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Bodies of Books:

Literary Illustration in Twentieth Century Brazil

A dissertation presented

by

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to

The Department of Romance Languages and Literatures

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the subject of

Romance Languages and Literatures

Harvard University

Cambridge, Massachusetts

January, 2017

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Bodies of Books:

Literary Illustration in Twentieth Century Brazil

Abstract

This dissertation explores the nature and role of literary illustrations twentieth century Brazil, not just in relation to their companion texts, but also in what ways they reflect defining characteristics of Brazilian literature beyond the chronological or theoretical limits of modernism, regionalism, magic realism, or postmodernism. Illustrations in new fiction — that is, writer and artist and editor collaborating on a book to be illustrated in its first or otherwise definitive edition — gained popularity in Brazil just as the form waned from existence in North America and Europe, where the "Golden Age" of book illustration was a nineteenth century phenomenon. Understanding illustrated books is key to approaching Brazil's artistic production beyond the strictly textual or visual. As expressions of periphery, autochthony, authenticity, and hybridity, interartistic works such as Brazilian illustrated fiction are a quintessential type of twentieth century cultural production.

In Brazil, visual artists shared the printed page with some of the country's most celebrated authors. The thematic and formal experimentation in these text-image pairings track evolving concepts of anesthetizing Brazilian minority groups. They also manifest the problems and paradoxes inherent to representations of class, gender, and race by writers and artists living in comparatively privileged circumstances. In short, illustrated fiction

illuminates some of the deepest preoccupations of the Brazilian literature and art in the twentieth century.

This dissertation is structured around three artists whose illustration careers, among other artistic endeavors, span from the 1930s to 1990s: Tomás Santa Rosa Jr. (1909–1956), Napoleão "Poty" Lazzarotto (1924--1998), and Hector "Carybé" Bernabó (1911–1997). In works of fiction under consideration in this dissertation, illustrations by Santa Rosa, Poty and Carybé bring into view, literally an metaphorically, additional perspectives on major early twentieth century urbanization, massive national migration and international immigration, the power and danger of the *sertão*, class and racial tensions, and the legitimacy of Afro-Brazilian religions, myths and cultures.

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Acknowledgements

Unexpected departures have been too frequent while research and writing this dissertation. I would like to thank my advisor, Nicolau Sevcenko (1952–2014), and my professor Ana Maria de Oliveira Raposo Preto-Bay (1962–2014), for inspiring me. I must acknowledge the overwhelming support of Clémence Jouët-Pastré and Elizabeth Bevington. I am indebted to my dissertation committee — Josiah Blackmore, Jeffrey Schnapp, and Sergio Delgado — for their attention, especially after the loss of Nicolau Sevcenko. This dissertation would not have been possible without many other professors, colleagues and friends. In particular I thank Gonzalo Aguilar, Onésimo Almeida, Bruno Carvalho, Joaquim-Francisco Coelho, Vanessa Fitzgibbon, Florencia Garramuño, Mary Gaylord, Ana Paula Hirano, Rosario Hubert, Christopher Lewis, Aaron Litvin, Kip Lund, Melissa Machit, Giuliana Minghelli, Rex Nielson, João Reis, Sergi Rivero-Navarro, Mariano Siskind, Luiz Valente, Carlos Varon Gonzales, and Frederick G. Williams. I also wish to thank the faculty, associates, and staff at the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard University and the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures at Harvard University. All errors are my own.

Introduction

Leafing through Brazil's most praised fiction from the last one hundred years reveals an abundance of illustrations. Many of the country's best novels and short story collections were illustrated, not only in special collector editions, but frequently in their earliest or most widely disseminated, "definitive" editions. Roberto Reis names four twentieth century novelists in an essay on Brazilian writers who, in his estimation, deserved nominations for the Nobel Prize in Literature: Graciliano Ramos (1892–1953), João Guimarães Rosa (1908–1967), Clarice Lispector (1920–1977), and Autran Dourado (1926–2012) (232). A fifth novelist, Jorge Amado (1912–2001), earns an honorable mention; Reis falls short of endorsing him for the prize, but nonetheless feels it necessary to defend his omission. The lengthy justification in Reis' essay leaves Amado with a higher word count than some of the authors Reis saw as more worthy of a Nobel Prize nomination. All five of these writers — Graciliano Ramos, Guimarães Rosa, Clarice Lispector, Autran Dourado and Jorge Amado — had pieces of fiction published with

illustrations during their lifetimes. In the case Ramos, Guimarães Rosa, and Amado, illustration features even more prominently. The definitive editions of some of their most well-known titles are illustrated. Furthermore, these three authors, over the course of their careers, collaborated most frequently with one or more of three artists listed below.

This dissertation examines fiction works illustrated by the artists Tomás Santa Rosa Jr. (1909–1956), Napoleão "Poty" Potyguara Lazzarotto (1924–1998), and Hector "Carybé" Bernabó (1911–1997). The individual collaborations of these three artists with varying authors date from the 1930s to the 1990s. An exhaustive inquiry into all of their illustration work is beyond the scope of this dissertation, as would be a complete study of the illustration work of any one of these artists. What is most relevant about these artists' textual-visual collaborations is their shared relationship to the acts of reading and representation. That is, how their specific sequence of words and images demands a haptic sensory interpretation in which the visual sign interrupts the verbal. This dissertation expands the examination of the image-word sequence to further inquire what this sequence has to do with both twentieth century Brazilian literature and interartistic work writ broadly. The inherent contradiction of reading word and image as part of a single work is unavoidable. As others have noted of varying forms of visual experimentation in literature, the visual nature of reading depends in part on the materiality of the object being read being invisible. To interfere with that invisibility is to interfere with the meaning received or produced through the act of reading. Of this interruptive, sequential form of interpretation in Russian avant-garde typography Ian Chesley notes that "when the writer places an obstacle in the way of the transformation from visual apperception to language, the reader takes notice of the previously invisible vehicle of meaning" (1). This applies equally well to the disruption of expected visual and textual norms in illustrated Brazilian literature as it does expected lexical and typographical norms of the Russian

avant-garde. Accordingly, this dissertation will focus on novels and short story collections, illustrated by Santa Rosa, Poty or Carybé, that are especially representative of this creative interplay of reading and representation, making use of its inherent contradictions for aesthetic aims of their work.

Figuration and Hybridity

Hybridity has long been a topic of study among scholars of Brazilian culture. Brazil's rich biological, cultural, linguistic and culinary histories have positioned the country "at the forefront of global hybridization" in its varying conceptions (Hamilton 191). Evidenced most notably by the "Cannibalist Manifesto" ["Manifesto antropófago"] (1928), by Oswald de Andrade (1890–1954), a cultural movement took root aestheticizing and politicizing the multiple identities of and influences on the Brazilian body — be that body individual, artistic, or national — vis-à-vis mythologized Amerindian cannibalism. Writing in the 1990s, Robert Stam notes that "the currently fashionable talk of 'hybridity' and 'syncretism' often elides the fact that artists and intellectuals in Brazil and the Caribbean were theorizing hybridity over half a century earlier" (70). Stam goes echo the Brazilian theorist and poet Augusto de Campos, writing that superficially similar metaphors of cannibalism circulating in contemporary Europe "never enjoyed the profound resonances within the culture that it did in Brazil." Such

hybridity has been a major focus in studies on topics ranging from Brazilian Modernism, film, and music, as well as curatorial descriptor for Brazilian visual art.[1]

Despite this attention to the cultural, iconographic, linguistic and religious miscegenation, few have examined the mixing of words and images in Brazilian fiction, a noticeable absence for such a prominent, hybrid form.[2] The original drawings or prints for Brazilian book illustrations have, on occasion, been featured in retrospective expositions and reproduced in museum folio editions.[3] The artists behind literary illustrations often worked in various media, from paintings to murals to set design. Featuring their literary illustrations in galleries and museum publications consideres this area of each artists oeuvre on its merits as a visual artwork. Such attention divorces the image from its role in the materiality of reading. Without their (literal) context, and placed among otherwise unbound artworks, it is difficult to "read" the role these images play within their respective books and within the politics of literary and artistic production in Brazil. Aiming to address this critical lacuna, this dissertation places Brazilian illustrated fiction in the center of debates about twentieth century narration and figuration in Brazil and beyond.

Cementing the relationship of one conceptual body (the hybrid text-image book) to another (the metaphorical cannibal body of Andrade's "Manifesto antropófago"), nearly all of Santa Rosa's, Poty's and Carybé's literary illustrations are figurative; that is, they depict human bodies with some degree of realism. As a matter of art history,

---

[1] See Luis Madureira's *Cannibal Modernities* (2009), Robert Stam's *Tropical Multiculturalism* (1997), and Christopher Dunn's *Brutality Garden* (2001) for broader studies on hybridity in Brazilian Modernism, film, and Tropicália music, respectively. For a curatorial example, Carlos Basualdo and Julie Rodrigues Widholm describe the visual artist Hélio Oiticica (1937–1980) as "embrac[ing] and aesthetic of informality, interactivity and cultural hybridity," *Tropicália: A Revolution in Brazilian Culture* (2005–2006), MCA Chicago.

[2] One noteworthy exception to this observation is found in Gutierrez and Lazzarotto, *Poty Lazzarotto e Dalton Trevisan: entretextos* (2011), a study on the collaborations of the artist Poty Lazzarotto and the writer Dalton Trevisan that highlight the city of Curitiba, in the southern Brazilian state of Paraná.

[3] Examples of museum folio editions, with minimal if any critical analysis, include Carybé, *As artes de Carybé* (2009), and Da Silva, *Carybé* (1989).

examining any single print or series of prints within a binary of abstract versus figurative art is not itself problematic, even if it is reductive. Santa Rosa's, Poty's and Carybé's respective *oeuvres* are, in fact, figurative. How this figuration can be interpreted within a framework of reading, literature, and broadly writ cultural production is uncharted and depends, in part, on a brief comparative history of Western art theory and Brazilian print culture.

The illustration work of Santa Rosa, Poty and Carybé coincided with the establishment of some the first stable publishing houses in Brazil to successfully release fiction titles. By the mid 1930s, the publishing house José Olympio, just several decades old, had absorbed or displaced some of the smaller presses printing illustrated books in the late 1920s and early 1930s.[4] Some of these would become the country's most celebrated novels and short stories. Before introducing more information about this dissertation's artists, the texts they illustrated, and the writers with whom they collaborated, it is worth reviewing some historical circumstances and some of the ideas in circulation during the careers of Santa Rosa, Poty and Carybé.

Brazil and the history of illustrated fiction

Brazilian illustration in the twentieth century is curious by comparison to other Western countries. Illustrations in novels and collected short stories were a great success almost everywhere they were printed in the nineteenth century; it was "the richest period in the history of illustration," its Golden Age (Harthan 172). These visual vignettes, however, became rare in new fiction just a few decades into the twentieth century (some theories as to why are explored below). Among twentieth century Anglophone authors, John Steinbeck stands out for collaborating with Berta and Elmer Hader on the jackets

[4] For additional information see the chapter "José Olympio" in Hallewell, pp. 243–90.

for three of his novels, though no illustrations appear between the covers. The last Pulitzer Prize winning novel to be illustrated in its first edition was *The Bridge of San Luis Rey* (1927). After this, Bernard Shaw's *The Adventures of the black girl in her search for God* (Shaw and Farleigh 1932), featuring woodcuts by John Farleigh, managed to garner some commercial and critical success. By the 1950s the fiction publishing industry was markedly different than just a few decades before:

> Modern novels and poetry are rarely illustrated, the gift book is defunct, its place taken by the numerous compilations and popular summaries of art, travel and science made glamorous by the resources of colour photography. Apart from children's books, the market for adult illustration is largely supplied by: (1) the publications of the book clubs and private presses, which show no signs of decreasing in numbers, and (2) those books whose primary purpose is to impart information. (Harthan 279)

One of the latest twentieth century illustrated works in English may have been Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea* (*The Old Man and the Sea* Hemingway ("The Old Man and the Sea") September, 1952). Even then, the images were only included in the magazine version of its simultaneous publication in *Life* magazine and in a bound edition by Charles Scribner's Sons.

During the decades of literary illustrations' general fall from popularity throughout the West, Brazil saw the birth of its own fiction and illustrated fiction print culture. The novel *Cacáu* (*Cacáu* 1933), the second by Jorge Amado (1912–2001), one of Brazil's best selling authors internationally, was published with illustrations by Tomás Santa Rosa Jr.[5] By the 1960s, the publishing house Editora Martins carried 17 of

[5] Jorge Amado was the undisputed Brazilian bestseller, internationally, until the novels of Paulo Coelho (1947–) displaced Amado's success in more recent years. Alamir Aquino Corrêa notes that, "Many critics consider the market success of Brazilian authors versus their academic influence on culture are surprised by Amado's editorial and personal successes as well as by the indifference an international readership has shown toward the rest of Brazilian literature. The same has occurred with Paulo Coelho, also a writer of best sellers" (366).

Amado's illustrated titles, having done so with many of them since their first editions.[6] Similarly, Graciliano Ramos (1892–1953) and João Guimarães Rosa (1908–1967), two of Brazil's most famous fiction writers, had titles published with illustrations by the artists Axl Leskoschek and Napoleão "Poty" Lazzarotto, such as *Dois dedos* (1940) in the case of the former and *Sagarana* (1958 ed.) in the case of the latter.[7]

When illustrated books began to appear with increasing frequency in Brazil during the 1930s, they reflected aesthetic and political concerns of Modernists in the immediate wake of Brazil's 1920s vanguard. Foremost among these aesthetic and political concerns was a preoccupation with regional, class and ethnic consciousness; a quest to maintain a "necessary tie to everyday life [and] national existence" (Martins and Daniel 143). They were abstract enough to be modern and universal, but figurative enough to maintain a realist "tie to everyday life." This balance lent itself to black and white contrast printing, avoiding the expensive tone gradations that accompanied the rising cost of half-tone and color plates in the 1930s.[8] In North America and Europe, the success of other visual story telling media, such as cinema and photography, are speculated to have hastened illustrated fiction's demise.[9] Brazil, however, with inconsistent electricity complicating movie projection, saw comparatively slow cinema growth in the first half of the twentieth century. This slow infrastructure development does not grant a wholesale dismissal of the role of televised media in displacing, at least to some extent, printed visual

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[6] Amado's illustrated publications at Editora Martins in the late 1960s include the novels *O País do Carnaval*; *Cacáu, Suor*; *Jubiabá*; *Mar Morto*; *Capitães da Areia*; *Terras do Sem Fim*; *São Jorge e Ilhéus*; *Seara Vermelha*; *Os Subterrâneos da Liberdade*; *Gabriela, Cravo e Canela*; *Os Pastôres da Noite*; *Dona Flor e seus Dois Maridos*; as well as one collection of short novelas (*Os Velhos Marinheiros*); a play (*O Amor do Soldado*); and a biography (*ABC de Castro Alves*) (original spelling and accentuation).

[7] João Guimarães Rosa and Graciliano Ramos are both mentioned by the historian Roberto Reis as Brazilian writers who deserved to have been nominated for the Nobel Prize in Literature (232).

[8] Both Harthan (276) and Bland (387) acknowledge the rise in price of half-tone printing and suggest it contributed to changing economic and aesthetics in printing.

[9] J. Hillis Miller takes this a given, writing of the "power cinema has enjoyed in displacing the illustrated book" (68).

media throughout Brazil. Instead, it simply complicates comparisons between the twentieth century print cultures of Brazil and the United States.

Starting in 1917, literary illustration grew quickly in Brazil. Illustration became such a successful feature of literature that, while introducing a promising new illustrator in 1956, the publishing house Livraria José Olympio Editora reveals that illustration had become a staple of its creative, editorial process:

> *Na história de um livro, há pelo menos cinco figuras indispensáveis, que somam esforços para que as palavras apareçam no papel ordenadas diante do leitor numa prevista clausura gráfica. O autor, o editor, o ilustrador, o impressor, o revisor. Dêses cinco elementos, o ilustrador, aquêle que nos abre a primeira porta para um novo mundo, tem sido na história desta Casa uma tradição de felizes encontros com os autores, às vezes até em associações que não se admitiram rompidas, tal a identidade de objetivos e de mútua compreensão na órbita das artes, da literatura e do desenho ou da pintura.* [ortografia original]
>
> In making a book there are at least five essential people whose efforts allow the words to appear before the reader in some predetermined graphic arrangement: author, editor, illustrator, printer, and reviewer. Of the five, it is the illustrator who opens the door to a new world. And at this publishing house, the illustrator finds a tradition of friendly association with the author. Sometimes these bonds have been unbreakable. Such is the identity of purpose and mutual understanding surrounding the arts, literature, drawing and painting.[10]

Livraria José Olympio Editora was a relatively new press, having grown from humble beginnings in just over twenty years. It was not formally experimental or sui generis in its embracing illustrations. Other major publishing houses of the day, such as Agir, Ariel, Civilização, Leitura, and the previously mentioned Martins were also printing new literary fiction with illustrations. Across all of these publishers, illustrations evince a collaborative enterprise whose scope, most notably in the genre of new fiction, was unparalleled by contemporary presses in North America and Europe. [more information on this history of presses in Brazil, which is fascinating, would be welcome. When did

[10] This editorial comment of unknown authorship is read on the dust jacket of the second volume of *Corpo de baile* (Rosa, *Corpo de Baile*).

these presses open? Do they remain in business? What percentage of their fiction publications included illustration? This is information is important for your argument, and would be very useful here, if it's extant]

In 1917, Brazil's small national publishing market was almost entirely devoted to school textbooks and legal tomes. Portuguese language fiction and poetry were generally published in France or Portugal, then imported (Hallewell 171). Aspiring writers in Brazil often had to finance the local printing of their own work, only to have it printed on paper of exceedingly poor quality and, eventually, condemned to a bookstore basement. It took an aspiring artist and writer with an inherited coffee farm to create a new national fiction market. Monteiro Lobato had been an aspiring painter and had written for school papers and small publications since the age of 14, "but family pressure made him a reluctant lawyer," writes Hallewell, "the inheritance made him an even more reluctant farmer" (176). Lobato financed the printing of his first books by selling the coffee farm he inherited to Afredo Leite in 1917. His self-published *Saci-Pererê: resultado de um inquérito*, by its third printing, showed the authors true name, rather than the pseudonym Demonólogo Amador, and attributed the illustrations to a "curioso sem estudos" ["strange, uneducated man"]. Lobato's first two books sold extremely well. Bookstores placed orders for additional runs faster than they could be printed. Over the next two decades, a new national fiction publishing followed in Monteiro Lobato's wake. When major North American and European publishers restructured in the 1930s, Brazilian publishing houses like José Olympio were hitting their stride, maturing from backroom operations into prestigious institutions.[11] Twentieth century Brazilian print culture did more than continue a nineteenth century tradition of illustration, it became a location to showcase

[11] In *Between covers*, Tebbel and Tebbel goes into considerable detail about the perseverance of American publishing houses during the 1930s (269), and their successful atomization of publishing houses into specialized departments (205).

the continued availability of the human figure in art. Visually, it featured figuration in its illustrations. Image and text together doubled-down on witnessing the human figure as "necessary tie to everyday life," one perhaps more sensorily realistic to the everyday than reading text alone (Martins and Daniel 143).

Abstraction and the availability of the figure

The persistence of figurative art and literary illustration in Brazil evinces a cultural milieu in which the human body is a consistent subject for representation. From this perspective, twentieth century Brazilian literary illustration can be used to trace some of the particularities of the country's focus on bodies and the ways this focus differed from other trends of abstraction, figuration and realism.

In North America and parts of Europe, especially after World War II, anti-representational and anti-figurative sentiments, combined with ever-increasing atomization of the arts conspired against figuration — and thus Brazilian literary illustration — through medium specificity, the purity of the qualities of each medium unto itself. In their respective studies of illustration, both W.J.T Mitchell and Martha Jane Nadell point to major voices from the last 150 years, such as Stéphane Mallarmé (1832–1898), José Ortega y Gasset (1883–1955) and Clement Greenberg (1909–1994), who elucidate ideas that contributed to the rise of medium specificity.

These voices might also highlight a theoretical foundation opposing figurative book illustration. Mallarmé, for example, eschewed illustrations, seeing the text as something spiritually separate or separable from the physical dimensions it occupied on the bound, printed page. He feared illustration's overpowering potential for direct presentation (Miller 67). The weight of his opinion on this matter comes in part from his poem "Un coup dés jamais n'abolira le hazard," which privileged the material blank space

between words, lines and the margins of the page as much as the text itself. In this Mallarmé seems to have favored a visual, non-verbal compliment to poem, and he later remarked that such "spaciousness must establish some nameless system of relationships" (Mallarmé 27). This visually blank space was precisely that, however — blank; a visual element, to be certain, but not a figurative one. In a short, declarative opinion issued in response to a question about his feelings on book illustration Mallarmé writes, "Je suis pour — aucune illustration, tout ce qu'évoque un livre devant se passer dans l'esprit du lecteur…" ["I am for — no illustration. Everything a book evokes should pass into the mind of the reader…"].[12] Mallarmé derides illustration as visual disruption of the text. For him, illustrations interfere with the free passage of textual meaning to the reader. Text and image should therefore be left in their own realms. The only place for images and words to coexist together artistically, Mallarmé goes on to imply, is in cinema (878).

This objection to book figurative illustration, on the basis of avoiding the real in favor of more abstract metaphors, rings consonant with Ortega y Gasset's "La deshumanización del arte," in which he argues in favor of the "eliminación progresiva de los elementos humanos, demasiado humanos, que dominaban en la producción romántica y naturalista" ["progressive elimination of the human, all too human, elements predominant in the romantic and naturalistic production"].[13] The progressive elimination of the human is, of course, at odds with the "necessary tie to everyday life" I argue is a feature of illustrated fiction in twentieth century Brazil (Martins and Daniel 143). The illustrator Santa Rosa even promoted a counter-theory to Ortega y Gasset, arguing in favor of a "re-humanization of art" in 1946 newspaper article (*A manhã*).

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[12] See "Sur le livre illustré," in the collected *Œvres completes* (Mallarmé, Mondor, and Jean-Aubry 878).

[13] Ortega y Gasset (*La deshumanización del arte y otros ensayos estéticos.*) 22; trans. Helene Weyl Ortega y Gasset (*The Dehumanization of Art; and Other Essays on Art, Culture, and Literature.*), 12

Mallarmé's comments and sentiments also prefigure Clement Greenberg, who famously writes in "Towards a Newer Laocoon" (1940) that:

> The arts, then, have been hunted back to their mediums, and there they have been isolated, concentrated and defined. It is by virtue of its medium that each art is unique and strictly itself. To restore the identity of an art the opacity of its medium must be emphasized. […] (305)
>
> […] The purely plastic or abstract qualities of the work of art are the only ones that count. Emphasize the medium and its difficulties, and at once the purely plastic, the proper, values of visual art come to the fore. (307)

While Greenberg refers to these "abstract qualities" primarily in the plastic arts, Greenberg's thesis "that each art is unique and strictly itself" can be interpreted as a double-indictment of figurative illustrated fiction. First, Brazilian book illustration, to the extent that it features the human figure, imitates the real world. The only qualities that would matter for a Greenbergian print (as visual art) would be those inherent to ink and paper, the media themselves, instead of ink on paper representing something that the print itself is not. Second, when the print (as visual art) is included within a text as illustration, the book itself is no longer a verbal work alone, failing to be medium specific.

Mallarmé, Ortega y Gasset, and Greenberg were not the only tastemakers in favor of varying degrees of abstraction and medium specificity, but they are the three of the most prominent proponents of fashionable theories at odds with figurative images, and even more so with hybrid image-text work featuring figurative images. It is important to acknowledge that during the decades of movement toward abstract medium specificity in the arts at large, figuration proved resilient in socialist realism, Mexican muralism, and various popular art forms, including *literatura de cordel* in Brazil. These share some common aesthetic and political goals with forms of figuration from marginalized communities — self actualization, unity, class struggle. This comes as no surprise, given that for two of the previously mentioned examples of late illustrated fiction, *The Bridge of San Luis Rey* (1927) and *The Adventures of the Black Girl in Her Search for God* (1932),

illustrations help to establish, respectively, the exotic Latin American and African qualities of the books' settings and characters. Self-representation through illustration, became possible in some minority communities, such as that of black Americans in Harlem and the southern United States, just as illustration itself began to fall out of fashion in the West.

In an excellent study of one such minority community, *Enter the New Negroes: Images of Race in American Culture* (2004), Martha Jane Nadell examines figurative illustrations from African American print culture during the early to mid-twentieth century. According to Nadell, African American illustrations from this period explore themes of visibility, self-representation, and migration, among other issues related to the African American experience. Some of the illustrators behind these works experiment with representing black bodies and skin tones, employing a "black-and-white pattern that … does not correspond to the racial binary of the United States" (109). Illustrations like these make textual themes of challenging dominant conceptions of African Americans more salient. They confront the reader with new representations of African American bodies. The effect is similar to that of illustrations by Brazilian artists like Santa Rosa, described in greater detail in Chapter One.

Realism in parts of Europe during the interwar period presents another example of figuration. As Devin Fore describes in *Realism after Modernism*, a new anthropomorphism slowly replaced and the abstract, nonobjective perspective of the avant-garde; realism "announced a complete *volte-face* from its cultural predecessor" (2–3). However, this new appreciation for something akin to "a necessary tie to everyday life" was at least partially confined geographically to Germany and Austria, and chronologically between the first and second world wars. Fore also notes that the abstraction and anti-figuration of aesthetic modernism were "reborn in the postwar era

with perhaps even more cultural authority and force than before" (18, 337). Furthermore, interwar figuration in Germany and Austria did not represent a return to popularity for figurative book illustration. In fact, some of the region's prominent book illustrators fled to other parts of Europe and the Americas during the 1930s to escape the Third Reich. The Austrian Axl Leskoschek, for one, ended up in Brazil. As a result, his most famous illustrations are found in Brazilian Books.

Figuration in African American book illustration and some European interwar literature and art only make the case for Brazilian figuration and book illustration being all the more exceptional. Questions of representation — Afro-Brazilian, indigenous, rural, urban — surface in Brazilian literary illustrations during the 1930s and continue to the present day. They emerge not from a community like that of the Harlem Renaissance, or other African American communities of the United States, but from broader (and more European-American) artistic and literary communities. While these illustrations cannot address the question of self-representation, since many of their creators were not themselves members of the underprivileged or peripheral communities they depicted, they nevertheless made the representation of marginalized bodies a visible issue for a broad, national readership.[14]

A comparison with interwar realisms stresses that the Brazilian avant-garde pursued abstraction and figuration in markedly different ways that some of their European contemporaries. Brazil maintained a social and representational link to the human body. The Neo-Concretists — conceivably the theoretical apex of Brazil's avant-gardes — cultivated a body-centric subjectivity in their work, even when the work itself failed to "represent" the figure. Lygia Clark (1920–1988), as one example, made

[14] That is, if national readership in Brazil can be called broad. For more on the literacy rates of the general Brazilian population throughout the twentieth century see "Literature—and Literacy" in Hallewell (428–34).

amorphous, hinged steel sculptures that folded and bent like gigantic origami (*Bicho* 1962). These sculptures, however, demand human interaction, constantly referencing human movement, joints, allowing the participant to experience something new with their body.

Aesthetic modernism in Brazil can be somewhat reductively surmised as a move from its first phase, marked by the abstract anthropocentrism of "O manifesto antropófago" and *Macunaíma*, to its second phase, marked by a regionalist realism. From Brazilian modernism's first phase to its second, and beyond, one finds a continuous thread of anthropocentric aesthetics, never abstract enough to be anti-figurative, never realist enough to eschew all forms of abstraction. Varying forms of figuration are, generally, a near-basal constant throughout twentieth century Brazilian art and literature.

Theories of word and image

Acknowledging Mallarmé's description of illustrations' power for disruption, one can agree with his statement while disagreeing with his findings. Some Brazilian artists, it seems, were in favor of illustration partly because they were aware of its power to interrupt and re-present, invoking the haptic, sensory "reading" described earlier in this Introduction. Necessarily, "reading" some illustrated books relies on the inference and interplay between image and text, as well as the qualitative but nonetheless categorical difference between the two.

A folio project entitled *A Imagem é a Palavra* [*The Image is the Word*] (1981), notwithstanding the ontological difference of word and image, stresses the fruit of their combination and the value of the image as a sign to be "read." *A Imagem é a Palavra* holds loose literary illustrations, separated from their respective texts, made by the artists

Carybé, Poty, Santa Rosa, Darel and Luís Jardim. In its textual introduction the literary critic Ivan Cavalcanti Proença proclaims the following in free verse:

> *… não há, e benditamente, barreiras entre os signos visuais e verbais. As imagens que constam desta "mostra" resultam de textos, e se mantêm em tensão com eles. Artes, plástica e escrita, que se completam. Para serem "lidas" ou contempladas, em seus ditos e não-ditos. Reflexão.*
>
> … there are not, thankfully, barriers between visual and verbal signs. The images that comprise this "exhibition" are the result of texts, and they remain in tension with those texts. Arts, visual and written, that complete each other. To be "read" or considered, in what is said and unsaid. Reflection. (1)

Rather than fear, like Mallarmé, how images might detract from a text, Proença declares that visual and written art complete each other; they are constitutive, not destructive.

Cannibalism

This idea of a constitutive interartistic media in twentieth century Brazil has a something of cultural predecessor in aesthetic anthropophagy, or cannibalism. Cannibalism as a practice among indigenous peoples has fascinated the European-Brazilian population since Brazil's first Bishop, Bispo Pero Fernandes Sardinha, was captured and consumed by the Caetés tribe in the middle of the sixteenth century. Multiple references to Sardinha's demise have appeared in Brazilian literature over the centuries. Most famously, perhaps, Oswald de Andrade made the bishop's demise the initial event of a new chronological epoch, ending his modernist "Cannibal Manifesto," published in 1928, with, "Ano 374 da Deglutição do Bispo Sardinha" ["The 374th Year of the Swallowing of Bishop Sardinha"] (7). The manifesto, as it has been received and reinterpreted over the years since its publication, reconceives cannibalism as a metaphorical tool for understanding Brazilian identity. As such, it "has become an obligatory genealogical foundation for contemporary academic debates on hybridity and postcolonialism" (Jáuregui 22). The manifesto's opening line is telling: "Só a Antropofagia

no une. Socialmente, Economicamente. Filosoficamente." ["Only Cannibalism unites us. Socially. Economically. Philosophically"] (3). Soon after Oswald de Andrade adds, "Só me interessa o que não é meu" ["I'm only interested in what's not mine."] This way of formulating the body through consumption, through what one does not possess, and through the relationship of the individual body to the greater, diverse body politic, is important to this study for two reasons: first, it validates the fusion of human philosophies and races at the national and individual level, placing the human figure at center stage; second, it validates the fusion of artistic media within a general schema of hybridity.

The "Manifesto antropófago" is a short document, fewer than 1,200 words, published in the first volume of the *Revista de Antropofagia* [*Cannibal Magazine*]. It reads with the poetic fervor characteristic of the genre, favoring metaphorical grace over academic precision. As difficult as it may be to decipher what anthropophagy is, Oswald de Andrade establishes some basic principles between his maxims (Cândido 84–85). If one of those principles can be understood as hybridity, writ broadly, then Andrade puts the principle of a hybrid art form — the illustrated text — into practice in the manifesto's first publication. The original magazine printing prominently features a black-and-white illustration of an abstract, but nonetheless figurative, human body in the center of its three-column printing. The illustration interrupts the manifesto's central column completely.

The first and third columns (of three) are squeezed between the image and the margins for over more than 20 lines of text. The illustration is a line drawing facsimile of a colorful oil painting by Tarsila do Amaral, then wife of Oswald de Andrade. The painting depicts a sexless human of grossly distorted proportions, crouching next to a cactus, with circular golden the sun in the background. According to Oswald de Andrade, Amaral's painting was the original inspiration for writing the manifesto, and Oswald gave the

painting the title Abaporu, "the Tupi term for 'anthropophagus'" (Madureira 22). This means a figurative painting is at the creative heart and the literal printed center of one of the most enduring legacies of Brazilian modernism. The manifesto's printing can be read as an exercise in its own proclamations, mixing (consuming) image and word to create something greater than the effect of its independent (image and word) parts. Ultimately, "The Cannibal Manifesto" is a text whose central metaphor is figurative, and an image human figure anchors its words on the page.

Narratology and illustrated fiction

The narratological analyses used in coming chapters do not strictly follow any one model of the narratology's most famous proponents.[15] Rather, narratology is used a way to acknowledge and assess the way illustrations shape our perception of narrative and, ultimately, the themes of the works themselves. Here, illustrated books, in their images and their text, constitute 'works'. Narratology aids in understanding these books as interartistic works, combining visual art and literary fiction. As a theory, it represents the first place to begin answering the elusively simple question, "what is the function of illustrations in [fiction]?" (Miller 61). When illustrations lie somewhere between the first and last bound pages of a book, they fall within the verbal narrative of the work. They interrupt the text. They affect the narrative. For illustrated fiction, narratology provides a tool to study the representational power of texts and images in their organization and relationship to each other, no matter how text-to-image and image-to-text shifts might interfere with their reception in an idealized *esprit*.

My analysis of the organization of illustrations within a text begins with the assumption that readers leaf through the pages of books they know to be illustrated.

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[15] For example, Roland Barthes or Algirdas Greimas.

When readers do so, they receive images that form part of their readerly expectations, especially if those illustrations are interpreted as a scene from, or having a relationship to, the text's narrative. When the reader arrives at each illustration during a sequential reading, page by page, those expectations and meanings are renegotiated based on what has been textually read and visually seen, including what may have been received during an initial flip-through. There does not appear to be any evidence of a Brazilian reading culture privileging self-restraint or instructing readers to *not* look at illustrations until they are reached sequentially, page by page. It is reasonable to assume it was commonplace to flip through the pages of bound, illustrated volumes, seeing at least some illustrations before reading the text.

I propose that some artists and writers intentionally placed illustrations at certain places within the text to play with readers' expectations. It is likely that artists considered both initial flip-through and subsequent linear reading in their reasoning for placement. Even without establishing explicit intentionality on the part of the author and artist, however, the combination of an initial flip-through and a sequential reception of illustrations influence the reception of textual themes.

The images in any given illustrated book can be considered small-scale systems of iconography, complete with their own internal references and representational logic, but which necessarily operate within greater national and cultural systems of meaning. Scanning for illustrations throughout a book before reading, or throughout a reading session, establishes and references these systems of visual representation. Narrative meaning, in the illustrated works examined here, cannot be fully understood without accounting for the organization of illustrations through at least two relationships: at the book level, where it comprises a summary visual system representation in relation to the whole text; and at the page level, where an illustration interrupts lines of text, its

possibilities functioning locally and as the immediate part of a whole. Such an analysis, at its most basic level, assesses where illustrations are in relation to the text and to each other, and how meaning is generated through those relationships.

The next step in examining the function of illustrations in fiction is to understand meaning in the composition of single images. I propose no radical, new directions in the formal analysis of image composition. I acknowledge that images are composed, and that in many cases there is information to be understood from that composition. Of course, any literary and cultural analysis that wades into the waters of art criticism and history is beset with a number of challenges. The present dissertation takes the admonition of Edward Hodnett as a guiding principle: "The student of literature writing about book illustration is sometimes tempted to adopt the language of art historians without the effort of becoming one" (3). This dissertation follows the example of *Enter the New Negroes: Images of Race in American Culture*. In this book Matha Jane Nadell which examines a variety of illustrations using language referring to movement, color, line, and shape to describe the composition of the images. For example, she describes Jacob Lawrence's illustration for Langston Hughes's poem "One Way Ticket" by connecting formal aspects of the image to those of the text and its themes:

> The vertical movement—from the lower right to the upper left—represents the physical movement of the migration. And the black background is the analogue of Hughes's lack of adjectives and adverbs. This technique confines the figures, just as their lives are confined, bundled up, and shrunk into the moment of their journey. The fleeting and the transitory are hallmarks of the Great Migration. (155)

This dissertation aims to make observations about similar elements — movement, color, etc. — in the text and image pairings of twentieth century illustrated fiction from Brazil. In the above passage, where Nadell connects elements of the image to "hallmarks of the Great Migration," this project also connects elements of some Brazilian literary illustrations to themes of migration and race, when applicable. More expansively, similar

connections offered in the present study are between the formal features of images and the ways human bodies interact with each other, the city, the land, and the state.

On a separate front, this dissertation seeks a juxtaposition of artistic line quality and authorial voice, at least in Brazil. In the same way authors, especially in twentieth century Brazil, cultivate the use of a popular voice, sometimes even going to far as using orthographic representations of popular, regional dialects and 'non-standard' pronunciation, artists channeled similar effects through line quality and the use of specific media in their illustrations. The case of line quality is especially salient when considered along what prescriptivist grammarians might object to in popular writing. Instructional books for drawing and calligraphy have long moralized appropriate pen use and brushwork in parallel ways. Warnings against sloppy drawing form can be found in everything from centuries-old instructional books to present-day Internet tutorials. *The American Drawing Book* from 1864 states, "Let your line be distinct and clear. Avoid a habit of feeling your way, as it were, by a number of uncertain touches … Endeavor, at once, to express what you desire with firmness and decision …" including examples of such technique in-line with the text (12). A current website aimed at amateur tutorials instructs with a similar goal, if not a similar tone, "Lines should have no more than 1–2 strokes each. If you want to draw the curve of a deltoid or a bicep… or draw the motion line of a figure… do it with one broad stroke…" providing an illustration of this technique, with an example of good form indicated by a green check mark and of poor execution with a red 'X' ("Draw More Confident Lines" "How to Draw Confident Lines"). The lack of solid, bold strokes is one of the most obvious formal elements that can be compared with popular voice. Where the writer favors realist descriptive language, rather than proper prescriptive language, the artist too, might favor a more popular style, rather than one showing the marks of training or refinement.

This type of analysis, comparing line and voice, is most prevalent in Chapter Three, which focuses on the artist known as Carybé. It remains useful, however, for analyzing the illustrations of almost every illustrator mentioned here. Even when the boldness of an ink or paint line is not in question, the very media can reference popular art forms. Some of Poty's (Chapter Two) book illustrations visually referenced popular forms of woodcut printing, such as were prevalent in Brazilian chapbooks. It is believed that forms of woodcut printing, known as *xilogravura* in Brazil, have been practiced throughout Brazil for hundreds of years, but the ephemeral nature of these prints make archival study elusive (Hallewell 385). Called *literatura de cordel* [string literature] in Brazil, because it was sometimes sold on strings hanging from small roadside stands, Brazilian chapbooks typically featured short poems or stories about saints or outlaws, love or loss, accompanied by blocky, simple, woodcut representations of people, animals or objects. Chapbooks are often seen as an authentic folk art. Over the first half of the twentieth century, appreciation for their popular origin drove the sales of woodcut prints and chapbooks to commercial prominence.

Even in the inadequate assessment of Latin America in *A History of Book Illustration*, in which the writing on the entire region occupies less than half a page, David Bland notes the phenomenon of *literatura de cordel*: "Brazil has little to show except for an interesting tradition (now dying out) in the north-east of printing books of popular poetry illustrated with woodcuts of a curiously archaic appearance similar to French medieval engravings" (402). The style of Poty's and Axl Leskoschek's book illustrations bare a strong resemblance to simple and archaic qualities of woodcuts, appealing to their air of popular authenticity. The inhabitants of Brazil's northeast, and the land itself, became a locus for literary attention in the regionalist phase of Brazilian Modernism. Just as the region's people, *nordestinos* [Northeasterners], garnered greater subjectivity in

literature, along with their non-standard, regional voices, so too were they depicted in illustrations with media that consciously reflected their lack of prestige and refinement. As is the purpose of authentic popular voice in the text, Poty's and Leskoschek's illustration style, to the degree that it mimicked or referenced the idea of the unrefined, ultimately accentuated the authenticity of popular characters visually represented within their illustrations.

The divide between popular culture and prestige culture is part of what I term the intelligibility of difference. This intelligibility, or increasing recognition and understanding, of ignored, underprivileged, or maligned groups, was a feature of the figuration in Brazilian literary illustrations. The illustrations in some of Henry James's American editions were photographs of places with no people, like "pictures of [a] 'set' stage with the actors left out."[16] The difference between the prints and drawings of Brazilian literary illustrations and James's figureless photographic illustrations from a few decades earlier only highlights the focus on figures in Brazilian cultural production. Putting the actors on the stage, as it were, puts human bodies in the direct field of intelligibility, reflection, contemplation or admiration. This cannot be accomplished with empty stages, at least not with the same direct, at times confrontational, presentation.

Anti-figurative images, whether they abandon the human body through over-abstraction or complete absence, cannot hope to address what is a central feature of some twentieth century Brazilian art and illustrated literature. The subjects of this dissertation bring images of underprivileged and often unseen human bodies into view of the reader, into what Judith Butler described as "the thinkable, the imaginable, that grid of cultural intelligibility that regulates the real and the nameable" (312). Confronting the reader with images of human bodies necessarily introduces those bodies into a "grid of cultural

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[16] From Henry James's commemorative preface to *The Golden Bowl* (Coburn, Gernsheim, and Gernsheim 58)

intelligibility." At the other extreme, the absence of figuration cannot address the problem of a character's or group's intelligibility because absence, itself, is the problem. For example, it would be something of a stretch to suggest that Henry James's *The Golden Bowl*, whose American edition (1909) features a figureless photograph of a shop front windows at an angle, is somehow a self-conscious examinations of the cultural ignoring of the stature, worth or group identity of one or more of the work's characters.

Cultural invisibility, when it comes to figuration, does not appear to factor significantly in the writings of prominent early and mid-twentieth century art critics either. Paul Klee (1879–1940) famously stated that modern art "does not reproduce the visible; rather it makes visible."[17] There is a noticeable lack of a grammatical object in the sentence "[modern art] makes visible." What modern art makes visible changed from the nineteenth to mid-twentieth century. When a Greenbergian abstract expressionist "makes visible," they are not making light or the image surface more visible like Manet (1832–1833), they ignore representation entirely. They cleanly break from what one might conclude Klee and Read regarded as reproduction of the objectively visible world. But by breaking from the visible world they err, not because there is no such thing as an objective reality — a question outside the scope of this dissertation — but because what was visible for representation in the past, and what is visible for representation in the present, is acutely socially informed.

Nicos Hadjincolaou describes humanity's subjective perception of reality as an inherently flawed "visual ideology." For Hadjincolaou, visual ideology "yields only an allusion to reality which always accompanied by illusion, a comprehension accompanied by a misapprehension" (246). The ultimate relationship of visual ideology to the intelligibility of difference is that if persons or communities were and are culturally

[17] See "Creative Credo," 1920). Herbert Read (1893–1968) agreed with Klee, citing him in *A Concise History of Modern Painting*, before dismissing figurative painters like Diego Rivera and Jose Orozco.

invisible — unintelligible — then they were "misapprehended." Their invisibility is an illusion, a failure of the dominant culture's *allusion* to reality. Disrupting the illusion of invisibility was, if not a goal, a central feature of some figurative artwork and literary illustration in twentieth century Brazil. In this light, it seems that anti-figurative modern art, including bodiless photographic illustrations like those in *The Golden Bowl*, may fail on the front of "intelligibility" by advancing the challenge to "make visible" through a conceptual leap of abstraction and absence. Modern art and book illustration could, in fact, "make visible" what was socially invisible by making the differences of other people intelligible. And it could do so through representation of the human form, without merely reproducing the visible world.

Each one of the illustrated texts examined in the following chapters adds something to the politics of art in Brazil, using the formulation of Jacques Ranciere's "politics of literature": "How to give visibility or audibility to someone or something invisible and audible — that is the stuff of politics" (Méchoulan 4). The hybrid image-text illustrated books of Brazil work against social invisibility and misapprehension. A perfect, mutual understanding between ignored groups and those who shared the dominant visual ideology may have been, and continue to be, beyond the capacity of single artworks or even artistic schools and movements. However, attempts to address invisibility and unintelligibility are found in figurative work that takes seriously the intelligibility of difference. The writers and artists examined here show their concern for this issue with their words and images.

Tempting as it may be to dismiss the illustrated literature examined in this dissertation as the anachronistic repetition of passé modes, they pass Ezra Pound's axiomatic challenge to "make it new." Ironically, they also often fulfill the challenge of Paul Klee — of not reproducing the visibile, but rather making visible — by modelling

the subjectively and culturally invisible as more visible. Thus, the continuation of this form — the illustrated novel or collection of short stories — long after its heyday in North America and Europe, can also be understood by Homi Bhabha's conception of reiterations and repetition: each illustrated work of fiction is an evolution of intelligibility, iterated into a place of cultural relevance (247).

Organization

Literary illustrations, more specifically certain styles of illustration featuring certain types of subjects, ultimately became a facet of twentieth century print culture in Brazil; a marker of "Brazilianess." The way these subjects were presented in text-image combinations present an opportunity to study the arrangement of the image and text, and what this means for reading as well as representation. The three primary chapters of this dissertation aim to explore these topics for the artists Santa Rosa, Poty and Carybé, respectively.

Chapter One examines the work of Tomás Santa Rosa Jr., including selected book illustrations and some of his criticism. Special attention is given to Santa Rosa's short essay "Re-humanização da arte" ["Re-Humanization of Art"] (1946) in which he lauds figurative, representative aesthetics in rhetorical opposition to Ortega y Gasset's "La deshumanización del arte" ["The Dehumanization of Art"]. This position is used, in part, to interpret Santa Rosa's illustrations for the first edition of Jorge Amado's novel *Cacau* (*Cacáu* 1933), arguing that the illustrations are integral the novel's motifs of class and race. Even greater attention is given to Santa Rosa's illustrations for *Segredo: contos* [*Secret: Short Stories*] (Napoleão 1935), by Aluísio Napoleão (1914–2006), aiming not only to highlight the images *per se* as part of the book's representational schema, but also to frame the ways in which the arrangement of text and illustrations play with the expectations of

the reader. For this book the titular notion of "secret," as well as its antonyms of "visible" and "revealed," are explored through Santa Rosa's conception of humanization and Napoleão's explanation that the book was written as result of his new consciousness of human life (11).

Chapter Two focuses on Napoleão "Poty" Lazzarotto's illustrations for three books: the "cycle" of short stories *Sagarana* (*Sagarana* 1946),[18] by João Guimarães Rosa; the novel *Capitães da areia* (*Capitães Da Areia* 1937),[19] by Jorge Amado; and the novela *Desabrigo* (*Desabrigo* 1945),[20] by Antônio Fraga (1916-–1993). These stories are set in the *sertão*, Salvador, and Rio de Janeiro, respectively. The differences of these places notwithstanding, Poty's illustrations augment something all three texts have in common. Poty draws on contemporary visual iconography to accentuate themes of precariousness and periphery prevalent in Guimarães Rosa's, Amado's and Fraga's work.

Chapter Three analyzes a number of literary illustrations by the Argentine-born, naturalized-Brazilian Hector "Carybé" Bernabó. This chapter's primary focus is the novel *O sumiço da santa* (*O Sumiço Da Santa* 1988), by Jorge Amado. In many ways, the text and images of *O sumiço* are the culmination of the careers of Amado and Carybé. This collaboration celebrates Afro-Brazilian culture and representation, sometimes at the expense of Catholic iconography and cultural conservatism. Hybridity and voice, for both the words and illustrations, are central concerns. This chapter draws on Carybé's earlier illustration work, namely Enrique Amorim's Spanish-language novel *La carreta* (Amorim

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[18] Poty completed two different sets of illustrations first appearing in *Sagarana*'s fifth (*Sagarana* 1958) and twelfth editions (*Sagarana* 1970), respectively.

[19] Poty's illustrations originally appeared in the nineteenth edition of *Capitães da areia* (*Capitães Da Areia* 1969).

[20] Illustrations were included in the third edition of *Desabrigo* (*Desabrigo* 1990).

1929) and Mário de Andrade's *Macunaíma* (1928),[21] to explore the artist's experiments in representing popular human figures and popular culture through line quality.

Several agendas are present in this project's Conclusion. A brief comparative analysis of Santa Rosa, Poty and Carybé culminates in my positioning book illustration, and the figuration it represents, as vital to the formation of the twentieth century Brazilian literary canon. While this study focuses on illustrations as collaboration between living artists and writers, it does give some attention to the illustrations of so-called classic texts and translations. Citing examples from Chapters One, Two and Three, I argue that new illustrations were instrumental in situating classic texts and translations within this new aesthetic canon. As with the contemporary collaborations, illustrations for classics and translations gave an increasing amount of attention to marginalized subjects. Illustrations for, more so than the simple republication of, certain titles, offer interpretive clues to the importance of a work at a given time.

[21] Carybé's illustrations for *La carreta* appeared in its fourth edition (1942) and his original black and white ink illustrations for *Macunaíma* remained unpublished.

Chapter One

Santa Rosa

Tomás Santa Rosa Júnior (1909–1956) was part of "the galaxy of new writers whose emergence in the early 1930's made those years one of the most exciting periods in the history of Brazilian Letters" (Dimmick viii). Known better as Santa Rosa, he was a prominent cultural critic and scenographer. His writing appeared regularly in the "Letras e Artes" ["Arts and Letters"] supplement of the newspaper *A Manhã*, as well as the arts section of the *Diário de Notícias*. He was a founding member of the famous Rio de Janeiro theater company Os Comediantes and his scenography earned him gold medals from the *Associação Brasileira de Críticos Teatrais* [Brazilian Association of Theater Critics] in 1951 and 1954 (Pontual 473). Santa Rosa's unexpected death in Bombay after participating in the International Theater Committee may be to blame for cementing his name most strongly to theater, but Santa Rosa was also an accomplished designer, muralist and printmaker.[1] The impact of his work in this final area, especially in printmaking's

[1] The title of Santa Rosa's biography reflects his association with the theater over all of his other work: *Santa Rosa em cena* [Santa Rosa in Scene] ().

relationship to contemporary literature, may be one of the most critically overlooked areas of Santa Rosa's multimedia *oeuvre*. Santa Rosa illustrated the covers or pages of over 200 publications. The distribution of Santa Rosa's illustrations, and his signature, across so many popular books work Otto Maria Carpeaux to imagine archaeologists of some distant future civilization uncovering the undecipherable remains of twentieth century Brazilian literature, repeatedly discovering a curious hieroglyph — "SR" — leading them to conclude that "SR" must be an incomparably prolific author.[2] Acknowledging the the hyperbole of such a hypothetical interpretation of authorship, Carpeaux goes on to conclude that Santa Rosa's influence is nonetheless paramount:

> *Na verdade, "SR" não teria sido o autor da literatura brasileira toda, mas, em determinada época, o condensador do seu espírito; a sua arte é como o denominador comum das aspirações artísticas da sua geração. Embora sendo personalidade muito bem definida, não lhe convém assinar com nome que se encontra no registro civil. Basta mesmo dizer "SR": também é um símbolo do Brasil.* (200)
>
> In fact, "SR" was not the author of all Brazilian literature. However, for a time he was the lens for its spirit. His art is the common denominator of the artistic aspirations of his generation. Despite a very distinct personality, he had no need to sign with his particular legal name. "SR" was enough. And it is a symbol of Brazil.

Many of the writers who worked with Santa Rosa held his interpretive capacity in high esteem. He was praised in obituaries by Manuel Bandeira and Carlos Drummond de Andrade. José Lins do Rego's homage in *O Globo* [The Globe] stands out for mentioning Santa Rosa's work as an illustrator: "O mestre do desenho de capas passou a ser o maior intérprete de meus livros. As vinhetas de Santa resumiam a vida inteira de meus romances" ["The master of book covers, he was the greatest interpreter of my books. His vignettes epitomized the whole life of my novels"] (3, 1956).

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[2] See Carpeaux, 193–200; also cited in Barsante, 184–87.

One of the best, and almost entirely forgotten, examples of Santa Rosa's illustrations functioning as an interpretive lens is Aluísio Napoleão's *Segredo: contos* [*Secret: short stories*] (1935).[3] In *Segredo*, Santa Rosa's images play a critical role, framing readerly expectations (both the hermeneutic and proairetic codes, in the formulation of Roland Barthes) within individual short stories and distilling the book's thematic poles of the hidden and the revealed. More so than other illustrated Brazilian fiction books before it, including some illustrated by Santa Rosa himself, *Segredo*'s specific succession of combined text and illustrations play as important a role in the readerly experience as the unfolding of plot and narrative in the text alone. The location of illustrations within the text of *Segredo*'s short stories and the multi-sensory "reading" they demand, result in an interartistic work whose visual-textual narratological structure affects the perception of characters and the various Brazilian identities they may represent.

Within the word and image sequence of *Segredo*, the illustrations themselves engender a type of social discovery through their visual interruption of the text. The printmaking style Santa Rosa uses for *Segredo*'s illustrations relies on bold fields of ink, with little negative line detail, echoing woodcut prints by the British illustrator and scenographer Edward Gordon Craig (1872–1966), especially his illustrations for the "Cranach *Hamlet*" (1928, fig. 1.1). Craig has been praised as an innovator, "mak[ing] engravings as black as possible," "an idea quite at variance with [contemporary] practice."[4] Santa Rosa made his prints for *Segredo* in a similar style, but with the added element of exploring viewers' racial expectations vis-à-vis such use of broad fields of black ink. This aesthetic and political effort can be traced back to his 1933 illustrations for *Cacau*, the

[3] Stylized as Aluizio Napoleão in *Segredo*.

[4] In a curious parallel to Santa Rosa, Edward Gordon Craig is arguably better known as a scenic designer, actor and director.



Fig. 1.1 —Edward Gordon Craig, *The Tragedie of Hamlet*, 1930

second novel by Jorge Amado (1912–2001).[5] Experimenting with the representation of race serves a social function within the schema of "a necessary tie to everyday life [and] national existence" proposed by critic Wilson Martins as indicative of Brazil's most noteworthy national literature of the time (143).

As two 1935 reviewers noted of *Segredo*'s text, Aluíso Napoleão's prose is "authentic" in ways that match Wilson Martins' observations about everyday life. "Em *Segredo* vemos autênticas cenas da vida real e que, pela sua originalidade regular, o sr. Aluízio Napoleão é um contista bem singular…" ["In *Segredo* we see authentic scenes from real life and that, by virtue of his consistent originality, Mr. Aluízio Napoleão is a singular writer of short stories…"] appeared in newspaper *O Dia* and later the magazine *Época*.[6] Writing for *Books Abroad*, Samuel Putnam notes that the saving grace Napoleão's short stories is "the fact that they are genuinely adolescent" (466). The authentic, genuine and youthful appear to be a perfect platform for Santa Rosa's humanism vis-à-vis his illustration — a humanism that is grounded in realism, but imbued with a youthful sense of discovery and education-through-experience.

The general lack of critical attention toward *Segredo* can in large part be attributed to Aluísio Napoleão's leaving fiction behind for a diplomatic career. After Brazil and China established diplomatic relations in 1974, he became the first Brazilian Ambassador in Beijing. His most well known written work is not a short story or novella, but a biography of the Brazilian aviation pioneer Alberto Santos-Dumont.[7] Given the trajectory of Napoleão's career, and the fact that illustrations have typically not been considered in critical analyses, it is perhaps unsurprising that *Segredo* is so obscure.

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[5] Bland, 370. *Cacáu* according to Pre-Reform Portuguese accentuation.

[6] Reprinted in Manoel de Oliveira Franco Sobrinho, *O Literato Precoce*, 60–61.

[7] see Napoleão *Santos Dumont e a conquista do ar* (*Santos Dumont E a Conquista Do Ar.* 1941).

Segredo contains 20 illustrations, one for every short story, not counting the cover. Much of the space of the illustrations is filled by black ink; their bold, simple contours are defined in contrast to the neutral paper color of the page. Each of illustrations appears somewhere within a short story, neither on its first nor on its last page. Together with the cover (fig. 1.2), the illustrations establish an iconographic system that heavily reflects the urban environment of Rio de Janeiro and traffics in expectations of romance and violence. Nevertheless, as certain ambiguity, combined with the more easily identifiable visual themes within the illustrations, magnify the allure and ominousness of the volume's title, establishing an association between what is or will remain *secret*, and what will be ultimately be revealed, illuminated, illustrated.

Revelation and illumination, in implicit opposition to the covered, hidden and secret, are thematically inviting to graphic illustration. The words illumination and illustration, after all, can sometimes be used interchangeably in a number of languages, including Portuguese. A spiritual dimension is discernible not only in the religiosity of some of *Segredo*'s characters but also through Aluísio Napoleão's self-declared motivations for writing the book. As Aluísio Napoleão elaborates in his prefatory *Explicação* [Explanation], his creative impulse had something to do with seeing life as if for the first time, though not necessarily with his physical eyes:

> *Enfeixei aqui uma série de contos, escriptos quando o meu espirito se debruçou pela primeira vez sobre a vida.*
>
> *São flagrantes que eu fui colhendo aos boccadinhos, á medida que crescia a minha curiosidade. Revellam uns a fixidez das "poses", outros o relance caracteristico dos "instantaneos"…*[8]
>
> Gathered here is a series of short stories, written when when my spirit beheld life for the first time.

[8] Napoleão (*Segredo*) 12; Pre-Reform spelling and accentuation.

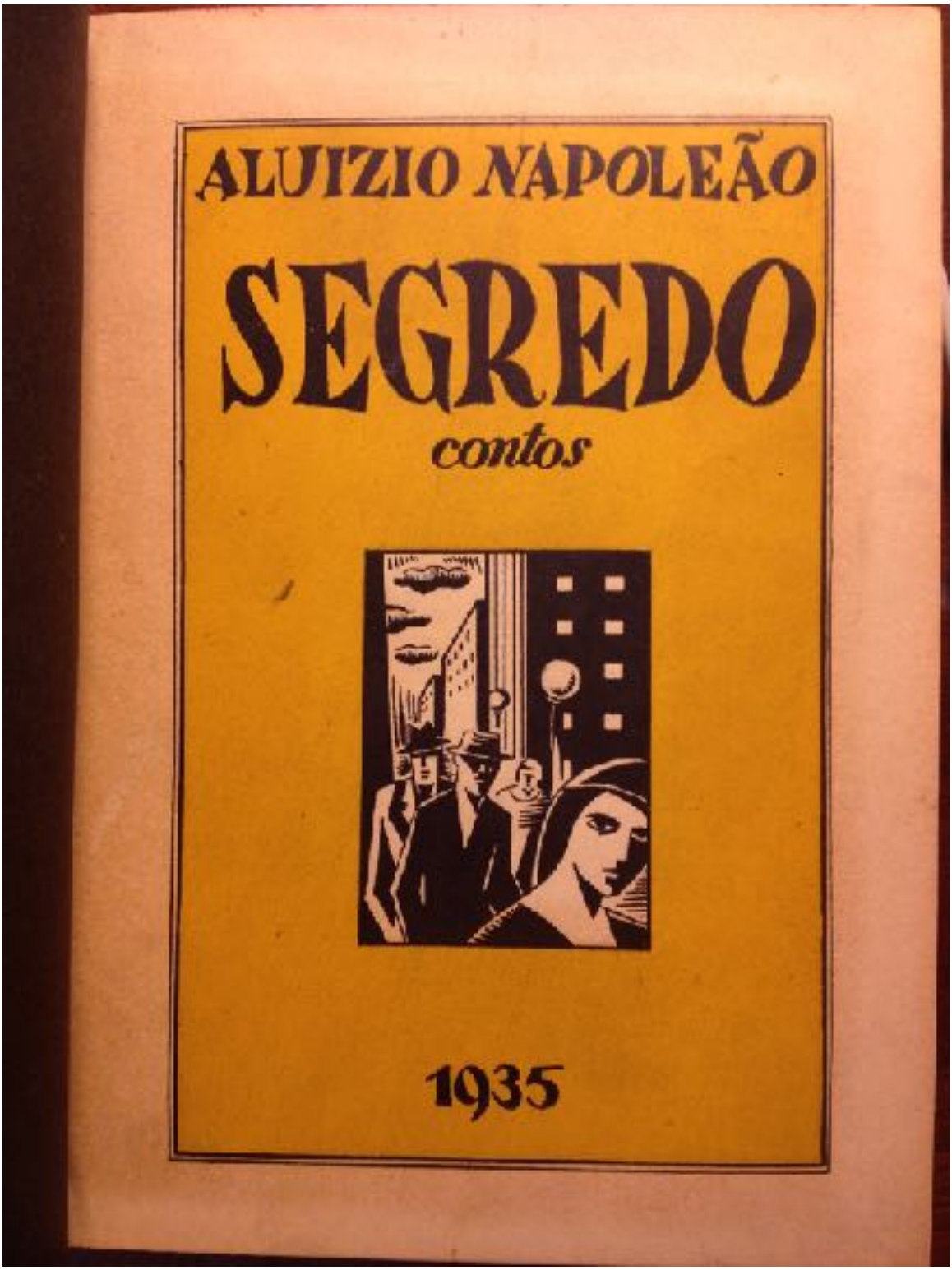


Fig. 1.2 — Santa Rosa, *Segredo*, cover, 1935

> They're moments I've collected, little by little, as my curiosity grew. Some reveal the intransigence of certain "postures," others are glimpses characteristic of an "instant."

Napoleão's "Explanation" implicitly adds an epistemic value of a neoteric spiritual epiphany. That is, the observations precipitating Napoleão's writing *Segredo* are the fruit of his "spirit" examining life for the *first* time. Furthermore, the verb construction "se debruçou sobre," translated above as "beheld," means to literally incline over, or to crawl over. Metaphorically, "se debruçou sobre" takes on the meaning of examining or dedicating oneself to something. That these observations are about *other* lives makes Aluísio Napoleão's own justification for *Segredo* fit within the schema of the intelligibility of difference outlined in the Introduction. Santa Rosa's illustrations communicate Napoleão's vision in ways the text alone does not. "Do you have eyes and fail to see?" — Santa Rosa's images embody Aluísio Napoleão's prefatory spiritual dimension, inviting the reader to see what they have not yet seen through a tacit Modernist reinterpretation of the New Testament maxim.[9]

"Presentes de Papae Noel…"

The first short story in *Segredo* is "Presentes de Papae Noel…" ["Presents from Father Christmas…"]. The text opens with a five-year-old girl asking whether the next day is, in fact, Christmas, which he confirms. The girl declares that she wants two presents, but her fathers tells her she can ask Father Christmas for a single present. She asks for a big, beautiful doll, like her friend Maria's. Her father replied that if it her present is too large, Father Christmas will not be able to fit it in his sack. All of this dialogue appears before the first page break (13). Turning to the next page reveals the first illustration. Page 14 is text, but the illustration fills the entire facing page to the right (15, fig. 1.3). Page 14 continues the dialogue between father and daughter for a few lines

[9] Mark 8:18 (NRSV).

before the daughter goes off to bed and dreams of "mil formas de bonécas" ["a thousand types of dolls"].

"São passados vinte anos" ["Twenty years have passed"]. The same girl is now a woman, postured rightly in a chair, smoking a cigarette. She is dressed in a luxurious lamé garment that fits her well. She is surrounded by what seems to be the fulfillment of her juvenile wish: "Ha bonecas por todos os cantos, de todos os feitios, de todos os tamanhos, de todas as qualidades" ["There are dolls in every corner, of every nature, of every size, of every type"]. She has a telephone. It rings. A satisfied man on the other end, calling her "querida" ["dear"], reminds her that today is Christmas day. She despondently replies, "Sei. Que ha mais nisso?" ["I know. So what?"]. Wanting to celebrate, the man tells her that he will be right over. The text is then interrupted by the illustration on page 15 (fig. 1.3).

By the time the illustration breaks the flow of "Presentes de Papae Noel…", the description of the woman's fine clothing has already established her as wealthy. Her home is also filled with an undoubtedly expensive collection of dolls. She even has a telephone. In 1935, just a small portion of households had telephones in Brazil. Telephone service had yet to expand outside of Brazil's largest cities. Rio de Janeiro installed its first public telephone that same year (Iachan 29).

The illustration depicts wealth in a subtly different way. Santa Rosa's image of the woman is not in the same pose. In the text, the woman answers the phone from her seat. Santa Rosa depicts her standing, staring to the reader's left. This contrast already suggests that the illustration is providing a different set of information — additional insight. Santa Rosa's woman communicates class not only by her expensive goods, but also through her taste in decor and local.

The illustrated scene may be from before or after the phone call, which is an identifiable moment in the plot. Santa Rosa's woman is still smoking, a detail from the

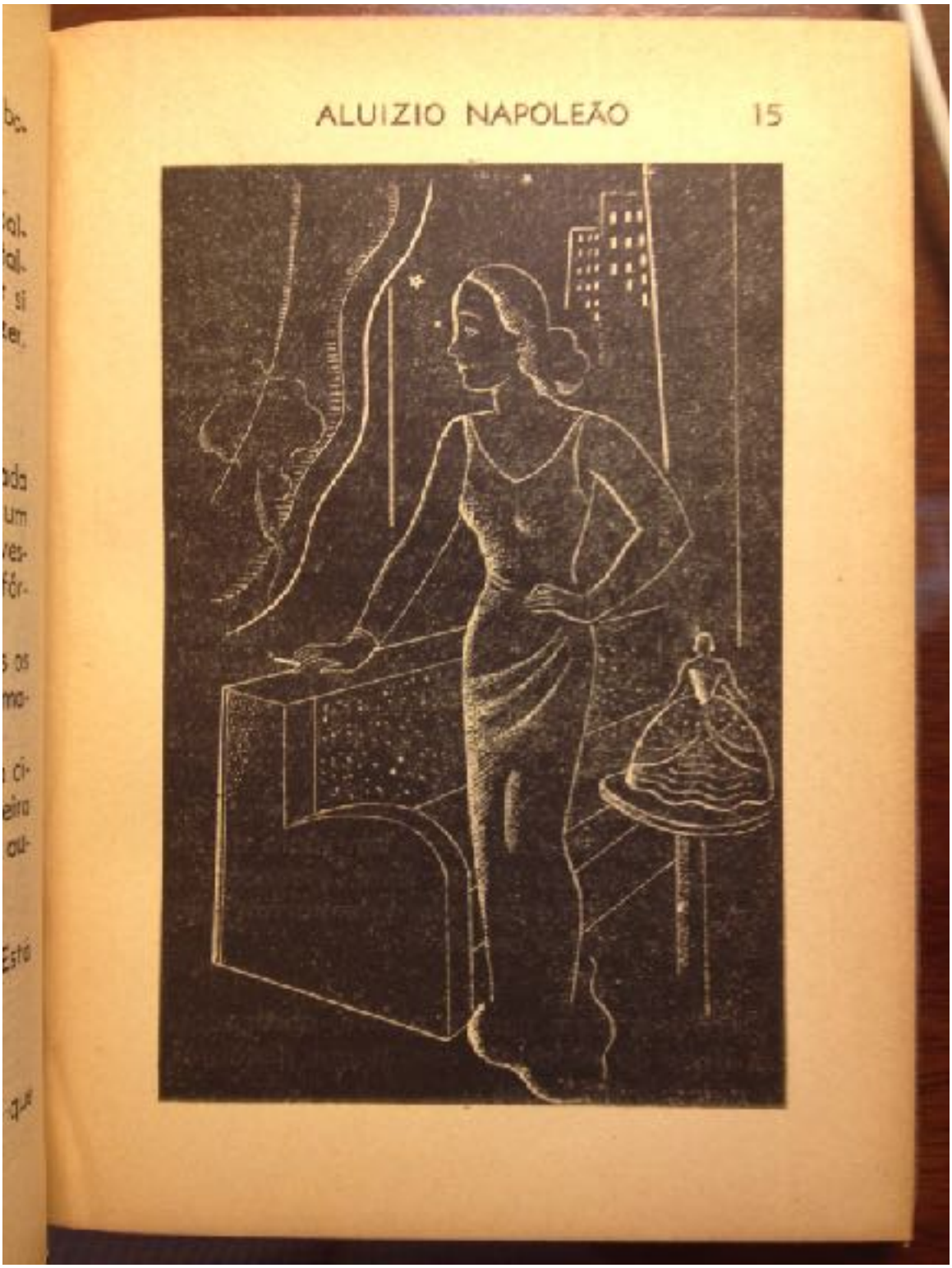


Fig. 1.3 — Santa Rosa, "Presentes de Papae Noel…," *Segredo*, 15 (1935)

text. This alone marks her as a modern woman. Female smoking rates were low in the 1930s, experiencing more growth in the following decade, during and after World War II. The cigarette manufacturing industry had only been in the country for a few decades. The illustration uses the cigarette to highlight her other modern attributes. The cigarette is in her right hand, which rests on an art deco sofa, complete with the geometric straight lines and sweeping curves characteristic of the style. If her wealth were any way in question, Santa Rosa makes the woman's home a place where the taste and the means for acquiring art deco furniture is a realized possibility. Such household goods, whether imported or made locally, were well beyond the resources of many Brazilians. Santa Rosa's illustration goes further. If the textual telephone alone were not enough to tip off the reader to the woman's urban setting, the illustration shows a window open to a cityscape background. Stars are visible. The outline of two multistory buildings is in view, dotted with lit windows. Santa Rosa sets this part of the story at night, a description not found in the text. A nocturnal encounter, of course, invokes a number of transgressive possibilities. Transgressive nighttime activities or not, the open window manages to re-convey the woman's status by emphasizing a class of urban dwelling.

The darkness of the image, a negative print of sorts, is especially noteworthy given a textual detail from the page following the illustration. After asking the old man on the line to *not* come, the woman hangs up when he repeats that he will be right over. He comes anyway. He wants to give her a present: "Tira do bolso uma pulseira de brilhantes e coloca-lhe no pulso moreno" ["He takes a diamond bracelet out of his pocket and puts it on her brown wrist"] (*Segredo* 16). The fact that her wrist is *moreno* (brown; dark; swarthy) might be hard to miss, if not for the darkness of the illustration and the shortness of the text.

After receiving the bracelet, the woman vaguely mumbles, her eyes distant, "Presentes de Papae Noel… Agora é tarde…" ["Presents from Santa Claus… it's too late now…"] (16). The old man fails to understand, as may the reader. Pulling the woman against him he asks, "Vamos?" And they go, arms around each other, to an *alcova* [bedroom], while the woman's eyes remain aloof. This somewhat abrupt ending, in which the reader realizes that the *velho* [old man] may not, in fact, be the *papae* [father] — invoking also the fatherhood of the titular Father Christmas — from twenty years earlier, prompts a number of questions. Is the woman's garbled lamentation, "it's too late now," combined with her collection of dolls, her distant gaze, her dislike of Christmas, and her relationship with this older man all a result of whatever elliptically occurred on that Christmas day twenty years earlier? If, as seems likely, she did not receive the big, beautiful doll she requested, was it because it was beyond her father's financial means?

Returning to the illustration after reading the short story in its entirety reveals little in matching the image to verbal particulars from the post-illustration text. The woman's eyes, described three times after the illustration as "far off and empty," "abstract," and "distant, lost, impenetrable," may receive greater attention upon reexamination. In Santa Rosa's illustration she is looking at nothing: to the left at an area of the image with little detail, beyond which nothing is depicted or known. This absence makes another detail come into greater focus. For a room described as filled with dolls "in every corner," the reader is shown a visual perspective that reveals only one doll, standing on a pedestal to the woman's right. In this regard the illustration minimizes textual details. While this contrast is available from the pre-illustration text alone, the single doll takes on greater significance after reading about her "now it's too late" resentment in the post-illustration text.

Perhaps this single doll on a pedestal is the doll most closely resembling Maria's, the one the woman hoped for so many years before. Of a collection of so many dolls of every *natureza* [nature], what is the essence, the character of this doll in particular? Considering this, the single doll on its pedestal and the standing woman are in more clear juxtaposition. What does the doll's *natureza* have to do the woman's? And what does the woman's gaze, locked in a direction opposite the doll, say about her relationship to that *natureza*? When the sudden unveilings of the story's end are matched to the illustration, the question of the woman's *natureza* is stressed by her being *moreno* and by the visual style of the illustration — dark, with its spaces more filled with ink than not. This highlights racial *natureza* as much as any other physical or psychological dimension. The question of whether her father was unable to purchase the doll twenty years earlier can be considered vis-à-vis racialized expectations of wealth.

The visual style of Santa Rosa's illustration for "Presentes de Papae Noel…," and its connection to race, are made even more clear through an examination of Santa Rosa's illustrations for Jorge Amado's novel *Cacau*, published just two years before *Segredo*. In *Cacau*, a white, blonde, relatively well-educated young man named José Cordeiro moves south from the state of Sergipe to the cacao growing region of Bahia after being unjustly fired from his factory job and deciding to find work in a new region. He finds himself laboring alongside people who are starkly different from him — *afrodescendentes* (African descended peoples), lacking his privileged background and education.

In a full-page illustration appearing early in the novel, one of Santa Rosa's illustrations depicts a field laborer (fig. 1.4). His proportions, along with the rolling hills in the background, a crouching laborer behind him, and the hand of another entering the image from the left, are defined by the similarly bold, even lines of missing ink found in "Presentes de Papae de Noel…" and the rest of the short stories in *Segredo*. The laborer in



Fig. 1.4 — Santa Rosa, *Cacau*, 13 (1933)

the fore, seen from the knees up and occupying three fourths of the illustration's height, is depicted with little detail. This is one of Santa Rosa's simplest styles. The reader is confronted, nonetheless, with the possibility that the laborer represented in the illustration is an *afrodescendente*, who may be described as *preto* [black] or *moreno* [brown]. The black ink-filled illustration reminds the illustrator that Bahia, home to Brazil's colonial slave trade, is a predominantly Afro-Brazilian region, contrasting with descriptions of José Cordeiro's whiteness.

The facing preceding page even describes the "rosto negro e labios [*sic*] grossos" ["black fave and thick lips"] of man named Honorio, perhaps the subject of the illustration. This remains in doubt because illustrations that are more assuredly of José Cordeiro, who is white, are done in the same style. There is no change in Santa Rosa's depiction of skin tone. All skin is inked black. In a later half-page illustration at the head of the chapter entitled "Viagem" ["Voyage"] the bust of a very similar looking man is depicted (fig. 1.5).

Differences between this figure and the laborer are subtle. The reader will immediately note the gentle wave detail for the hair of the man in the illustration opening "Viagem." However, this offers no real comparison. The laborer from the earlier illustration is wearing a large-brimmed had, hiding his hair. In any case, the lines of hair, few as they are, cannot definitively indicate the man's race. The face of the man in the "Viagem" illustration is subtly more angled. His eyebrows, the edge of his cheek, and the bridge of his nose are straighter than the faintly rounded lines of the laborer's face. This too, can not indicate the race of the man illustrated, especially in view of how subdued these differences are. The only clue is that this new chapter — "Viagem" — opens with the narrator, José Cordeiro, relatively alone. This suggests that the illustrated face is, in fact, of José.

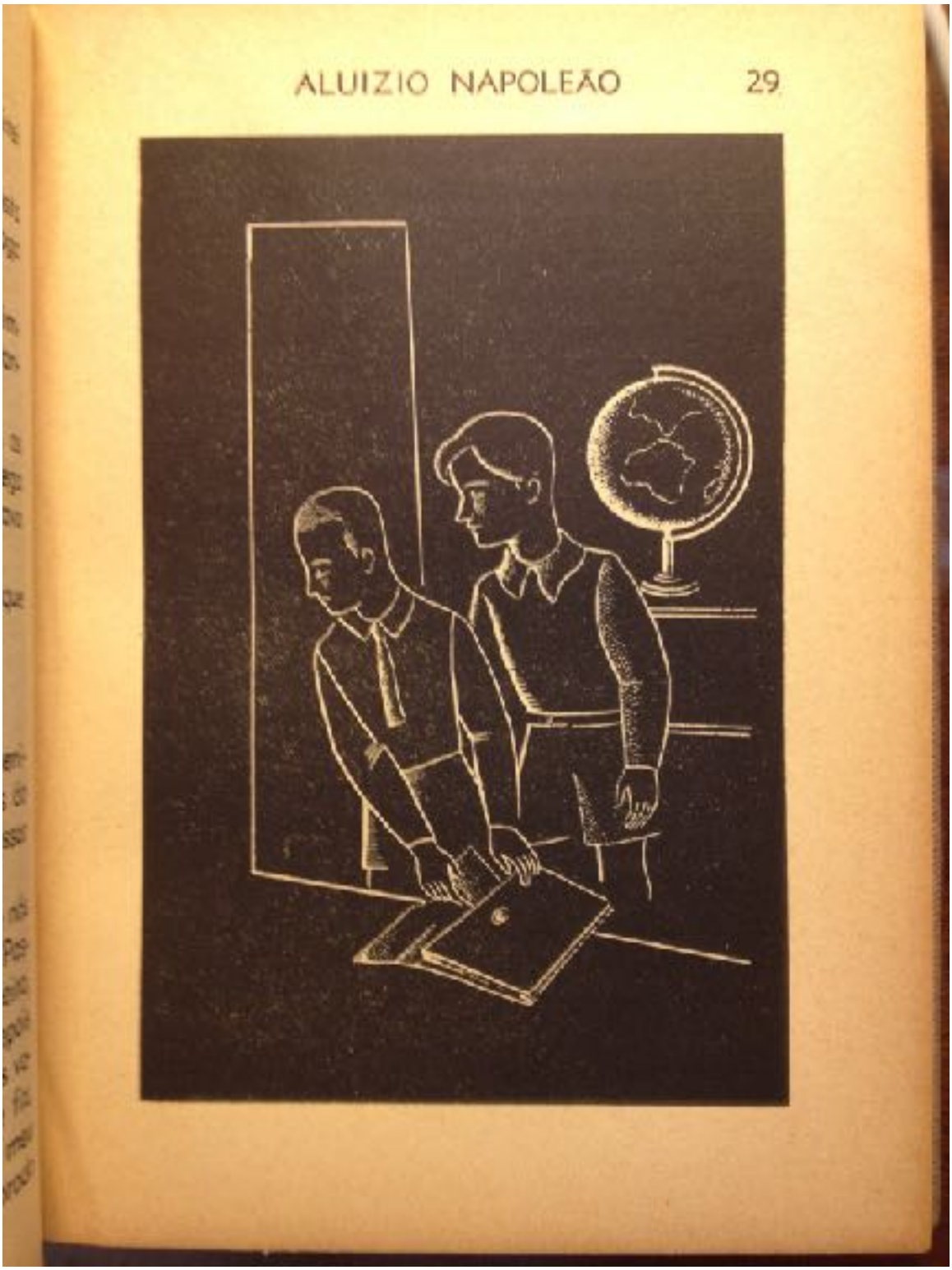


Fig. 1.5 — Santa Rosa, "Tentação," *Segredo*, 29 (1935)

The ambiguity of Santa Rosa's illustrations command the reader's attention — "Who is this?" — leading to an active reading engaging both word and image. For a book so steeped in egalitarianism, from its prefatory invocation of the proletariat to its chapter entitled "Consciencia de classe" [sic] ["class consciousness"], the illustrations also serve the ends of equality. All are represented equally.

Like Martha Jane Nadell observes of the illustrations for Zora Neale Hurston's *Mules and Men*, published the same year as *Segredo*, Santa Rosa's experiments with this predominantly black visual style do not correspond to expected signs of racial representation (109). More so than simply upending racialized expectations of class, Santa Rosa's illustrations completely abandon binary racial representation; a binary that in a mixed-race Brazil is not so much black and white as it is white and everyone else. Santa Rosa's illustrations in *Segredo* and *Cacau* upend expectations about race itself. The effect is to cast suspicion, and some sort of equality, on all the figures represented in illustrations. Readers' preexisting, and likely prejudicial, notions of race and class are drowned in pervasive black ink.

Santa Rosa's illustrations for *Cacau*, while confronting the reader with blackness (literally through their heavy use of ink, and metaphorically through their representation of race), fall short of the narratological image-text feats that his illustrations for *Segredo* do so well. In certain ways, the *Cacau* illustrations compound one of the most salient criticisms of Jorge Amado's work in general. As Roberto Reis points out, "What is most bothersome in Amado's writing is that he suffers an emphatically exotic view of Brazil: sensual women, Afro-Brazilian religious rituals, spicy foods, and so on" (234). Santa Rosa's illustrations for *Cacau* may be seen as visual signs that cement Amado's exoticizing perspective of Afro-Brazilians. However, *Segredo*, and "Presentes de Papae Noel…" in

particular, contain images that not only confront the reader with blackness and equality, but also further engage assumptions about race.

It is impossible to precisely describe what Brazilian readers assumed about race in 1935, but it is safe to state that, in the case of "Presentes de Papae Noel…," the main characters's wealth, taste, and relationship to a man who can afford diamond bracelets, are unexpected, modern social situations for a darker-skinned woman. Exactly how dark the woman's skin is, and what that means about her race, are in question. *Moreno* can mean everything from tanned to not-quite-black. Brazilians of predominately European ancestry can be described as *moreno*, based solely on their appearance, but the term is more often used as a euphemism for mixed-race and *afrodescendente* individuals. In *Neither Black Nor White*, Carl N. Degler notes that even when *morenos* have lighter skin and straight hair, they are not seen as white (103). Comparing racial pejoratives used in the United States and Brazil, Degler also observes that

> Brazilians prefer *preto*, which also means black, but lacks any bad connotation. In a situation calling for difference a white Brazilian will use *moreno* (light-skinned Negro), regardless of the actual shade of skin of the person being spoken to. Such euphemisms are yet another sign of the low esteem in which Blackness and Negroes are held. (201).

The darkness of Santa Rosa's illustration for "Presentes de Papae Noel…", with its broad areas of solid black ink, combined with a knowledge of the woman's "moreno" appearance, and her wealth and taste, upend conservative expectations of race and class. Afro-Brazilians and their descendants, be they *preto* or *moreno*, were not generally wealthy in this point in Brazil's history. If this young woman were wealthy in 1935, and twenty years earlier she was five years old, it is conceivable that one of her parents or grandparents was an Afro-Brazilian born into slavery, as Brazil was the last country to abolish the enslavement of African peoples, doing so in 1888.

Comparing "Presentes de Papae Noel…" to the themes manifest in a preliminary flip-through — romance and conflict — the reader may now expect their assumptions to be challenged. After finishing this first short story, readers doubt the superficial reading of the illustrations. The images must be interpreted with the text, and the text with the images. Illustrations that appear to show discord, in the end, may not. The same goes for the representation of sexual tension. Illustrations whose themes are initially ambiguous may turn out to represent love or conflict or both.

"Tentação"

In the context of "Presentes de Papae Noel…" and *Segredo*'s evocative title, the short story "Tentação" ["Temptation"] appears to burst with scandalous possibilities. The first-person narration continues the titillation in its opening paragraph:

> *Tenho na retina como se fosse hoje. Eu era ainda criança — podia ter meus nove anos — quando eu tive esse desejo, essa cocega que em triscou a cabeça, incentivando-me ao primeiro crime que commetti.*
>
> I can see as if it were today. I was still a child — perhaps nine years old — when I had that desire, that itch that intrigued me, luring me to first misdeed I ever committed.

The words *desejo*, *cocega* [sic] [desire, itch], and the verb *triscar* [to intrigue], lend this short story an air of sexual temptation. This tone is underlined through the use of *crime* [crime, misdeed]. In Portuguese, *crime* can be more religious than juridical.

From pages 25 to 27 of *Segredo*, the reader learns of the young narrator's first day at school. The boy has a harsh, demeaning instructor who disdainfully, in the boy narrator's eyes, gives the boy only one of several books required for studying, a grammar book. His mother has already informed the teacher that an older brother will hand down used copies of the other books to the boy. The bulk of the first three pages are devoted to describing the atmosphere of school and the boy's embarrassment at having to use older books, and having to learn this fact from his teacher, in front of his entire class. On the

second day of school, the boy distractedly looks at the new arithmetic book of one of his classmates, admiring it, then comparing it to his dirtied, old books. This results, unfortunately, in further humiliation for the narrator, as the teacher notices the distraction. The teacher demands to know the boy's name, which he has already forgotten. He is so self-consciously made timid by the situation that at first he cannot respond. Eventually, toward the end of page 27, he tells the teacher, and the reader, that his name is Oswaldo.

Turning to page 28 reveals the facing, full-page illustration on page 29 (fig 1.6). Two boys stand side by side. The shorter of the two is leaning to toward the left of the page, looking in the same direction. The taller of the two, to the right, leans over his companion, his right arm and hand hidden behind the shorter boy's body. If this illustration depicts the titular temptation, and the crime described on in the story's opening, then this hidden hand, which would fall just below the shorter boy's waist, is perhaps a clue.

The text on page 28 reveals that Oswaldo is forced to repeatedly write "I will not be distracted in class" fifty times on the blackboard after school. Once more the new books of the classmate are mentioned, but the narration quickly moves on to the relationship developing between Oswaldo and his classmate: "E o que se deu, dahi por diante, entre nós dois, póde ser comparado a um namoro. Passei por todas a phases do idyllio" [And what happened, from that point on, between us two, can be compared to a romance. I went through all of the idyllic phases] (28).

The suspense of this passage is magnified by the illustration. Sensory touch is emphasized in text. There is a furtive hand out of view in the image. The short story ultimately reveals, after the illustration, that the temptation is the theft of the companion's new book. The boy narrator is the shorter of the two depicted in the illustration. The

important act is not in the hand out of view, but the hands moving toward the bag and the book inside, opposite the direction both boys are looking. However, the reader is left wondering if the theft is part of the affection of one boy toward the other, a desire to possess *something* of the other. After all, the illustration highlights not the theft, but the boys' proximity and, perhaps, the underlying feelings motivating the theft — not just envying the book, but the other boy himself.

"Segredo"

The titular short story, "Segredo" is a microcosm of the themes found throughout the collection. The relationship of its text to its single illustration is no exception, featuring hallmark uncertainties of romance and conflict with an urban backdrop. Fourteenth of the twenty *contos*, "Segredo" reveals the possibilities of the interartistic text and image relationship if consulted independently. Read sequentially after the preceding 13 stories, it is a summary apex of the function of Santa Rosa's artwork within Aluísio Napoleão's prose.

The illustration for "Segredo," appearing on page 115 (fig. 1.6), is one of the most surreptitiously provocative of our *avant–lire* flip-through. It is one of only two illustrations to feature three distinguishable persons: two men and one woman. The two men stand face to face, the height of their entire bodies in view, fully occupying the right half of the print. One man's back is to the reader. The other stands askew just enough that his face and left side are in view; the rest of his body is obscured by the other man's backside. The face of one man we can see is tilted slightly to the image's left (the man's right). His gaze is lowered, indicated by a heavier, full line for his upper eyelids, below which a thinner line is broken by a dot representing his iris. This gaze points, perhaps longingly, toward the crook of the other man's neck.

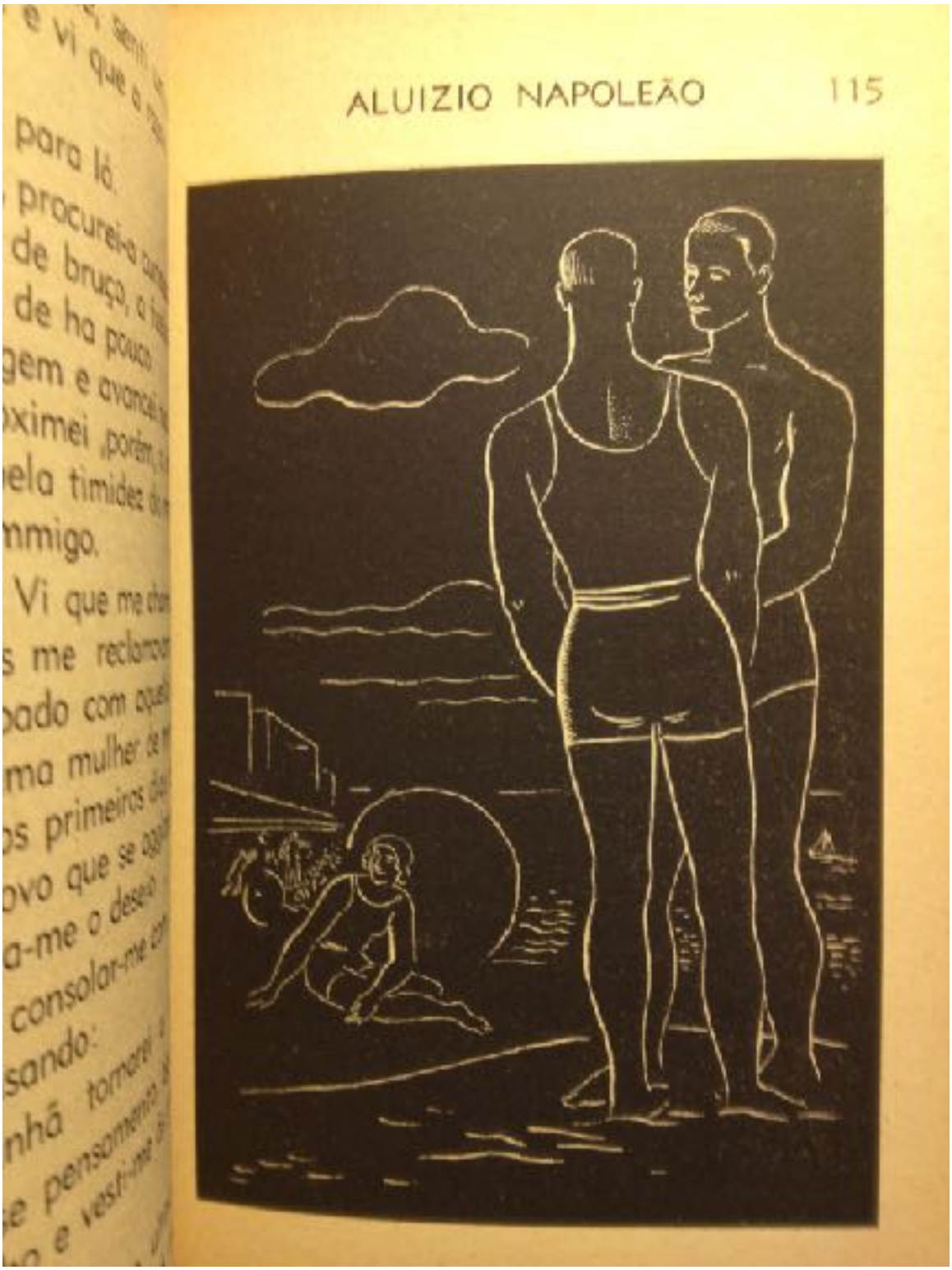


Fig. 1.6 — Santa Rosa, "Segredo." *Segredo*, 115 (1935)

The two men are barely clothed. They are both wearing shorts with diminutive inseams. The man whose back is to the reader wears a sleeveless top whose neck scoops in a low U-shape, revealing a line defining his trapezius muscles. We see just enough of the facing man's shoulder and side to know that he wears no shirt at all. This is, of course, is not out of the ordinary for the setting. They are standing on a beach. A collection of curved lines with shallow peaks is found at the two men's feet: the last inches of a wave about to wash back to sea. Notwithstanding their beach setting, the two men's undress is nonetheless sensual.

More suggestive still, the forearms and hands of the men are out of view, hidden between their bodies, just below the waist. What was a subtler question in the illustration for "Tentação" ["Temptation"] (fig. 1.5), in which one boy's hand is hidden behind the body of another, below the waist, is made more distinct in "Segredo" through the adulthood of these two young men, and by the fact that all of their hands are hidden between their two bodies, below the waste. These hidden hands, when considered alongside one of the men's gaze toward the other's neck and torso, their mutual state of disrobe, and the scene's escalation of romantic possibilities previously evinced in "Tentação" and other short stories, make "Segredo" teem with potential sexual energy.

Further fascination is found in the representation of a woman, in the intermediate background, leaning on one arm, half reclined on the sand. A relationship between all three figures is difficult to immediately decipher, whether through consulting all of the book's illustrations visually, or through an interartistic analysis of the image and texts in preceding short stories. This is the first illustration, in a cover–to–cover reading, to feature three distinct characters. Speculative interpretation of at least one later illustration, from "O segredo dos olhos extranhos" ["The secret of unfamiliar eyes"], depicts two men and one woman, but that image's perspective is focused on heads and faces, Lower bodies fall

out of the frame. Their heads and gazes, however, suggest a classic love triangle scenario. Even without reading "O segredo dos olhos extranhos," its illustration does suggest that "Segredo" might turn on some sort of love triangle. The reader might infer that if another, later short story contains such a theme, in a volume that repeats common themes, perhaps "Segredo" does also.

However, a love triangle in "Segredo" is complicated by the illustration's composition. The woman in the illustration for "Segredo" is separated from the two men. The illustration's modernized linear perspective shows the two men in the fore, and the woman some distance behind. Moreover, a bold, undulating line representing apex of the ocean's wash on the shore cuts through the distance between the two men and the woman, putting one of nature's most significant boundaries, that of land and sea, between them. This emphasizes the gravity of the relationship between the two men. The woman's orbit is somewhere further off; she is more significant to the story, perhaps, than the urban setting, whose skyline falls behind the woman, but she has nowhere close to as serious a connection to either man as they do to each other.

This visual pre-reading has a summary conclusion, independent of what suggestive possibilities take form through the text. Santa Rosa's illustration for "Segredo" interrogates the social topography of relationships along gendered lines. The ambiguity and possible confusion experienced by the reader-viewer when examining the illustration is the matter at hand. And, as the text reveals, it is analogous to the disorienting plight of the short story's unnamed protagonist.

Aluísio de Napoleão begins "Segredo" with an especially warm day, prompting a visit to one of Rio de Janeiro's beaches. The protagonist walks down the Rua Corrêa Dutra, noticing the puddles left by days of rain prefacing the story (*Segredo* 109). He arrives at the beach, in awe of the Bay of Guanabara, finally appreciating the Rio de

Janeiro "de que tanto me fallavam no Norte" ["of which I was told so much in the North"] (*Segredo* 110). Already in its first two pages, "Segredo" is laden with a social history of Rio de Janeiro that would have strongly resonated with readers at the time of its publication, and has only gained greater significance in the decades since. This social history is part of the disorientation experienced by protagonist, as well as the general disorientation experienced in Rio de Janeiro during a time of significant changes to the urban environment, the population, and the city's mores.

The first observation is that the protagonist is following the Rua Corrêa Dutra toward the beach. This street runs east-southeast through the Flamengo neighborhood, toward what would have then been the Avenida Beira-Mar, which extended along the beach from the city center to the Bota Fogo neighborhood farther south. The character changes into his swimwear and robe before heading down the Rua Corrêa Dutra, presumably doing so at his home. Whatever the specific type of his lodging, given the direction he is coming from, his dwelling is especially interesting. The protagonist has either left an apartment on the Rua Corrêa Dutra, in the *bairro nobre* [prestige neighborhood] of Flamengo, or he has come from the even more historically prestigious Catete neighborhood. The Catete was a neighborhood of political and social elites. The executive branch of the Brazil's government resided in the Catete from the end of the monarchy (1899) until the country's capital moved to Brasília (1960) (Carvalho 167).

This is especially noteworthy because of the protagonist's revelation that he is from the North, having arrived in Rio just weeks before. This provenance increases the likelihood that he is of Afro-American or Indigenous decent. The negative print style of Santa Rosa's illustrations comes into play again. Despite the existence of a number of preceding short stories in which race plays a much less than direct role, almost allowing the reader-viewer to forget that the skin of all characters illustrated is rendered in matte,

black ink, the relationship of the text of "Segredo" to its illustration revives the issue of race, one of the chief elements from the collection's first short story, "Presentes de Papae Noel…" ["Presents from Santa Claus…"].

The text of page 114, facing the illustration on 115 (1.6), confirms the suspicion of a racial dimension. This recent transplant to Rio finds himself attracted to a *morena* woman while swimming. His attraction to perhaps mixed race woman is not itself a indication of the narrator's race, but it is another hit. Before he musters the courage to talk to the young woman, his timidity wins over. He decides to leave. However, just as he steps toward the stairs to leave the beach, he sees her give him what is, in his mind, a clear but non-verbal signal of her interest. The final words of page 114, before the illustration breaks the text, are "meu sangue caboclo esquentou-se" ["my mestizo blood heated up"]. The protagonist is, after all, of mixed Indigenous heritage.

These social elements, including the racial dimension, become especially salient because the text of "Segredo" is practically void of the possibilities evoked by the illustration alone. There is no explicit homosexual desire in Aluísio Napoleão's text. Its homosocial behavior is hardly intimate or affectionate. Instead, the final effect of the illustration is to compound the reader's perception of the protagonist's, and the greater city's, social confusion and novelty. "Segredo" allows the reader to experience a modicum of Rio de Janeiro's then strange, new ethos through the topography of the relationships within the illustration.

In the text following the illustration, the narrator-protagonist hears someone calling his name. A voice yells, "Sim senhor! Marcou encontro comigo e já ia fugindo!" ["Yes sir! You planned to meet me and you were already running off!"] (*Segredo* 116). The voice turns out to be an old friend from the North. This is the first that the reader learns of any social plans made by the protagonist. How someone could make plans

to see a long unseen friend in a new place, then forget, is ascribable to the protagonist's unfamiliarity with such a modern scenario, and the general confusion evoked throughout the story.

The perceptive friend immediately concludes that someone has caught the eye of the protagonist. The friend pries. As the narrator tells it, "Obrigou-me a explicar o que passára commigo. E, não contente com a minha historia, ainda perguntou: — Quem é ella?" ["He forced me to tell him what had happened. Not satisfied with my story, he asked more: — Who is she?"] (*Segredo* 117). This too, is a new experience for the narrator, who wonders if this is not some sort of disease that his friend has acquired "no clima social do Rio" ["in the social climate of Rio"]. In the North, the friend had been so orderly and peaceful, not so insatiably curious.

As the two men walk toward the girl, the friend decides that, since they are so close to her anyway, he ought to introduce his girlfriend. His girlfriend is the same young woman who caught the attention of the protagonist. The ensuing introduction is one of supreme embarrassment for our leading character. The reader learns the only name of the story, hers: Emilia. She gives the protagonist what, in his mind, is a "dubio sorriso de anjo e demonio" ["dubious smile, angelic and demonic"] (*Segredo* 118).

The uncertainty continues as Emilia hears of the protagonist's story and the woman he hoped to talk to. Emilia fans the flames of her boyfriend's curiosity, saying she is surprised that the protagonist did not have the courage to talk to the woman, and asking which of the women on the beach she is, since the two men were supposedly on their way to find her. Emilia is just nice and sincere enough for the reader to question whether she is simply playing with the protagonist's heart, or if it is one more mistake that can be attributed to his various misunderstandings and miscalculations of the day.

The story concludes with Emilie suggesting the protagonist will, instead of indicating whom it was that he was attracted to, say that she is no longer on the beach. As soon as she finishes saying it, he accedes, agreeing that such was, in fact, the case. And he quickly leaves the beach.

Bewilderment, about finding himself in that situation, about what Emilia might be suggesting or communicating, about what this beautiful, warm city really offers, are the strongest themes of the illustration and text for "Segredo," even considering them separately. Wondering about his friends' social disease of overactive curiosity makes the link between image and text stronger — the possibilities imagined *avant–lire* about the illustration, and what it might portend for the text. By imagining the plausibly romantic or sexual dimensions of the illustration, the reader, too, exhibits the symptoms of the friends "disease" of wanting to know more.

Santa Rosa explicitly developed a conception of humanization in direct opposition to José Ortega y Gasset's "La deshumanización del arte" ["The Dehumanization of Art"]. Over the course of his critical career, Santa Rosa wrote prodigiously on the "problem" of the intelligibility of modern, abstract art.[10] When his mentor, Cândido Portinari (1903–1962), for whom Santa Rosa worked when he first moved from Northeastern Brazil to Rio de Janeiro, was later criticized in France for some of the overly humanistic, figurative aspects of his painting "Criança morta" (1944), Santa Rosa wrote a defense entitled "Re-humanização da arte" ["Re-Humanization of Art"] in the "Letras e Arte" ["Arts and Letters"] supplement of the newspaper *A Manhã* (1946). In it he advances not a reactionary return to conservative, academic art, but a figurative path forward. He argues that the representative possibilities of the human form are far from depleted, and that "the human [element]" must be the purpose and subject of art:

[10] For two stand-out examples, see Santa Rosa's essays "Arte e Verdade" and "Conversa sobre arte moderna," reproduced in Barsante, 131–36.

> *Ampliando ao extremo a possibilidade de suas combinações, a arte abstrata encontra os seus limites, e em vez de se dirigir às fontes da vida, perde-se numa sofisticação difusa para justificar o que é apenas meio e não finalidade como expressão artística real. […] Atingimos um estágio da evolução que ainda não esgotou todas as possibilidades da arte figurativa […] Evitar divagação abstrata não significa retroceder, porém, avançar, mais concientes…*[11]
>
> Abstract art finds its limits when its possibilities are taken to their extreme. Instead of pointing toward the source of life, it loses itself in scattered sophistication in order to justify what can only be means and not the ends of true artistic expression […] At this stage we have yet to exhaust all of the possibilities of figurative art […] Avoiding the distraction of abstraction does not mean regressing. Instead, it means progressing more aware…

Where Santa Rosa notes the "ends of true artistic expression" he echoes Mário de Andrade, who concluded the opening lecture of his course on Philosophy and Art History at the Universidade do Distrito Federal by saying that individualism and experimental aesthetics had gone too far in the art world, because "…na arte verdadeira o humano é a fatalidade."[12] The human ends (*fatalidade*, *finalidade*) of art, in Santa Rosa's figurative drawings and prints for books illustrations, took on even greater weight than in drawings alone, even writing somewhat dismissively of drawing when compared to illustration: "Esse papel, o de cada ilustrador (não apenas o desenhista, transmissor mecânico da vulgar realidade) deve ser encarado com maior seriedade…" ["This role, the one of each illustrator (not just someone who draws, a mechanical translator of vulgar reality) should be faced with greater seriousness"] (Barsante 137). This gravity and attention is evident in Santa Rosa's illustrations for *Segredo*.

By depicting ambiguity and equality in his illustrations, and sparking reader interest in the figures they depict, Santa Rosa brings the lives of the typically non-privileged into view. Negotiating the meaning of these images — reading them as part of

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[11] Santa Rosa Júnior 1946; reproduced in Barsante, 145–46

[12] Andrade 33; from the 1938 course at the short lived Universidade do Distrito Federal (1935–39), not to be confused with the UDF that later became the Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro.

the text — makes the difference of their characters more intelligible. What's more, Santa Rosa's illustrations interrupt the unfolding of the textual narrative, disrupting readerly expectations, forcing a haptic discovery that combines Santa Rosa's humanization with Napoleão's quasi-spiritual epiphany that reveals the everyday lived experiences of some of Brazil's marginalized peoples. This, as the economic and social order evolved quickly in the first half of the twentieth century, especially in cities such as São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. These qualities make *Segredo* a watershed work for Santa Rosa and Brazilian literary illustration more broadly. Its visual and verbal elements serve as a starting point for exploring narratological features in books illustrated by Poty, Carybé and others in the decades following *Segredo*'s publication.

Chapter Two

Poty

The artist known as Poty, born Napoleon Potyguara Lazzarotto (1924–1998), is perhaps most famous today for his murals and individual prints. But Poty also left an indelible mark on Brazilian literature, illustrating books by contemporary and classic Brazilian authors such as Machado de Assis (1839–1908), Euclides da Cunha (1866–1909), Lima Barreto (1881–1922), Graciliano Ramos (1892–1952), João Guimarães Rosa (1908–1967), Jorge Amado (1912–2001), Antônio Fraga (1916–1993), and Darcy Ribeiro (1922–1997). This chapter explores Poty's illustrations for works by the then living authors João Guimarães Rosa and Antonio Fraga. First, this chapter focuses on two sets of illustrations Poty completed for the fifth (1958) and twelfth (1970) editions of João Guimarães Rosa's *Sagarana* (first ed. 1946). Second, this chapter turns its attention to Poty's illustrations for the definitive 1990 edition of Antônio Fraga's *Desabrigo* (1945). Poty's illustrations for both Guimarães Rosa's and Fraga's work have a metonymic relationship to textual themes of epiphany and violence. They embody characters'

epiphanies and distill the violent scenes into ominous tokens for or aggressively abrupt confrontations with the reader.

Cited in this dissertation's Introduction, a book cover promotional passage endorsed its illustrator as "open[ing] the first door to a new world" for the reader.[1] That illustrator was Poty. Those words appear on the back cover of the second volume of *Corpo de Baile* (1956). The publisher, José Olypmio Editora, placed enough importance on introducing Poty to its readership that it devoted this space to him rather than the author of the work, João Guimarães Rosa. Giving such print real-estate to Poty and naming him the illustrator of João Guimarães Rosa's work is even more noteworthy because *Corpo de Baile* and João Guimarães Rosa's novel *Grande Sertão: Veredas*, published that same year by José Olympio Editora, contain few illustrations by Poty aside from their covers. The publisher's interest, it seems, was in promoting illustrations to come. Definitive editions of Guimarães Rosa's entire oeuvre would soon be published by José Olympio Editora, and they would be *completed* by Poty's illustrations.

There was reason to illustrate João Guimarães Rosa's work. It was considered new, distinctly Brazilian. This especial Brazilianness is achieved through "internal causality," a phrase used somewhat reluctantly by Antônio Cândido to describe a critical step in a developing nation's literature:

> *Um estágio fundamental na superação da dependência é a capacidade de produzir obras de primeira ordem, influenciada, não por modelos estrangeiros imediatos, mas por exemplos nacionais anteriores. Isto significa o estabelecimento do que se poderia chamar um pouco mecanicamente de causalidade interna, que torna inclusive mais fecundos os empréstimos tomados às outras culturas.*
>
> A fundamental stage in overcoming (foreign) dependence is the capacity to produce first-rate works not immediately influenced by foreign archetypes. Instead, these works are influenced by earlier national examples, establishing what might be called, somewhat woodenly, internal

[1] See chapter "History and Theory" and Rosa (*Corpo de Baile*) *Corpo de baile* v.2

> causality. The presence of internal causality makes any remaining elements borrowed from other cultures even more fruitful.[2]

By innovating with "internal causality", João Guimarães Rosa created works that were not merely copies of some foreign model. They were sufficiently Brazilian to then be valued, paradoxically, for their universality. In some of the same ways Guimarães Rosa tread this new textual ground; Poty's illustrations did so visually, and in a parallel interartistic relationship to Guimarães Rosa's words. In the same vein, Poty's images join the writings of Antônio Fraga, who was also an inventive new author. Oswald de Andrade wrote of Antônio Fraga as being in the same literary cadre as João Guimaães Rosa: "O que há, não é post-modernismo e sim a nova literatura do Brasil. Veja: na prosa a maturidade está aí […] em Guimarães Rosa, em Antônio Fraga" [What we have is not post-modernism, it is the new literature of Brazil. Look: there is maturity in the prose […] in Guimarães Rosa, in Antônio Fraga].[3] Poty's illustrations, like those of other illustrators discussed in this dissertation, are part of a filament linking a diverse group of twentieth century Brazilian writers through representations of and reflections on "the human."

By using Poty's illustrations to answer the questions, "What exactly does a picture do in a book? How does it modify the response of the reader to the written word?" one can identify, among other observations, a shared sensorium of the "new Brazilian literature" Oswald de Andrade describes (Stills 1). Qualities common to Poty's respective representations of the rural, arid *sertão* [Backlands] in *Sagarana*, and of the peripheries of the urban sphere in *Desabrigo*, effectively flatten the physical differences between these two environments, emphasizing the precariousness inherent to both. The backlands and the city become similarly referential to the embodied experiences of marginalized people. This is especially so due the condensed perspective employed in many of Poty's

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[2] "Literatura e subdesenvolvimento"

[3] Oswald de Andrade was the poet, critic and polemicist responsible for the "Manifesto Antropófago" ["Cannibal Manifesto"].

illustrations for both *Sagarana* and *Desabrigo* (and relatively common throughout his body of artwork). This persistent perspective — of the human body in relation to the dangers of its environment — underscores one of our most primal human needs for shelter and asylum.

Sagarana

The announcement for Poty on a back cover of *Corpo de Baile* signaled his tenure as an in-house illustrator for José Olympio Editora. Contracting Poty appears to have been an important part of the publisher's effort to sign various authors associated with the Brazil's regionalist movement. Brazilian regionalism started as a loose artistic and intellectual school, spearheaded in part by the "Manifesto Regionalista" ["Regionalist Manifesto"] (1926) by Gilberto Freyre (1900–1987). The regionalists turned their attention to the rural backlands of the country and their inhabitants (Franzini 71).[4] Gathering regionalist writers at José Olympio Editora was an opportune commercial and intellectual endeavor. These were some of Brazil's most well known contemporary writers. The 1930s, 40s and 50s were years of expanding readership, but they were also a time of market consolidation. By the time João Guimarães Rosa moved to João Olympio Editora, many of the publishing houses that had released earlier regional titles had largely disappeared.

The Rio de Janeiro–based Livraria Schmidt Editora published regionalist works such as Graciliano Ramos' first novel *Caetés* (1933) and Gilberto Freyre's social history *Casa-Grande & Senzala* (1933). Subsequent years, however, saw many of Schmidt's authors leave for other Rio publishing houses like Ariel (Hallewell 250–51). By 1939

[4] Gilberto Freyre was a prominent Brazilian sociologist, anthropologist and historian. At the time of the publication of the "Manifesto Regionalista," in 1926, he was not quite the national star he would later become. He had returned to Brazil in 1923 after studying under William Shepperd and Franz Boas at Columbia University. His most widely known work, *Casa Grande e Senzala* [*The Masters and the Slaves*] would not be published until 1933.

Schmidt was absorbed by a small firm and Ariel folded. José Olympio had moved from São Paulo to Rio de Janeiro in 1934, which likely hastened the demise of Schmidt and Ariel, but cannot be blamed entirely for their fall. With fewer competitors José Olympio Editora became the preeminent publisher in Rio de Janeiro and, by extension, established a strong domestic market position. The first edition of Graciliano Ramos's most famous novel, *Vidas secas* (1938), was published by José Olympio, complete with illustrations by Aldemir Martins. By 1951, the third edition of João Guimarães Rosa's *Sagarana* was published by José Olympio instead of Editora Universal, where its first two editions were published in 1946.

Moving to José Olympio marked growing talent and growing renown for authors like Graciliano Ramos and Guimarães Rosa. *Sagarana* and *Vidas secas* did not suffer from the same shortcomings that dogged the early regionalists. With *Sagarana* João Guimarães Rosa moved well beyond a clichéd regionalism-by-numbers. Álvaro Lins points to *Sagarana* as transcending regionalism by avoiding the movement's simplistic and formulaic facsimiles of northeastern and rural Brazil:

> *Mas o valor dessa obra provém principalmente da circunstância de não ter o seu autor ficado prisioneiro do regionalismo, o que o teria conduzido ao convencional regionalismo literário, à estreiteza da literatura, das reproduções fotográficas, ao elementar caipirismo do pitoresco exterior e do simplesmente descritivo …*
>
> But the value of this work comes primarily from its author not becoming prisoner to regionalism. Conventional literary regionalism is confined to the strictures of photographic representations, simplistic bumpkins from some foreign idyll, and the merely decriptive …[5]

Sagarana (1946) is a collection of nine short stories set in the *sertão* [backlands] of Minas Gerais, the home state of João Guimarães Rosa. The work's title is a neologism portmanteau of the Old Norse word "saga" and the indigenous Tupi word "rana," meaning

[5] "Uma Grande Estreia", also cited in the 25th ed. of Rosa (*Sagarana*) *Sagarana* (1982).

the same or like.[6] Today João Guimarães Rosa is one of Brazil's most well known authors. His face was even printed on notes of Brazil's late currency, the *Cruzeiro*. As the 1960 English translation of *Sagarana* advertised, in a commercially self-serving but nonetheless true description, "No one who ignores the fiction of João Guimarães Rosa can pretend to understand the contemporary literature of Brazil" (de Onís).

Sagarana was first published between his tenure as Secretary of the Brazilian Embassy in Bogotá, Colombia, from 1942 to 1944, and his service as Embassy Counselor at Paris, from 1948 to 1951. Perhaps related to his diplomatic acumen, Guimarães Rosa was enamored with language. He was a polyglot who had at least a reading knowledge of over a dozen languages. In *Sagarana*, as in much of his writing, Guimarães Rosa poeticizes rural, idiosyncratic, archaic and neologist speech, resulting in a mix of the medieval and the modern that seems unstuck from time (and makes translation into other languages notoriously difficult).[7] Writing to the critic Günter Lorenz, Guimarães Rosa notes the multilingual influences in his writing:

> Escrevo e creio que este é o meu aparelho de controle: o idioma português, tal como o usamos no Brasil; entretanto, no fundo, enquanto vou escrevendo, eu traduzo, extraio de muitos outros idiomas. Disso resultam meus livros, escritos em um idioma próprio, meu, e pode-se deduzir daí que não me submeto à trama da gramática e dos dicionários dos outros. A gramática e a chamada filologia, ciência lingüística, foram inventadas pelos inimigos da poesia.
>
> *I write and believe that this is the device I control: the Portuguese language, as we use it in Brazil. However, when I write, I essentially translate. I draw from many other languages. My books come from that, written in a personal language, my own. One can deduce that I do not bow to the grammar and dictionaries of others. Grammar and so-called philology, linguistic science, were invented by the enemies of poetry.*[8]

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[6] The use of "saga" in Portuguese mirrors its use English but also takes on the additional meaning of witch or sorceress.

[7] For more see Rosa, Meyer-Clason, and Bussolotti *Correspondência com seu tradutor alemão Curt Meyer-Clason (1958–1967)* (2003).

[8] Lorenz 326–27; also cited in Santos 50.

For a writer so focused on his language and his own linguistic dimensions to be amenable to the illustration of his texts is noteworthy, even in Brazil, where major publishing houses were regularly releasing illustrated fiction titles by the time *Sagarana* was published with a set of illustration by Poty in 1958; remaining so for the 1970 illustrations as well. The importance of language to Guimarães Rosa did not lead him toward texts unencumbered by illustrations. To the contrary, a love for communication appears to have led him to embrace the combination of his words with images.

Guimarães Rosa apparently did not see Poty's illustrations as an editorial imposition resulting from his 1951 move from Editora Universal to José Olympio Editora. He was, in fact, "encantado" ["enchanted"] with the illustrations (Fogagnoli 6). Rather than seeing them as a distraction from his text, Guimarães Rosa approved the illustrations, and their later revisions, as something augmentative, contributing to the saga-like nature of the volume as a whole. Saga, as a genre, already lends itself to illustration through an implicit appeal to antiquity, conjuring thoughts of illuminated Icelandic manuscripts. With illustrations, *Sagarana* was complete. As one reviewer would remark on the release of the 1958 edition, "Pela primeira vez, aliás, os contos de João Guimarães Rosa aparecem *completados* pelo desenho, o que confere a essa 5ª edição um autêntico sabor de coisa nova" ["For the first time, that is, the short stories of João Guimarães Rosa appear *complete* through drawings, giving this fifth edition an authentic new flavor"]..[9] In "completing" *Sagarana*, Poty's illustrations also contribute to its "internal causality" (Candido 153).

Guimarães Rosa intertwines the themes of *Sagarana*'s various stories within each other, comprising a grand reflection on the nature-culture divide. In *Sagarana* the *sertão* and its inhabitants encompass a totality of humankind in its biblically fallen attempts to

[9] *O Diário* 1958; cited in Fogagnoli 6; emphasis mine

approach and interact with the omnipotent dimensions of nature (Merrim 502). Guimarães Rosa makes the juxtaposition of nature and culture, of animal and man, early in *Sagarana's* first short story: "a estória de um burrinho, como a história de homem grande, é bem dada no resumo de uma só dia de sua vida" ["the story of a little donkey, like the story of a big man, is contained in the summing-up of a single day of his life"].[10] The fifth and twelfth editions of *Sagarana* mix their poetry and multivalent language with parallel images drawn by Poty, balancing the representation of nature and the representation of the human condition.

Poty's illustrations for *Sagarana* act like raking light, angled illumination that makes the texture of textual figuration more visible and embodied. The textural line quality of the drawings calls to mind wood block prints. An oblique light cast across such wood negative would reveal the shallow three-dimensional cuts that make up the negative space of a print. A carver or printmaker might envision the final print, assessing the block through a series of angled takes on its surface. So too do the illustrations themselves, as a source of "illumination" cast a light across the text, making shallow textual (as opposed to textural) peaks and valleys more visible throughout the remaining reading. The tangential, oblique character of this illumination is also a key to understand such an interpretive framework. Some of *Sagarana*'s figurative illustrations are not representations of the human body. Instead, these illustrations are oblique references to the human figure. Some of the images clearest in their visual detail are of animals and landscapes. Yet these drawings are still anthropocentrically figurative. Analysis reveals that these depictions of the natural world ultimately represent fragile human experience in the face of forces outside of human control.

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[10] Guimarães Rosa (4). Translation by Harriet de Onís (4). One critical difference between the original and the translation is found in Guimarães Rosa's use of *estória* for the little donkey and *história* for the large man. *Estória*, a (mis-)pronunciation of *história* [history, story] was a concept critical to Guimarães Rosa's mythic fiction. For more on *estória*, see Guimarães Rosa's descriptive usage in "A hora e a vez de Augusto Matraga", *Sagarana*.

Danger is also represented obliquely through illustrations of cultural, or non-natural, objects: a doll, a hat, a staff, a dagger. Even when a human body is the clear subject of an illustration, it may be depicted at a distance. And in any depiction details may be obscured by the relative simplicity of the drawing's contoured lines. Shading lines traversing those same contours obscure them further, especially in the case of the illustrations for the fifth edition of *Sagarana*.

Two of the short stories, in particular, exemplify Poty's contribution to the figuration found in *Sagarana*: "São Marcos" ["Woodland Witchery"], and "Corpo fechado" ["Bulletproof"].[11] They stress the book-wide themes of the cycle and the voyage, and their illustrations underscore the human body's relationship to its environment.

"São Marcos" ["Woodland Witchery"]

"São Marcos" is a metalinguistic exercise in the suspension of disbelief as a necessary step for poiesis, in two conceptions of the word: first, poiesis from the Greek "making, production," as it applies to the literal and figurative makings and progress of the short story's characters; second, poiesis in the formulation of Hans Robert Jauss, meaning aesthetic praxis, as it related to the author João Guimarães Rosa, the short story's narrator José, and the contributions of Poty.[12] Sight as understanding is behind both the story's central plot and its illustrations. Not seeing, not understanding, not appreciating, is a source of misfortune — an indication of man not reconciling himself to the truth of nature. Intervention or interruption (sometimes violent) is portrayed as necessary for illumination, a return to sight and understanding.

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[11] Short story titles from Harriet de Onís translation *Sagarana: a story cycle".

[12] For additional information see Jauss, *Aesthetic Experience and Literary Hermeneutics*.

The short story's opening song (all of the short stories are prefaced by a few lines of an epigraphic *cantiga*) is similarly meta-thematic. The content of the lines refers to mistaking the nature of a seen object:

> *Eu vi um homem lá na grimpa do coqueiro, ai-ai, não era homem, era um côco bem maduro, ôi-ôi. Não era côco, era a creca de um macaco, ai-ai, não era a creca, era o macaco todo inteiro, ôi-ôi.*
>
> I saw a man in the top of a coconut tree, ay, ay, but it wasn't a man, it was a ripe coconut, oh, oh. But it wasn't a coconut, it was a monkey's bald head, ay, ay, But it wasn't its head, it was the whole monkey, oh, oh.

The description of the song is as a "Cantiga de espantar males" ["Song to ward off evils"] (235). The verses link man, coconut and monkey preternaturally. Together they signal the common problem of not seeing the true nature of things. Man, coconut and monkey are categorically different enough to cause surprise at mistaking any one for another, but similar enough – linked in form or spirit to the eyes of the *cantiga*'s narrator – to have been confused in the first place. The *cantiga*'s meaning is made more powerful through the song's description as a protection from evil. Mysterious forces are, in *Sagarana* as in much of Guimarães Rosa's fiction, part of the natural order. And man must be reconciled to this power. This sets up an interesting division. Magical sight is linked with the natural. Human, physical sight is linked with the cultural. Ultimately, this makes Poty's illustrations all the more inviting to be "read" — "seen" and "understood." Even without knowing the short story's plot, the reader is subtly invited to probe the magical, revelatory dimensions of the illustrations. Casually flipping through the short story to see its other illustrations only compounds this effect. Immediately following the epigraphic *cantiga*, a circular illustration, just over four centimeters in diameter, precedes the body of the short story's text.

Every short story in *Sagarana* opens and closes with one of these circular illustrations. Some short stories feature additional circular illustrations at points within

the text, among the other illustrations of varying sizes and shapes. At a story's beginning, these disc-like images appear like illuminated initials or dropcaps. For each short story's opening illustration, its left limit aligns with the left margin of the text. Its top reaches above the story's first line, its apex just below the story's *cantiga* epigraph. Despite this initial-like position in relationship to the text, these illustrations do not contain any alphabetical value. Such an in-line position does, however, instill the illustrations with a visual dimension that is tantamount to the verbal dimensions of the text. It gives them an impression of belonging. Even though illustrations were not found in the first through forth editions of *Sagarana*, these images seem like they are part of the original story.

The content of these illustrations gives them a talismanic or totemic *mien*. The circular illustration opening "São Marcos" depicts a person's head, an oil lamp, and an owl, all together, as if a token (see fig. 2.1). In Poty's illustration for the fifth edition, the head's features are somewhat difficult to make out. The left side of the head is darkened, shadowed. On the more illuminated right side, which is closer to the lamp, there is blank space where the eye should be. Ink lines define a strong brow and a contour between the lower eyelid and the cheek, but the rest is absent. This conspicuous absence of eye details, combined with the symbolism of the illustration — the lamp to illumination, the owl to visual acuity — magnifies the metaphor of vision.

The illustration for the twelfth edition reaches this same end, even though the eye of the human head is depicted more clearly (see fig. 2.2). As with all of the illustrations for the twelfth edition, the bolder, more geometric solid lines and shapes imitate the style of wood cut illustration. This results in head shown in profile instead of facing forward toward the reader. The entire head is solidly inked expect for the eye, which, like in ancient Egyptian imagery, is shown in a front-facing almond shape rather than from a



Fig. 2.1 — Poty, "São Marcos," *Sagarana*, 235 (5 ed.)



Fig. 2.2 — Poty, "São Marcos," *Sagarana*, 224 (12 ed.)

more realistic side view. This focuses attention on the illustrated eye. As a light opening in the darkness, it is a source of illumination and understanding.

The opening paragraph of "São Marcos" centers on belief, strengthening the connection between worldview and metaphors of sight. The reader learns that the first-person narrator once lived in the town of Calango-Frito, and that they emphatically did not believe in *feitiços* [witchery] when they lived there. The narrator goes on to note that many of the citizens of Calango-Frito were involved with *feitiços* of one type or another, and solicited the services its practitioners, called *feiticeiros*. During this period, some time before the narration, the narrator participated a long litany of superstitious practices, "mas, feiticeiros, não" ["but, *feiticeiros*, no"] (Rosa, *Sagarana* 5th ed., 236).

The narrator laughed at the *barbaridade* [barbarity] of these people, especially a woman named Nhá Tolentina, who sold pastries in the street, and a man named João Mangolô, who was the local *feiticeiro* extraordinaire. The locals, however, thought the fault was in the narrator.

The reader learns for certain that the narrator is a man who can afford household help. His domestic, Sa Nha Rita Preta [Black Rita], warns him, "Se o senhor não aceita, é rei no seu; mas abusar, não deve-de!" ["If you don't want to listen, you are your own boss; but to carry a thing to far, that you shouldn't."].[13] She then recounts her own anecdote of a washwoman with an intolerable pain in her foot, but no visible injury. The cause was a wax voodoo doll, its foot pierced with a needle. Further on, but "on the very day of what is to come," Rita mends the narrator's jacket while saying to herself, "I am sewing the garment, and not the body, I am sewing a raggedy coat that is torn," doing so just before warning the narrator, once again, "que não enjerizasse o Mangolô" ["against annoying Mangolô"] (237, de Onís 186).

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[13] Rosa (*Sagarana*) 236, de Onís 185

The next illustration to appear is not that of a voodoo doll, but a nighttime gathering around a bonfire (see fig. 2.3). In the fifth edition, this illustration spans two full, facing pages. A group circles the fire, hands joined, in the middle ground of the left page. People mingle in small groups between the fire and a large, two-story building in the background of the right page. In the fore of the right page, a man sits on a low bench playing an accordion. His right arm is stretched out. His left arm is bent at 90 degrees, his elbow high, his fingers bent to play the left-hand manual of the instrument. The twelfth edition of *Sagarana* features a smaller illustration on just one page, without a building in the background, but which still includes the circle of people, the accordion player, and stark shadows of silhouettes cast by the nighttime bonfire (see fig. 2.4).

Following the warnings of Sa Nhá Rita Preta, not to mention the contrast of the waxen image and the narrator's body, with a visual scene of a popular nighttime gathering is ominous. It strengthens the sense of widespread *feitiço*. Even if backed by no true power, as the narrator then suspects, the extent of the practice still presents a dangerously unequal encounter between one man and a large group with power in numbers. As the reader learns in the pages immediately following this illustration, this is more than man versus town. The conflict the between the narrator and (the power manifest in) João Mangolô is metonymic of man versus powers beyond his control.

The confrontation of man and nature, and the latter's connection to the power of *feitiços*, is depicted in the pages immediately following the bonfire illustration. The reader learns of the narrator's love for hunting. Part of its appeal for him is the opportunity for isolation in nature. Turning the page from the bonfire illustration the reader sees an image on the next facing page — an illustration of the waxen voodoo doll (see fig. 2.5). It interrupts the text at a key moment: the narrator, lost in his solitude, hunting, is startled by a voice. He reports, "eu ia do mais esquecido, tropica-e-cai levanta-e-sai, e levei um



Fig. 2.3 — Poty, "São Marcos," *Sagarana*, 238-39 (5 ed.)



Fig. 2.4 — Poty, "São Marcos," *Sagarana,* 226 (12 ed.)



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fora, fresco nas narinas e feliz lá dentro — que eu ia do mais esquecido, tropica-e-cai levanta-e-sai, e levei um choque, quando gritaram, bem por detrásinho de mim:

— 'Guenta o relance, Izé!...

Estremeci e me voltei, porque, nesta estória, eu também me chamarei José. Mas não era comigo. Era com outro Zé, Zé-Prequeté, que, trinta metros adiante, se equilibrava em cima dos saltos arqueados de um pangaré neurastênico.

Fig. 2.5 — Poty, "São Marcos," *Sagarana*, 241 (5 ed.)

choque, quando gritaram, bem por detràsinho de mim:" ["I was moving along without a thing on my mind, stumbling, not even looking where I went, and it gave me a shock when I heard a shout well behind me:"].[14] Then the baleful image of dark, waxen doll separates the leading description of the shout from its verbal content.

This illustrations' rendition in *Sagarana*'s twelfth edition is more menacing still (see fig. 2.6). The blocky, bold style of the print is simultaneously more anthropomorphic and more abstract. The doll has many more human features: hair, ears, joints, and toes. Instead of a simple cloth dress, the doll in the twelfth edition wears a dress with a layered skirt whose streaked, blunt dimensions angle out from the body. The needle, however, is less straightforwardly depicted. A set of lines border parts of the needle. Where the needle passes in front of the doll's leg, extending out from the pierced foot toward the needle's eye, the leg breaks at an obtuse angle between the knee and the ankle. Two border lines extend from the edge of the leg toward the eye of the needle, hovering just beyond the edges of both. Combined with the odd change in angle along the lower leg, this line in the image gives the overall impression that some part of the needle — or whatever it is — reaches behind the doll's leg. Its overall appearance alludes to an animal trap; all the more so from its hunting context. The thread, trailing away in zig-zags, might be a chain or a rope, the means of affixing the trap to a specific location on the forrest floor. The effect of the image is roughly the same in case of either the fifth or the twelfth editions: there are forces ready to violate the narrator's safety and, like a surreptitious curse or a hunter's trap, they are nearly impossible to anticipate.

The content of the shout, revealed immediately after the illustration, before the end of the page, is anticlimactic, but psychologically revealing. The shout was meant for another José,[15] who also happened to be on the same path. Our narrator, like in other

[14] Rosa 241, de Onís 187

[15] translated as Joe by de Onís



Fig. 2.6 — Poty, "São Marcos," *Sagarana*, 230 (12 ed.)

estórias found in *Sagarana*, dons the name José, the reader learns. With a vague name like José — a *sertanejo* John Doe — he is the reader's everyman prototype for the *sertanejo* experience. The reader will come to see — to understand — as José does, by the story's close.

The remainder of the short story features less foreboding illustrations of animals, a scene of José carving an inscription in bamboo trees, and the circular image finale. The animals are in two separate illustrations. An armadillo sits between paragraphs. And in an illustration found only in the fifth through eleventh editions, a bull and a jaguar straddle the margins of a page's text. These, like the waxen doll, are figures with no ground. They exist only on the plane of the page. The armadillo, bull and jaguar all represent variable senses of defense, anger and attack, respectively. These illustrations appear as the reader learns that José's taunting of João Mangolô, despite warnings from Sa Nhá Rita Preta, results in a curse of blindness. The illustrations of animals take on an extrasensory spiritual dimension given José's blindness. Even if extratextual, perhaps these are necessary inhuman guides for José's awakening and eventual new sight.

The curse appears more deserved when the reader sees José's racist complaints. He tells Mandolô, "todo negro é vagabundo … todo negro é feiticeiro … Ó … Negro na festa, pau na testa!" (242–43) which reads as even more racially prejudicial in the pastiche translation of de Onís, "every nigger is lazy … every nigger is a sorcerer … hey … a nigger at a party, a sock in the head!" (188–89).[16] The animals also recall nature and the forest path that took José close to João Mangolô's home, leading to José's outburst and cursing.

João eventually confronts Mangolô again. But in order to recover his sight, he must also participate in *feitiço*, acceding to its power. The illustration of his inscription in

[16] The problem of pastiche here is the translation of *negro* as nigger. While *negro* shares a measure of vitriol with this North American word, the Portuguese *negro* does not share its same history of contempt and appropriation.

bamboo is a reminder of his previously flippant attitude, thinking he could jokingly make use of a magical prayer and inscribe it upon nature without suffering any ill effect. The closing illustration references wisdom, power and antiquity — the circular illustration contains three profiles of bearded, crowned men, the central figure having also an arm and a shepherd's crook (see figs. 2.7–8). The shape of the undulating beard and profiled positioning recall the iconographic representations of ancient Mesopotamian kings. And like the biblical Nebuchadnezzar, sight and understanding came from without, from Daniel, whom the kind turned to only as a last resort.

A visual reference to Assyria, Babylonia, or Nebuchadnezzar himself, also includes a subtle reference to violence, though not exclusively. The surviving iconography of ancient Mesopotamia, is so often carvings of conquest. The representation of undulating beard itself, a symbol of masculinity and power, is inseparable from the violent forces that created, expanded and defended these early empires: "Warfare is a male domain in royal inscriptions and iconography. Violence and dominance feature as vital components of a Mesopotamian kings ideal masculinity" (Karlsson 228). This connection, vis–à–vis the conquests of millennia past, in conjunction with the image of the waxen figure, the idea of an animal trap, and other tools of violence and death is not substantial leap. An iconography of violence and death is found throughout *Sagarana*. And just as Guimarães Rosa's text alludes to the danger and violence of the backlands, so too do Poty's illustrations. For the reader of *Sagarana*, at any time since its first publication, a recognizable father text is found in Euclides da Cunha's (1866–1909) nonfiction novel *Os sertões* [*Rebellion in the Backlands*] (1902), detailing the Brazilian Army's campaign against the utopian community of Canudos. Any attempt to portray the plight and psychology of the *sertanejo* [person of the *sertão*], as Guimarães Rosa does in *Sagarana*, is necessarily done in the shadow of *Os sertões*. Da Cunha's telling follows a quasi-positivist sequential



Fig. 2.7 — Poty, "São Marcos," *Sagarana*, 266 (5 ed.)



Fig. 2.8 — Poty, "São Marcos," *Sagarana*, 242 (12 ed.)

structure of three primary sections: *A terra*, *O homen*, *A luta* [Land, Man, Fight]. Guimarães Rosa's text lives in the shadow of this sequence. When land and man appear, fight is a strong possibility. Poty's illustrations for *Sagarana* can easily be divided into the same categories. Though few of Poty's images depict specific moment of conflict, they reference an iconography of violent encounters. Furthermore, when they simply depict *homem* and *terra*, echoes of Euclides da Cunha conjure the imminent elliptical *luta*. The illustrations of "São Marcos" are all the more forbidding when considered with alongside other illustrations from *Sagarana*.

Some of the illustrations featuring *homem* and *terra* place the human figures at a distance, the vastness of the land communicating the humans' powerlessness in the face of the expanse. Such deserted areas already invoke death, but the tools of the trade — which protect the *vaqueiro* from the elements and the cattle alike — have additional, violent connotations. An illustration from the propitiously titled "Corpo fechado" ["Bulletproof"] shows these tools: the characterist hat of the *sertanejo* [*sertão* dweller], including outlaws; the rod; the horn (see fig. 2.9). Even the way these tools are organized is referential to a visual iconography of violence. The hats float in space, absent their heads. The rod and horn stand to the side. They are the elemental anecdotes of human activity; remains. A famous photograph from 1938, of unknown authorship, featured unavoidably similar remains (Clemente 4). The photograph is of the decapitated bandit Lampião and members of his posse (see fig. 2.10). Their heads sit in a cascading vertical organization on the steps of the city hall in Piranhas, a city on the border between the *sertão* and *agreste* ecosystems in the northeastern state of Alagoas. The bandits' hats sit in a similar formation, interspersed with and surrounding the decapitated heads. Their arms — rods and guns and ammo — stand vertically to the left and the right, one exception being a rifle that traverses the horizontal space below the bottommost step.



Fig. 2.9 — Poty, "São Marcos," *Sagarana*, 269 (12 ed.)



Fig. 2.10 — Photographer unknown, Lampião and posse beheaded (1938)

For Poty, composing an illustration such as the one in "Corpo fechado," in the time immediately before the printing of either the fifth or twelfth editions of *Sagarana*, makes a strong visual allusion to the spectacle of decapitated *sertão* outlaws. The conspicuous absence of heads beneath the hats in Poty's illustration stress an uncanny nonexistence, something akin to separation and death. Poty, however, is not making backland cowboys of *Sagarana* into folk-hero bandits. The tools of the *vaqueiro*, deadly as they may be, are more quotidian. The threats to the safety of *Sagarana*'s characters do not all come from law enforcement or bounty hunters. Instead they include environmental forces, such as the animals and the unforgiving terrain.

The conflict between nature and man is established in an illustration from *Sagarana*'s first short story, "O burrinho pedrês" (see figs. 2.11–12). In this illustration a mounted *vaqueiro* defends himself from a bull with a rod. His back is to the viewer, his professional identity discernible from his typical hat and the aforementioned rod. The rod, held in the *vaqueiro*'s right hand crosses the two-dimensional space of the image diagonally, from the lower right (or lower left, in the case of the twelfth edition) quadrant to the upper middle region. The rod crossed the perspective of the fore, where the *vaqueiro* is seated, to the middle ground, where its point either looms between the bull's eyes (fifth edition, fig. 2.11), or hovers just to the side of a darkly silhouetted, but nonetheless ominous, bull (twelfth edition, fig. 2.12).

Another illustration from *Sagarana*, this one from the short story "Duelo" ["Duel"], makes an ever stronger connection between the animals of the *sertão* setting and the threat of violence. The illustration shows a *vaqueiro*'s dagger, the handle itself carved in the shape of a bird (see figs. 2.13–14). Featured in other illustrations, the bird is a symbol of foresight and understanding, able to see things as they truly are. Here is is made in a tool of violence, or more precisely, the way in which man handles and



Figs. 2.11–12 — Poty, "O burrinho pedrês", *Sagarana*, left 41 (5 ed.), right 39 (12 ed.)



Figs. 2.13–14 — Poty, "Duelo", *Sagarana*, left 157 (5 ed.), right 149 (12 ed.)

wields a tool with violent capacity. The image of this dagger can evince acceptance of the precariousness of marginalized lives, *seeing* them for what they are, unavoidably dangerous.

Capitães da areia

Poty's illustrations for *Sagarana* display human epiphany. This epiphany is through the traumatic interruption of the text with images imbued with the power and danger posed by nature to the human body. To see and understand other lives beyond their own one must be confronted with, then see and understand, elements beyond the text. As noted above, the forces behind this trauma are intimately tied to the environment. For João Guimarães Rosa's *Sagarana*, the forces of this environment are the *sertão*, wild animals, domestic livestock, and magic. But these are not the only collection of forces in a traumatic environment that Poty illustrated in books of literatures. In the nineteenth edition of *Capitães da areia* [*Captains of the sands*] (1937; 19th ed. 1969), a novel by Jorge Amado (1912–2001), Poty uses similar visualizations to convey the dangers of that the urban environment of Salvador, Bahia pose to a group of homeless young men.

One striking illustration visually establishes the boys as different and separate from the city (see fig. 2.15). Despite being, in large part, of Afro-Brazilian heritage, the boys are depicted with the color of the page, the absence of ink, defying norms of racial representation. In this Poty follows in the footsteps of Santa Rosa's work from the 1930s. Most importantly, however, this image contrast the difference of the boys in comparison to the dark mass of the cityscape, a tone-inversed parallel to images of small, darkly inked cowboys in the page-colored expanse of the backlands in *Sagarana*. This contrast in size and color of the young men persists in a representation of their interactions with lovers and prostitutes (see fig. 2.16). Two nude women, one in a doorway and another leaning over a windowsill, appear almost as if above the page-colored silhouette of the suit-

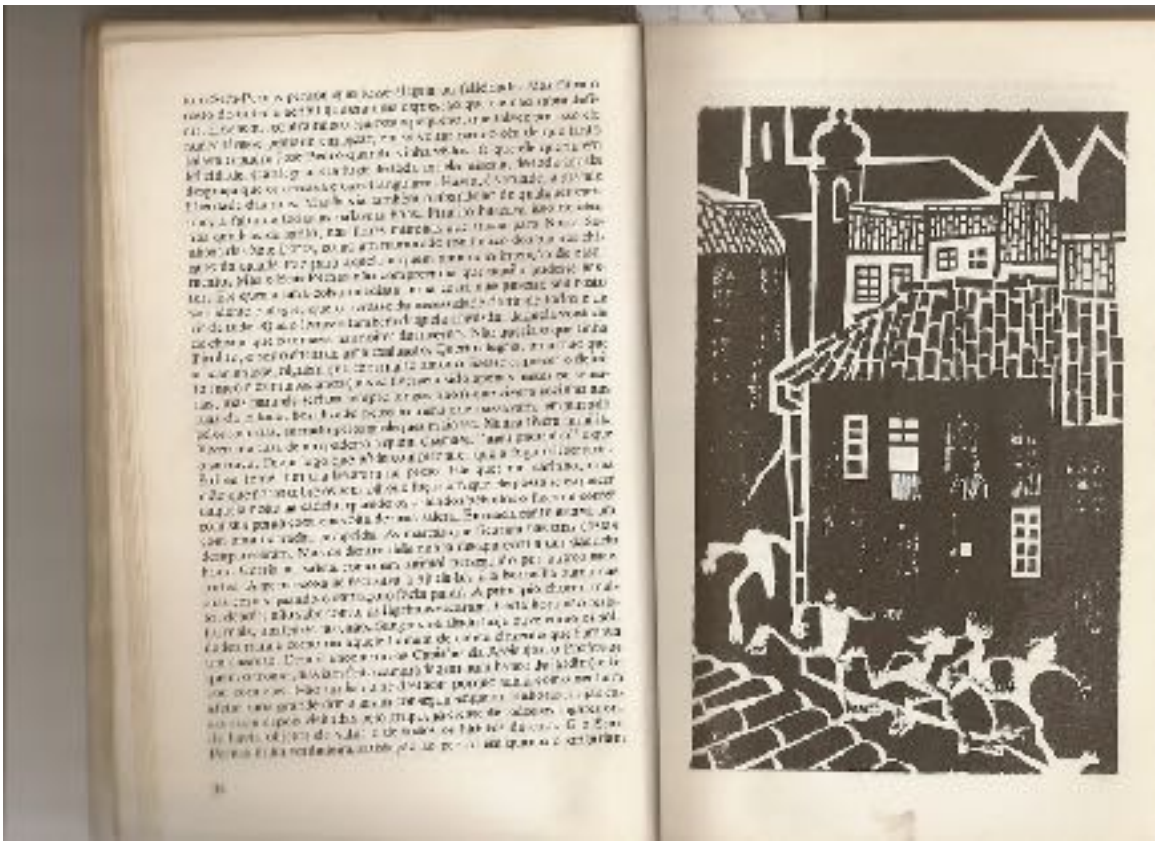


Fig. 2.15 — Poty, *Capitães da areia*, 35 (57 ed.)

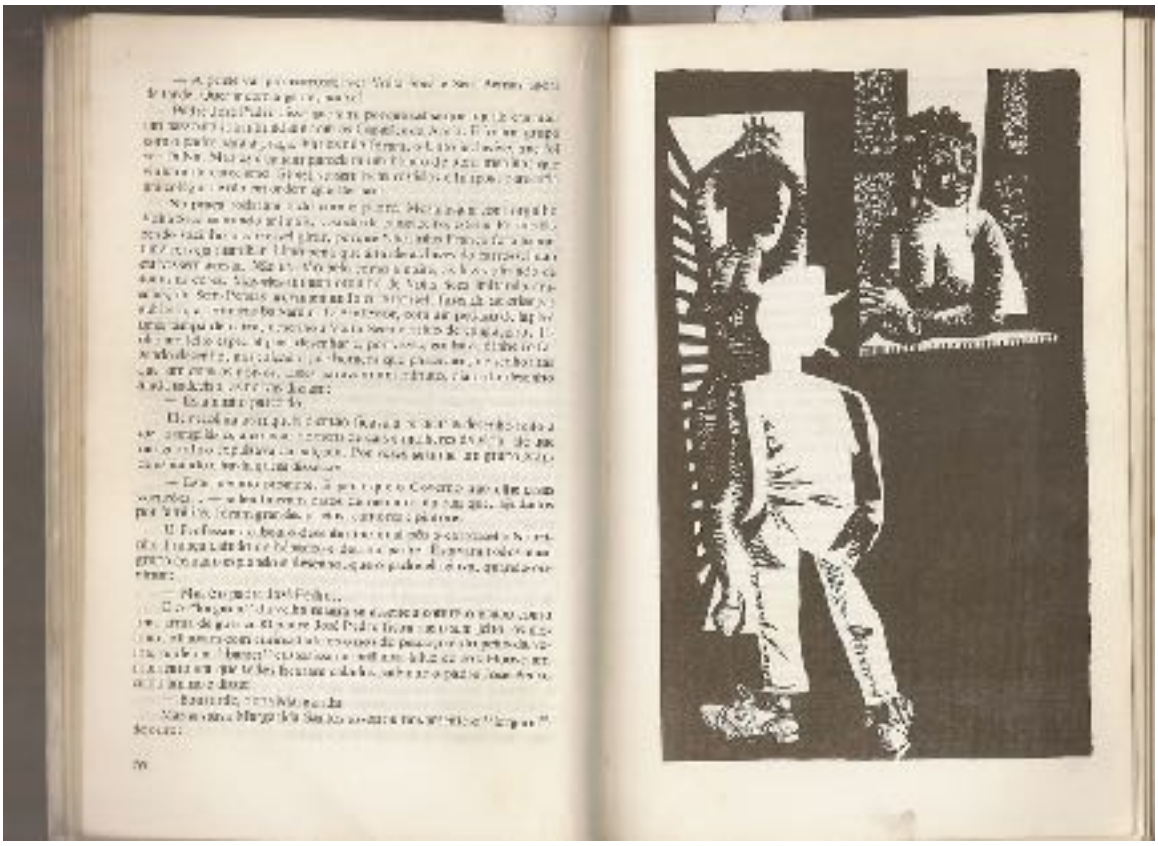


Fig. 2.16 — Poty, *Capitães da areia*, 71 (57 ed.)

wearing, smoking boy. The flattened perspective, in a way, hierarchizes the women over the boy despite their being in the background. This composition conjures up the general state of disadvantage of street children, who fall below Afro-Brazilian prostitutes within the implicit social caste structure of Salvador. The "captains'" inability to consent, and truly act, within the powers of this environment — that their precariousness extends to conceptions of sexual agency — is put into starker relief through the illustration.

Dangerous and violent imagery is also found in the Poty's illustrations for *Capitães da areia*. The unexceptional *varas* [rods] of *Sagarana*'s cowboys have their parallel in the pedestrian straight razors of *Capitães da areia*. One of Poty's illustrations for the latter shows a totem pole like grouping of boys, abstract yet in an unmistakably defensive configuration (see fig. 2.17). Two arms stretch out from the horizontal collection for heads, one in each direction, each arm coming from a separate "segment" of the pole, each holding a straight razor in its hand. Three of the four heads wear the hats like those of the *vaqueiros*, resonating with at least some of the associated iconography of violence.

The alterity of the "captains of the sands," communicated more strongly in the interartistic illustrated editions, is part of what made *Capitães da areia* a book of growing importance. As the representation of otherness grew in cultural, and subsequently political, importance, the Brazilian canon returned its attention to previously published works that were, perhaps, overlooked, even when appreciated by critics and readers.

***Desabrigo* [*No shelter*]**

Antônio Fraga's self-described quasi-novela *Desabrigo* [*No shelter*] (1945) possesses some of the same literary elements as *Sagarana*. Like *Capitães da areia*, however, *Desabrigo* sets them within urban confines, rather than the vast expanses of the *sertão*. In the case of *Desabrigo*, its plot unfolds within the Mangue, a neighborhood in Rio de Janeiro. The bleak threats to safety found in Guimarães Rosa's work are condensed and pressurized in

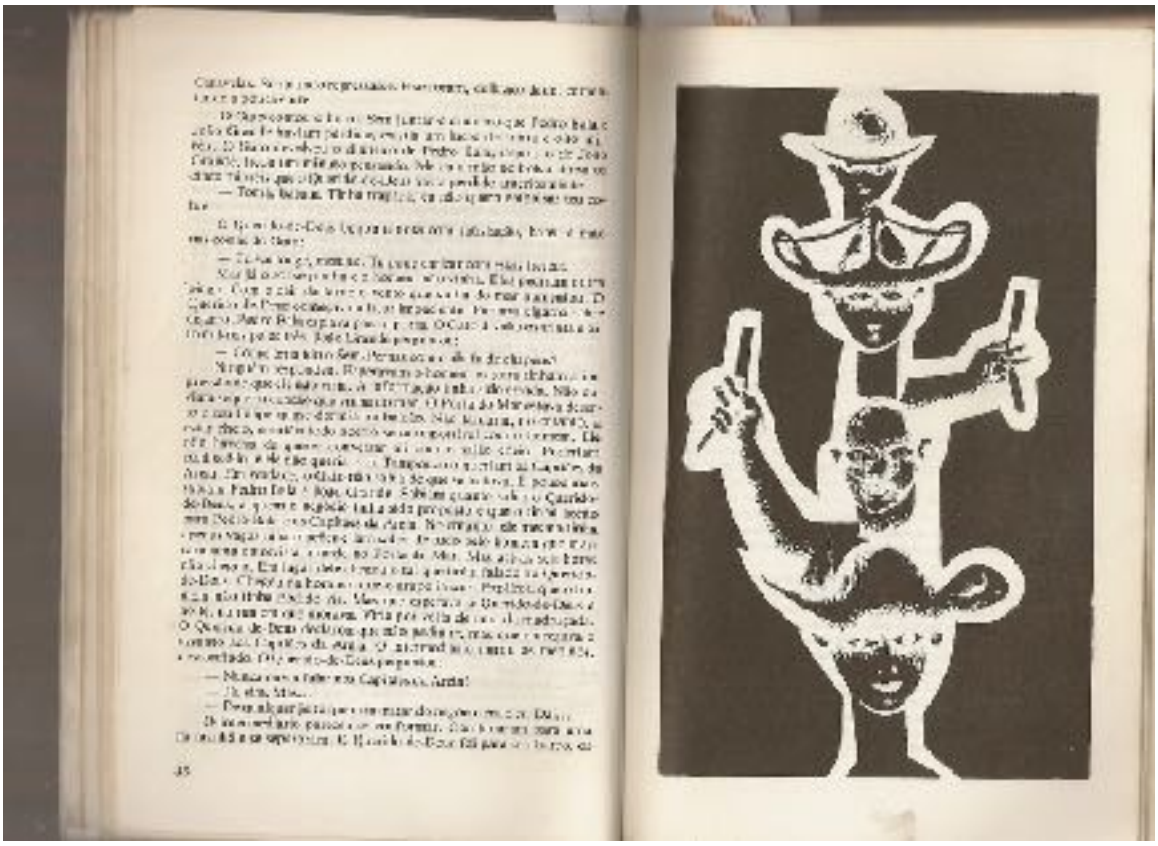


Fig. 2.17 — Poty, *Capitães da areia*, 49 (57 ed.)

Fraga's. Where sparse clues of unexpected danger ominously permeate Guimarães Rosa's descriptions the sertão, Fraga depicts a constant cacophony of risk; a sensory overload of traumatic, perilous delirium in the city's bars, brothels and streets. Fraga's text is a kind of tirade, lacking proper punctuation, grammar and spelling. It exalts the irreverent, slang-laden diction of Rio's most marginalized citizens. As another Brazilian writer phrased it, "Fraga […] flagra toda uma mentira de política literária tida como cultural e representativa do país" ["Fraga catches the entire lie of literary politics in the act, a lie that is held as cultural and representative of the country."].[17] Poty's illustrations for Desabrigo underscore this provocation, as well as the perpetual, violent unraveling of the book's characters. As a challenge to tradition in form and content, Fraga's text is, ultimately, a rumination on the nature literature and art. Fraga's text weaves together multiple, chapter-like "Ponto[s] de vista" ["Points of View"] with famous citations about art and writing in Portuguese, Spanish, Italian and French. Poty's illustrations reflect these metaliterary facets, the images themselves serving as visual "points of view."

Desabrigo was the first book published by a member of the *Grupo Malraux*, which included, among other writers and artists, a young Antonio Olinto (1919–2009).[18] After the *Grupo Malraux* had its first poetry exposition in 1945, a decision was made to pool various members' meager resources toward publishing *Desabrigo*. Fraga's text was, and is, representative of the group's spirit. Olinto called it the "livro de uma geração" ["book of a generation"] (*Academia Brasileira de Letras*). This bare-bones first edition did not feature illustrations. It was the first and only publication of Editora Macunaíma. Unable to secure distribution in bookstores, Antônio Fraga took it upon himself to sell copies of *Desabrigo* in Cinelândia, the Rio de Janeiro *praça* facing the National Library and Municipal

[17] João Antônio, *Suplemento da Tribuna* (1978); cited in Fraga 83–84 (1990).

[18] Of the group, Olinto had the greatest success. His poetry, novels and essays earned him a seat as the 8th chair of the Brazilian Academy of Letters from 1997 until his death.

Theater. In spite of these challenges, *Desabrigo* ended up in the hands of some of the most prominent artists and thinkers of the post-war era. In 1949 the art critic Mário Pedrosa wrote in a letter to the poet Maurilo Mendes, "Fraga é o mais moderno de nossos escritores e é também um clássico como Lima Barreto ou Machado de Assis" ["Fraga is the most modern of our writers, and he is also as classic as Lima Barreto or Machado de Assis"] (Fraga 1990 86).

A second edition was printed in 1978, a nod to both the importance and the unavailability of *Desabrigo*. This was, however, a relatively limited run, and copies are rare today. The book became widely available in its third edition printed by Rio de Janeiro's Municipal Office of Culture, Tourism and Sports. This edition was finished with a visual confirmation of *Desabrigo*'s status as modernist and classic: it featured 18 illustrations by Poty. A second run of this edition, complete with Poty's illustrations, remains the most widely available version of the work. It is currently publicly available as PDF from Rio de Janeiro's municipal website. A posthumous collection named *Desabrigo e outros trecos* [*No shelter and other whatever-they-ares*] also featured Poty's illustrations for *Desabrigo*, further expanding the reach of the interartistic version of the book, and cementing it as the definitive form (1999).

The Fraga-Poty version of *Desabrigo* opens with an illustration, appearing directly after Fraga's dedication "Para mim mesmo, com muita estima" ["To myself, with highest esteem"] (13). Page 14 is blank. Page 15 shows only an ink-drawing print of a bar scene (see fig. 2.18). Thin dawn lines outline the structure of the bar. The flawed variation in the straightness of these lines contributes to the illustration's air of fragility and imperfection.

For a book whose title means "no shelter" or "no asylum," this is the closest thing to a moment of refuge, though it is far from the rosy or hearty depictions of alcohol in many advertisements from the 1940s through the 1990s. The facing, blank page is met

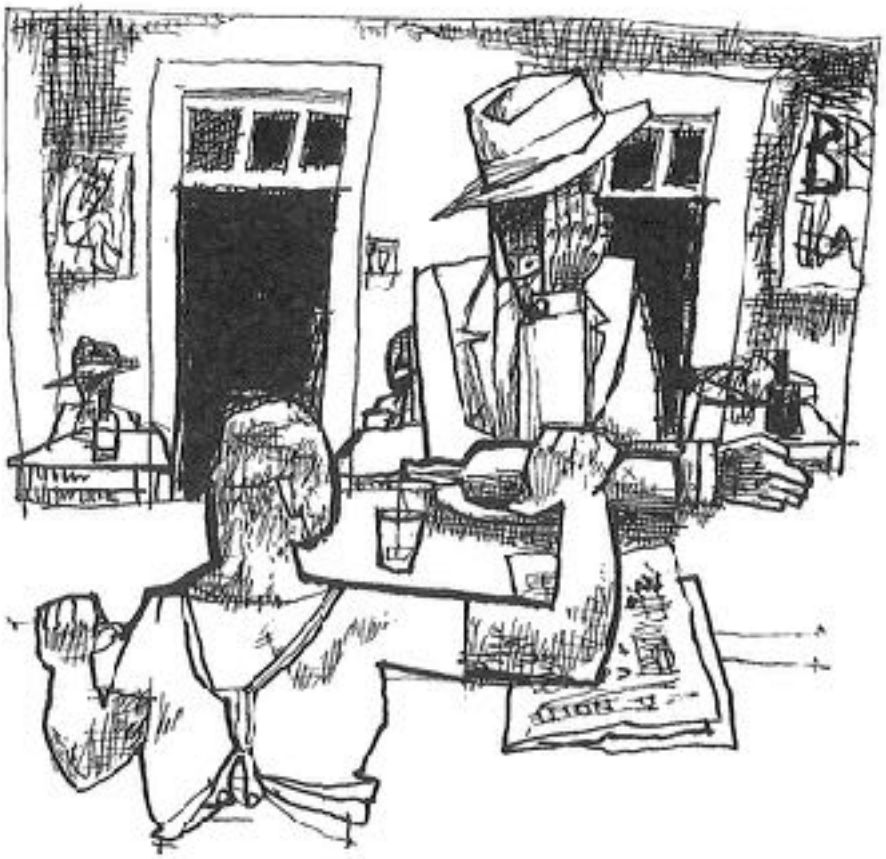


Fig. 2.18 — Poty, *Desabrigo*, 15 (1990)

with the blank, darkened face of the central figure in the illustration, displaying tired exasperation as much as any semblance of refuge.

This sentiment of a faux-calm before the storm is intensified by a cursory flip-through of the entire book, revealing a number of violent images. Other illustrations featuring any semblance of reprieve are more scenes of dejection. The structure of the book also reinforces its pugnacious character. Its three sections are "Primeiro Round," "Segundo tempo" and "Terceiro ato" ["First Round," "Second Period" and "Third Act"], nodding to the opening round of boxing, the second half of an association football game, and the third act of a play.

The first chapter of the "Primeiro Round" is entitled "Banzé," defined by *Desabrigo*'s own glossary as a "bagunça, desordem, barulho" ["mess, disorder, racket"] (74). "Banzé" details a character named Cobra's entrance into the bar, ostensibly the scene depicted in the preceding illustration. Whatever relative peace is depicted in that image is now framed as "mess, disorder, racket." Turning the page reveals the next chapter, entitled "Sururu no Mangue" ["*Sururu* in the Mangue"], *sururu* meaning "briga, desordem" ["fight, disorder"] (80). The first illustration to appear within the "Primeiro Round" also comes into view on the facing page (see fig. 2.19). The image opens the fight, as it were, with a gruesome vista that is literally cutthroat, murderous.

In the left foreground of the illustration the profile outline of a man in a suit with his right arm raised. The line from his feet to his raised hand arches convexly around the figures of people to the right. The curvature draws attention to the raised, darkened hand at the apex of the image, which is holding a barber's straight razor with its blade exposed, facing up. Two other areas of the man are darkened. His face, beneath a hat, and his left hand stretched out behind him and toward the background of the image. This positioning — the rounded line from feet to hand, the head hung forward, one arm balancing in the



Fig. 2.19 — Poty, *Desabrigo*, 19 (1990)

back — depicts evens in motion. The action, as indicated by dark lines of blood emanating from the near the center of the image, is the cutting of another suited man. The other man's face is darkened, obscured by rays of ink-black blood emanating in every direction. Longer flares of blood stretch toward the straight razor and perpendicularly in a line opposite the attackers balancing arm. The victim's arms are outstretched horizontally, and his right leg is kicked up rigidly in a line parallel to his left arm. Three onlookers stand removed in the background, paradoxically portrayed with greater facial detail but less importance to the action. They are not identified in the text. Behind them, two silhouettes behind slatted windows are also spying on the gruesome scene.

The angles and intersections of this drawing's lines give it a cross-like organization, a marrying of the traditionally holy — yet similarly gruesome — crucifixion of Jesus and a profane act of violence with an everyday tool. From the textual details of "Sururu no Mangue" the reader gathers that the titular character named Desabrigo has taken offense to provocation of Cobra, the character introduced in "Banzé". Without further explanation or deliberation, Desabrigo slashes Cobra with his *sueco*, a Swiss-made straight razor.

The fact that this *sururu* [fight] takes place in the Mangue, Rio's historic red-light district, is noteworthy. The iconographic lexicon for the Mangue from the first half of the twentieth century includes artworks by Emiliano Di Cavalcanti (1897–1976), Oswaldo Goeldi (1895–1961) and Lasar Segall (1891–1957). These paintings and prints typically turned their attention to prostitutes and their trade. Thanks in part to these women the Mangue became a locale of physical and cultural miscegenation. Di Cavalcanti, Goeldi and Segall all aestheticized this act, celebrating it in their modernist, figurative paintings and prints (see figs. 2.20–22). Antônio Fraga, in his situating such a barbaric moment in the Mangue, is not symbolically dashing miscegenation and cultural exchange. He is



Fig. 2.20 — Emiliano Di Cavalcanti, "Mangue," watercolor, 1929



Fig. 2.21 — Oswaldo Goeldi, "Prostitutes and men in the Mange," woodcut



Fig. 2.22 — Lasar Segall, "A couple in the Mangue," woodcut, 1943

abruptly portraying an additional layer of the lives of some of Rio de Janeiro's marginalized peoples: real, physical danger. This danger is not limited to straight razors, weapons, or even violence. Hunger and lack of access to resources are also expressed in Desabrigo's ferocity. Poty's illustrations are a reminder of extreme reactions induced by desperation. In his rendition of the straight razor fight, the reader sees the posturing of a man who, perhaps, has little of worth except what he can posture as such. His battle cry is a statement of being. Before striking Cobra, Desabrigo "gritou que era macho" ["yelled that we was a man"] (18). Poty's image calls attention to that explosive moment.

In the next chapter, "Gente de família" ["Family people"], the newly introduced Durvalina overhears Desabrigo recount the advantages and disadvantages of chasing women years before, as told to him by an old man of the "tempo dos bondes de burro" ["time of ass-drawn streetcars"] (20). This scene that is free of physical violence between its interlocutors, but full of the threat of sexual coercion. The old man had spent an entire evening chatting up a woman who was "gente de família," after a long pause Desabrigo turns to a group of young men up on a terrace, telling them that he is an expert, that "mulher com ele tinha é que meter os peitos senão mandava andar" ["with him women had to put out or get out"] (21). Durvalina, listening from her *barraco* [shack], reacts with an expression of "seu dia chegará" ["your day will come"], making this sometimes hopeful phrase — a phrase that will be repeated in different situations throughout the story — into something of a menacing inevitability.

"Gente de família" also features an illustration. A suited, hatted man, presumably Desabrigo, ascends the steps of one of Rio's *morro* [hill] neighborhoods (see fig. 2.23). He is mid-step, in the lower foreground of the image. Like in earlier images, the man's face is obscured. His back is to the viewer. His hat is cocked back so its brim obscures even his neck. His hands are in his front suit pockets, out of view. He may as well be an animated



Fig. 2.23 — Poty, *Desabrigo*, 21 (1990)

conglomeration of shoes, suit and hat; an everyman and a ghost, walking into a type of neighborhood that often does not officially exist, outside the valid city. As Bruno Carvalho surmises of Rio de Janeiro's hill neighborhoods in the decades leading up to the 1940s, "The hills scattered throughout the city […] were increasingly populated in often precarious conditions. Along with many of the city's poorest, they also inherited the role reserved to tenements in the nineteenth century" (114). This is where Desabrigo, literally "without shelter," retreats for rest; to a place of no real shelter. The relative calm depicted in the man's climb contrasts with the rapid delirium of the remainder of the book.

The next chapter is "— Ponto de vista" ["— Point of View"], the first of many. Like the others, it is an aside, a citation of another work, either fictional or real, that attests to the aesthetic aims of *Desabrigo*. This first one, from a "little article […] by the modest writer campos de carvalho," [sic] concerns the nature and value of a truly Brazilian language:

> *Entendem eles que para no emanciparmos do jugo português devemos, o quanto antes, emanciparmos da língua lusitana a nossa língua, e o melhor meio de o fazer será abrigarmos no idioma novo toda forma de linguagem chula, de calão, de barbarismos e de sujeira em que, desgraçadamente, sempre foi fértil o linguajar do povo. Em vez dos clássicos, dos puristas, dos Camões e caterva dos séculos passados, falem e pontifiquem os malandros, os analfabetos, os idiotas, as prostitutas e a ralé mais baixa.*
>
> Understand that to emancipate ourselves from Portuguese power we should, as soon as possible, emancipate our language from the Lusitanian language. And the best way to do it is to, within our new language, give shelter to all the obscene, the rude, the barbarisms, and the filth that has, disgracefully, always been fertile ground for diction of the masses. Instead of the classics, the purists, Camões, and the jerks of centuries past, let speak and let proclaim the malcontents, the illiterate, the idiots, the prostitutes, and the lowest plebs.

Poty's illustrations, too, take on this role of a metaliterary 'point of view'. And they similarly serve to celebrate — to give shelter — embracing the lowest of the low as part of

a new Brazilian aesthetic. The second illustration to appear after this "Ponto de vista" follows suit.

On page 27, opposite the close of "II — Ponto ve vista" and the opening of "III — Ponto de vista," an illustration depicts a man slumped over his knees, his pants around his ankles, and a vague sense of despondency on the few details of his face discernible through the thick, dark, messy ink lines that define *and* obscure it (fig. 2.24). He is on a toilet. The flush tank is mounted above him, its release hanging just above his head, to the right. Bathroom graffiti is visible on the wall behind him, including words from the "versos célebres" written in "II — Ponto de vista": "Neste lugar solitário / onde a vaidade se acaba / todo covarde faz força / todo valente se caga" ["In this solitary place / where vanity doesn't sit / every coward tries his best / every hero takes a shit"] (26). Again, the idea of "rest" in this *rest*room is laughable. And the fiercely egalitarian sentiment of this section of the text — that humans are the same when it comes to the need to eat and the humbling requirement to discharge what was eaten — is reified in Poty's drawing.

The "Segundo tempo" ["Second Period"] of *Desabrigo* is, as the title implies, a continuation. It even begins with ellipses "…" (35). The tone turns to exhaustion, and delirium, as the 'game' continues. Metaliterary points of view continue to appear through the illustrations, though no "Ponto de vista" chapter appears in this section. Like the "Primeiro Round," the "Segundo tempo" takes place in a café-bar and in the streets, with the additional setting of a brothel. The caffeine, alcohol and sex combine to create a hallucinatory experience, represented by the photographic streaking of "motion lines" in the illustration on page 45 (see fig. 2.25). This type of abstraction is found in comics — a "low" art form — more so than in modernist depictions of velocity. The so-called motion lines or "zip ribbons" did not appear until the advent of cinema and blurring of velocity within film frames (McCloud 112–13). Thus, this book incorporates not only the art



Fig. 2.24 — Poty, *Desabrigo*, 27 (1990)

image, but the popular image (comic) and the moving image (cinema), emphasizing the new mass Brazilian aesthetic they collectively represent.

The delirium combines with the self-referential quality of metaliterary elements in the chapter "Uma mão" ["One Hand"]. A samba that cobra has been composing, with self-cannibalism (*autofagia*) as a theme, culminates in a nightmarish scene. The illustration on page 45 (see fig. 2.25) sits on the page facing the beginning of "Uma mão," recalling a restless, blurred, dash toward the grisly description, and the illustration on page 47 (see fig. 2.26). In the image, a wide eyed face, topped with a hat, floating in the background, stares toward the viewer and a floating hand in the fore. The hand, in absolute size is larger than the head and hat. The back of the hand faces the viewer, the thumb stretch out toward the right edge of the page. Dark, thick lines line the space between the middle finger and the pinky. Where the ring finger should be there is only a tangle of dark lines, blood and flesh. The lines traverse the separation between fore and background, leading to the mouth of the head with the look of shock on its face. It is the theme of Cobra's samba, visualized. The illustration presents a self-eating man who will now have greater difficulty composing or playing a samba.

This sense of crazed hallucination extends beyond Cobra, to Desabrigo, and the character Evêmero (whose name in Portuguese bears a conspicuous resemblance to "Ephemeral"). The image, appearing just before the final chapter of "Segundo tempo," shows a dejected man, sitting on the ground with legs outstretched, hat fallen from his head, reaching toward a lamppost that is speaking to him (see fig. 2.27). Like before, Poty uses a feature of mass culture, in this case the comic-book speech bubble, to confront the reader with additional visual cues of non-prestige culture. Although scrawled in letters that match the overall style of the image, making them less legible than a classic speech bubble, the lamppost is shown saying, in English, "Yourself, you son of a bitch."



Fig 2.25 — Poty, *Desabrigo*, 45 (1990)

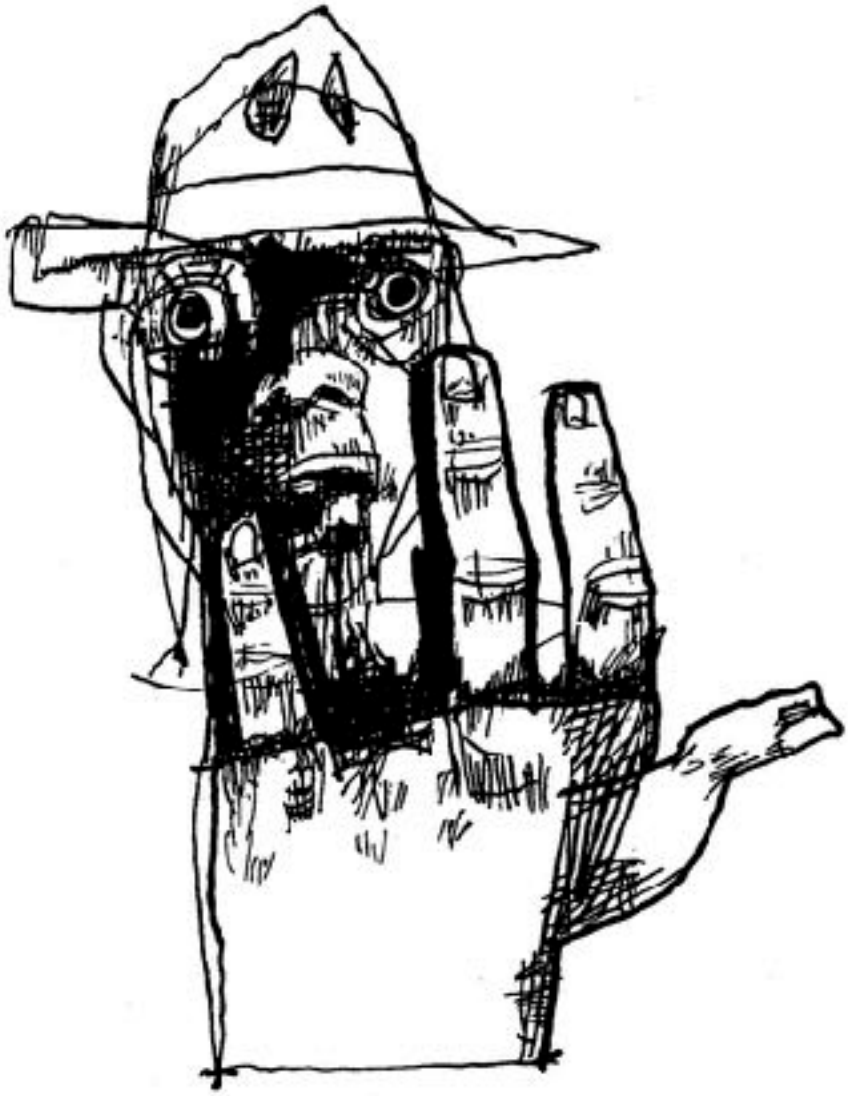


Fig 2.26 — Poty, *Desabrigo*, 47 (1990)

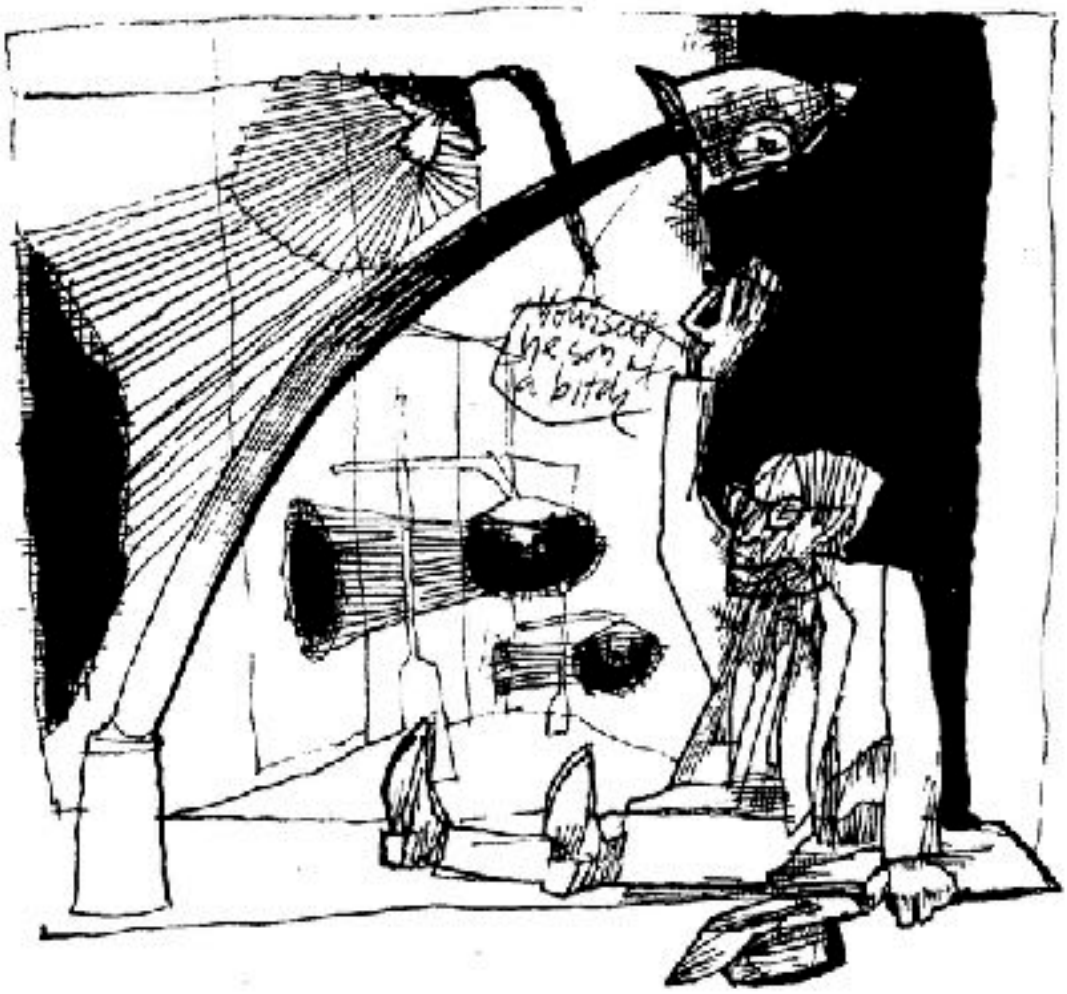


Fig 2.27 — Poty, *Desabrigo*, 49 (1990)

The chapter that follows, "O poste" ["The Post"], describes the scene depicted in the illustration in greater detail. After leaving the character Miquimba, Evêmero finds himself debating the nature of literature and art with, what appears to him to be, a lamppost. Evêmero reveals that he is going to write a book all in slang, much like *Desabrigo* in fact, but the post was "the only one in the world" that did not like that sort of thing (51). Evêmero tells the post, "vá a merda" [more or less, "go to hell"], only to be rebuffed, "Yourself, you son of a bitch." When Evêmero suggests to a passing policeman that the ill-behaved post receive a beating, the policeman calls Evêmero a fool, "não tá vendo que ele é estrangeiro?" ["can't you see he's a foreigner?"] (51).

This progression of images features an important detail. In general, the central figure's face becomes more and more detailed as the book progresses. The fallen Evêmero illustration on page 49 is shown with uncharacteristic detail, as he is not even wearing his hat, which has fallen to his side (see fig. 2.27). The viewer-reader can see his glasses, hair, the size of his nose, and the expression on his face. As the book moves through the "Terceiro ato" ["Third act"] this trend continues. The text, in some ways, grows harder to follow. Characters are subsumed within other characters, along with the narrator/writer. All the while additional "Ponto[s] de vista" appear with citations in Spanish, French and Italian, all on the nature of truly new, truly popular — and implicitly, truly Brazilian — art.

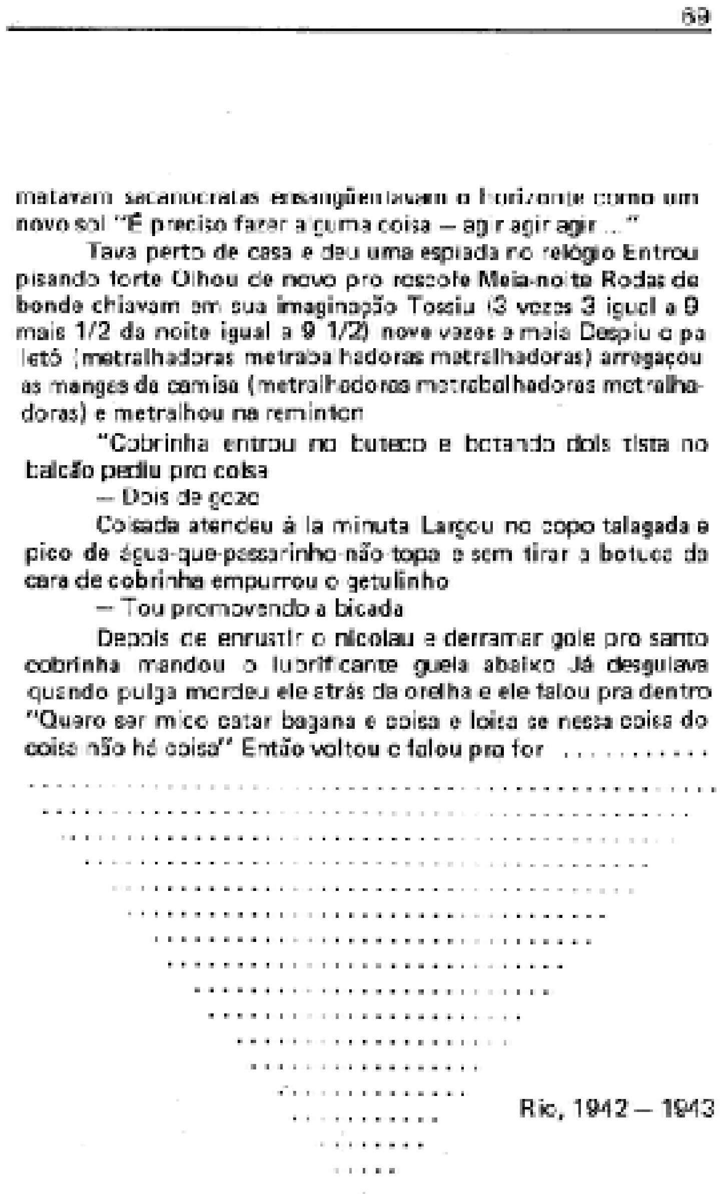
The final illustration of *Segredo*, while dark, contains an even greater number of lines depicting facial detail than did the lamppost scene. And it should be detailed. As suggested by the numbers boxed in its lower margin, it is a mug shot (see fig. 2.28). It is also one of only two images to appear in-line with the text, not on its own page. A sense of surprise is conveyed by the face's open mouth, combined with the ominous dark engulfing the man's head. This image is found just before the book's final page of text,



Fig 2.28 — Poty, *Desabrigo*, 68 (1990)

which has its own graphic organization without the use of an illustration. In the end, the text consumes itself, descending into a black-hole cycle of repetition, repeating the opening lines from "Banzé" just before a concretist arrangement of periods forms a triangular downward spiral (see fig. 2.29).

Álvaro Lins points to text of *Sagarana* as transcending regionalism by avoiding the movement's simplistic and formulaic "photographic reproduction" of northeastern and rural Brazil. Critics have recently noted the problem of replacing Poty's illustrations from a number of books with photographs. It appears as though these critics simply do not like the photographs, but a more elemental problem is in the quality of Poty's illustration in reinforcing an abstracted figuration (not a photographic one) — losing Poty's illustrations and replacing them with photographs serves to undermine one of the long established strengths of Guimarães Rosa's and Antônio Fraga's prose, its *unphotographicness*. And what makes Guimarães Rosa excel in this textual figuration is found in some measure in the work of Fraga, and arguably Amado. Poty's illustrations compound this textual *unphotographicness*, this *un*simplicity, or better, this stylistic abstraction and reflection on the human form and experience that nevertheless preserves a strong verbal and visual link to everyday lived experience. And in the case of these literary works, this lived experience in a traumatic, threatening one; one without respite, without shelter. By reproducing diverse national settings with this similar visual acumen, Poty's illustrations highlight the perils of a universal local: wherever humans dwell. Furthermore, Poty's literary prints are visual markers of a new Brazilian canon not divided between regionalism and urbanism, but focused on human precariousness across the many environments of the Brazilian experience.



69

matavam sacanocratas ensangüentavam o horizonte como um novo sol "É preciso fazer alguma coisa — agir agir agir ..."

Tava perto de casa e deu uma espiada no relógio Entrou pisando forte Olhou de novo pro roscofe Meia-noite Rodas de bonde chiavam em sua imaginação Tossiu (3 vezes 3 igual a 9 mais 1/2 da noite igual a 9 1/2) nove vezes e meia Despiu o paletó (metralhadoras metrabalhadoras metralhadoras) arregaçou as manges da camisa (metralhadoras metrabalhadoras metralhadoras) e metralhou na remintor

"Cobrinha entrou no buteco e botando dois tista no balcão pediu pro coisa

— Dois de gozo

Coisada atendeu à la minuta Largou no copo talagada e pico de água-que-passarinho-não-topa e sem tirar a botuca da cara de cobrinha empurrou o getulinho

— Tou promovendo a bicada

Depois de enrustir o nicolau e derramar gole pro santo cobrinha mandou o lubrificante guela abaixo Já desgulava quando pulga mordeu ele atrás da orelha e ele falou pra dentro "Quero ser mico catar bagana e coisa e loisa se nessa coisa do coisa não há coisa" Então voltou e falou pra for ....

Rio, 1942 — 1943

Fig 2.29 — Fraga, *Desabrigo*, 69 (1990)

Chapter Three

Carybé

Hector Júlio Paride Bernabó (1911–1997), known as Carybé, is intimately linked to the representation of Brazilian, and especially Bahian, identity. His paintings and drawings became so associated with the image of Bahia, and the state's predominantly Afro-Brazilian population, that the Bahian artist Mirabeau Sampaio (1911–1993) once remarked, "Na Bahia, não existia um negro, era uma coisa que ninguém tinha visto aqui, até a chegada de Carybé" ["In Bahia there wasn't a single black, no one had seen one, until Carybé arrived"] (Silva 149). Carybé's widow repeated a version of it in a 2011 interview as if it were self-evidently true and self-explanatory ("Deuses e Sonhos de Carybé"). It appears that for some like Sampaio, "seeing" Carybé's artwork was connected to "seeing" Afro-Bahians, as if for the first time.

This failure to see Afro-Brazilian peoples and cultures can be understood as a broad inability to read and recognize the validity of individualized expressions of those cultures, as opposed to a more dismissible racial and cultural monolith, on the part of the

European-Brazilian elite. As Irene Tucker describes the problem in *The Moment of Racial Sight* (2013)

> …the racism of race can also be seen to lie in race's function as a mechanism by which raced subjects are deprived of the recognition of salient qualities of individuality and instead are understood to be "just like" those exhibiting the same racial marks: once likeness becomes something that one must see empirically in order to believe, it of necessity becomes delimited, a register of difference as well. (13)

"Seeing" marginalized peoples was a lifelong endeavor for Carybé, intertwining his life, politics and art. He was born to an Italian father and a European-Brazilian mother in the exurbs of greater Buenos Aires, then raised in Italy and Rio de Janeiro. By early adulthood he was back in Buenos Aires, where he started his artistic career. It was while living there that his fondness for Afro-Brazilian representation started, after having been sent by the newspaper *Pregón* to illustrate destinations on a worldwide journey in 1938. Shortly after this trip began *Pregón* failed as a newspaper, stranding Carybé in Bahia without funds. Spending time in and around the state's capital city of Salvador, working to afford return passage to Buenos Aires, is what made him certain that "his place, as a painter, was in Bahia" (Furrer 25). After several more trips to Bahia, Carybé settled there permanently in 1950, adopting a conspicuously Afro-Brazilian set of a cultural practices. Most notable among these was his participation in the religion Candomblé, which continued for the remainder of his life.

In a newspaper piece commemorating Carybé's official naturalization in 1957, writer Rubem Braga (1913–1990) declared him "o mais baiano que tem" ["the most Bahian there is"] (4). Bahian being one of the many euphemisms for an Afro-Brazilian,

Braga's words carry a reference to Carybé's being the most Afro- of Afro-Brazilians.[1] In the opening of the same piece Braga describes how Carybé's actions made him a true Brazilian years before official naturalization:

> *Nasceu um brasileiro. Não é brasileiro novinho, zero quilômetros; já tem, na verdade, perto de 50 anos de uso, mas em excelente estado de funcionamento.*
>
> *Hector Bernabó, mais conhecido pelo pseudonimo artístico de Carybé, natural da Província de Buenos Aires, filho de pai italiano e mãe brasileira, desenhista de sua profissão, morador na Bahia de Todos os Santos, acaba de se naturalizar brasileiro.*
>
> *Tendo passado a primeira infância na Itália e a adolescencia no Rio, Carybé se fez homem e viveu anos e anos na Argentina, mas já era brasileiro muito antes do ministro da Justiça concordar com isso. Sua grande fascinação é a Bahia… Está visto que ele se naturalizou brasileiro simplesmente porque não existe, formalmente, uma nacionalidade baiana.*
>
> A Brazilian is born. This Brazilian is not brand new, not the latest model. In fact, he has seen over 50 years of use. He is, however, in excellent condition.
>
> Hector Bernabó is more commonly known by the artistic pseudonym Carybé. He was born in the province of Buenos Aires to an Italian father and a Brazilian mother. An artist by profession and a resident of the *Bahia de Todos os Santos* (Bay of All Saints), he was just naturalized as a citizen of Brazil.
>
> Having spent his infancy in Italy and his adolescence in Rio, Carybé grew into adulthood living for years and years in Argentina. Even so, he was a Brazilian long before the Minister of Justice recognized this fact. Carybé is absolutely fascinated by Bahia… We recognize that he was only naturalized as a Brazilian because, simply, there exists no formal Bahian nationality.

While Carybé's donning markers of a regional, unavoidably Afro-centric, identity hint at a performance of "[race] not as expression of what one is, but [race] as something that one does" — to use Moya Lloyds conception of performativity and politics — they nonetheless represent the artist's own recognition of the legitimacy of cultural practices associated with Afro-Brazilian peoples, which as such, were typically less culturally

[1] See a list of euphemisms for Afro-Brazilians in Gates, 223.

visible, less "seen," to the more privileged European-Brazilian elite (196). By virtue of Carybé's own legibility as a European American his "salient qualities of individuality," from his political-artistic life practice to his perspective and subjects in his artwork, were more recognizable by the elite. In a confirmation of this point, and Mirabeau Sampaio's aforementioned pronouncement, Braga remembered that while observing the people and places of Bahia he began to see them as inspired by the art of Carybé, rather than the other way around (Silva 146).

Carybé's artistic forming of a newly legible Afro-Brazilian visual identity is parallel to the shaping of the aesthetic identities of marginalized peoples by Carybé's writerly contemporaries. Jorge Amado, discussed in greater detail below, was similarly associated with the representation of Afro-Bahian peoples. Fittingly, Carybé illustrated several of Amado's books. And like Carybé, Amado enjoyed the prestige of European Brazilian identity and recognizability while portraying and making intelligible more marginalized peoples. Both Carybé and Amado would be mistaken for Afro-Brazilians at certain points in their careers; even Carybé suspected Amado to be Afro-Brazilian before meeting him. However, that does not eliminate the roll their status as European-Brazilians had in their works' early success and circulation, despite what some may have thought of their identities later in their careers. In fact, that their identities could be read erroneously as Afro-Brazilian partially proves their success in making Afro-Bahian and other marginalized identities more visible and valid. Lima Barreto and other Afro-Brazilian authors would only be widely canonized after their deaths, after the works of Carybé and Amado had come to embody, for segments of the population, Afro-Brazilian representation par excellence. Given Carybé's and Amado's unavoidably privileged perspective, as well as their artistic success, it is no that many Afro-Brazilian authors who

would reach subsequent canonization perpetuated in their writings the perspective of dominators over the oppressed. As Márcio Barbosa argues

> Eis, portanto, a especificidade da literatura negra no Brasil: é uma arte feita a partir de uma perspectiva do dominado, do oprimido. Mesmo os negros que entraram para a história da literatura branca não escaparam dessa condição, já que nunca deixaram de ser fisicamente negros, e, portanto, sujeitos a todas as condições que se impõe [*sic*] aos oprimidos em geral.
>
> [That's the specificity of black literature in Brazil: an art made from the perspective of the dominated, (of) the oppressed. Not even the negroes that entered the history of white literature did escape that condition, since they never ceased to be physically black, and, thus, have been subject to all the conditions imposed upon the oppressed in general.][2]

While Carybé transformed himself and the way others saw Bahia, Bahians, and Afro-Brazilians through his paintings, and other visual artwork, Carybé's book illustrations did much to change the way marginalized peoples were seen and interpreted in literature. This is, of course, in interartistic conjunction with the textual representation marginal characters. From his early book illustration work in Argentina through his last collaborations in the 1990s, Carybé's literary illustrations permit an examination of the role of images in seeing, comprehending and appreciating figures and practices that would otherwise be received differently by privileged readers.

Carybé even became a touchstone of the Brazilian image in the international book market. He illustrated books for foreign audiences such as the 1968 nonfiction work *Brazil: the land and people* (Poppino), for which he shaped the way readers received the visual signs of the book's titular elements, and Judith Gleason's *Agotime: her legend* (1970), an English language novel whose plot hinges on the relationship of Africa and Brazil.

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[2] "Questões" 50 (1985). Translation by Heloísa Toller Gomes. Cited in Gomes "Afro Brazilian Literature: Spaces Conquered, Spaces In-Between" 156 (2007).

Gleason's novel is peculiar for being a North American novel that was illustrated in a time when it very unfashionable, and supposedly unprofitable, for new fiction to do so. It remains clear, however, that Carybé's bold, black and white, arguably primitivist illustrations lent the work a spirit of Brazilian and African authenticity. This is similar to the way the woodcuts for *The Bridge of San Luis Rey* (Wilder 1927) — the last novel to win the Pulitzer Prize whose first edition was illustrated — imparted the simplicity and antiquity that lent the work a certain air of eighteenth century Peruvian authenticity.

Like the other illustrators discussed in this dissertation, Carybé illustrations make subtle textual themes more salient, and like those other artists, Carybé's illustration are distinguished by their subjects and the ways they are depicted. Among the dozens of books Carybé illustrated, some of the least discussed and most representative of Carybé's varying methods are his drawings for *O sumiço da santa*, a 1988 novel by Jorge Amado. An analysis of the function of Carybé's images in Jorge Amado's text is an ideal place from which explore the Carybé's illustration work as a whole, as well as the particular ways Carybé illustrations function within a text. Furthermore Jorge Amado's writing is as close to a textual parallel to the "voice" of Carybé's images as can be found, for many of the reasons explained above, and for others that will be explored below. The remainder of this chapter examines *O sumiço sa santa* through brief introduction of the work, a description of the style of its illustrations, the relationship of this style to earlier illustration work for the novels *La Carreta* (*La Carreta* 1942) and *Macunaíma* (illus. 1940s), and closing with an inspection of key illustrations from *O sumiço da santa* and their relationship to the novel's text.

Carybé and Amado were near the end of their careers when they collaborated on the first edition of *Sumiço da santa*. Its publication in 1988 came at a time of national uncertainty, when culture and identity were at least as malleable in the minds of

Brazilians as was the future shape of democratic governance following the end of military dictatorship. In the early 1990s Nelson Vieira located this battle to define culture at the community and national levels within debates about "high" and "low" culture. He wrote that "institutionalization of the high is increasingly being challenged by incursions of the low, in the latter's struggle for recognition, especially in view of Brazil's more recent climate of political democratization since 1985" (Vieira 109). *O sumiço da santa* was published in the middle of this "climate of political democratization," and like the republication of Antônio Fraga's *Desabrigo* with illustrations by Poty in 1990, its central concerns and setting are a previous era of political coercion.[3] Where Fraga's story is set within the end of the Vargas era *Estado Novo* dictatorship, Amado's takes place during the height of Brazil's military dictatorship and its censorship of media outlets.

The novel itself is set in Salvador, Bahia, and tells three interwoven stories. Minor characters include real-life friends of Jorge Amado, as well as famous or infamous *soteripolitanos* (residents of Salvador), including Carybé. The events of the story take place during a short, 48-hour period sometime in the late 60s or early 70s, notwithstanding flashbacks comprising significant portions of the text (Amado 11). The three plots revolve around the disappearance of a statue of Saint Barbara. The word used for statue in the Portuguese—*imagem*, literally an "image"—already invites a layer of visual interpretation to the text, as does the overarching, and ever-present in this study, theme of the connection between sight, understanding, failure, and recognition.

An *avant-lire* survey of the illustrations in *O sumiço da santa* uncovers a number of representations typical of qualities José Claudio da Silva observed in Carybé's paintings: "o movimento, o ritmo, a surpresa […] como a unir a serenidade da obra clássica à multiplicidade de sugestões e o descompromisso do esboço" (144). The ink drawings

[3] For more information on Poty and *Desabrigo*, see the respective chapter of this dissertation.

reproduced for the illustration have lines that vary in width and intensity, referencing the movement of the artist's body, and animating the depicted figures. Beyond this, Carybé depicts scenes of characters in movement, complete with comic strip-like motion lines. The discrepancy in the width of inked lines, combined with these more explicit indicators of movement, can sometimes read as messy. But as da Silva also points out, the spirit of Carybé's work is "…a do nada ambíguo, pouco reconhecível, da definição do pormenor…" This messiness is deliberate. As easy as it may be to dismiss it as a "style," it represents a choice on Carybé's part, and his (as well as Jorge Amado's) aesthetic aims for *O sumiço da santa*.

The deliberate lack of precision is most obvious in many of the faces of human figures. As in many of the literary illustrations of Santa Rosa and Poty, discussed earlier in this dissertation, by eliminating the specificity of individual difference, a type of universalism is approached. But this universalism is not without markers of race, class, and other forms of otherness. Especially in Carybé's illustrations, and most noticeably in those for *O sumiço da santa*, this universalizing vagueness can also be interpreted as a purposeful failure. Here Carybé's ability to sensitize viewers of his art, like Mirabeau Sampaio, seems incompatible with the Levinasian encounter with "the face of the Other". However, for the ethical dimensions of representation, rather than a face-to-face encounter in life, this effacement is potentially more humanizing.

"For representation to convey the human," writes Judith Butler, "representation must not only fail, but it most *show* its failure. There is something unrepresentable that we nevertheless seek to represent, and that paradox must be retained in the representation we give."[4]. In an interpretation of Butler by Roy Brand and Amit Pinchevski this "failure" is made even clearer:

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[4] Original emphasis,Butler 144; also cited in Brand and Pinchevski 108.

> …for representation to carry and convey the ethical mark of the face, it must somehow display how it destroys its representation. The face appears beyond any form of containment, thereby revealing the human precisely as what surpasses any attempt to confine the human in an image. Representing the human, along with Butler, would be possible only by means of a performative iconoclasm, which serves to make manifest the impossibility of manifestation. This gestural act operates along the lines of the Kantian sublime: it is the failure of representation itself that invokes the idea that there is the unrepresentable. Performative failure showcases the paradox of representation: its 'success' is achieved by displaying its 'failure'. (108)

As begins to become clear from the illustrations of *O sumiço da santa* alone, and becomes more explicit in the text, "performative iconoclasm," "failure[s] of representation" and the "paradox[es] of representation" extend beyond Carybé's rendering's of feature-poor faces. Carybé destroys what he represents in order to ultimately affect the reconfiguration of readers' or viewer's sensibilities. The failure of Carybé's representation is one conceit of Amado's and Carybé's interartistic work in *O sumiço da santa*.

One of the most striking illustrations relative to this "failure" of the novel is found near its end. It is an example of the *imagem* of Saint Barbara in question. Flipping through the pages of *O sumiço da santa* unveils a number of images reminiscent of Christian iconography; of all them, the illustration on page 309 makes the strongest intimation of an iconographic schema central to Christianity (see fig. 3.1). The purposefully inconsistent line width and its *esboço* like quality depart from historical Christian iconography. The most uneven of all the illustration's ink lines emanate from the head of its central figure, where a halo or rays of celestial power would typically be found. From the perspective of traditional imagery, these lines appear to be more bizarre than holy. The power depicted by the rays is uncanny and puzzling, all the more so because of the posture of the figures at either side.

Seated to the left, a man is posed not in adoration, but casually. A briefcase sits in his lap, just above his leisurely crossed legs and in front of his flower-print, short-sleeved



Fig. 3.1. Carybé, *O sumiço da santa*, 309 (1988)

shirt. His bespectacled head is turned up toward the head of the central figure, where the strange rays fan out in every direction above its meridian. His expression is, however, not one of fear, nor one of classical devotion. He simply studies the figure as casually as his body language suggests. To the right a nun seated in prayer strengthens the illustration's religious association.

Its basic hierarchized, triadic organization recalls historical renditions of Jesus. Paintings featuring the body of Jesus, enthroned or on the cross, flanked most prominently by two figures, were common across Europe by the late post-classical period and the early modern era. In Byzantine and Eastern Orthodox art, when such an image depicts a woman and a man — typically Jesus' mother, Mary, and Saint John — at either side, it constitutes a Deēsis schema: a visual representation of intercessory soteriology.[5] The point here is not in the eschatological details of the evolution of saintly intercession from "in behalf of" to "on behalf of." Rather, the point is that Western adaptation of Deēsis allowed for greater flexibility in the representation patrons in addition to or replacing the figures of Mary and John.

In an early example of this representational shift, Albrecht Altdorfer's *A Crucifixion* (c. 1512), shows a miniature patron couple kneeling almost unnoticeably between the much larger Mary and John (see fig. 3.2). Over the course of a few hundred years this representational organization was adapted to depict countless patrons. In the illustration for page 309 Carybé starts from this place of interchangeability. What he ultimately changes, however, goes beyond the limits of orthodox plasticity. The central figure of illustration on page 309 is obviously not Jesus (see fig. 3.1). For the student of saintly iconography, the lightning bolts in the figure's left hand give her away as Saint

[5] As this compositional organization was adopted by artists in the West, however, its meanings changed: "…from their first encounter with the Deēsis image, Western artists, craftsmen, and patrons integrated it into other contexts or schemata—in particular, donation and petitionary prayer…" (Gilsdorf 150).

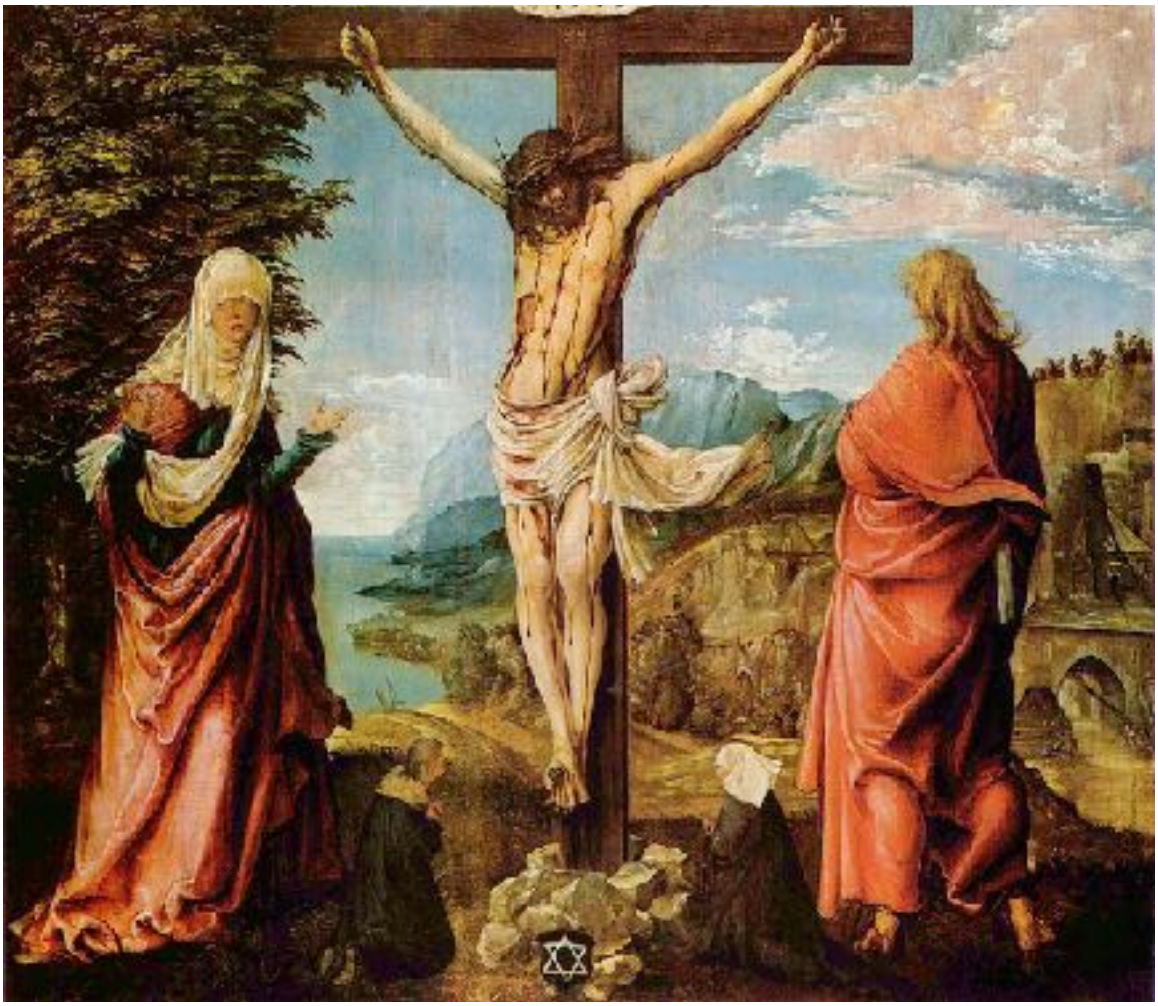


Fig. 3.2. Albrecht Altdorfer, *A Crucifixion*, oil on panel, Museum Palace Wilhelmshöhe, Kassel, c. 1512

Barbara, who has for centuries appeared holding lightning, a lamp, a tower, or a leaf.[6] This iconographic history notwithstanding, a late twentieth century representation of Barbara is *per se* a step away from Christian conformity.

By the time *O sumiço da santa* was published Barbara had spent nearly two decades off of the Roman Catholic Church's official register, having been removed in 1969. In fact, the reader learns early in the text that the primary story of *O sumiço da santa* unfolds sometime in the late 1960s or early 1970s, around the time of Barbara's fall from canonization (11). This clearly unorthodox content within a Deēsis-like schema subverts any established notion of intercession or salvation. The informal, classically unrefined form of the figures and their posture is more mundane than celestial. This, I propose, is precisely its purpose. It depicts a strange, everyday *reality*, as opposed to a chronologically and metaphysically distant soteriology. The mere presentation of Barbara within a devotional model, and the ink lines with which she is depicted, are out of line with conventional social expectations. But what does Carybé's use and departure from form mean? What *is* conveyed in the departure?

The stylistic quality of the ink lines in Carybé's illustrations for *O sumiço da santa* share an identifiable aim with that of his earlier drawings intended for books. Described in this dissertation's Introduction, the visual traits of illustrations can be interpreted in ways analogous to the verbal qualities of a text. The artistic voice of an illustration can be as distinctive as its literary counterpoint in the text. Much if not all of Carybé's illustration work recalls the vernacular of the book's popular subjects. Carybé realized illustrations for a number of titles in the 1940s. They are examples of his cultivating sensitivity to a colloquially oriented art since the beginnings of his career. Books from this time period discussed below include Enrique Amorim's *La carreta* (1942), a collection of

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[6] See for example (images saved in Safari illustration bookmarks.

Whalt Whitman's *Poemas* translated to Spanish (1943), and Mário de Andrade's *Macunaíma* (unpublished, 1940s). As different as these early illustrations may appear to be, superficially, from *O sumiço da santa* and each other, they share an air of popular provenance, eschewing academic forms in favor of constructing accessible concepts of the Brazilian masses inclusive of *afrodescendente* and indigenous groups.

La Carreta

One of the first novels Carybé illustrated was *La carreta*. The book went through several iterations, mapping Enrique Amorim's evolution as writer. *La carreta* started as a short story, "Las Quintanderas" (1923), and reached its definitive form in its sixth edition (1956).[7] Carybé illustrated the fourth edition, published in 1942, which included an additional chapter based on Amorim's short story "Carreta solitaria" (1941). The novel *La carreta* follows a group of itinerant prostitutes in northern Uruguay. Amorim's text weaves a rich tapestry of their life on the *pampas*, so much so that it is seems impossible to believe, as historians and sociologists have concluded, that such *quintanderas* never existed. As Fernando Ainsa points out, "Las quiero y las siento tan convincentes, tan instaladas en la certidumbre de la pícara ilusión de sus gestos entre amorosos y profesionales, que me digo que su fuerza—y por lo tanto su vida—está justamente en el poder evocador de sus páginas, más allá de la negación empírica de los sociólogos" (*La Carreta* "Liminar" XV). Amorim successfully installs a superempirical, transcendent reality that, while not corresponding to any specific practice of travelling prostitution in the border regions of northern Uruguay, engenders aesthetic recognition of multiple Others: sex workers, *mestizos*, Afro-Latin Americans, and travelling laborers. Carybé's illustrations only compound this effect, layering visual vignettes that mimic the vernacular tone and subjects of the text.

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[7] For additional information see ainsa_cuentos_1988 p. XXVII.

Carybé's illustrations for *La Carreta* imitate a type of rudimentary amateurism, a meta-exercise in popular representation. For Carybé's contributions to this interartistc book, this deliberate failure to reproduce normative forms *is* the message. The lines forming the bodies of *quintandera* and patron alike exhibit the "uncertain touches" decried in drawing books (Chapman 12). In one such illustration, a prostitute and patron sit in intimate quarters (see fig. 3.3). The background definition is made up of just two crossed lines above their heads. One of these lines is a collection of a dozen or so strokes whose effect is indistinct and unclear. The man in the image faces the viewer with one leg raised, the top of which is a similar assemblage of uncertain lines. Their tentativeness suggests not only an amateur artist, but also that the drawing is like an imperfect sketch of an observed scene from real life. Of course, these two would not have been posing for a drawing exercise. The illustration's rough qualities nonetheless lend themselves to the rough reality of the subjects.

Other scenes Carybé illustrated by Carybé recall a quotidian clumsiness by not focusing on key moments in the text. However, their pedestrian perspective prompts the reader to reflect more on an otherwise unmemorable scene than they [might] be inclined to do. In a characteristic example, an illustration on page 85 depicts a scene that could be from almost any day in the narrative. The *quintanderas* are scattered out in space in front of their traveling cart in the act of receiving and entertaining their patrons (see fig. 3.4). This is an insignificant moment for the story's plot; a virtual any-moment. What is reified is the existence of these characters, fictitious as they may be. Selecting scenes that are unimportant to the plot also permits Carybé to illustrate an especially peripheral character within this peripheral posse.

On page 75 an Afro-Brazilian appears (see fig. 3.5). His peculiarity is immediately apparent. This character performs his role as *gaucho* as well as the other men. He dons the

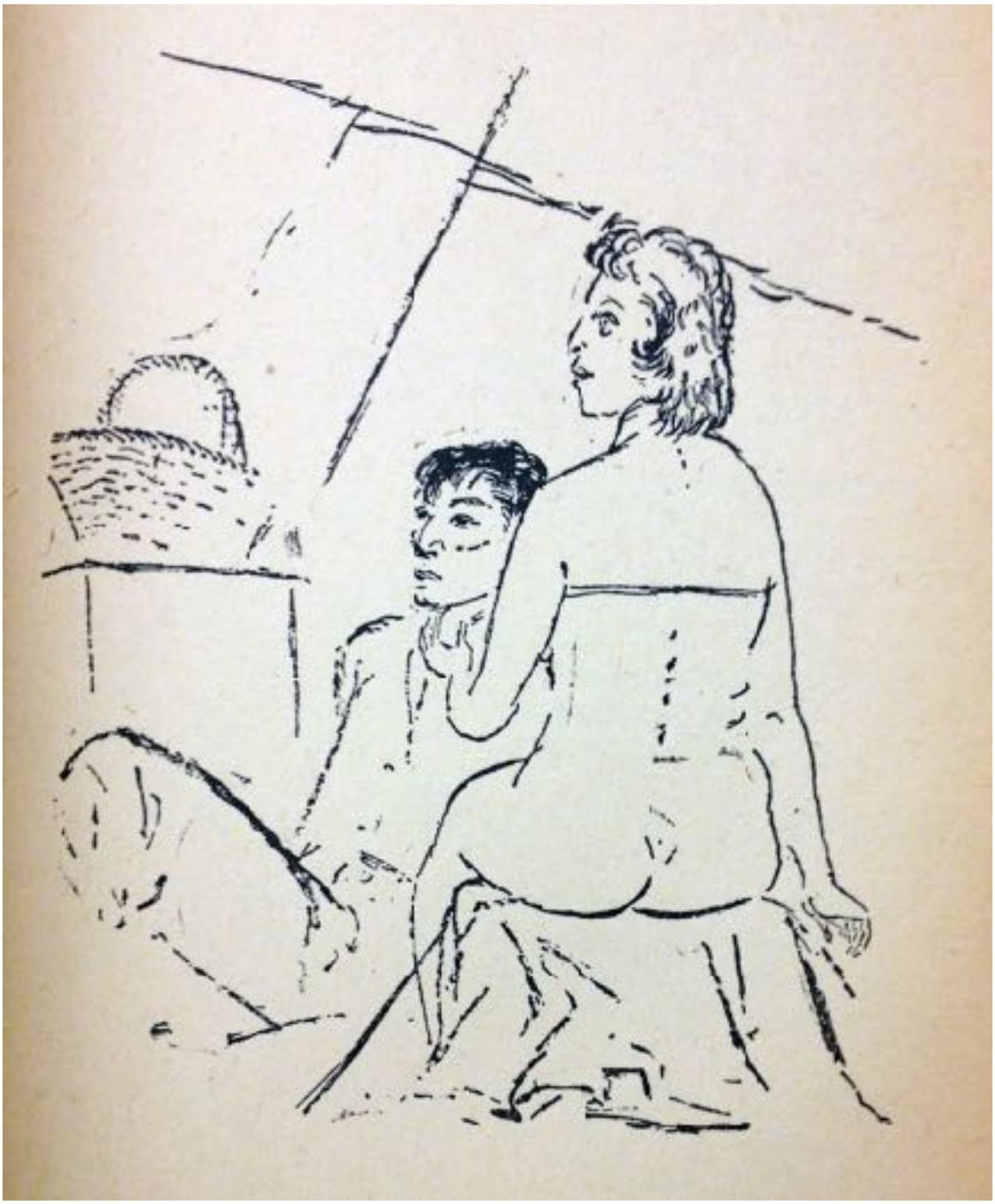


Fig. 3.3. Carybé, *La carreta*, 59 (1942)

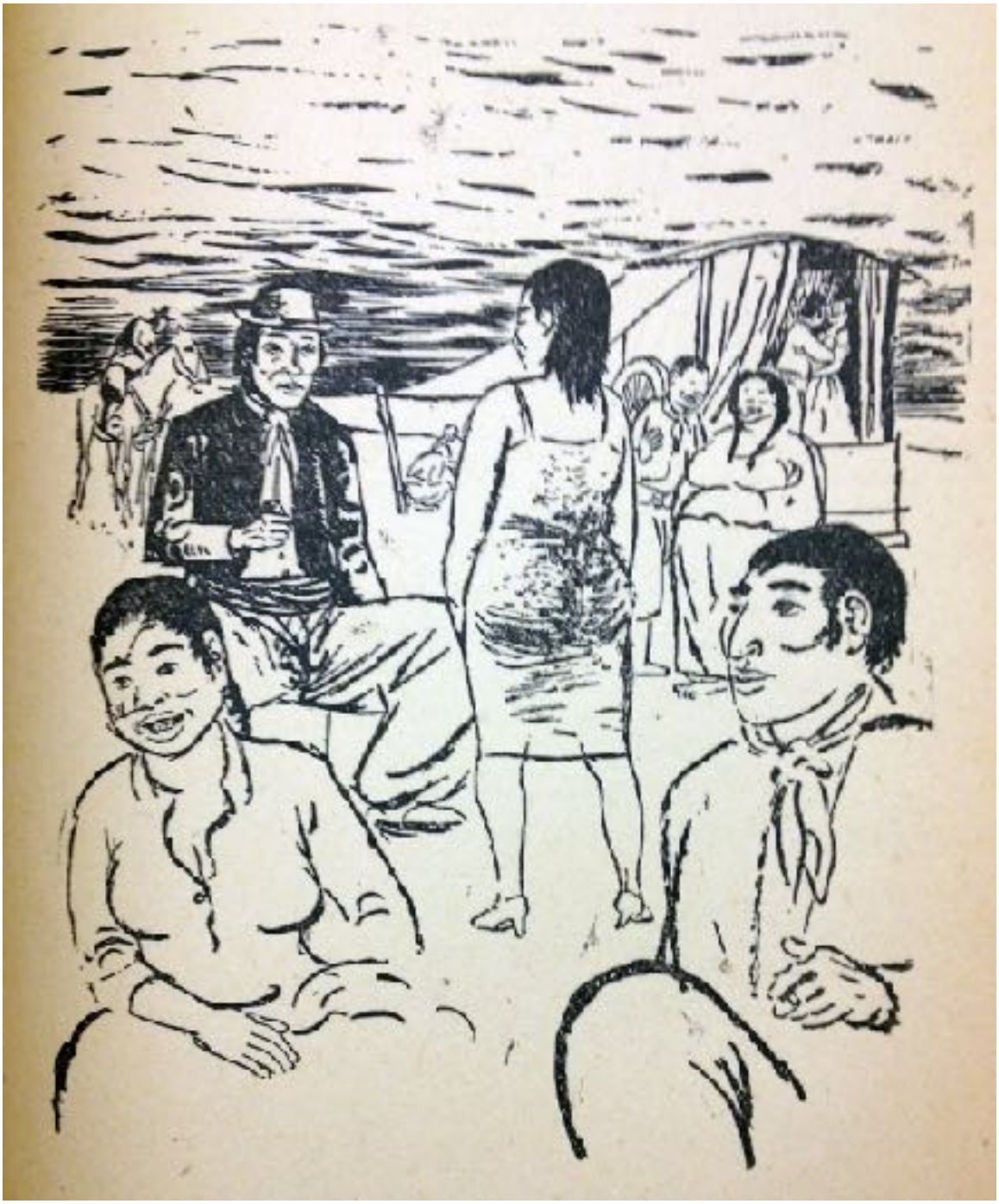


Fig. 3.4. Carybé, *La carreta*, 85 (1942)

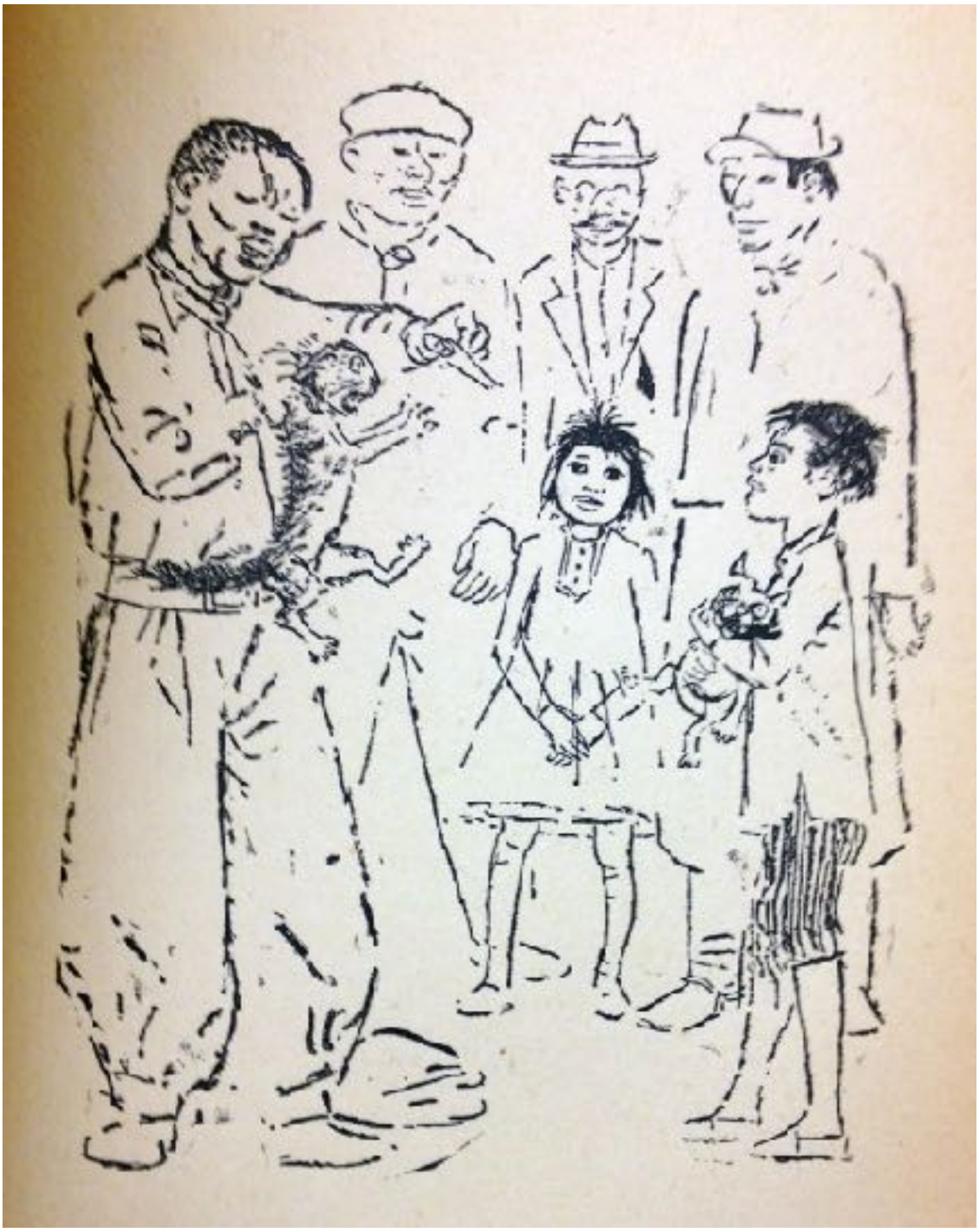


Fig. 3.5. Carybé, *La carreta*, 75 (1942)

iconic scarf and trousers. He has specialized folk knowledge. In the illustration he proffers his uncanny wisdom on the nature of cats, a scene described in the text on following pages. This *brasilero*, who speaks Spanish in a distinct, or different, enough accent to merit orthographic modification of the text—saying of the cat, "istá furioso"—is not a hero (Amorim, *La Carreta* 77). Neither is he a wise trickster. He falls afield of racist "inferioridade, vagabundagem, incompetência" so common to early to mid-twentieth century representations that profiled Afro-Brazilians as "anticidadão, como marginal" ["anti-citizens, as marginals"] (Santos 119). At face value, presenting a black character, even a minor one, is still significant in exploring the politics of representation in Latin America. To compare to illustrations of black bodies by John Farleigh for George Bernard Shaw's *Adventures of the black girl in her search for God*, the simplicity and representative value of Carybé's work is even more clear. Farleigh, arguably, adopts a woodcut style in the name of an exoticizing, fantastical primitivism (see fig. 3.6). Carybé's approach, on the other hand, has a more sympathetic effect, even if (or because of being) pedestrian.

Seeking out opportunities to study and interact with marginalized non-European peoples in Latin America seems to have been an important endeavor for Carybé around this time. Carybé met his wife Nancy just two years later in the small city of Salta, Argentina. His reason for being there, Nancy would later recall, was because of his interest in indigenous and Afro-Latin American peoples:

> *Seu objetivo em Salta, minha cidade natal onde a mestiçagem predomina, seu desejo era justamente encontrar um meio autóctone para continuar desenvolvendo sua arte já influenciada pelas culturas pré-colombianas, somadas à cultura afro que encontrou no Brasil, onde passou parte de sua infância e adolescência.** (Carybé 15)
>
> His goal in Salta, my home town where miscegenation is prevalent, was to find his own way to continue developing his art, which was already

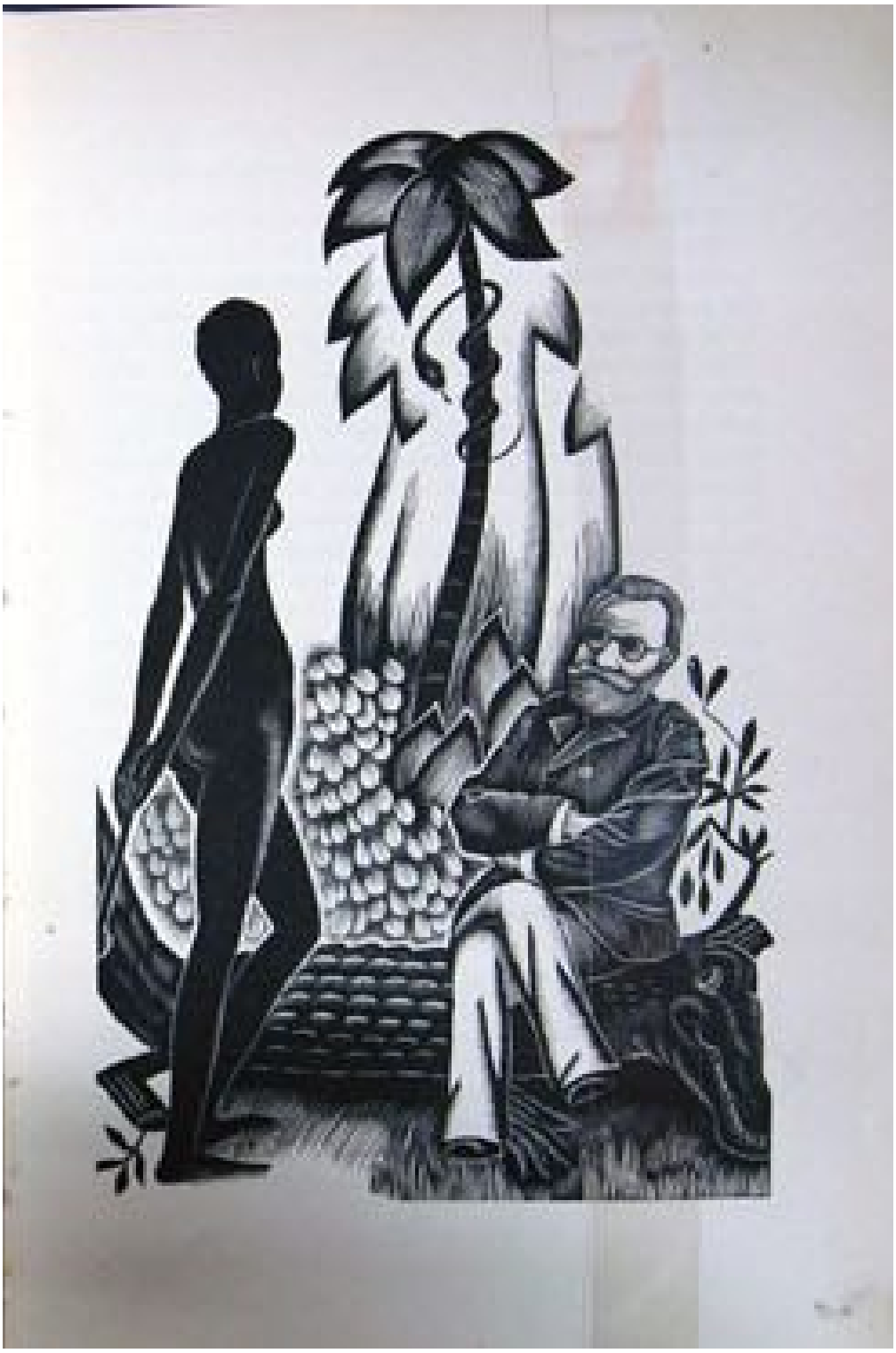


Fig. 3.6. John Farleigh, *Adventures of the black girl in her search for God*, 1932

> influenced by pre-Columbian cultures, but more so by the Afro culture he found in Brazil, where he had spent part of his infancy and adolescence.

To depict this Afro-Brazilian character in an illustration is to make him more visible, to double down, as it were, on *seeing* a black body. It is the opposite intent of Henry James' photographic illustrations, from just a few decades earlier. As described in this dissertation's Introduction, the experimental illustrations for *The Golden Bowl* turned their focus toward "set" or "stage" alone, rather than on any "actor." Carybé places his actor in the image almost without a stage. A verisimilar world is created in which an Afro-Brazilian crosses his country's southern border and interacts with a group of laborers and prostitutes. He is out of place. The reader notices this all the more so because of the illustration. And it is all to interrupt the reader with the subjectivity of Afro-Brazilian being.

Macunaíma

After illustrating *La Carreta*, Carybé continued to seek out opportunities to illuminate works of fiction with vernacular subjects. In 1942 he began to translate (into Spanish) and illustrate the quintessential Brazilian modernist novel, Mário de Andrade's *Macunaíma: o herói sem nenhum caráter* (1929). The novel's titular character is a perambulating anti-hero whose race and *caráter* change repeatedly. In the words of Brazilian anthropologist Darcy Ribeiro

> *[Macunaíma é a] polifonia das falas e dicas mais brasílicas, repertório de caçoadas e pilhérias, é o discurso em que Mário nos mostra, matreiro, o caminho … de nos exercermos como intelectuais de nosso povo mestiçado na carne e na alma, desde sempre, à véspera de realizar suas potencialidades.* ("Liminar" XVIII)
>
> [Macunaíma is a] polyphony of the most Brazilian speech and sayings, a repertoire of its mockeries and jokes. It's the discourse in which Mário shows us, cunningly, the way … to act as intellectuals for our people, miscegenated in flesh and soul, always on the eve of realizing our potential.

Carybé finished the Spanish language translation in collaboration with the poet–turned–artist Raul Brié and completed the ink drawings himself. Mário de Andrade was apparently pleased with both the verbal and visual translations.[8] However, the question of the Spanish and illustrated editions remained unresolved with the publisher before Mário de Andrade's untimely passing in 1945. Brié's and Carybé's Spanish translation remains unpublished. Carybé sold his original drawings for Macunaíma, but thanks to the collector Raimundo de Castro Maya, founder of the *Sociedade dos Cem Bibliófilos do Brasil* [Society of One Hundred Bibliophiles of Brazil], the drawings were used as the basis for new etchings in their 1957 special edition of the book.

Carybé apparently disliked overly politicized discourse and artwork. He distanced himself from the rigid cubist aesthetics of his Argentine contemporaries in favor of an expressive, composite style and perspective. The nature of *Macunaíma*—a Brazilian polyphony—was a perfect substrate for Carybé's representational aesthetics The illustrations Carybé completed overlay multiple characters, trajectories and locations from the source text, creating a "failure" of confusion, (hopefully, if Carybé is to be successful) requiring additional visual consideration. This is the ultimate textual effect of "character-less" protagonist who passes through every major racial and regional identity of the country. One of Carybé's illustrations is a visual amalgam parallel to the overall effect of Mário de Andrade's text.

Carybé does this with the cartoonish simplicity honed while producing comics and satire for Argentine newspapers and magazines; simple elements, compound effects.

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[8] In a letter to Newton Freitas in 1944, Mário de Andrade writes: "Gostei muito sim dos desenhos dele [de Carybé]. Têm alguns então, a maioria, os de página inteira, feitos de um tecido cerrado de linhas que são uma verdadeira delícia plástica, estupendos. E também do caráter, da caracterização dos tipos e personagens colaborantes, que é muito divertido, ótima fantasia, otimamente coincidentes com o espírito do livro … Por favor, diga isto ao Carybé e que aprovo inteiramente os desenhos" ["I very much liked his (Carybé's) drawings. There are some, the majority in fact, the full page ones made of a fabric of hatched lines, that are a true visual delight; stupendous. And their tone, the way the qualities of the characters and types are expressed, is very fun. It's a true fantasy, one that totally coincides with the spirit of the book … Please tell this to Carybé. And tell him that I completely approve of the drawings"] (Andrade 518).

Its quasi-*art naïf* not only creates the popular voice seen in *La carreta* and later in *O sumiço da santa*, among other works, but it also collapses the geographic and social difference between the peoples of Brazil (see fig. 3.7). At the center top of figure 3.7 a crescent moon radiates through the sky, which is darkly textured with medium-length pen strokes. Almost blending in with the sky, a collection of five Candomblé orishas and other popular Brazilian demi-deities circle the moon, its textured light radiating out to them. Just below, on the background horizon, are two hills, one with a typical two-towered Catholic church and a collection of buildings around it. To the left, the terrain is dotted with *caatinga* vegetation and a cow characteristic of the Brazilian Northwest. The hill to the right shows some small semicircles indicative of more vegetation, and as the viewer's eye move toward the middle ground, several trees can be seen. Judging by the simple shapes of their fruit, the texture of their trunks, and the shape of their leaves, one is a mango tree, the other papaya. These verdant elements, despite black and white rendering, depict a more tropical Brazil than the dry *caatinga* of the *sertão* seen in the background to the left.

To the immediate left of the fruit trees, and the man climbing one of them, the roof of a building cuts through the middle ground, framing the fore. The viewer sees through its front wall, revealing a group of people—some depicted with darker faces, other lighter, some with suits, others with more working-class clothing—collectively engaged in a Candomblé-like popular rite. A shadowy demonic form traverses the building's roof, head down, appearing to enter the head of a large woman at the group's front. The woman's eyes are closed, her lips open, and her eyebrows are raised toward their middle in an expression akin to contentment. Even if many of the elements of this scene are heretical to traditional Catholic sensibilities, and by extension the traditional mores of Brazil, this illustration is unequivocally one of inclusion. This illustration's representation

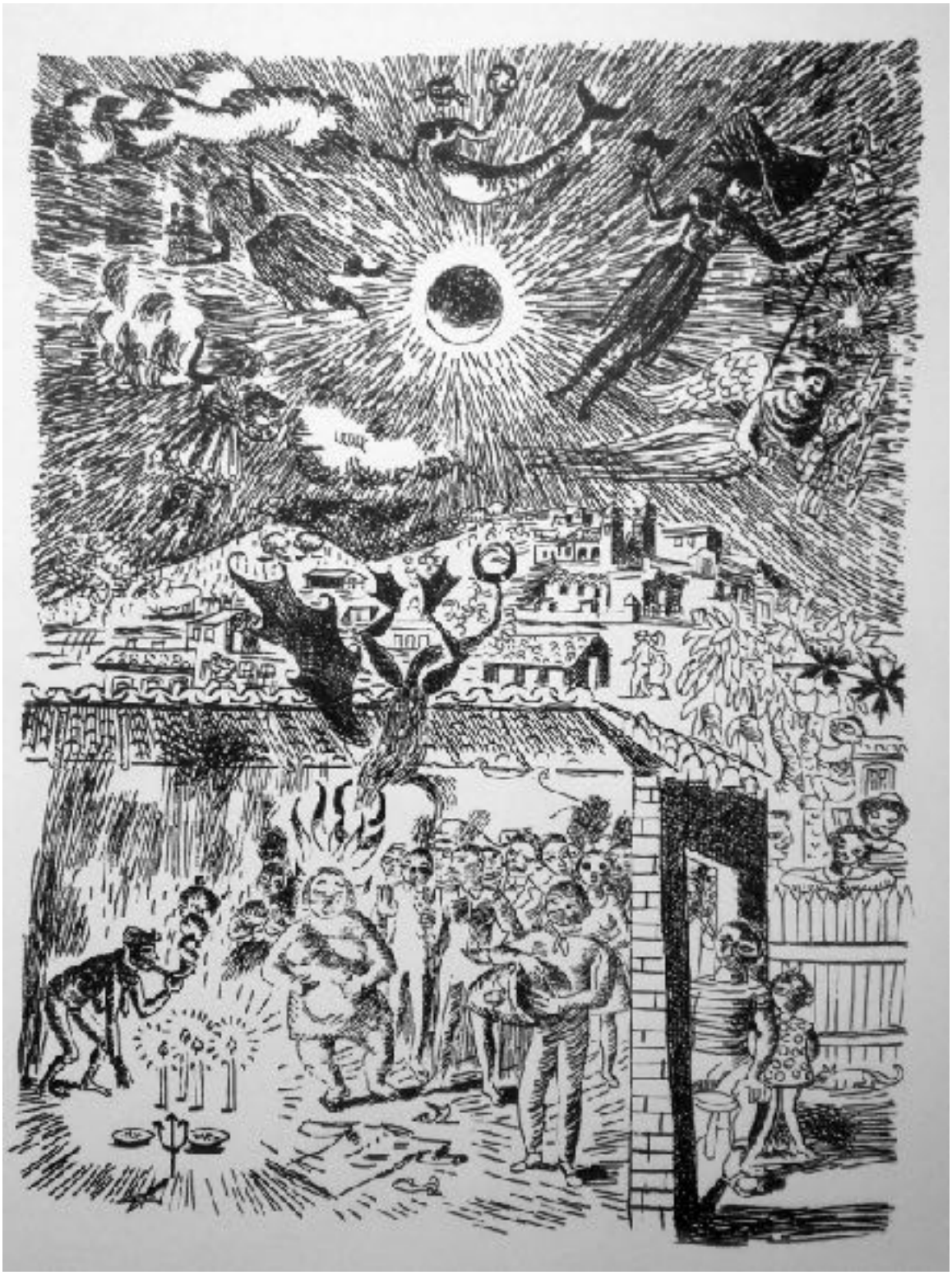


Fig. 3.7. Carybé. Unpublished illustration for *Macunaíma*. n/d.

of inclusion creates a metonymic relationship between the image itself, the novel, and the metaphorical polyphony of Brazilian culture, thus making *Macunaíma*'s themes more intelligible to the reader.

Returning to *O sumiço da santa*, it is clear that Carybé came to include even more vernacular elements in his book illustrations in the years since *La carreta* and *Macunaíma*, paving the way for representations that symbolically evoke epiphany and polyphony to an even greater degree. As the reader moves from survey of the illustrations in *O sumiço da santa* to reading, the illustration of Barbara, seen toward the end of the novel, takes on even greater significance.

O sumiço da santa

The novel opens with the statue of Saint Barbara traveling by boat from Santo Amaro da Purificação across the Bay of All Saints to the capital city Salvador. This is the scene depicted in the illustration mentioned above. Surveying the illustrations and beginning the reading creates an visual-textual chiasmus drawing even more attention to this moment and the illustration. The historically significant statue is destined for a religious art exhibit and will be its main attraction. The exhibition's director, Dom Maximiliano von Gruden, even wrote his doctoral dissertation on the statue of Barbara.

Soon after arriving in Salvador by boat, en route to the exhibition, the transporters of the statue cross paths, "by chance or divine destiny," with someone described as a follower of Iansã (11). The statue vanishes. Initially museum and church authorities think the statue stolen, but it has instead, as the reader soon learns, come to life. Instead of a living Barbara, however, the stature has become Iansã (or Oyá) vivified, a spirit manifestation (*orixá*) of the Afro-Brazilian religion Candomblé.

Iansã is often syncretized with and represent by Saint Barbara among the various Candomblé groups [*nações*] of Brazil. This syncretism spills out beyond the practitioners

of Afro-Brazilian religions, inflecting Brazilian folklore and popular Christian religiosity, at least in the ways opinions about syncretism are reflected in the beliefs of fictional characters. The most well-known cultural product to center on the pervasive extent of such beliefs and practices is the play *Pagador de promessas* [1960], which dramatizes the earnest conflation of Iansã for Saint Barbara by a man called João do Burro.[9] The link between folk syncretism in the 1960s—the setting of *O sumiço da santa*—and the 1980s—the publication of *O sumiço da santa*—is more historically significant than "high" and "low" culture at the close of the military dictatorship.

The "climate of political democratization" in the years following 1985 also coincided with a anti-syncretist movement within Afro-Brazilian religious groups (Vieira 109). Major voices within the Candomblé "re-africanization" movement, such as the Mãe Stella of the Opô Afonjá, sought to eliminate Catholic imagery from shrines (Sansi 20). Opô Afonjá eventually did eliminate its syncretic imagery, as did many other urban Candomblé houses. But for the houses that did not eliminate Catholic iconography completely, these images were never central to an idea of figuration of *Orixás*. As Roger Sansi notes, "anthropomorphic images in Candomblé shrines would be only peripheral, as opposed to those in Catholic shrines, which are precisely built around the figurative image of saints;" this because the presence of *Orixás* in human form is only through possessing the body of a follower (20).

The simultaneous celebration of both Catholic and Afro-Brazilian religious expressions—as is found to varying degrees at the individual level, within some Candomblé houses, and in other Afro-Brazilian religions such as Umbanda—is the guiding supernatural mythos behind *O sumiço da santa*. This makes the *imagem* of Santa Barbara-Iansã—as both a central plot device and the central visual element of Carybé's

[9] The more well-known film adaptation of *Pagador de promessas* won the *Palme d'Or* at the 1962 Cannes Film Festival.

illustrations—somewhat perplexing, given Amado's and Carybé's affiliation with the Opô Afonjá. As Amado would recall their involvement after Carybé's death, "inúmeras vezes fizemos buri juntos e dormimos na mesma esteira no Axé do Opô Afonjá, ao tempo de mãe Senhora, nos dias de ontem, e também nos de hoje, em que mãe-de-santo é Stela de Oxóssi nossa irmã, como se percebe pelo nome" (Carybé 158). Even though Amado conceived of the novel some decades before the re-africanization movement, it is noteworthy that Carybé and Amado doubled down, as it were, on syncretism in *O sumiço da santa* at the time when traditional Candomblé houses were separating religion and image.[10]

Amado and Carybé were not alone in highlighting the mixed and hybrid in this milieu of increasing atomization of religion and image. The singer and musician Jorge Ben, who later changed his stage name to Jorge Ben Jor, grew more explicit in his lyrical celebrations of syncretism from the 1970s through the 1990s. Jorge Ben's original recording of "Jorge de Capadócia" for the album *Salta o pavão* (*Jorge de Capadócia* 1975) affirms the narrator's happiness in following (Saint) George, acknowledging his provenance in Cappadocia—the traditionally acknowledge birthplace of Saint George—rather than the spiritual realm of the Orixás: "…eu estou feliz porque eu também sou da sua companhia / eu estou vestido com as roupas e as armas de Jorge … Jorge é de Capadócia (maravilha!) Viva Jorge!" To be in the company of George and to be one of his followers, however, has less to with any traditional Catholic practice, having more in common with a Candomblé house devoted to Ogum, who is historically syncretized with Saint George in Afro-Brazilian religions.

If there were any doubt Jorge Ben's syncretic intentions, a 1993 recording of another song, "Cowboy Jorge," makes a stronger connection between Ogum and George,

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[10] For more on the conception and eventual publication of *O sumiço da santa*, see Amado's "Introdução" (1988).

opening and closing the song with alternating verses of "Toca toca toca Jorge" and "Ogum, ogã, ogã, Ogum," ogã (or ogan) being a male Candomblé priest (*Cowboy Jorge 23*). Jorge Ben's stronger association between Ogum and George from "Cowboy Jorge" even made its way back into the earlier song "Jorge de Capadócia"; in more recent performances and recordings Jorge Ben adds the refrain, "ogã toca para Ogum" ["ogã play to Ogum"](*Jorge de Capadócia Acústico MTV*). The repetition syncretic celebration in Jorge Ben's music, combined with his personal connection to the saint-orixá through his first name, give "Jorge de Capadócia" and "Cowboy Jorge" an unavoidably personal touch. One cannot help but read a personal spirituality in the songs. The celebration of syncretism in *O sumiço da santa* is similarly personal. Carybé, Amado and other famous cultural figures from Salvador are characters in the novel. Their fictionalization within the plot, along with the novels various supernatural occurrences, have led to some attempts to describe *O sumiço da santa* as magical realism.[11] But Amado's and Carybé's honoring of syncretic views through text and images that follow an *imagem* as a locus for epiphany, recognition and the changing of worldview, favors the association of *O sumiço da santa* with other illustration Brazilian books, such as those discussed in preceding chapters, more so than the Latin American works most intimately linked with magical realism.

As the reader of *O sumiço da santa* discovers, throughout the mystical disappearance of the Barbara *imagem*, and the confusion it causes, Amado's paints a sympathetic portrait of the popular mystical traditions of Salvador, as found in both Catholicism and Afro-Brazilian religions. The tone of the text, not unlike the line quality of Carybé's illustrations, favors folksy pith over ornate or experimental descriptions. In

[11] For more information see "A conversation with Jorge Amado" [sic], which is in fact an interview with translator Gregory Rabassa. When asked about Amado's placed in the magical realism canon, Rabassa concludes his answer with "Only in his novel *Dona Flor and Her Two Husbands* and *The War of the Saints* do we have a touch of the truly magical."

one such example Amado describes the Baía de Todos os Santos, the bay to the east of the peninsular city of Salvador:

> *A Bahia de Todos os Santos é a porta do mundo, como se sabe. Desmedida, nela cabem reunidas as demais enseadas do Brasil e ainda sobra espaço onde conter as rias da Galícia e as quadras do universo. Quanto à beleza, não há comparação que se possa fazer nem existe escritor capaz de descrevê-la.*
>
> As everyone knows, The Bay of All Saints is the world's front door. She is expansive. All of Brazil's other coves can fit within her, together, and there is still space left over for Galícia's Lower Rías and all the corners of the universe. As far as her beauty, no comparison is possible, nor is there any writer in existence capable of describing her.

This appreciation for the bay, the city of Salvador, and all her inhabitants permeates the entire novel. This is important to establish because, upon first reading, some of the novels antagonists, both in the form of characters and institutions, could be dismissed as devilishly oversimplified targets; too easy to hate. Simplistic as they may be, Amado balances these caricatures with a universal appreciation for cultures and institutions alike, including the supernatural. In the odious camp, the priest José Martin, confessor to the main character Adalgisa, is a Spanish Franquist. Other characters in clerical positions include admirers of apartheid South Africa. However, the Catholic Church is not entirely villainous in Amado's telling. A priest named Aberlardo Galvão is unorthodox in his demeanor, dress, and his favoring a "doctrine of the people," but devout in his spirituality. In the narrator's words:

> *O padre não parecia padre, esses reverendos de hoje são uma novidade. Como reconhecê-lo sacerdote se trajava calças jeans, camisa florada aberta ao vento e não se via caroa raspada no centro da cabeleira esvoaçante? Um bonito rapaz a atrair os olhares das mulheres. O hábito não faz o monge, ensina o povo em sentença bastante anterior a tais mudanças de vestuário e de comportamento, e cabe-lhe razão. Apesar do aparente desalinho de roupas e penteado, da falta de batina e de caroa, não se tratava de um hippie a caminho da colônia Paz e Amor em Arembepe, mas de padre ordenado, sincero na vocação e no apostolado, devotado à missão aceita e exercida.* (17)
>
> This Father didn't seem like a Father. Today's reverends are a novelty. How do you recognize a priest if he's wearing jeans and a flower-print shirt,

> opening in the wind? How can you recognize him if he doesn't have a shaved circle on the top of his head? He certainly was a handsome man, good for catching the glances of women. "The habit does not make the monk," goes a saying much older than these changes in clothing and behaviour, and for good reason. Despite the apparent disconnect between the clothes, the hair, the lack of a collar or bald spot, this was no hippie on his way to the Peace and Love colony in Arembepe. He was an ordained Father, sincere in his vocation and calling, devoted to the mission he accepted and carried out.

The reader will identify the unorthodoxly dressed Galvão as the man wearing the floral-print shirt from illustration near the book's end (see fig. 3.1). The text-image chiasmus between the opening scene and the illustration is now a motley assemblage of bright popular elements—the visual and verbal "voice" as well as the priest's demeanor—and the mysterious crossing of the bay by boat which, as the reader learns, also transports the persnickety nun from the illustration, the boat captain, the captain's wife, and three cadavers.

As mentioned above, *O sumiço da santa* tells three interwoven stories. The central conceit is the disappeared, obscured *imagem* of Barbara, which subsequently found, revealed, and illustrated to be a vivified *imagem*-being Barbara-Iansã or Barbara-Oyá, Iansã and Oyá used interchangeably to refer to the same Orixá. The other two plots are that of the priests and museum director, in search of the missing *imagem*, and that of a girl named Manela being raised by her aunt Adalgisa.

The qualities and definition of an *imagem* and illustration are at play throughout the novel. The interartistic relationship of the text and illustrations highlight themes of devisions, layers, and multiplicity — a way to deal with individual, community and national diversity. Barbara-Oyá is a divided image. Adalgisa and her niece Manela are divided between their mixed racial and cultural heritage. Amado makes these main characters' inherited racial division clear before the first chapter: "Está é a pequena história de Adalgisa e Manela e de alguns outros descendentes dos amores do espanhol

Francisco Romero Perez y Perez com Andreza de Anunciação, a formosa Andreza de Yansã, mulata escura" ["This is a little story about Adalgisa and Manela and some other descendents of the Spaniard Francisco Romero Perez y Perez and Andreza de Anunciação, the same who was Andreza de Yansã, a dark mulatto"] (11).

The divided self of Adalgisa is described physically in this chapter. Her body favors the Spanish traits of Francisco, with "tranças negras circundando o rosto oblongo de espanhola onde se acendiam olhos de fúria, dramáticos" ["black braids circling her oblong, Spanish face in which her eyes ignited dramatically and furiously"] (46). However, her late sister, Manela's mother, displayed more African qualities inherited from Andreza, and these were passed down to Manela. Desperate to highlight her Spanish heritage, Adalgisa has grown paranoid and dismissive of anything and anyone having to do with *afrodescdente*, as well as hyper-scrupulous in her practice of Catholicism. For example, Adalgisa is determined to end Manela's relationship someone of mixed ancestry, explaining the situation to a third person: "O Senhor está comigo, não tenho medo de nada, nada me pega, comigo não adianta negrinhagem, não sou da mesma laia, não me misturo com gente à-toa. Tiro o vício do corpo da moleca nem que me custe o restinho de saúde" ["The Lord is with me, I'm not afraid of anything, nothing can get me. That black stuff doesn't work with me, I'm not from that caste, I don't associate with just anyone."] (46).

An illustration on page 55 is a visualization of Adalgisa's posture toward Afro-Brazilians and Afro-Brazilian culture. All of the elements depicted in the illustration are not literally described in the text. Instead, the image is a psychological scene constructed from Adalgisa's fear of Candomblé and the specter of her heritage in Andreza de Yansã. Just a few pages after the illustration the reader is reminded, "Adalgisa tinha horror a candomblé. Horror sagrado, o adjetivo se impõe" ["Adalgisa dreaded Candomblé. It was a

holy dread, emphasis on the adjective"] (58). In the illustration on page 55, Carybé places Adalgisa in the fore, perhaps as a way for her to avoid turning to completely to "see" the imposing figure behind her (see fig. 3.8). The appearance of this figure coincides with descriptions of Barbara-Iansã appearing for short periods all around the city, almost as if she were everywhere at one. The implication here, of course, is that this human form is, in fact, the saint-Orixá. She wears a dress and head wrap traditional to Afro-Brazilian cerimonies and celebrations, combined with the lightning bolts characteristic of European representations of Saint Barbara. Instead of lighting in the hand of Barbara-Iansã, as the statue depicts, the bolts emanate from her head; what's more, the head is nearly featureless, and mysteriously floats detached from the torso without any indication of a neck. Her stance is wide and her hands rest on her hips; a classic power pose, not menacing but confident and strong.

Two extra-textual demonic creatures also decorate the drawing. One of them, smaller, nearly featureless and entirely black, stands by a collection of plates and indistinct items on the ground. Though not drawn in any detail, the plates would contain food, tobacco, alcohol and any number of other items associated with a Candomblé ceremonial offering. This is the small element of Amado's text exploded in Carybé's illustration: seeing the signifier of Candomblé in the street induces Adalgisa's panic, followed by the description of her aforementioned dread. The second demon dances on Adalgisa's head. He is much more expressive than his smaller counterpart by the plates. His webbed wings stretch out horizontally, his cartoonish eyes peer down a triangular beak toward Adalgisa, and he holds a pitchfork with its sharp points downward in her general direction. Adalgisa's eyes, in turn, look up at him. One of his exceptional attributes is precisely what leads to my identifying him with male pronouns: between his opened, prancing legs is an erect penis the length of his forearm, as well as the profile of testicles. As Adalgisa looks



Fig. 3.8. Carybé, *O sumiço da santa*, 55 (1988)

up at this demon and his phallus, she tightly grips and counts the beads of her rosary. By reducing Adalgisa's dread into a fear of sin, both in heretical Candomblé practices and sexual arousal, the illustration binds Adalgisa's hyper-religiosity— which includes abstinence—with her racialized paranoia of Afro-Brazilian culture. This has the auxiliary effect of foreshadowing a long flashback to Adalgisa's courtship and wedding night, which takes up a significant portion of the novel.

The conflict between Adalgisa and Manela escalates, not just because of Manela's romantic involvement with one Afro-Brazilian boy, but because she is seen on television participating in a popular Afro-Brazilian festival. Adalgisa reacts strongly, threatening to send Manela to a nunnery. When Manela defends herself from the emotional and physical outburst of her aunt, Adalgisa falls into a convulsive fit. This scene is depicted in an illustration on page 85 (see fig. 3.9). A ghostly, dark figure is scene through an open doorway. Its floating head, and the fact that its appearance coincides with Manela's defending her cultural practices and identity, make it likely that the figure is Barbara-Iansã. What's more, the "voice" of the illustration not only includes the quality of the ink lines, as discussed above, but also motion lines connecting views of Adalgisa in multiple states of convulsion. The effect of Carybé's motion lines are similar to Poty's use of them in some illustrations for *Desabrigo*, they reference the "low" popular comic stip form. Carybé's use for the illustration on page 85 makes even greater use comics' visual lexicon, as the multiple representations of a character in extreme motion can signal the supernatural separation of one character into many, or the fantastic notion of traveling between multiple dimensions. For example, in a 1961 DC comic Barry Allen, also known as The Flash, moves so quickly travels into another reality (*The Flash* no. 123). Carybé's depiction of Adalgisa in convulsions symbolizes the internal conflicts of her mixed



Fig. 3.9. Carybé, *O sumiço da santa*, 85 (1988)

identities (Spanish and *mulata*) and signals her epiphanic transition to a new "reality" that is more accepting of cultural syncretism.

These are not the only illustrations (figs. 3.8–9) that provide glimpses into a character's psychology of race. In an illustration on page 99 Maxmiliano von Gruden, the priest who is also the director of the museum awaiting the sculpture of Barbara, is pictured in heaven, surround by dark-skinned, flying heads (see fig. 3.10). This is a psychological scene not described explicitly in the text. It exposes internalization of a racialized hierarchy, even in the heavens, is represented in the proportions of the angelic creatures hovering around him. The winged, dark-skinned heads are smaller than his own. More importantly, they do not have bodies. They have been given avian wings, a common Christian symbol of divine mobility, but the entirety of the dark-skinned bodies that presumably accompany the earthly iterations of these saved souls are not valued enough in von Gruden's imagination to be given appropriate form. This, while the usually frowning von Gruden stands fully-formed on a floating cloud, eyes closed, smiling, in apparent divine satisfaction. His arms are raised and his hands are surround by the same thin lines indicating motion that are also drawn next to the wings of the dark-skinned flying heads. It is as if he is directing their movement, even controlling it. In von Gruden's heaven, non-whites are under his control, their heads are shrunken, and their bodies do not exist. If this does represent a heaven after death, the great equalizer of all humans, von Gruden has reproduced the grossest forms of inequality in his personal conception of the world to come. This illustration cues the reader to further question von Gruden's entire conception of Catholic soteriology because the ends, represented by a heaven of inequality, cannot possibly justify the means of von Gruden's and other Catholic priests' insistence on a stringent Catholic practice in everyday life. And indeed it is these same

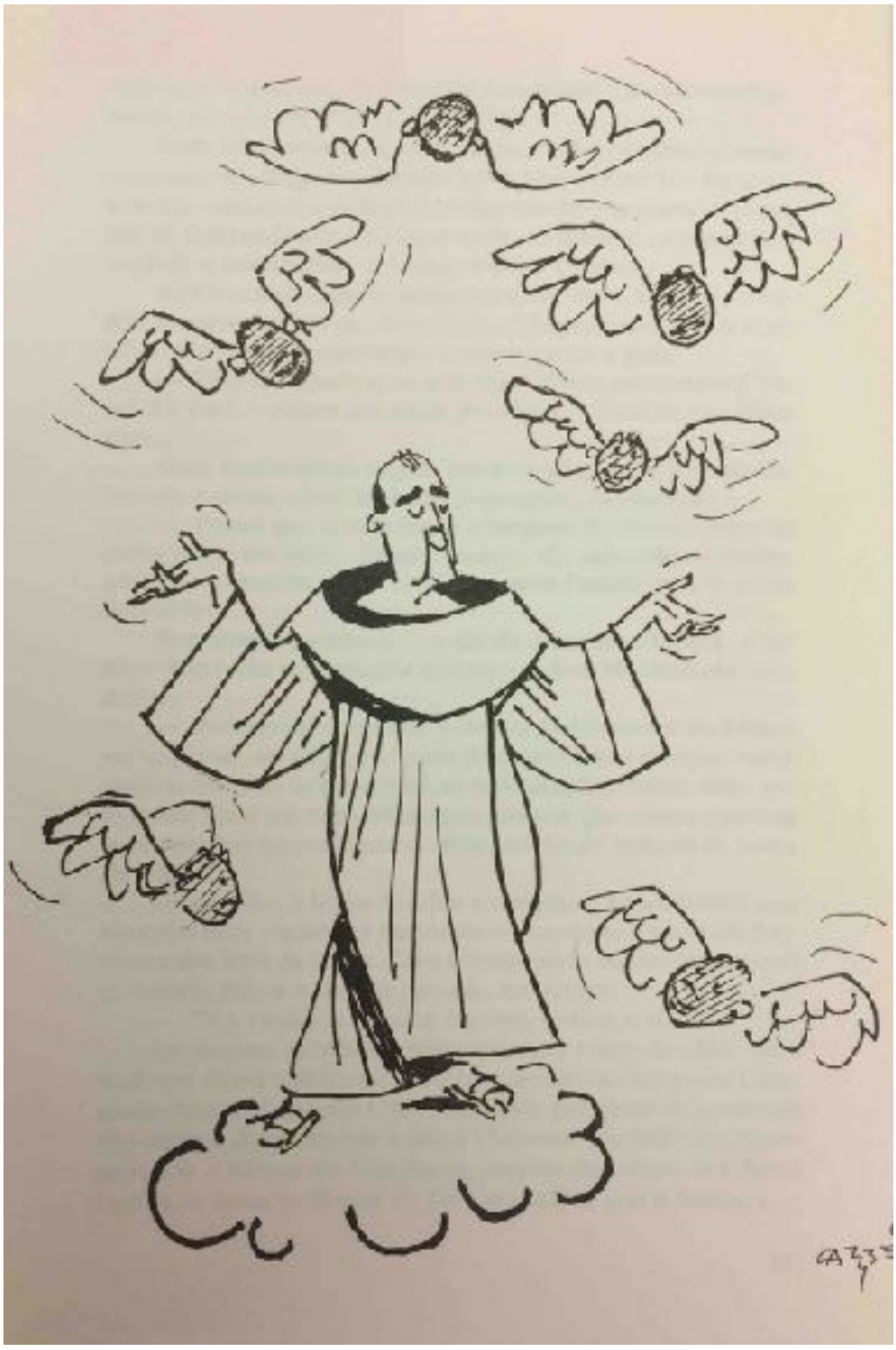


Fig. 3.10. Carybé, *O sumiço da santa*, 99 (1988)

priests who encourage Adalgisa to strictly punish Manela for her flirtations with Candomblé and the Afro-Brazilian boy.

These and the other illustrations reveal individual and community realities. As the narrator of *O sumiço da santa* is careful to remind the reader, there was "uma realidade oculta, um país secreto, não noticiados" ["a hidden reality, a secret country, unreported" (146). Within the novel, the fanfare induced by the disappearance of Barbara, and the rumors of Barbara-Oyá's appearance in houses of Candomblé and around the city, lead a number of national newspapers, as well as a French documentary crew, to report the story as if it "era o acontecimento mais grave, o único realmente grave, ocorrido no país nos últimos dias" ["were the most serious event, the only truly serious one, to have occurred over the last few days"]. Here the narrator takes a short but serious turn to make it perfectly clear that the "país secreto" is not just the ignored marginalized people of Salvador and around Brazil, but the people actively repressed by the military government: "Recorde-se que os fatos narrados nesta crônica, pobre de brilho, rica de veracidade, se passaram nos piores anos da ditadura militar e da rígida censura à imprensa" ["Remember that the story told here—not pretty, but very true—took place during the worst years of the military dictatorship and the strict censorship of the press"]. The implication, perhaps, is that within the universe of the book this was an opportunity to obliquely report on repression, one that would make it past censorship since the disappearance of Barbara could not *seriously* be thought to have a supernatural explanation. The meta-effect of this reporting—or the description of it within the text—is more clearly in danger of censorship, making all the more understandable Jorge Amado's decision to finish and publish *O sumiço da santa* after the fall of the dictatorship.

Journalists, of course, were not the only ones inspired by disappearance of Barbara and the appearances of Barbara-Oyá. Some of her final appearances in the novel are in

artists' studios, her presence serving as a source of artistic inspiration. Ordep J. Trindade-Serra notes that one of the possible motivations for Amado's overall defense of a syncretic, magical worldview in *Sumiço da santa* is in its potential for artistic inspiration:

> *…Já se encontra aqui um motivo do empenho de Jorge Amado na defesa do sincretismo: a fecundidade estética do fenômeno, uma riqueza que ele demonstrano plano literário. Por certo, tem razão: o enunciado que identifica orixá e santo já em si mesmo tem um sabor poético. Quem diz que santa Bárbara é Oyá realiza uma verdadeira imagem, no sentido que Octávio Paz atribui a este termo: afirma que a branca é a negra, a virgem intangível é a amante ardente, a cristã é a pagã; experimenta um poder que transpassa a linguagem.*[12]
>
> …It is in this that we find the motivation for Jorge Amado's defense of syncretism: the aesthetic fecundity of the phenomenon, the richness it brings to the literary plane. Amado's reasoning is sound. Identifying an orixá and a saint in each other adds a certain poetic flavor. By saying Saint Barbara and Oyá are one creates a true *imagem*, in the sense that Octavio Paz uses the term: affirming that what is black is white, that the untouchable virgen is an ardent lover, that the Christian is pagan; getting a taste of power that transcends language.

The power of *O sumiço da santa* to transcend language is not just in the verbal *imagem* constructed by Amado and his editor, it is also in the each *imagem* illustrated by Carybé. The inspiration of Adalgisa, the artists, and other characters, are designed to inspire the reader, and the illustrations contribute to this process of revelation. The epiphany of Adalgisa, and her eventual acceptance of her own mixed cultural and racial heritage, and her acceptance of Manela's involvement with Afro-Brazilian syncretic culture, are successes of cultural hybridity; "seeing" the value of Other through a "failure" of representative expectations of an *imagem* image, to paraphrase Butler, Brand and Pinchevski. The "failures" are conveyed to the reader especially through and because of Carybé's illustrations.

Carybé's illustrations take what had been a symbology used by Catholic Church and appropriate it for a popular narrative. The illustrations for *O sumiço da santa*

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[12] Trindade-Serra 109; Paz (1972), cited in Trindade-Serra

accomplish an interruption of the familiar, calling the reader's sight, attention and understanding the lives of Afro-Brazilians and the dimensions of their experience that are just as lovely and deep as the structures of conservative power they assail in this story. This novel, its text and illustrations together, contain a pathology of hyper-devotion, of dogmatic ideology; not necessarily of religious conservatism, but of a conservatism that is blind to history, and blind to values and stories of the Other. Carybé's illustrations, through the quality of their inked lines, the proportions of the figures represented, the composition of those figures on the page, and placement of these illustrations in relation to the novel's text, magnify the alterity *O sumiço da santa* as a text. Carybé's illustrations for other works of fiction, throughout the twentieth century, do the same. It is fitting that the final interpretation, or interruption, of *O sumiço da santa* is an everyday scene of fishers and workers on the shore (see fig. 3.11). Perhaps this quotidian finale to the novel's illustrated visual interruptions serves to explain how someone like Mirabeau Sampaio could see, as if for the first time, the black and mixed race people that make up the majority of the city; "Na Bahia, não existia um negro, era uma coisa que ninguém tinha visto aqui, até a chegada de Carybé" ["In Bahia there wasn't a single black, no one had seen one, until Carybé arrived"] (Silva 149).



Fig. 3.11. Carybé, *O sumiço da santa*, 434–35 (1988)

Conclusion

It is perhaps no surprise that illustrated literary fiction enjoyed success in some corner of the globe while it nearly disappeared for decades in the United States and Europe. More interesting are the particularisms present in any such deviation from broader Western trends. Brazil, in this regard, is no disappointment. Embedded within the illustrations of Brazil's literary fiction are some of the most significant questions of a generation of twentieth century artists and writers. Chief among them is representation, both the of and the how. The answer to either is in variations of the hybrid, in the sense of interartistic means of representation and the sense of representing the multiracial and interracial body; such a *corpus* itself being interpretable at the individual, community and national level.

This experimentation fits well within a conception of Brazil as "more of a site of imagination than conversation" (Castillo-Garsows). In communities like Harlem in the 1920s, more explicit conversations about race, representation and community were taking place, including arguments by poet Langston Hughes and critic George Schuyler. As Martha Jane Nadell notes

> Critics debated issues such as whether the Negro population demanded journalistic or realistic approaches (…) Others considered the possibility that the New Negro was best served by Modernist-inflected art and literature—abstract, experimental, self-conscious forms that could embrace both the modernity of the population and the concomitant developments in the larger American literary and visual fields. For almost all critics, one central question was how to attack stereotypes while accounting for the growth of this newly urban African American population.
>
> Other questions revolved around how representation should be disseminated. Was it better to produce novels or magazines, paintings or mass-produced illustrations? Should publishers actively encourage or discourage certain kinds of depictions or vehicles of expression? Should publications be black-produced and black-directed, or was there room for white writers, artists, publishers, editors, and their magazines in the circle of African American expression? (3).

If this is a conversation, then what makes contemporary Brazil "a site of imagination?" There was no parallel to the Harlem Renaissance in Brazil in the 1920s or 1930s. There was little question of the Afro-Brazilian community, letters, or art, except how it figured within a multiracial body politic—a unique National identity—along with Brazil's other varied racial and cultural identities. Perhaps this lack of explicit conversations in print contributed to idealized notions of Brazil as a multiracial utopia.[1] Documents such as the *Manifesto antropófago* can hardly be considered a discussion like that taking place in Harlem; critic Roberto Schwarz wrote that Oswald de Andrade's manifesto "throws absolutely no light on the politics and aesthetics of contemporary cultural life."[2] Book illustrations might be viewed as carrying on a tradition of the hybridism incipient in the Anthrophagist movement. Illustrated Brazilian works of fiction, after all, represent experiments in representation that reflect some of the same concerns and questions, "more…imagination than conversation." A sense of privileged parochialism is hard to

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[1] Writing in New Negro Movement newspaper *The Crusader*, Cyril V. Brigs characterized Brazil as having "absolute social harmony" because of miscegenation, promoting "a perfect political state thoroughly homogeneous in blood," ignoring the racial and social hierarchies that continue to persist into the 21st century (Hellwig 65–66).

[2] *Misplaced Ideas* 9; cited in Madureira, *Cannibal Modernities* 23.

avoid when so few renowned artists and writers of non-European-American backgrounds were part of the major literary scene. Of the collaborating artists and writers discussed here, only Santa Rosa had any African or otherwise non-European ancestry.

Despite these shortcomings, illustrated fiction in 20th century Brazil combined verbal and visual expression to portray multisensory realities of a country that was changing not only economically and socially due to industrialization and immigration, respectively, but also through greater aesthetic consideration for representations of non-European peoples and lives.

Santa Rosa frames "poses" of the city, new unfamiliar social classes, and does so experimenting with simple, universalizing, monochromatic style, especially in *Segredo: contos*. Poty would project this new attention to previously unnoticed segments of the population across the arid *sertão* in *Sagarana*, and across the lively streets of mid-century Rio de Janeiro in *Desabrigo*, revealing themes of danger and shelter in either work. Carybé turned his perspective, self-consciously, on the issue of authenticity, sight, belief, and worldview in works from *La carreta* to *O sumiço da santa*

Analyzing the specific illustrated texts selected for this dissertation make the questions of representation even more salient; traceable from the birth of the truly national publishing trade in the 1920s and 30s until the end of the lives of the artists and writers who started their careers in this milieu. From Santa Rosa to Poty to Carybé, representation is explored interartistically with famous and forgotten authors alike.

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