29)

However, the intended binary for the city is that of rich versus poor, so the novel turns the historical racial issue into class conflict for the twentieth century. Rich students, whose grandparents had been black slaves, now have their own 'escravos pretos, mulatos e brancos, nas extensões das fazendas de fumo, de cacau, de gado ou nos alambiques de cachaça' (*Suor*, p. 27). Two generations share the same space but experience different versions of the same reality.

⁶⁸ Duarte, p. 63.

⁶⁹ Rossi, p. 118.

⁷⁰ Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia 1550-1835* (Cambridge: CUP, 1985), p. 319.

This interpretation of Salvador – a place that perpetuates the old system of slavery – allows for a historical reading of the ‘telhados negros da cidade anciã’ in the novel. The phrase suggests not only an old and tired city but also one that is identified with those black African slaves from its past. The modern slaves in Pelourinho are from different ethnicities and ‘passavam vida apertada, sem pão, sem trabalho’ (*Suor*, p. 59). Amado animises the historic city centre as a metaphor of their plight: ‘As ladeiras eram os braços esticados para o céu’ (*Suor*, p. 59). The old city suffers and begs for mercy with its hilly streets. The rich districts contrast with this slave city as a master’s house was opposed to the slave quarters in colonial plantations. We have already seen how Pelourinho resembles a prison: its residents are trapped not only in a claustrophobic place but also in a collapsed order that never goes away. The setting could not be more fitting for these modern slave quarters: the historical city centre is the area that retains most of its colonial architectural features in Salvador. Thus, Amado embeds in space the binary rich versus poor through the perspective of historical materialism.

As part of the colonial order of the city, churches and Catholicism contribute to the further alienation of the city centre dwellers. Amado’s treatment of religion in the novel conforms to Marxism. Besides calling religion the ‘opium of the people’ and the ‘soul of soulless conditions’, Marx argued that religion brings ‘illusory happiness’.⁷¹ One of the chapters in the novel, ‘Religião’ is dedicated to demystifying religion. Risoleta, who can barely make ends meet, receives a letter from a priest requesting donations for the construction of his church (*Suor*, p. 45). Later, Linda’s increasing social awareness is signalled by her abandonment of religious practices and beliefs: ‘Nunca mais Linda sonhou com casamentos. Nunca mais foi à igreja’ (*Suor*, p. 65).

⁷¹ Karl Marx, J. O’Malley, and A. Jolin, *Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970, 1982), p. 131.

The binary city invites an uprising of the oppressed whilst, at the same time, frustrating such a possibility. The outline of this binary leads to the communist message of the novel, which is voiced by proletarian activist Álvaro Lima: ‘É preciso que nos unamos para nos defender... Para a revolução dos operários [...] para acabar com as explorações[...] Fazer um governo de operários e camponeses...’ (*Suor*, p. 52). Since Salvador was not a developing industrialised city at that time, Lima’s speech is addressed to the mostly lumpen population of the boarding house: along with blue-collar workers and soldiers, ‘mascates, ladrões, prostitutas, costureiras, carregadores’ (*Suor*, p. 8). The lumpen join the crowd that takes to the streets of Pelourinho to support the tram workers’ strike at the end of the novel. However, as an almost enclosed space, Pelourinho also condemns the protest to failure:

Homens e mulheres se juntaram à multidão que enchia a ladeira do Pelourinho para protestar contra a prisão dos operários. [...] Os investigadores vinham do Terreiro, subiam da Baixa dos Sapateiros. A primeira bala se perdeu entre as pedras da rua. A multidão não fugiu. A segunda derrubou a surda-muda, que soltou um som horroroso de maldição. (*Suor*, p. 110)

Even though it is implied that the crowd did not run away from the police in an act of defiance, those people actually had no option because the police cornered them from the front (Terreiro de Jesus) and from behind (Baixa dos Sapateiros), blocking the two routes out of Pelourinho. As a prison-like space, the area is conducive to the repression of any riot. In view of this, the ‘colonial city’ becomes more than an ideological aspect of Salvador in the novel; it is a spatial condition. As seen in the Introduction, the old Salvador was conceived as a fortress city. Pelourinho is behind the walls. The original conceptualisation of Salvador as a fortress reinforces the perception of the old city as a prison in the novel now that the rich have moved to newer districts. These facts allow for a literal reading of the following scene involving Severino, an anarchist Spanish shoemaker, who lives in the boarding house with his cat, Zug:

Depois da refeição, Severino acendia a vela e abria a brochura. Era um folheto de propaganda anarquista. Lia até que a luz da vela começava a murchar e o toco terminava.

Então pegava o gato e levava-o para o pequeno buraco que servia de janela. Olhava a cidade colonial.

- Zug, é preciso destruir tudo isso. Tudo está errado. (*Suor*, p. 12)

Thus, Salvador remains an unviable type of urban space: it is fractured and inhumane. However, *Suor* differs from *O País* in that it poses a solution to the problematic city. The previous novel rendered the concept of a modern city in the tropics impossible. *Suor* offers an alternative. Severino's comment reveals the novel's main idea. The ever-present past of the colonial city oppresses its people. The poor may overturn the old order of the city by destroying urban space itself. Thus, Salvador may only thrive if it is rid of all its ties to the past, its entire urban identity, as it is. It is the solution of a proletarian novel, which preaches the rise of social awareness. As such, it echoes the ending of Mike Gold's *Jews without Gold* (1930), an American novel whose themes also inspired Amado's social realist works.⁷² Gold's novel ends with the main character praying to the 'Revolution' as his new god: 'O workers' Revolution, you brought hope to me, a lonely, suicidal boy. You are the true Messiah. You will destroy the East Side when you come, and build there a garden for the human spirit.'⁷³ Whereas the destruction in Gold's novel is metaphorical, it must be literal in *Suor*. In a way, this is a return to eighteenth century Enlightenment, which, as Simmel reminds us, 'called upon man to free himself of all the historical bonds in the state and in religion, in morals and in economics'.⁷⁴ The proposed solution for the binary city in *Suor* also contains the destructive impetus of modernity in its constant process of transforming social spaces. However, the depiction of the binary city in the novel paradoxically reinforces the

⁷² Raillard, p. 51.

⁷³ Michael Gold, and Howard Simon, *Jews without Money* (New York: Horace Liveright, 1930), p. 309.

⁷⁴ Simmel, p. 409.

positivist view from the previous novel and makes the communist solution problematic, as we shall see next.

Beasts by nature

As we have seen, the basic binary of Salvador in *Suor* places the haves to the have-nots in opposition in order to expose the conditions in which the poor are kept in decaying areas of the city. By highlighting the mechanisms of oppression, especially in the historical city centre, the novel also reveals a deterministic bias. The prime example of this may be found in the description of the poor's favourite entertainment, the film sessions at the local cinema: 'o Olímpia na Baixa dos Sapateiros, onde, de mistura com filmes falados, pasavam películas velhíssimas' (*Suor*, p. 41). At first, the scenes in the Olímpia follow the guidelines of a proletarian novel, with the poor consuming the leftovers of a ruthless capitalist society. The cinema itself seems to have been designed to confirm the animal-like living conditions of the poor: 'Outra pessoa qualquer sentiria os percevejos, as pulgas, o calor, o suor, a catinga do cinema. Elas, não. Tinham tudo isso no 68 e estavam acostumadas' (*Suor*, p. 43). The female audience in the cinema only knows this suffocating world in opposition to the 'life outside' Pelourinho. Constant heat and filth lead to conformity, which is enhanced by the alienating entertainment that the cinema provides: 'As mulheres riam, esquecidas de que na última semana tinham rido da mesma comédia' (*Suor*, p. 43). They are pleased with their regular dose of excitement, just enough to forget 'real' life. The excerpt above perfectly illustrates Theodor Adorno's view of popular cinema: 'The laughter of a cinema audience [...] is anything but salutary and revolutionary; it is full of the worst bourgeois sadism instead.'⁷⁵ The male audience prefers Manichean old westerns and film serials in which

⁷⁵ Henri Lonitz, ed., *Adorno-Benjamin: The Complete Correspondences 1928-1940* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), p. 130.

invariably, ‘o rapazinho surrava o bandido na conquista da mocinha e do ouro do Oeste americano’ (*Suor*, p. 40). When the novel portrays the lower-class audience of these films as brainwashed children, though, the theme of mass alienation gives way to race:

Acompanhavam as fitas em série, comentando trechos, discutindo passagens.

A imaginação dos trabalhadores, especialmente a dos negros, aceitava sem reclamar, nem analisar, as aventuras loucas, as fugas do real do filme em série. (*Suor*, p. 41)

The stress on blacks in this quote evidences how much determinist ideas still influenced Amado. Further on in the chapter, he elaborates: ‘Quando as crianças brancas já duvidavam daqueles excessos de força e coincidências exageradas, os negros adultos sorriam crédulos [...]’ (*Suor*, p. 41). In keeping with the Marxist reading, this quote implies that poor access to education in Salvador might be the reason behind the black people’s lack of critical judgment. At the same time, the emphasis on blacks betrays a biological component – I dare say a Spencerian component – in Amado’s thought process. As a result, it problematises Amado’s claim throughout the novel that the issue of race is, above all, a class problem. Yet, it is also true that the appalling social conditions of the blacks after the abolition of slavery made their situation worse than that of poor whites.⁷⁶ Given the background information that *Suor* provides about Pelourinho’s past, though, the novel seems to be suggesting that, as an ethnic group, blacks behave like this by nature. This is not an isolated inference in *Suor*. The narrator also singles out the behaviour of black men, as opposed to all the others, towards women:

Os homens ficavam quase sempre brutos quando faltava mulher. Pegavam negrinhas a muque e se satisfaziam. [...] Os pretos, porém, continuavam delicados e até líricos. (*Suor*, p. 40).

⁷⁶ Skidmore, *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (London: Duke University Press, 1993), p. 47.

Suor presents a pattern of attributing innate psychological characteristics to human groups that echoes *O País*. Besides this, the naturalistic style challenges the communist propaganda because *Suor* inadvertently reprises the argument that the environment decisively shapes human behaviour, as seen in *O País*. Sweat and heat function as the main motif of the narrative. The scorching tropical sun seems to influence the characters' moods and behaviour:

O mormaço doía como socos de mãos ossudas. Invadia o sótão e as pessoas. Linda se estirou na cama, abrindo as pernas. Uma vontade mole de coisas desconhecidas tomava conta dela. [...] O sol, como um deus, estava invisível e presente. (*Suor*, p. 11)

Like a god, the sun interferes with the lives of the characters through the environment around them. The excerpt above reads like an illustration of Amado's preamble to *O País* in which he argues that the Brazilian land is generating a 'lazy race': 'E todo dia a natureza surra, com o chicote do sol, o nortista tragicamente vencido' (*O País*, p. 11). Thus, man-made space combines with Salvador's climate to produce passiveness and general conformity. People, such as a fallen prostitute from 68 Ladeira do Pelourinho, find no reason to question their social condition: 'Não tinha culpa nenhuma. Era o que tinham feito dela. Procurou no seu ser um gesto de revolta e, como não o encontrasse, atirou-se na cama para dormir' (*Suor*, p. 20). Tropical heat and humidity enhance people's animalesque behaviour in the decaying colonial buildings. Toufik is an example of this pattern: 'Quando ficou nu, sentiu o calor e o mau cheiro. Aproximou o nariz do sovaco e riu largamente' (*Suor*, p. 18). In Amado's naturalistic style, the poor's animal practices become regular behaviour, as he describes common events in the boarding house:

Um mundo fétido, sem higiene e sem moral, com ratos, palavrões e gente. [...] Bebiam cachaça na venda do Fernandes, onde, por vezes, mijavam. (*Suor*, p. 8)

No corredor, homens mijavam e cachorros e gatos cagavam (*Suor*, p. 67).

Living among their own bodily fluids and behaving like animals, Pelourinho dwellers do not become aware of their social condition through the political message of Álvaro Lima, as the novel might imply. According to the narrator, the toilet incident motivates the boarding house dwellers to act ‘em conjunto como se os inquilinos fossem unicamente peças de uma máquina’ (*Suor*, p. 108). Yet, what follows is a description of the strike preparations with no mention of the tenants. They confronted their landlord and the authorities during the toilet incident because they were cornered and enraged – it was a reflex instead of a conscious act of defiance. Moreover, as we have seen, the novel reinforces this characterisation by referring to the tenants as beasts who are about to roar. Their participation in the actual strike has no political motivation: ‘Talvez fosse o sabor da novidade que fizesse o 68 se precipitar pela escada esmagando os ratos que fugiam espantados’ (*Suor*, p. 110). They join the protest out of curiosity, not out of indoctrination. Their reaction to the police in the middle of the crowd resembles crowd behaviour or – if we follow the rationale of the novel – the behaviour of cornered animals. Therefore, the deterministic bias of the novel undermines the message of change through the rise of awareness. Amado continues to interpret Salvador as a city whose existence is impossible. Its poor citizens are portrayed as incapable of transformation in an environment where both natural and human factors ‘punish’ them. The binary environment that the novel presents reveals a positivist conception of space once again.

Salvador in *Suor* differs from the city in *O País* because it is constructed under a clear order. This order has historical roots rather than being influenced by the natural environment. Although both novels consider Salvador as a city in decay, they reach this conclusion through different means. In *O País*, space is represented as the product of carnivalesque chaos and negative ‘tropical influence’ that conflicts with a Eurocentric idea of modernity. In *Suor*, Salvador is the product of a colonial order that never disappeared. The novel acknowledges

the existence of an original conceptualisation of space that makes the city an oppressive binary. The characters fight for an implied outcome that is based on different spatial practices, a communist utopia that might universalise access to the urban space. Nevertheless, the desired outcome in both novels is the same, a modern city that is based on a Eurocentric model. Moreover, the perception of Salvador is guided by a positivist bias even in *Suor*: no matter what the implied outcome might be, the environment has a disproportionate influence on the shortcomings of the city and its inhabitants. Thus, all the current features of the city must be destroyed if a modern city is to be built. By analysing the city construct in these novels, we were able to understand how *O País* and *Suor* have many similarities despite their apparently different underlying ideologies. As Amado's political activities intensify in the mid-1930s, he takes a more realist approach to his fiction. In the next chapter, we shall see whether his perception of Salvador changes in his following novels.

CHAPTER 2

Brave New City: Towards the Communist Ideal in *Jubiabá* and *Capitães da Areia*

Cantai esse verso puro,
 que se ouvirá no Amazonas,
 na choça do sertanejo
 e no subúrbio carioca,
 no mato, na vila X,
 no colégio, na oficina,
 território de homens livres
 que será nosso país
 e será pátria de todos.

Carlos Drummond de Andrade¹

Ah, Jorge! Como eram bons aqueles velhos tempos, como
 acreditávamos que um dia tudo ia mudar. Mas vai mudar
 mesmo, meu amigo.

Oscar Niemeyer²

In the mid-1930s, a group of left-wing intellectuals, politicians and ‘tenentes’ – members of the Armed Forces who fought in the 1930 Revolution – who were dissatisfied with the Vargas government, founded the Aliança Nacional Libertadora (ANL). The ANL’s main objective was the formation of a strong opposition to the growing influence of fascism in Brazil. The Brazilian Communist Party (PCB) was one of the organisers of the ANL. Following the recommendation of the Third Communist International, PCB had been seeking

¹ Carlos Drummond de Andrade, ‘Cidade Prevista’, in *A Rosa do Povo* (Companhia das Letras: São Paulo, 2012), p. 91.

² Quoted in *Cadernos de Literatura Brasileira: Jorge Amado*, ed. by Rinaldo Gama (São Paulo: Instituto Moreira Salles, 1997), p. 40.

ways to garner support among the masses for their cause.³ One of their chosen strategies to achieve this was based on the promotion of popular culture. Two ANL initiatives proved to be the adequate venues for this: the Liga de Defesa Popular and Clube de Cultura Moderna, which organised popular culture events in Brazil. As Ana Lúcia Neves Ramos explains, their goal was:

a assimilação da herança cultural, e a posição exigida era que o tratamento a essa temática deveria ser progressista no interior das lutas políticas e sociais da época, em estreita ligação com o povo e com os seus problemas.⁴

It was in this context that Amado took part in the 1934 Congresso Afro-Brasileiro in Recife, along with other communist intellectuals. The congress had been co-organised by Gilberto Freyre, the author of *Casa Grande e Senzala*. The organisers' manifesto stated that they intended to collaborate with all political factions 'na busca do desenvolvimento material e moral do Nordeste'.⁵ Amado presented a work about his research on cordel literature, popular chapbooks that were sold on the streets of Salvador. This interest in popular storytelling traditions greatly influenced Amado's subsequent Salvador novels: *Jubiabá* (1935), *Mar Morto* (1936), and *Capitães da Areia* (1937), which form a socialist realist trilogy about the city. A more conventional realist storytelling, which was also full of popular culture elements, replaced the fragmented narratives of *Suor* and *O País* to make the novels appealing to the lower classes.⁶ As Eduardo de Assis Duarte explains, this dialogue with

³ Matheus de Mesquita e Pontes, 'Jorge Amado e a Literatura de Combate: da Literatura Engajada à Literatura Militante de Partido', *REVELLI*, 1 (Oct 2009), p. 152.

⁴ Ana Rosa Neves Ramos, 'Desigualdade e Exclusão em Jubiabá', in *Colóquio Jorge Amado: 70 Anos de Jubiabá*, ed. by Myriam Fraga (Salvador, Bahia: Fundação Casa de Jorge Amado, 2005), p. 63.

⁵ Ramos, p. 63.

⁶ Ramos, p. 66. Bobby Chamberlain describes this shift as a departure from 'neonaturalistic sordidness' towards a lyrical style which 'served to reinforce the narrow documentary aspect of his fiction, rendering it more palatable and persuasive. In Chamberlain, *Jorge Amado*, pp. 17-18.

narrative tradition closely follows the ‘tendência marxista de dialetizar a herança cultural, tanto burguesa quanto popular’.⁷

In this chapter, I will argue that Amado further develops the fictional Salvador conceived in *Suor*: in *Jubiabá* and *Capitães*, he not only presents a more nuanced binary city but he also lays the foundation for an idealised communist city. I will demonstrate this by analysing the city binaries and comparing these novels to Brazilian and Soviet works of the period. In addition, the depiction of Salvador’s cultural traditions brings Afro-Brazilian culture to the forefront of these narratives. Does it contribute to the construction of Amado’s communist city or stand in the way of his new order? Does the implicit outcome, that is, the ideal communist city, still depend on the total destruction of the old city as it appeared in *Suor*? As we will see, the city construct in *Jubiabá* and *Capitães* is more complex than that of Salvador in the novels studied in Chapter 1. At the same time, Amado has a clearer new order in mind here. Thus, it is necessary to examine the features of the communist ideal to better understand the contrast and conflict between the perceived city and the conceptualisation of space under a new order in the novels.

The 1917 Russian revolution and the Soviet Party stemmed from the interpretation of ideas by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the nineteenth century. The aim of a socialist revolution was the construction of a better, more egalitarian society but Karl Marx himself refused to be called a utopian. He feared comparisons to the utopian socialists who had devised fantastical systems before him, like Henri Saint-Simon (1760-1825), Robert Owen (1771-1858) or Charles Fourier (1772-1858).⁸ Owen, for instance, believed in determinism; he saw social transformation ‘in terms of a simple dualism’: the ‘bad present’ versus ‘the new

⁷ Duarte, p. 76.

⁸ Bertell Ollman, ‘Marx’s Vision of Communism: a Reconstruction’, *Critique: Journal of Socialist Theory*, 8:1, (1977), p. 8.

world of the future' that would be made possible under his knowledgeable supervision.⁹ Despite Marx's caution, utopia has alternately been both a propelling force and an undesired shadow in the history of socialism. After all, the whole concept of socialism implies the construction of a new and improved society.

The first socialists were inspired by the ideas of the French Revolution to create places which both reflected the anxiety of their times and registered fanciful flights of their author's own imagination. These utopias were detailed accounts of futuristic cities, in the vein of Thomas More's *Utopia* or Campanella's *The City of the Sun*. Among these early socialist utopians, one of the most influential was the French philosopher Charles Fourier (1772-1837). In true utopian style, Fourierist utopia was based on a place called the Phalanx, 'a predominantly agricultural community (he disliked industrial manufacturing) of approximately 1600 people'.¹⁰ Even in the early nineteenth century, though, utopia had already acquired the popular meaning of an unattainable perfect-place project and Fourier himself refused the utopian label.¹¹ Yet, many of his ideas would influence later socialist theoreticians. Walter Benjamin argues, for instance, that the institution of labour which is rooted in play rather than in exploitation is 'one of the great merits of Fourier'.¹² Marx and Engels built on the idea of abolishing exploitation to create the architecture of their own socialist utopia. Fourier believed that the main problem with the society of the day was that it made people conceal their instincts and passions. Roland Barthes summarises Fourier's basic idea for a future world: 'Thus the world must be remade for my pleasure: my pleasure will be

⁹ Vincent Geoghegan, *Utopianism and Marxism* (London: Methuen, 1987), p. 14.

¹⁰ Geoghegan, p. 20.

¹¹ Quoted in M.C. Spencer, *Charles Fourier* (Boston: Twayne, 1981), p. 126.

¹² Walter Benjamin, ed., *The Arcades Project*. trans. Howard Eiland, and Kevin McLaughlin. ed. by Rolf Tiedemann (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 361.

simultaneously the ends and the means: in organizing it, in distributing it, I shall overwhelm it.¹³

The basic premise behind Marxist socialism is similar to Fourier's: to each his own. In Fourier's view, a better life meant that people's functions should match their passions.¹⁴ Therefore, a new society could be built on the fulfilling of people's aspirations. A harmonious society in this utopian world would arise, not out of egalitarianism, but out of happiness. This is where Marx and Fourier disagree: work was playful for Fourier, but not for Marx. To build his socialist ideas, Marx distanced himself from such idealistic visions by rooting his view of socialism in history, economics and social sciences in general. The aspiration to science became generalised with the technological advances of the nineteenth century. Any speculation about the future such as Owen's or Fourier's 'was viewed as somehow arbitrary and abstract, against the "laws and fact" spirit of the age'.¹⁵ In spite of all his concerns, as Henri Lefèbvre remarks, Marx, similarly to Fourier, 'desired and projected the new life' even if 'he was careful not to prophesy'.¹⁶ Yet, Marx proposes the substitution of a new socio-political and economic system for the current ones, a process that is utopian in itself inasmuch as the new system is supposed to be a perfected version of human society. In a comprehensive article, Bertell Ollman demonstrated that utopian traits are widespread in the works of Marx.¹⁷ Thus, in his 'Critique of the Gotha Program' (1875), Marx describes the transition period between the old order and the communist society:

Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political

¹³ Roland Barthes, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola*, transl. by Richard Miller, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), p. 79.

¹⁴ Geoghegan, p. 19.

¹⁵ Geoghegan, p. 35.

¹⁶ Lefèbvre, *Introduction to Modernity: Twelve Preludes*, transl. by John Moore, (London: Verso, 2011), p. 69.

¹⁷ Ollman, pp. 4-41.

transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.¹⁸

Later, he adds that in a ‘higher phase of communist society’:

after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labour, and therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished; after labour has become not only a means of life but life’s prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly—only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!¹⁹

It simply follows on from what Marx had outlined in *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* in 1848: ‘we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all’.²⁰ Unlike Marx, Engels acknowledged similarities between their work and that of utopian socialists Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen.²¹ In his *Anti-Dühring* (1877), Engels wrote:

The utopians were already perfectly clear in their minds as to the effects of the division of labour, the stunting on the one hand of the labourer, and on the other of the labour function, which is restricted to the lifelong uniform mechanical repetition of one and the same operation.²²

The connection between utopia and Marxism was never stronger than in the immediate pre- and post-revolutionary Russia. Literary communist utopias had been very popular in Russia since the end of the nineteenth century. They gained momentum once again when Stalin launched the first Five-Year Plan with staggering results: the exponential growth

¹⁸ Karl Marx, ‘Critique of the Gotha Program’, *Selected Writings*, ed. by David McLellan, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 611.

¹⁹ Marx, ‘Gotha Program’, p. 615.

²⁰ Marx, *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*, ed. by Frederick Engels, (New York: New York Labor News Co., 1908), p. 46.

²¹ Friedrich Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1975), p. 54. See also Geoghegan, p. 30.

²² Engels, ‘Anti-Dühring Part III: Socialism’, in Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels, *Collected Works vol. 25: Anti-Dühring and Dialectics of Nature* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1987), p. 278.

of the Soviet proletariat and the re-positioning of the Soviet Union as a leading industrial power.²³ Under Stalin's leadership, the Party seemed infallible. Soon, literary utopias were reflecting what seemed to be a utopian reality.²⁴

The topics of these literary works ranged from the utopia construction process, with its trials and errors, to the traditional depiction of a utopian society, now under Marxist-Leninist guidelines. Andrei Platonov ventured into urban utopian imagery with the unfinished novel *Schastlivaia Moskva* (Happy Moscow, 1932-1936), to depict Moscow as a modern capital to the point of utopia.²⁵ At the same time, *Happy Moscow* was a biting satire of the building of a communist utopia. Another Platonov novel, *Chevengur* (1926-1929), presented a group of eccentric revolutionaries who aspire to implement communism in the town of the novel's title, but their experiment ultimately goes wrong. Even though *Happy Moscow* and *Chevengur* were only published many years later, they share the anxieties of the period as well as the influence of Dostoevsky's use of irony.²⁶ The nineteenth-century Russian author had already attempted a dialogue between utopia and anti-utopia in his *Dnevnik pisatelya* (Diary of a Writer, 1873-1881).²⁷ In addition, Dostoevsky used his *Zapiski iz Podpol'ya* (Notes from Underground, 1864) to debunk the utopian ideas put forward by Nikolai Chernyshevsky in *What Is To Be Done?* (1863).

Meanwhile, there was another type of literary utopia, which represented the future of communism with optimism. This trend may have started with Alexander Bogdanov's *Krasnaya Zvezda* (Red Star, 1908). In this utopian science fiction novel, Bogdanov, a trained physician and a scientist, narrated the voyage of a Bolshevik to Mars to witness the inner

²³ Lynn Hunt, Thomas R. Martin, Barbara H. Rosenwein, Bonnie G. Smith, *The Making of the West: A Concise History, Volume II: Since 1340*, (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2010), pp. 831-832.

²⁴ Philip Ross Bullock, 'Utopia and the Novel after the Revolution', in *The Cambridge Companion to Twentieth-Century Russian Literature*, ed. by E. A. Dobrenko and Marina Balina (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 80.

²⁵ Bullock, p. 81. See also Bullock, 'Andrei Platonov's *Happy Moscow*: Stalinist Kitsch and Ethical Decadence', in *The Modern Language Review*, vol. 101, n. 1, (Jan 2006), p. 201.

²⁶ Bullock, 'Utopia and the Novel after the Revolution', p. 82.

²⁷ Aileen Kelly, 'Irony and Utopia in Herzen and Dostoevsky: From the Other Shore and Diary of a Writer', *Russian Review*, 50 (1991), pp. 397-398.

workings of a perfect communist society. *Red Star* was published to immense acclaim and a legion of admirers that only grew with time. During the debates over the results of the first Five-year Plan, one of the plan's engineers referred to 'Bogdanov's great canal projects on Mars.' Moreover, a city planner, L. M. Sabsovich, compared the plan 'to the "great projects" of *Red Star*.'²⁸ In the 1920s, Bogdanov's work sparked many fantastical tales of communist utopia, including Innokenty Zhukov's *Voyage of the Red Star Detachment to the Land of Marvels* (1924), where the locus of communist wonders was Earth in the year 1957, a more developed version of the current socialist society rather than a community in a world apart.²⁹

Amado was familiar with some of these works. Publishing houses like Editorial Pax had been releasing works of contemporary Russian literature in Brazil in the 1930s.³⁰ Socialist realism was part of Stalin's strategy to create a Soviet mythology that would intensively promote utopianism. As a member of the Communist Party, Amado followed closely – even if not consciously – the principles that the Russian Association of Proletarian Writers (RAPP, in the Russian original) had established under Stalin's direction. By the mid-1930s, he had dropped the fragmented style of *Suor* in favour of a more traditional realist narrative to make the ideological message of *Jubiabá* easily understandable. The education of Balduíno, the main character in this novel, mirrors the education of the readers as well. In the same vein, Thomas Seifrid explains that 'as Soviet culture moved into the Stalin era all forms of artistic expression were expected to drop formal experimentation and become "accessible" to the masses.'³¹

Amado's communist city in *Jubiabá* and *Capitães* contains elements of several socialist utopias. Like Owen, the writer advocates a total rupture with history to build a better

²⁸ Richard Stites, 'Fantasy and Revolution: Alexander Bogdanov and the Origins of Bolshevik Science Fiction', in Alexander Bogdanov, Loren R. Graham, Richard Stites, and Charles Rougle, *Red Star: The First Bolshevik Utopia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), pp. 15-16.

²⁹ Stites, pp. 14-15.

³⁰ Raillard, p. 51.

³¹ Thomas Seifrid, *A Companion to Andrei Platonov's The Foundation Pit* (Brighton: Academic Studies Press, 2009), p. 26.

future in Salvador. *Capitães* ends with the call to fight for a revolution of the proletariat, which follows not only Marx's ideas but also the actual 1917 Russian Revolution. The process that led to the foundation of the Soviet Union involved a peasant uprising instead of a industrial workers' revolution. This example provided a template for Amado's underdeveloped Salvador. Marx believed that the communist revolution would start in a highly industrialised place. Therefore, the unlikely rise of the Soviet Union from an overwhelmingly agrarian state was seen as a real-life utopia by Amado and most of the Western socialists. The Russian peasants, of course, did not rise on their own, but rather under the leadership and control of Lenin's Bolshevik Party, which supplied the ideas and directions for the revolution. Lenin himself called the events in Russia an example of 'creative Marxism'.³² The PCB in Brazil followed the Bolshevik interpretation of Marx's socialism, Marxism-Leninism, as the proven formula for the realisation of a communist utopia.³³ Amado transferred these ideas, especially the need for superior guidance for the masses, into his proletarian novels.

Amado uses the tool of romance to make the ideological message behind *Jubiabá* and *Capitães* accessible and appealing to his reader. The romance, as Northrop Frye notes, has proven to be perennially popular, always 'looking for new hopes and desires to feed on.'³⁴ The twists and turns in the narrative, such as Lindinalva's descent into poverty and sickness, the chance encounters and the heightened emotions of the melodrama, stress the romantic Manichaeism, Duarte explains.³⁵ In *Jubiabá*, the capitalists are villains and the masses are the heroes who must regain their degraded city from the oppressing elites. Using these tropes, Amado stresses the contrast between the capitalist order in the city and the promise of a

³² Geoghegan, p. 74.

³³ Pontes, p. 154.

³⁴ Northrop Frye, 'Third Essay: Archetypal Criticism', in *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 186.

³⁵ Duarte, p. 92.

bright future socialist order. Amado appropriates a bourgeois genre to make it into a genuinely proletarian narrative. In the process, he tries to accomplish what Frye called a “‘proletarian’ element in romance’ that has never been ‘satisfied’ with its previous incarnations.”³⁶

There are interstices in the order of the city, though. The Salvador portrayed in *Jubiabá* and *Capitães* contains both the oppressive elements of the capitalist system and alternative spaces, which are not utopian but do foreshadow the writer’s communist city. They are alternative spaces because they present resistance to the order of the city in one form or another. I shall call these spaces heterotopias based on a concept that Michel Foucault first outlined in a 1967 lecture for architects.³⁷ Foucault explained heterotopias as:

real places – places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society – which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted.³⁸

These places are located outside the basic systemic flow of the urban space even though they are located within that space; for they are part of the city and yet still something else. They offer a mirror to the real site but they are unlike utopia, which is a non-space: heterotopias are also real; they represent otherness to the sameness of the modern sites. The rest of the city must eventually acknowledge these spaces. They feed from the urban continuum, reverting, re-shuffling and experimenting with elements that were taken from mainstream sites. As Foucault later explained, the functions of heterotopias ‘are different or even the opposite’ of

³⁶ Frye, p. 92.

³⁷ Michel Foucault, and Jay Miskowiec, ‘Of Other Spaces’, *Diacritics*, 16 (1986), p. 22. The transcript of this lecture was never reviewed for publication. Thus, it is not considered ‘part of the official corpus of his work’. The ‘manuscript was released into the public domain for an exhibition in Berlin shortly before Michel Foucault’s death’.

³⁸ Foucault, ‘Of Other Spaces’, p. 24.

other spaces.³⁹ Since they are 'marginal sites of modernity', heterotopias constantly threaten to disrupt its closures and certainties.⁴⁰ Heterotopias, then, are not subversive because they offer something new; they are subversive because they offer something new out of the same cultural elements found in the sites of modernity that they counter.

As we shall see, two locations – the street gang's headquarters in *Capitães* and the Candomblé temple in *Jubiabá* – function as such marginal sites in Amado's Salvador. They mesh and re-order cultural elements of Salvador to present them in a potentially disruptive manner. As we shall see, Candomblé ceremonies invert everyday roles and hierarchy, and the abandoned children from *Capitães* concoct their own rules for living by themselves on an abandoned site in Salvador. These places of resistance signal the possibility of difference from within the boundaries of the mainstream site that generated them, that is, Salvador. It is this mirroring opposition that connects heterotopias to utopias. Still, one must approach Foucault's claim that these differential sites are 'a kind of effectively enacted utopia' with caution. Heterotopias may have a utopian intent, but they may never be utopias themselves since their origins are in the sites that they counter. In light of this condition, they serve as laboratories of an ideal place: places in which the sameness of the dominant sites may be contested and re-worked towards improvement. Other commentators agreed upon this definition of heterotopic sites when they sought to refine Foucault's original concept.⁴¹

Foucault himself formulated the concept of spatial heterotopias in response to 'the rational planning practices as understood in the 1960s'.⁴² At that time, Le Corbusier's architectural style, incorporating cell-like blocks and strong organisational principles, was

³⁹ Foucault, Paul Rabinow, 'Space, Knowledge, and Power. Interview: Michel Foucault', in Michel Foucault, and Paul Rabinow, *The Foucault Reader* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), p.252.

⁴⁰ Derek Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), p. 35.

⁴¹ See Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996).

⁴² David Harvey, 'Cosmopolitanism and the Banality of Geographic Evils', *Public Culture*, v. 12, n.2, (Spring 2000), p. 537. I am stressing the definition of this kind of heterotopia as spatial because Foucault was actually elaborating on a concept that he had used to address the untrustworthiness of language and names in *The Order of Things*. However, I shall not go into further detail since the analysis of language is of limited relevance for this dissertation, whose primary concern is space.

still highly influential. Le Corbusier himself had just concluded the Unité d'Habitation in Firminy, France, a residential building complex that displayed this pattern of excessive control in urban planning. Foucault saw heterotopias as creative spaces that could escape such ordering control. Nevertheless, as David Harvey points out, Foucault broadened the concept excessively when he included everything from boats to brothels and cemeteries, almost every place where there is unofficial social interaction.⁴³ Later, others tried to limit the scope of the concept whilst maintaining the core idea of challenging, liminal creative spaces. In 1997, Keith Harrington described heterotopias as 'spaces of alternate ordering' that mark them out 'as Other and allows them to be seen as an example of an alternative way of doing things'.⁴⁴

Homi K. Bhabha used the condition of otherness in heterotopias to identify 'third spaces' in colonial and post-colonial places.⁴⁵ For Bhabha, the marginal communities of the West Indies that V.S. Naipaul depicted in his novels are the perfect example of these third spaces. Such places reflect the 'anxieties and alienations toward life' of the oppressed as 'hybrid forms of life and art'; these hybrid forms, in turn, are a consequence of these people's 'moving in-between cultural traditions'.⁴⁶ In his novels, Amado reveals a similar kind of hybrid space in Salvador. The main characters in *Jubiabá* and *Capitães* are rogues and lumpen, who turn their dwelling places in the margins of the urban space into places of resistance and invention with their hybrid spatial practices. They do not pose resistance against colonisers but against new oppressors, the local ruling elite. In the novels, these heterotopias are presented as the foundations for the development of an ideal communist city. Moreover, the formative process of the working-class heroes, as they are, depends on the characteristics of these places in the narratives.

⁴³ Harvey, p. 538. See also Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', p. 25.

⁴⁴ Keith Hetherington, *The Badlands of Modernity: Heterotopia and Social Ordering*, London: Routledge, 1997, p. viii).

⁴⁵ David Huddart, *Homi K. Bhabha*. Kindle edn (London: Routledge, 2006), loc. 148.

⁴⁶ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004, 1994), p. xiii.

In the following sections, I will examine the city that emerges from *Jubiabá* and *Capitães*, its binaries, spaces of oppression and resistance, and the implied communist outcomes at the end of each novel. This will enable us to understand how Candomblé sites and abandoned urban spaces, the two areas of the city highlighted in these novels, contribute to the fashioning of Amado's communist Salvador.

***Jubiabá*: ABC of the City**

Communist ideology guides *Jubiabá*, since Amado believed in the instructive potential of his literary work: 'E quando os homens atravessam uma época política, uma época de lutas como a nossa, o romance que seja honesto, não pode deixar de ser uma arma de luta.'⁴⁷ Details in *Jubiabá* reflect Amado's political life in the period. For instance, one of the objectives of Aliança Nacional Libertadora, in which Amado participated, was the fight against the influence of Nazi-fascism in Brazil.⁴⁸ Consequently, *Jubiabá* begins with its main character, Antônio Balduino, defeating a white German in a boxing match. In this section, I will show how Amado uses previously dismissed elements of the binary city to suggest an ideal city at the end of the novel.

Amado believed that the social and racial struggles had exclusively economic causes. These issues become more apparent in Salvador, a city with the largest black community in Brazil and an ailing economy at the time that exacerbated social inequality. Afro-Brazilian culture was also thriving in the city despite repression by the authorities. These features made Salvador a fitting representation of centuries-long conflicts in Brazil and the marginalisation

⁴⁷ Amado, 'Literatura, Romance e Política como Resultados Sociais', *Pan*, Buenos Aires, 11/03/1936, in Almeida, p. 117.

⁴⁸ Rossi, 'A Militância Política na Obra de Jorge Amado', in *Caderno de Leituras: O Universo de Jorge Amado*, org. Lilia Moritz Schwarcz and Ilana Seltzer Goldstein, São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2009, p. 22.

of a significant ethnic group. The powerful racial issue in *Jubiabá* is explained throughout the novel in Marxist terms: it is a class issue. By reducing the racial issue to material terms, Amado presented communism as an umbrella solution for all the social gaps in Brazil. He emphasises this message by creating a main character who is black, and therefore a member of the poorest and most oppressed group in the Brazilian population, and becomes aware of the issues. Amado himself explained this point of view many years later to his French translator, Alice Raillard:

Em Jubiabá, o problema da raça é colocado de uma forma violenta, a tal ponto que, no fim do livro, Balduíno compreende que o problema de raça é antes de mais nada um problema de classe. O problema de raça não é a causa, mas sim a consequência do problema de classe: o problema do pobre e do rico, do escravo e do amo.⁴⁹

This was the prevailing perspective among most Brazilian leftist intellectuals in the 1930s.⁵⁰ Oswald de Andrade spoke at the 1937 congress of Frente Negra Brasileira, a group of black Brazilian communists which had links to the PCB: ‘Vossa cor se dilui no infinito cortejo dos humilhados dos três continentes.’⁵¹ In his review of *Jubiabá*, Andrade called Amado’s novel ‘um comício, o mais belo comício que o Brasil ouviu depois do *Navio Negreiro* de Castro Alves’.⁵² In *Jubiabá*, Amado argues that a fairer and better Salvador is possible but the poor must be educated towards the construction of a communist ideal. Form echoes this ideological choice in *Jubiabá*: the novel is a proletarian version of the *Bildungsroman*.⁵³ The lack of a fully developed industrial proletariat in Brazil, and especially in Bahia, where his novels took place, did not stop Amado from creating these narratives. As Berno de Almeida notes, the writer saw the lumpenproletariat in Bahia as a forming proletariat nonetheless; they

⁴⁹ Raillard, pp. 86-87.

⁵⁰ Duarte, ‘Classe, Gênero, Etnia: Povo e Público na Ficção de Jorge Amado’, *Cadernos de Literatura Comparada Brasileira*, March 1997, pp. 93, 97.

⁵¹ Oswald de Andrade, *Telefonema*, (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1976), p. 57.

⁵² Oswald de Andrade, ‘Fraternidade De Jorge Amado’, in *Obras Completas V - Ponta de Lança* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1972), p.31.

⁵³ Duarte, ‘Jorge Amado e o *Bildungsroman* Proletário’, *Revista Brasileira de Literatura Comparada*, n. 2, 1994, p. 158. See also Goldstein, *O Brasil Best-Seller*, p. 136.

were in the process of becoming an industrial proletariat. In this condition, this lumpenproletariat was able to engage in organised ‘lutas reivindicatórias [...] além disto, pode, inclusive, existir uma solidariedade ativa entre as distintas categorias de trabalhadores que o compõem’.⁵⁴ In *Jubiabá*, the viability of the proletarian movement is conveyed through a Manichean narrative, which combines realism with romance motifs.

The structure of the novel is very important to the construction of Salvador within it: because of its Manichean dynamic, *Jubiabá* once again presents a Salvador divided between oppressors and the oppressed. Repeating the coda from *Suor*, a climactic strike, the lower class in *Jubiabá* must rise up to reclaim the city of Salvador for themselves. However, the two novels differ in that the latter depicts the revolutionary struggle as being effective with a successful strike at the end of the narrative.

Even though the eponymous character is very important in *Jubiabá*, the main character is actually Antônio Balduino. He is not the first black main character in Brazilian literature, but Balduino is the first black protagonist in the country’s adventure fiction genre: a larger-than-life character who is capable of both tenderness and extreme violence. *Jubiabá* presents the process of his formation – or education – from childhood to adulthood through various picaresque adventures within and around the city of Salvador. Each one of these adventures, as Duarte notes, signals important moments which ‘evidenciam o processo de crescimento embutido na peregrinação’.⁵⁵ Salvador is the start and the end point of Balduino’s pilgrimage.

Balduino never met his father, who died when the boy was very young. He is raised by his aunt Luíza, a street food vendor. They live in Morro do Capa-Negro, a slum on the outskirts of Salvador. Morro do Capa-Negro had once been a plantation farm and its current

⁵⁴ Almeida, p. 116.

⁵⁵ Duarte, *Romance em Tempo de Utopia*, pp. 79-80.

tenants are black former-slaves and their descendants. As a boy in the slum, the rebellious Balduíno is entranced by the daily spectacle of the electric lights being turned on in the city below, the object of his dreams. At night, he learns from the stories of heroic ancestors that are told by the community's wise old man, pai Jubiabá, a respected Candomblé priest who also receives visits from important people from the city who seek his guidance. When Balduíno's aunt is declared insane and taken to an asylum, the boy finally moves to the city. A washerwoman neighbour takes him to live with a rich businessman, Comendador Pereira, and his family at travessa Zumbi dos Palmares. Early on, Balduíno becomes infatuated with Pereira's young daughter, Lindinalva; she will become his lifelong unfulfilled love. Amélia, the Pereiras's Portuguese cook, dislikes the boy and wrongly accuses Balduíno of lusting after Lindinalva. Pereira believes Amélia and beats Balduíno. Enraged, the boy flees Travessa Zumbi dos Palmares to live on the streets of Salvador as the leader of a street gang. There he meets his lifelong best friend, a pious storyteller called Gordo. Amidst begging on the streets and fighting off rival gangs, Balduíno and his mates see themselves as men who are free to explore the city as they please. At this stage, Balduíno sees a workers' strike for the first time. A man promising 'uma pátria nova em que todos tivessem pão e trabalho' is arrested.⁵⁶ Balduíno shouts to protest but he does not yet fully understand the events.

As an adult, Balduíno moves back to Morro do Capa-Negro. Instead of begging and stealing on the streets, he is now a typical Salvador malandro: he has no interest in finding formal work; he walks the streets of Salvador to play the sambas that he has composed and to seduce mulatto women on the dunes of the harbour area. He also attends the Candomblé ceremonies at Jubiabá's temple; the old priest is still his spiritual mentor. One day, at a street fair in the Cabula district, a man called Luigi sees Balduíno fight a soldier for the love of a

⁵⁶ Jorge Amado, *Jubiabá*, São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2008, pp. 77-78. Further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.

woman. Luigi hires Balduino as a boxer. The fights usually take place at Largo da Sé, Salvador's main square, where Balduino is a great success and is undefeated. This new stage of his life pleases Balduino immensely: 'amava mulatas no areal, bebia na Lanterna dos Afogados, ia às macumbas de Jubiabá, ria nas ruas da cidade a sua gargalhada clara' (*Jubiabá*, p. 120). However, when he learns that Lindinalva is officially engaged to a promising young lawyer, Gustavo Barreiras, his boxing career ends: he drinks too much and loses a fight, which turns out to be his last. The shame of defeat makes him leave Salvador and head for the smaller towns in the Recôncavo area.

True to the epic form, the journey to the countryside marks the beginning of a new cycle of adventure in the novel. It also provides great contrast between urban and rural forms of oppression. In Cachoeira and São Félix, Balduino meets the poor people who work hard for long hours in the cigar factories and tobacco plantations, the centuries-old economic products of the region. Balduino and Gordo find work at a tobacco plantation farm. In another fight for the affection of a woman, Balduino mortally injures a fellow plantation worker. A posse chases him and Balduino hides in the woods. Wounded and delirious, he manages to escape and take a train back towards Salvador. However, a chance encounter with Luigi in Feira de Santana, a busy town halfway to Salvador, leads to a contract as a permanent attraction in a struggling circus, Grande Circo Internacional. There he meets Rosenda, a dancer from Rio de Janeiro. The circus tours the small towns around Salvador for ever diminishing profits. A tragedy – the death of an Italian clown, Giuseppe, during a trapeze act – precipitates events and Luigi closes the bankrupt circus down. Balduino returns to Salvador with Rosenda.

In Salvador, Balduino goes back to his malandro life and leaves Rosenda. Then, another chance encounter reunites him with Lindinalva, now a prostitute. Terrified by seeing her in such bad health, he runs away. The next time he sees her, Lindinalva is on her

deathbed. Amélia, the old cook and Lindinalva's guardian, tells him what had happened: after his wife's death, Pereira spent the family's money on booze and gambling. Gustavo had abandoned Lindinalva when she was pregnant with his son, Gustavinho. Concerned for her son's future, Lindinalva started working as a prostitute. As she got sick and her body grew old, she descended into ever sleazier brothels in Salvador's central area. In true feuilleton form, Lindinalva asks for Balduino's forgiveness; her last wish is that Balduino take care of her son.

Lindinalva's death marks the beginning of Balduino's final cycle of adventure and the culmination of his formative process. To provide for the boy, Balduino becomes a stevedore in Salvador's docks, which leads to his active participation in the proletarian movement. When the tram workers go on strike, other groups of blue-collar workers, including Balduino and his fellow stevedores, support them. The general strike brings the entire city to a halt. Balduino learns from its leaders how the proletarian movement is like a beaded necklace: if one of the beads falls off, 'as outras caem também' (*Jubiabá*, p. 290). As he assimilates the dynamic of class struggle, Balduino starts making speeches in the union to draw his workmates into the strike. He also goes out on the streets to man the picket lines. After long and tense negotiations, the employers accept all of the workers' demands. Now that he has found a reason to fight, Balduino dismisses Jubiabá's teachings as fruitless. He contemplates a future in which he will continue fighting for workers' rights in Salvador and then overseas. In the next section, I will piece together the city that appears in the novel, especially through the main character's perspective, in order to reveal heterotopian spaces in the city and contrast them with the communist ideal that the end of the novel implies.

Searching for the city lights and multiple binaries

Balduíno observes the city from several vantage points at different points in the novel. These episodes will guide our examination of the Salvador depicted in *Jubiabá*. The first of these moments takes place early in the novel. As a child, Balduíno interrupts his games with other boys on Morro do Capa Negro to watch the city below at dusk:

O que ele não queria perder era o acender das luzes, revelação que era para ele sempre nova e bela. [...] Distinguia as risadas, os gritos, as vozes dos bêbedos, as conversas sobre política, a voz arrastada dos cegos pedindo uma esmola pelo amor de Deus, o barulho dos bondes carregados de pingentes. Gozava devagarinho a vida da cidade. [...] Era sofrimento que existia lá embaixo e Antônio Balduíno, menino de oito anos, gozava aqueles pedaços de sofrimento como o homem goza a mulher.

Mas as luzes que se acendiam purificavam tudo. Antônio Balduíno se envolvia na contemplação das fileiras de lâmpadas, mergulhava os olhos vivos na claridade e sentia vontade de agradar os outros negrinhos do morro do Capa-Negro. (*Jubiabá*, pp. 16-17)

From his post atop the hill, Balduíno puts together snapshots of Salvador's everyday life to build the city in his imagination. For him, it is a place of 'vida e de luta' (*Jubiabá*, p. 16). The sounds of suffering that he hears reinforce this perception as they mingle with sounds of joy, voices and machines. This cacophony makes the novel's Salvador more similar to Rio de Janeiro than it was in *O País*, the big city with a multiplicity of stimuli at every moment. The sounds of life's struggle suddenly disappear under the electric lights, a symbol of modernity. As the lights are turned on, life in the big city appears brighter, ordered and more hopeful. As Jacques Leenhardt observes, Salvador is at the same time a city and a desirable woman from whom Balduíno 'espera a revelação da vida, dela espera uma introdução a esta balbúrdia confusa que ele observa a seus pés, fascinado e angustiado.'⁵⁷ Balduíno's quest is aimed at possessing this city that allures him with its sights and sounds of modernity. Later, when he

⁵⁷ Jacques Leenhardt, 'As Luzes da Cidade: Notas sobre uma Metáfora Urbana em Jorge Amado', in *Escrita, Linguagem, Objetos - Leituras de História Cultural*, ed. by Sandra Jatahy Pesavento (Bauru: EDUSC, 2004), pp. 158-159.

takes part in the workers' strike, he finally takes ownership of the city by controlling its modern elements.⁵⁸ His speech to fellow workers reflects this shift: 'Negro faz greve, pára tudo, pára guindastes, pára bonde, cadê luz? Só tem as estrelas. Negro é a luz, é os bondes' (*Jubiabá*, p. 290). Here, Balduino sees himself become part of the process towards the modern order. Thus, modernity becomes the first element of a city binary in the novel.

Despite the presence of these modern aspects of Salvador, the other element of the city binary, its past, is still evident. In *Jubiabá*, Amado repeats the formula he used in *Suor* by making the past ever present in this modern city: 'os meninos das ruas bonitas e arborizadas iam ser [...] homens ricos. E eles iam ser criados destes homens. Para isto é que existia o morro e os moradores do morro' (*Jubiabá*, p. 35). The colonial system of hierarchy still exists in the modern city and it cements the divide between the rich and the poor areas. There are no electric lights in Morro do Capa Negro, where life was 'difícil e dura' (*Jubiabá*, p. 34). The entertainment of its inhabitants consists of storytelling sessions under the moonlight in front of the poor houses (*Jubiabá*, p. 22). There is always suffering in these stories but there is no catharsis: there are no electric lights to bring the promise of modernity and a better future for these people. They go to the city by day to work, but return to the outskirts at night; the electric lights of Salvador are literally and metaphorically denied to them.

When Balduino becomes a street child, the novel gives the reader a clearer view of the colonial order that operates in Salvador:

Cidade religiosa, cidade colonial, cidade negra da Bahia. Igrejas suntuosas bordadas de ouro, casas de azulejos azuis e antigos, sobradões onde a miséria habita, ruas e ladeiras calçadas de pedras, fortes velhos, lugares históricos, e o cais [...] (*Jubiabá*, p. 61)

⁵⁸ Leenhardt, p. 164.

These are Salvador's three most distinguishable characteristics: the city's dominant religion, Catholicism; its colonial architecture that reflects a colonial-style socio-economic system; and the long-oppressed human group that underpins this system. In their sumptuousness, the city's Catholic churches display the spoils of an exploitative order: gold and other precious stones that were extracted by black slaves in the Brazilian mines during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Thus, these churches stand as markers for the colonial power with which the Catholic Church was associated. In this sense, the churches are extensions of the colonial houses, which also appear in the novel as the remnants of an oppressive system: the 'sobradões' are the leftovers of the elite who had moved to breezier areas of Salvador, as we have seen in *Suor*. The old colonial system has simply adapted, but not vanished. Even so, the description of the landscape in the excerpt contains many variations on the theme of oldness – 'velhos', 'antigos', 'históricos', and the cobblestone streets – which suggest that the city is stuck in its past. The city's modern slaves do not live in the slave quarters anymore, but they have to survive in the old colonial houses on low wages.

One area in the novel's Salvador represents the idea of an enduring colonial system more literally. As Gilberto Freyre noted, Brazilian society developed 'patriarcal e aristocraticamente à sombra das grandes plantações de açúcar', especially in Northeastern Brazil.⁵⁹ Travessa Zumbi dos Palmares resembles one of these colonial plantation farms: smaller, humble compounds that are connected to a larger building, the main house which dominates the area. This very vivid image also contains an element of decay as if this plantation-like space were haunted, a place profoundly rooted in a past that should have already vanished:

Velha rua de casas sujas e sobrados de cor indefinida. Vinha numa reta, sem desvios. [...] Rua mal calçada de pedras desarrumadas, plantada de capim.

⁵⁹ Freyre, *Casa-Grande & Senzala*, p. 79.

O silêncio e o sossego desciam de tudo e subiam de tudo. Vinham do mar distante, dos morros lá atrás, das casas sem luz, das luzes mesmas dos raros postes, das pessoas, baixavam do ar sobre a gente e envolviam a rua e as criaturas. Parecia que a noite chegava mais cedo para a travessa Zumbi dos Palmares que para o resto da cidade. (*Jubiabá*, p. 49)

Silence and quietude do not convey a bucolic landscape here. They impregnate Travessa Zumbi dos Palmares as if it were a charnel house, in which the discarded parts of the city – the silence that descends upon this place from other neighbourhoods – are laid to rest: 'A travessa Zumbi dos Palmares agonizava' (*Jubiabá*, p. 49). This sepulchral image contrasts with the view of the city that fascinates Antonio Balduino: the city of modern lights and a multitude of noises. In Travessa Zumbi dos Palmares, the tufts of grass between the cluttered stones of the pavement intensify the atmosphere of abandon that emanates from these houses; it also hints at the area's past as much as the rare lamp posts along the streets and the houses with no electric light. This lack of electric light sets Travessa Zumbi dos Palmares apart from the rest of the city, which is modern and thrives with its lighting, trams and movement. Travessa Zumbi dos Palmares stands for an aspect of Salvador that diametrically opposes the purifying modernity of the city lights that fascinated young Balduino; therefore, it is doomed. The image of the sea reinforces this reading: the sea brings silence and stillness to this street. The night/death metaphor also signals the dying colonial heritage of Salvador as opposed to the bright city that was described earlier in the novel from young Balduino's point of view.

Adding to the atmosphere of decay, the inhabitants of Travessa Zumbi dos Palmares look like ghosts of times past: an old black woman, probably a former slave, who gives away small change to kids on the street, a family who still mourns the loss of a young son many years earlier (*Jubiabá*, p. 50). This imagery of decay is central to the argument that an industrialised and proletarian city must replace the old order. It reinforces the binaries old capitalism versus modern socialism, oppressive past versus egalitarian future. Finally, Amado

completes the evocative masters-versus-slaves binary with the description of the bigger colonial-style house at the end of the street. The bucolic property sharply contrasts with the eerie atmosphere of its surroundings:

Gansos passeavam no jardim florido e mangueiras cresciam na alameda que ficava ao lado da casa. [...] Como era grande, quantos quartos tinha, alguns até fechados, um quarto de hóspedes sempre mobiliado esperando alguém que nunca vinha, salas enormes, cozinha bonita, a latrina melhor que qualquer casa do morro! (*Jubiabá*, p. 51)

This is a description of Comendador Pereira's house, where Balduino lives after his aunt is declared insane. Pereira's house is a lively place, but Amado adds ominous details to his glowing account: some of the rooms remain closed; a guest room is always ready to lodge a potential visitor that, much like the future of this old order, never comes. Amado stresses the permanence of the old social structure in this place by having Pereira take Balduino in as a 'filho de criação'. This is a typical kind of relationship between the upper and lower classes in Brazil in which better-off people agree to raise poor young people in their homes in exchange for domestic services.⁶⁰ This relationship had already been common in Brazil before the end of slavery and amounted to an informal type of slavery, after all. In the northern Brazilian state of Pará, for example, wealthy families routinely raised mixed-race and Indian children in a relationship of servitude during the nineteenth century.⁶¹ Similarly, Balduino received food and formal education from Comendador Pereira, but he also had to perform household chores: 'copeirava, lavava os pratos, ia às feiras, fazia recados' (*Jubiabá*, p. 58).

Amado signals the events to come in the novel by naming this colonial space after a symbol of resistance to oppression. Zumbi dos Palmares was a rebel black slave during colonial times. Palmares, which was located near Recife, a city in Northeast Brazil, was a

⁶⁰ Maria Angélica Motta-Maués, 'Na "Casa da Mãe"/Na "Casa do Pai": Anotações (de uma Antropóloga e Avó) em torno da "Circulação" de Crianças', *Revista de Antropologia*, 47, n. 2. São Paulo (2004), p. 437.

⁶¹ Vicente Salles, *O Negro no Pará sob o Regime da Escravidão* (Brasília/Belém: Ministério da Cultura/Secretaria de Estado de Cultura, 1988), pp. 275-276.

quilombo, a fugitive slave settlement in colonial times. As R.K. Kent notes, quilombos ‘came closest to the idea of recreating African societies in a new environment and against consistently heavier odds’.⁶² In other words, quilombos were places of resistance, and Zumbi dos Palmares became a symbol of this resistance. Balduino is aware he was forcefully taken from the place where he was born to live in the ‘casa de um senhor’ (*Jubiabá*, p. 54). He also keeps the sense of belonging to a ‘raça oprimida [...] latente’ (*Jubiabá*, p.58). Zumbi’s legend prompts Balduino to fight the oppressive system to which the rich subject him. When Jubiabá visits Balduino at Travessa Zumbi dos Palmares, he tells the boy Zumbi’s story. From then on, Balduino is inspired by Zumbi’s life (*Jubiabá*, p. 58). Right up until the end of the novel, Balduino sees the rebellious Zumbi as a guiding light: he believes that the planet Venus is actually Zumbi, who is shining in the sky (*Jubiabá*, p. 322). Eventually, Balduino merges Zumbi dos Palmares and the strike into the same symbol of resistance and fight for freedom: ‘Zumbi dos Palmares brilha no céu. Sabe que o negro Antônio Balduino não entrará mais pelo mar. A greve o salvou’ (*Jubiabá*, p. 322). Balduino’s education in the novel is, thus, a historical crossing (‘travessia’ in Portuguese as in the word ‘travessa’, cross, which is used to identify a small street like Zumbi dos Palmares in the novel) from the old decadent order to an ideal communist order, from the decaying colonial area to the city of electric lights.

Travessa Zumbi dos Palmares, the old colonial houses and the sumptuous churches only elaborate on the perception of the city found in *Suor*. So far, we have seen a binary city that is modern and archaic, inhabited by oppressors and oppressed. However, *Jubiabá* does not limit itself to acknowledging the oppressive conditions in which the descendants of black slaves lived in the city. In the novel, Salvador is ‘cidade negra’ because of the ‘casario negro da cidade’ (*Jubiabá*, p. 126). In addition to this, the phrase refers to the identity of the city that stems from Afro-Brazilian culture. Afro-Brazilian customs can be observed in the city’s

⁶² R. K. Kent, ‘Palmares: An African State in Brazil’, *The Journal of African History*, 6 (1965), p. 162.

slums, such as Morro do Capa-Negro. This former plantation farm is now a mostly black community with small houses, ‘de barro batido, portas de caixão, cobertas de zinco. Tinham duas divisões apenas: a sala de jantar e o lugar onde dormiam’ (*Jubiabá*, p. 51). Even though Morro do Capa-Negro is a more comfortable place to live than the claustrophobic Pelourinho in *Suor*, it still represents the poor section of the city in contrast to the rich districts of Salvador. However, everyday life on Morro do Capa-Negro is not only about poverty and oppression as we can see in the following lines

Eram bem gostosas as noites do morro do Capa-Negro. Nelas o moleque Antônio Balduíno aprendeu na sua infância muita coisa e principalmente muita história. Histórias que homens e mulheres contavam, reunidos em frente à porta dos vizinhos, nas longas conversas das noites de lua. [...] Nas outras portas, outros grupos conversavam, tocavam viola, cantavam, bebiam um gole de cachaça que sempre havia para os vizinhos [...] (*Jubiabá*, p. 22)

The residents’ everyday life provides them with a communal experience that reasserts their bonds and their identity as a group in the city. They tell each other stories from their oral tradition: ‘casos de escravidão’, tales and songs ‘para mostrar aos homens o exemplo dos que se revoltaram’ (*Jubiabá*, pp. 19, 35). These stories invariably deal with slaves or free black men who rebelled against their oppressor. In their oral tradition, the slum dwellers reveal the colonial order and challenge it at the same time, as Balduíno develops his awareness: ‘O sentido de raça e de raça oprimida ele o adquirira a custa das histórias do morro e o conservava latente’ (*Jubiabá*, p. 58). The guitar players in the slum also write music, such as samba that will later become part of the city’s culture. In the 1930s, people still referred to samba as ‘coisa de negros’, a phrase that indicates its origins and the prejudice against them.⁶³ Zé Camarão played ‘coisas tristes, valsas e canções, nas festas dos casebres do morro do Capa-Negro e em todas as outras festas pobres da cidade’ (*Jubiabá*, pp. 22-23). When Balduíno grows up and returns to the slum, a white man meets him there to buy the samba

⁶³ Sérgio Cabral, *A MPB na Era do Rádio*. (São Paulo: Editora Moderna, 1996), p. 54.

songs he has written and release them as if they were his own to great success, a common practice in the 1930s.⁶⁴ Unaware of this, Balduino continues to ‘vender sambas ao poeta Anísio Pereira’ (*Jubiabá*, p. 88). Despite their hardships, the inhabitants of Morro do Capa-Negro celebrate their identity as much as possible, but this identity is not restricted to the slum.

This communal experience on Morro do Capa-Negro is reproduced in other poor areas of Salvador. As noted in the paragraph above, there are other ‘festas de pobre’ across town: street fairs and parties in Brotas, a rural area with both middle- and lower-class houses that is close to the central middle-class district of Nazaré; Itapagipe, a suburban working and middle-class district; and Rio Vermelho, a more distant coastal district (*Jubiabá*, pp. 92, 93, 251). In any case, these locations reveal that the poor inhabit and use the marginal areas of the city more freely, whereas the central areas belong mostly to the upper classes. The rich live close to the city centre in breezy neighbourhoods like Nazaré and Graça (*Jubiabá*, pp. 274, 311). Antônio, the owner of the Lanterna dos Afogados bar on the Cidade Baixa waterfront, dreams of having a ‘café no centro da cidade’ (*Jubiabá*, p. 86). As a street child, Balduino prefers to beg in the elegant Rua Chile, with its sophisticated shops and more affluent crowd (*Jubiabá*, p. 81). Conversely, Cidade Baixa is an important location for the poor, especially the Água de Meninos market:

A feira de Água de Meninos começa na noite do sábado e se estende pelo domingo até ao meio-dia. Porém, na noite de sábado é que é bom. Os canoeiros atracam as suas canoas no porto da Lenha, os mestres de saveiros deixam os seus barcos no pequeno porto, homens chegam com animais carregados, as negras vêm vender mingau e arroz-doce. Bondes passam perto cheios de gente. [...] A feira de Água de Meninos é uma festa. Festa de negro, com música, violas, risadas e brigas. As barracas se estendem em filas. Porém a maior parte das coisas não está nas barracas. Está em grandes cestos, em caçuás, em caixotes. [...] Tem de tudo na feira. (*Jubiabá*, p. 240)

⁶⁴ José Adriano Fenerick, *Nem do Morro, Nem da Cidade: As Transformações do Samba e a Indústria Cultural (1920-1945)*. (São Paulo: FAPESP/Annablume, 2005), p. 163.

Água de Meninos simultaneously reinforces and breaks city binaries. First, it is more than a market. Originally a commercial area, it is actually used in multiple guises. People come here to trade but also to talk and to be entertained. Moreover, the novel relates this mixture of uses to Salvador's black citizens and their practices: 'festa de negro'. The narrator summarises the description of the market with the word 'festa' to explain that this is a place for celebration while the name of the place indicates its commercial function. Here, there seems to be no difference between leisure and work since Água de Meninos serves as both an overnight market and fair. Once more, we see the reference to music, a cultural element that is so important in the life of Salvador's black community. Modern and archaic ways of life intertwine in the means of transportation that bring people to Água de Meninos: small sailing boats and trams. Fights, signifiers of violence, become synonyms for fun and laughter: 'Querem agora é brigar, que brigar é bom como cantar, como ouvir uma história [...] E os negros riem satisfeitos porque nesta noite se divertiram' (*Jubiabá*, p. 246). Água de Meninos is a place of controlled chaos in which the modern and the archaic converge, as do fun and work, urban and rural citizens. It is also a segregational place – the poor cannot afford shopping at the upper-class streets – in which the oppressor versus oppressed city binary is challenged by the multiplicity of spatial uses, which was not foreseen in the conceptualisation of the space – as a harbour and trade area.

Other central places of Salvador only reassert the city's colonial order, though. In Pelourinho, Lindinalva experiences the same social and spatial decline as the prostitute in *Suor*: 'Lindinalva desceu várias ladeiras. [...] Da ladeira do Tabuão as mulheres só saíam ou para o hospital ou para o necrotério. Na ladeira do Tabuão as toalhas nas janelas e caras negras nas portas' (*Jubiabá*, p. 269). The black faces by the doors stress the predominance of blacks among the poor and destitute, reinforcing a binary that is social and racial. This

segregational binary is repeated in Clube Liberdade, a ‘criouléu’ (nightclub for black people) at Rua do Cabeça, the bohemian section of Dois de Julho, another central district:

O Liberdade da Bahia tem tradição a zelar e o seu baile de junho reunirá, sem dúvida, toda a criadagem das casas mais ricas, todas as mulatas que vendem doces na rua, os soldados do 19, os negros que estão espalhados pela cidade. É o criouléu mais célebre da cidade. (*Jubiabá*, p. 247)

The paragraph functions as a brief guide to the social condition of blacks in the city: these people mainly work as domestic cleaners and soldiers, or in informal jobs. It implies that the lower classes can go to other places of entertainment but poor black people have to stick to their own. Once again, it reinforces a binary configuration of the city that originated in colonial times. The segregation of black people in the city simply acquires new forms, it does not end. So far, we have seen that the urban locations in *Jubiabá* unveil and stress the city binaries: racial (white versus black), social (rich versus poor), temporal (modern versus archaic), cultural (colonial order versus black identity). In the next section, we will examine an alternative place in the margins of the city that challenges these binaries and contains the foundations for the vision of an ideal Salvador outlined at the end of the novel.

The marginal heterotopia

As I have mentioned, the reader sees the city from Balduino’s point of view at numerous points in *Jubiabá*. We have already seen how the electric lights, as a symbol of modernity, attracted young Balduino. Later, as an adult, he observes Salvador from another vantage point, the waterfront, at night. He has just lost an important boxing match and feels disoriented. He looks at the city but does not recognise it at first:

A lua apareceu muito grande e derrubou pelos fundos das casas uma luz tão esquisita que ele não conheceu mais a cidade. Pensou que era um marinheiro e

que havia chegado a um porto estrangeiro. [...] A Bahia já não era a Bahia e ele não era mais o negro Antonio Balduino, Baldo, o *boxeur*, que ia às macumbas de Jubiabá e que apanhara de Miguez, o peruano. Que cidade seria aquela e ele quem seria? Para onde teria ido toda gente conhecida?

De repente vieram lá de cima do morro uns sons de batuque.

Uma nuvem escura cobriu a lua.

[...]

O tantã aumentava no morro. Vinha como uma súplica, como um grito de angústia. Ele viu então que a cidade era novamente a Bahia, bem a Bahia, que ele conhecia toda, ruas, ladeiras e becos, e não um porto perdido de uma ilha perdida na vastidão do mar.

Hoje as macumbas e os Candomblés enviavam aqueles sons perdidos.

Era como que uma mensagem a todos os negros, negros que na África ainda combatiam e caçavam, ou negros que gemiam sob o chicote do branco. Sons de batuque que vinham do morro. (*Jubiabá*, pp. 126-127)

The moonlight obliterates the electric lights that he associates with Salvador. This new brightness and its accompanying quietness estrange him from the city. Balduino does not recognise the city and, by extension, he does not recognise himself either. Slowly, a familiar noise transforms his perception of the place: the sound of distant drums. These drums are played in the Candomblé terreiros on hills like Morro do Capa-Negro, slums where blacks form the majority. *Jubiabá* makes the terreiros just as characteristic of the city as the 'casario negro da cidade'. However, the drums do not reinforce the colonial order that those houses represent. The sound of drums makes Balduino recognise that he is part of a once proud group, Salvador's black inhabitants, who have been victimised and enslaved in many different ways since colonial times:

Os sons lhe entravam pelos ouvidos e buliam com o ódio surdo que vivia dentro dele. [...] Via Zumbi dos Palmares transformar o batuque de escravos em batuque de guerreiros. Via Jubiabá, nobre e sereno, dizendo conceitos ao povo escravo. Via a si próprio se levantando contra o homem branco. (*Jubiabá*, p. 128)

In these two excerpts, Amado establishes both the city's black identity and its historical dynamics of oppression, in the binary of white masters and oppressed black population. The Candomblés, such as Jubiabá's terreiro, function as reminders of a war, as it were, to reclaim the city. As the moon shines once more, 'os sons morriam nas ladeiras, nos becos sem iluminação, nas calçadas de pedra' (*Jubiabá*, p. 128). Salvador's colonial urban space metaphorically suffocates the sounds of war from the terreiros just as white masters repressed black slave rebellions. The resistance aspect of the terreiros frames the proletarian fight that might lead to a communist city in the novel. Further on in the plot, the Candomblé drums sound as a call to fight when the tram workers begin their strike: 'A cidade é envolvida pelos sons de batuque que vêm da macumba de Jubiabá [...] como sons guerreiros, como sons de libertação' (*Jubiabá*, p. 288). I will now analyse Salvador's Candomblé terreiros and their function through Jubiabá's terreiro, the configuration and practices of which are detailed in the novel.

Jubiabá's home already contrasts with the sumptuousness of the Catholic churches, the other key religious places in the city: 'A casa de Jubiabá era pequena mas bonita [...] um grande terreiro na frente, um quintal se estendendo nos fundos' (*Jubiabá*, p. 109). Despite its simplicity, this is the place where Candomblé ceremonies take place. People from all social strata come here to seek Jubiabá's advice. The Candomblé ceremony held in Jubiabá's terreiro is described in detail in the chapter 'Macumba'. Salvador's quiet night is disrupted by the sound of ceremonial drums:

Da casa do pai-de-santo Jubiabá vinham sons de atabaque, agogô, chocalho, cabaça, sons misteriosos da macumba que se perdiam no pisca-pisca das estrelas, na noite silenciosa da cidade. Na porta, negras vendiam acarajé e abará. (*Jubiabá*, p. 96)

The street vendors, who were linked to the decaying colonial order in the novels studied in Chapter 1, become the gatekeepers of Jubiabá's terreiro. Since the terreiro itself is linked to freedom and resistance, the image of the street vendors is inverted in *Jubiabá* as the novel inserts them into the Afro-Brazilian tradition. Acarajé and abará are ceremonial foods in Candomblé practice. Instead of death and decay, the terreiro presents a vibrant image in an otherwise silent and still city. One of the drums in Jubiabá's macumba is an atabaque, a tall wooden Afro-Brazilian hand drum that is also used in performances of capoeira, the Afro-Brazilian mixture of dance and martial arts that Balduino learns as a child on Morro do Capa-Negro (*Jubiabá*, p. 23). Atabaque symbolises not only the cultural practices of the terreiro but the culture and history that shape the identity of the entire Morro do Capa-Negro neighbourhood. Once, this place was a plantation farm on which the master castrated his slaves if they did not reproduce 'para ele ganhar escravo' (*Jubiabá*, p. 42). Now, it is a slum but it also has the characteristics of a modern quilombo, in which the black community resists and keeps their tradition despite the repression. In the 1930s, Salvador newspapers still pressured the police to close Candomblé temples in a 'guerra declarada'.⁶⁵ Even so, communities like the one on Morro do Capa-Negro managed to keep their culture alive. This sense of identity is heightened in the depiction of an indoor terreiro:

Num canto, ao fundo da sala de barro batido, a orquestra tocava. Os sons dos instrumentos ressoavam monótonos dentro da cabeça dos assistentes. Música enervante, saudosa, música velha como a raça [...] A assistência apertada em volta da sala, junto à parede, estava com os olhos fitos nos ogãs, que ficavam sentados em quadrado no meio da sala. Em torno dos ogãs, giravam as feitas. Os ogãs são importantes, pois eles são sócios do Candomblé e as feitas são as sacerdotisas, aquelas que podem receber o santo. [...] Antônio Balduino era ogã, Joaquim também, mas o Gordo ainda não o era e estava no meio da assistência, bem junto de um homem branco e magro, calvo, que espiava a cena muito atento, procurando acompanhar a música monótona com pancadas nos joelhos. [...] O resto da assistência era formado por homens pretos, homens mulatos, que se apertavam de encontro a negras gordas vestidas com anáguas e camisas decotadas e colares no pescoço. (*Jubiabá*, pp. 96-97)

⁶⁵ Angela Luhning, "Acabe com Esse Santo, Pedrito Vem Aí..." - Mito e Realidade da Perseguição Policial ao Candomblé Baiano entre 1920 e 1942', *Revista USP* (1996), p. 199.

The audience in Jubiabá's terreiro is composed of people from different ethnic groups and even different backgrounds. The white man in the excerpt might be an ethnographer or an artist: '[...] tinha vindo de muito longe só para assistir à macumba de pai Jubiabá' (*Jubiabá*, p. 101). The fact that this man comes from far away to attend the ceremony indicates the uniqueness of these practices and this place. His presence also shows the inclusive nature of the terreiro. The man participates in the ceremony like everyone else in the audience. The *feitas* dance around the room and greet Jubiabá, the highest authority in the terreiro. After that, they turn and greet the audience, who 'animava o santo', that is, the *orixás* who danced through the *feitas* (*Jubiabá*, p. 97). Soon, the audience is actively involved in the ceremony: 'Na sala estavam todos enlouquecidos e dançavam todos [...] E os santos dançavam também [...]' (*Jubiabá*, p. 101). Contrary to the rituals in the sumptuous Catholic churches of the city, the Candomblé rituals in Jubiabá's terreiro are extremely participatory. Ultimately, the terreiro is more than a ceremonial place: 'os negros da cidade se reuniam no terreiro de Jubiabá e contavam as suas coisas. Ficavam conversando noite afora, discutindo os casos acontecidos nos últimos dias' (*Jubiabá*, p. 101). Salvador's black community use the place for social interaction and exchange in a way that they are not able to anywhere else in the city. This is their alternative space in the otherwise oppressive colonial city.

Terreiros had been spaces of resistance since colonial times. As José Flávio Pessoa de Barros explains, they were political-religious places that helped preserve African traditions and languages in the new continent.⁶⁶ Black slaves had to conceal their religious practices from their masters. They achieved this with playful tactics: combining their deities, the *orixás*, and their rites with those of Catholic saints, hence the word 'santo' to refer to an *orixá*. This religious syncretism allowed them to keep their traditions and identities amidst the

⁶⁶ José Flávio Pessoa de Barros, *Na Minha Casa: Preces aos Orixás e Ancestrais* (Rio de Janeiro: Pallas, 2003), pp. 32-33.

repression. However, syncretism also had a community purpose: originally in Africa, various peoples based the identification of territorial limits on the worshipping of different orixás. As Alexandre Magno de Carvalho points out, syncretism in Brazilian Candomblé made possible the synthesis of these practices and the integration of different groups – blacks, Indians, but also whites – ‘sem provocar grandes tensões internas’.⁶⁷ Candomblé terreiros may be considered heterotopias for they absorb different cultural practices, both original African rites and Catholic traditions, to create something else, a syncretic space. The novel explains the synthetic aspect of Candomblé as it describes the icons of orixás in Jubiabá’s terreiro:

Num altar católico que estava num canto da sala, Oxóssi era são Jorge; Xangô, são Jerônimo; Omolu, são Roque; e Oxalá, o Senhor do Bonfim – que é o mais milagroso dos santos da cidade negra da Bahia de Todos os Santos e do pai-de-santo Jubiabá. É o que tem a festa mais bonita, pois a sua festa é toda como se fosse Candomblé ou macumba. (*Jubiabá*, p. 101)

Senhor do Bonfim, the saint patron of Salvador, is celebrated with both Catholic and Candomblé ceremonies: the mass inside Senhor do Bonfim Church and the procession and washing of the church’s staircase, respectively. Senhor do Bonfim was originally a humble parish for black people. Volney Berkenbrock notes that the formation of religious societies by blacks who had been forcefully converted to Catholicism had a major role in ‘transmissão das tradições religiosas africanas e no surgimento do sincretismo afro-católico’.⁶⁸ The members of these societies also took part in Candomblé rituals. Thus, ritual practices of Candomblé, which had been born as a form of resistance, became inclusive celebrations.

The saints are the symbols through which the black community interprets Salvador: ‘Bahia de Todos os Santos e do pai-de-santo Jubiabá’ is the formula that is repeated in the novel to legitimate this interpretation (*Jubiabá*, pp. 9, 61, 101). For its black inhabitants,

⁶⁷ Alexandre Magno Teixeira de Carvalho, ‘O Conceito de Religião Popular e as Religiões Afro-Brasileiras: Cultura, Sincretismo, Resistência e Singularidade’, *Cadernos de Ciências Humanas - Especiaría*, 9 (2006), p. 191.

⁶⁸ Volney Berkenbrock, *A Experiência dos Orixás: um Estudo sobre a Experiência Religiosa no Candomblé* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1997), p. 100.

Salvador is – or should be – a space in which different cultures intersect. Jubiabá, the high priest in the city's Candomblé hierarchy, also stands alongside the orixás in the position of patron or protector of the city. The orixás bless the city, but Jubiabá, the 'pai de santo', oversees the orixás in their interaction with it. Jubiabá is a gatekeeper at the crossroads of the human and mythical worlds, which is located in his terreiro on Morro do Capa-Negro. This interpretation of the crossroads translates into an alternative use of the actual city streets: 'No domingo, as ruas amanhecem cheias de mandinga' (*Jubiabá*, p. 241). People prepare these 'mandingas' after seeking advice from Jubiabá. They are offerings to the gods in exchange for a wish. Thus, alternative uses of the urban space originate in the terreiro amid all the repression by the colonial city.

In the excerpt above, we have also seen that Balduino is an important member of Jubiabá's terreiro. Balduino's character starts to be formed in and around the Candomblé terreiro on Morro do Capa-Negro: he attends the ceremonies, learns to respect the ritual hierarchy and listens attentively to Jubiabá's teachings. One of his mantras is Jubiabá's formula in the Nago language: 'Oju anum fô ti iká, li oku', which means that one has to be careful not to dry the merciful eye, or else there will only be the evil eye left (*Jubiabá*, p. 137). Balduino will remember this formula on several occasions, especially at the end of the novel, when he includes it in a speech to convince his fellow workers to adhere to the strike:

Gente, o olho da piedade de vocês já secou. Ficou somente o da ruindade? Vocês parece que nem se lembram da gente que apoiou vocês. Os estivadores, os trabalhadores da padaria. Se vocês querem ser traídos, sejam. Cada um é dono de sua cabeça. Mas se vocês são tão burros que querem perder tudo para ganhar uma porcária, eu garanto que rebento a cabeça do primeiro que passar naquela porta. E eu fico na greve até vencer! (*Jubiabá*, p. 300)

Balduino uses Jubiabá's words to illustrate a sense of justice with which the other workers can identify. He also uses another one of Jubiabá's teachings, the need to be part of a group, a

community, which draws strength from their banding together. Such concepts stem directly from the resistance aspect of Candomblé practices in Brazil. In short, Balduino is appealing to their sense of identity as a social group within Salvador, i.e. poor and black. Even when he resorts to a threat at the end of his speech, he is doing so as a means of reinforcing, in his own peculiar way, the certitude of this message. Thus, when he relies on practices and lessons that he learned on Morro do Capa-Negro and especially in Jubiabá's terreiro, Balduino succeeds where the strike leaders had not until then; the binary message that they propose – oppressed employees versus oppressor employers – is not enough, but Balduino's images become stronger symbols of resistance and union to those workers.

In a segregationist city, Candomblé terreiros become revolutionary. They stand as what Edward Soja calls 'spaces that difference makes', which are open and function outside the official norm.⁶⁹ He is elaborating on Lefèbvre's definition of lived spaces, in which people dictate uses that extrapolate a place's original spatial practices. As Soja explains, these spaces subject the elements of original binaries, such as race and class, to a 'creative process of restructuring' that opens 'new alternatives'.⁷⁰ With these new combinations, such spaces have the potential to promote change in the urban continuum. Thus, the Candomblé heterotopia provides elements for the construction of the communist ideal in *Jubiabá*: inclusive places that foster the communal experience and reinforce a group's identity. Balduino resorts to the teachings of Jubiabá's Candomblé practices to make choices that culminate in his active participation in the proletarian movement. The Candomblé terreiro disrupts the colonial order socially and politically in *Jubiabá*. It contrasts sharply with another representation of Candomblé temples in 1930s literature, José Lins do Rêgo's *O Moleque Ricardo*, also from 1935.

⁶⁹ Edward W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), p. 162.

⁷⁰ Soja, p. 5.

In *O Moleque Ricardo*, Rêgo takes a different approach to Candomblé and the transformative role of the city from that chosen by Amado in *Jubiabá*. Rêgo's novel chronicles the migration of a young black worker from a sugar cane plantation in the countryside to Recife, another city in Northeast Brazil. Rêgo's novel shows how black people, in particular, faced social and spatial exclusion in the cities.⁷¹ Like Jubiabá in Amado's novel, Seu Lucas in *O Moleque Ricardo* is also a Candomblé priest – or 'pai-de-terreiro' as Rêgo calls him – and an authoritative moral figure in the black community.⁷² However, unlike Amado, Rêgo makes his character oppose the strike openly with a conformist message: 'Seu Lucas combatia as greves, não gostava de ver negro com empáfia de branco. Para que negro com luxo?'⁷³ His terreiro functions as a space of oblivion and fatalism in which the Catholic features dominate the syncretic practices: '[...] cantavam, dançavam para se consolar, para que Deus ouvisse seus negros suando a noite inteira, batendo com os pés no chão para acordar a sua misericórdia'.⁷⁴ The practices in Seu Lucas's terreiro aim to remove attendees from actions of resistance and underscore the colonial order: 'Negro que pisa no meu terreiro do Fundão não cai nesta esparrela.'⁷⁵ In analysing the portrayal of urban black families in *O Moleque Ricardo*, Maria Elvira Benítez sees a racial element behind Lucas's suspicion of the strike:

Por isso, Seu Lucas combatia a greve que organizavam os operários, pensava que os líderes políticos brancos buscavam interesses pessoais que terminariam deixando os pobres igualmente pobres e desesperançados. Acreditava no poder de Deus como único caminho para a união dos negros como uma só família.⁷⁶

⁷¹ Maria Elvira Díaz Benítez, 'O Moleque Ricardo como Crônica de Vida de Famílias Negras Urbanas na Época da Decadência do Patriarcalismo', *Revista de Ciências Sociais*, 38 (2007), p. 47.

⁷² José Lins do Rêgo, *O Moleque Ricardo*, 7th edn (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio, 1966), p. 192.

⁷³ Rêgo, *O Moleque Ricardo*, p. 66.

⁷⁴ Rêgo, *O Moleque Ricardo*, p. 42.

⁷⁵ Rêgo, *O Moleque Ricardo*, p. 101.

⁷⁶ Benítez, p. 59.

The outcome of the strike confirms Seu Lucas's concerns: the police repress the movement and arrest Ricardo and the other striking workers. The novel finishes with Ricardo being sent to prison in Fernando de Noronha. In *Jubiabá*, as we shall see, Amado delivers a similar discourse on black religious rites as a form of alienation by the end of the novel, which is at odds with everything that he describes on the preceding pages. In doing so, he has a clear agenda: he must validate his binary city, that is, a city of rich versus poor, in order to build his purely Marxist utopia. In Rêgo's realist novel, the strike fails. The author uses the city to make what Moema Selma D'Andréa calls 'uma declaração tácita da superioridade do regime do campo sobre o regime da cidade'.⁷⁷ He makes this point of view explicit in his following novel, *Usina* (1936), when Ricardo remembers his urban experience: 'O Recife era para ele como um cemitério'.⁷⁸ A communist revolution cannot start in such a place, which is the opposite of the Salvador portrayed in *Jubiabá*. In the next section, I will show how Salvador becomes central to the development of a communist ideal in the novel.

Inferring the communist city and its contradictions

Amado's immediate aim in *Jubiabá* was to raise the social awareness of the working class. An open description of a communist city might have been too radical for his readers at the early stages of the socialist process. Similarly, Marx had believed that an emphasis on the description of a communist society in an unpredictable future could alienate the workers who sought an effective answer to their current problems. In Amado's novel, Balduino's education ends with his joining a strike and achieving class awareness. The novel closes with a mere hint of an ideal future that is global: 'todos os mulatos, todos os negros, todos os brancos, que

⁷⁷ Moema Selma D'Andréa, *A Tradição Re(des)coberta: Gilberto Freyre e a Literatura Regionalista* (Campinas: Unicamp, 1992), p. 78.

⁷⁸ Rêgo, *Usina*, in *Ficção Completa*, (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Aguilar, 1987), p. 707.

na terra, no bojo dos navios sobre o mar, são escravos que estão rebentando as cadeias' (*Jubiabá*, p. 323). This way, Amado also avoids a rupture with the realist style that he had adopted throughout the novel.

Even so, his ideal communist space is a city. *Jubiabá* highlights Salvador's role in the progress towards a workers' revolution mainly by contrasting the city and the surrounding countryside, the Recôncavo area. After Balduino's defeat in the boxing match, he leaves the city and heads towards the towns of Recôncavo. His adventures are set in a countryside that mirrors the colonial imagery from Travessa Zumbi dos Palmares. Here is the decayed landscape on both sides of Paraguaçu River: 'velhos castelos feudais, ruínas de engenhos bangüês, de riquezas passadas, têm sombras descomunais, parecendo fantasmas' (*Jubiabá*, p. 142). By depicting a decaying countryside, Amado puts Salvador in the privileged position of being the proper space for the start of his communist ideal. A hopeful future, as it were, may only come through the big city: 'As luzes da Bahia faíscam como uma salvação' (*Jubiabá*, p. 239). Conversely, the countryside reveals death.

The small towns with booming economies in *Jubiabá* contain no signs of redeeming modernity for they remain completely tied to the past. The economies of Cachoeira and São Félix depend on the tobacco and cigar industries, which have been using the same production methods since colonial times. This production comes from 'fábricas brancas que tomavam quarteirões inteiros e eram gordas como seus donos' and vast tobacco plantations (*Jubiabá*, pp. 148, 158). The vast size of these factories, which is depicted as excessive weight – 'gordas como seus donos' – signals the slow pace in these towns. The female factory workers are described as ghosts, 'pálidas e macilentas, mulheres de olhos compridos' (*Jubiabá*, p. 148); 'é uma legião de mulheres que parecem doentes' (*Jubiabá*, p. 152). The Recôncavo area is very different from Salvador and its vibrant cacophony. Gordo, Balduino's best friend, watches the women leave the factories at the end of the day and compares the scene to a

funeral procession (*Jubiabá*, p. 151). Adding to the oppressive atmosphere, the factory owners are portrayed as Hitlerist Germans who are eager for a world war, a prescient depiction by Amado in the mid-1930s (*Jubiabá*, p. 152).

Amado attributes a similar role to the countryside to the one he gave Salvador in opposition to modern European cities in *O País*. The main difference is that, in *Jubiabá*, Amado makes the countryside represent a caricature of the European capitalist order to which Paulo Rigger aspired. In *Jubiabá*, Amado assesses the countryside through the travels of Grande Circo Internacional, where Balduino eventually becomes part of the cast (*Jubiabá*, p. 199). The circus comes from Salvador, where it was losing money, for a tour around the countryside. However, the constantly diminishing returns force Luigi, the circus owner, to get rid of most of his attractions along the way until there is almost nothing left. Amado relates the slow but helpless decay of the circus to the historical model of Western Europe, the old continent: if the owners of the Cachoeira factory are German, the circus belongs to two Italians in succession; one of them, Giuseppe, is a clown, in a not-so-veiled reference to the antics of Benito Mussolini, the Italian fascist leader. Amado suggests that Western European civilisation is rotten and impractical in the same way as the small towns of Recôncavo and their archaic agrarian economic model.

The novel presents Recôncavo as being irretrievably bound to the past. The counterpoint between time in the countryside – slow, meaningless – and time in the city – dynamic, transformative – allows Amado to convey his message very clearly: the city is the place where transformation is possible. The process towards an ideal future may be realised in Salvador, the big city that may influence its decaying surroundings by example with its engaging Afro-Brazilian cultural practices. The city must be the locus of transformative events.

Back in Salvador, the ideal communist future is conveyed through dialogues and speeches, such as when a striker speaks to his young son: ‘Tição, você não vai ser mais escravo... Você vai ser governador, Tição. A gente é muito, eles são poucos. A gente acaba governando eles’ (*Jubiabá*, p. 296). The strike is the beginning of this transformative process:

Eles iam perder um pouco da escravidão, ganhar mais alguma liberdade. Um dia fariam uma greve ainda maior e não seriam mais escravos. (*Jubiabá*, p. 304)

Os operários unidos podem dominar o mundo... (*Jubiabá*, p. 317)

So far, these examples do not show anything problematic with the implied communist Salvador. They convey resistance and struggle to overcome the binary configuration of the city. However, during the strike, at the novel’s climax, Balduino delivers a speech that contains further implications about the conceptualisation of Salvador as a communist city. On the first night of the strike, Jubiabá tries to appease Exu, the trickster orixá, who refuses to leave a Candomblé ceremony. Balduino arrives at the terreiro discreetly in the middle of the ritual and Exu goes away. Suddenly, Balduino stands up and interrupts the rites with a speech:

Meu povo, vocês não sabem nada... Eu tou pensando na minha cabeça que vocês não sabem nada... Vocês precisam ir para a greve, ver a greve. Negro faz greve, não é mais escravo. Que adianta negro rezar, negro vir cantar para Oxóssi? Os ricos mandam fechar a festa de Oxóssi. [...] Meu povo, vamos para a greve que a greve é como um colar. Tudo junto é mesmo bonito. (*Jubiabá*, p. 290)

Close reading reveals that this monologue does not present opposing arguments. Supporting the strike does not exclude the possibility of engaging in the playfulness of the Candomblé rites. In fact, Afro-Brazilian cultural practices have made Balduino into a successful proletarian leader. Despite all the evidence throughout the narrative that Candomblé temples are places of transformative resistance and inclusiveness, the novel dismisses their practices at the end as irrelevant to the success of the proletarian movement in Salvador. For the city to

conform to a Eurocentric communist ideal, Balduino must conclude that Afro-Brazilian cultural and religious practices amount to nothing more than self-deception. In Balduino's speech, the novel suggests an either/or space that has no room for this heterotopia: the city's black citizens must join the working class to forge a new identity and forget the specificities of the old one. In the final section of the narrative, the idea of the Afro-Brazilian order as alienation from social struggle translates into the dismissal of Jubiabá and his teachings: 'Jubiabá também não sabe desta luta' (*Jubiabá*, p. 304); 'Nem Jubiabá sabia que a luta verdadeira era a greve, era a revolta dos que estavam escravos' (*Jubiabá*, p. 321). This perception of the terreiro – and by extension, Morro do Capa-Negro – as alienation is at odds with what the narrator states early in the novel:

'[...]a [tradição] da liberdade das florestas da África já a haviam esquecido e raros a recordavam. [...] No morro, só Jubiabá a conservava, mas isto Antônio Balduino ainda não sabia. [...] Antônio Balduino aprendeu muito nas histórias heróicas que contavam ao povo do morro e esqueceu a tradição de servir. [...] Foi no morro do Capa-Negro que Antônio Balduino resolveu lutar. Tudo que fez depois foi devido às histórias que ouviu nas noites de lua [...] Aquelas histórias, aquelas cantigas tinham sido feitas para mostrar aos homens o exemplo dos que se revoltaram. [...] alguns ouviam e entendiam. Antônio Balduino foi destes que entenderam. (*Jubiabá*, p. 35)

Those stories include Jubiabá's advice and teachings as well as his tales of slavery (*Jubiabá*, p. 22). His teachings, as we have seen, prove to be important to the unfolding of the strike. In addition, the Candomblé rituals in his terreiro provide the motivation of ancestral freedom, which is translated into the 'warrior drums'. Yet, none of these historical and cultural elements belongs in the communist propaganda, so the union headquarters must take precedence and even obliterate the Candomblé terreiro. This reading of the city follows the rules of Socialist Realism. The Union of Soviet Writers only made these rules official in 1934, by which time Amado had already started writing the novel. However, Maxim Gorki,

who inspired Amado, had outlined them in 1932.⁷⁹ Moreover, several novels from the 1920s contained socialist realist elements, including some of the works that Amado had read: Ilya Ehrenburg's first novels, Alexander Fadeev's *The Rout*, Alexander Serafimovich's *The Iron Flood*, and Ilf and Petrov's *The Twelve Chairs* among others.⁸⁰ *Jubiabá* bears similarities with these novels in both content and form. Balduino's education, which includes the dismissal of his cultural heritage at the end of the novel, echoes *The Rout*. In that novel, the Jewish commander of a platoon dedicates his life to being a true Bolshevik to the detriment of his Jewish background. Both novels were written in a realist style, with interior monologues for their main characters, a kind of 'psychologism' that RAPP advocated.⁸¹

The principles of Socialist Realism were: ideological commitment, communist party-mindedness, 'popular spirit' and simplicity as opposed to a decadent 'modernist style', the depiction of 'life in its revolutionary development', and typicality as opposed to 'fantasy, or play'.⁸² Thus, when *Jubiabá* ends, Candomblé must be interpreted as simple-mindedness; and Bahia de Todos os Santos e do pai-de-santo Jubiabá becomes just 'a cidade' (*Jubiabá*, p. 319). In the last chapter, the narrator never refers to Salvador by name: it becomes just another city among many in a network for an international proletarian movement. All the elements of the city binaries must be replaced by a 'communist-party' order.

Given all this, the application of a pure communist ideology in *Jubiabá* renders the construction of its implied outcome problematic. The novel's realist style reveals the functioning of an Afro-Brazilian heterotopia in Salvador. Consequently, the narrative has to provide ambiguous interpretations of certain events so that communist ideology prevails. The

⁷⁹ Russell G. Hamilton, 'Afro-Brazilian Cults in the Novels of Jorge Amado', *Hispania*, 50 (1967), p. 244.

⁸⁰ Amado, quoted in Almeida, p. 274.

⁸¹ Evgeny Dobrenko, 'Socialist Realism', in *The Cambridge Companion to Twentieth-Century Russian Literature*, ed. by E. A. Dobrenko and Marina Balina (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 104.

⁸² Dobrenko, pp.100-101.

major example of this comes at the end of the novel. Once the strikers have succeeded, Balduíno returns to Jubiabá's house to tell him the good news:

Antônio Balduíno vai para a casa de Jubiabá. Agora olha o pai-de-santo de igual para igual. E lhe diz que descobriu o que os abc ensinavam, que achou o caminho certo. Os ricos tinham secado o olho da piedade. Mas eles podem, na hora que quiserem, secar o olho da ruindade. E Jubiabá, o feiticeiro, se inclina diante dele como se ele fosse Oxalufã, Oxalá velho, o maior dos santos. (*Jubiabá*, p. 318)

This scene invites two alternative readings. The first reading follows Amado's application of historical materialism to the novel: after his experience with the strikers, Balduíno's education is complete. He is now aware of the class struggle in Salvador. He knows that all racial problems in Brazil stem from economic and social exploitation. He finally understands how he should interpret the morals of the abc stories – popular stories about brave men, which are usually told in verse, hence the name 'abc' in reference to its rhyming system – he had heard his entire life: the proletarian movement should be the 'caminho certo'. Jubiabá stops being 'pai Jubiabá', a fatherly figure, to become 'Jubiabá, o feiticeiro', an anachronistic figure in the age of modernity. For Jubiabá, Balduíno bears greater knowledge than he does. By translating this information into mythological terms, Jubiabá is able to grasp its whole significance. Then, he bows to pay tribute to the wise Balduíno.

On the other hand, if one chooses to interpret the last scene in Jubiabá's temple through the principles of Candomblé, the social realist reading is reversed. Jubiabá bows before Balduíno as he would bow to greet any other Candomblé practitioner that was in a trance, that is, 'embodying' one of the orishas during a Candomblé ceremony. In fact, elements from the Candomblé mythology indicate that Balduíno's education did not turn him away from Candomblé; quite the contrary, it brought him closer to it.

According to a traditional story from the orixá mythology, Oxalá - one of Oxalufã's names - expelled his son, Money, from home when Money captured Death. Oxalá says:

'Dinheiro que carrega a Morte nunca será boa coisa, mesmo que tudo possa comprar e possuir.'⁸³ Images of money and death in association with the capitalist system abound in *Jubiabá*, providing a perception of the city order that conforms to the Candomblé perspective. Amado sets these scenes in and around Salvador. A car hits and kills Felipe, o Belo, Balduino's friend from the gang of street children, when he runs to pick what looks like a diamond on the street (*Jubiabá*, pp. 83-84). There is also the aforementioned bleak description of working-class life in Cachoeira. The Pereira family goes bankrupt, a situation that leads to Lindinalva's death. The large Pereira house seems to be surrounded by deadly silence on Travessa Zumbi dos Palmares. When Balduino plays an important role in the success of the strike, he is beating the money-based capitalist system, which oppresses the lower classes and brings potential death to the workers, both social and physical death. Candomblé condemns the accumulation of wealth much like Marxism. A character in *Jubiabá* echoes the idea behind the Candomblé parable when he states: 'Quem quer tudo fica sem nada' (*Jubiabá*, p. 296).

This scene, in turn, fits in the context of the earlier scene in which Balduino delivers his speech about the uselessness of Candomblé. As we have seen, *Jubiabá* is faced with a problem during the ceremony: 'Exu não vai embora. É a primeira vez que aquilo acontece numa macumba de Jubiabá' (*Jubiabá*, p. 289). The trickster orixá, who is also a messenger of the gods, apparently leaves the terreiro when Balduino arrives for his ceremonial duties. After Balduino interrupts the ceremony to tell the attendants about the strike, *Jubiabá* realises that 'Exu pegou ele' (*Jubiabá*, p. 290). In this situation, as in the later scene, *Jubiabá* assesses Balduino's actions through the teachings of Candomblé and the practices of the terreiro. During their second meeting, the stevedore does not tell the Candomblé priest the outcome of the strike. Balduino only states that he has finally been able to interpret one of *Jubiabá*'s

⁸³ Prandi, *Mitologia dos Orixás*, p. 518.

teachings properly. Once more, Jubiabá reacts according to the practices of the place. For him, Balduino has just embodied an orixá and put his teachings into practice, which only shows that Candomblé shares some of its principles with Marxism. The terreiro maintains its importance as a heterotopia in the city and the novel's indictment of Candomblé as alienating turns out to be contradictory.

If one chooses to follow the social realist reading of these scenes, they remain at odds with the status of Candomblé throughout the rest of the narrative. In this case, the novel practically ignores the different values that it previously attributed to Afro-Brazilian culture in the binary Salvador. Balduino is clearly an agent of transformation in Salvador, an Exu-like figure who is set to disrupt the city's precarious status quo. Through change, Balduino/Exu is helping to found a new order. As it happens, he is the messenger of both the gods and the proletarian movement: he turns chaos into effective change. Yet, the novel ends by following the principles of socialist realism without observing that the social dynamics in Salvador are actually different from the ones that forged the 1917 Revolution in Russia.

In addition to this contradiction, the realist style of the novel forces the writer to depict the practices of the city as closer to a reality that does not fit a pure Marxist model. Two major issues complicate the dynamics of pure class struggle in Salvador: race and gender. They also indicate problems in the potential communist city that the novel implies. In the novel's Salvador, women are destined to be mothers or housewives, or they do work that involves versions of household chores, for instance as washerwomen. In any case, they are never fully independent, which sets them apart from Linda or even some of the independent prostitutes in *Suor*, or the free-spirited Rosa Palmeirão in *Mar Morto*. The novel does not suggest at any point that a communist order shall change the patriarchal characteristics of the city. Yet, at the time of the novel's action, Salvador's female workforce included waitresses, school teachers, factory workers, and street vendors, such as Balduino's aunt. For instance, in

the textile plant Fábrica São Braz, in the district of Plataforma, women ‘represented 85 per cent of all workers’ in 1945.⁸⁴ Fábrica São Braz had been open since the end of the nineteenth century. In spite of these facts, the most independent woman in *Jubiabá* is a street vendor, Luiza, who becomes insane and dies in an asylum. The other independent woman in the novel, Rosenda Rosedá, is portrayed in a negative light: she is a vain, selfish and over-sexualised dancer; all of these characteristics are used to justify Balduino’s decision to leave her. In the novel’s representation of the city, women must retain a domestic role to be respectful and respected; this pattern is repeated from *O País*. When Lindinalva dies, Balduino restores the veteran prostitute to a state of virginity in his mind: according to him, she would have maintained this state of purity if she had stayed at her family’s home, where she was being raised to be a proper housewife. Aside from Luíza and Rosenda, the only professional females Amado depicts in *Jubiabá* are washerwomen, but they do not take part in the construction of the communist city. In the strike sequences, no woman takes to the streets to support the general strike.

The second disruptive binary in the novel is racial, as we have seen very clearly. Events in the narrative that supposedly reinforce the economic argument actually have the effect of undermining it. For instance, on the second day of the strike, Balduino is walking down the streets of Salvador when he runs into a drunkard:

Balduino segue sozinho pela rua deserta. [...] Mas um homem loiro, que mastiga um cigarro e que amanheceu bêbedo, se atravessa na sua frente:

- Tu também vai fazer greve, negro? Tudo por culpa da Princesa Isabel. Onde já se viu negro valer de nada? Agora o que é que se vê? Negro faz até greve, deixa os bondes parados. Devia era entrar tudo no chicote, que negro só serve para escravo... vai pra tua greve, negro. Os burros não livraram essa cambada? Vá embora antes que eu te cuspa, filho do cão...

O homem cospe no chão. Ele está bêbedo mas Antônio Balduino o empurra com força e ele se estatela no cimento. Depois o negro limpa as mãos e começa a

⁸⁴ Cecilia M.B. Sardenberg, ‘Family, Households and Women’s Empowerment in Bahia, Brazil, through the Generations: Continuities or Change?’, *IDS Bulletin*, 41 (2010), p. 88.

pensar no motivo por que este homem insulta assim os negros. A greve é dos condutores de bondes, dos operários das oficinas de força e luz, da Companhia Telefônica. Tem até muito espanhol entre eles, muito branco mais alvo que aquele. Mas todo pobre agora já virou negro, é o que lhe explica Jubiabá. (*Jubiabá*, pp. 280-281)

The final sentence is nothing but a *non sequitur*. It does not actually explain why the white man insults Balduino. In addition, Balduino's final reflection is not that 'all poor people have actually become what black people used to be; but rather 'poor people are now all seen in the same light as black people have always been'. At the same time, such a claim does not address the fact that the majority of poor people in Salvador are black or mulatto. Furthermore, places like the criouléu reveal that Salvador is still a segregated city. The scene above is designed to illustrate the novel's point about class and race, but it only adds to Balduino's overall perplexity: if all blue-collar workers are on strike, why then is the drunkard only cursing the black inhabitants of Salvador? The question remains truly unanswered. The implied communist city addresses only one city binary – upper class versus lower class. Since it does not recognise the existence of the additional binaries that we have unveiled, this implied outcome might not be fully applicable in Salvador.

In *Jubiabá*, the realist style enriches the narrative with details that flesh out the city of Salvador on its pages, but these same realist elements make Amado's happy ending of a Salvador on the way to becoming the ideal communist city more unsatisfactory. The narrative empowers its protagonist, Antônio Balduino, through the heterotopia of Jubiabá's Candomblé terreiro and its rules, but ultimately destroys its significance in order to project Amado's communist version of Salvador. This implicit outcome is at odds with the multiple binaries of the city. To build a communist Salvador, Amado is still determined to destroy the original binary city in the same manner that he had proposed in *Suor*. However, he also showed in *Jubiabá* that the city is much more complex than that original binary. As a result, realism

kills the pure communist city of the novel. On the other hand, as we will see in the following chapters, the Eurocentric communist city may simply be an inadequate ideal for Amado's Salvador if the Brazilian city is to keep its own unique identity. First, we must examine another proletarian novel in which the writer sets a new heterotopia for the city without neglecting Salvador's Afro-Brazilian elements.

***Capitães da Areia*: The Heterotopian Wasteland in the Binary City**

The Candomblé heterotopia from *Jubiabá* gives way to an abandoned wharf and a gang of street children in *Capitães*. Like *Mar Morto*, the central theme of *Capitães* originates from a section in *Jubiabá*: the chapter about Balduino's life on the streets after he flees Travessa Zumbi dos Palmares. Once again, Amado chose people at the margins of society to be the protagonists of a proletarian novel. *Capitães* substitutes street children for the black hero of the earlier novel. In this section, I will argue that this new heterotopia better serves the purpose of creating Amado's ideal communist city, but it does so at the expense of the Candomblé heterotopia in *Jubiabá*. Before we begin this analysis, we shall look at the situation of street children in Brazil at that time, for abandoned children are the protagonists of *Capitães* and their condition as radical outsiders defines the novel's heterotopia.

Street children were already a major concern in big Brazilian cities in the first half of the twentieth century and from as early as the beginning of the Republic in the previous century. The end of slavery meant that many former slaves suddenly found themselves without a job; the industrialisation process also left many more people unemployed or underemployed. In this context, criminality in the big cities rose exponentially. According to

statistics from the period between 1900 and 1916, the ratio of prisoners per 10,000 inhabitants in São Paulo was 307.32 adults and 275.14 minors.⁸⁵ Ignoring the deterioration of social conditions among the poor, specialists blamed other factors for this situation.⁸⁶ A criminologist noted in 1913 that:

Uma das causas do aumento espantoso da criminalidade nos grandes centros urbanos é a corrupção da infância que, balda de educação e de cuidados por parte da família e da sociedade, é recrutada para as fileiras do exército do mal.⁸⁷

Thus, the explanation for youth criminality lay in a simplistic binary – good hard-working families versus lazy irresponsible families – that stands as the bourgeois counterpoint to Amado's usual Manichean binary of the city – bad oppressors versus good oppressed. In Salvador, the 'legião de desgraçadinhos que anda por ahi' worried the upper classes.⁸⁸ Invariably, law enforcement was posed as the solution to this problem as the newspapers reported:

[...] o Sr. Subcommissario do districto do Pilar conseguiu prender uma quadrilha de menores que por aquelle districto entregavam-se a practica da gatunagem, visitando os quintaes alheios, de onde furtavam galinhas, roupas, etc.⁸⁹

Hoje pela manhã na rua Chile, em frente às Duas Américas, quando por ali passava um omnibus com destino ao Terreiro, um moleque destes que perambulam pelas nossas ruas, pilheriou com o conductor do carro e como fosse repellido, atirou para dentro do omnibus uma grande pedra que por um milagre não attingiu o rosto de uma senhorinha.⁹⁰

The few initiatives that aimed at taking these children off the streets, such as the Escola Aprendizes de Marinheiros, systematically excluded black people.⁹¹ As *Capitães* shows, the situation did not improve in the least under the Vargas government. Amado's participation in

⁸⁵ Marco Antonio Cabral dos Santos, 'Criança e Criminalidade no Início do Século XX', in *História das Crianças no Brasil*, ed. by Mary Del Priore. Electronic edn. (São Paulo: Contexto, 2010), 6 of 33.

⁸⁶ Santos, 8 of 33.

⁸⁷ João Bonuma, *Menores Abandonados e Criminosos* (Santa Maria: Papelaria União, 1913), p. 47.

⁸⁸ 'Pelas Creanças', *Diário da Bahia*, 03/04/1903, front page.

⁸⁹ *Diário da Bahia*, 03/04/1903, front page.

⁹⁰ *Jornal A Tarde*, 04/02/1936. Rua Chile, as we have seen, was Balduino's favourite begging spot in *Jubiabá*.

⁹¹ Walter Fraga Filho, *Mendigos, Vadios e Moleques na Bahia do Século XIX* (Salvador: EDUFBA, 1996), p. 190.

campaigns against Vargas and the publication of novels such as *Capitães* got the writer into trouble. By 1937, Getúlio Vargas had established the Estado Novo dictatorship and declared Amado's work subversive. With Vargas's authoritarian government on the rise, Amado's novel of the same year promoted street children from outcasts to heroes who would help build a communist space. As a result, all of Amado's books were burned and the author was arrested.

In *Capitães*, a group of abandoned children struggle for survival on the streets of Salvador. They band together in a gang called the Captains of the Sands, a reference to the dunes on which they established their headquarters, near an abandoned wharf in the city's old harbour area. Their leader is the scar-faced Pedro Bala, whose father, a stevedore leader, had been shot dead during a workers' protest. Amado introduces other boys from the gang: Professor, an avid reader and aspiring artist; João Grande, a burly, good-hearted black boy; the pious Pirulito, who wants to serve God; Boa-Vida, a strong mulatto who enjoys doing nothing; the bitter Sem-Pernas, whose limp gave him his nickname; Gato, a vain seducer who grows up to become a pimp and a con artist; and other boys 'de todas as cores e as idades mais variadas, desde os nove aos dezesseis anos'.⁹²

These boys survive by begging and stealing on the streets, robbing houses or doing all these things for the grown-ups who request their help. One of their favourite cons is having Sem-Pernas pose as a poor orphan for well-to-do people to take pity on and adopt him. After a couple of weeks in the house, Sem-Pernas provides a way for the others to break in and steal goods. These daring actions spread the Captains of the Sands' notoriety across Salvador. However, some adults try to relieve their hardship by offering support: Mãe Aninha, a Candomblé priestess, João de Adão, a stevedore who tells Pedro Bala stories about his father,

⁹² Jorge Amado, *Capitães da Areia*, São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2009, p. 26. Further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.

and Father José Pedro, an idealist Catholic priest who aims to make the children's lives better.

The arrival of a girl, Dora, at the wharf disrupts the gang's routine. After her parents die, she walks around the city with her little brother trying to find a job as a maid in the rich districts of Salvador. One afternoon, she meets João Grande and Professor at a city square and shares a piece of bread with them. They take her to their headquarters, but the boys threaten to rape her. Pedro Bala arrives and orders them to leave her alone. Little by little, Dora's motherly attitude conquers the boys. Both Pedro and Professor fall in love with her, but Dora becomes interested in Pedro and heartbroken Professor never confesses his love to her.

Dora demands to take part in the boys' activities on the streets of Salvador. Reluctantly, Pedro Bala accepts and Dora garners the boys' admiration. During a robbery attempt, the police catch her and Pedro and send them to separate juvenile detention centres. Pedro is tortured and beaten but he manages to escape with the help of the Captains of the Sands on the outside. Together, they release Dora and take her back to the wharf, but Dora had become ill in the detention centre. Mãe Aninha tries to heal her to no effect. Dora dies and her body is taken down to the sea during a Candomblé ritual.

The boys grow up and follow separate paths. An art teacher discovers Professor's drawings on the streets and sends the boy to a School of Fine Arts in Rio. During a chase, rather than be captured by the police, Sem-Pernas kills himself by jumping from a balustrade in the hill-top Praça Visconde de Cayru onto the Cidade Baixa below. Gato becomes a hustler in Salvador and later in Southern Bahia. Father José Pedro takes Pirulito to a Catholic seminary. João de Adão and a communist college student approach Pedro Bala and the Captains to help blue-collar workers with their strike. The boys thwart the efforts of the

picket-line crossers who were hired by the employers. The strike succeeds and the boys are enlisted in the proletarian movement. Meanwhile, João Grande becomes a sailor in the merchant navy. Pedro Bala leaves the gang to organise abandoned children into assault troops and help strikers in Aracaju, capital of the neighbouring state of Sergipe.

In *Capitães*, Salvador is a binary of oppressors and oppressed much like in *Jubiabá*, but this time class conflict rather than race seems to drive the city's division from the start. I will explore the features of this binary to assess in detail how the Salvador in this novel differs from the one in *Jubiabá*. The introductory section of *Capitães* presents the binary city from a different perspective this time. It uses newspaper clippings to provide the Salvador elite's point of view about the street children, but it also reveals how they perceive the urban fabric: '[...] meninos assaltantes e ladrões que infestam a nossa urbe. [...] que já não deixam a cidade dormir em paz o seu sono tão merecido' (*Capitães*, p. 9). The article shows the city as a characteristically orderly space and the street children are placed completely outside this order. They are disruptors, strange bodies in the regular organism of the city as they 'infect' it like germs in a sane body. This mention of infection mirrors a similar comment in *Suor*, as we have seen in Chapter 1. *Capitães* re-introduces the idea that the lower class, and especially the lumpen, are filth in an otherwise clean urban space. At the end of the nineteenth century and in the early decades of the twentieth century, Brazilian elites advocated that social problems were caused by health and sanitation issues. Public policies were underscored by biological explanations.⁹³ Consequently, the image of the city as a living organism that must be protected from diseases became very popular. This metaphor also stresses the fact that the elites still perceived Salvador as a fortress that protects its citizens from external threats. In this modern version, the 'outside' becomes the city streets.

⁹³ Ferreira Filho, p. 241.

Illness is a recurring motif on both sides of the binary city: the poor agree that the city is sick, but they blame the disease and decay on the rich districts and their inhabitants. The city is not decaying or dying as in *O País*; it is ill, but it can be cured. This perception is represented by Omolu, the god of infectious diseases – in the novel, he is associated with smallpox. He appears in a Candomblé ceremony at the Gantois terreiro, in Federação, a semi-rural area behind the upper-class district of Garcia:

Omolu apareceu com suas vestimentas vermelhas e avisou a seus filhinhos pobres, no cântico mais lindo que pode haver, que em breve a miséria acabaria, que ele levaria a bexiga para a casa dos ricos. (*Capitães*, p. 86)

Here is another example of how Salvador is perceived through the symbols of Afro-Brazilian culture. Unlike *Jubiabá*, *Capitães* stresses that these symbols belong to a wider group than just the blacks: ‘Omolu não é só santo de negro. É santo dos pobres todos’, as Boa-Vida explains to Pedro Bala (*Capitães*, p. 85). The Catholic Church stands in opposition to the terreiro in the narrative as an oppressive organisation that is based in sumptuous places: when the canon of Salvador learns that Father José Pedro has been supporting and trying to teach the street children, the priest is severely reprimanded in an office of the ‘Palácio Episcopal’ with ‘uma grande mesa, custosos tapetes’ (*Capitães*, p. 146). Unlike Catholic spaces, the terreiro becomes a welcoming place for all poor people in Salvador; a place in which the identity of the city is better displayed. This perspective is emphasised by the inclusion of a real-life character in the novel, ‘Don’Aninha, a mãe do terreiro da Cruz de Opô Afunjá’ (*Capitães*, p. 30). Mãe Aninha was one of the most important Candomblé priests in Salvador in the 1930s. As we have seen in the Introduction, she created the phrase ‘Black Rome’ by which the city would become widely known later on. Through this phrase, Mãe Aninha reclaims a unique relationship between Afro-Brazilian culture and Salvador. In addition, as Antonio Luigi Negro and Ana Cristina Rocha suggest, she was doing something else: she was

publicly challenging the repression of the terreiros by the city authorities.⁹⁴ In 1937, the representation of Candomblé terreiros as places of resistance and markers of Salvador's identity was corroborated by ethnologist Edison Carneiro, who argued that Candomblé was a way for the city's poor to organise horizontally.⁹⁵ Thus, Candomblé terreiros were also seen as places of resistance in the city. *Capitães* shares this point of view. Later in the novel, Omolu brings his vengeance against the rich oppressors in the form of a smallpox outbreak:

Omolu tinha mandado a bexiga negra para a Cidade Alta, para a cidade dos ricos. Omolu não sabia da vacina [...] Mas como a bexiga já estava solta (e era terrível a bexiga negra), Omolu teve que deixar que ela descasse para a cidade dos pobres. Mas como Omolu tinha pena dos seus filhinhos pobres, tirou a força da bexiga negra, virou em alastrim [...] (*Capitães*, p. 139)

Omolu announces his actions in the Candomblé terreiros. The poor perceive the urban fabric as a mixture between the mythical and the mundane. Omolu's failed attempt is attributed to the fact that the orixá did not know about the existence of a smallpox vaccine. Here, the reader also learns how the social binary of Salvador appears in spatial terms. With the exception of decaying Pelourinho – which is actually a downward slope that connects Cidade Alta (Upper City) to Cidade Baixa – Cidade Alta contains most of the rich areas of Salvador, such as Graça ('espaçosa residência de gente rica', *Capitães*, p. 114), and Corredor da Vitória ('coração do mais chique bairro da cidade', *Capitães*, p. 10). The poor live in suburbs and slums like Cidade de Palha or in the area around the harbour, where Feira de Água dos Meninos is located. Thus, Salvador is peculiar among Brazilian cities because it displays the divide between upper and lower class in geographical terms. Rio de Janeiro is famous for its favelas atop the hills that surround the richer districts below; in Salvador, though, the upper- and lower- class definitions of areas can also be taken literally.

⁹⁴ Antonio Luigi Negro, and Ana Cristina Rocha, 'Roma Negra Vence Atenas, mas Não o Enigma Brasileiro', *História, Ciências, Saúde-Manguinhos*, 19 (2012), p. 1357.

⁹⁵ Quoted in Anadelia Romo, *Brazil's Living Museum: Race, Reform and Tradition in Bahia* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010), p. 78.

Capitães stresses the physical divide in the aftermath of a brutal scene on the dunes, in which Pedro Bala chases a young black girl to force her to have sex with him. Seeing how the girl screams and protests, he decides to sodomise her. This way, he argues, she will remain a virgin. Soon after leaving her, he feels ashamed of himself and angry at the world at the same time:

'E tinha vontade de se jogar no mar para se lavar de toda aquela inquietação, a vontade de se vingar dos homens que tinham matado seu pai, o ódio que sentia contra a cidade rica que se estendia do outro lado do mar, na Barra, na Vitória, na Graça, o desespero de sua vida de criança abandonada e perseguida, a pena que sentia pela pobre negrinha, uma criança também.' (*Capitães*, p. 92)

Pedro just needs to look at the city from this vantage point, the old harbour area, to become aware of his social condition at last: there is a literal gulf between Pedro and the richer districts of Salvador. In addition, the sea symbolises a path that he has to cross, an image that Amado had already used in *Jubiabá*. To avenge his father's death, Pedro must cross Salvador's divide between oppressors and oppressed. This image makes him identify with the girl that he had raped: he sees her as a victim like him. The girl lives in 'uma daquelas ruas que ficam além dos trapiches, perdidas entre o morro e o mar', a 'lost' space in the city like the street children's wharf (*Capitães*, p. 87). Amado carries this union symbolism on until the end of his proletarian novel, as we will see. The poor are the oppressed family that the rich city has abandoned. Crossing the divide is to return the city to its rightful owners, who are 'toda a cidade pobre da Bahia' (*Capitães*, p. 259). Now that we have outlined the binary city – which includes the cultural binary from *Jubiabá* – we may proceed with an examination of the main heterotopia in the novel, taking one of its main characters, Pedro Bala, as our guide.

Freedom in the wasteland

The narrator of the novel states that the Captains of the Sands ‘eram, em verdade, os donos da cidade, os que a conheciam totalmente, os que totalmente a amavam, os seus poetas’ (*Capitães*, p. 27). As poets, the Captains of the Sands become Salvador’s best flâneurs. More than any other city dweller, they are able to stroll down the streets in the manner of Edmond Jaloux’s Parisian flâneur: ‘to follow your inspiration as if the mere fact of turning right or turning left already constituted an essentially poetic act’.⁹⁶ Like the nineteenth-century flâneurs about which Walter Benjamin wrote, the street children of Salvador come from the margins of society and their existence is, to use Susan Buck Morss’s apt description of the Parisian flâneur, ‘precarious economically in their own time’.⁹⁷ Despite hunger and destitution, they are the ones who know the ‘beleza do dia e da liberdade de andar pelas ruas da cidade’ (*Capitães*, p. 131). Pedro Bala, the Captains’ leader, apparently fits the description of an idle city explorer:

Hoje tem quinze anos. Há dez que vagabundeia pelas ruas da Bahia. Nunca soube de sua mãe, seu pai morrera de um balaço. Ele ficou sozinho e empregou anos em conhecer a cidade. Hoje sabe de todas as suas ruas e de todos os seus becos. Não há venda, quitanda, botequim, que ele não conheça. (*Capitães*, p. 26)

Pedro Bala is a modern-day flâneur. The excerpt emphasises the idea of ‘knowing’ the streets – with the repeated use of the verbs ‘saber’ and ‘conhecer’ – to show how his vagabond condition makes Pedro Bala the ultimate flâneur: as a street child, his life is dedicated to wandering the streets incessantly. Moreover, he knows the city streets and becos (alleys, but also cul-de-sacs) literally and metaphorically: as a street child, social mobility is denied to him. Being an *Urform* flâneur does not necessarily make Pedro Bala capable of transforming

⁹⁶ Quoted in Benjamin, p. 436.

⁹⁷ Susan Buck-Morss, ‘The Flâneur, the Sandwichman and the Whore: The Politics of Loitering’, *New German Critique* (1986), p. 101.

the city, though. As Buck-Morss observes, the flâneur is not a revolutionary.⁹⁸ At first, Pedro Bala seems content with just exploring the city: '[...] enquanto sobe a ladeira da Montanha, vai pensando que não existe nada melhor no mundo que andar assim, ao azar, nas ruas da Bahia' (*Capitães*, p. 131). What makes Pedro Bala become more than a flâneur-like figure? His sudden moment of awareness comes after the events with the girl on the dunes. However, it is motivated by two other events earlier on that day: his conversation with João de Adão, who tells him that his father had died whilst fighting for the stevedores' labour rights; and the aforementioned Candomblé ceremony at the Gantois terreiro, in which Omolu appeared to announce that 'o dia da vingança dos pobres não tardaria a chegar' (*Capitães*, pp. 87, 92). *Capitães* shows the Candomblé terreiro as a place whose practices inspire resistance and social action, but it does not dismiss it as alienating – as Amado did in *Jubiabá*. Mãe Aninha's combative words against the rich and the repressive police 'enchiam a noite da Bahia e o coração de Pedro Bala' (*Capitães*, p. 94). In the end, while the proletarian movement grows, in the 'noite misteriosa das macumbas os atabaques ressoam como clarins de guerra' (*Capitães*, p. 261).

Even so, Candomblé terreiros are not the main heterotopia in the novel. They appear briefly in the major scenes described above, and not all of the Captains of the Sands attend the terreiros or follow their practices (*Capitães*, p. 94). Another marginal place in Salvador is the main setting of the narrative: the Captains of the Sands' headquarters in a deserted area of the city, the abandoned wharf on the dunes. The place gives the gang the opportunity to build an egalitarian community outside of the direct influence of binary Salvador. Although they have a leader, Pedro Bala, there is no proper hierarchy among them. Together they decide their own rules and experiment with social interactions to guarantee an ordered way of life in

⁹⁸ Buck-Morss, p. 103: 'If at the beginning, the flâneur as private subject dreamed himself out into the world, at the end, flânerie was an ideological attempt to reprivatize social space, and to give assurance that the individual's passive observation was adequate for knowledge of social reality.'

the wharf. They have laws that ‘nunca tinham sido escritas, mas existiam na consciência de cada um deles’ (*Capitães*, p. 111). Both the veterans and the newcomers in the group learn to respect those rules out of necessity: ‘a vida de um expulso dos Capitães da Areia ficava difícil. Ou entrava para o grupo de Ezequiel, que vive todo dia na cadeia, ou acabava no reformatório’ (*Capitães*, p. 46). The wharf provides them with the shelter in which to develop their community that the other street children around town do not have. Thus, not all of Salvador’s street children may form a successful community, only those who found solace in a forgotten space in the middle of the urban fabric, the old harbour area. Amidst their miserable condition and their lack of alternatives, the Captains of the Sands created order there. It is an order of bandits, but they have reached a level of discipline on the wharf that enables them to survive as a group nonetheless.

This organisation reflects on their everyday activities around the town. The children meticulously plan their looting activities in the wharf, which prompts other characters to hire them throughout the narrative to snatch objects from others. The malandro Querido de Deus asks for their help to retrieve a package for a ‘client’ in the distant district of Brotas (*Capitães*, p. 54). Don’Aninha, the Candomblé priestess, turns to the children for help to recover an Ogum icon that the police seized from a Candomblé temple (*Capitães*, p. 93). This capacity for planning and order catches the eye of the labour movement leaders. They get the gang to organise an ambush of strikebreakers. After the successful enterprise, the children are called to intervene in ‘comícios, em greves, em lutas obreiras’ (*Capitães*, p. 259). Thus, the Captains of the Sands shape an improvised community that, in turn, prepares them for a politically engaged life. Amado raises the abandoned wharf to the condition of a heterotopia. This marginal place develops in an urban wasteland:

Aos poucos, lentamente, a areia foi conquistando a frente do trapiche. Não mais atracaram na sua ponte os veleiros que iam partir carregados. Não mais trabalharam ali os negros musculosos que vieram da escravatura. Não mais

cantou na ponte uma canção um marinheiro nostálgico. A areia se estendeu muito alva em frente ao trapiche. E nunca mais encheram de fardos, de sacos, de caixões, o imenso casarão. Ficou abandonado em meio ao areal, mancha negra na brancura do cais. (*Capitães*, p. 25)

The wharf functions as a counterpoint to the city around it: it is inside the city yet detached from it. Even though it is within the city limits, it is abandoned; its connection with the urban fabric has been discontinued. Salvador has a newer harbour with a modern wharf some distance away. There are no longer any signs of urban development in the area around the dunes. The Captains of the Sands – who are young and have little history of their own – have turned the wharf into something new, a community that contrasts with the wider society of Salvador. Foucault interprets heterotopias as necessary 'reserves of imagination' in every society since the beginning of civilisation.⁹⁹ They may be any place in which some of society's rules are inverted or contested. In *Capitães*, it seems inevitable that such a place in Salvador would be conceived by a group of outlaws. They are on the fringes of the binary city and, as such, they are able to create, and live by, their own rules – or their own order – in a way that the average Salvador citizen could not. In this environment, the Captains of the Sands may develop a life that will allow them to take a special role in the construction of an ideal communist city. As the leaders of the proletarian movement acknowledge, they need the Captains of the Sands to win their struggle against the business owners, and keep working with them towards a communist revolution. At the end of the novel, the abandoned wharf becomes a classroom in which the Captains of the Sands learn the paths toward the communist city:

Depois de terminada a greve o estudante continua a vir ao trapiche. Mantém longas conversas com Pedro Bala, transforma os Capitães da Areia numa brigada de choque.' (*Capitães*, p. 257)

⁹⁹ Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', p. 27.

A new communist order for Salvador is signalled in the optimistic ending of *Capitães*. It echoes aspects of Russian literary utopias, such as the climax of Alexander Fadeev's *Razgrom* (The Rout, 1927), which Editorial Pax published in Brazil in the 1930s. Fadeev's novel is mostly a socialist realist narrative about guerrilla fighters during the Russian Civil War. At the end of the novel, the partisans leave the forest and discover a bucolic valley, which is described with fantastic pastoral imagery. All of a sudden, Fadeev eschewed 'verisimilitude in favour of myth and archetype'.¹⁰⁰ Amado gives *Capitães* the same kind of feverish imagery at the end of the narrative:

A revolução chama Pedro Bala como Deus chamava Pirulito nas noites do trapiche. É uma voz poderosa dentro dele [...] Uma voz que o alegra, que faz bater seu coração. Ajudar a mudar o destino de todos os pobres. Uma voz que atravessa a cidade, que parece vir dos atabaques que ressoam nas macumbas da religião ilegal dos negros. Uma voz que vem com o ruído dos bondes onde vão os condutores e motoneiros grevistas. Uma voz que vem do cais, do peito dos estivadores [...] Que vem no trem da Leste Brasileira, através do sertão, do grupo de Lampião pedindo justiça para os sertanejos. [...] Voz que vem de todos os peitos esfomeados da cidade, de todos os peitos explorados da cidade. [...] Voz de toda a cidade pobre da Bahia, voz da liberdade. A revolução chama Pedro Bala. (*Capitães*, pp. 258-159)

Amado replaces the mythological countryside with the revolutionary myth in the city. In this excerpt, he suggests an ideal future that is less pastoral and more urban, reflecting Stalin's success with his first five-year industrialisation plan. Communist order is the model with which to replace the old city order. Reinforcing the Marxist perspective already exposed in *Jubiabá*, Amado proposes the city rather than the country as the place for the revolution to start. Lampião, the notorious bandit leader from the Brazilian semi-arid hinterland in the 1930s, could only shout for justice. In the city, with its proletarian organisations, Pedro Bala and the strikers are able to offer them a revolution. Even the structure and the rhythm of the excerpt carry a sense of speed that relates to the modern city, mirroring the recurrent use of

¹⁰⁰ Bullock, 'Utopia and the Novel after the Revolution', p. 51.

electric lights in *Jubiabá*: the short sentences, the multiplicity of sounds and sights, the panoramic view of different social groups in the city, with an emphasis on the workers. Put together, these elements in the text create an effect similar to a cinematic montage. The ‘voice’ is almost hallucinatory as in a visionary political text but the resulting vision is typically urban. Amado introduces urban guerrilla fighters, as opposed to the ones in *The Rout*, to accelerate the process towards a communist utopian Salvador.

At first, the claim that a street gang’s headquarters is a kind of laboratory for a communist city may seem far-fetched. Nevertheless, this possibility is actually rooted in one of Amado’s potential sources of inspiration for the novel. In an interview five decades after the publication of *Capitães*, he revealed that ‘os grandes romances documentários sobre as crianças abandonadas e sua reintegração’ were among the Soviet works that had influenced him in the 1930s.¹⁰¹ Although my research at Fundação Biblioteca Nacional did not find any evidence to suggest that these works were published in Brazil during that period, *Capitães* does bear a striking resemblance to some Soviet novels about street children in post-revolutionary Russia.¹⁰²

Besprizornye (abandoned children) had become a troubling social issue in Russia after the Civil War (1918-1922). Displaced by famine and conflict, millions of abandoned children – seven million according to estimates made in 1921 – crowded onto the streets of Moscow and other big cities to the point where the urban experience in these places could not be dissociated from them.¹⁰³ They flocked to the big cities for beg for food and money on the streets. As Alan Ball reports, boys ‘gravitated first to begging’ but would soon turn to

¹⁰¹ Raillard, p. 85.

¹⁰² In an e-mail exchange, Paloma Jorge Amado, the writer’s daughter, told me that her father did not read Russian, but he ‘recebia publicações traduzidas para o português, o francês e o espanhol (lia bem em ambas), revistas literárias com trechos de romances, novelas curtas’ (4th July, 2013).

¹⁰³ Alan Ball, ‘Survival in the Street World of Soviet Russia’s “Besprizornye”’, *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 39 (1991), p. 133. See also Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn *The Gulag Archipelago, 1918-1956: An Experiment in Literary Investigation*. Vol. 2, (New York 1975), p. 447.

stealing if ‘alms grew scarce’.¹⁰⁴ They were not so different from the Bahian ‘Capitães da Areia, crianças abandonadas que viviam do furto’ (*Capitães*, p. 27). The plight of these children inspired a number of Soviet realist works in the 1920s and 1930s, including Viktor Gornyi’s ‘Besprizornyi krug’ (The Circle of Homeless, 1926) and “Sharomyzhniki” (The Vagabonds, 1925), Aleksei Kozhevnikov’s *Iz zhizni besprizornykh* (The Life of the Homeless, 1925) and Viacheslav Shishkov’s *Stranniki* (The Wanderers, 1931) to name a few.

Stranniki is of particular interest to this investigation for it has many plot aspects in common with *Capitães*. Shishkov’s novel follows young Fil’ka as he joins a gang of street children that have organised their own community on an abandoned barge. After a failed robbery attempt, Fil’ka is arrested but soon released. Along with other young communists, he builds and manages a colony for homeless youngsters. At this point, the novel focuses on the stories of these young people on their way to becoming Soviet citizens. Some thieves burn down the colony, but Fil’ka escapes and moves to the Crimean peninsula, the dream of many Russians at that time. Soon he realises that the promised land of Crimea is like any other place in the Soviet Union, so he returns to the big city. His transformation, though, is complete: he has become a proper Soviet citizen.¹⁰⁵

The most obvious similarity is the organisation of a community by these *besprizornye* on an abandoned site. The novel also seems to suggest that the experience in their own community, outside the system, enabled Fil’ka to empathise with others in more profound ways to become a true Soviet citizen, that is, he became so concerned with the community that he created a labour colony to help other abandoned youngsters. The major difference between the two novels lies in the fact that Fil’ka is preparing his youngsters for a communist ideal that is already a reality around them. Life in the wharf prepares the Captains of the

¹⁰⁴ Ball, p.43.

¹⁰⁵ Viacheslav Shishkov, *Stranniki* (Moscow: Sovremennik, 1979).

Sands to help build a communist system that does not exist there yet. Some people in the Soviet Union saw the same potential in real-life *besprizornye*. Russian educators of the time argued that their harsh lives on the streets had given the street children certain qualities that children with a proper domestic life could not display: ‘resourcefulness, boldness, adaptability, and similar qualities’, ‘collectivists at heart’.¹⁰⁶ Having honed their cooperative nature on the streets, the argument goes, these children developed into the next generation of communists – as *Stranniki* illustrates. Maxim Gorky, one of Amado’s heroes in the 1930s and the main ideologue behind Soviet realism, described the youngsters in Antonin Makarenko’s labour colony along the same lines: ‘I should say that life, an excellent stern teacher, has made collectivists “in spirit” out of these children’.¹⁰⁷ Like the *besprizornye*, the Captains of the Sands live in a rough environment, work in highly cooperative ways, have created their own community, and are quick to adapt. Like any street children, they know their city better than those who were raised in a safe and comfortable home.

Both novels convey a similar lesson. In *Stranniki*, the youngsters learn that there is no such thing as a special place in communist utopia: all places are part of the same global community under the revolution. Similarly, by the end of *Capitães*, Amado’s street children learn that ‘a revolução é uma pátria e uma família’ (*Capitães*, p. 262).¹⁰⁸ No place is deemed special in a communist society. According to this template, the unique features of Salvador, such as its widespread Afro-Brazilian practices and the Candomblé heterotopia, lose all their relevance in the process that might lead to an ideal Salvador.

Capitães is Amado’s most accomplished propaganda for a purely Eurocentric communist order because it renders the Afro-Brazilian elements of Salvador superfluous. The

¹⁰⁶ Ball, p. 50. See also *Na putjach k novoj skole* no. 3 (1924), pp. 89-90; and E. S. Livsic, *Detskaja besprizornost' i novye formy borby s neiu*. (Moscow: 1924), p. 23.

¹⁰⁷ Quoted in Anton Semenovitch Makarenko, *The Road to Life: An Epic of Education*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1951), p. 11.

¹⁰⁸ This is a common pattern that one may also find in both prose and poems of that time. Carlos Drummond de Andrade’s ‘Cidade Prevista’, whose verses open this chapter, is a good example of the one-nation socialist theme.

previous novel displayed the relevance of Afro-Brazilian culture to the construction of a better city order and then dismissed it. *Capitães* progressively ignores it in favour of ideology. Hence, the terreiro is replaced by the abandoned wharf as the place that is crucial to the development of the proletarian movement and the subsequent communist order in the city. If the terreiros are irrelevant in the construction of an ideal communist city, they must be equally irrelevant in this desired communist city. In addition, *Capitães* never properly addresses racial issues that were much more prominent, even if eventually dismissed, in *Jubiabá*. In that novel, we saw that the terreiros play an important role in these issues: they function as markers of identity in a city that has a mostly black and mulatto population. In focusing on the abandoned wharf as the heterotopia of choice for the development of the communist city, Amado also chooses to ignore the many binaries of Salvador in order to display a single binary and propose a simpler – yet also more problematic – resolution for the city's conflicts. *Capitães* draws the cycle of Amado's Salvador-based proletarian novels to a close by turning it into an indistinct city for the sake of a new order.

CHAPTER 3

The City of Carnival: Shifting Identities and General Disorder in *A Morte e a Morte de Quincas Berro Dágua* and *Os Pastores da Noite*

A ideologia, você quer saber o que é? É uma merda!

Jorge Amado¹⁰⁹

The masses know what Life is, and they live on in gusto
and joy.

Irwin Granich (aka Mike Gold)¹¹⁰

After two decades of committed political activity, Amado experienced some transformative events in the 1950s. He had remained a staunch Stalinist until then, a fact that can be verified in his literary output of the period. In the novelistic trilogy *Os Subterrâneos da Liberdade* (1954), about Brazilian communist activists, and *O Cavaleiro da Esperança* (1942), a biography of Brazilian communist leader Luiz Carlos Prestes, for example, Amado praised the party and sought to spread the Stalinist doctrine. However, Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin's atrocities and the Soviet suppression of the Hungarian revolution in 1956 made him re-evaluate his allegiances and finally leave the party.¹¹¹ Coincidentally, *Os Subterrâneos da Liberdade* replaces Salvador with São Paulo, a highly industrialised city with an organised proletarian movement better suited to revolutionary communist

¹⁰⁹ In João Moreira Salles, 'Jorge Amado' (Brazil, 1995), tracking time 0:13:51.

¹¹⁰ Irwin Granich, 'Towards Proletarian Art', in Michael Gold, and Michael Folsom, *Mike Gold : A Literary Anthology*. ed. by Michael Folsom (New York: International, 1972), p. 66.

¹¹¹ Goldstein, *O Brasil Best-Seller*, p. 153. See also Itazil Benício dos Santos, *Jorge Amado: Retrato Incompleto*, (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Record, 1993), pp. 161-164.

propaganda; Salvador's characteristics had no use in the construction of Amado's purely communist order.

The end of Amado's political activism in the late 1950s was the catalyst for a change in style.¹¹² Starting with *Gabriela Cravo e Canela*, Amado's narratives leaned towards social satire and a mild-mannered depiction of practices and traditions in Bahian society. Critics agree about this radical shift in his work. As Elizabeth Lowe put it, his writing became more 'subtle, and consequently more effective' with the emphasis on 'rich local humour' rather than rancour.¹¹³ For Bobby Chamberlain, Amado's style started to show an 'ironic detachment' that emphasised 'the relativity of truth'.¹¹⁴ This new approach, he argues, allowed Amado to 'call into question the dogmatism of both political ideologies and religions'.¹¹⁵

The 1960s marked a return to Salvador in Amado's fiction but his construct changed enormously. In this chapter, I will argue that Amado's first two urban novels in this new phase, *A Morte e a Morte de Quincas Berro Dágua* (1961) and *Os Pastores da Noite* (1964), depict Salvador as an inversion of his previous alienated city. As we shall see, carnivalesque chaos becomes a positive aspect of the city in these novels: an ideal element in contrast with the established order in the city's binary. Before we analyse the urban space in these novels, we must look at the configuration of some of the areas of Salvador that appear prominently in this chapter and the next – the lumpen Pelourinho and the middle class part of the city, which in *Quincas* is represented by the Itapagipe district – along with their inhabitants.

Pelourinho becomes the main setting for Amado's Salvador novels once more. He wrote *Quincas* in 1959 for the first issue of *Senhor* magazine. *Pastores* was published five

¹¹² Moser, p. 187.

¹¹³ Elizabeth Schlomann Lowe, 'The "New" Jorge Amado', *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 6 (1969), p. 75.

¹¹⁴ Chamberlain, *Jorge Amado*, p. 50.

¹¹⁵ Chamberlain, 'Striking a Balance: Amado and the Critics', p. 34.

years later. The historical city centre had not changed much since he last depicted it prominently in *Suor*. In his city guide *Bahia de Todos os Santos*, Amado had presented Pelourinho as the place where ‘a riqueza do baiano, em graça e civilização, toda a pobreza infinita, drama e magia nascem e estão presentes’.¹¹⁶ Coincidentally, geographer Milton Santos published his master’s thesis about downtown Salvador in 1959 as well. This is how Santos described Pelourinho:

O Pelourinho é uma ladeira-praça, de forma irregular, rodeada de edifícios dos séculos 18 e 19, grandes casas nobres de dois e de três andares que serviram como residências a famílias ricas, mas que hoje caíram em ruínas. [...] O andar térreo de todos esses edifícios é ocupado por comércios e artesanatos. [...] Nos andares mora uma população heterogênea que vive em condições mais do que precárias. [...] escadas estragadas, soalhos furados, paredes sujas, tetos com goteiras formam um quadro comum a toda essa zona de degradação.¹¹⁷

This excerpt could have been taken from Amado’s *Suor*. Surprisingly, Santos’s description of nightlife in the area is livelier. After ten o’clock, the city centre welcomed:

prostitutas, vagabundos, marginais de tôdas as espécies, dão-se encontro em ruas mal iluminadas. Desloca-se para aí esse comércio ambulante de frutas e comestíveis sob o olhar dos fregueses em pequenos fogões, acesos em cima dos passeios. O transeunte, ainda longe, sente o cheiro forte das iguarias afro-brasileiras, condimentadas com azeite de dendê e pimenta, por negras e mulatas vestidas em trajes típicos. Os botequins se tornam movimentados. A polícia afrouxa sua vigilância e as prostitutas (a quem é proibido fazer o *trottoir* durante o dia) podem sair de casa e se exibir na rua.¹¹⁸

Santos’s description serves almost as an explanation, not only of Amado’s tour guide but also his fictional work. In the same dismal place that served as a prison for the characters in *Suor*, the protagonists of *Quincas* and *Pastores* constantly celebrate life despite their precarious conditions. It is a clear departure from the view of Pelourinho as a place that was doomed by its past. In *Quincas* and *Pastores*, as we shall see, Amado chose to celebrate the ‘magia’ of the place with a focus on disorder and Afro-Brazilian cultural practices.

¹¹⁶ Amado, *Bahia de Todos os Santos*, p. 57.

¹¹⁷ Santos, p. 166.

¹¹⁸ Santos, p. 126.

The ‘malandro’ characters represent the places of disorder in the novel. Roberto Da Matta calls the malandro a renouncer, someone who sets out to challenge and change the rules of society, ‘dislocated from the formal rules that govern the social structure, relatively excluded from the labor market’. This exclusion from the market is a way of life: the malandro is ‘totally averse to work and highly individualized in his typical way of walking, his seductive mode of speaking, and in his singular dressing.’¹¹⁹ The malandro is someone who refuses to work regularly and makes a living out of taking advantage of other people, mainly the wealthy. He does not abide to society’s codes and moralities that ‘suffocate the nameless individual under the yoke of labour that perpetuates social injustices’.¹²⁰ In short, the malandro operates under flexible rules.

Malandros are archetypal characters in Brazilian popular culture. One of the most famous malandro characters in Brazilian oral tradition, Pedro Malasartes (from ‘malas artes’, or wicked tricks), originated in Iberian folktales and his picaresque adventures date from as early as the thirteenth century.¹²¹ The character is an archetype in many different cultures, and may be found in German folktales under the name Til Eulenspiegel, and Uhlakaniana, in Zulu.¹²² In Brazil, Malasartes retained his main characteristics, which, as Luiz da Câmara Cascudo points out, include being cunning, cynical, shameless and remorseless.¹²³ Depicted in novels such as Manoel Antônio de Almeida’s *Memórias de um Sargento de Milícias* (1854), the type of trickery that the malandro represents has been valued as having the potential to explain a certain essential facet of the Brazilian character, as it were.¹²⁴ In his influential essay ‘Dialética da Malandragem’, Antônio Candido argues that Almeida’s

¹¹⁹ Da Matta, *Carnivals, Rogues, and Heroes* p. 209.

¹²⁰ Da Matta, *Carnivals, Rogues, and Heroes*, p. 220.

¹²¹ As ‘Payo de maas artes’ in the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana*, cited in Teófilo Braga, *O Povo Português nos seus Costumes, Crenças e Tradições*, vol. 1 (Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1995), p. 281.

¹²² Celso Cisto Silva, ‘A Literatura Popular: Silêncios e Murmúrios na História da Literatura Brasileira’, in *Letrônica*, vol. 2, n. 2 (Dec 2009), p. 241.

¹²³ Luiz da Câmara Cascudo, *Dicionário do Folclore Brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Ediouro, nd), pp. 536-537.

¹²⁴ Tânia Pellegrini, ‘No Fio da Navalha: Literatura e Violência no Brasil de Hoje’, *Estudos de Literatura Brasileira Contemporânea*, n. 24 (2004), p. 18.

character represents the popular tradition of its time and his characteristics make him more of a popular hero than an anti-hero.¹²⁵ He has a flexible way of dealing with social codes, and is always relativising them. In other words, he plays with the established rules. *Quincas* and *Pastores* follow this malandro tradition as they present several tricksters, like Cabo Martim, Jesuíno Galo Doido, Quincas Berro Dágua, and even a trickster god, Exu, the messenger orixá. The prevalence of the malandro in these narratives indicates a representation of Salvador in which alternative uses of the urban space become important. The malandro is associated with the lower-class areas in these novels.

Despite the permanence of abject poverty in the city centre, the rest of Salvador was drastically transformed in the late 1950s. As we have seen in the Introduction, Salvador was finally experiencing the effects of an economic boom, which began with the discovery of new oil reserves in the Recôncavo area. In the early 1960s, the federal government started an ambitious programme of investment in Northeastern Brazil through Sudene (Superintendência do Desenvolvimento do Nordeste). The state of Bahia received most of this investment, which translated into roughly 260,000 new jobs in Salvador. The Bahian capital began to lose its rural aspect rapidly.¹²⁶ The historical central area of Pelourinho continued to be a poor enclave of prostitutes and various types of lumpen but its decaying historic buildings had also gained status as a tourist attraction, feeding a new sector of the economy. Economic development unfolded into the growth of a middle class that was eager to experience the latest trends in bourgeois life in the capital of Bahia.

The Bahian middle class, like the Brazilian middle class in general, lived in a constant state of anxiety. In his study of advertisements designed for a middle class audience from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo in the first half of the twentieth century, Brian P. Owens observed

¹²⁵ Candido, 'Dialética da Malandragem', in *O Discurso e a Cidade* (São Paulo: Duas Cidades, 1993), p. 26.

¹²⁶ Risério, *Cidade da Bahia*, 5 Terra em Transe – 90-91 of 199.

that the hope of ascending to a better life implicitly carried with it the fear of falling ‘to a social level symbolized by the manual worker’.¹²⁷ In the specific case of Salvador, the great number of maids and informal workers made for an even more compelling imagery of defeat. Anxiety often translated into disgust. In *Quincas* and *Pastores*, the middle class are portrayed as the ‘classes conservadoras’ who abhor the lower class. Implicit in this anxiety was the assumption that the poor were simply underachievers, too lazy to ascend in social hierarchy. As they constantly compared themselves to the poor, the middle class clung to a feeling of stability and control that should be protected in their neighbourhoods. In their view, life in the lower classes involved constant uncertainty as opposed to the comfortable middle-class order. Salvador’s historical city centre provided a spatial translation for this disorder: its inhabitants, different people, such as the aforementioned prostitutes, malandros and vagabonds, lived degrading lives in the eyes of the middle class. Disorder, as we shall see in the novels, equated not only to squalor and decay but also to an unwelcome confrontation with difference.

In an essay about the American middle class, Richard Sennett described a dynamic in which the fear of uncertainty ruled people’s lives. The orderly American suburbs stood against the unpredictability of everyday life among the diverse lower classes in the inner cities. In fact, the homogeneity of residential middle-class areas functioned as a guarantee of ‘homogeneous socio-economic levels’ with the same moral codes.¹²⁸ These middle-class areas represented an aspirational model of stability and tranquillity, which was associated with happiness.¹²⁹ Consequently,

If the suburbanized family is a little world of its own, and if the dignity of that family consists in creating bases of long-term stability and trust, then potentially

¹²⁷ Brian Philip Owensby, *Intimate Ironies: Modernity and the Making of Middle-Class Lives in Brazil* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999), p. 94.

¹²⁸ Richard Sennett, *The Uses of Disorder: Personal Identity and City Life* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), p. 63.

¹²⁹ Sennett, p. 59.

diversifying experiences can be shut out with the feeling of performing a moral act.¹³⁰

When the middle class was forced to deal with ‘the disorders of the oppressed groups’ in the overpopulated neighbourhoods of the inner cities, they reacted ‘with an oppressive hand’ that indicated the inability to handle differences.¹³¹ Disorder brought a mixed feeling of fear – of sadness, conflict, degradation and failure – and disgust. In both *Quincas* and *Pastores*, Amado plays with the dichotomy of bourgeois order versus lumpen disorder in his fictional city. *Quincas* shows the conflict between these two social groups through a character that moved from a middle-class district to the lumpen inner city. *Pastores* broadens the landscape of the previous novel to show in more detail how the areas of order and disorder relate in Salvador, detailing the characteristics of the city’s social binary.

Carnival manifests intensely in the lower-class districts of the two novels examined in this chapter. In places like Pelourinho, the lumpen use play-tactics such as improvisation and ‘malandragem’ to survive and re-invent their living spaces in contrast with the manner in which these places were conceived. Two perceptions of space clash in these narratives: one held by a repressed middle class and the ruling elites and another one held by the lower classes. However, if Amado satirises the established order, does he also propose an alternative to it in the manner that he did in his proletarian novels? Before answering this question, we shall examine more closely the identification between Carnival and Salvador’s historical city centre.

The convoluted plots of both *Quincas* and *Pastores* mirror the Baroque architecture of Pelourinho more closely than Amado’s previous Salvador novels. The word ‘baroque’ has been used to categorise a style in many forms of art produced between the end of the

¹³⁰ Sennett, p. 73.

¹³¹ Sennett, p. 72.

sixteenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century.¹³² Brazilian Baroque, like the style that appeared throughout the continent in the seventeenth century, fused European elements with native motifs from Latin America. Carlos Fuentes describes it as an art of abundance and fecundity that was based on both needs and desires.¹³³ Severo Sarduy considers this dialogue of styles when he explains Baroque:

A space of dialogism, polyphony, carnivalization, parody, and intertextuality, the Baroque thus presents itself as a network of connections, of successive filigrees whose graphic expression would not be linear, two-dimensional, flat, but instead voluminous, spatial and dynamic.¹³⁴

To explain the baroque style, Sarduy uses a few concepts that were developed by Bakhtin. Bakhtin borrowed the concept of polyphony from musical theory to describe the ‘plurality of fully valid voices’ in a single literary work, such as in Dostoevsky’s novels.¹³⁵ In his essay ‘Discourse in the Novel’, he extended this concept to language through heteroglossia: ‘Language is present to the novelist only as something stratified and heteroglot’ because language in the extra-literary world is inherently heteroglot.¹³⁶ In a novel, each character’s discourse, with its distinctive qualities, stratifies language in their struggle for social significance. This multiplicity makes all language dialogic, that is, relational, since an utterance always exists in a relational continuum, in response to past, present or future (in the case of anticipation) utterances.¹³⁷ Continuous exchange of utterances cannot allow for a

¹³² Erivaldo Fagundes Neves, ‘O Barroco: Substrato Cultural Da Colonização’, *Politeia*, 7 (2007), p. 72.

¹³³ Carlos Fuentes, *O Espelho Enterrado: Reflexões sobre a Espanha e o Novo Mundo* (Rio de Janeiro: Rocco, 2001), p. 20.

¹³⁴ Severo Sarduy, ‘The Baroque and the Neobaroque’, in *Baroque New Worlds: Representation, Transculturation, Counterconquest*, ed. by Lois Parkinson Zamora, and Monika Kaup, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), pp. 280-281.

¹³⁵ Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*, p. 85.

¹³⁶ Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, Loc. 4629 of 6379.

¹³⁷ Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, Locs. 3908-3911: ‘The living utterance, having taken meaning and shape at a particular historical moment in a socially specific environment, cannot fail to brush up against thousands of living dialogic threads, woven by socio-ideological consciousness around the given object of an utterance; it cannot fail to become an active participant in social dialogue. After all, the utterance arises out of this dialogue as a continuation of it and as a rejoinder to it - it does not approach the object from the sidelines.’

synthesis, which makes dialogism different from dialectics.¹³⁸ Extrapolating these metaphors to architectural language, the dynamic connectivity of different elements turns Brazilian Baroque into a polyphonic style. Brazilian Baroque is always a flowing construction. Carnival, with its ‘pathos of shifts and changes, of death and renewal’, is another expression of continuous interactions.¹³⁹ Sarduy’s comment on the carnivalisation of baroque literature may be applied to baroque art and architecture in general: ‘Into the carnivalisation of the Baroque is inserted a specific trace, the mixture of genres, the intrusion of one type of discourse into another [...]’.¹⁴⁰ In the case of the baroque colonial buildings in Salvador city centre, for instance, austere facades hide extravagant interior decorations.

Both Carnival and the Baroque mark the main setting of *Quincas* and *Pastores*, Salvador city centre. The baroque style is still evident in Pelourinho in its centuries-old colonial buildings, especially the churches. The Pelourinho houses were built by traders and businessmen in the eighteenth century.¹⁴¹ While the houses themselves benefitted from the interaction of styles within Brazilian Baroque, they were arranged to form meticulously harmonious baroque groups with majestic lines against the natural background.¹⁴² The abundance of Baroque was set as a human counterpoint to the abundance of the natural tropical landscape. Two centuries later, after the upper classes moved away to newer and more pleasant places, the lower-class people, lumpen or bohemians live in these buildings. Their misery contrasts with the majestic lines of the constructions. The buildings themselves, which once represented opulence and power, have become a parody of their original purpose, as they crumble and decay.

¹³⁸ Bakhtin, ‘From Jottings of 1970-1971’, in *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*, p. 35: ‘Take a dialogue and remove the voices [...] carve out abstract concepts and judgments from living words and responses, cram everything into one abstract consciousness – and that’s how you get dialectics’.

¹³⁹ Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*, p. 184.

¹⁴⁰ Sarduy, p. 281.

¹⁴¹ Risério, *Cidade da Bahia*, 3 À Margem da Margem: Fora de Foco – 7 of 77.

¹⁴² Nestor Goulart Reis Filho, ‘Notas sobre o Urbanismo Barroco no Brasil’, *Universo Urbanístico Português. 1415-1922*, vol. 1. 1st edn (Coimbra: Caderno de Resumos do Colóquio Internacional, 1999), p. 475.

In the following sections, I shall analyse the novels individually. *Quincas* not only provides a closer view of the carnivalesque spirit which Amado glorifies in this phase of his work, but it also brings to the fore a segment of the city which had been neglected in previous novels, the middle class. *Pastores* adopts a holistic perspective of Salvador that expands the concept of Carnival to a new level in Amado's work.

A Morte e a Morte de Quincas Berro Dágua: Carnavalesque Kingdom

In *Quincas*, different perspectives permeate the narrative. There are two versions of the story of Quincas Berro Dágua: one told by his middle-class family and another that is told by his lumpen friends. The narrator tries to maintain a balance by refusing to acknowledge any of them as the more faithful version of the events. 'Até hoje permanece certa confusão sobre a morte de Quincas Berro Dágua', the narrator begins.¹⁴³ Salvador appears to be divided into two sections in the narrative: the petty bourgeois community of Itapagipe, who follow the order of Salvador's capitalist system closely, and the lumpen in Pelourinho, who live in carnivalesque chaos. Each sector has its own narrative focus. Using ambiguity all the time, Amado maintains the conflict between the versions and places until the end of the story.

The narrative of *Quincas* ambiguously retraces the life of its title character, who may be the only person in world literature, notwithstanding religious icons, to have died three times. *Quincas* builds upon what Earl Fitz calls a 'fundamental ambiguity'.¹⁴⁴ It follows the main character from the moment he first appears to die until his final demise in the sea. The

¹⁴³ Jorge Amado, *A Morte e a Morte de Quincas Berro Dágua* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2008), p. 13. Further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.

¹⁴⁴ Earl E. Fitz, 'Structural Ambiguity in Jorge Amado's *A Morte e a Morte de Quincas Berro Dágua*', *Hispania*, 67 (1984), p. 221. For the word Dágua, I use the spelling of the latest edition of the novella in Brazil, from Companhia das Letras, instead of the traditional 'D'água'.

narrator refuses to dismiss any of the versions of events as inaccurate. Joaquim Soares da Cunha is a retired civil servant who leaves his comfortable middle-class home and his domineering wife and daughter, to live among drunkards, malandros and prostitutes in the streets of the old city, the district of Pelourinho and its surroundings. This is his first, symbolic death. From this day on, he becomes Quincas Berro Dágua, a legendary figure among the lumpen in Salvador.

One day, in a bar, he mistakenly drinks a glass of water he believed to contain spirit and shouts out in shock, hence his nickname Berro Dágua. His second death, which the middle-class characters deem to be the official one, occurs during his sleep, in his sordid apartment at Ladeira do Tabuão. After being warned by one of Quincas's neighbours, Vanda, Joaquim's daughter, and his son-in-law head to Pelourinho to prepare Quincas's funeral. However, Quincas's bohemian friends – Cabo Martim, a skilful gambler and womaniser; Pastinha, a bulky black man who lives off occasional jobs at Mercado das Sete Portas; Curió, a romantic sandwichman; and Pé-de-Vento, who lived like an inner-city nomad – do not believe in the death of a man who had claimed that he would only ever die at sea. Quincas had told them that he was a true sailor, if not in practice at least at heart. Thus, they steal the body – or take Quincas, depending on which version the reader chooses to believe – from the coffin in his Tabuão flat, to celebrate what they believe to be his birthday. After a night of merriment, heavy drinking and a fight in a bar, they sail out to open water. A sudden storm surprises them and Quincas falls – or jumps – into the sea for his third and definitive death. His friends claim that his final words, which appear at the beginning of the novella, were ‘Cada qual cuide de seu enterro, impossível não há’ (*Quincas*, p. 9).

The main character embodies the ambiguity of the narrative and the contrasts between the novel's main settings. His identity is constantly shifting: Quincas is also Joaquim, a full-time bohemian from Pelourinho who was once a dedicated civil servant from Itapagipe; a

middle-class citizen who chose to live among the lumpen; and finally, the man who crosses worlds, neither alive nor dead, or perhaps both. Quincas's trajectory unveils Salvador in the novel: a binary that is represented by middle-class Itapagipe and lower-class Pelourinho. Therefore, I shall use Quincas as a guide to both places. To understand why Carnival is a favoured element in the representation of urban space in *Quincas*, it is necessary to contrast it with the order at the opposite pole of this society.

Joaquim Soares da Cunha lived what might be considered a model Bahian middle-class life with his wife, Otacília, and daughter, Vanda, in Itapagipe district. 'Este é o Joaquim que ela gostava de lembrar', Vanda starts to recollect during her father's funeral (*Quincas*, p. 41). The description of Joaquim's quiet everyday life is scattered throughout the novel in the form of flashbacks: '[...] ouvido com respeito pelos vizinhos, opinando sobre o tempo e a política, jamais visto num botequim, de cachaça caseira e comedida' (*Quincas*, p. 18). This excerpt highlights two characteristics of Quincas's middle-class life: appearances and restraint. Joaquim's leisure activities took place at home, far from the neighbours' scrutiny, in accordance with social rules. Even so, Joaquim did not and should not drink much. The house is the place for pleasure as long as pleasure follows the rules of this private life.

This controlled lifestyle also requires the approval of social peers, such as neighbours, who live by the same rules. When Vanda suggests that they invite the neighbours to the funeral, Leonardo asks 'Para que convidar vizinhos e amigos [...] para expor a vergonha da família ante todo mundo?' (*Quincas*, p. 32) What middle-class citizens appear to do is as important as what they actually do. Thus, celebrations also take place in the domestic environment, like the event to celebrate Joaquim's promotion in the civil service:

Recordava também a homenagem que amigos e colegas lhe prestaram, ao ser Joaquim promovido na Mesa de Rendas. A casa cheia de gente. Vanda ainda era mocinha, começava a namorar. Quem estourava de contentamento era Otacília, no meio do grupo formado na sala, com discursos, cerveja e uma caneta-tinteiro

oferecida ao funcionário. Joaquim ouvia os discursos, apertava as mãos, recebia a caneta sem demonstrar entusiasmo. (*Quincas*, p. 41)

Da Matta notes that certain things and actions rigorously belong to specific places within the house.¹⁴⁵ Celebrations like these must happen in the living room, an intermediary space. In this environment, drinks share the same place as speeches and gifts; all these things and actions must follow a formal script of how happiness should look. More than bringing actual pleasure, the beverages in Joaquim's celebration help to compose an atmosphere of pleasure that Otacília and the guests can perceive as such. It is not important that Joaquim, who is the one being celebrated, looks bored; in Vanda's recollection, this is an amusing afterthought. Thanks to the positive image that Joaquim and his family project, Otacília is happy: even in a leisurely situation, her family's social position is consolidated, life remains orderly and under control.

This environment suppresses conflict. To use the words of Sennett in his probe of middle-class life, the quest to 'avoid painful unknowns in the social arena' is motivated by a yearning for 'some secure order'.¹⁴⁶ Vanda holds Joaquim in high esteem because her father did not engage in potentially conflictive activities. She uses adjectives such as 'tímido', 'obediente', 'cordato' to describe him (*Quincas*, p. 40). All these qualities vanished when he left for Pelourinho. Vanda does not comprehend how her father could choose an errant life over the certainty of a middle-class home. The family celebration scene suggests an explanation to the reader by showing a clearly bored Joaquim. His cordiality is actually forced upon him in this environment: when Joaquim objects to anything in his everyday life, 'bastava levantar a voz e fechar o rosto para tê-lo cordato e conciliador' (*Quincas*, p. 40).

¹⁴⁵ Da Matta, *A Casa & a Rua*, p. 35.

¹⁴⁶ Sennett, p. 60.

When was Joaquim happy then? Vanda remembers that she had never seen him as happy as when he took her to a ‘circo de cavalinhos, armado na Ribeira por ocasião de uma festa do Bonfim’ (*Quincas*, p. 41). Circus and fun supply the evidence for what orderly life in Itapagipe lacks for Joaquim. His sister, Marocas, recalls earlier that he wanted to run away with the circus when he was a boy. Then, she comments that Joaquim left his family because he ‘queria ser livre como um passarinho’ (*Quincas*, p. 34). The repeated motif of the circus and carnival also points to the nature of Quincas’s life in Pelourinho. In *Quincas*, carnivalesque life is synonymous with freedom, multiple possibilities and directions, heterogeneity, whereas middle-class life requires the sacrifice of all these things for the maintenance of homogeneous order. It may seem similar to the dynamic in *Capitães*, but it is not: the free lifestyle of the street children in *Capitães* is represented as a formative experience for an upcoming communist order, whereas the carnivalesque life of the lumpen is portrayed as an end in itself in *Quincas*.

This middle-class order requires standardised spaces. A homogeneous neighbourhood signals stability and security. The modern capitalist system makes possible the creation of the tranquillity to which middle class citizens aspire. In a developing capitalist society, property ownership becomes accessible to larger numbers. To keep costs low, these houses are designed in a similar or identical fashion. At the same time, this regularity gives the middle class the comfort of order. This way, respectable middle-class people can recognise themselves and their neighbours as members of the same social group. As Richard Sennett observes, respectable working citizens ‘are now spending their time around the houses and yards’ that they ‘can now afford’.¹⁴⁷

Amado suggests this relationship between capitalism and the desired middle-class order in the novel. He closes a chapter with a phrase from a real-estate advertisement that

¹⁴⁷ Sennett, p. 67.

reads: ‘as excelências de um plano de vendas de uma companhia imobiliária’ (*Quincas*, p. 36). This quote follows a scene in which Vanda, her husband, Marocas and Joaquim’s brother, Eduardo, efficiently decide the practical details of Joaquim’s funeral and burial. Apart from Marocas’s remark about her brother and the circus, the family shows little emotion toward the deceased. Rather, they refer to Joaquim as a commodity that ‘ia dar trabalho, despesas e aborrecimento’ (*Quincas*, p. 36). It is an easy and painless way of dealing with death. By making all aspects of life quantifiable, the family makes life more orderly, thus safer. The opening of the following chapter revisits the family’s obsession with money and assets:

Tio Eduardo tinha voltado para o armazém, não podia abandoná-lo só com os empregados, uns calhordas. [...] Leonardo, a conselho da própria Vanda, aproveitara a tarde sem repartição para ir à companhia imobiliária, ultimar o negócio de um terreno a prazo que estavam comprando. Um dia, se Deus ajudasse, teriam sua casa própria. (*Quincas*, p. 37)

Their aspirations to happiness in the urban space amount to owning a property, with ‘God’s help’. Vanda and her family strictly follow a concept of time that is submitted to the capitalist order – the time of the economic space, workplaces and business – which dictates that ‘time is money’. Joaquim wanted to escape this commodified reality. In Itapagipe, repression came in the form of his wife and daughter, and through the social codes of a homogeneous place. To be free as a bird as he wished, Joaquim had to make a physical crossing from Itapagipe to Pelourinho. This change of places and identity echoes Antônio Balduino’s crossing from the hill to the city centre in *Jubiabá* in the sense that both journeys signify a struggle for freedom. In Pelourinho, Joaquim becomes Quincas to lead a life that belongs to the polar opposite of his middle-class routine, in a place that welcomes difference and conflict, as we shall see next.

The reversal of order

During the vigil at her father's apartment, Vanda provides the contrast between Itapagipe and Pelourinho when she remembers Quincas's behaviour among the lumpen:

Como pode um homem, aos cinquenta anos, abandonar a família, a casa, os hábitos de toda uma vida, os conhecidos antigos, para vagabundear pelas ruas, beber nos botequins baratos, frequentar o meretrício, viver sujo e barbado, morar em infame pocilga, dormir em um catre miserável? Vanda não encontrava explicação válida. (*Quincas*, p. 24)

Vanda's negative description of life in the city centre fits and expands on Da Matta's theory of Brazilian society, in which private space is characterised by control as opposed to the disorder of the streets.¹⁴⁸ The bourgeois practices that Vanda praises turn the house into a space of rationality. As for street life, it defies Vanda's sense of logic. Life on the streets – especially the streets of the city centre – inverts the environment of moderation that she finds at home. According to her, the good old habits give way to shameful excess; the word 'vagabundear' denotes erratic behaviour; filth and infamy replace cleanliness and respectability. 'Vagabundear' is also a Portuguese-language synonym for the aimless strolling and exploring of the streets that is characteristic of the flâneur. Actually, the flâneur life style goes against the orderly life of the middle class. Homogeneous districts like Itapagipe, in turn, do not interest the flâneur, who enjoys unpredictability as he walks through areas that offer different possibilities in his urban exploration. Vanda values control whereas her father prizes the chaotic freedom of the city centre, with all its potential for discovery. In the excerpt above, Vanda accidentally realises that Quincas has become an extreme type of flâneur, someone who literally abandoned their home to live on the streets as much as possible. What she does not understand is the reason why her father would do this. Yet, her

¹⁴⁸ Da Matta, *A Casa & a Rua*, p. 66.

own negative description provides the answer: to shed old habits in a place whose diversity would allow him to be free from those customs.

Pelourinho provides a permanent dialogue between opposites. It gives Joaquim the opportunity to change his identity from the fixed role of obedient civil servant to a multitude of other identities. Local newspapers portray Quincas alternately as ‘rei dos vagabundos da Bahia’, ‘filósofo esfarrapado da Rampa do Mercado’, ‘o senador das gafieiras’ (*Quincas*, p. 39). These descriptions carnivalise hierarchy and respected occupations. In identifying Quincas, the papers mockingly bring respectable titles to the level of the streets. Moreover, by becoming a lumpen, Quincas paradoxically turns into a ‘king’. Amado plays with Quincas’s dual role as much as with the uncertainties surrounding the character’s death. When Quincas’s friends smuggle him out of his own funeral to celebrate what they believe to be his birthday, the carnival of roles reaches its apotheosis in the novel:

Enquanto atravessavam a ladeira de São Miguel, a caminho do castelo, iam sendo alvo de manifestações variadas. No Flor de São Miguel, o alemão Hansen lhes ofereceu uma rodada de pinga. Mais adiante, o francês Verger distribuiu amuletos africanos às mulheres. Não podia ficar com eles porque tinha ainda uma obrigação de santo a cumprir naquela noite. As portas dos castelos voltavam a abrir-se, as mulheres surgiam nas janelas e nas calçadas. Por onde passavam, ouviam-se gritos chamando Quincas, vivendo-lhe o nome. Ele agradecia com a cabeça, como um rei de volta a seu reino. (*Quincas*, p. 84)

Here, the miserable streets of Pelourinho also metamorphose into a vibrant kingdom. Amado plays with the multiple meanings of the word ‘castelo’ (castle), which means brothel in the popular Bahian vernacular of that period. Its prostitutes, in turn, become damsels in the kingdom of Quincas. The lumpen procession also highlights other carnivalesque aspects: the mixture of roles and the integration of differences. Hansen the German – real-life artist Karl Heinz Hansen or Hansen Bahia – offers a round of cachaça, a typical Brazilian spirit, to the passers-by. French ethnographer Pierre Verger – another real-life character and Amado’s

close friend – distributes African-inspired amulets. A bar bears the name of a Catholic saint. At the same time, Verger must leave to fulfil an ‘obrigação de santo’, which despite the name, relates to candomblé orixás, as we saw in Chapter 2. These syncretic practices would be impossible in middle-class districts, where Afro-Brazilian culture is identified with blacks and the lower classes. The scene seems to recreate the conception of carnival theory by Mikhail Bakhtin. Graham Pechey notes that Bakhtin posed ‘the popular utopia of laughter and carnival, dialogism that has taken to the streets’ in opposition to the ‘monologism of “actually existing” socialism in the Stalinist period’.¹⁴⁹ During Carnival, according to Bakhtin, ‘the world is open and free’.¹⁵⁰ *Quincas* literally takes dialogism to the streets in opposition to the monological order of middle-class Itapagipe. However, even if celebrations like the one above are as temporary as a Carnival festival, dialogical life is permanent in the bars, brothels and residences of Pelourinho.

When Vanda visits Quincas’s flat to mourn her father, *Quincas* lays bare the contrast between lumpen and middle-class spaces in Salvador. Everything in the place bothers her, even the world outside. ‘Os ruídos de uma vida pobre e intensa, desenvolvendo-se pela ladeira’, come from Ladeira do Tabuão, next to Ladeira do Pelourinho (*Quincas*, p. 38). Amado uses free-indirect speech to describe the area: ‘não era lugar onde uma senhora pudesse ser vista à noite, ladeira de má fama, povoada de malandros e mulheres da vida’ (*Quincas*, p. 37). The historical city centre, which Vanda perceives as threatening, becomes magical for the lumpen:

Um entusiasmo incomum apossara-se da turma, sentiam-se donos daquela noite fantástica, quando a lua cheia envolvia o mistério da cidade da Bahia. Na ladeira do Pelourinho, casais escondiam-se nos portais centenários, gatos miavam nos telhados, violões gemiam serenatas. Era uma noite de encantamento, toques de atabaque ressoavam ao longe, o Pelourinho parecia um cenário fantasmagórico. (*Quincas*, p. 81)

¹⁴⁹ Graham Pechey, *Mikhail Bakhtin: The Word in the World* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 16.

¹⁵⁰ Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, p. 166.

During this night, anything could happen. Amado writes about ‘cidade da Bahia’ but he quickly localises the seductive mystery of the city in the Pelourinho area, where the city binaries seem to dialogue more freely. This is especially true at night when the people that work nearby, in the city centre, return to their houses in other districts to rest. The conventions of the official city, products of a synthetic order that is appreciated by the middle class, are suspended to give way to a genuine dialogue; as the city sleeps, the carnivalisation of Pelourinho reaches its peak. Milton Santos described how the historical city centre ‘começa a animar-se’ at night.¹⁵¹ Couples occupy the porches of colonial buildings – which may even be the Catholic churches – to flirt. The sound of Candomblé instruments in the distance joins serenading guitars in the vicinity. Such a multiplicity of elements makes the narrator describe Pelourinho as a phantasmagoria, a constantly shifting scene. Phantasmagoria can also refer to the magic lanterns that projected scary images in popular shows around Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. In his *Arcades Project*, Walter Benjamin uses the magic lanterns to modify a metaphor by Marx, which addresses the connection between ideological representation and reality: ‘in all ideology men and their circumstances appear as in a phantasmagoria’.¹⁵² As Margaret Cohen notes, this change turns ideology into the expression rather than the reflection of the objective world, ‘its representation as it is mediated through imaginative subjective processes’.¹⁵³ In the above scene from *Quincas*, the moonlight produces the same effect as a magic lantern in Pelourinho: it highlights and distorts the area to paradoxically reveal its multiple uses – dwelling space, entertainment space – and identities – colonial site, lumpen district, Afro-Brazilian tradition. The ‘noite fantástica’ exacerbates the dialogical aspect of Pelourinho.

¹⁵¹ Santos, p. 126.

¹⁵² Benjamin, p. 575. In the original, it was the ‘camera obscura’, which inverts the outside world in opposition to the spectral reality of the magic lantern. See also Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology: Part One, With Selections from Parts Two and Three and Supplementary Texts*, ed. C.J. Arthur (New York: International Publishers, 1976), p. 47.

¹⁵³ Margaret Cohen, ‘Walter Benjamin’s Phantasmagoria’, *New German Critique* (1989), p. 94.

Disorder is also a major characteristic of Pelourinho's environment. It disgusts Vanda so much that she tries to keep Quincas's flat in the dark even during the afternoon of his wake. She closes the windows and brings candles to counter the brightness that comes from the streets below:

[...] a luz da Bahia entrava pela janela e enchia o quarto de claridade. Tanta luz do sol, tanta alegre claridade pareceram a Vanda uma desconsideração para com a morte, faziam as velas inúteis, tiravam-lhe o brilho augusto [...] decidiu fechar a janela e a penumbra fez-se no quarto [...] sentia-se satisfeita. (*Quincas*, p. 38)

In Vanda's orderly world, darkness and death represent quietude as they remind her that everything must stay in its proper place. Where there is order, there is no conflict. Conversely, the diversity of life in the poor Pelourinho streets cannot keep confrontation away. It is a complex social space for which, in her view, no simple explanation can be found, like her father's wish to live there is just as inexplicable. The flickering candles seem more manageable than the rules of such a place, as unpredictable to her as the natural elements:

Fechada a janela, não encontrava a brisa marinha por onde entrar. Tampouco a queria Vanda: mar, porto e brisa, as ladeiras subindo pela montanha, os ruídos da rua faziam parte daquela interminável existência de infame desvario. (*Quincas*, pp. 40-41)

When Marocas arrives, she cannot stand the heat in the room, so she re-opens the window. Brightness, 'azul e festiva' brings back the sounds of Pelourinho (*Quincas*, p. 45). This sequence of events makes the main city binary in *Quincas* explicit: the dialogical, disorderly Pelourinho versus monological, homogeneous Itapagipe. Such perspective actually mirrors the social binary from *Suor*, although its characteristics have changed: the middle-class area replaces the upper-class districts from the 1934 novel and Pelourinho is not claustrophobic anymore. The oppressive capitalist system remains the same. The major change in *Quincas* is

that disorder becomes an ideal of egalitarianism to be embraced, an ‘alegre claridade’. By stating that, the novel naively glorifies lumpen life in Pelourinho, but it also sheds light on something else: the multiplicity of uses that turns Pelourinho into a dynamic space despite all the poverty and misery. Commercial houses share the area with residences and churches, the proximity forces different cultural traditions to negotiate and tolerate – if not accept – differences. Public spaces become extensions of private spaces, even if in extreme ways, such as Quincas’s habit of sleeping anywhere he chooses. In short, the baroque buildings encompass a dialogic way of living, a multiplicity of practices and life styles that helps to compose a baroque landscape. In the case of the lumpen, this way of living is a matter of survival. At the same time, constant dialogue and negotiation in their lived space makes everyday life in Pelourinho ‘intensa’ (*Quincas*, p. 38).

Let us, then, examine the heterogeneity of social interactions and places in the historical city centre of Salvador. Amado supplies a guide for the area when the novel’s narrator recounts the reactions to the news of Quincas’s original demise. Tourist shops in the area raise the prices of their souvenirs ‘assim homenageavam o morto’ (*Quincas*, p. 47). People celebrated the dead man at the ‘bares, botequins, no balcão das vendas e armazéns, onde quer que se bebesse cachaça’ (*Quincas*, p. 50). We have already learned, thanks to the carnivalesque procession scene, that the route from Pelourinho to the port area is full of bars, shops and brothels. The sculptor who takes the news of Joaquim’s death to Vanda is ‘estabelecido na ladeira do Tabuão’ (*Quincas*, p. 18). Later, the narrator describes the social connections of Quincas’s friends. Pé-de-Vento regularly attends the ‘roda de capoeira de Valdemar, na Estrada da Liberdade’, another lower class neighbourhood nearby (*Quincas*, p. 61). Central markets like Feira de Água dos Meninos – which we have seen in *Jubiabá* – are both workplaces and spaces for leisure and socialising:

A roda, em frente à rampa dos saveiros, na feira noturna de Água dos Meninos aos sábados, nas Sete Portas, nas exposições de capoeira na estrada da Liberdade, era quase sempre numerosa: marítimos, pequenos comerciantes do mercado, babalaôs, capoeiristas, malandros participavam das longas conversas, das aventuras, das movimentadas partidas de baralho, das pescarias sob a lua, das farras na zona. (*Quincas*, p. 55)

Amado registers the same diversity of urban characters at Bar de Cazuza, down the hill from Quincas's flat on the way to the port: 'uma rapaziada sorumbática, marinheiros alegres, mulheres na última lona, choferes de caminhão' (*Quincas*, p. 86). One senses a constant interactive flow in the historical city centre, the 'vida intensa' that Amado mentioned earlier. In spatial terms, there is also an intense exchange of functions as commercial venues share the area with residential places, and they may even share the same buildings. Some of these places have a dual function: work and socialising in the 'botequins e casa de mulheres de São Miguel', which resemble the markets from the excerpt above, with their indistinct 'habitual barulheira' (*Quincas*, p. 82). The historical city centre is characterised by multiple uses of space.

Due to the large number of people who use the historical city centre, the area's residents have to negotiate their differences frequently in their everyday lives. Such a level of exchange in places of diversity generates a fuller experience of urban space than the one in the homogeneous middle-class model that is represented in the novel by Itapagipe. Moreover, the high level of exchange in the city centre causes its users to perceive the space in a different way. Instead of being places that generate insecurity and fear, public spaces in Pelourinho provide opportunities to socialise. Streets and pavements can provide the settings for spontaneous celebration as much as private spaces. Middle-class characters perceive public spaces as places of temporary stay and limited interaction: the 'gente de bem', that is, middle-class citizens such as Leonardo, 'passa' by the entrance of Elevador Lacerda, the lift that connects Cidade Alta and Cidade Baixa; the crowd that walks down Baixa dos Sapateiros

is 'apressada' (*Quincas*, pp. 17, 31). The lumpen and other historical city centre dwellers see the streets as a place of steadier interaction and longer stay – the street noises are part of that life, as we have seen Vanda comment. At first sight, these are the dynamics of a small town. Nevertheless, the historical city centre differs from small towns in the wider variety of uses that result from a larger number of people from different backgrounds living in closer proximity in the narrow spaces of the colonial buildings and cobbled streets. Intense negotiation and multiple uses generate a more sociable community, which is the basis for a livelier urban fabric.

Sennett recognised the benefits of such a chaotic environment. He lamented the disappearance of brothels and gambling parlours from old Chicago: these were places of 'social gathering in the old days'.¹⁵⁴ Conversely, the 'new city life' of more affluent districts suffocates 'the essence of urban life – its diversity and possibilities for complex experience'.¹⁵⁵ To economist Michael Storper, stronger social spaces arise from the close proximity of dense urban areas. In these places, the disorderly relationship 'between the parts of complex organizations, between individuals, and between individuals and organizations' produces uncertainty, which in turn demands creativity in social relations.¹⁵⁶ By prompting a high level of relationships and connections in everyday day life, cities may thrive. Even if we accept that poverty is romanticised in *Quincas*, its Pelourinho still provides models of uses and interactions for an ideal urban space. The novel illustrates the benefits of chaotic spaces within its picaresque portrait of the lumpen.

The conflict between the two versions of *Quincas's* death also becomes a conflict between two urban areas: homogeneous, orderly middle-class Itapagipe and heterogeneous, chaotic lumpen Pelourinho. The choice made by the charismatic protagonist himself indicates

¹⁵⁴ Sennett, p. 66.

¹⁵⁵ Sennett, p. 72.

¹⁵⁶ Quoted in Zygmunt Bauman, *City of Fear, City of Hopes* (London: Goldsmiths College, 2003), p. 6.

which one is favoured by the ambiguous narrator despite his efforts to keep a balance between them. The narrative begins and ends with Quincas's alleged final words, which gives more weight to the lumpen's version of events. Amid the problematic glorification of lumpen life, the novel makes a case for disorderly spaces that allow for multiple uses, which break with their original conceptualisation. Through the intervention of its residents, Pelourinho becomes a totally baroque space in the city, both in its architecture and in its multiple uses. Yet, *Quincas* is set in a very limited portion of Salvador's urban area, which renders the representation of the city binary 'order versus disorder' too narrow to interpret the entire city. I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter that Salvador was experiencing an economic boom in the early 1960s, which meant that the urban space was expanding. *Quincas* only too subtly hints at how this growth is being managed through the middle-class dreams of owning a house. *Pastores*, Amado's subsequent novel and a sequel of sorts to *Quincas*, presents the manner in which the city's growth is managed, what kind of conceptualisation of space it entails and how important disorder is for the lower-class areas of the city in general, as we shall see in the next section.

Os Pastores da Noite: Places of Exu

Pastores weaves three independent narratives into a vast tapestry of the city. The settings for the narratives range from the familiar Pelourinho to distant suburbs. They mix Candomblé temples and Catholic churches, newsrooms and the city hall, brothels and middle-class living rooms. While he repeats some binaries, Amado presents them through a different perspective. As I will argue in this analysis of the novel, the Brazilian author makes carnivalesque elements underlie the functioning of diverse areas in Salvador. In *Quincas*, we

have observed how multiple uses and an emphasis on lived experience over conceived space seem to be restricted to Pelourinho. Here, we shall see how carnivalesque elements affect the entire city.

Pastores is composed of three consecutive interconnected short stories. At first, it functions as a sequel to *Quincas* in the sense that it follows the further adventures of his surviving lumpen friends, Cabo Martim, Curió, Pé-de-Vento, and Negro Pastinha. Negro Pastinha is now called Massu, even though the details given about the character remain the same: he is the stereotypical strong black man with a heart of gold who lives off temporary manual work in the street markets and in the harbour area of Salvador. Curió is a sandwichman for a shop at Baixa dos Sapateiros. Pé-de-Vento makes a living from finding rare species of animals for academics and scientists. Jesuíno Galo Doido replaces the deceased Quincas Berro Dágua as the fatherly figure, ‘homem de muito saber’ in the lumpen district.¹⁵⁷ Finally, Cabo Martim is a street gambler, the consummate malandro; even though he claims the military rank of corporal, his activities constantly leave the veracity of his military past in some doubt.

Cabo Martim’s love life is the starting point for the first part of the novel, with the cordel-like title ‘História Verdadeira do Casamento do Cabo Martim, com Todos os Seus Detalhes, Rica de Acontecimentos e de Surpresas ou Curió, o Romântico e as Desilusões do Amor Perjuro’.¹⁵⁸ Here, Amado takes the reader from Pelourinho to the suburbs of Salvador and back to tell the story of how Martim, a lumpen Don Juan, returns from a trip to the Recôncavo having got married in secret. The news surprises and even shocks his friends, who

¹⁵⁷ Jorge Amado, *Os Pastores da Noite* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2010), p. 16. Further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.

¹⁵⁸ Cordel is a narrative form that mixes popular and folkloric elements. These books were sold as pamphlets hanging from cords in the central squares of cities and in town markets, hence the name ‘cordel’. A cordel also contains impressive heroic feats, numerous twists, narrative cycles, the ‘language of the streets’ and long self-explanatory titles such as the ones that introduce the three sections of *Pastores*. See Goldstein, ‘A Construção da Identidade Nacional nos Romances de Jorge Amado’, in *Caderno de Leituras: O Universo de Jorge Amado*, ed. by Lília Moritz Schwarcz and Ilana Seltzer Goldstein (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2009), p. 68. For a detailed explanation of cordel as a literary form, see Câmara Cascudo, *Cinco Livros do Povo* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1953).

go to visit him at his new home in Vila América, a peripheral lower-class district. There they finally meet Marialva, Martim's beautiful and apparently dedicated wife. Martim and his friends are oblivious to Marialva's past as a serial heartbreaker: 'Devoradora de homens, Marialva!' (*Pastores*, p. 70).¹⁵⁹ She fears that Martim might return to his old ways and seduces Curió to make her husband jealous.

Conflict ensues when Martim meets Otália, an innocent 15-year-old girl who started working as a prostitute at Tibéria's 'castle' in Pelourinho. Tibéria is a type of matriarch in the city centre: everyone knows and respects her, and she treats her 'meninas' like her own children. Otália is the brothel's latest acquisition. Her father expelled her from her home in the countryside after she lost her virginity to a rich landowner's son. Martim falls in love with Otália and Marialva's plan backfires: a lovesick Curió confesses the secret affair to his friend Martim, who forgives him and gives the relationship his blessing. Curió, however, decides not to pursue the affair anymore and the two friends celebrate the end of the affair by eating a big jackfruit. Marialva packs her bags and asks Tibéria to accept her as a prostitute in her brothel.

In the middle-section of the book, 'Intervalo para o Batizado de Felício, Filho de Massu e Benedita ou O Compadre de Ogum', the characters' religious syncretism is imbued with the carnivalesque spirit of the narrative. Benedita, a mulatto woman, knocks on the door of an old flame, Massu, who is black, and asks him to take a blond baby into his care. She tells him that the child is his son and leaves, never to return. Massu decides to take care of the boy, Felício, and his mother, Veveva, urges him to have Felício baptised. Massu cannot make up his mind about which of his friends should be the boy's godfather, but his patron orixá, Ogum, appears to him in the middle of the street at Barra to communicate that he would

¹⁵⁹ Jacques Salah notes the resemblance between Amado's description of Marialva and Émile Zola's depiction of the title character in *Nana* (1880), a reminder that Amado's later hyperbolic style is a development of his earlier naturalist writings. In Salah, p. 96.

‘decidir o assunto’ (*Pastores*, p. 135). He then pays a visit to Mãe Doninha, priestess at the Axé da Meia Porta Candomblé terreiro, to tell her his story. Doninha surprisingly agrees with Veveva’s opinion that Felício should be baptised as soon as possible: ‘[...] Doninha aprovou essa preocupação. Veveva era sua irmã de santo, uma das feitas mais antigas da casa’ (*Pastores*, p. 136).

When, Mãe Doninha summons Ogum, he reveals that the matter is settled and he will be the boy’s godfather. Another candomblé practitioner, Artur da Guima, agrees to be Ogum’s vessel in Rosário dos Negros church on the baptism day. When the day arrives, Exu must be honoured before the other orixás or else he may come to earth and cause trouble. The offering to Exu does not work – a helmeted guinea fowl that was to be cooked as an offering to the trickster orixá escapes – so Doninha must improvise a replacement gift. The trick appears to have worked, but Exu actually fools everyone and descends into Artur da Guima pretending to be Ogum. On the way to Rosário dos Pretos Church in the historical city centre, Exu causes chaos on the streets as his laughter infects everyone. In the church, a desperate Ogum finally finds a vessel to inhabit and make things right again: he possesses the body of the Catholic priest, who was his ‘filho’ when he was a child. The priest/Ogum slaps Artur da Guima and sends Exu away. He leaves the priest and descends into Artur da Guima. The baptism runs as planned and normality returns. Massu becomes the only mortal to be honoured as an orixá’s ‘compadre’.

The last section is the most complex part of the narrative, ‘A Invasão do Morro do Mata Gato ou Os Amigos do Povo’. Some of the Pelourinho lumpen follow Pé-de-Vento’s suggestion and invade Morro do Mata Gato, a hill by the shore at Amaralina, a distant district of Salvador, on the way to the airport. Massu and others start building their new houses there. They think the hill is public land but it belongs to José Perez, best known as Pepe Oitocentas, a powerful Spanish businessman and speculator. Pepe urges the police commissioner, doutor

Albuquerque, to evict the unwanted squatters from his property. Albuquerque sends police officers to burn down the houses on the hill. However, Jesuíno convinces the squatters to rebuild their houses. Soon, more people are arriving at Morro do Mata Gato.

One of the titles for this section, ‘Os Amigos do Povo’, is an ironic reference to the fact that several people have hidden agendas related to the invasion. Albuquerque fails in his attempt to extort more money from the city’s gambling lord, Otávio Lima. Thus, he sees the expelling of the Mata Gato squatters as his chance of gaining credibility as an incorruptible man to build a profitable political career. Others also want to exploit the invasion for political gains. Dante Veronezi, a businessman from Itapagipe, aspires to become a city councillor and to profit from building houses to rent at Morro do Mata Gato. Airton Melo, the *Gazeta de Salvador* editor, has connections with the opposition to the government and with Otávio Lima. In his extensive coverage of the invasion, he criticises the government harshly and calls the squatters heroes. His reporter on the case, Jacob Galub, wants to make a profit as well. Personal interests also guide the actions of the governor, opposition leaders and government representatives. Speeches, newspaper articles and political rallies are aimed at garnering public support, but no one actually listens to the squatters.

While everybody waits for a judicial decision on the matter, the Mata Gato squatters continue working on their houses. Otália refuses to have sex with Cabo Martim until they are married. Meanwhile, Albuquerque decides to pressure Otávio Lima by closing gambling operations across the city and arresting everyone involved with them. Chased by the police, Martim flees Salvador still upset with Otália’s behaviour. With Martim away, Otália becomes ill. The authorities, Pepe and Otávio Lima conduct secret negotiations to try to reach an agreement about Mata Gato and oust Albuquerque from the police. Specialists tell Pepe that his piece of land at Amaralina will not be profitable anytime soon because it will take a while for the city to grow in that direction. He agrees to sell the land to the state for a hefty price.

All these events take place unbeknownst to Albuquerque. While he waits for the judicial verdict, he decides to dispatch officers to surround Mata Gato. The police have orders to arrest anyone who tries to leave the hill. Up on the hill, Tibéria conducts a symbolic wedding for Martim and the lovesick Otália, who dies soon afterwards. Martim, Tibéria and a large group leave the hillside with Otália's body before the police arrive. Jesuíno is still there to defend Mata Gato with the help of some street children, the 'capitães da areia', and other squatters. A messenger arrives at Mata Gato to announce that the government has expropriated the land and they may remain there. The squatters leave the hill with flags and banners for a celebration at Sé square. The police believe that they are carrying weapons and start shooting. People run for cover but Jesuíno Galo Doido is hit and falls into the swamp waters. The police stop shooting once they have been informed about the expropriation. Jesuíno's friends search the swamp but do not find his body. Months later, at a candomblé temple in the Federação district, a spirit takes the body of a beautiful woman and starts dancing merrily. His name is Caboclo Galo Doido.

Divide and conquer

Pastores deepens the representation of Pelourinho and lower-class areas in general as thriving places in Salvador's urban fabric. In the process, it re-instates the role of Afro-Brazilian culture in creating this vibrancy. Moreover, the novel expands its influence to the entire city to stand in contrast to the upper classes' perception of the urban space. As we shall see, the result of this interpretation of Salvador is an apology for dialogic spaces that reaches a broader scope than in *Quincas*. Before we examine the ideal Salvador in the novel, we must outline the city binaries. The last section of *Pastores* displays the characteristics of Salvador

more effectively because the narrative involves several characters from both Salvador's upper and lower classes.

As we have seen, 'Os Amigos do Povo' tells the story of the dispute over Morro do Mata Gato, which places the squatters in opposition to the landowner, Pepe Oitocentas. Mata Gato is located in a new area of Salvador, far away from the city centre. As Pepe describes his speculative plans for the land, the novel provides a view of Salvador's occupation and development:

Pepe comprara aqueles terrenos por uma ninharia, há muitos anos. Não só a colina do Mata Gato mas grandes extensões, por vezes não se recordava deles durante meses mas tinha um plano para loteá-los, construindo um bairro residencial, quando a cidade avançasse para o lado do oceano. Um plano vago, a longo prazo, não seria para realizar-se tão cedo, a gente rica ainda tinha muito terreno baldio na Barra, no Morro do Ipiranga, na Graça, na Barra Avenida, antes de buscar os caminhos do aeroporto, não viria tão rápida a valorização daquela área. (*Pastores*, p. 184)

The upper class inhabits central districts such as Barra, Morro do Ipiranga and Graça, which are located in Cidade Alta or along the coast. Pepe understood the city's growth pattern – 'para o lado do oceano' – and acquired plots of land along the coast to develop them into upper-class residential areas when the time came. The road to the airport goes through the Mata Gato area, which suggests that this part of the city will receive better infrastructure faster, thus it will be highly valued. In contrast to this upscale growth pattern, the authorities aim to create lower-class residences in distant areas, with little regard to infrastructure or accessibility. The vice-governor's suggestion of how to solve Salvador's housing problem illustrates this: 'Cabia ao governo estudar a imediata construção de casas para trabalhadores na periferia da cidade' (*Pastores*, p. 238). When Martim gets married in 'Curió, o Romântico', he moves to a 'barraco' (shanty) at Vila América, 'nas proximidades do candomblé do Engenho Velho', an area of the more rural Brotas district (*Pastores*, p. 53).

Massu also lives in a ‘distante casinha’ before moving to Mata Gato (*Pastores*, p. 105). The possibility that valuable central areas might be expropriated to solve the poor’s housing problem scares the elites, as a politician’s comment implies: ‘Não tardaria e os barracos se levantariam junto ao Farol da Barra e ao Cristo, na Barra Avenida. Absurdo’ (*Pastores*, p. 238). As Pepe observes, the rich still ‘have’ empty spaces in these central districts.

The pattern of urban expansion in Salvador – apart from in speculative cases such as Pepe’s land buying – suggests that the poor are the first to arrive in uninhabited areas. Then, the owners of the means of production and the upper classes in general replace them in these areas. This process is the opposite of what happened in the historical city centre. Massu moves from his distant shack to Mata Gato because his landlord, along with other property owners, had sold the land he lived on to a company: ‘A companhia ia construir uma fábrica, comprara um mundo de terra, estava derrubando casas e barracos, dava um prazo curto, um mês para caírem fora’ (*Pastores*, p. 177). Mata Gato is occupied by the lumpen first but Pepe – who has never been there despite the fact that he owns the land – plans to build a residential complex for the upper class, who will soon be looking for newer and better places to live. Meanwhile, the poor are dislodged to more remote locations. According to this dynamic, the poor explore lands further from the city centre, and the upper classes then conquer and exploit these lands.

The manner in which the novel depicts the squatters’ everyday lives on Mata Gato highlights this dynamic. The exploitation theme stands as a commentary on historical appropriation and oppression. There are echoes of the violent seizure of American land by the Europeans in a scene early on in the novel. First, the narrator describes Mata Gato as an overtly clichéd paradise: ‘Era uma plácida manhã de sol, não muito quente, a brisa nos coqueiros, o mar calmo, farrapos de nuvens brancas no céu’ (*Pastores*, p. 185). The squatters, who were the original settlers in that virgin land, go through their prosaic routine, which

brings further references to a typical Amerindian routine: Dona Filó ‘ficava o tempo todo com os meninos’, ‘catava-lhes os piolhos’, ‘contava-lhes histórias’ (*Pastores*, p. 185). Others simply ‘descansavam, estendidos pelo chão ou no interior dos barracos’ (*Pastores*, p. 186). Suddenly, the police storm onto the hillside and burn down the shacks to reassert Pepe’s ownership, even though Pepe has never lived there. The ‘colonisers’ – Pepe is Spanish – invade and uproot the ‘original’ inhabitants of the newfound land.

Given this dynamic, *Pastores* bases the conceptualisation of Salvador’s urban space on conquest. The development of Salvador follows the idea of territorial conquest as if a re-staging of Modern Europe’s expansion were taking place in the city. Thus, the police head to Morro do Mata Gato ‘num desparrame de forças de quem vai enfrentar um exército e conquistar posições quase inexpugnáveis’ to expel the squatters and return the land to Pepe, its owner, like an army that protects a feudal lord (*Pastores*, p. 252). Like Pepe, Otávio Lima dominates the city by owning its spaces and constructions, from factories to residential buildings, from banks to hotels – he owns the city’s entire economic structure:

De Itapagipe partiu Otávio Lima para a conquista da cidade e a conquistou. Dominou os demais banqueiros, colocou-se à sua frente, audaciosamente deu nova forma à organização, ligando os diversos grupos, numa estrutura de grande empresa, tornando-a economicamente poderosa. Possuía fábricas, casas, edifícios de apartamentos, era sócio de banco, de hotéis. Para ele, no entanto, o mais importante, a base de tudo era o bicho, jogo popular, vivendo do tostão do pobre. (*Pastores*, p. 205)

The upper class perceives Salvador as a space that must be conquered rather than developed. This apparently anachronistic perception of urban space in peaceful times leads to a predominant binary that divides the city between conquerors and conquered; the conquered are driven further and further away. We may see a parallel between this dynamic and the trend that Lefèbvre identified in capitalism of the European *belle époque*: for the working class, the ‘primary product of capitalism [...] was slums at the edge of the city’ instead of the

‘one-room slum dwelling [...] at the end of a dark passageway in central areas’.¹⁶⁰ Here lies the difference between the binary space of Salvador in *Suor* and in *Pastores*. Moreover, this binary compounds the regular rich versus poor binary to give it a more complex representation than the contrast between Cidade Alta and Cidade Baixa in *Capitães*. Urban planning is subordinated to the demands of the city ‘conquerors’, like Otávio Lima and Pepe.

This developmental model, in turn, potentially deprives Salvador of the elements that make its identity: as the poor are dislodged to more peripheral areas, Afro-Brazilian practices, which the previously analysed novels relate to the poor and the city, might have to take place farther from the city centre as well. *Pastores* counteracts this trend with the events in the section ‘O Compadre de Ogum’, which provides an alternative perception of urban space, as we shall see next.

Exu’s city

As in Amado’s previous novels, *Pastores* highlights Afro-Brazilian practices as being intrinsic to Salvador. Right from the introduction, Candomblé and particularly Exu, the trickster orixá, are raised to the status of main symbols of the city: ‘Em cada ladeira um ebó, em cada esquina um mistério [...], e Exu solto na perigosa hora das encruzilhadas’ (*Pastores*, p. 7). Ebós are offerings to the orixás as part of a ritual that aims to ‘purify’ people and places.¹⁶¹ Ebós for Exu are left at crossroads, which are the orixá’s favourite places.¹⁶² Once more, Exu is identified with intermediate spaces as crossroads are places between worlds. Crossroads also indicate multiple paths and the offerings to the orixás remind us of the multiple uses of crossroads in Salvador, as we have seen in Chapter 2. They are liminal

¹⁶⁰ Lefèbvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 316.

¹⁶¹ As we have seen in Chapter 2, ebós were referred as mandingas in *Jubiabá*.

¹⁶² Baba Raul Cañizares, *Santería and the Orisha of the Crossroads* (New York: Original Publications, 2000), pp. 23–24.

spaces or points of contact for different paths. Such characteristics turn them into a metaphor of dialogical spaces, much like Exu himself. The trickster orixá transits between worlds with messages from the gods to the mortals, moving at the intersection of differences. Therefore, crossroads, Exu's spaces, are eminently dialogical, which is an important carnivalesque characteristic. When Exu replaces Ogum in Artur da Guima's body, he takes the logic of the crossroads to the streets of Salvador on his way from Mãe Doninha's terreiro to the Rosário dos Pretos church. Soon, the order of the city is turned upside down:

Bonde tão colorido e alegre como aquele vindo dos lados do Cabula, por volta das seis e pouco da manhã, jamais correra sobre os trilhos na cidade do Salvador da Bahia de Todos os Santos. Dirigia-se para a baixa do Sapateiro, lotado de filhas de santo com suas saias coloridas, suas anáguas engomadas, seus torsos, colares e pulseiras. Como se fossem para uma festa de candomblé.

[...]

O motorneiro, negro forte e jovem, perdera o controle do veículo e pouco se preocupava com isso. Ia o bonde ora numa lentidão de lesma, como se não existissem horários a obedecer, como se o tempo lhe pertencesse por inteiro, ora em alta velocidade, comendo os trilhos, rompendo todas as leis do trânsito, numa urgência de chegar. (*Pastores*, p. 164)

On their way to Rosário dos Pretos, Candomblé practitioners temporarily invert the order of Salvador: the lower classes invade Salvador to conquer the city centre with Afro-Brazilian practices. The city's rhythm, which is subordinated to means of production and workplaces, is disrupted in the process. As Exu's group crosses town, it frees urban time from the domination of economic space as if 'time belonged entirely to them'. The tram collector refuses to accept the fare from the passengers 'como se houvessem tomado o poder, assumido o controle da Circular' to replace it with joy (*Pastores*, p. 165). This carnivalesque moment hints at the ideal city of the poor that previous novels proposed through a communist order. However, *Pastores* replaces order with chaos in its suggestion of an ideal Salvador. In carnivalesque manner, Exu flaunts the conceptualisation of urban space, which is linear,

‘colourless’. The novel conveys this through the reference to the colourful clothes of the ‘filhas de santo’, and in the description of the environment: ‘Uma atmosfera azul cobria a cidade, a madrugada permanecia no ar, a gente ria nas calçadas’ (*Pastores*, p. 165). The word ‘azul’, also used to describe life in Pelourinho in *Quincas*, does not have the same connotation of sadness as the English ‘blue’. Quite the contrary, it indicates joy and contentment. These events carnivalise the strikes in Amado’s proletarian novels:

O bonde ficou vazio, largado nos trilhos, pois também o condutor e o motorneiro, num mesmo impulso, abandonaram o veículo e aderiram ao cortejo. Com isso iniciou-se o congestionamento de trânsito a criar tanta confusão na cidade, perturbando o comércio e a indústria. Alguns choferes de caminhão largaram, na mesma hora e sem combinação prévia, seus pesados veículos nas Sete Portas, em frente ao Elevador Lacerda, nas Docas, na estação da Calçada, no ponto de bonde de Amaralina, nas Pitangueiras e em Brotas, e dirigiram-se todos para a igreja do Rosário dos Negros. Três marinetes cheias de operários decidiram pelo feriado, em rápida assembleia, e vieram para a festa. (*Pastores*, p. 165)

At the prompt of Exu’s laughter, the poor leave their work places around town to literally take the central area of the city. Laughter is one of Exu’s distinctive characteristics in folk tales and traditions.¹⁶³ Trickery, mischievousness, and malice made Brazilian people associate Exu with the figure of the devil in Christianity. Amado attributes it to Exu’s trickster trait: ‘o orixá mais discutido, moleque e sem juízo, gozador [...] Tantas e quantas já fizera a ponto de ser confundido com o diabo’ (*Pastores*, p. 159).¹⁶⁴ Exu’s disruptive behaviour is associated with his transformative aspect. Exu stands as a symbol of chaos in opposition to the city’s symbol of order and stability, Oxalá, the wise old orixá and creator of man. In *Pastores*, Amado recalls the syncretic adoration of Oxalá and Jesus Christ, also known as Senhor do Bonfim, whose church is the most popular in the city of Salvador (*Pastores*, p. 159). The Jesus-Devil dynamic provides a dialogue between the two opposites

¹⁶³ Ralph Cheo Thurmon, ‘How Sky and Earth Became One: A Yoruba Creation Story’, in *Black-Eyed Peas for the Soul: Tales to Strengthen the Spirit and Encourage the Heart*, ed. by Donna Williams (London: Fireside, 1998), p. 58.

¹⁶⁴ Later, for the opening of Fundação Casa de Jorge Amado, which holds his archives, Amado elaborated on his description of Exu: ‘em verdade ele é apenas o orixá em movimento, amigo de um bafafá, de uma confusão mas, no fundo, excelente pessoa. De certa maneira é o Não onde só existe o Sim; o Contra em meio do a Favor; o intrépido e o invencível.’ (Jorge Amado, ‘O Guardião’, Fundação Casa de Jorge Amado, http://www.jorgeamado.org.br/?page_id=53).

in the city's religious-cultural binary, Catholicism and Candomblé. Moreover, it confirms the Oxalá-Exu dichotomic nature of the city. Exu's endlessly transformative element is highlighted by the ruse in which he takes on multiple identities: the orixá adopts the identity of Ogum in Artur da Guima's body. He is replacing Ogum, who in turn descends to earth to be the godfather of a mortal for the first time ever. Therefore, Exu temporarily subverts an already subverted order.

Exu's transformation of the city on the day of Felício's baptism is a temporary event. However, the mixture of cultures is part of everyday life in Rosário dos Pretos church. This place contains the seeds of the model for Salvador that Amado will propose in his next novels. In 'O Compadre de Ogum', the church is portrayed as a syncretic space that mediates cultural and social differences. The majority of its congregation also practice Candomblé, 'misturavam o santo romano e o orixá africano, confundindo-o em uma única divindade' (*Pastores*, p. 150). Amado had already described religious syncretism in *Jubiabá*, but *Pastores* brings this tradition inside a Catholic church, a space belonging to the dominant religion in the city. Rosário dos Pretos is a big, old church in the historical city centre. Father Gomes, the priest at Rosário dos Pretos, is aware of the cultural mixture, which does not bother him, 'não sendo ele um sectário. Afinal era uma boa gente aquela do Pelourinho, católicos todos. Mesmo misturando santos e orixás' (*Pastores*, p. 151). We have already seen how terreiros are syncretic places in *Jubiabá*. *Pastores* shows the colonial church in Pelourinho as another possible place of mixture and dialogue in the city, implying that a change in the paradigms of spatial conceptualisation in Salvador is possible.

This positive representation of the city in the novel elaborates on the shift from order to chaos that Amado effected in *Quincas*. In that novel, chaos seems to be the dominant force in the poor's perception of the city. *Pastores* poses the necessity for chaos as a transformative element in the city dynamics but it also implies that it must dialogue with order in the

construction of a balanced urban fabric. The novel provides this carnivalesque dialogue within the context of Afro-Brazilian culture. As Exu arrives at the church, he must leave Artur da Guima's body so that Ogum can restore order once more. In the process, the orixás and Candomblé practitioners perform a symbolic 'purification' of Pelourinho. In *Suor*, the demonstration by the lower class is repressed by the police, who surround them from all the paths that lead to Pelourinho Square. In *Pastores*, the poor follow the same route to a different outcome: 'No largo encontraram-se os dois cortejos, vindo o de Ogum na baixa do Sapateiro, chegando o de Veveva do Terreiro de Jesus' (*Pastores*, p. 165). Mãe Doninha, who represents Afro-Brazilian culture, reaches Pelourinho from Baixa dos Sapateiros while Veveva, Massu's mother, comes with her baby grandson from the core of the city, Terreiro de Jesus. Veveva represents the poor of the city and she provides an image of hope by carrying a newborn in her arms to be baptised. In this scene, *Pastores* suggests a dialogical ideal as it brings the lower classes back to the city centre. However, the poor are using the colonial area in new and unexpected ways. Their perception of space clashes with the manner in which the capitalist city re-conceived the area in the twentieth century – as a place of oppression and segregation in the 'fedorentos cortiços da cidade velha onde se amontoavam famílias e famílias em pequenos e escuros cubículos', a reality that we have seen depicted in *Suor* (*Pastores*, p. 184). For a limited time, the dialogical ideal replaces the monological city pattern – domination and increasing segregation to peripheral areas.

The extreme carnivalesque model of Exu's parade across town may not provide a sustainable representation of space in the long term, but its joyful aspect signals another characteristic of Salvador in the novel: play-forms as an alternative use of urban space. We have already seen this pattern of play in the multiple uses of the Pelourinho area in *Quincas*, but *Pastores* shows the use of play-forms as resistance practices by the lower classes. Poverty is a common feature of Brazilian cities and towns. However, the poor in the novel

develop practices of resistance and perceptions of the urban space that relate closely to Salvador's heritage and history. Similar to Exu, who liberates the city streets from its assigned spatial practices, the poor resist their condition by using any available piece of the urban space to celebrate. While the squatters rebuild their shacks, which had been destroyed by the police, they also have fun: 'estavam outra vez levantando seus barracos na maior animação [...] Martim ao violão, a gente trabalhando e cantando' (*Pastores*, p. 187). It is a radical departure from a similar scene in *Suor*, in which immigrants from the backlands and the washerwomen mingle through music in the women's workplace. There, Amado saw play as a form of alienation. Here, it is bonding and provides motivation for work. In *Bahia de Todos os Santos*, Amado had already stressed the multiple roles of these forms of play in Salvador:

O povo é mais forte do que a miséria. Impávido, resiste às provações, vence as dificuldades. De tão difícil e cruel, a vida parece impossível e no entanto o povo vive, luta, ri, não se entrega. Faz suas festas, dança suas danças, canta suas canções, solta sua livre gargalhada, jamais vencido. Mesmo o trabalho mais árduo, como a pesca de xaréu, vira festa. Em tendo ocasião, o povo canta e dança. Em terra ou no mar, nos saveiros e jangadas, nas canoas. Por isso mesmo a Bahia é rica de festas populares. Festas de rua, de igreja, de candomblé. Guardam todas elas nossa marca original de miscigenação, de nossa civilização mestiça.¹⁶⁵

According to Amado, the celebrations and cultural practices of this mixed-race civilisation in Salvador belong to the 'povo', the city's poor people, who have an authentic *joie de vivre*. Amado likens their celebrations, which feature music and dance, to acts of defiance. In *Pastores*, the harder their lives are, 'mais riam eles, e os sons dos violões e das harmônicas, a música e as palavras das canções nasciam e se elevavam no morro do Mata Gato', and wherever other poor people lived in Salvador, 'na estrada da Liberdade, no Retiro' (*Pastores*, p. 243). At the same time, these forms of play function as bonding affirmation among the poor:

¹⁶⁵ Amado, *Bahia de Todos os Santos*, p. 14. I shall stress that when he writes 'Bahia', Amado is referring to Salvador as this is a guide to the city.

Era uma gente necessitada [...], mas nem por isso deixavam-se vencer pela pobreza, colocavam-se acima da miséria, não se entregavam ao desespero, não eram tristes e sem esperança. Ao contrário, superavam sua mísera condição e sabiam rir e divertir-se. [...] A vida animava-se intensa e apaixonada. O batuque do samba gemia nas noites de tambores. Os atabaques chamavam para a festa dos orixás, os berimbaus para a brincadeira de Angola, a capoeira. (*Pastores*, p. 184)

The excerpt exemplifies a romanticised view of the poverty in Salvador in Amado's later fiction, echoing *Quincas*. Yet it also stresses the importance of play and Afro-Brazilian practices in the poor's perception of Salvador. As we have seen in the analysis of previous novels, these are all cultural practices that Amado relates to the identity of the city, 'cidade negra da Bahia' (*Quincas*, p. 88). The constant references to laughter, Exu's distinctive characteristic, are not gratuitous; Amado also references Candomblé as being a major aspect of Salvador's culture. Once more, such a depiction of the poor's cultural practices is a radical departure from *Suor*. In that novel, which followed Communist ideology, poverty, being a result of oppression, made the poor depressed. Consequently, parties and celebrations were considered symptoms of alienation. *Pastores* portrays these cultural practices as a celebration of life and a mode of resistance. The atabaques, which signalled a call to arms in Amado's proletarian novels, announce a celebration of life despite the suffering in *Quincas* and *Pastores*. The poor's music and dance become celebrations of Salvador since they contain the mark of the city's identity.

Pastores has many aspects in common with *Cannery Row* (1945) by John Steinbeck in the way it extensively incorporate carnivalesque elements into the narrative. Like Amado, Steinbeck insists that, as Susan Shillinglaw puts it, 'place is defined by the interaction of inhabitants and their environment', that is, perceptions of space and lived experience must take precedence over conceptualisation of space.¹⁶⁶ *Cannery Row* follows the lives of the residents of a street in Monterey, California. In Steinbeck's picaresque novel, a group of bums

¹⁶⁶ Susan Shillinglaw, 'Introduction', in John Steinbeck, *Cannery Row* (London: Penguin, 2000), p. vi.

throw a party for a friend, a marine biologist, but their plans go awry so they decide to throw another party to make amends for the distress that they caused with the first one. Steinbeck glorifies a free-spirited way of life in opposition to bourgeois values. Despite mentioning the hardship faced by his characters, Amado still portrays Pelourinho in both *Quincas* and *Pastores* as a realm of happiness in contrast with the hypocritical life of the middle class (in *Quincas*) and the powerful (in *Pastores*). Similar to Steinbeck's *Cannery Row*, Amado's world is a place in which the rules of bourgeois society matter very little, and this is portrayed as a positive thing. Like Cannery Row, Pelourinho thrives in carnivalesque disorder. Tibéria, the madam portrayed by Amado as a benevolent matriarchal figure, echoes Dora Flood, a similar character in John Steinbeck's novel *Cannery Row*. Dora, 'madam and girl for fifty years', has made herself respectable through 'charity and a certain realism'.¹⁶⁷ Like Tibéria, a character that we will examine further, Dora also treats her prostitutes kindly, never putting aside even those who 'are fairly inactive due to age and infirmities'.¹⁶⁸ The ability to play and survive provides another connection between Amado's lower-class characters and Steinbeck's lumpen in *Cannery Row*. Despite all the vicissitudes of their uncertain lifestyle, the true users of Cannery Row, Mack and his friends, turn it into a place for living gracefully:

Mack and the boys are the Beauties, the Virtues, the Graces. In the world ruled by tigers with ulcers, rutted by strictured bulls, scavenged by blind jackals, Mack and the boys dine delicately with the tigers, fondle the frantic heifers, and wrap up the crumbs to feed the sea gulls of Cannery Row. What can it profit a man to gain the whole world and to come to his property with a gastric ulcer, a blown prostate, and bifocals? [...] Our Father who art in nature, who has given the gift of survival to the coyote, the common brown rat, the English sparrow, the house fly and the moth, must have a great and overwhelming love for no-goods and blots-on-the-town and bums, and Mack and the boys. Virtues and graces and laziness and zest.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ Steinbeck, p. 60.

¹⁶⁸ Steinbeck, p. 61.

¹⁶⁹ Steinbeck, pp. 58-59.

Both Amado and Steinbeck confer ‘the gift of survival’ on their characters. Steinbeck echoes Matthew’s beatitudes in the Bible in that his meek and pure in heart inherit the earth with God’s blessings. Amado turns his lumpen into the rightful owners of Salvador, whose urban fabric is inseparable from the poor’s cultural practices and symbols, such as Exu, the messenger between mythical and human worlds. However, the rich own the city *de facto*, as exemplified by Pepe, who owns the land at Mata Gato. Even when his land is expropriated, Pepe finds a way to exploit that space economically: ‘Hoje o Mata Gato é um verdadeiro bairro e lá já se levanta até a fachada decorada de uma das Padarias Madrid, da rede de Pepe Oitocentas’ (*Pastores*, p. 173). Celebrations became the solution the poor found to enable them to ‘viver quando já não existiam condições senão para morrer’ (*Pastores*, p. 243). In short, the poor’s perception of space shall never overcome the oppressive conceptualisation of Salvador. It is a fatalistic assessment that Amado draws from another of the city’s popular traditions, cordel literature. As Mark Curran explains, a moralist cycle of cordel narratives deals with the way of the world: ‘assim é o mundo e assim será’.¹⁷⁰ The poor resist oppression through their play-forms, even though these practices shall not change the social configuration of Salvador by themselves.

Even if the assessment of the city binary is fatalistic, the lived experience of people in the poor areas of the city also suggests another aspect of Salvador’s social binary in the novel. The leaders and authority figures in the upper-class areas are all men: Otávio Lima and Pepe Oitocentas, who control the city’s land and means of production; the governor and main political figures, who create urban policies in accordance with the rich’s perception of space. Conversely, women manage and rule, as it were, the main lower-class settings in the novel. Tibéria, a madam with a brothel in Pelourinho, is also seen as a mother figure in the area:

¹⁷⁰ Curran, p. 34.

“Mãezinha”, eis como dizem as meninas do castelo. Gerações, sucedendo-se umas às outras, [...] sabendo todas elas poder confiar em Tibéria. [...] “Mãezinha”, eis como dizem os seus amigos, tantos e outros, de todos os meios e condições, e havia alguns dispostos a matar e morrer por Tibéria. (*Pastores*, p. 49)

As Jacques Salah observes, the motherly Tibéria is revered and adored almost to the point of fanaticism.¹⁷¹ In fact, she moves between circles effortlessly, mingling with lower and upper class, Catholics and Candomblé practitioners, ‘com larguíssimo círculo de relações’ (*Pastores*, p. 153). The other authoritative character in the novel is Mãe Doninha, ‘ialorixá do famoso Axé da Meia Porta’ (*Pastores*, p. 134). Doninha is the spiritual advisor of the Pelourinho lumpen in the novel. She summons Ogum and controls Exu on their way to Rosário dos Pretos church. Her terreiro at Alto do Retiro is one of the largest in the city and Doninha dons an ‘ar majestoso e seguro de alguém consciente de seu poder e de sua sabedoria’ (*Pastores*, p. 136). Thus, Tibéria is influential and motherly; Doninha is wise and majestic. They have a great deal of influence over two very important lower-class places, which display characteristics of an ideal Salvador throughout the novel (multiple uses of places, dialogue between different perceptions of space, experience of the urban space through transformative symbols).

The novel does not develop this connection between gender and urban space further. Nevertheless, gender-based representations of space play a major role in the dynamics of chaos and order in Salvador in *Dona Flor*, which I will analyse in Chapter 4. Either way, *Quincas* and *Pastores* already signal a drastic change, both in Amado’s representation of the city and in its implied ideal version of Salvador. These humorous narratives incorporate Amado’s lyrical style from previous novels to romanticise life in the city’s lower-class areas. On the other hand, they present a different view of chaos in the dynamics of Salvador. In

¹⁷¹ Salah, p. 103.

Quincas, it is a dialogical alternative to the homogeneous middle-class areas of the city: new and unexpected uses break with a linear conceptualisation of space and make the city more vibrant. In *Pastores*, chaos is part of Salvador's Afro-Brazilian identity, symbolised by Exu, the trickster orixá, and it dialogues with order to produce models of egalitarian places in the city. This shift in the interpretation of the city shows Afro-Brazilian practices as a positive element in the development of the urban fabric. However, the novels also downplay the racial issue that was so prominent – even if ultimately discarded – in the representations of the city from earlier novels, especially *Jubiabá*. Along with gender, race becomes an important component in the construction of an ideal Salvador in the novels studied in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4

A Country Called Salvador: The Hybrid City as the Stage of National Identity in *Dona Flor e Seus Dois Maridos* and *Tenda dos Milagres*

Eu sou aquele, que os passados anos
 Cantei na minha lira maldizente
 Torpezas do Brasil, vícios e enganos.

E bem que os descantei bastante,mente,
 Canto segunda vez na minha lira
 O mesmo assunto em plectro diferente.

Gregório de Matos¹

A Bahia é uma região toda especial, hoje conhecida do mundo
 graças a obra do romancista Jorge Amado. Faz justiça aos
 mais otimistas e coloridos dos cartazes de propaganda
 turística. Tem um sabor antigo de Portugal e um gosto picante
 e escuro de África, o que vale dizer que é muito Brasil.

Erico Veríssimo²

In analysing the final stage of Amado's urban work, I will argue that the Bahian author finally attempted to reach a balance between order and chaos when he created his Salvador in *Dona Flor e Seus Dois Maridos* (1966) and *Tenda dos Milagres* (1969). These novels expand the use of historical and cultural elements of Salvador to propose an ideal model of urban space. Bourgeois order and the lower-class chaos, which place sections of Salvador in opposition, converge to produce an inclusive urban space. The model for the ideal city is applied in *Dona Flor* but Amado re-works it in *Tenda* under a theoretical framework that is based on miscegenation. The mixture of opposites in the city is rooted in the idea of racial democracy that the main character champions in *Tenda*, which also brings a

¹ Matos, 'Aos Vícios', in *Poemas Escolhidos*, p. 199.

² Érico Veríssimo, 'O Escritor Brasileiro em Nossos Dias', in *Luso-Brazilian Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Summer 1964), p. 82.

new dynamic between conceptualisation of space and spatial practices. On the other hand, the ideal Salvador in *Dona Flor* aims to solve conflicts of an eminently social nature, as I shall demonstrate next.

Dona Flor e Seus Dois Maridos: A Place of Order and Chaos

The city is a construct that functions at the intersection of many myths. In the Semitic tradition, two biblical myths underpin the foundation of the city: Enoch and Babel. Cain built Enoch after he had murdered his brother and been expelled from Paradise (Genesis 4, 17). As Renato Cordeiro Gomes explains, Enoch symbolises the antagonism between two basic principles: the order of God and the ensuing chaos that results from the abandonment of this order. Thus, the ‘first city’ carries within it the original binary: the city versus nature.³ The other biblical mythical city is Babel, with its tower that aims at reaching the skies (Genesis 11, 1-9). Babel is echoed in the chaos of the ever-growing city, ‘whose form is monstrosity and whose target is the aimless expansion itself’.⁴ The two myths concern the idea of sin in the human order that breaks the natural order. Modernity twists this dynamic by establishing the order of the city as the natural order. *Dona Flor* re-enacts this conflict between order and chaos with yet another twist: both natural order and city order are upset by further disorder. I will argue in this section that Amado applies the idea of cultural diversity to Salvador to build a heterogeneous urban space model in which he accommodates both chaos and order.

Dona Flor follows the life of Florípedes, a gifted cook who owns her own culinary school in Dois de Julho, part of the traditional middle- and upper-class districts of the city,

³ Renato Cordeiro Gomes, *Todas as Cidades, a Cidade: Literatura e Experiência Urbana* (Rio de Janeiro: Rocco, 1994), p. 80. One might say that this binary underlies the anxiety of modernity in *O País*.

⁴ Gomes, p. 81.

which are commonly known as Cidade Alta. The novel begins with the death of Flor's husband, Vadinho, at largo Dois de Julho, on a Carnival Sunday in the late 1940s. Vadinho was a typical *malandro*, a dangerous man who was capable of being kind and seductive or violent and exploitative to Flor. Some years after Vadinho's death, Flor marries Teodoro Sampaio, an uptight middle-class pharmacist. Teodoro is everything Vadinho was not: a dedicated husband whose hobby is playing in an amateur orchestra, the *Filhos de Orfeu*, whose members are mostly from the upper class. Unfortunately, also unlike Vadinho, he is not capable of fulfilling his wife's sexual desires. Vadinho's ghost returns to do this. Flor resists, which almost drives her mad. She finally accepts her desire for Vadinho and starts a double life between two husbands.

This situation transforms Flor, who becomes more assertive and independent, and Teodoro, who becomes more adventurous in bed, following Flor's lead. Vadinho's ghost also disrupts the natural order and the gambling business of Pelancchi Moulas, whose customers suddenly begin to have unbelievably lucky streaks. Soon, everything in the city is turned upside down while the *orixás* battle Exu and Vadinho to restore order. When it seems that Vadinho will be taken back to the land of the dead, Flor's cry of love obliterates the power of the *orixás*. A new order dawns in the city. Flor realises that this may be the perfect arrangement, '*feliz de sua vida, satisfeita de seus dois amores*'.⁵ As a ghost, Vadinho cannot harm her anymore, but gives her pleasure; and Teodoro, the living and dedicated husband gives her protection and security.

The love triangle in the novel serves as a metaphor for different areas of Salvador. Vadinho, the *malandro*, stands for the chaotic city centre with its bohemian life, its low-class types and improvised way of living, which goes back to the blurred line between public and

⁵ Amado, *Dona Flor e Seus Dois Maridos* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2008), p. 469. Further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.

private affairs in colonial Brazil. Teodoro's micromanagement of every aspect of his life also reminds readers of the bureaucratic aspect of Salvador, in which public service and administrative affairs account for a large proportion of the city's income and *raison d'être*. He stands for the capitalist order and the protestant ideology, 'with its opposite message of order, planning, law and determination'.⁶ Flor, the owner of a cookery school, stands between them as she represents the petty bourgeoisie who are able to ascend within the confines of the middle class. Flor is no different from the white-collar workers and commerce owners who form the bulk of Salvador's middle class.

Roberto Da Matta used the interactions of the central love triangle in *Dona Flor* to interpret the underlying structure of Brazilian society. I shall use Da Matta's ideas as a starting point for my analysis of the version of Salvador presented in *Dona Flor*. Da Matta states that the most permanent interpretations of Brazilian society tend to contain three elements, such as in heaven/purgatory/hell, black/white/Indian, or yes/no/so-so.⁷ Thus, a third element would intervene in the historical dichotomy between personal relations and bureaucracy:

no caso brasileiro há sempre uma superestrutura ideológica e jurídica plenamente coerente e oficial, interpretada por uma infra-estrutura formada pela teia de relações pessoais imperativas que, na prática, modificam muito os termos do problema porque colocam precisamente mais um elemento dentro do esquema, a saber: a relação entre senhores e escravos, o elo entre simpatias pessoais e formulações jurídicas universalizantes.⁸

In the novel, Flor may represent this bonding element since 'a mulher é básica porque ela permite relacionar e, quase sempre, sintetizar antagonismos e conciliar opostos.'⁹ According to Da Matta, this third element established a gradation in the legal and economic condition of

⁶ Da Matta, 'Dona Flor e Seus Dois Maridos: A Relational Novel', p. 40.

⁷ Da Matta, *A Casa & a Rua*, p. 71.

⁸ Da Matta, *A Casa & a Rua*, p. 72.

⁹ Da Matta, *A Casa & a Rua*, p. 94.

the slave in colonial times, based on a range of aspects from sympathies to aesthetics. As a result, intermediate categories transformed the status of slaves: the household slave, fieldwork slave, among others. Instead of excluding, Da Matta argues that, in this third element, the Brazilian social system contains a fundamental value: ‘relacionar, juntar, confundir, conciliar. Ficar no meio, descobrir a mediação e estabelecer a gradação, incluir (jamais excluir).’¹⁰ Whereas ‘duplicity of conduct seems to be characteristic of traditional Protestant society, Brazilian ethics are ‘triangular and mutually compensatory’.¹¹ As if to illustrate Da Matta’s theory, one of the characters in *Dona Flor*, Dona Gisa, an American teacher, tells Flor that ‘uma das coisas mais admiráveis do Brasil era [...] a capacidade de compreender e conviver’.¹²

I shall contend that this third element in Da Matta’s triadic structure is nothing more than the overreach of the personalistic element in Brazilian society. In *Raízes do Brasil*, Sérgio Buarque de Holanda attempted to explain this feature of society through the concept of the ‘homem cordial’, who is averse to ritualism because his ethics are emotional.¹³ Because of these characteristics, the cordial man – as in someone who acts with the heart (from the Latin word *cordialis*) but not necessarily as in the current use to mean friendly – tends to ignore or bypass the letter of the law in favour of personal relationships. Holanda notes that the Portuguese ‘classe nobre’ that came to Brazil in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries repelled firmly all attempts at professional rationalisation in commerce as being below chivalric standards, which are based on ‘vínculos pessoais e diretos’.¹⁴ The patriarchal family became the core of Brazilian society, which generated a ‘desequilíbrio social, cujos

¹⁰ Da Matta, *A Casa & a Rua*, p. 77. See also Sérgio Luiz Prado Bellei, ‘Brazilian Culture in the Frontier’, *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 14 (1995), pp. 53-54.

¹¹ Da Matta, ‘Dona Flor e Seus Dois Maridos: A Relational Novel’, p. 24.

¹² Amado, *Dona Flor E Seus Dois Maridos* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2008), p. 138. Further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.

¹³ Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, *Raízes do Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1995), p. 148.

¹⁴ Holanda, p. 133.

efeitos permanecem vivos até hoje'.¹⁵ Thus, Holanda concludes: 'as relações que se criam na vida doméstica sempre forneceram o modelo obrigatório de qualquer composição social entre nós'.¹⁶ Following Holanda's argument, one characteristic of personal relations, the emotional bonding, provides the connection between private and public social spaces in Brazil. Therefore, Da Matta's triadic structure may reveal itself as two extremes, private and public, which connect through multiple levels of emotional bonding. If we assume that there is a binary of private versus public spaces, the tighter the connection between them – through the emotional bonding – the more dialogical they are. Flor, with her two husbands and a private space (kitchen) that is also a public space (cooking school) embodies this bonding. Next, I shall extrapolate Da Matta's triadic structure to analyse the relational levels of different urban areas in the novel's Salvador and identify an ideal urban model in *Dona Flor*. Finally, I will examine whether Afro-Brazilian culture and disorder, which had an enormous influence on the lived experience of the urban space in the novels examined in Chapter 3, play a role in defining the relational levels of these spaces.

Relational levels of Salvador

At first glance, residential spaces in *Dona Flor* repeat the segregational structure of Amado's previous Salvador novels. The Saúde district, where Flor lived with her parents during her childhood and adolescence, appears as a strictly middle-class area. Amado describes ladeira do Alvo, a Saúde street, through the musings of Rozilda, Flor's judgmental mother. Rozilda interprets her neighbourhood and its surroundings according to the social position of their residents. Thus, the majority of her neighbours are 'desprotegidos da sorte – balconistas de lojas e armazéns, empregados de escritório, caixeiros e costureiras' whom she

¹⁵ Holanda, p. 145.

¹⁶ Holanda, p. 146.

despises because ‘essa gentilha era incapaz de esconder sua pobreza (*Dona Flor*, p. 58). A few neighbours, though, are what Rozilda calls ‘famílias de representação’, that is, people in a better social position:

o dr. Carlos Passos, médico de clientela, o engenheiro Vale, mandachuva na Secretaria de Viação, o telegrafista Peixoto, senhor de idade, às vésperas da aposentadoria, tendo alcançado o cume da carreira postal, o jornalista Nacife, ainda moço mas arrecadando um dinheirinho apreciável [...] todos eles igualmente vizinhos na ladeira, os de “representação” [...] (*Dona Flor*, pp. 58-59)

Saúde is inhabited by a mix of people from the two poles of Salvador’s middle class. Rozilda is at the lower end of this spectrum as she is married to a caixeiro (salesman), Gil. Living in ladeira do Alvo, Rozilda is seen as middle class but she aspires to be upper middle class like the ‘famílias de representação’, who are neighbours in both location and social position. She contrasts the social position of Saúde with other districts in the city to reinforce her petty bourgeois rationale: ‘manter-se pelo menos na posição onde a deixara a morte do marido, sem rolar ladeira do Alvo abaixo para os cantos de rua ou para os sórdidos quartos dos casarões do Pelourinho’ (*Dona Flor*, p. 61). Pelourinho provides the closest contrast to Saúde because it is the nearest area geographically. Baixa dos Sapateiros, which we have seen before in *Quincas*, is the commercial area that functions as a border between these two worlds. The commerce and customers at Baixa dos Sapateiros – or J.J. Seabra Avenue, its official name – also help to describe the social geography of the area, as Amado explains in *Bahia de Todos os Santos*:

Alguém já disse que a baixa dos Sapateiros é como a pequena burguesia que fica entre o proletariado e a grande burguesia. Assim é a Baixinha em relação à montanha e o mar. É verdade que já os operários se misturaram um pouco à gente que faz suas compras na rua do dr. Seabra. O empobrecimento constante da pequena burguesia começa a tornar difícil uma perfeita diferenciação entre os pequenos funcionários públicos, os empregadinhos no comércio, os donos de

vendolas e os operários de fábricas ou os artesãos. Não que os operários enriqueçam. São os pequeno-burgueses que empobrecem ainda mais.¹⁷

Baixa dos Sapateiros is already interpreted as a place of social decline. Moreover, it is located below Ladeira do Alvo – as evidenced by its name, ‘Baixa’. On the other side of Baixa dos Sapateiros, Pelourinho displays all the signs of poverty that Amado described in previous novels. On a Sunday morning, prostitutes were ‘em ronda pelo jardim na expectativa de um apressado freguês matinal’ and a large number of street children, ‘rotos e atrevidos, os filhos das mulheres da zona’, roam the streets begging and stealing (*Dona Flor*, p. 136). This is far from the romanticised Pelourinho in *Quincas*. The journey from Saúde to Pelourinho presents a hierarchical landscape that Rozilda depicts according to the quality of the living quarters in each area: ‘nem porão habitável na Lapinha, nem quarto e sala sublocados nas Portas do Carmo’ (*Dona Flor*, p. 61). In Rozilda’s view, leaving her spacious flat in Saúde for either of those places would reduce her children’s social and professional prospects to the extent that they might become ‘caixeirinho de vida inteira’ or flirting waitresses at bars and cafés, ‘caminho direto para a zona, para o horror das ruas de mulheres-damas’, which are located in the Pelourinho area (*Dona Flor*, p. 62). The physical path to Pelourinho is described as a route down the social order. This image reinforces a perception of space that we have already seen in *Suor*, *Jubiabá* and *Capitães*: the hilly streets of the city centre represent physical levels of the social ladder, from Cidade Alta to Cidade Baixa. In Rozilda’s description, these places and its dwellers do not mix, in the same way that people from Itapagipe did not mix with the lumpen of the historical city centre in *Quincas*. Based on the presentation of these areas in *Dona Flor*, Salvador continues to be a segregational space.

Three other social spaces in the novel contrast with this binary landscape: Tabaris cabaret, the rich houses of the Filhos de Orfeu orchestra members and the Sociedade Bahiana

¹⁷ Amado, *Bahia de Todos os Santos*, p. 66.

de Farmácia building. In Tabaris, Vadinho gambles intensely ‘à tarde e à noite’ (*Dona Flor*, p. 124). For Vadinho, an obsessive gambler, Tabaris is a workplace. This cross between a music hall, theatre and casino was a real-life place that opened in the 1930s: ‘o mais elegante e bem freqüentado cabaré da Bahia, sempre cheio, animadíssimo, coração da vida noturna da cidade’ as Amado observes in another novel, *Tereza Batista Cansada de Guerra*.¹⁸ *Dona Flor* provides a detailed description of Tabaris’ inner workings:

O Tabaris era uma espécie de esquina do mundo, meio cassino, meio cabaré, explorado pelos mesmos concessionários do Pálace Hotel. Exibiam-se ali os bons artistas contratados para o Pálace e uma segunda classe onde dava de um tudo, desde velhas ruínas no término da carreira, até meninas apenas púberes, protegidas umas e outras de seu Tito, administrador com carta branca. [...] se não servissem para o tablado, trabalhariam somente como rameiras, sem acumular. No correr da noite, o Tabaris ia recolhendo os frequentadores do Pálace, gente em geral de posição e dinheiro, e a ralé das diversas tascas do Abaixadinho, baiúca com pretensões a cassino, até o antro esconso de Paranaguá Ventura. Ali vinham terminar a noite, na última tentativa, na derradeira esperança. (*Dona Flor*, p. 177)

Tabaris is the ‘corner’ of the city, since people from all social backgrounds come here. Bohemians, prostitutes, and rich people are accommodated in an ambiguous place, at once seedy and elegant. Richard Sennett had places like Tabaris in mind when he lamented the disappearance of old brothels and gambling parlours in Chicago after public ‘clean-up campaigns’. The activities in these places, he noted, still exist in modern times but they are ‘not communalized, not intended as a social gathering’.¹⁹ As much as Tabaris provides a communal experience, though, it also excludes certain social groups. Middle-class conventions keep *Dona Flor*, housewives in general – and presumably any women who are not willing to submit to the role of prostitute – away from this ‘misterioso território onde Vadinho era milionário e mendigo, rei e escravo’ in the company of ‘quengas e bruacas’

¹⁸ Amado, *Tereza Batista Cansada de Guerra*. Electronic edn (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1972, 2008), A festa do casamento de Tereza Batista – 146 of 162. See also Antônio Albino Canelas Rubim, Simone Coutinho, and Paulo Henrique Alcântara, ‘Salvador nos Anos 50 e 60: Encontros e Desencontros com a Cultura’, *Revista de Urbanismo e Arquitetura (UFBA)*, 3 (1990), p. 32.

¹⁹ Sennett, pp. 66-67.

(*Dona Flor*, pp. 183, 187). Vadinho repeatedly refuses to take Dona Flor to the ‘suspeitas plagas do jogo, naquelas terras da roleta e dos dados, esposa era para o lar’ (*Dona Flor*, p. 180).

The rich houses of some Filhos de Orfeu members at Graça and Vitória provide another relational level in the novel. This amateur orchestra includes middle-class Teodoro, as well as upper- and lower-class men who put aside ‘as distâncias sociais, confraternizando o atacadista com o engenheiro de magro salário, o cirurgião famoso com o modesto farmacêutico’ to rehearse their repertoire on Saturday afternoons (*Dona Flor*, pp. 319-320). On these occasions, the rich members’ wives ‘abriam a intimidade de suas casas às esposas dos demais musicistas sem lhes medir a fortuna e a origem social’ (*Dona Flor*, p. 320). Yet, these are private spaces. Moreover, the dismissal of social differences has a limited reach. Siá Maricota, the wife of a salesman in the orchestra, does not attend her husband’s musical sessions because ‘não tinha vestidos nem conversa à altura daquelas “fidalgas de merda”’ (*Dona Flor*, p. 320). Similarly, dona Imaculada Taveira Pires, ‘a primeira em importância entre as damas da alta sociedade’, rarely attends the rehearsals (*Dona Flor*, p. 321). Social barriers keep the relational experience restricted. Moreover, Filhos de Orfeu ‘constituíam uma espécie de comunidade fechada com características de seita religiosa’ (*Dona Flor*, pp. 318-319).

Sociedade Bahiana de Farmácia is located on the second floor of a colonial building at Terreiro de Jesus, the main square in the city centre. On the first floor of the same building ‘funcionava o Centro Espírita Fé, Esperança e Caridade’ in which ‘médiuns e irmãos do astral obtinham curas radicais de todas as enfermidades à base de receitas metafísicas’ (*Dona Flor*, p. 313). As Robert Moser observes, these two apparently contrasting institutions

ultimately offer ‘complementary paths toward healing’.²⁰ However, their location at the same address is more symbolic than relational. They actually form another binary between faith and reason. As the narrator remarks, Sociedade Bahiana de Farmácia and Centro Espírita da Fé engage in a ‘feroz concorrência’ (*Dona Flor*, p. 313). Consequently, the relational importance of this building is also limited. Their dynamic is one of competition, not bonding.

The relational Dois de Julho

One residential area in the novel which might fulfil Da Matta’s criteria for a place with a high relational level is Flor’s neighbourhood, the Dois de Julho district. This area is located between the historical city centre and the upper-class districts of Campo Grande, Vitória and Graça. Thus, it is between Vadinho’s world, ‘nos mistérios do Pelourinho, nos caminhos das Sete Portas, no mar e nos saveiros da Rampa do Mercado’ (*Dona Flor*, p. 168), and Teodoro’s community, the elegant districts where ‘um diretor da Sociedade de Farmácia’ or a ‘fidalgo da orquestra de amadores’ lived (*Dona Flor*, p. 325). The street where Flor lives and works, Rua do Sodré, functions as a literal bridge between the sacred and the profane. The street starts at the bohemian and commercial Rua do Cabeça, where Mirandão and Vadinho would go for drinks, but also where Teodoro has his Drogaria Científica. Rua do Cabeça forms one of the sides of Dois de Julho Square, where Vadinho ‘morreu num domingo de Carnaval, pela manhã, quando, fantasiado de baiana, sambava num bloco, na maior animação’ (*Dona Flor*, p. 21). On the other extremity, there is Convento de Santa Tereza, where dom Clemente Nigra celebrates Vadinho’s Seventh Day Requiem Mass (*Dona Flor*, p. 50). Rua do Sodré relates life to death, Babel and Enoch to the heavenly city, natural order to city order, and both orders to carnivalesque chaos.

²⁰ Moser, p. 210.

In comparison with other neighborhoods in this and Amado's other urban novels, Dois de Julho is a very quiet district. Its inhabitants experience none of the turmoil of strikes, class conflict and oppression that may be seen elsewhere. In many ways, it resembles not so much a district in the middle of a big modern city, but rather a small town. 'Em cadeiras na calçada, compunha-se a roda noturna das amigas' to comment on the 'excitante crônica da cidade', not so different from the evening storytelling sessions at Morro do Capa-Negro, located on the outskirts of the city in *Jubiabá* (*Dona Flor*, p. 233). Free from most of the big city anxiety, Dois de Julho is depicted as a New World for urban dwellers: full of possibilities for a better life. All of the main characters find happiness once they converge on the area. In fact, Flor's house becomes a meeting point for people from different social strata; both Vadinho's and Teodoro's friends all feel at home there. The social configuration of Dois de Julho itself is varied. That is a disappointment for social climber Rozilda, who wants her daughter to leave the area when she marries the more affluent Teodoro:

aquelas ruas ali, se tinham sido elegantes e mesmo nobres em outros tempos, nos dias de hoje, eram artérias de gentinha, com algumas poucas exceções. Naqueles becos, senhoras de sociedade e representação, constatava venenosa a xereta, podiam ser apontadas a dedo. (*Dona Flor*, p. 303)

This is a very mixed neighbourhood in comparison not only with other districts in *Dona Flor* but also with areas that Amado portrayed in previous novels. The narrator lists wealthy residents in the area: 'os argentinos da cerâmica, o dr. Ives com seu consultório médico e o emprego público, os Sampaio com sua boa loja de sapatos, os Ruas das invejáveis representações'; they are the 'aristocracia das redondezas' (*Dona Flor*, p. 299). Through marriage, Dona Flor is able to ascend 'vários degraus, do chão dos pobres para as alturas da vizinhança mais graúda' without leaving her home. In addition, even if Flor defines herself as poor, there are poorer people in Dois de Julho, the 'pobreza dos arredores' (*Dona Flor*, p. 244). In Dois de Julho, people from different social strata share the same space in their

everyday lives and they apparently do so peacefully. Unlike the outsider Rozilda, the inhabitants of the neighbourhood do not discriminate against different social classes.

The neighbours know each other very well and there is at least one resident, Norma, who is a *de facto* leader in the area: she is the ‘*mãe da rua*’, Flor states (*Dona Flor*, p. 230). During her husband Zé Sampaio’s birthday party scene, she commands the household while he sits comically in the corner of the living room, eating ‘*escondido para que não viessem puxar conversa, perturbando-o*’ (*Dona Flor*, p. 244). In a patriarchal society like Salvador in the 1940s, Norma and the other women seem to be the ones who lead the community in their area. Despite his apparently inflexible nature, Teodoro accepts Flor as an independent woman and moves into her house: ‘*dona Flor fechou a questão: preferia continuar viúva a terminar com a escola*’ (*Dona Flor*, p. 296). Gisa, an opinionated American English teacher who lives alone, discusses philosophy, music, politics or the facts of life, with male and female neighbours alike, in an authoritative manner. Marilda, the aspiring singer, defies her mother to start a career at the local radio station, no small feat at that time. Dois de Julho stands as an unusual place of freedom and assertiveness for women in a city that is generally oppressive to them, as seen many times throughout this thesis. Norma summarises the situation: ‘*O tempo da escravidão já se acabou*’ (*Dona Flor*, p. 438).

Amado’s choice of place is significant: Dois de Julho is named to commemorate the Brazilian victory in the fierce battle for independence against the Portuguese in Bahia, the 2nd July 1823. This is a date of particular relevance to Salvador. Among the city’s most celebrated heroes from the battle for Independence are two women: Maria Quitéria, who dressed as a man to fight the Portuguese, and abbess Joana Angélica, the nun who died to

defend Lapa Convent in Salvador from invading Portuguese soldiers.²¹ Moreover, the important role played by the Indians in the battle is recognised in Dois de Julho celebrations through a symbolic couple, the caboclo and the cabocla (Amerindians).²² These references may turn the Dois de Julho district into a symbolic place in the novel's Salvador. The icons of Brazilian Independence in the city are women and Dois de Julho district is a highly relational place in the city whose experience is filtered primarily through a feminine perspective.

Contact with people from different areas of Salvador and from different classes is constant in the residences of Dois de Julho unlike what we have seen in Saúde. At her home, Flor hosts both her rich students and the lower-class people that she meets through Vadinho, including Mirandão, Vadinho's closest friend and a gambler as well, and Dionísia de Oxóssi, a prostitute who Flor once mistook for Vadinho's mistress. Dionísia's daughter is Flor's goddaughter and Mirandão is her 'compadre' (pp. 333, 344). Neighbours often celebrate events at home with their doors open, or even in the street during the São João festival: 'Os meninos do bairro acenderam uma fogueira em sua porta e vieram comer canjica' (*Dona Flor*, p. 213). Flor throws parties with a generous supply of food for both Vadinho's friends and people of the upper classes, such as her reception for famous (real-life) singer Silvio Caldas (*Dona Flor*, p. 166). Dois de Julho dwellers in the novel do not rigidly distinguish between private and public spaces in a direct contrast with the Itapagipe middle class in *Quincas*. Like Flor, Norma symbolises this bridge between spaces and social classes. She is a very gregarious person: 'Para reuniões de qualquer tipo, até para as caceteações das conferências, ninguém igual a dona Norma, eclética e disposta' (*Dona Flor*, p. 230). She also enjoys helping everyone who knocks on her door:

²¹ Luís Henrique Dias Tavares, *História da Bahia*. 11th edn (São Paulo: UNESP, 2009), p. 311. Incidentally, Dias Tavares is a character in *Dona Flor*: 'diretor de repartição, um cabeça de ouro, assinava artigos nos jornais' and a fatherly figure to Flor (*Dona Flor*, p. 59).

²² Hendrik Kraay, 'Between Brazil and Bahia: Celebrating Dois De Julho in Nineteenth-Century Salvador', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 31 (1999), p. 266. In another syncretic turn, Salvador's black community started venerating the caboclo and the cabocla in Candomblé (Kraay, p. 268).

E assim o dia inteiro, bilhetes pedindo dinheiro emprestado, chamado urgente para acudir um doido, atender um enfermo e os fregueses das injeções – dona Norma fazia concorrência gratuita aos médicos e às farmácias [...]’ (*Dona Flor*, p. 54)

This feminine space subverts the patriarchal model of Bahian society. Amado gives these female characters carnivalesque features that echo aspects of Dois de Julho. Norma is contrasted with Teodoro as the narrator calls her the ‘mãe da desordem’, ‘esporreteada’, and ‘sem ponteiro de relógio’ in reference to her characteristic tardiness (*Dona Flor*, p. 300). Like Flor, she has ‘afilhados e comadres’ (*Dona Flor*, p. 244). The social mechanism of favour stemmed from the rural and patriarchal matrix that the Portuguese had implanted in Brazil.²³ It is based on the dependency of one individual on another, a feudal practice, as opposed to the autonomy of the individual that bourgeois civilisation postulates.²⁴ We have seen how those practices are widespread in the city with the example of Comendador Pereira in *Jubiabá*. Differently from Pereira, though, Norma does not expect any favour or service in exchange: ‘sentia-se um pouco responsável por todo mundo, era a providência do bairro’ (*Dona Flor*, p. 53). Her multiple interests allow her to take on multiple roles:

Distribuía amostras de remédios – fornecidas pelo dr. Ives –, cortava vestidos e moldes – era diplomada em corte e costura –, escrevia cartas para o pessoal doméstico, dava conselhos, ouvia lamentações, secundava projetos matrimoniais, chocava namoros, resolvia os mais diferentes problemas, sempre alvoroçada (*Dona Flor*, p. 54)

Gisa, the English teacher with numerous interests, sings religious hymns ‘com a mesma enfática convicção com que lia Freud e Adler, discutia problemas sócio-econômicos e dançava o samba’ (*Dona Flor*, p. 230). Flor is a devout Catholic who nevertheless attends Presbyterian worship at Campo Grande, and celebrates the syncretic Cosme and Damião Day

²³ Holanda, pp. 73, 78.

²⁴ Roberto Schwarz, and Introduction by John Gledson, *Misplaced Ideas: Essays on Brazilian Culture* (London: Verso, 1992), p. 23.

with *caruru*, a ritual food, to honour her husband's Candomblé obligations – even after his death (*Dona Flor*, pp. 230, 333). Her house also has multiple roles: it is a private and public space. She lives there but, as we have seen, one of its most private rooms, the kitchen, doubles as her workplace, *Escola de Culinária Sabor e Arte* (*Dona Flor*, p. 117). To Flor, the school is both 'seu ganha-pão e seu honesto passatempo' (*Dona Flor*, p. 297). Private and public spaces seem to be bound more closely at Dois de Julho than anywhere else in the novel's Salvador.

Amado portrays the area as a lost paradise, as it were, in the middle of the city. Dois de Julho is a promising territory for city people, such as Vadinho and Teodoro, to explore. The former arrives there from the bohemian territories of Pelourinho and Sé; the latter comes from his first business in Itapagipe, and sets up home in Rua do Cabeça. Another adventurer, The Prince, is actually a crook who specialises in taking advantage of widows. He ventures into Dois de Julho for the first time when he spots potential prey, Dona Flor (*Dona Flor*, p. 212). Like a European colonial explorer, he deceives Flor's friends, the area's 'native people', to exploit and loot, that is, to seduce Flor and grab her money. However, another *malandro*, Mirandão, discovers his scheme and sends him away. We have already seen the paradise theme played to reinforce the social binary of Salvador in *Pastores*. *Dona Flor* dialogues with that novel by repeating the theme in parodic manner: the exploiter is now represented by an obvious crook.

As in his previous Salvador narratives, Amado confers on the main setting – Dois de Julho – peculiar and almost idealised characteristics, in contrast with the rest of the city. Differently from those earlier novels, though, the main setting in *Dona Flor* is a middle-class area. In Amado's previous constructs, the rich – and the mimicking middle class in *Quincas* – were related to white European or Europeanised people; black African identity dominated the lower-class districts of Salvador; while Amerindians, the 'third race' in the formation of the

country, were virtually excluded from the binary city. The middle class in *Dona Flor* appears as the new space, a new Amerindian paradise like Morro do Mata Gato in *Pastores*.

In addition to this, the racial divide from previous novels is never mentioned in *Dona Flor*. There are poor and middle-class black and mixed-race characters. Flor herself is non-white: 'tez suave de cabo-verde num cobre antigo e definitivo' (*Dona Flor*, p. 259). Though the novel does not describe Rozilda or Flor's father physically, one of them is not white. Thus, it is implicit that Rozilda, the most conservative character in the novel, has little concern about skin colour; her prejudices may be simply class-driven. Either way, Amado is never explicit about racial conflicts in *Dona Flor*. Yet, there are no racial incidents in the novel's Dois de Julho. Thus, it serves as a model for an ideal Salvador: it is a post-race space where miscegenation happens in the broader sense of social, racial and economic mixture. The Dois de Julho ideal model of *Dona Flor* fits into Freyre's argument that Brazil comprises two brotherly halves that are heading towards completion. In fact, the novel expands this idea to the entire city at its finale.

The end of binary Salvador

The end of the novel extrapolates the relational level of Dois de Julho to the entire city. To do so, Amado carnivalises the biblical myths of Enoch and Babel to which I referred at the beginning of this analysis, and uses the Afro-Brazilian symbol of the city, Exu. At the same time, this ending offers an acute critique of Brazilian society in that era. Robert Moser identifies in *Dona Flor*'s mourning process a metaphor for the Brazilian people's feelings about the 'loss of democracy' to the military dictatorship.²⁵ However, *Dona Flor* concludes with a rebirth, as Vadinho's return to Earth transforms Salvador, a process that Amado

²⁵ Moser, p.210.

narrates with cordel-like hyperbole: ‘Pelo mar navegavam casas e sobrados, o Farol da Barra e o Solar do Unhão; o Forte do Mar transportou-se para o Terreiro de Jesus, e nos jardins brotavam peixes, nas árvores amadureciam estrelas’ (*Dona Flor*, p. 457). Exu’s intervention turns the city upside down. Natural order and city order have to accept Exu’s disorder into their system. In an essay about Bakhtinian theory on literature and cinema, Robert Stam defends the theory that Carnival, as Bakhtin argued, is ‘joyfully critical and potentially subversive’ in opposition to ‘co-opted’, licensed carnivals.²⁶ Exu and Vadinho’s carnival is truly revolutionary for it manages to dismiss all types of order to change Salvador permanently:

Vinha o povo correndo nas ladeiras, com lanças de petróleo e um calendário de greves e revoltas. Ao chegar na praça, queimou a ditadura como um papel sujo e acendeu a liberdade em cada esquina. (*Dona Flor*, p. 457)

Quem comandou a revolta foi o Cão e às vinte e duas horas e trinta e seis minutos ruíram a ordem e a tradição feudal. Da moral vigente só restavam cacos, logo recolhidos ao museu.

Mas o grito de Iansã susteve os homens no pavor da morte. [...] Onde já se viu finado, em leito de ferro a vadiar, de novo sendo? Onde?

Deu o revertério na batalha. Exu sem forças, cercado pelos sete cantos, sem caminhos. O egum em seu caixão barato, em sua cova rasa, adeus, Vadinho, adeus até jamais.

Foi quando uma figura atravessou os ares, e, rompendo os caminhos mais fechados, venceu a distância e a hipocrisia – um pensamento livre de qualquer peia: dona Flor, nuinha em pêlo. Seu ai de amor cobriu o grito de morte de Iansã. Na hora derradeira, quando Exu já rolava pelo monte e um poeta compunha o epitáfio de Vadinho.

Uma fogueira se acendeu na terra e o povo queimou o tempo da mentira. (*Dona Flor*, p. 458)

Iansã is the ‘mãe da guerra’ who rules the dead (*Dona Flor*, p. 457). She comes to re-establish order between the physical and spiritual worlds, but Exu and his egum (spirit), Vadinho, refuse to go. Their defiant act disrupts order: ‘A lua caiu em Itaparica sobre os

²⁶ Robert Stam, *Subversive Pleasures: Bakhtin, Cultural Criticism, and Film* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), p. 92.

mangues, os namorados a recolheram e em seu espelho, refletiram-se o beijo e o desmaio' (*Dona Flor*, p. 257). The kiss, a form of contact, and fainting, a symbol of absence, are placed together to reflect the Moon. Distances are bridged – or beaten, as in the expression 'venceu a distância' – to give way to wholeness. However, the combined forces of order, the orixás and Pelancchi Moulas, the underworld boss of Salvador, natural order and city order respectively, almost defeat Exu and Vadinho. Flor's last minute intervention, in the form of a loving sigh, is necessary to reverse the situation. Amado makes love stop war, or rather he proposes conjunction instead of division. The idea of wholeness is intrinsic to Exu, who is both male and female in Yoruba tradition. According to Henry Louis Gates, Jr., this dual nature, 'of unreconciled opposites living in harmony' gives him 'the potential of resolution'.²⁷ The messenger of the gods and traveller between worlds brings differences – order and disorder, Eden and Enoch, living and dead, men and women – together, with the help of a human couple. Salvador becomes a radically relational city, but only through the interference of magical elements – a cathartic denouement that also signals the impossibility of developing highly relational spaces under an authoritarian government that fosters polarisation and homogeneity.

Amado wrote *Dona Flor* during the first two years of the repressive military regime that began with the 1964 coup d'état. The climax of the gods' battle for Vadinho's soul at the end of the novel reads as a scathing assessment of the hypocritical and medieval status quo. The novel proposes change for a city that consistently succumbed to its historical fate in his previous novels. Incidentally, in the Yoruba system from which Candomblé originates, 'destiny is mutable'.²⁸ Once a person is born, his or her destiny may change. Hence, the Candomblé priests resort to ritual beads to interpret the future. Exu introduces constant changes to a natural order. With its transformed city, *Dona Flor* suggests that the

²⁷ Gates, Jr., p. 30.

²⁸ Gates, Jr., p.31.

authoritarian system in the country should also be subverted. In his travel essay, *Brasil – O País do Futuro*, Stefan Zweig remarked that Salvador was the perfect mirror of Brazil: ‘Só pelas suas pedras e ruas se compreende a História do Brasil, só essa cidade nos permite compreender como de Portugal nasceu o Brasil.’²⁹ *Dona Flor* presents a city that was born from Portugal, Africa and the New World. It provides a symbolic mirror for changing history amid the frustration over its unviability in the political context of the time.

For all their differences, the worlds of Vadinho and Teodoro have an important aspect in common with the Brazil of the 1960s: both the city centre with its cabarets and the upper-class districts of Salvador are patriarchal spaces. In these areas, women are oppressed or take minor roles as prostitutes or wives whose movements are restricted or not deemed to be important. In contrast with these spaces, Dois de Julho’s carnivalesque disorder is also subversive: it is a matriarchal space in the middle of the city. *Dona Flor* highlights what was only hinted at in *Pastores*, an ideal urban space that is eminently feminine.

In this context, the main love triangle in the novel is an even more resonant symbolic representation of the city. The unpredictable Vadinho, who beats and subjugates Flor while he is alive, has to accept her will after he dies and returns to her as a spirit. The same thing happens to Teodoro, the methodical bourgeois, when he marries Flor. When he observes that Flor does not need to work in her cooking school after the wedding, she retorts: ‘a escola não lhe dou de dote, é minha garantia. Você entende, Teodoro?’ (*Dona Flor*, 297). Flor remains firm without confronting him. Both Teodoro and Vadinho have to negotiate their lives with Flor and the dynamics between them become true relationships rather than submission. Physical and social submission end in Flor’s intermediary space, the kitchen that is also a school; in other words, a place to learn and mingle, much like Dois de Julho. In the ideal urban space of *Dona Flor*, order and chaos must be accommodated. Through its fantastical

²⁹ Stefan Zweig, *Brasil, País do Futuro*. Trans. Odilon Gallotti. Electronic edition (Brazil: EbooksBrazil.com, 2001), p. 364.

narrative, *Dona Flor* suggests that the ideal city should follow a matriarchal model such as the Dois de Julho neighbourhood, in which there is a balance between chaos and order. Yet, the cultural mixture in Dois de Julho is only slightly hinted at in the novel. As I mentioned before, it is a post-racial space in a city where the racial binary matters, as we have seen in previous chapters. In his next Salvador novel, Amado confronts the racial binary of Salvador once more. He uses it to re-arrange the dynamics between the notions of space (conceptualisation and perceptions of the city).

Tenda dos Milagres: Re-creating the Imagined Community

Tenda was published in 1969, five years after the military staged a coup to seize power from civilian president João Goulart. In 1968, the dictatorship passed the AI-5 bill, which severely restricted civil liberties in the country. Amado's novel traces a bridge between this period of turmoil and the first decades of the twentieth century, when Brazil was a new republic in search of a national identity. His Salvador becomes a suitable stage for the conflict between the historically consistent conceptualisation of space as strict order and an alternative perception of space as a place of hybridity and transformation. *Tenda* is a novel with many clear real-life foundations. For this reason, its analysis demands a history-focused approach. The narrative explores the intersection of race and nation in the urban space of Salvador. By creating a conflict of ideas, Amado also depicts a battle for cultural legitimacy in the city that displays Brazil's many binaries with great intensity. We must examine the concepts of nation and race more closely to better understand the conceptualisation and perceptions of Salvador in the novel.

Benedict Anderson coined the most influential definition of a nation in contemporary society, calling it an 'imagined community'. According to his definition, nations share three core characteristics: limitation by boundaries, sovereignty and their imagining as communities. This community must be conceived as 'a deep, horizontal comradeship' regardless of 'the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each'.³⁰ Anderson argues that the concept of sovereignty came to maturity during the Enlightenment when economic changes accelerated the already collapsing territorial claims of organised religion.³¹ In fact, 'sovereignty' dates from as early as the fourteenth century, meaning 'authority', but it started being used in the sense of 'independent state' in the eighteenth century. Yet, Anderson warns, nationalism did not supersede religion but rather aligned with the 'large cultural systems' that preceded it to produce the ideas of destiny and continuity.³²

Printed language bound all these characteristics together for three reasons, Anderson explains. First, it created communication on an intermediary level between Latin and the languages spoken in Europe. The rise of 'print-capitalism' fixed language in a way that provided a basis for the construction of a national past. Finally, 'print-capitalism created languages-of-power' that became common across many nations.³³ Following this argument, Brazil was a monarchic exception in a continent of newly independent republics, among other reasons because 'no printing press operated in Brazil during the first three centuries of the colonial era'.³⁴ The lack of print communication made it easier to avoid the propagation of dissent towards the Portuguese crown. *Tenda* addresses the subversive potential of the printing press: its main character uses it to challenge the dominant representation of Salvador.

³⁰ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. edn (London: Verso, 2006), pp. 6-7.

³¹ Anderson, p. 7.

³² Anderson, p. 11.

³³ Anderson, pp. 44-46.

³⁴ Stuart B. Schwartz, 'The Formation of a Colonial Identity in Brazil', in *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World. 1500-1800*, ed. by Nicholas P. Canny and A. R. Pagden (Princeton ; Guildford: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 51.

Critics often claim that Anderson reduced nationalism to a matter of discourse, while in contrast they advocate older ethnic roots for the concept of nation.³⁵ Tom Nairn argues that the relationship between the rise of nationalism and ‘the more general development of capitalism’ is less fortuitous than Anderson might believe.³⁶ Nevertheless, these critics tend to agree about the relevance of ‘horizontal comradeship’ for the effectiveness of a nation-state. If rulers conceive the idea of nation, they still require their citizens to embrace nationalism. As Tom Nairn puts it, ‘peasants had to be transformed into soldiers and citizens, ‘and ancestral spirits alone were not up to the task’.³⁷ National leaders used ethnocentric discourse to strengthen the idea of the ‘great nation’.

In this context, the nineteenth century saw the rise of social Darwinism and deterministic thought. Science sought to explain the nation by means of racial categories. In the year when slavery was officially abolished in Brazil (1888), a French traveller commented that Brazil ‘a aujourd’hui un peuple, il n’a encore qu’une nationalité factice; ce qui fait le peuple, c’est la race’.³⁸ One of the dominant theoretical currents in the period was environmental determinism, according to which the environment was the main determinant of culture, with the exclusion of all other conditions. One of the main proponents of environmental determinism, Henry Thomas Buckle, wrote in the first volume of his *History of Civilization in England* (1857) that:

If we inquire what those physical agents are by which the human race is most powerfully influenced, we shall find that they may be classed under four heads: namely, Climate, Food, Soil, and the General Aspect of Nature; by which last, I mean those appearances which, though presented chiefly to the sight, have, through the medium of that or other senses, directed the association of ideas, and

³⁵ Murray Pittock, *Celtic Identity and the British Image* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 140.

³⁶ Neil Davidson, ‘Reimagined Communities’, in *International Socialism*, n. 117 (2007), <http://www.isj.org.uk/index.php?id=401&issue=117#117davidson33>.

³⁷ Tom Nairn, ‘Ambiguous Nationalism: A Reply to Joan Cocks’, in *Global Matrix : Nationalism, Globalism and State-Terrorism*, ed. by Tom Nairn and Paul James (London: Pluto, 2005), p. 102.

³⁸ Gustave Aimard, quoted in Schwarcz, *O Espetáculo Das Raças*, p. 19. Translation: ‘Brazil today has a people, not a fake nationality; this is what makes the people, it is race.’

hence in different countries have given rise to different habits of national thought.³⁹

As late as 1911, American geographer Ellen Churchill Semple, a disciple of environmental determinist scientist Friedrich Ratzel, wrote that the divergences among races and people ‘must be interpreted chiefly as modifications in response to various habitats in long periods of time’.⁴⁰ Scientists set out to prove racial hierarchy through eugenics, a mixture of science and social policy that ultimately formed the basis of the policies in Nazi Germany.⁴¹ As Hannah Arendt observes, race-thinking entered the political scene ‘the moment the European peoples had prepared, and to a certain extent realized, the new body politic of the nation’.⁴² These theories used biology to explain social issues. Thus, Brazilian *mestizaje* became a favourite explanation for the country’s underdevelopment.⁴³ *Tenda* localises the debate over race in the Brazilian city with the largest black and mixed-race population.

Brazilian intellectuals started analysing the process of miscegenation in the country within this context. Medical schools, such as Faculdade de Medicina da Bahia, engaged in adapting theories that could reveal the causes of the country’s backwardness. Miscegenation was seen then as a negative feature. Nevertheless, as intellectuals argued at the time, continuous miscegenation might paradoxically solve this issue: it would somehow lead to the whitening of Brazilians, and finally to the gradual enhancement of Brazilian society.⁴⁴ Society listened attentively to what these scientists proposed to protect and safeguard it.⁴⁵ An 1894 article in *Gazeta Médica da Bahia*, for example, presented syphilis as a sign of

³⁹ Henry Thomas Buckle, *History of Civilisation in England*, vol. 1 (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1895), p. 29.

⁴⁰ Ellen Churchill Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1911), p. 33.

⁴¹ Wade, *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America*. 2nd edn. (London: Pluto, 2010), p. 11. See also Nancy Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (London: Cornell University Press, 1991).

⁴² Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. New edn. with added prefaces. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973), p. 161.

⁴³ Schwarcz, *O Espetáculo Das Raças*, p. 13.

⁴⁴ Schwarcz, *O Espetáculo Das Raças*, p. 11.

⁴⁵ Schwarcz, *O Espetáculo Das Raças*, p. 202.

the degeneracy in miscegenation.⁴⁶ More often than not, though, these theories tended to contradict themselves. One of the main characters in the novel, Professor Nilo Argolo, is based on one of the most influential Brazilian racial theorists, anthropologist Raymundo Nina Rodrigues, who taught at Faculdade de Medicina da Bahia. He wrote in *Os Africanos no Brasil*, a collection of his influential essays:

A Raça Negra no Brasil, por maiores que tenham sido os seus incontestáveis serviços à nossa civilização, por mais justificadas que sejam as simpatias de que a cercou o revoltante abuso da escravidão, por maiores que se revelem os generosos exageros dos seus turiferários, há de constituir sempre um dos fatores da nossa inferioridade como povo. Na trilogia do clima intertropical inóspito aos Brancos, que flagela grande extensão do país; do Negro que quase não se civiliza: do Português rotineiro e improgressista, duas circunstâncias conferem ao segundo saliente preeminência: a mão forte contra o Branco, que lhe empresta o clima tropical, as vastas proporções do mestiçamento que, entregando o país aos Mestiços, acabará privando-o, por largo prazo pelo menos, da direção suprema da Raça Branca.⁴⁷

In this introduction to his essays, Nina Rodrigues criticises miscegenation but he also sees it as a long-term solution to the ‘Negro and miscegenation problem’ in Brazil. At the same time, he blames the characteristics of the territory for the impossibility of civilisation in the tropics, an observation that we have seen in Amado’s *O País*. Euclides da Cunha’s *Os Sertões* (Rebellion in the Backlands, 1902), the account of a peasant rebellion in the Bahian backlands, contains a similar two-fold argument for and against miscegenation. Cunha calls a mixed-race person a ‘decaído’ and argues that the laws of nature tend to eliminate the ‘produto anômalo’ by immersing it in its ‘fontes geradoras’: ‘O mulato despreza então, irresistivelmente, o negro, e procura [...] cruzamentos que apaguem na sua prole o estigma da fronte escurecida’.⁴⁸ Despite their inconsistencies, these theories influenced Salvador elites and the hygienist policies adopted by governors J.J. Seabra (1912-1916) and Góes Calmon

⁴⁶ *Gazeta Médica da Bahia*, 1894, n. 114.

⁴⁷ Raymundo Nina Rodrigues, *Os Africanos no Brasil*. Electronic edn (Rio de Janeiro: Centro Edelstein de Pesquisas Sociais, 2010), pp. 14-15. Although the volume was released posthumously in 1932, the essays were originally published between 1890 and 1905.

⁴⁸ Euclides da Cunha, *Os Sertões*. Electronic edn (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira/Saraiva de Bolso, 2011), p. 103.

(1924-1928).⁴⁹ The dominant perception of Salvador and the conceptualisation of its urban space follow these ideas in *Tenda*.

With the release of *Casa Grande & Senzala* (1933), sociologist Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987) shifted the debate over Brazilian identity ‘from genetics to culture’.⁵⁰ For Evaldo Cabral de Mello, Freyre’s greatest contribution to Brazilian culture was his view of miscegenation as ‘motivo de otimismo nacional’.⁵¹ *Casa Grande & Senzala* focuses on the rural patriarchal system that dominated most of Brazil’s social, political and economic history; and Freyre’s following essay, *Sobrados e Mucambos* (The Mansions and the Shanties, 1936), examines how elements of that rural system evolved when they were transplanted to the growing urban spaces.⁵² *Casa Grande e Senzala* was a turning point in this debate, with its positive view of the *mestiçagem* process that was taking place in Brazil:

Não que no brasileiro subsistam, como no angloamericano, duas metades inimigas: a branca e a preta; o ex-senhor e o ex-escravo. De modo nenhum. Somos duas metades confraternizantes que se vêm mutuamente enriquecendo de valores e experiências diversas; quando nos completarmos em um todo, não será com o sacrifício de um elemento ao outro.⁵³

Amado read and admired Freyre's work. As mentioned before, he had met the sociologist during the Congress of Afro-Brazilian Studies, which Freyre had organised in Recife (1934). Amado took part in the event along with fellow writer Mário de Andrade, and Bahian anthropologist Edison Carneiro.⁵⁴ Freyre and Amado had many things in common. Both were men of their time, who espoused some progressive views about society while at the same time adhering to many ideas from the world in which they were raised. Amado and

⁴⁹ Ferreira Filho, p. 241.

⁵⁰ Alexandra Isfahani-Hammond, *White Negritude: Race, Writing, and Brazilian Cultural Identity* (New York; Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 122.

⁵¹ Evaldo Cabral de Mello, 'O Ovo de Colombo Gilbertiano', *Folha de São Paulo, Caderno Mais!*, 12/03/2000.

⁵² Peter Burke, and Maria Lúcia G. Pallares-Burke, *Gilberto Freyre: Social Theory in the Tropics* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2008), p. 88.

⁵³ Freyre, *Casa-Grande & Senzala*, p. 418.

⁵⁴ Burke and Pallares-Burke, p. 110.

Freyre both came from a rural background in Northeast Brazil. They were persecuted and exiled because of their works. They stressed the importance of popular cultural traditions, including food, music and everyday customs in the formation of a common identity. Nevertheless, despite his positive view of miscegenation and racial equality, Freyre was a political conservative who supported the 1964 military coup from the beginning.⁵⁵ Amado, the Communist who advocated the communion of races, did not shed some of his stereotypical views about race even late in his life: this can be clearly seen in his characters, with hyper-sexualised black or mulatto women, such as the journalist Ana Mercedes in *Tenda* or all the black women that Balduino seduces in *Jubiabá*. As David Brookshaw correctly explains, the 'correlation between color and sexual or moral qualities' in Amado's novels seem reminiscent of the racial theories of the early twentieth century.⁵⁶

Thus, as much as Freyre's ideas fittingly translate into Amado's fiction, there are some subtle but fundamental differences in their handling of miscegenation and Brazilian identity. Critics have argued that a certain nostalgia underlies Freyre's description of the colonial system of an old house and slave quarters.⁵⁷ It is frequently noted that *Casa Grande & Senzala* relies excessively on the perspective of the white plantation owner and neglects the 'view from below', that is, from the slave quarters.⁵⁸ Conversely, Amado constantly adopts the perspective of the oppressed to build populist narratives in which he also describes and values Afro-Brazilian traditions in Salvador in rich detail. Another major criticism of Freyre's work has to do with the manner in which he describes miscegenation in the formation of Brazil:

⁵⁵ Burke and Pallares-Burke, p. 121. The authors also remark that Freyre initially praised the Communist party in the 1940s, during the fight against Nazi-Fascism, but changed his opinion later to classify Amado's former party as 'anti-Brazilian'.

⁵⁶ Brookshaw, p. 166.

⁵⁷ Fernando Henrique Cardoso, 'Um livro perene', in Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala*, p. 22. See also Alfredo César Melo, 'Saudosismo e Crítica Social em Casa Grande & Senzala: A Articulação de uma Política da Memória e de uma Utopia', *Estudos Avançados*, 23 (2009), 279-96. Darcy Ribeiro explains this nostalgia as one side of Freyre's ambiguous personality, the 'senhorito fidalgo evocativo de um mundo seu' in contrast with the inquisitive foreigner. In Darcy Ribeiro, *Ensaio Insólitos* (Porto Alegre: L&PM Editores, 1979), p. 26.

⁵⁸ Burke and Pallares-Burke, p. 94. See also Darcy Ribeiro, *Sobre o Óbvio* (Rio de Janeiro: Guanabara, 1986), p. 111.

A miscigenação que largamente se praticou aqui corrigiu a distância social que de outro modo se teria conservado enorme entre a casa-grande e a mata tropical; entre a casa-grande e a senzala. O que a monocultura latifundiária e escravocrata realizou no sentido de aristocratização, extremando a sociedade brasileira em senhores e escravos, com uma rala e insignificante lambujem de gente livre sanduichada entre os extremos antagônicos, foi em grande parte contrariado pelos efeitos sociais da miscigenação.⁵⁹

To Freyre, the influence of Amerindian, black and mixed-race slave women in the master's house 'agiram poderosamente no sentido de democratização social do Brasil'.⁶⁰ He later argued that the main feature of Brazilian society was 'precisely the reciprocity between the cultures.'⁶¹ Amado attempted to bring this view of miscegenation into his novels. He even described places in Salvador where this reciprocity could be verified more acutely. Nevertheless, he did not interpret this reciprocity as a *fait accompli* in his fictional city: cultural and social exchange were a constant struggle in his fictional Salvador, which was otherwise a highly segregational space. He saw slavery as an oppressive system that still existed in the twentieth century under other guises. Amado constantly described racial discrimination along with social segregation, since most of the lower-class population in Salvador is formed by black and mixed-race people. In his Manichean view of Brazilian society, there are thousands of racists in the upper classes but none amongst the poor.⁶² Even so, Amado embraced the hope for a form of racial democracy such as the one described by Freyre. He believed that *Casa Grande & Senzala* was 'fundamental' to the understanding of Brazilian culture.⁶³ Yet, it is also important to note that his view of miscegenation is not

⁵⁹ Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala*, p. 33.

⁶⁰ Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala*, p. 33.

⁶¹ Freyre, and Frank Tannenbaum, *The Mansions and the Shanties: The Making of Modern Brazil*. trans. Harriet de Onís (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), p. 422.

⁶² Raillard, p. 82.

⁶³ Raillard, p. 83.

restricted to Freyre: it is a mixture of ideas by different writers, including his friend Edison Carneiro and ethnographer Manuel Querino.⁶⁴

Another distinction between Freyre and Amado is much more significant: in his essays, Freyre did not dare to present solutions for the problems of Brazilian society. Conversely, in his narratives Amado repeatedly attempted to suggest an ideal place through his interpretations of the original capital of Brazil. He did so by re-working the peculiar characteristics of the city, which combines aspects of Brazil's so-called formative cultures (Portuguese, African, Amerindian). Furthermore, he did that in the specific context of an urban space, Salvador. In *Tenda* and *Dona Flor*, he took Freyre's concepts of hybridity to devise what we could call models of egalitarian urban societies, even if they were not always successful. Amado blended the local and the national in these urban narratives, which presented more social groups than his rural novels. At the same time, he highlighted the practices of these groups, such as Afro-Brazilian traditions, and their importance in the conceptualisation of a more egalitarian space. His clear preference for the lower class also translates spatially. From *Suor* onwards, he set the bulk of his novels in the poorer districts of Salvador. That is not to say that he ignored the rest of the city, but the lumpen were his favourite characters and his idea of Brazilian identity stemmed from their places and their culture. Even in the novel that broke this rule, *Dona Flor*, lower-class districts like Pelourinho were of great importance in the development of the narrative.

Tenda is a re-writing of *Jubiabá*, but this time the racial issue is brought to the foreground as an important part of the plot.⁶⁵ In the 1935 novel, Amado made a case for the dismissal of all those values that were related to the old city so that a new communist city could be built. In the later narrative, some of these values play an important role in the

⁶⁴ Goldstein, *O Brasil Best-Seller*, p. 116.

⁶⁵ Raillard, p. 175.

proposal for a more egalitarian city, even if this is not ultimately achieved at the end of the novel. Either way, *Tenda* shows an alternative to conflict, and as we shall see, a solution to the city's many binaries with a compromise between chaos and order. From this convergence, Amado sets the project of an ideal city without getting rid of its unique identity. In fact, it is the traditions and cultural elements that shape Salvador's identity that may lead to a more egalitarian city; quite the opposite from what happens in *Jubiabá*.

To achieve this mixture, Amado makes significant changes to the development of his basic *Bildungsroman* plot about a young man's education. In *Jubiabá*, the formative process of a young black man coincides with the ideological transformation of the city; both processes are guided by students and union leaders. In *Tenda*, his hero, Pedro Archanjo, is mixed-race and his formative process is portrayed as both a life experience and an academic experiment. The conflicting elements of the city's cultural and social binaries alternate in taking centre stage in the narrative, a strategy that Amado had started adopting in *Quincas*. Unlike *Jubiabá*, *Tenda* is structured around flashbacks to the early twentieth century and contemporary action in the late 1960s. This structure allows Amado to visit several key moments in the history of both Salvador and Brazil to provide a sprawling view of how the city was conceived and perceived throughout the twentieth century.

When the plot effectively starts, its hero is already dead but his memory guides the narrative. American scholar James D. Levenson, Nobel Prize laureate and ladies' man, arrives in Brazil for a short visit during which he intends to learn more about Pedro Archanjo, a man whose work about the traditions and families of Bahia had helped illuminate his own. Nevertheless, very few people in Brazil seem to know anything about Archanjo or his books. Consequently, there is a rush to re-discover Archanjo's work in time to celebrate his 100th birthday. Archanjo's story unfolds in parallel to the contemporary one. He is a poor mulatto who is involved in a range of activities. In the 1900s, in Pelourinho, he shares a small

venue with artist Lídio Corró, the Tenda dos Milagres, named after Corró's theme of choice: painting miracles for customers who want to fulfil a religious promise. During the day, Archanjo and Lídio also print chapbooks for local artists, and they perform picaresque puppet shows in the evenings. Archanjo is also an Ojuobá, the Eyes of Xangô, a lay title in the candomblé hierarchy, under high priestess Majé Bassã.

As his day job, Archanjo is a janitor at the prestigious Faculdade de Medicina da Bahia, where Professor Nilo Argolo leads a crusade against blacks and mulattos, who are, in his assessment, inferior. Meanwhile, the authorities conduct violent raids designed to shut down all the candomblé terreiros in the city. Archanjo defends one of these terreiros with the help of the trickster orixá, Exu. The event demoralises the police chief Pedrito Gordo, who resigns. Soon, the persecution of the practice of Candomblé in Salvador's terreiros stops. Archanjo also defies Argolo by writing books about the popular traditions of Bahia. With the help of friends, such as Professor Silva Virajá and decadent aristocrat Isabel de Araújo e Pinho, Archanjo studies and writes ever more sophisticated ethnographic works, which are printed and sent around the world by Lídio. (This is how Levenson finds Archanjo's books in the Columbia University library.) *Apontamentos sobre a mestiçagem nas famílias baianas* investigates the family trees of influential people in the city to conclude that everyone has a black ancestor, including Argolo, whom Archanjo reveals to be his own cousin. These revelations outrage the elites and Archanjo is arrested. The police destroy Tenda dos Milagres. A popular vigil and the pressure of friends such as legal practitioner Major Damião get him released. In the last 15 years of his life, Archanjo continues to write but he is fired from Faculdade de Medicina after actively supporting the tram workers' strike. At the time of his death, he is poor, but living his life joyfully in the hilly streets of Pelourinho. In 1969, Archanjo's ideas are considered too subversive by the authorities. The birthday celebration committee edits and mangles important facts of his biography so as not to upset the military

government. During Carnival, the only celebration of his memory is as the theme of a samba school parade.

A tale of two cities: Salvador in *Jubiabá* and *Tenda*

Since *Tenda* is an updated version of *Jubiabá*, it makes sense to start this analysis by comparing the city constructs in the two novels. To avoid anachronisms, I will restrict the analysis of the city in *Tenda* to the version of Salvador from Archanjo's storyline. The comparisons start with Amado's real-life inspirations for his protagonists. The title character in *Jubiabá* is an idealised version of a real umbanda priest in Salvador, whereas the main characters in *Tenda* share traits, if not a name, with the real-life people on which they were based.⁶⁶ One of these real-life inspirations is Manuel Querino, a self-educated black man who had also written about the importance of knowing about black culture to 'understand Brazil' properly.⁶⁷ In the 1935 novel, the social binary rich versus poor dictated spatial segregation, whereas *Tenda* focuses on the racial binary of the city from beginning to end. The earlier novel portrays a city dominated by retrograde ideas but this time Amado localises the oppressive ideas in a place of knowledge, Faculdade de Medicina da Bahia. Amado describes the institution's background and the ideas of its academics in this excerpt:

Nos começos do século, a Faculdade de Medicina encontrava-se propícia a receber e a chocar as teorias racistas pois deixara paulatinamente de ser o poderoso centro de estudos médicos fundado por d. João VI, fonte original do saber científico no Brasil, a primeira casa dos doutores da matéria e da vida, para transformar-se em ninho de sublitteratura, da mais completa e acabada, da mais retórica, balofa e acadêmica, a mais retrógrada. Na grande escola desfraldaram-se então as bandeiras do preconceito e do ódio.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ For the real-life inspiration for Jubiabá, see Vinícius Clay, 'O Negro em O Estado da Bahia: De 09 de Maio de 1936 a 25 de Janeiro de 1937', (Salvador: Universidade Federal da Bahia, 2006), pp.25-28.

⁶⁷ E. Bradford Burns, 'Bibliographical Essay: Manuel Querino's Interpretation of the African Contribution to Brazil', *The Journal of Negro History*, 59 (1974), p.78.

⁶⁸ Amado, *Tenda Dos Milagres* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2008), p. 129. Further references to this edition are given after quotations in the text.

Thus, according to the novel, scientific ideas at the Faculdade de Medicina had been progressive in the past, as opposed to their degeneration in the present. Portuguese emperor D. João VI founded Faculdade de Medicina da Bahia (Fameb) after the Portuguese royal family fled Napoleon's army, arriving in Brazil in 1808. Fameb became the first ever higher education institution in Brazil, the 'fonte original do saber científico no Brasil'. Fameb pioneered certain aspects of higher education in Brazil, such as enabling the first Brazilian woman to graduate as a physician in 1887, and the first Forensic Pathology and Anthropology Museum in 1900.⁶⁹ At the beginning of the twentieth century, though, Fameb is a 'ninho de sublitteratura', where the scholars work to 'chocar as teorias racistas' (*Tenda*, p. 34). Archanjo's nemesis, Professor Nilo Argolo mixes racial theories with anthropological studies in his findings: 'Ainda agora enviara a um congresso em Bruxelas importante trabalho, *La Paranoia chez les nègres et métis*' (*Tenda*, p. 174). These ideas, in turn, influence the social and cultural repression of the lower class in Salvador:

a perseguição aos candomblés era natural corolário da pregação racista iniciada na faculdade e retomada por certos jornais. Pedrito Gordo punha a teoria em prática, produto direto de Nilo Argolo e Oswaldo Fontes, sua lógica consequência. (*Tenda*, p. 137)

The excerpt confirms the subversive potential of the heterotopias in *Jubiabá*, the city's Candomblé terreiros in the marginal areas of the city. Pedrito Gordo, a police chief, is another character in *Tenda* who was based on a real-life person, Pedro Azevedo Gordilho, who led the violent repression of Candomblé temples in Salvador in the 1920s.⁷⁰ As in real life, the authorities in the novel systematically repress any cultural manifestations by Salvador's black people such as the afoxés or 'candomblés de rua', black and mixed-race Carnival groups that

⁶⁹ Wanderley Preite Sobrinho, 'Primeira Faculdade Do Brasil Completa 200 Anos', Folha.com, (2008), <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/brasil/ult96u372876.shtml>.

⁷⁰ Luhning, p. 195.

parade displaying Afro-Brazilian motifs: the Police Secretary ‘proibira “por motivos étnicos e sociais, em defesa das famílias, dos costumes, da moral e do bem-estar público, no combate ao crime, ao deboche e à desordem”’, a saída e o desfile dos afoxés, a partir de 1904’ (*Tenda*, p. 70). Afoxé dos Filhos da Bahia, which is led by Pedro Archanjo, challenges the prohibition ‘trazendo à rua Zumbi dos Palmares e seus combatentes invencíveis’, a reference to the black rebel hero that Balduino revered in *Jubiabá* (*Tenda*, p. 71). The crowd cheers but the police arrive to beat the dancers and dismantle the parade. As the novel shows, these authoritarian acts are legitimised by the racial theories from Faculdade de Medicina. They provide scientifically sanctioned reasons for the oppression. The press echoes the anxieties of the conservative classes, which see the afoxés and their music as potentially disruptive of the established order:

As gazetas protestavam contra o "modo por que se tem africanizado, entre nós, a festa do Carnaval, essa grande festa de civilização". [...] "A autoridade deveria proibir esses batuques e candomblés [...] entoando o abominável samba, pois que tudo isso é incompatível com o nosso estado de civilização", bradava o *Jornal de Notícias*, poderoso órgão das classes conservadoras. (*Tenda*, p. 73)

The counterpoint to the oppressive ideas of Faculdade de Medicina is the libertarian Pelourinho. Once more, Amado defends the afoxés and the cultural manifestations of the poor as the legitimate heritage of Salvador. The city centre from *Jubiabá* was usually segregational and oppressive, recalling the punishment of the slaves in the area during colonial times. In *Tenda*, Pelourinho is a place of freedom that defies its oppressive past through *joie de vivre* and human creation. In *Jubiabá*, the alternative to the doomed city was a Europeanised model that would erase Salvador's past, creating a communist ideal. *Tenda* shows an urban model that is based on the city's heritage. As Archanjo argues, the acceleration of a racial and cultural mixing process might lead to a better society:

tudo já terá se misturado por completo e o que hoje é mistério e luta de gente pobre, roda de negros mestiços, música proibida, dança ilegal, candomblé, samba, capoeira, tudo isso será festa do povo brasileiro, música, balé, nossa cor, nosso riso [...] (*Tenda*, p. 247)

The future, Archanjo argues above, is a ‘total’ cultural and ethnic mixture. At the beginning of the novel, *Tenda* presents some of these cultural manifestations in Pelourinho. The area becomes a heterotopia like the Candomblé terreiro in *Jubiabá*. This time, though, Amado elevates a place that is socially and culturally important into a model for the rest of Salvador, a new way to conceptualise the city space. Balduíno, the hero in *Jubiabá*, comes from the suburbs, a marginal place in the city that offered an alternative perception of urban space – a theme that Amado repeated with the street urchins in *Capitães*. Archanjo, however, comes from the city centre. His urban heterotopia is not located in the margins like Morro do Capangueiro in *Jubiabá*; it is in the city centre:

No amplo território do Pelourinho, homens e mulheres ensinam e estudam. Universidade vasta e vária, se estende e ramifica no Tabuão, nas Portas do Carmo e em Santo Antônio Além-do-Carmo, na Baixa dos Sapateiros, nos mercados, no Maciel, na Lapinha, no largo da Sé, no Tororó, na Barroquinha, nas Sete Portas e no Rio Vermelho, em todas as partes onde homens e mulheres trabalham os metais e as madeiras, utilizam ervas e raízes, misturam ritmos, passos e sangue; na mistura criaram uma cor e um som, imagem nova, original. Aqui ressoam os atabaques, os berimbaus, os ganzás, os agogôs; os pandeiros, os adufes, os caxixis, as cabaças: os instrumentos pobres, tão ricos de ritmo e melodia. Nesse território popular nasceram a música e a dança [...] (*Tenda*, p. 11)

In this excerpt, Pelourinho stretches into a ‘broad territory’, which includes some of its narrow and winding streets (Tabuão, Maciel), its borders (Largo da Sé, Baixa dos Sapateiros), the areas that surround it (Portas do Carmo, Santo Antônio Além-do-Carmo, Tororó) and beyond (Sete Portas, Rio Vermelho). This is a city within the city, formed by Salvador’s lower-class districts. Amado relocates the city’s nucleus from largo da Sé, Salvador’s religious and administrative core, to lower-class Pelourinho behind it. In this introduction, Pelourinho embodies the beginning of urban space itself: this is where Salvador

came to be; creation, birth and origin are key words in the text. Origin implies conception: as the ‘birthplace’ of this territory, Pelourinho might be the model for the city. The area is the original stage for all sorts of mixture – hard metals and soft wood, arts and sciences, men and women. This mixture will be Archanjo’s flagship argument and evidence of Salvador’s actual identity in the novel. The apparent chaos of the cacophonous sounds generated here might have an order of its own: the introduction closes with percussion instruments (‘os atabaques, os berimbaus’, etc.) joining together to form a coordinated orchestra (‘ricos de ritmo e melodia’). The paragraph stands as both a solemn opening for the novel and its statement of purpose. Unlike the following chapters, it has no title, and no numbering at the top of this first paragraph. Pelourinho stands as the ground zero of both the novel and Salvador. The following paragraph stresses Pelourinho’s dialogical function:

Ao lado da igreja do Rosário dos Pretos, num primeiro andar com cinco janelas abertas sobre o largo do Pelourinho, mestre Budião instalara sua Escola de Capoeira Angola: os alunos vinham pelo fim da tarde e à noitinha, cansados do trabalho do dia mas dispostos ao brinquedo. Os berimbaus comandam os golpes, variados e terríveis [...] (*Tenda*, pp. 11-12)

Previously seen in *Pastores*, the Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos church was founded in the seventeenth century by a brotherhood of black slaves, the Irmandade do Rosário. These brotherhoods were Catholic societies whose members provided help to one another. Brotherhoods were very common among both black and white people in colonial times. Nossa Senhora do Rosário and São Benedito, the black saint, were very popular among black societies, but these could historically include white people, too.⁷¹ Contrary to Faculdade de Medicina, Pelourinho brings different ethnicities and cultures together. Archanjo’s wake takes place in Rosário dos Pretos later in the novel (*Tenda*, p. 42). He was a ‘filho de santo’

⁷¹ Lucilene Reginaldo, ‘Irmandades e Devoções de Africanos e Crioulos na Bahia Setecentista: Histórias e Experiências Atlânticas’, *Stockholm Review of Latin American Studies* (2009), p.30. The author makes specific reference to changes in the statutes of the traditional Irmandade de N. S. Rosário e São Benedito, in 1781, in Porto, Portugal.

but also a member of the Irmandade who was friends with the church's sexton, echoing the 'O Compadre de Ogum' section from *Pastores* (*Tenda*, p. 37).

The building that is located next door to the church provides another clue to Pelourinho's all-encompassing nature. It is a capoeira school. Capoeira itself is a combination of martial arts and dance that originated with the black slaves in Brazil and was perfected at the beginning of the twentieth century.⁷² The ludic aspect of capoeira is made obvious by its description as 'brinquedo' (play) and the mention of berimbau, the musical instrument which sets the tune for capoeiristas to ritually engage in their fights. In the previous excerpt, berimbau evoked musicality; in this one, the instrument highlights the martial arts aspect of capoeira: it 'commands the terrible blows'. In fact, the 1890 Brazilian Penal Code made the practice of capoeira illegal throughout the country. Later in the narrative, as in previous novels, Amado reminds the reader that black slaves used to be brought to Pelourinho for punishment (*Tenda*, p. 42). The capoeira school, then, stands as both a place of inclusion, or mixture, and a place of resistance to oppression, or segregation, since the very fact that this school teaches the prohibited 'fight of the blacks' is an act of defiance. Pelourinho is portrayed here as a 'território livre' (*Tenda*, pp. 13, 14).

The rest of the chapter details the varied human geography of Pelourinho's streets and consolidates the theme of miscegenation as continuous creation. Artists, choreographers and craftsmen, popular storytellers, goldsmiths and wood engravers, whether they are Brazilian blacks or Portuguese whites, devise new and vibrant uses for the decaying spaces of the historical city centre. The area that was a residential leftover of Salvador's elites is recycled into a place of production and active transformation. Description of the work of Pelourinho-dwellers reveals a mixture of themes and cultures: sculptures of Catholic saints acquire

⁷² Jorge Maurício Herrera Acuña, 'Entre Rodas de Capoeira e Círculos Intelectuais: Disputas pelo Significado da Capoeira no Brasil (1930-1960)', Master's dissertation, USP, 2010, p. 40.

characteristics of sertanejos, the inhabitants of the arid Bahian countryside. These same artists also draw and sculpt orixás, true to the syncretic tradition in Brazilian, and particularly Salvadoran culture: ‘Há entre esses eleitos do Vaticano e aqueles curingas e caboclos do terreiro um traço comum: sangues misturados’ (*Tenda*, p.15). Others produce more mundane forms, like curvaceous women or fruit motifs. All of a sudden, the narrator warns the reader not to view these mostly illiterate people with condescension (*Tenda*, p. 14). He tells an ironic anecdote involving the certified skills of a local witch-doctor: ‘Um médico aprendeu com ela uma receita para lavar o sangue, mudou-se para São Paulo e enriqueceu curando sífilis’ (*Tenda*, p. 15). Ironically, as we have already seen, scientists from Faculdade de Medicina claimed that miscegenation was the main cause of syphilis; in the novel, mixture provides the cure. The tour of Pelourinho’s ‘popular university’ culminates with its ‘president’s office’, which is a place of mixture itself:

Na Tenda dos Milagres, ladeira do Tabuão, 60, fica a reitoria dessa universidade popular. Lá está mestre Lídio Corró riscando milagres, movendo sombras mágicas, cavando tosca gravura na madeira; lá se encontra Pedro Archanjo, o reitor, quem sabe? Curvados sobre velhos tipos gastos e caprichosa impressora, na oficina arcaica e paupérrima, compõem e imprimem um livro sobre o viver baiano. (*Tenda*, pp. 15-16)

Tenda makes the case for the mixture of different elements in the city through art and literature. Lídio Corró is both a painter and an engraver, but he also organises magic lantern shows. Here is another reference to the ‘phantasmagoria’ in Pelourinho, which we have previously seen in *Quincas*. The ‘magic shadows’ that Lídio operates reflect the multiple uses of Tenda dos Milagres, which, in turn, reflects the multiple uses of the historical city centre. The excerpt also displays the primitive aspect of the place and its products – ‘tipos gastos’, ‘oficina arcaica’, ‘tosca gravura’. Tenda dos Milagres also doubles as a printing shop whose main output is chapbooks for the street minstrels (*Tenda*, p. 145). It is also in Tenda dos Milagres that Pedro Archanjo prints his ethnographic studies. Unlike Faculdade de Medicina,

its antithesis in the city, Tenda dos Milagres accommodates both popular and high culture. One could even argue that Archanjo is the embodiment of this mixing process, not only because he himself is mixed-race but also because cordel authors will later retell his adventures in the Manichean style of their chapbooks. At the same time, his ethnographic work will become more respected and influential after its appraisal by Professor Levenson. Tenda dos Milagres provides an illustration of Freyre's miscegenation ideas in the narrative. Moreover, with its characteristics of cultural mixture, creation and multiple uses, it reinforces the novel's suggestion that the conceptualisation of the city should consider the perception of Salvador as a miscegenated space – an interpretation that we will explore in the next section.

With *Tenda*, the representations of Salvador in Amado's work come full circle. The positive aspects of Afro-Brazilian culture in *Tenda* constitute a major departure from the treatment of heritage in *Jubiabá*. As we have seen, Candomblé and popular practices were considered either weak or alienating in the earlier novel. In *Tenda*, these practices are elevated to the status of artforms by the main character. Archanjo decides to make an ethnographic study of the city and publishes his findings in books, which will in turn attract the attention of a Nobel Prize-winning scholar. Through Archanjo, Amado claims a place for popular traditions and knowledge in the heritage of Salvador. In addition, he uses these traditions to bring together the two extremes of the city by erasing the difference between highbrow and popular culture: 'um dia os orixás dançarão nos palcos dos teatros' (*Tenda*, p. 248). In doing so, he signals the potential for a more egalitarian future stemming from this cultural heritage. Thus, in *Tenda*, Amado attacks the deterministic ideas that he had embraced in his first novels. By re-writing the city, the writer dialogues with his younger self and turns his original ideas about the urban space upside down. Next, I shall examine how Archanjo's re-interpretation of Salvador through miscegenation challenges the idea of national identity in the novel as it forges a new representation of the city.

Mixed city, mixed country

The conflict between the eugenic ideas from Faculdade de Medicina and Archanjo's theories of miscegenation represent a battle for the identity of Salvador. Analysing documents from 1602, Stuart B. Schwartz found that mixed-race people were being defined by place in Brazil; or, if we invert the idea, place was considered a criterion for ethnicity. In the seventeenth century, the word 'nação' was used to describe a group of people in terms such as 'nação cristão novo' or 'nação Angola'.⁷³ In this context, Archanjo's defence of miscegenation in the novel becomes a defence of difference, in opposition to European white culture rather than a segregation of blacks. Miscegenation in the novel signifies not only a mixture in racial terms, but also a mixture of places and cultures. The beginning of *Tenda*, as we have seen, introduces Pelourinho as home to a multiplicity of shops, ateliers, and skills. Furthermore, Tenda dos Milagres, the headquarters of Archanjo and Lídio Corró, turns into a metonymy for Pelourinho as it also displays myriad functions: a shop, a theatre, printing press and a makeshift school. Therefore, a scheme emerges from this web: Tenda dos Milagres stands for Pelourinho, which stands for mixture, which stands for a miscegenated city. Similarly, Faculdade de Medicina stands for whiteness and the segregational city.

Tenda dos Milagres illustrates Anderson's argument about the relationship between the printing press and identity, yet it does this in a subversive manner. It is worth remembering that the Portuguese crown had prohibited the operation of printing presses in the colony. The idea that poor mixed-race or black people might have access to a printing press would have been considered very dangerous by the elites in the first decades of the Brazilian Republic – when this part of the narrative takes place. Moreover, Archanjo's ideas,

⁷³ Schwartz, apud Risério, *Cidade da Bahia*, 4 Sangue, Suor e Cultura - 286-287 of 349.

printed on the first pages of his first book, ‘É mestiça a face do povo brasileiro e é mestiça a sua cultura’ (*Tenda*, p. 125), make for a subversive read: a lower-class man uses an instrument of mobilisation, printed language, to propagate his ideological statement. In a later study, *Apontamento sobre a mestiçagem nas famílias*, Archanjo takes his argument even further:

Branco puro era coisa inexistente na Bahia, todo sangue branco se enriquecera de sangue indígena e negro, em geral dos dois. A mistura começou com o naufrágio de Caramuru, nunca mais parou, prossegue correntia e acelerada, é a base da nacionalidade. (*Tenda*, p. 258)

This is a nod to Freyre’s theory of Brazilian miscegenation. The mention of Caramuru, the founder of the original syncretic city that later became Salvador, also suggests that the notion of a miscegenated Brazilian identity began in that city. To prove his argument, Archanjo lists the family trees of the ‘famílias nobres da Bahia’ and includes an extensive list of ‘políticos, escritores, jornalistas, e até barões do Império, diplomatas e bispos, todos mulatos, o melhor da inteligência do país’ (*Tenda*, p. 258). Once more, the novel interlocks the city and the country in its case for a miscegenated identity. Not surprisingly, the police destroy *Tenda dos Milagres* and arrest Archanjo prompted by Nilo Argolo (*Tenda*, p. 269). Archanjo’s ideas threaten the established order even more when in print form with the possibility of dissemination.

Tenda better translates Freyre’s ideas about mixed cultures and races in Salvador’s central square, Terreiro de Jesus. In *Bahia de Todos os Santos*, Amado had already described Terreiro de Jesus as the ‘coração popular da Bahia’.⁷⁴ *Tenda* reasserts this association in a scene between Archanjo and Professor Fraga Neto, his progressive friend at Faculdade de Medicina. The two men hold a conversation in a bar situated in the large square. Fraga Neto

⁷⁴ Amado, *Bahia de Todos os Santos*, p. 199.

asks Archanjo why he continues to attend Candomblé ceremonies if he is now a man of reason. Archanjo replies that it is a cultural and political choice, and points to Terreiro de Jesus to elaborate on his perspective:

Terreiro de Jesus, tudo misturado na Bahia, professor. O adro de Jesus, o terreiro de Oxalá, Terreiro de Jesus. Sou a mistura de raças e de homens, sou um mulato, um brasileiro. Amanhã será conforme o senhor diz e deseja, certamente será, o homem anda para a frente. (*Tenda*, p. 247)

Terreiro de Jesus is a totalising place, which bears several meanings for many cultures. The square received its name in the 1550s when the Jesuits built their Colégio dos Jesuítas there. In the nineteenth century, it became a hospital, and finally the Faculdade de Medicina. Another church, Igreja da Ordem Terceira de São Francisco is also located in the square. In addition, the word ‘terreiro’ is, as seen in previous chapters, also used to designate the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé temples. In an Amerindian context, terreiro bears an organisational significance. The big Tupi villages were organised in such a way that all the houses (malocas) were connected; they in turn converged on a central square, a terreiro, ‘o espaço dos grandes eventos sociais’.⁷⁵ The word also designates public spaces in which minstrels perform their song duels. Archanjo carnivalises the most central space in the city, dismissing hierarchical orders to make the formative cultures of the country dialogue.

These cultures are not only represented individually in Terreiro de Jesus, they also merge into something hybrid. The square’s official name is *15 de Novembro* but the city dwellers insist on calling it *Terreiro de Jesus*, a name that resonates with both the Portuguese and the Afro-Brazilian faiths. The slaves turned them into a syncretic unit that the people of Salvador generally came to recognise later. As we have seen previously, Jesus is revered as Oxalá in Candomblé: the Catholic church is also a sacred place for the Candomblé faithful.

⁷⁵ Risério, *A Cidade no Brasil*, (São Paulo: Editora 34, 2012), p. 25.

Archanjo suggests how conflicting cultures may meet and co-exist in the same space; the structure is already there even though his project of full integration is not finished yet. Furthermore, Archanjo seems to be proposing that Salvador is the avant-garde city of Brazil, the place where the ideal of a Brazilian identity is already realised – or else, at a more advanced stage than the rest of the country. Here, Amado endorses Freyre's view of miscegenation. At the same time, in the contemporary storyline, the novel is sceptical about the use of miscegenation by official discourse. In 1969, as we shall see in the next section, Archanjo's ideas are still threatening to the established order and its conceptualisation of space.

A combative novel

Viewing the novel from a historical angle – as a conflict between different perceptions of the urban space – it becomes clear that *Tenda* is not what David Brookshaw called an 'apology for the system of race relations in Brazil'.⁷⁶ Archanjo's staunch defence of miscegenation aims to debunk the underlying ideas of a segregationist order that had kept Salvador's poor socially and culturally oppressed. In addition, as Nelson H. Vieira observes, Amado acknowledges that the official miscegenation propaganda is incompatible with Archanjo's subversive ideas.⁷⁷ The 1969 storyline illustrates how the elite distort Archanjo's work to perpetuate a segregational space. Like the ever-present past from his first novels, the positivist idea of order did not disappear from the city or the country. In a sequence concerning the advertising campaign surrounding Archanjo's 100th birthday, Amado condenses the repression of these ideas in the name of a sanitised version of nation. Professor

⁷⁶ Brookshaw, p. 167.

⁷⁷ Nelson H. Vieira, 'Hybridity Vs. Pluralism: Culture, Race, and Aesthetics in Jorge Amado', in *Jorge Amado: New Critical Essays*, ed. by Keith H. Brower, Earl Fitz, Enrique Martínez Vidal (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 239.

Calazans, the well-intentioned academic who is championing the revival of Archanjo's ideas in Salvador, provides notes for an ad agency to create an elementary school essay contest:

DADOS FORNECIDOS À AGÊNCIA DOPING S.A. PELO PROFESSOR CALAZANS

[...] Ardente defensor da miscigenação, da fusão de raças, Pedro Archanjo foi, na opinião do sábio norte-americano (prêmio Nobel) James D. Levenson, “um dos criadores da moderna etnologia”. (*Tenda*, pp. 166-167)

TEXTO REDIGIDO PELOS ASES DA DOPING PROMOÇÃO E PUBLICIDADE S.A. FORNECIDO ÀS PROFESSORAS DAS ESCOLAS PRIMÁRIAS DA CIDADE DE SALVADOR

[...] Autor de vários livros, nos quais fez o levantamento do folclore e dos costumes baianos e a análise dos problemas raciais, traduzido em diversas línguas, tornou-se mundialmente famoso, sobretudo nos Estados Unidos, onde suas obras foram adotadas na Universidade de Columbia, em Nova York, por indicação do célebre professor James D. Levenson, detentor do prêmio Nobel, que se confessa discípulo de Pedro Archanjo. (*Tenda*, p. 168-169)

PRELEÇÃO DA PROFESSORA DIDA QUEIROZ AOS ALUNOS DO TERCEIRO GRAU, TURMA DA MANHÃ, NA ESCOLA PÚBLICA JORNALISTA GIOVANNI GUIMARÃES, SITUADA NO RIO VERMELHO

[...] Escreveu muitos livros baseados no folclore, quer dizer, livros contando histórias de bicho e de gente, mas não servem para menino ler. São livros sérios, muito importantes, estudados por sábios e professores. (*Tenda*, pp. 170-171)

REDAÇÃO DE RAI, DE NOVE ANOS DE IDADE, ALUNO DO TERCEIRO GRAU DA CITADA ESCOLA JORNALISTA GIOVANNI GUIMARÃES

Pedro Archanjo [...] foi pros Estados Unidos porque lá tem dinheiro pra burro mas ele disse sou brasileiro e veio pra Bahia contar histórias de bichos e de gente e era tão sabido que não dava lição a menino [...] (*Tenda*, p. 171)

Official discourse gradually dissolves Archanjo's miscegenation ideas into a tale of modern success ('mundialmente famoso, especialmente nos Estados Unidos') and finally into empty jingoism ('sou brasileiro'). The patriotic tone in the boy's essay reflects the advertisements for popular brands that use Archanjo as their motto: 'Traduzido ao inglês, ao alemão, ao russo, Pedro Archanjo é fonte de divisas para o engrandecimento do Brasil' (*Tenda*, p. 110). The outcome of the campaign is clear from the beginning of Archanjo's centenary celebrations. The executive section of the Grande Comissão de Honra in charge of the

celebrations includes high-ranking officials like the governor, ‘o cardeal primaz, os comandantes militares, o magnífico reitor’ and others (*Tenda*, p. 104). Zezinho Pinto, publisher of the influential *Jornal da Cidade*, is the head of the executive committee. After the first meeting, two members of the newspaper staff discuss Pinto’s next move:

- Vai pedir o *nihil obstat* [...]
- Ao SNI ou ao chefe de polícia?
- Aos dois, provavelmente. (*Tenda*, p. 107)

SNI is the main intelligence service that the military regime created in 1964 to collect information on all influential and potentially subversive people in the country. Soon, Pinto vetoes Professor Calazans’s suggestion of a conference to discuss Archanjo’s work and ideas: ‘Esse seminário, com uma temática explosiva – mestiçagem e apartheid –, é perigosíssimo foco de agitação [...] qualquer pretexto serve para [...] os profissionais da desordem e da baderna’ (*Tenda*, p. 114). The idea of miscegenation brings the potential for continuous transformation, which is threatening to a controlling order. In hybrid spaces, as Nelson H. Vieira explains, cultural parameters ‘are broken down’, allowing for broader perspectives.⁷⁸ Robert J. C. Young argues that hybridity leads to the ‘impossibility of essentialism’ by transforming both the same and the different in its component parts.⁷⁹ For instance, Pelourinho in the novel is a place in which signs of the colonising European culture – architecture and the segregational order that is reminiscent of the old colonial system – and elements of the Afro-Brazilian culture – arts, capoeira school – and indigenous tradition – knowledge of herbs – combine to create different and potentially subversive uses of space – symbolised by Tenda dos Milagres. However, as Vieira notes, official discourse may assimilate hybridity by twisting the convergence of differences into ‘a notion of sameness

⁷⁸ Nelson H. Vieira, p. 243.

⁷⁹ Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory. Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 26-27.

(homogeneity)' that 'diminishes an endorsement of difference (heterogeneity)'.⁸⁰ Official hybridity discourse constitutes a reaction to heterogeneity. The result, which *Tenda* denounces in its contemporary storyline, is an official discourse that distorts the dialogical potential of miscegenation to glorify the nation and justify the oppressive order.

The result of hybridity discourse being adopted by the authorities is the maintenance of a segregational city. The executive committee organising Archanjo's centenary does not plan any events in which the people of the city have the opportunity to display the culture and traditions that Archanjo celebrated. The sanctioned commemorations include only newspaper articles and restricted official events like the closing ceremony at the 'salão nobre do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico da Bahia' (*Tenda*, p. 292). The audience is composed exclusively of so-called illustrious members of Bahian society. Major Damião, Archanjo's protégé, disrupts the formality of the ceremony when he brings in a poor pregnant woman, who clearly does not belong there. Damião is a *rábula*, a law practitioner without a college diploma, who defends the poor and needy in the city.⁸¹ After a melodramatic speech, he tricks the people in the room into thinking that the woman is one of Archanjo's descendants. By the end of his performance, he is able to collect a good sum of money for the woman, who is actually in need. After learning about the con, old professor Fraga Neto smiles and muses:

Da primeira ideia de Zezinho Pinto até as últimas palavras do discurso de Batista, Tradição e Propriedade – perigosa besta! -, nessas comemorações tudo fora farsa e embuste, um colar de absurdos. Talvez a única verdade tenha sido a invencionice do major, a mulata prenhe e sem comida, precisada e sestrota, falsa parenta, parenta verdadeira, gente de Archanjo, universo de Archanjo. (*Tenda*, p. 297)

⁸⁰ Nelson H. Vieira, p. 232.

⁸¹ Another real-life reference, Damião is clearly based on Major Cosme de Faria (1875-1972), who was known as the 'advogado dos pobres'.

Damião's intervention introduces unwanted heterogeneity into the official celebration of 'Tradition and Property'.⁸² Instead of an endorsement, *Tenda* offers an indictment of the Brazilian system across two different generations. In this repressive environment, the popular demonstration at the end of the novel seems very ambiguous. It is confined to a place – the government-sanctioned Carnival parade circuit – and to a format. Once more, *Tenda* begs a historically contextualised analysis. In this scene, a samba school takes to the streets of Salvador during the Carnival of 1969 to celebrate the biography of Pedro Archanjo. Here is its samba theme:

*Glória glória
Do mundo brasileiro
Contemporâneo
Glória glória
Louvemos pois as glórias alcançadas
Nas suas grandes jornadas
Nesse mundo de meu Deus
E tudo que expomos nas avenidas
São histórias já vividas
Contadas nos livros seus. (Tenda, p. 300)*

At first glance, the parade mirrors Archanjo's own act of defiance with Afoxé Filhos da Bahia at the beginning of the century. However, its samba theme is clearly jingoistic. Nationalist themes had long been a staple of samba schools.⁸³ In 1947, the official instructions for the Rio de Janeiro Carnival made 'finalidade nacionalista' mandatory for the school theme songs.⁸⁴ Under the military regime that came to power in 1964, composers and samba school directors had to submit their songs and parade themes to the censorship offices

⁸² In 1969, a group of Brazilian Catholic conservatives had founded Sociedade de Defesa da Tradição, Família e Propriedade (TFP), a religious and political association that supported the 1964 military coup in the country. The phrase 'Tradition, Family, and Property' started being used to describe the most conservative sections of Brazilian society. For a detailed analysis of TFP's ideological underpinnings, see Gizele Zanotto, 'Articulações entre o Político e o Religioso: Um Estudo de Caso da Sociedade Brasileira de Defesa da Tradição, Família e Propriedade (TFP) (1960-1995)', in *Religión, Política y Cultura en América Latina: Nuevas Miradas*, ed. by Cristián Parker Gumucio (Santiago: IDEA - Universidad de Santiago de Chile, 2012), pp. 199-224.

⁸³ Monique Augras, 'A Ordem na Desordem: A Regulamentação do Desfile Das Escolas de Samba e a Exigência de "Motivos Nacionais"', in *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais*, vol. 8, n. 21 (São Paulo, Feb 1993), http://www.anpocs.org.br/portal/publicacoes/rbcs_00_21/rbcs21_08.htm

⁸⁴ Marília T. Silva & Arthur L. Oliveira Filho. *Silas de Oliveira*, (Rio de Janeiro: Funarte, 1981), p. 77.

for approval. On the other hand, the samba school sanitises Archanjo's biography by highlighting its picturesque aspects and downplaying or simply ignoring his ideas. Thus, it portrays Archanjo's sex life 'num leito colossal a ocupar sozinho um dos carros alegóricos' with dozens of women, 'capoeiristas' and people dressed as his closest friends (*Tenda*, p. 300). When Archanjo took to the streets with his afoxé at the beginning of the twentieth century, they were doing so to present an alternative discourse. In 1969, the samba school adheres to the official discourse and is harmless to the city's order. The official hybridity discourse dilutes Archanjo's representation of Salvador through the folkloric images of the samba school while the samba lyrics reinforce the message of the previously seen advertising campaigns: Archanjo is a 'major contribution to the aggrandisement of the country' as long as his ideas are omitted. The mechanisms of the official order managed to appropriate Archanjo's alternative representation of the city and recycle it to fit into the sanctioned discourse.

The storyline of one particular character in *Tenda*, Tadeu Canhoto, exemplifies the fallacy of miscegenation in the official discourse. It also opens a dialogue between *Tenda* and Amado's earliest Salvador novel to suggest the perpetuation of the same conceptualisation of space. Tadeu Canhoto is the illegitimate son of Archanjo and the mysterious Dorotéia, who is allegedly an 'iaba' (female demon). Under Archanjo's tutelage, Tadeu finishes his studies and graduates from Escola Politécnica. The character's departure from Salvador is portrayed in an ambiguous way. With the help of one of the Politécnica's professors, Tadeu leaves for Rio 'onde integraria a equipe de engenheiros que, sob o comando de Paulo de Frontin, transformava a capital do país numa cidade moderna' (*Tenda*, p. 98). The real-life Frontin was the engineer who, under mayor Pereira Passos, spearheaded a radical urban plan to modernise Rio de Janeiro in the 1900s, as we have seen in Chapter 1. In Rio, Tadeu becomes one of Frontin's favourites: 'Paulo de Frontin nada resolvia, nenhum detalhe dos grandes

planos urbanísticos, sem lhe ouvir a opinião, nomeara-o responsável pelas tarefas mais difíceis. Na prática, Tadeu construía o novo Rio de Janeiro' (*Tenda*, p. 227). This new Rio de Janeiro, as we have mentioned, was modelled on Haussmann's Paris and became the template for modernisation plans in other Brazilian cities, including Salvador, over the following decades. I shall quote Lima Barreto again for an incisive description of the transformed Rio. This excerpt comes from his novel *Recordações do Escrivão Isaías Caminha* (1909):

Os Haussmanns pululavam. Projetavam-se avenidas; abriam-se nas plantas *squares*, delineavam-se palácios, e, como complemento, queriam também uma população catita, limpinha, elegante e branca: cocheiros irrepreensíveis, engraxates de libré, criadas louras, de olhos azuis, com o uniforme como se viam nos jornais de moda da Inglaterra.⁸⁵

Rio certainly needed urban reforms that could curb regular outbreaks of yellow fever, for instance. Frontin oversaw the widening of avenues and the construction of a sanitation system. However, as Antônio Risério observes, this transformation accelerated the segregational process in the city.⁸⁶ As the excerpt above suggests, the city centre was 'cleaned'. The authorities dislodged the poor, leaving 20,000 people homeless and forced to move to distant areas without any assistance from the state.⁸⁷ The upper classes called this process 'Regeneração' whereas the poor preferred 'bota-abaixo' (bring-it-down).⁸⁸ Scientists provided the basis for this intervention. According to the 'política higienista' of the time, a good city was a clean city. Filth was associated with the life style of the poor.⁸⁹ Rio's poor population, like Salvador's, was mostly black or mixed-race.⁹⁰ The same ideas that drove Faculdade de Medicina in Salvador were guiding the transformation of urban space in Rio.

⁸⁵ Afonso Henriques de Lima Barreto, *Recordações do Escrivão Isaías Caminha*. 4th edn (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1909, 1970), p.148.

⁸⁶ Risério, *A Cidade no Brasil*, p. 198.

⁸⁷ Risério, *A Cidade no Brasil*, p. 198.

⁸⁸ Nicolau Sevcenko, 'Introdução. O Prelúdio Republicano, Astúcias da Ordem e Ilusões do Progresso', in *História da Vida Privada no Brasil vol. 3 – República: Da Belle Époque à era do Rádio*. Org. by Nicolau Sevcenko (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2010), p. 23.

⁸⁹ Schwarcz, *O Espetáculo Das Raças*, p. 226.

⁹⁰ Risério, *A Cidade no Brasil*, p. 199.

Tadeu Canhoto, as the novel implies, became an important figure in this segregational process: ‘um dos engenheiros responsáveis pela urbanização do Rio de Janeiro’ (*Tenda*, p. 257).

Tadeu returns to Salvador to marry Lu, a rich young white woman and the sister of a college friend. A letter from Frontin persuades her family to accept him. Tadeu then returns to Rio with Lu to continue working for Frontin. He loses contact with Archanjo, who only meets him again after the destruction of Tenda dos Milagres. Tadeu tells Archanjo that he is travelling to France with his wife. This is the last time Archanjo will ever see Tadeu. From Pereira Passos’s Rio to modern Paris, Tadeu’s crossing brings the character closer to Paulo Rigger from *O País* than to Archanjo. The only difference between the two is that Tadeu is not anxious about modernity; he helped construct it. Both men leave Salvador and its heritage behind as something undesirable. Commentators on *Tenda* fail to address the ambiguity of Tadeu’s storyline. It offers a critique of the official discourse of miscegenation and national identity at the time. The story of Tadeu is not one of successful miscegenation according to Archanjo’s ideas, but one of assimilation that reinforces the city’s binaries. In a melancholy scene, Archanjo seems to acknowledge it, in an uncharacteristically subtle turn by Amado:

Tadeu não lhe parecia um tanto ingrato? – inquiria Zabela. Ingrato? Por não escrever? Muito trabalho, responsabilidades, pouco tempo. Também ele, Archanjo, era uma negação epistolar. Zabela fitava-lhe o rosto: mulato sestroso, cheio de mistérios. (*Tenda*, p. 257)

Conclusion: An undying order

The juxtaposition of the two periods, the early decades of the twentieth century and the late 1960s, shows how Salvador had changed very little. The locus of information and propaganda may have shifted from the Medicine School to the advertising agencies and

newsrooms. However, both institutions propagate the same view of a repressive and monologic order via different means. If the old scholars resorted to a biological explanation for the maintenance of the established power, the new advertisers deconstruct and re-arrange facts. The resulting landscape remains the same in the two extremes of *Tenda's* historical spectrum: a social divide in the city that is also spatial – the poor population is still segregated in the historical city centre and suburban districts while their uses of spaces are restricted or suppressed. Moreover, the positivist ideal of 'Order and Progress' from the flag of the Brazilian Republic still reinforces conflict in the city by refusing any dialogue with creative chaos. For the sake of total control, the conceptualisation of urban space must originate exclusively from the top of the social pyramid; no dialogue with the lower class is actually encouraged. The established power only permits the release of a sanitised version of Archanjo's ideal city: the hybrid city of multiple uses and the mixture of high and popular cultures is turned into a folkloric piece of the existing order. The end of the novel seems to point to a dead end for the hybrid city.

CONCLUSION

Arrival at the Syncretic Village

Cities, like dreams, are made of desires and fears, even if the thread of their discourse is secret, their rules are absurd, their perspectives deceitful, and everything conceals something else.

Italo Calvino¹

Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody.

Jane Jacobs²

In this thesis, we have seen how the representation of Salvador in Jorge Amado's novels shifted from a perspective of order to favouring chaos and, finally, to proposing a dialogical space that could accommodate both order and chaos. In the process, his narratives suggested alternative ways to occupy and use the urban space that are based on the peculiar characteristics of Salvador, especially its lower-class districts, with its traditions and spatial practices. In Amado's Salvador novels, these places have the potential to promote a new spatial model that combines chaos and order. This alternative urban space model contrasts with a dominant orderly trend in conceiving and perceiving spaces as we have seen throughout the thesis. Before explaining how this ideal Salvador may be important in the

¹ Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*. trans. William Weaver (London: Vintage, 1997), p. 44.

² Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage, 1961), p. 238.

context of conceiving and perceiving urban spaces in the twentieth century, let us recall how the evolution of Amado's construct took place.

In his first urban novel, *O País*, Salvador is a decaying city that is doomed by the environment itself. According to the deterministic theories that underlie the narrative, the overwhelming presence of nature in the tropics was 'defeating' people. In such an environment, modernity – the model for which is a European city, Paris – was impossible. The following urban novel, *Suor*, depicts Salvador as a suffocating colonial space that accentuates the city's social binary – rich versus poor. A claustrophobic place such as Pelourinho, which was both historically and spatially oppressive, brutalises its lower-class dwellers. The solution, which is unlikely to come soon, is the destruction of this alienating urban space to build a new one under a communist order.

In *Jubiabá*, Amado acknowledges the positive influence of Afro-Brazilian culture in alternative and empowering spatial practices. Later, these alternative spaces of resistance and their practices are dismissed as alienating. This time, change will come to Salvador through the proletarian movement that sees the poor challenge segregation and reclaim the central spaces of the city. This ideal of an egalitarian city draws on Soviet communism to project a new order. However, it is impractical since it does not ultimately consider the cultural and racial components in the binaries of Salvador.

Capitães does not dismiss Afro-Brazilian practices as alienating but it rather ignores them. The alternative place in the novel, its heterotopia, is a 'dead area', an abandoned wharf in Salvador's forgotten old harbour. The populated areas of the city seem to have no special characteristics that might prompt the construction of a new order. To make the ideal communist city viable, the novel makes the case for a universal template of urban spaces and their conflicts, which is inspired by Socialist realism. Seen through this perspective,

Salvador's problems stem from the same type of social binaries – poor oppressed versus rich oppressor – that prompted the Russian Revolution. The intrinsic characteristics of Salvador, which Amado had explored in detail in *Jubiabá*, are lost in favour of ideology.

Quincas brings a different view of Salvador's historical city centre as a heterogeneous place that contrasts with the homogenous middle-class districts, such as Itapagipe. In the narrative, Pelourinho is a space that has multiple uses. It defies the homogenising order that underlies the development of the city. Pelourinho's disorder becomes the ideal for the city despite the romanticisation of the lumpen life in the area. However, the novel's setting is restricted to Pelourinho and Itapagipe, which provide a limited view of how the whole of Salvador is conceived and developed. Afro-Brazilian practices in Pelourinho seem to be peripheral in the lived experience of the urban space. Pelourinho, as the novel represents it, is an impractical model for an entire city, which needs to consider places of production and transformation – places that demand a certain type of order – if it is to develop and thrive.

Pastores expands the social binary from previous novels to explain how certain representations of the city keep spaces of disorder contained and deepen segregation. The novel symbolically promotes an invasion of the city centre, which appears as a dialogical space. This characteristic originates from the syncretic nature of Candomblé, the Afro-Brazilian religion whose practices accommodate differences. However, this dialogical aspect is restricted to religious spaces, such as Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos Church, in which people from different beliefs and backgrounds congregate. The narrative also suggests, but does not develop, a different city binary: dialogical spaces in Salvador are feminine, whereas the segregational order of the city is imposed by masculine rule.

In terms of setting, *Dona Flor* marks a major shift of focus in Amado's Salvador novels. A middle-class district, Dois de Julho, is the main location of the narrative and it is a

clearly feminine space. It is also an intermediate area in Salvador, located between lower-class Pelourinho and the upper-class neighbourhoods. Even though it is considered a middle-class district, Dois de Julho is home to people from different social strata and backgrounds. However, if Dois de Julho introduces an alternative perception of homogeneous spaces, its spatial practices aim to accommodate differences but they lack the transformative aspect that makes a city develop – it mostly resembles a small town in the middle of the city. In other words, the spatial practices of the neighbourhood are not enough to prompt an alternative conceptualisation of space. For this reason, the novel requires the supernatural interference of the orixás – and Flor's death-conquering love for Vadinho – to bring about an effective transformation of the entire city. The use of Afro-Brazilian elements of Salvador – especially Exu, the trickster orixá – at the end of the narrative is admittedly symbolic, but it does indicate the type of model for Salvador that Amado's subsequent novel presents.

Tenda proposes a more radical dialogue between conceptualisation of space, spatial practices and lived experiences. This dialogue is based on the cultural and social characteristics of the historical city centre, which is portrayed as a creative hybrid place. In the 'broad territory' that starts in Pelourinho, the syncretic aspect of Afro-Brazilian culture inspires multiple uses of space, which include practices not seen in previous novels: schools, several workshops, and social clubs along with bars and residences. In this ideal urban space, creation (order) stems from continuous mixture (chaos). This organic model is presented as a counterpoint to the established conceptualisation of Salvador: homogeneous, segregational, Eurocentric, an imposition from the top down. In the novel, Pelourinho stands as a legitimate alternative to all these characteristics because its mixed aspect mirrors the miscegenated identity of Salvador, with its large black and mixed-race populations and their own traditions. Thus, *Tenda* suggests a different conceptualisation of urban space that is the opposite of the orderly urban model from *O País*: the development of heterogeneous spaces that allow

popular and highbrow culture to dialogue and make the city thrive. The novel also shows how hybridity is threatening to the dominant perception of space, which assimilates and homogenises mixture in the official discourse. By offering this alternative model and outlining the ways in which it is repressed, the novel introduces an important argument for a discussion about contemporary notions of space.

Tenda's hybrid, organic model of urban space may seem obvious but it provides an alternative to trends in conceptualisation of cities in the twentieth century. As we have seen, ideas of extremely orderly spaces underscore the transformation of major Brazilian cities in the first half of the twentieth century. Similarly, in his earliest novels, Amado's ideal city borrowed from the aspirations of order held by urban planners such as Le Corbusier, as well as communist – particularly Stalinist – models: the ideal Salvador implicit in these early narratives was shaped after other places, with little or no concern for Salvador's own specificities. In 1960, Amado shifted his perspective with *Quincas*. In the novel's decayed Pelourinho, hidden in the romanticisation of lumpen life in the area, Amado suggested a rudimentary alternative model of urban space: more heterogeneity. *Tenda* explained and expanded this conceptualisation of space: a heterogeneous and transformative urban space to mirror a population whose main cultural and ethnic characteristic is hybridity. However, while Amado was writing *Quincas*, the models of order from his early novels were still influencing the conceptualisation of entirely new real-life cities, culminating with Brasília.

It is not within the scope of this thesis to provide a thorough analysis of Brasília but certain elements of it are worth highlighting to contrast it with Brazil's first capital, Salvador, as described by Amado in his novels. Following a model of order, Brasília was designed by Lúcio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer as a place of extreme functionality. The third Brazilian capital realised Le Corbusier's ideal – his utopian Radiant City (1930) informed Brasília's

urban plan – with a highly organised functional urban centre in the middle of the country.³ Although the conceptualisation of Brasília was modern by 1960s standards, the ideas behind its inception were not new. Brazil's first Republican Constitution (1891) had already proposed that a new capital should be built in the country's Planalto Central. In 1960, President Juscelino Kubitschek was merely completing a project that was born out of the positivist ideology that is displayed in the motto of the Brazilian Republic's flag, 'Ordem e Progresso'. Order should be brought to the entire country to make it modern. Again, the desire for strict order is older than modernity. Niemeyer's buildings were inspired by the lines of Brazilian baroque architecture with its complex interiors and clean facades.⁴ Mixture should be kept behind closed doors. Salvador's first urban planning originated from a desire for absolute order that could never be entirely fulfilled. Salvador's landscape is full of hills and narrow streets that conceal surprises, the 'mistério' to which Amado constantly refers in his novels. Brasília's clean lines mirror a linear infinite horizon and the plain terrain on which it was built. In Brasília, everything is clear and predictable, as it were: the specialised division of areas in the city allows limited or no room for mixture and experimentation by the users of those spaces. In comparison, Amado drew on the baroque characteristics of colonial Salvador and expanded on them to turn the original concept of a fortress city on its head: he translated the richness of the baroque interior decoration in Pelourinho's colonial buildings into flexibility and invention of spatial practices. His alternative approach to occupying and using urban spaces, which highlighted heterogeneity, mirrored the indoor mixture of Salvador's baroque model.

Antônio Risério notes that Brasília keeps its poor citizens in an outer circle of the urban space – a pattern that is similar to the one we have seen in *Pastores*.⁵ The rigid

³ James Holston, quoted in Risério, *A Cidade no Brasil*, p. 284.

⁴ Risério, *A Cidade no Brasil*, pp. 286-287.

⁵ Risério, *A Cidade no Brasil*, p. 288.

conceptualisation of Brasília, with its residential areas opposed to working areas and commercial areas, enhances the segregational aspect of the city, which was conceived to stress binaries. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, which has been popularly called the ‘information age’, the desire to turn cities into perfect systems seems only to have increased. Highly automated cities, such as Masdar in Abu Dhabi, which was conceived by British architect Norman Foster, or PlanIT Valley, in Portugal, are under construction.⁶ While their goal is to provide functionality and comfort, they leave no room for alternative uses of space by their inhabitants. The lack of flexibility in occupying spaces threatens to render these cities obsolete in a short time. Moreover, new and poorer dwellers are forced to make do in the improvised outer circles of these cities, which generates ever more separation and inequality, as happens in Brasília’s ‘cidades-satélite’. Dreams of orderly urban spaces, as we have seen, are not just a recent phenomenon but the idea of a city as an information technology system allows for a conceptualisation of urban space that seems to exclude the potential for diverse lived experience once more. Despite decay, poverty, and social conflicts, Amado’s Salvador provides a different perspective of what an ideal urban space might contain. From the dreams of modernity in *O País* to the creative hybrid city in *Tenda*, Amado increasingly considered alternative elements – uses of the urban space by its inhabitants that were based on their own experience and perception of the city – to represent an ideal urban space.

The evolution of spatial notions in Amado’s novels also reveals a society that was eager to apply to its urban spaces adapted versions of the same positivist ideology underlying the implementation of the Republic in Brazil. As Antônio Risério points out, Brazil does not have positivist cities in architectural terms but their urban planning and social policies are

⁶ ‘Starting from Scratch’, in *The Economist* (07/09/2013), <http://www.economist.com/news/briefing/21585003-building-city-future-costly-and-hard-starting-scratch>. For a description of PlanIT Valley, see http://www.living-planit.com/design_wins.htm.

positivist nonetheless.⁷ In Amado's fictional Salvador, positivist 'order and progress' actually marginalises the 'povo', the term the writer constantly used to refer to the lower classes, by excluding them and their practices from the city's development. Through Salvador, Amado showed how the same obsession with order, always imposed on the masses from the top of the social hierarchy, remained an obstacle to the construction of ideal urban models. The result is a cult of rational homogeneity that actually suffocates the transformative principle of the city, which Amado repeatedly identifies with Exu, the trickster orixá. Salvador, the fortress city, is a segregational space. Amado's ideal spaces are syncretic.

The novels in Amado's cacao cycle offer a complementary view of binary spaces that demands some commentary. Narratives like *Terras do Sem-Fim*, *São Jorge dos Ilhéus* (Golden Harvest, 1944), and *Tocaia Grande* (Showdown, 1984) depict the conflicts between oppressed plantation workers and ruthless landowners in a spatial dynamic that is reminiscent of the master's house-slave quarters dynamic that Amado also revealed in Salvador through his proletarian novels. The small towns that grow from the economic boom of cacao plantations have their share of prostitutes, vagabonds and lumpen in general, who live on the margins of the urban fabric. Nevertheless, their spatial practices and lived experiences do not bear the same symbolic value with which Amado portrays Afro-Brazilian practices and spatial uses in his Salvador novels. Amado does not attempt to solve the social divide in these places by suggesting an alternative idealised space in his cacao novels. After all, as we have seen in *Jubiabá*, his ideal human space may only be realised in the city. Yet, most of these cacao novels contain a developing urban space, Ilhéus, a city whose booming economy depended on a single product, cacao. In the first half of the twentieth century, Ilhéus, in

⁷ Risério, *A Cidade no Brasil*, pp. 194-195.

Southern Bahia, was a richer city than Salvador, the capital of the state of Bahia.⁸ In *Tocaia Grande*, Amado describes the process of formation of the title village and its development into Irisópolis, a fictional counterpart to Ilhéus. When questioned about why the process of writing the novel was taking so long, Amado replied: ‘É que desta vez não estou só escrevendo um romance - estou construindo uma cidade’.⁹ An analysis of the urban fabric in these novels, mainly *Tocaia Grande*, could expand the topic of this thesis to reveal further perceptions of space and lived urban experiences to contrast with the ideal urban models of the Salvador novels. Unfortunately, the sheer volume of Amado’s work made it impractical to include the cacao novels in this study.

Above all, the evolution of Amado’s Salvador shows a desire to return to the original city, as it were. Without the collapse of any of its buildings, Salvador’s historical city centre changed immensely in his novels, turning from a claustrophobic district into a syncretic ideal. Amado’s ideal Salvador has more in common with the syncretic village that we saw in the Introduction than with the fortress city that was founded by Tomé de Sousa. Caramuru’s mixed village was located ‘entre o Farol e o Porto da Barra, talvez se estendendo daquele ao ponto onde desagua o Rio dos Seixos’.¹⁰ There, Caramuru and his wife, Paraguaçu, were ‘cercados de índios e de índias, de um pequeno punhado de europeus (vindos de Portugal, da França e da Espanha) e de brasilíndios ou mamelucos de ambos os sexos’.¹¹ As a commercial outpost, the village traded peacefully with both Indians and the eventual European ships that approached the shore. When the Portuguese Crown decided to systematically colonise the newfound land, they sent a veteran of the exploration of India and Africa, Francisco Coutinho Rusticão, to found Arraial do Pereira (Vila Velha). Intense conflicts with the natives led to

⁸ In an interview, former Bahian politician Antônio Carlos Magalhães stated that 60% of the Bahian economy was based on cacao production and export when he began his first mandate as governor (1970). Quoted in Risério, *Cidade da Bahia*, 5 Terra em Transe – Reformismo e Tradicionalismo – 70 of 106.

⁹ Quoted on http://www.jorgeamado.com.br/obra.php3?codigo=12606&ordena=1&idioma_new=P.

¹⁰ Risério, *Cidade da Bahia*, 1 Da Aldeia ao Engenho – O Sambaqui Daqui – 39 of 71.

¹¹ Risério, *Cidade da Bahia*, 1 Da Aldeia ao Engenho – 72 of 131.

war and a disastrous end to the enterprise. For the second attempt, the Portuguese sent Tomé de Sousa to build a city that had been completely designed and planned in the metropolis. As Governor General of Brazil, Tomé de Sousa created a complete bureaucratic structure: ‘político-administrativa, judicial, fiscal e militar diretamente subordinada a Lisboa’.¹² This was the end of the syncretic experiment and the beginning of a lingering order. In his Salvador novels, Amado sought to overturn this order in search of the mythical past of Caramuru’s syncretic village. Ironically, he found it in the middle of the fortress city.

¹² Jorge Couto, quoted in Risério, *Cidade da Bahia*, 1 Da Aldeia ao Engenho – 86 of 131.

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