

BITING OFF MORE THAN YOU CAN CHEW:
GERMAN-BRAZILIAN CULTURAL CANNIBALISM

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To my lovely husband and kids,
without whom
this dissertation would have been completed a year ago.

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Biting off More Than You Can Chew: German-Brazilian Cultural Cannibalism

Cultural cannibalism is an aesthetic practice and an analytical tool that can be used to look closely at (trans)cultural encounters that happen in the arts. From its modernist roots, the term inherited a bold spirit, a playful self-assertion in the face of the other, a refusal to submit to the “good taste” of the metropole. This dissertation situates cultural cannibalism within the field of cultural and transnational studies and in conversation with other concepts, such as Fernando Ortiz’s *transculturation*, the *melting-pot* metaphor (both in the US and in Germany), the European *Willkommenskultur*, and the now popular *cultural appropriation*. Through concrete examples – such as the literary encounter between the German ethnographer Theodor Koch-Grünberg and the Brazilian modernist Mário de Andrade, and the (trans)cultural performances by the Swiss theater director Milo Rau – I show how cultural cannibalism is a long-needed analytical lens in the field, as it not only brings the playfulness and power inversion characteristic of its roots, but it also evokes a special affect, an irreverence and aggressivity that are not present in other concepts, as well as the idea of “punching-up,” of recognizing the agency and intentionality of the less powerful culture in a (trans)cultural interaction.

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Introduction

“Eines Tages taten sich die ausgetriebenen Brüder zusammen,
erschlugen und verzehrten den Vater und machten so der Vaterhorde ein Ende.”

– Sigmund Freud, *Totem und Tabu*. 1913

In an attempt to attract more Europeans to Brazil, Dom João VI, king of Portugal, allowed in 1808 for non-Portuguese people to own land property in the then colony. The first Swiss settlement was established in 1818, in Rio de Janeiro, and was called Nova Friburgo. Viewed as a relatively failed settlement, its lack of success is usually associated with the difficulties Europeans faced with the tropical climate.¹ The first German settlement in Brazil, however, was established in Rio Grande do Sul, a southern state of the country where the climate is milder, which may have led to its longer-term success. The settlement, called São Leopoldo, begun in 1824, after the local government allowed for the immigration of non-Catholic people.² Austria, or the Austrian Empire at the time, did not establish a specific settlement in the early 19th century, even though they sent many immigrants to Brazil as well. They were, however, one of the first countries to recognize Brazil's independence in 1825 (only three years after it was declared in 1822) and henceforth established full diplomatic relations with Brazil.³

The long history of political relations with Germanophone countries (here conceptualized not as political or territorial bodies, but rather as a cultural one), and the large diaspora of those

¹ Giralda Seyferth, “German Immigration and the Formation of German-Brazilian Ethnicity,” 1998, p. 131-2.

² Brazil's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Federal Republic of Germany,” 2014 (last updated in 2020).

³ Brazil's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Republic of Austria,” 2014 (last updated in 2021).

people present in Brazil since the country's foundation, brought an inevitable influence on the culture of both sides. Especially when looking closely at individual artists and writers, it is noticeable how the (trans)cultural encounters they experienced in their lives impacted their cultural production – and, consequently, the national culture to which they belong.

I should explain that, throughout this dissertation, I will use the term “(trans)cultural” encounter or interaction – with the parenthesis – when referring to productive interactions between different individuals and/or cultures. I chose to separate the word with parenthesis for two reasons: first, it is to differentiate it from the concept of *transculturation*, coined by Fernando Ortiz in 1947 (I explain the concept in detail in chapter one of this dissertation). And second, it is to show that the term “(trans)cultural” encompasses the idea that an encounter could happen not only between cultures of different origins (e.g., between German and Brazilian cultures), but also between different spheres of a single culture (e.g., between indigenous and urban cultures).

The effect of (trans)cultural encounters in culture and cultural productions is, of course, not limited to German-Brazilian interactions. Thus, it is not surprising that conceptualizing these encounters and their consequences has been the concern of various fields of study – from anthropology, to theory, to psychology etc. Most of the concepts used to describe these cultural moments, however, have two very clear starting points: either they are defining an encounter between cultures of equal power (in side-by-side interactions, where power structures are not important) with concepts such as *diffusion* or *grafting*; or they are defining encounters where the more powerful culture takes the initiative (in top-down interactions, where the dominant culture has the agency) with concepts such as *orientalism* or *appropriation*. Only recently has scholarship been devoted to looking at (trans)cultural encounters through a bottom-up starting

point, where the culture of less power would take the agency in the interaction. This approach appears in conceptualizations like *Afropolitanism* and *cultural cannibalism* – the latter being the main theme of this dissertation.

In the beginning of the 1900s, the Brazilian modernist movement decided to subvert the meaning and logic behind the language used internationally – especially in Europe – to talk about Brazil and its history. Initially in the arts and later, they hoped, in politics as well, avant-garde thinkers such as Mário de Andrade, Oswald de Andrade, and Tarsila do Amaral went on a search for a Brazilian national identity, trying to revolutionize the country's self-understanding and presentation, and influence culture around the world. They wished to undermine the established European cultural dominance and turn Brazil into a new authority in culture and in the arts.

These avant-garde artists promoted a culture that was uniquely Brazilian, based on indigenous and non-European elements. However, to find this uniqueness within Brazil, the external influences could not be ignored – but, instead, the approach towards them had to be changed or reinvented. The relationship to Germanic culture, for example, was deeply rooted in Brazil's cultural identity, as the theater critic Michael Laages summarizes:

Andere gute Gründe für intensive deutsch-brasilianische Nachbarschaft sind eher politisch-historischer Art: Unbelastet von kolonialem Erbe, im Gegenteil: eher befeuert von der Forscher-Kunst, die auch Alexander von Humboldt hierher getrieben hatte, und erst recht von den ganz frühen Reiseberichten, etwa dem des hessischen Kaufmanns Hans Staden, der sich schon im 16. Jahrhundert "Unter Menschenfresser Leuthen" wiedergefunden hatte und danach zu Hause davon berichtete, folgen die modernen Kulturreisenden besonders gern und intensiv einer Spur, die zu Beginn der 20er Jahre des

vorigen Jahrhunderts der Schriftsteller Oswald de Andrade auslegte. Er propagierte "Anthropophagia" als Kulturtechnik; der Kolonisierte möge den "heiligen Feind", also den Kolonisten, doch einfach "auffressen", soll heißen: sich dessen unübersehbar überlegene Qualitäten aneignen, sie verdauen, das Unnütze ausscheiden und aus dem nahrhaften Rest eine neue, und eben in diesem Fall die "brasilianische" Identität generieren.⁴

Put into words by Oswald de Andrade in his 1928 "Manifesto Antropófago"⁵, the modernists proposed the above-mentioned concept *anthropophagy*, where the unique Brazilian people, having inherited the ritual of cannibalism from the country's native culture, practiced the metaphorical eating of the other in order to become stronger; the digestion of the European culture – and many others – was what Brazil was made of. Only through anthropophagy would the Brazilian be able to be the agent of their own culture, proclaiming their independence in their own terms.

In this dissertation, I take the modernists' anthropophagy as a starting point for the discussion of (trans)cultural encounters that happened between individuals of Germanic or Brazilian origins. However, as the idea of anthropophagy is very much connected to the Brazilian modernists and their search for a national identity, I refer to this concept as *cultural cannibalism*, so that I can use it as a general analytical lens through which we can investigate moments of (trans)cultural encounters that resulted in the intentional incorporation of the other's culture into one's own. Cultural cannibalism's central elements are still those of power inversion

⁴ Michael Laages, "Der nahrhafte Rest," 2010.

⁵ Oswald de Andrade, "Manifesto Antropófago," 1928.

and playfulness, but there is not an idea of identity construction anymore – nor does it necessarily have to happen in connection to Brazil and Brazilian culture.

The central principle of this dissertation is not to elevate cultural cannibalism in opposition to other concepts that are also used to describe (trans)cultural encounters. The idea is to situate cultural cannibalism within the field of cultural and transnational studies, and to present it as a valuable tool to analyze specific interactions where the initiative comes from below – where the less powerful culture has the agency in the encounter. In order to do that, I have divided this dissertation into three main chapters: Chapter one is called “Cultural Cannibalism: Digesting (Trans)cultural Interactions;” chapter two is called “Macunaíma: The German-Brazilian Hero;” and chapter three is called “Cannibalism on Stage: Milo Rau’s (Trans)cultural Theater.”

In the first chapter, “Cultural Cannibalism: Digesting (Trans)cultural Interactions,” I set up the background of the relationship between Germanophone countries and Brazil, starting with Hans Staden, a German gunman who arrived in Brazil in 1552. He had apparently been held captive by an indigenous people while in the country, a story which he then told in Germany by publishing a travelog. The accounts of his captivity were amply supported by detailed illustrations and became a bestseller in the country. The main point that came across in Staden’s travelog was simple: he, a civilized Christian hero, fought with faith and reason against the uncivilized savage cannibals, and won.

In the long history of ethnography and anthropology fields, Hans Staden is considered the first contributor to a vast body of knowledge on nature and the indigenous population of South and Central America accumulated by Germanophone countries until the beginning of the 20th century. After talking about him, I focus my description on what happened in the field after

1750, the year that marked the early moments of German ethnography: at that point, the scholarly accounts started to look less like travelogs, and more like scientific collections of information that could be used in the knowledge bases of various fields.

A scholar who marked this shift in approach towards the collecting and retaining of knowledge of other cultures is Alexander von Humboldt, a Prussian geologist and naturalist. Humboldt believed that all nature and all cultures were intrinsically connected and deserving of equal respect, admiration, and preservation, regardless of their origin. Despite Humboldt's intentions and approach towards the cultures he studied, however, he became a sort of "German Columbus" in the mid-19th century German imaginary, exerting a huge influence in the generations that followed him and adding fuel to the colonial mission of the newly united Germany.

From the end of the 19th century up until the First World War is considered the most fruitful period of Germanic ethnography and anthropology in Latin America, housing a boom in scientific expeditions, especially to South America. This generation of scholars was focused on collecting information and documenting indigenous cultures through a systematic empirical process. Theodor Koch-Grünberg was part of this wave of German ethnographers, and he published many accounts of his field expeditions. Among them, he published a collection of myths and tales from the indigenous people of South America, which was later read and discovered by the Brazilian writer Mário de Andrade.

Before going into detail about the concept of cultural cannibalism, I also give in this first chapter a short summary of how in 1822 Brazil became an independent country but remained under the rule of a Portuguese emperor. Only 100 years after the emotionally unfulfilling independence project did the country's artists get organized and start to find a way to affirm

themselves nationally and internationally. In 1922, the modernist movement in Brazil got kick-started by the Week of Modern Art, which took place in São Paulo and hosted many Brazilian artists that were in close contact with the European avant-garde movements, like Cubism, Dadaism and Surrealism. After the Week of Modern Art, the Brazilian modernist movement consolidated itself through profuse publications, which were looking for a definition of a Brazilian national identity and tried to confront the powerful influence from European culture. Among these publications was Oswald de Andrade's *Manifesto Antropófago*, in 1928, in which he proposes an aesthetic and political strategy for dealing with the many cultures – especially the European – that invaded Brazil since the country's foundation: *anthropophagy*.

The modernists' anthropophagy is both a political and an aesthetic strategy that seeks to invert the power structure between Europe and Brazil. Through a conscious eating of selected elements of European culture, the Brazilian anthropophagus becomes stronger and is able to redefine national culture in his/her own terms. This power inversion is coupled with a sharp sense of humor that aggressively mocks the European (and indeed Brazilian creole) elites. A work that clearly shows this strategy in literature is Mário de Andrade's rhapsody, *Macunaíma*. Published in 1928, *Macunaíma* is a clear and complex cannibalization of the tales collected by Koch-Grünberg (among many other cultural sources) and is still considered a work representative of the modernists understanding of Brazilian culture and identity.

To conclude the first chapter, I place cultural cannibalism in conversation with other concepts that permeate the field of cultural and transnational studies, and that can also be used to analyze (trans)cultural interactions. As those fields are very prolific, and they hold innumerable terms and concepts of, arguably, equal validity, I chose to compare cultural cannibalism to the concepts that have more frequently appeared in the German tradition, especially when it faced

impactful encounters with cultures of different origins. I look at cultural cannibalism vis-à-vis Fernando Ortiz's *transculturation*, Edward Said's *orientalism*, the *melting-pot* metaphor (both in the US and in Germany), the European *Willkommenskultur*, the ever-evolving concept of *hybridity*, Uwe Wirth's model of *grafting*, and last but not least, the now popular *cultural appropriation*.

For the remainder of the dissertation, I move away from other concepts present in the field and turn my focus on using cultural cannibalism as an analytical lens to look at concrete examples of (trans)cultural encounters in the arts. In chapter two, "Macunaíma: The German-Brazilian Hero," for example, I look at Koch-Grünberg's life and career, and how his collected tales were cannibalized by Mário de Andrade into his rhapsody, *Macunaíma*.

The second chapter starts with a detailed background of Koch-Grünberg's education and career, also enumerating the expeditions to South America in which he took part— such as the 1911 to 1913 expedition to North-Brazil and Venezuela, based on which he published his five-volume collection, called *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*. Koch-Grünberg was born in Grünberg, Germany, in 1872, where he started his career as a schoolteacher. He was a multidisciplinary scholar, having studied classical philology, German, history, and geography, and got his habilitation degree in 1909 while working together with Karl von den Steinen at the Museum für Völkerkunde, in Berlin. If in the first chapter of this dissertation Koch-Grünberg appears as one of many scholars of the German ethnography boom in the late 19th to early 20th centuries, in the second chapter I look more closely at his particular contribution to the field, and his approach toward the native cultures of South America.

Koch-Grünberg died in 1924, during an expedition to northwestern Brazil, where he experienced a severe malaria attack. His work was discovered a few years after his death by the

Brazilian writer Mário de Andrade, who at the time was looking for a way to expand and to redefine the idea of what Brazil and Brazilian culture were as a national identity. The idea that a German ethnographer had taken part of the Brazilian national identity to Europe, and this identity was now being brought back to Brazil, was fundamental in the creation of Andrade's work, and led him to cannibalize the indigenous tales collected by Koch-Grünberg in the second volume of *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*⁶ into a rhapsody called *Macunaíma*⁷.

After discussing the historical background of Andrade's book and its reception in Brazil throughout the 20th century, I talk about the language and style of *Macunaíma*, which cause it to become a stranger to its own time and a target for accusations of plagiarism, only being recognized as a part of the Brazilian literary canon in the 60s and 70s. With a sharp, aggressive humor and a complex, almost impenetrable language, *Macunaíma* combines the unapologetic cannibalization of various sources and cultures (Koch-Grünberg included) and is the literary embodiment of the modernist anthropophagic project.

The main body of this dissertation's second chapter, however, consists of the analysis of the (trans)cultural encounter between Koch-Grünberg and Andrade. From the over 50 collected tales published by Koch-Grünberg, I selected 20 to discuss the cannibalization process incorporating Koch-Grünberg into Andrade's rhapsody. The works selected are not meant to be a comprehensive guide to parallels but are representatives of the cultural cannibalism concept – both as a process as well as an aesthetic form.

⁶ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco: Mythen und Legenden der Taulipang-und Arekuna-Indianer*, 1917.

⁷ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma, O Herói Sem Nenhum Character*, 1928.

In the third chapter, “Cannibalism on Stage: Milo Rau’s (Trans)cultural Theater,” I make a jump in time and genre, and use cultural cannibalism as an analytical lens to look at the contemporary theater from the Swiss director Milo Rau, whose career and popularity have taken off in the past decade. Whereas chapter two examines an aesthetic practice that identifies itself as cultural cannibalism, chapter three examines a contemporary aesthetic practice that does not go by that name, but where cultural cannibalism can serve as a productive lens for analyzing it.

Among Milo Rau’s achievements, we can count over 50 published plays, films, books and actions, and various prizes and awards, like the Swiss Theater Award in 2014, the European Theatre Prize in 2018, and two honorary doctorates: one from Lund University in 2019, and another from Ghent University in 2020. Rau was the artistic leader of NTGent since 2018 but is now leaving this position to become the new curator of the Wiener Festwochen in Vienna, Austria, in 2024.⁸

Rau proposes that what he does cannot simply be called political theater – or even theater at all, as he sees theater as an ineffective art form. His projects must be initiators of critical thinking, and bring to the stage “something more important, more essential, more decisive, and, finally, realer than in so-called *real life*,”⁹ and therefore have to be reshaped into a new form of political activism. To that end, he published in 2018 the “Ghent Manifesto,”¹⁰ which present a set of ten rules that would guide him, and NTGent productions, in his redefinitions of theater as a tool to show and change reality.

⁸ More information on Milo Rau’s life and career can be found on NTGent’s website profile page, at www.ntgent.be/en/ensemble/milo-rau.

⁹ Milo Rau, “In my projects, there is no as-if,” *Global Realism*, 2018, p. 198.

¹⁰ Milo Rau, “Ghent Manifesto,” *Global Realism*, 2018, pp. 279-81.

Even though Rau is trying to step away from the label of “theater,” I propose in the third chapter that many of his productions could be considered part of a (trans)cultural theater, as he creates in them a space for different cultures and individuals of different cultural backgrounds to connect; a space for (trans)cultural encounters to happen. To discuss Rau’s (trans)cultural theater, I look in detail at two of his performances, *Mitleid. Die Geschichte des Maschinengewehrs*¹¹, which premiered in 2016, and *Orest in Mossul*¹², which premiered in 2019. I also look at his theater vis-à-vis the performance *Ausländer raus!* (2000) by the late German theater director Christoph Schlingensief, who was also known for challenging the traditional notions of “stage,” and of who should appear on the stage.

Rau’s use of different cultures in his projects generates questions of authenticity and power structures, especially when thinking about what reality he wants his audience to experience during the performances. To help me digest Rau’s use of “the other” on stage, I bring two scholars to bear on this chapter. One is Azadeh Sharif, with his article “Theatre and Migration: Documentation, Influences and Perspectives in European Theatre,”¹³ and the other is Rebecca Schneider, with her talk “Appearing to Others as Others Appear.”¹⁴

In dialogue with Sharif and Schneider, I use cultural cannibalism to look at concrete examples from Rau’s performances where (trans)cultural encounters happen. The complexity of the projects’ cultural belonging and the occurrences of cultural cannibalism surface especially during his latest project, *Antigone in the Amazon* (2023)¹⁵, where Rau worked directly with the indigenous artist and activist Kay Sara, as well as with the Brazilian Landless Workers

¹¹ Milo Rau, *Mitleid. Die Geschichte des Maschinengewehrs*, 2016, Schaubühne, Berlin.

¹² Milo Rau, *Orest in Mossul*. 2019, NTGent, Ghent.

¹³ Azadeh Sharif, “Theatre and Migration: Documentation, Influences and Perspectives in European Theatre,” 2017.

¹⁴ Rebecca Schneider, “Appearing to Others as Others Appear,” 2020.

¹⁵ Milo Rau, *Antigone in the Amazon*, 2023, NTGent, Ghent.

Movement (MST), a mass social movement that fights for land reform and against social injustice in Brazil. It becomes clear that Rau's approach to (trans)cultural encounters evolved throughout the years, and that even though the space he creates on stage remains complex in terms of power structures, it allows for more instances of cultural cannibalism to happen.

Throughout the chapters of the dissertation, I demonstrate that cultural cannibalism can be an effective analytical lens to evaluate (trans)cultural encounters in the arts, especially as it fulfills a need in the field for tools to look at cultural movements where the initiative was taken by the less powerful culture, establishing agency from below. More importantly, by separating the concept from its modernist roots, but embracing its punch-up approach towards power structures, as well as the characteristic humor that it allows, cultural cannibalism demarcates a productive aesthetic strategy that can be used by various art genres and movements.

Cultural Cannibalism: Digesting (Trans)cultural Interactions

“I, your food, have come.”

Hans Staden, *Warhaftige Historia*. 1557

AMUSE-BOUCHE

Following a series of shipwrecks, a German soldier called Hans Staden arrived in the coast of Brazil in 1552. After a couple of weeks working for the Portuguese (who invaded the continent half a century before), he was captured by the *Tupinambá* people, and only managed to escape on board of a French ship in 1555. Once he made it back to Germany, he published a travel log called *Warhaftige Historia und beschreibung eyner Landtschafft der Wilden Nacketen, Grimmigen Menschfresser-Leuthen in der Newenwelt America gelegen*,¹⁶ illustrated by detailed woodcuts, where he tells the story of his adventures and his time in captivity.

Between describing the Indigenous people and not shaving, for he “would only die with his beard,”¹⁷ Staden’s narrative has two clear main themes: cannibalism and Christianity. He presents himself as one of the few, if not the only true Christian around during his voyage, especially since the Portuguese and French he encountered did not help him escape – and as Christian Europeans, they *should* have. He talks about how he made “the savages” believe that his God listened to him, but as the narrative goes on, he seems to believe more and more himself that his pleas to God are being heard, and that, because of him, God is stopping the rain, or making ships sink. Staden also constantly mentions cannibalism within the tribe, which is

¹⁶ First published in 1557.

¹⁷ Hans Staden, *The True History of His Captivity*, p. 67.

described as an almost daily practice. If any slave were to fall ill, or if the *Tupinambá* took any prisoners, they would be eaten and enthusiastically savored by all. If an Indigenous woman were to have a child of a white man, the tribe would raise the child, but may end up killing and eating it once it grew up. The act of eating in itself (regardless of the food being human or not) is described in detail, as if the Indigenous people were violent animals, devouring their prey.

Hans Staden may not have been the first European to talk about cannibalism in the then called New World, but he was one of the most famous ones. The first official case of cannibalism of a European in Brazil, however, was reported by a Portuguese governmental representative, Mem de Sá, about a year after the escape of Hans Staden¹⁸: The report is about a Portuguese priest, Dom Pedro Fernandes Sardinha (an ironic name, as it means the very flavorful “sardine”) who became Brazil's first bishop in 1551. He resigned from his position in 1556 and met his fate shortly thereafter: he and his companions shipwrecked in the north coast of Bahia and were captured by the *Caeté* people – a tribe that had allied themselves to the French. Bishop Sardinha was apparently not as good a negotiator as Staden claimed to be, for the bishop was immediately killed and eaten, alongside his companions, by the *Caetés*. Mem de Sá, the Portuguese informant, was enraged by this turn of events, and declared open season on the *Caeté* people: they could be killed at will, and the ones who survived could be enslaved. Even though some may have survived through assimilation into the Portuguese culture, the *Caeté* tribe was, not surprisingly, made extinct.

The eating of Bishop Sardinha was so influential in the history of the Portuguese invasion in the continent, that it was taken up by the Brazilian modernist Oswald de Andrade in

¹⁸ *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, 1984, p. 515.

his *Manifesto Antropófago*¹⁹: the manifesto does not use the Western (Christian) calendar, but it is dated at the end as “Year 374 of the Ingestion of bishop Sardinha”²⁰ – as if Brazil had only started to be a state with the first ingestion of a European by an Indigenous person, and so should the date be commemorated.

Starting with Hans Staden in the 1500s, through Alexander von Humboldt in the 1800s, the tradition of German travel logs about South America reaches Theodor Koch-Grünberg in the beginning of the 1900s, culminating in his 5-volume work *Vom Roraima Zum Orinoco-Ergebnisse Einer Reise in Nordbrasilien und Venezuela in den Jahren 1911-1913*²¹. The second volume of this series, *Mythen und Legenden der Taulipang- und Arekuna-Indianer*²², became an immediate best-seller, and was discovered by the Brazilian modernist Mário de Andrade a decade later. And Mário de Andrade celebrated the discovery by eating Koch-Grünberg.

NINA MORAIS

Year 94 of the Ingestion of Koch-Grünberg.

¹⁹ Oswald de Andrade, “Manifesto Antropófago,” 1972, pp. 11-20.

²⁰ Ibid, my translation. Original in Portuguese: “Ano 374 da Deglutição do bispo Sardinha”

²¹ Before publishing *Vom Roraima Zum Orinoco* in 1916, Koch-Grünberg published two other titles: *Indianertypen aus dem Amazonasgebiet nach eigenen Aufnahmen während seiner Reise in Brasilien* (1906) and *Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern: Reisen in Nordwest-Brasilien 1903-1905* (1909).

²² Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009.

APPETIZER

Before serving as a nutritious source to Andrade, Koch-Grünberg contributed to the blooming period of the German-language ethnography, between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. The Germanic interest in South America, however, started back in the 1500s, with Europe rushing to explore the Atlantic Sea, and the “discovery” of the New World. Hans Staden’s *Warhaftige Historia* is considered the first contribution to a vast body of knowledge that was accumulated by the German-speaking countries concerning nature and the indigenous population of South and Central America. Between Staden’s captivity and Koch-Grünberg’s voyages, many others have also made the journey to the Americas in search of *terra incognita*. Below are some examples of travelers and their fields of specialty, as described in the 2019 article “The German Tradition in Latin American Anthropology,” by Han F. Vermeulen et al:

Soldiers: Hans Staden (c.1525-c.1576), Ulrich Schmidl (1510-1581)

Naturalists: Georg Marcgraf (1610-1644), Maria Sibylla Merian (1647-1717), Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859)

Missionaries: Martin Dobrizhoffer (1717-1791), Florian Paucke (1719-1779)

Zoologists: Prince Maximilian zu Wied-Neuwied (1782-1867), Johann Baptist von Spix (1781-1826)

Botanist: Carl Friedrich Phillip von Martius (1794-1868)

Physician: Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff (1774-1852)²³

²³ (My emphasis and formatting). Han F. Vermeulen et al., “The German Tradition in Latin American Anthropology,” 2019, pp. 66-8.

As illustrated by the names and specialties mentioned above, the interest in the New World reached all different fields of study, reflecting the century's European mentality of colonial "discovery", exploration, and expansion. After 1750, however, there is a shift on the nature of these travels – and of the travelogues published thereafter – marking the early formational moments of the German ethnography field. Especially after the publications of Alexander von Humboldt, a Prussian geologist and naturalist, the investigation of the Americas became more scientific, "more focused on collecting information that could be integrated into global systems of knowledge."²⁴

Within the context of an escalating anticolonial pressure, Humboldt believed that culture was not just a European phenomenon but was intrinsically connected to the native peoples of the Americas, that all nature was interconnected.²⁵ By focusing on the nature, geography, flora, fauna of the land he investigated, Humboldt presented the Americas "as virgin territory open to new explorers."²⁶ Humboldt became a new Columbus in the German imaginary, opening the doors for an intellectual exploration of the Americas. Humboldt's voyages and his impact in Germany, especially in the mid-19th century nationalist project, is widely discussed in the book *Colonial Fantasies*, written by the late Germanist Susanne Zantop. She describes, for example, how influential Humboldt's approach was to Germany's colonial mission after the unification of Germany in 1871.

While Humboldt occasionally takes into account the inhabitants of the New World, particularly the creole elites, the image of European man entering, exploring, and

²⁴ Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*, 1997, p. 35.

²⁵ Many of Humboldt's publications reflect his views on nature and his respect for the cultures in the Americas. A good reference for his approach would be one of his most famous works based on his travels: *Ansichten der Kordillieren und Monumente der eingeborenen Voelker Amerikas*, 1810-13.

²⁶ Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*, 1997, p. 165.

classifying “empty” territories and their treasures prevails. ... Humboldt counters the tradition of denigration of the New World’s physical nature by idealizing nature. Yet his characterization of the natives as feeble and degenerate indicates his indebtedness to that very same tradition. ... Humboldt’s observations serve to confirm what the public had been told or wanted to hear all along: that conquests are natural events, and that they are nonviolent as long as the weaker, recognizing his weakness, cedes.²⁷

According to Zantop, Humboldt, in his position of an “objective” scientist, legitimized the German desire for conquest, reflecting an idealized national self-perception of the Germans as humane, selfless explorers, who had a right to own and protect the “empty territories” of the New World.

In his 2018 essay “‘Culture’ Crosses the Atlantic: The German Sources of *The Mind of Primitive Man*,” the anthropologist Harry Liebersohn acknowledges and sympathizes with Zantop’s interpretation. He, however, offers his own understanding of the influence that travelers and writers from the late 18th to the early 19th century had on the German tradition, which became increasingly intoxicated with colonialism in the generations following Humboldt:

I have made my own contributions to the case for the cosmopolitanism of German culture in the so- called *Sattelzeit*, or transitional moment, from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century in travelers and writers like Georg Forster, Wilhelm von Humboldt, and Adelbert von Chamisso. On the other hand, I have tried to show how the intoxication with overseas empire distorted academics’ judgment by the early twentieth century. No one, no matter how sympathetic to German traditions of interpretation, can read deeply in

²⁷ Ibid. p. 167.

the primary sources of the latter period—and in particular the sources relating to travel and early anthropology—without encountering the era’s nationalism and offhand arrogance toward the peoples beyond northern Europe.²⁸

After the establishment of the German Empire, and highly influenced by the Humboldtian tradition, the field of ethnography in Germany saw its most fruitful period in history, with many scholars and scientists going on South American expeditions. These investigative journeys were financed mainly by German and Austrian museums, who competed to obtain the highest prestige in Europe with their ethnographic collections on lesser-known regions and peoples. Continuing their description of the German anthropology tradition in Latin America, Vermeulen et al. summarize the boom of scientific expeditions in the end of the 19th century:

The period between 1880 and the end of World War I can be considered a Great Age of German-language anthropology in Latin America. A series of expeditions, field research, and ethnographic monographs from this period have become classics in Americanist ethnology. Well-known representatives, in addition to [Karl] von den Steinen [(1855-1929)], are Paul Ehrenreich (1855-1914), Konrad Theodor Preuss (1869-1938), Theodor Koch-Grünberg (1872-1924), Max Schmidt (1874-1950), Felix Speiser (1880-1949), Fritz Krause (1881-1963), and several other anthropologists[.] ... Female scholars included the Austrian ethnologists Wanda Hanke (1893-1958), who studied indigenous groups in Brazil, Bolivia, Argentina, and Paraguay, ... and Violetta Becker-Donner

²⁸ Harry Liebersohn, “‘Culture’ Crosses the Atlantic: The German Sources of *The Mind of Primitive Man*,” 2018, p. 92.

(1911-1975), who worked for the Ethnological Museum of Vienna and conducted fieldwork in Africa as well as in Central and Northern Brazil[.]²⁹

These scholars followed the traditional German research practice of systematic empirical data collection, that focused on collecting information and knowledge through objects and through the documentation of languages, myths, art, folklore, etc. This generation of ethnologists mostly reflected on the impact of their fieldwork, as well as the conditions and subjectivities of their expeditions, in private correspondence with other scholars. Their contemplations, consequently, are not easily found in the scientific publications of the time.³⁰

Koch-Grünberg was part of this generation of ethnologists that actively practiced “salvage ethnography”³¹: they would look for the most remote native people possible, and try to prevent their cultural diversity from extinction by documenting everything possible, from their appearance to their music, food, tools, etc. Sharing the respect and celebration of non-European cultures that were present in Humboldt, Koch-Grünberg saw ethnography as a science that could only exist if guided by humanistic principles. Koch-Grünberg feared the disappearance of indigenous people and believed that the contact with European culture was extremely damaging to those populations. His perception of Europe clearly fell into decay after the first world war, and he classified the “Old World” in a private correspondence as a “kulturlose weisse Menschheit.”³²

Throughout his career, Koch-Grünberg created tight bonds with many intellectuals from Brazil, like the historian Capistrano de Abreu, an autodidact free black man during the slavery

²⁹ Han F. Vermeulen et al., “The German Tradition in Latin American Anthropology,” 2019, p. 70.

³⁰ Ibid. pp. 72-3.

³¹ Erik Petscheries, “Theodor Koch-Grünberg (1872-1924),” 2019, p. 202.

³² Ibid. p. 205.

period in Brazil, who exchanged countless letters and publications with the German ethnologist. Koch-Grünberg's famous 1920 book, *Indianermärchen aus Südamerika*, is a great example of how his personal relationship to Brazilian intellectuals influenced his work, as it directly borrowed myths from Abreu's own book.

[The book] contains myths from the Kaxinawá that Koch-Grünberg extracted and translated from “the excellent and extensive work by the Brazilian Capistrano de Abreu on the fairy world of the Kaschinawa, an Indian tribe in western Brazil” (Koch-Grünberg, 1920: III). Koch-Grünberg sent this book to Capistrano de Abreu with two others as a sign of his “admiration and respect.” He recommended Abreu's book to his colleagues, advised research institutes to invite Abreu to collaborate, and published a book review of Abreu's Bakairi study in the journal *Anthropos*.³³

Koch-Grünberg's borrowing of Abreu's work, as well as the myths and legends he collected from the native peoples in his expeditions to South America, show his appreciation and celebration of non-European cultures. Even though he comes from a tradition of systematic empirical research, Koch-Grünberg's work inevitably opened the door for debates on cultural translation and other forms of cultural taking – such as *anthropophagy*, the cultural and political movement created by Brazilian modernists a few years after his death.

³³ Ibid. p. 204.

MAIN COURSE

The year 2022 (as this dissertation is being written) marks two important anniversaries³⁴ for Brazil: 200 years of the country's proclaimed political independence, and 100 years of the Week of Modern Art. The two events, however, have tried to do the exact same thing: separate Brazil from Europe, as well as "elevate" Brazil to Europe's level – the idea that Brazil was not on the same level as Portugal and Europe in general, reaffirmed after the 1822 proclamation of independence, had been resisted throughout the century, reaching the 1922 Week of Modern Art. We may be able to blame this underdog mentality on how the political independence of the country happened in the first place.³⁵

In order to flee from Napoleon's invasion, the Portuguese royal family established themselves in Rio de Janeiro in 1808. With their arrival, Brazil underwent a thorough infrastructure expansion, and many institutions were created to allow the royal family to rule the Kingdom of Portugal directly from Rio (e.g., the first national bank, military academies, medical schools, printing press, etc.). These reforms laid the basis for the country's political independence. One of the most impactful changes, however, was the immediate opening of Brazil's ports to international trade. After the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, and the Liberal Revolution in Portugal in 1820, King João VI was forced back to his birth country, and left his son, Dom Pedro, as the regent prince of Brazil in 1821. A year later, Dom Pedro had to take a side, as Portugal tried to gradually undermine Brazilian sovereignty, and the Brazilian residents were not satisfied with the current situation. On September 7th, 1822, Dom Pedro declared

³⁴ A third important anniversary is worth mentioning: 100 years of the foundation of Brazil's Communist Party.

³⁵ I am offering here my own summary and interpretation of the historical events. For a broader look into Brazil's history, specifically the fight to independence and the reign of Dom Pedro I, refer to Laurentino Gomes's *1822* (2015), John Armitage's *The History of Brazil* (1836), and Isabel Lustosa's *D. Pedro I* (2006), my main sources for the topic in this dissertation.

Brazil's independence from Portugal (under his own rule, of course) and soon Brazil became the Empire of Brazil – not a Kingdom, as Dom Pedro (now Dom Pedro I) did not want it to look like he was usurping his dad's crown. The new emperor made it crystal clear that, if João VI ever returned to Brazil, Dom Pedro I would step down from the throne, and give it back to his father.

Dom Pedro's declaration of independence was not a heroic cry for freedom, as many may believe after seeing the 1888 painting portraying the moment, *Independência ou morte*, by Pedro Américo. As it turns out, Dom Pedro was an actual sweaty mess, suffering from severe diarrhea, as he climbed up the hill near the Ipiranga river, marching towards São Paulo city.³⁶ During his journey, he received news from Portugal that put him in a pickle: either he would become a tool of the Portuguese *Cortes*, as they had removed all of his regent power, and annulled any decisions he had taken regarding Brazil so far; or he would give in to the population's pressure, who was showing signs of a rapidly approaching revolution, and declare independence. In a little fit of anger, he crumpled the letters that brought news from Portugal and declared:

... [T]hat is what they want, then I will give it to them. The courts persecute me, with such contempt, calling me a little boy [*rapazinho*] and a Brazilian. Well, now they will see how much this little boy is worth. From now on our relations are broken. I want nothing more to do with the Portuguese government and I proclaim Brazil, forever, separate from Portugal.³⁷

Dom Pedro's declaration of independence served its purpose, as it calmed down most of the tensions arising within Brazil's population. The reasoning behind the decision, however, left a bitter taste in the Brazilians mouths, leading to resistance towards the government, and a need of

³⁶ Laurentino Gomes, *1822*, 2015, pp. 27-40.

³⁷ *Ibid* (my translation) p. 35.

heroization of Dom Pedro I, as if the population was not satisfied with the new Brazilian “hero” – I wonder why? About a decade after his frustrating declaration of independence in 1831, Dom Pedro I rushed into another important historical decision for Brazil, also because of European pressure: he abdicated his emperor position to go back to Portugal in order to help his daughter, Maria II, regain her throne there. He left Brazil to be ruled by his youngest child, Dom Pedro II, who was 5 years old at the time.

Looking at how Brazil’s political independence came to be, and how the country was irresponsibly left to be ruled by a child, it is not surprising that it took over a century for the country’s art scene to find its footing nationally and try to position itself internationally. The Week of Modern Art (*Semana de Arte Moderna*) took place in São Paulo’s opera house in 1922, and it kick-started the modernist movement in Brazil – it is also usually considered the moment responsible for the spread of European avant-garde Cubism, Dada and Surrealism to the country³⁸. The artists that organized and took part in the Week (Graça Aranha, Mário de Andrade, Oswald de Andrade, Victor Brechet, Di Cavalcanti, Anita Malfatti, Paulo Prado, Heitor Villa-Lobos, etc.) were in close contact with the European art scene, and still related this event as a moment for Brazilian culture to “catch-up” to Europe – a movement that Brazil *had* to do in order to achieve maturity in the arts.

After the Week of Modern Art, the consolidation of the modernist movement in Brazil took place through prolific publications: e.g., Oswald de Andrade’s *Memórias sentimentais de João Miramar* (1923); Manuel Bandeira’s *O ritmo dissoluto* (1924); Mário de Andrade’s *A escrava que não é Isaura* (1925); Cassiano Ricardo’s *Vamos caçar papagaios* (1926); Mário de

³⁸ Lisette Lagnado, “Antropophagy as Cultural Strategy,” 2015, p. 12.

Andrade's *Clã do jaboti* and *Amar, verbo intransitivo* (1927); and Mário de Andrade's *Macuníma* (1928). These (and other) works confronted the question of what "national" means, reaching for a definition of a Brazilian national voice and emphasizing the eliminated and erased aspects of history and identity that happened under the foreign perspective and influence. As explained by Luciana Namorato, in her 2011 book, called *Diálogos Borgianos*:

Several works of Brazilian modernism choose to examine the outline of national identity as a product of a foreign gaze – or a native gaze accustomed to seeing itself through foreign lenses –, constructed either from the Portuguese point of view, during the more than three hundred years of political colonization, or from both the English and French points of view, during the decades of economic and cultural domination that followed Brazil's independence.³⁹

In this search for a redefinition of a national identity, the Brazilian modernism tried not only to rediscover the past, but also, from the confrontation of the foreign influences throughout the country's history, to construct it anew.

Even though he was one of the organizers of the Week of Modern Art, Oswald de Andrade slowly stepped away from the idea of Brazil being a cultural underling of Europe, and published two manifestos that proposed a paradigm shift in relation to the birth of modernism in Brazil, diverting attention away from the Week and into new alternative cultural agendas: *Manifesto da Poesia Pau-Brasil* (1924) and *Manifesto Antropófago* (1928). Coming from these texts, Andrade proposed an aesthetic and emancipatory cultural strategy that would aggressively

³⁹ My translation. Original in Portuguese: "Várias obras do modernismo brasileiro optam por examinar o traçado da identidade nacional como produto de um olhar estrangeiro – ou de um olhar nativo acostumado a enxergar-se através das lentes estrangeiras –, construído seja sob o ponto de vista português, durante os mais de trezentos anos de colonização política, seja sob os pontos de vista inglês e francês, durante as décadas de dominação econômica e cultural que se seguem à independência do Brasil." Luciana Namorato, *Diálogos Borgianos*, 2011, p. 61.

incorporate the European other in order to become culturally stronger and invert the social and political structural powers in play: *antropofagia* (anthropophagy). In discussing “the Brazilian *modernista* revolution,” Sérgio Luiz Prado Bellei explains “anthropophagy”:

Historically situated, therefore, Oswald’s *antropofagia* is a new version of the recurrent motif of the cultural encounter between the powerful and the dispossessed on the frontier.... Andrade’s anthropophagus always resists being absorbed by the foreign discourse and tries to absorb it instead ... the ambivalent strategy of incorporation by means of which the strength of the cultural other is used for the creation of a separate cultural identity.⁴⁰

The term anthropophagy aims for an inversion of the power dynamic between Europe and Brazil, where the dispossessed Brazilian resists assimilation into the powerful European culture by absorbing/eating specific cultural elements to strengthen their own self. In regard to the choice of cannibalism as a metaphor to describe this dynamic cultural encounter, Lagnado explains that “Andrade’s interest in the indigenous practice of anthropophagy refers to its rule of selectiveness: not everything is eaten, only that which is lacking for the constitution of an ideal identity.”⁴¹ Selectiveness, however, is not the only reason for the reference to this specific indigenous practice: using humor as a central aesthetic element to the movement, the modernists took cannibalism as an irreverent and aggressive way to mock the refinement of the elite in Europe; the cannibal savage takes the role of punching up against the imposed European cultural sophistication. Their anthropophagy is both a political and an aesthetic strategy, which recognizes the importance and influence of the foreign presence in Brazilian culture, but suggests

⁴⁰ Sérgio Luiz Prado Bellei, “Brazilian anthropophagy revisited,” 1998, p. 99.

⁴¹ Lisette Lagnado, “Antropophagy as Cultural Strategy,” 2015, p.13.

a redefinition of national identity through the absorption of selective foreign elements that could enrich the Brazilian culture – which would then, as a new organic synthesis, be exported back to Europe and the rest of the world.

Maybe the best example of the aesthetic strategy proposed by Oswald de Andrade's anthropophagy came from a contemporaneous writer that coincidentally shared his last name: Mário de Andrade. Andrade's rhapsody, *Macunaíma*, first published in 1928, personifies the modernist search for a national identity through its protagonist by way of a mixture of stories, legends, indigenous languages, dialects, African rituals, etc. The result of Andrade's anthropophagy is Macunaíma, a "hero without any character," representing the amorphous nature of the Brazilian identity proposed by modernism at the time. Looking into specific examples of *Macunaíma*, we can clearly see the aesthetic element of *anthropophagy*.⁴² In *Macunaíma*'s sixth chapter, "The French Lady and the Giant"⁴³, for example, the main character, Macunaíma, is captured by the Piaiman giant, who is known for eating people. Macunaíma (disguised as a French woman) becomes stuck in the giant's trap, but escapes at the end.

The Frenchwoman swerved behind a bush in order to hide, but there was a little Negress there blocking the way. Macunaíma not grasping who she was, whispered to her, "Catharina, let me pass!" ... "Catharina, let me pass or I'll slap you!"

Catharina didn't budge. Macunaíma gave the wretched creature a slap in the face, and his hand stuck to her. "Catharina, let go of my hand and get out of my way or I'll give you another wallop, I'm telling you!" ... Macunaíma dealt it another slap with his

⁴² The *Macunaíma* example brought here, as well as other examples fitting to this argument and more information on Andrade himself, can be found in the second chapter of this dissertation, where I give an in-depth analysis of Andrade's cannibalization work in relation to Koch-Grünberg's collected tales.

⁴³ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, pp. 41-9.

free hand, which was also imprisoned. “Catharina, Chatarina! Let go of my hands, kinky-hair, or I’ll kick the stuffing out of you!” He gave it a kick and his foot was held fast. At last the hero got himself completely glued to the sticky dummy.

At this point Piaiman arrived with a basket. He plucked the Frenchwoman from the trap and shouted to the basket, “Open your mouth, basket, open your big mouth!” The basket opened and the giant stuffed the hero in it. The basket closed again, Piaiman picked it up and went back to the house with it.⁴⁴

The narrative of Andrade’s chapter, the sequence of events and a lot of the language was cannibalized from Koch-Grünberg’s ninth collected tale, “Makunaima in der Schlinge des Piaima.”⁴⁵ In the tale, the Indigenous deity, Makunaíma, falls into a trap of the god Piaĩ’mã, who is known for eating people, and he almost gets eaten himself. When Makunaíma encounters the trap, he tries to set himself free, but only manages to get even more stuck in it. And the event unfold as follows:

Sie [Makunaíma und sein Bruder] fanden eine Schlinge des Piaĩ’mã. ... Dann wollte Makunaíma die Schlinge mit dem Fuß fortstoßen. Da wurde sein Fuß gefesselt. Dann wollte er sie mit der Hand fortstoßen. Da wurde seine Hand gefesselt. Dann wollte er sie mit der anderen Hand fortstoßen. Aber die Schlinge faßte auch seine andere Hand. Dann wollte er mit dem anderen Fuß fortstoßen. Aber die Schlinge faßte auch diesen Fuß.

... Nach kurzer Zeit kam Piaĩ’mã. Er brachte einen großen Tragkorb mit. Er zog Makunaíma aus der Schlinge heraus und steckte ihn in den Tragkorb. Er sagte zum Tragkorb: „Öffne dein Maul, dein großes Maul!“ Da öffnete der Tragkorb sein Maul.

⁴⁴ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, p. 45-6.

⁴⁵ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 1917, pp. 47-8.

Piaĩ'mã steckte Makunaíma hinein, und der Tragkorb machte sein Maul wieder zu.

Piaĩ'mã lud ihn auf den Rücken und ging davon.⁴⁶

Especially in the moment in which the giant comes to collect the hero, Mário de Andrade took it almost word by word in his chapter six, as we see, for example, with the giant's words "Öffne dein Maul, dein großes Maul!" – and in Andrade: "Open your mouth, basket, open your big mouth!").

Interesting to notice is the cultural movement that happened within the cannibalization process of Andrade's rhapsody. Koch-Grünberg collected the tales from native basin tribes during his travels (through an Indigenous guide who spoke Portuguese, and told and translated the tales to Koch-Grünberg) translated them to German himself, and published them in Germany – which could be considered a cannibalization process in itself. Mário de Andrade, in a way, re-collected the tales from Germany, and re-translated them to Portuguese, bringing them back to Brazil. Andrade is cannibalizing not only Koch-Grünberg and his interpretations of the tales, but also the native basin culture that remained in the text. This intricate cultural movement reflects the complexity present at the core of Brazil's culture.

Andrade's technique also reflects (and reflects on) this complexity by not only cannibalizing Koch-Grünberg's text, but various other sources, at the same time, throughout the rhapsody – an element that is clearly noticeable even in the short passage mentioned above. For instance, the giant in the passage is himself a hybrid being, called "Venceslau Pietro Pietra." Not only he is the cannibal indigenous god, Piaimã, but he also has Peruvian and Italian origins (referenced by his last names, both in Spanish and Italian languages), lives in a castle in the

⁴⁶ Ibid p. 47.

metropolis São Paulo, and is extremely rich and a collector of all things valuable. Even the choice of this character's name shows a lot of (cannibalistic) thought from Andrade:

“Venceslau” refers to a former Brazilian president, Wenceslau Braz, who was in office from 1914 to 1918, during which period the country cut its relationships with the German Empire (after German submarines sank a Brazilian ship in 1917) and an industrial recession caused the first great proletariat strike (that stopped São Paulo city, also in 1917); the character's last name “Pietro Pietra” not only sounds like a word play, using both Spanish and Italian to refer to his foreign origins, but it literally means “Stone Stone.” This element is again a reference back to Koch-Grünberg's collected tales, as people were often transformed into stone as punishment for going against Makunaíma or some natural law of the forest. On that same idea of transformation, Venceslau is the only character in the rhapsody that does not become a constellation, or has any kind of soul transformation after his death – he remains a stone symbol for the soulless capitalistic metropolis he loved so much, São Paulo. With Venceslau Pietro Pietra, Andrade created a hybrid character that criticizes those who forgot their original, natural, primitive values in exchange for the European, capitalistic ones. Andrade reverses the dominant discourse of civilized vs. savage, by using the “savage” type of cannibal, the man-eating Venceslau, to refer to the Europeans, who (like Venceslau) invaded the country to collect riches and impose their way of life.

In addition to Pietro Pietra, Andrade writes in more ironic references to Europe in this chapter. Macunaíma, for example, disguised himself as a French woman in order to seduce the giant. With this choice, Andrade has mixed in his text a common stereotype of the Brazilian culture of the time, as French women were known in Brazil for being beautiful and sensual – perhaps because of the vaudeville comedies, which were prominent at the turn of the century.

Another cannibalized source can be seen in the sticky doll that traps the hero. Andrade recreates the giant's trap using elements of an African tale of a wax doll, made to resemble a young girl who had just hit puberty⁴⁷. The wax-doll in *Macunaíma* is called "Catharina" (*Catarina* in the original Portuguese). Not only is this name considered in Brazil as stereotypical for Portuguese women, but it was also the name of Dom João IV's⁴⁸ daughter, Catarina de Bragança, who married England's king Charles II in 1662. Even though Catarina was not seen favorably by her British contemporaries for following catholic tradition and maintaining her Portuguese decorum, she is considered responsible for bringing to England the custom of eating with silverware – instead of bare hands – in addition to the famous daily habit of drinking tea⁴⁹. There could be many reasons for Andrade's choice of the name 'Catarina' – he never explained it. We can interpret it as a mockery, or a caricature of the history of Brazil: the indigenous hero, Macunaíma, stubborn and aggressive, gets caught in a sticky trap of the Portuguese culture, represented by no other than queen Catarina, the one who brought "high-culture" and etiquette to the British people – and all of it is being mediated by the African culture, the wax-doll tale. This transcultural encounter overlaps with the larger anthropophagic process of the rhapsody (Koch-Grünberg, a European, who collected/cannibalized native tales, was cannibalized by a creole, Andrade, who digested him into *Macunaíma*).

⁴⁷ As a textual reference for the wax doll tale here, I have used Harry Johnston, "The Wax Doll, a West African version of the Stickfast motif," 1906, pp. 1087-9. It is impossible to tell, however, which specific African tale Andrade used as his source. In the US, a similar figure appeared in the beginning of the 20th Century, the "Tar baby," in the Br'er Rabbit tradition, which was collected in Joel Chandler Harris's *Uncle Remus* stories, and it is believed to have its origins in the Bantu-speaking peoples of Africa. It is, however, unlikely that the Br'er Rabbit was used by Andrade, as this tradition did not reach Brazil during his lifetime.

⁴⁸ João IV was the first king of Portugal from the House of Braganza – from the same house, but not to be mixed with João VI, the monarch that escape Napoleon by fleeing to Brazil.

⁴⁹ Lillias Campbell Davidson, *Catherine of Bragança*, 1908, p. 112. I should also point out that only through the marriage of Catarina was England allowed access to trade with Brazil – no other country had been given permission by Portugal before.

Through Mário de Andrade's *Macunaíma*, we can see how the trope of cannibalism became an aesthetic strategy in the hands of the Brazilian modernists. The modern intellectuals twisted the European stereotype of Brazilians by a "self-conscious appropriation of the 'cannibal' identity"⁵⁰, in which they identified themselves with the indigenous cannibal, using the language of the metropole against itself. This form of primitivism taken up by the modernists, especially by Oswald de Andrade in his manifesto, is highly influenced by Freudian theory, as described by Sérgio Luiz Prado Bellei:

The break is now achieved by means of a peculiar revaluation of primitivism with the help of Freudian theory. Four centuries of European beef-eating refers to the period of civilised, overdressed oppression in which the colonisers used enlightened rationality to repress and destroy the irrational, primitive cultures and peoples that practised anthropophagy. For [Oswald de] Andrade, what was being repressed was a form of primitive wisdom that the Brazilian *modernista* revolution should try to recover, redefine, and adapt to the social needs of the industrialised, modern present as a stage in the preparation of the utopian future. Recovering and adapting this wisdom to the present would imply legitimating anthropophagy by transforming the taboo of the primeval father's parricide (the father being in this case the European coloniser) into the acceptable eating (by the colonised) of the totemised animal that symbolically replaced the primeval father.⁵¹

Cannibalism was for Freud one of the primeval urges common to all human societies that had been forbidden in order to control, to keep the society together. The Brazilian modernists

⁵⁰ Gazi Islam, "Can the Subaltern Eat?," 2012.

⁵¹ Sérgio Luiz Prado Bellei, "Brazilian anthropophagy revisited," 1998, p. 93.

legitimized their movement by separating ‘cannibalism’ from ‘anthropophagy’: the first being a Freudian urge, a response to hunger; and the latter being a metaphor for the “eating of the primeval father,” a response to a power and cultural struggle. More than that, Oswald de Andrade – here and then as a representative of the Brazilian modernists – share in some sense Freud’s own critique of the excessive repression of the taboo, as it recognizes that the repressive structure of taboo formation is leading to the neuroses of European psyches. Andrade calls in his manifesto for a permanent reversion of the taboo into totem⁵², a reversion from a seemingly more civilized, sophisticated (and repressive) form – taboo – to the more primitive, free culture – totem. For Andrade, returning from the taboo to totem externalizes the internal psychic mechanism: instead of keeping the killing of the father a secret, the taboo that becomes the internal structure of society, Anthropophagy allows for openly devouring the totem, refusing to let it be repressed by the civilized ego into taboo.

Andrade, however, is not advocating a return to a real cruel death urge (which is what Freud diagnoses later in his 1930’s work, *Das Unbehagen in der Kultur*). Through a pseudo-aggressive cultural play, he is rather suggesting a way to undermine the repressive structures of European culture. The *Manifesto Antropófago*, as well as the works that were published by the modernists that were part of the Anthropophagic movement, emphasize a playful and irreverent stance of cannibalism, combining a critique of cultural and political power hierarchies, with a joyful affect of rebellion and insubordination.

This branch of the modernist movement, the *Anthropophagy*, has been used interchangeably with *cultural cannibalism* throughout the centuries by many scholars – and so

⁵² Oswald de Andrade, “Manifesto Antropófago,” 1928.

far in this dissertation as well. In the following section of this chapter, however, we are stepping away from the Brazilian modernists, and utilizing their concept as a general analytical lens (that still maintains their original central characteristic, the playfulness), through which we can investigate moments of (trans)cultural encounters that resulted in the intentional incorporation of the other's culture into one's own. This concept will not only mean the "eating of the primeval father" then, but rather "the primitive eating of the other" – whoever that other may be. Maybe it is the primeval cousin... or the primeval lady you met at the line in the supermarket. Therefore, to encompass this change, from here on out in this dissertation this concept is solely called *cultural cannibalism*.

SIDE DISHES

Cultural cannibalism is one among many theories that deal with (trans)cultural encounters, having the role to analyze and describe the consequences of such interactions. The idea behind this dissertation is not to argue that cultural cannibalism is the one and only form to talk about these encounters, but to situate it within the field of cultural and transnational studies as a special tool, a lens through which we can look at specific individuals, and how their experience with(in) a different culture influenced their life and work.

Before looking at cultural cannibalism in comparison to other concepts present in the field, it is important that I explain the choice of the term "(trans)cultural" to refer to the productive interactions between individuals and cultures that are to be analyzed in this dissertation. I chose to separate the word with parenthesis to make it clear that there are two sides to this word: either the encounter is happening between cultures of different origins (such as two individuals from different nations, like Koch-Grünberg from Germany, and Mário de Andrade

from Brazil); or the encounter is happening within what would be commonly understood as one culture, but encompassing different spheres of human culture (such as the customs of an individual that comes from the country vs. one from a big city, but both born in Brazil). Both forms of (trans)cultural encounters can be analyzed through the cultural cannibalism lens.

The spelling choice with parenthesis was also made to consciously differentiate the (trans)cultural encounters where cultural cannibalism can be seen, from the ones used to exemplify the well-known concept of *transculturation*, first used by Fernando Ortiz in 1947. Transculturation describes the process of subjugation of one culture by another.

I am of the opinion that the word *transculturation* better expresses the different phases of the process of transition from one culture to another because this does not consist merely in acquiring another culture, which is what the English word *acculturation* really implies, but the process also necessarily involves the loss or uprooting of a previous culture, which could be defined as a deculturation. In addition it carries the idea of the consequent creation of new cultural phenomena, which could be called neoculturation.⁵³

As Ortiz explains in the passage above, transculturation describes more than the moment of clash between two cultures. It expresses the entire process of transition between these two cultures, while one subjugates and substitutes the other. The best example for Ortiz's concept is a colonial invasion, which entails the partial or complete erasure of the invaded culture by the colonial one. Even though such encounters can also be productive through *neoculturation*, or the "consequent creation of new cultural phenomena," they still imply a lot of loss for the culture that is being overpowered.

⁵³ Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint, Tobacco and Sugar*, 1995, pp. 102-3.

This element of loss is the core difference between transculturation and cultural cannibalism. When cultural cannibalism occurs, there is no loss for either side of the (trans)cultural encounter. The culture that is being cannibalized is left unscathed (it may not even know that it has been cannibalized), while the culture doing the cannibalization adds to itself the elements it considered itself lacking, growing and expanding after the interaction.

Prominent among the scholars who talk about (trans)cultural encounters, and whose theories reached many within and beyond their time, is Edward Said, whose most influential book is the 1979 *Orientalism*. In this book, Said describes how the Orient became the go-to space used when the West tries to represent and discuss the other; how “the Orient” meant in orientalism is, in reality, “a system of representations framed by a whole set of forces that brought the Orient into Western learning, Western consciousness, and later, Western empire.”⁵⁴ Orientalism, like cultural cannibalism, tries to explain what happens when two cultures with a clear hierarchical power difference interact with one another. Different from cultural cannibalism, however, orientalism follows how one specific marginalized culture is repeatedly represented by internalized views constructed at the core of several other dominant cultures. Said clarifies this idea by recounting how the 19th century French novelist, Gustave Flaubert, managed to form an idea in the Western society of his time of what an Oriental woman was like:

There is very little consent to be found, for example, in the fact that Flaubert’s encounter with an Egyptian courtesan produced a widely influential model of the Oriental woman; she never spoke of herself, she never represented her emotions, presence, or history. *He* spoke for and represented her. He was foreign, comparatively wealthy, male, and these

⁵⁴ Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 1979, pp. 202-3.

were historical facts of domination that allowed him not only to possess Kuchuk Hanem physically but to speak for her and tell his readers in what way she was “typically Oriental.” My argument is that Flaubert’s situation of strength in relation to Kuchuk Hanem was not an isolated instance. It fairly stands for the pattern of relative strength between East and West, and the discourse about the Orient that it enabled.⁵⁵

Said’s orientalism takes the encounter between Flaubert and Kuchuk Hanem, and looks at how the representation of Kuchuk Hanem by Flaubert is used as a form of self-assertion and cultural domination. If cultural cannibalism was used as a lens to look at the same (trans)cultural encounter, we would most likely be looking at how Kuchuk Hanem created a new step in her dance performance, in which she caresses both her cheeks, in a delicate but swift movement from mouth to ears – a tribute to Flaubert’s unforgettable handlebar mustache.

Another undeniable source of remarkable mustaches is, of course, the United States, where facial hair originating in all the corners of the world came to collide. The *melting-pot* concept – or rather, metaphor – has been used in academic and non-academic contexts to describe the cultural environment of the United States since the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. The idea was popularized by Israel Zangwill’s play of the same name, *The Melting-Pot*, which premiered in 1908. At that time, the number of immigrants that were entering the country was breaking records all around: by 1910 more than 1 in 7 US-Americans were foreign born⁵⁶.

As the melting-pot was not a concept developed by a single scholar, but rather a metaphor debated among many, its use is varied and manifold. Put in general terms, but without

⁵⁵ Ibid p. 6.

⁵⁶ *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*, U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975, Chapter 3.

reducing it into one single idea: the melting-pot is used to describe what happened to the individual cultures that came to inhabit a singular shared space. Recently, the melting-pot idea has not been so popular anymore, as it generally supports a cultural homogenization as a result of the (trans)cultural encounter. As said by David Hollinger, the melting-pot is “[t]he master symbol for ethnic assimilation.”⁵⁷ In a way, the melting-pot metaphor coincides with the Brazilian modernists anthropophagy in intention, as it was also looking for a national identity, a definition of what it meant to be US American. The term has fallen into disuse, and the scholars have long searched for different ideas to describe the (im)migrant-rich history of the country. Hollinger himself discusses different approaches, such as the metaphor of a plant looking for its roots:

If the figure of the melting pot is to be replaced in the popular imagination by the figure of the reflective plant looking for its roots, Americans would do well to remember that the plant they have become is a formidable growth upon the extensive and cross-fertilized soil of Western culture. It will not do to try to find in little flowerpots the roots of American trees.⁵⁸

Hollinger rejects the fusionism brought by the melting-pot but is also careful to not over value the individualities of each culture in the formation of a national identity, seeing the assimilation of cultures that happened during the history of the country as undeniable.

Lately, scholars of different fields have tried to give the melting-pot another go, looking at it under a more positive light. Sarah Wilson, for example, published a book in 2010 called *Melting-pot Modernism*, where she looks back at the many versions of the melting-pot concept

⁵⁷ David Hollinger, *In the American Province*, 1985, p. 93.

⁵⁸ *Ibid* p. 102.

(both from similar and contradictory thinkers), and tries to embrace the flexibility of this mixed, broken-up ideas into a contemporary theoretical discourse. In her own words,

the melting pot represents a process through whose action both individuals and cultures would be made flexible, multiple, and continually changing. [And whose] ideas emphasized assimilation as a broad-ranging process of intellectual integration of difference—one undergone by both immigrants and native-born, and signifying first of all in aesthetic and philosophical terms.⁵⁹

Wilson is not denying the assimilation process implied by the melting-pot, but she claims that any contemporary discussion that approaches ethnicity and culture in the United States as a mobile and complicated construction between foreign and native-born individuals must acknowledge its “indubitable melting-pot lineage.”⁶⁰

When looking at this metaphor as a search for a national identity, there are similar patterns to the original thinking behind cultural cannibalism. As an aesthetic analytical lens however, the two ideas drift away from each other. Where the melting-pot emphasizes the environmental circumstances of the (trans)cultural encounter, placing assimilation and internal change as unavoidable consequences of sharing the same life-space, cultural cannibalism emphasizes the choice and mindfulness behind the cultural changes, placing power and agency back in the hands of the individuals that are part of such encounter. In other words, the melting-pot is a passive, more process-oriented metaphor, describing the changes happening on both sides of a (trans)cultural encounter; cultural cannibalism, in contrast, is an active, more result-oriented metaphor, focusing on the bold actions and choices of only one side of the interaction.

⁵⁹ Sarah Wilson, *Melting-pot Modernism*, 2010, pp. 3-4.

⁶⁰ *Ibid* p. 15.

It is noteworthy that the US is not the only country where the metaphor of the melting-pot has been used to think about national identity and history. Wolfgang Zank, for example, published a book in 1998 called *The German Melting-pot*. In it, Zank looks at the melting-pot idea as a positive way of understanding Germany's cultural history, which, in his own words, "can be interpreted as a series of challenges and responses to the problems of cultural conflict."⁶¹ The use of the melting-pot idea for Germany is then adequate because of the country's immigration background (especially since 1890), as manifested by the ethnically diverse background of the population, together with the German language hegemony – the main reason for such being the tradition of strong educational institutions, according to Zank.

Ethnically, the Germans of today are of Celtic, Roman, Saxon, Frankish, Alaman, Danish, Frisian, Obodrite, Polabic, Pomeranian, Kashubian, Sorbian, Old-Prussian, Mazurian, Polish, French Huguenot, Jewish, Czech, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Yugoslav and Turkish origin. In most cases, the languages of these people are extinct by now, or still exist only outside of Germany.⁶²

Zank understands the assimilation and homogenization of the melting-pot metaphor as necessary elements for a cooperative multicultural society like Germany, where regardless of eventual tensions and violence, "the overwhelming day-to-day normality is an undramatic living together, or at least side by side."⁶³

Zank's book was published right before the turn of the 21st century, which means that it has not seen the European "Refugee Crisis" of 2015, nor the consequential cultural response for

⁶¹ Wolfgang Zank, *The German Melting-pot*, 1998, p. 246.

⁶² Ibid p. 243.

⁶³ Ibid p. 2.

which Germany is known, the *Willkommenskultur* (welcoming culture). Not that Zank would have changed his mind about the melting-pot had he published his theory after 2015, but he may have had to add some extra spices to his theory soup.

The *Willkommenskultur* has had a great impact on the discourse surrounding different cultural groups and migrant individuals in Europe, especially in the realm of media and news. Like the melting-pot metaphor, *Willkommenskultur* was not a theory created by a single or a group of scholars, it was an idea that came to be rather organically and is now debated and discussed from different points of view in various fields. The anthropologist Chris Hann, for example, wrote “The fragility of Europe’s *Willkommenskultur*” in December of 2015, where he tries to explain “[w]hy the huge fuss” around *Willkommenskultur*, since “[c]omparable [to the 2015 crisis] or even larger flows of people have been successfully managed by Europe in the past.”⁶⁴ Hann justifies “the fuss” as a consequence of ethically bad behavior of individuals against refugees and immigrants that gained a lot of space in media, mixed with the lack of exposure to capitalist multiculturalism by the former European socialist countries. This mixture would have exposed the negative reception of migrants in Western Europe, and thus created a backlash of overly warm and receptive discourse in media – which is then received with resentment by the “EU’s disadvantaged citizens,”⁶⁵ dooming the *Willkommenskultur* to a short life span.

Against Hann’s predictions, however, *Willkommenskultur* was not short-lived. The separation created in the news media between “good” and “bad” people (those that embraced migrants vs. those that acted/spoke against them) through the exposition, shaming or heroization

⁶⁴ Chris Hann, “The fragility of Europe’s *Willkommenskultur*,” 2015, p. 2.

⁶⁵ Ibid

of those individuals, impacted how (trans)cultural encounters were analyzed, represented, and discussed until today. Even though the term *Willkommenskultur* is not mentioned in media as often anymore, this idea generated a harsher control over any language used to talk about cultures and people from different geographical origins, a control that still permeates all news media, social media, or any other medium of public communication. Individuals who defend the *Willkommenskultur* world view have adopted a guild-based (and guilt-inducing) language similar to the one used by the Germanist B. Venkat Mani, as he described the role of academic scholars in researching migration:

As scholars of Germany and Europe, but also as informed citizens of the world, it is up to us to untether ourselves from a singular national focus. We cannot slip into a self-sanctioned amnesia that tends to take political boundaries of nation-states for granted; results in a wariness of globally comparative, transnationally relational examinations of European nations and encourages a reproduction of restrictive national categorization of literary and cultural artifacts. ... Migration is a critical framework for globally comparative examination, a way of undoing our historical amnesia.⁶⁶

Regardless of whether or not Mani is right, one thing is clear: if you do not agree with him, you must be a bad person ... or at least stupid. You are definitely the opposite of an “informed citizen of the world” – whatever that may be.

There is another problematic consequence of *Willkommenskultur*: it presupposes an everlasting precarity and helplessness of the migrant other, who cannot be put in a position of agency, only in that of a damsel in distress. This concern was separately raised in 2018 by both

⁶⁶ B. Venkat Mani, “Migrants, Refugees, Exiles,” 2017, pp. 221-2.

Linda Becht et al. in “The Dynamics of Othering in Activism as Part of Germany’s Post-2015 ‘Willkommenskultur’,” and Maria Stehle in “*Willkommenskultur* Documented: Precarious *Heimat* in *Can’t Be Silent* (2013), *Land in Sicht* (2013), and *Willkommen Auf Deutsch* (2015).” Becht et al. look critically at activists of Northern Germany and how their actions (intentionally or not) otherize refugees. The scholars claim that the activists’ humanitarianism infantilizes the refugees by removing all of their agency, and creates a structure of saviors vs. victims, where the roles are clearly defined and self-generating, and suffering is a key element for the structure to function.

This focus on the suffering may not only deprive the [refugees] of the capacity to also have joyful experiences in the eyes of the providers of humanitarian aid, but may equally reduce them to a homogeneous group on the common grounds of the suffering.⁶⁷

The refugees end up unable to change their social and political situation, otherwise they would be deemed “unworthy” of the activists’ humanitarianism.

Maria Stehle raises similar questions by looking at three German documentary films that were released a little before the peak of the “refugee crisis” in 2015: *Can’t Be Silent* (2013), *Land in Sicht* (2013), and *Willkommen Auf Deutsch* (2015). Stehle argues that the films “reveal that the features of *Willkommenskultur* do not lessen refugees’ social, political, or economic exclusion; rather, they often amplify their experience of precarity.”⁶⁸ Stehle describes a particular scene where the precarious social situation/experience of the refugees can be directly associated with the condescending element of the *Willkommenskultur* attitude:

⁶⁷ Linda Becht et al., “The Dynamics of Othering in Activism as Part of Germany’s Post-2015 ‘Willkommenskultur’,” 2018, p. 57.

⁶⁸ Maria Stehle, “*Willkommenskultur* Documented,” 2018, p. 526.

In *Land in Sicht*, refugees are introduced as spectators, not as performers. Two of the refugees, Farid from Iran and Brian from Cameroon, attend a smalltown festival in their temporary home, the town of Bad Belzig (Brandenburg). Rose Dittfurth, a social worker who works with refugees, joins them. As they watch a group of white German women perform belly dancing, Rose is quick to emphasize to the two men that “this dance is not for sex sondern [sic] for culture.” The two men nod politely and continue to watch the performance, but the awkwardness of the situation is apparent. Nothing but Rose’s own assumptions seems to indicate that either Farid or Brian understood the performance as being about sex. Her well-meaning advice highlights a condescending and presumptuous attitude towards the two male refugees.

The contradictions between the discourse and actions of those that openly support Germany’s *Willkommenskultur* reveal the country’s political, social and cultural inequalities. Between the lines of the *über*-controlled welcoming language lies a patronizing posture towards the other, that guides the events of any (trans)cultural interaction, from the individual to a mass media level.

Willkommenskultur and cultural cannibalism both use language as their weapon of choice, but they are pointing at two polar directions: while the former enhances the societal taboo around different cultures through guilt and control, the latter tries to do away with the taboo by means of playfulness and humor. There is absolutely no place for humor in *Willkommenskultur*. Humor is for the weak – and prejudiced. And at the same time, there is also no place for guilt and language censorship in cultural cannibalism. Borders are there to be crossed, rules to be broken, and cultures to be eaten.

A term that cannot be avoided in conversations about (trans)cultural interactions is the (somewhat worn-out) concept of *hybridity*. Having its origins in the racist discourse of the

biology field in the 19th century, hybridity has ever since been part of theoretical discussions about cultural relations around the world – sometimes under a negative, sometimes under a positive light. In general, the debates around hybridity proved to be productive in and of themselves, as they were the starting point of different innovative cultural theories. Doris Bachmann-Medick, for example, wrote “From Hybridity to Translation: Reflections on Travelling Concept” in 2014, where she explains the roots and some known ramifications of the hybridity concept throughout time.

As is well-known, hybridity has many faces: On the one hand, it is a specific concept (a synonym for complex systems and for a negotiation – not a fixing – of differences in a ‘third space’⁶⁹). On the other hand, hybridity is also a mode of a concept’s movement itself, and, moreover, stands for a transnational form of blending communication in a globalized world.⁷⁰

Bachmann-Medick sees the multifaceted hybridity as an extremely productive concept that points at and reflects in itself the mobility element of our globalized society. She believes, however, that hybridity “celebrates perhaps all too quickly both the blending and borderlessness of global relations,”⁷¹ and suggests that the concept should be used as a bridge to other theories that are linked to more specific social and historical circumstances – such as translation studies.

An important scholar for the discussion of hybridity within the frame of globalization is Jan Nederveen Pieterse, whose work is centered on global political economy, development

⁶⁹ To understand more about hybridity under a post-colonial light, and about the concept of “third space” mentioned here by Bachmann-Medick, see Homi Bhabha’s *The Location of Culture*, from 1994 – among other of his works – in which he debates how colonial antagonism and pressure influence the construction of culture and identity within a hybrid frame.

⁷⁰ Doris Bachmann-Medick, “From Hybridity to Translation,” 2014, p. 123.

⁷¹ Ibid p. 122.

studies and cultural studies. Even though Nederveen Pieterse also sees hybridity as a reference for traveling culture and traveling theories, different from Bachmann-Medick he does not see hybridity as a multifaceted concept, but as a singular concept with multifaceted theoretical implications. Nederveen Pieterse posits the concept within the globalized idea of politics of multiculturalism “as mixing and in the process generating new, translocal forms of difference.”⁷² By recognizing the extremely problematic origin of the concept in the 19th century, in which hybridity meant a loss of (racial) “purity”, Nederveen Pieterse offers a positive read of its use as a cultural theory:

Hybridisation⁷³ offers an antidote to the cultural differentialism of racial and nationalist doctrines because it takes as its point of departure precisely those experiences that have been banished, marginalised, tabooed in cultural differentialism. It subverts nationalism because it privileges border crossing. It subverts identity politics such as ethnicity or other claims to purity and authenticity because it starts out from the fuzziness of boundaries, from boundary crossing.⁷⁴

Nederveen Pieterse’s emphasizes the element of transgression and subversion present within hybridity as the differentiating pull of this concept in relation to others. Because hybridity ignores, subverts, or at least blends borders, it is the most well-suited theory to talk about globalized cultural relations.

In 2001, five years after the publication of the above cited article, Nederveen Pieterse published another work in which he discusses hybridity, called “Hybridity, So What? The Anti-

⁷² Jan Nederveen Pieterse, “Globalisation and Culture: Three Paradigms,” 1996, p. 1389.

⁷³ Even though in this article Pieterse calls the concept “hybridization,” in later texts he adopts the more known term “hybridity.”

⁷⁴ Ibid p. 1392.

Hybridity Backlash and the Riddles of Recognition.” In this article, he criticizes the boundary fetishism that is being brought upfront recently in politics and in the discourse of minorities, who believe that without clear boundaries there would be no recognition of their social and political issues. Nederveen Pieterse sees this new “anti-hybridity backlash” as a denial of the essential hybrid element of history, as “history is a collage.”⁷⁵ He also considers “baffling” that new forms of hybridity are viewed as extraordinary, as hybridity is “deeply rooted in history and quite ordinary.”⁷⁶ In order to classify which types of hybridity are considered new, and which have been present throughout history, Nederveen Pieterse gives the following table:

Table 1 Varieties of Hybridity

New hybridity: Recent combinations of cultural and/or institutional forms. Dynamics: migration, trade, ICT, multiculturalism, globalization. Analytics: new modernities. Examples: Punjabi pop, Mandarin pop, Islamic fashion shows.	Existing or old hybridity: existing cultural and institutional forms are translocal and crosscultural combinations already. Dynamics: crosscultural trade, conquest and contact. Analytics: history as collage. Examples: too many.
Objective: as observed by outsiders.	Subjective: as experience and self consciousness.
As process: hybridization. As outcome: hybrid phenomena.	As discourse and perspective: hybridity consciousness.

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Interesting to notice is that both new and old hybridity are not mutually exclusive, but could easily be combined into one another. Who can affirm whether or not a Mandarin pop group member experiences hybridity and has self-consciousness of it? Or what is stopping an outsider

⁷⁵ Jan Nederveen Pieterse, “Hybridity, So What?,” 2001, p. 231.

⁷⁶ Ibid p. 221.

⁷⁷ Ibid p. 222.

from recognizing the hybridity of an existing institution? The difference between new and old hybridity lies simply in the perspective and acknowledgment of the hybrid state.

Another argument made by Nederveen Pieterse is that, even though the boundary fetishism should be kept in check, the discourse around hybridity would be meaningless without the presupposition of borders, of fixed boundaries. The recognition and acknowledgement of hybridity is a political point that needs the hierarchical boundaries in order to break them. Hybridity needs borders to be able to cross them.

This does not mean that boundary-crossing is a free-for-all. There is free cheese only in the mousetrap. As some boundaries wane others remain or are introduced. Thus, as national borders and governmental authority erode, ethnic or religious boundaries, or boundaries of consumption patterns and brand names emerge in their place.⁷⁸

The political question around hybridity is, according to Nederveen Pieterse, an issue of life and death that could very well be measured in lives⁷⁹. And that is why it is a point worth making.

Hybridity is a foundational concept in discussions about cultural, historical, social and political phenomena and, as such, it cannot be excluded from any conversation regarding cultural cannibalism. Similar to cubism, dadaism, surrealism, and many others, cultural cannibalism can trace some of its characteristics and history back to hybridity and carries this concept as an integral part of its theoretical structure. Because of this symbiotic association, I will not delineate the differences between both concepts, but rather acknowledge that hybridity is a key ingredient to cultural cannibalism.

⁷⁸ Ibid p. 239.

⁷⁹ Ibid p. 230.

Also having its origins trace back to hybridity, there is a new concept to talk about (trans)cultural interactions in the field: *grafting*. To say that grafting is a new concept can be understood as a historical mistake, as the horticultural technique can be traced back 4,000 years to ancient China and Mesopotamia⁸⁰. However, the Germanist Uwe Wirth has taken upon himself to rediscover this term within the field of cultural studies and communication, as well as all of the related metaphors present in discourse surrounding hybridity.

Wirth's grafting presupposes a connection between the agricultural technique and the use of citations as a writing technique of culture and communication⁸¹: just as in agriculture, where one would use grafting to preserve specific qualities of two different plants in one, a grafted text would carry original elements of both parts involved. He explains the term in contrast to the more known idea of hybridity:

Ein weiterer Gegenbegriff ist ‚Hybridität‘. Im Gegensatz zur Logik der Pfropfung, die auf die Formel *aus zwei mach eins*, gebracht werden kann, gehorcht die Logik der Hybridität der Formel *aus zwei mach drei*. Hybridität impliziert eine *Vermischung* (sei es in genetischer, sei es in medialer Hinsicht), die die Differenzqualität der Ausgangselemente weitgehend nivelliert; Pfropfung impliziert dagegen eine *Verbindung*, bei der die verbundenen Teile in ihrer Differenzqualität erhalten bleiben.⁸²

If hybridity implies a mixture of two elements in order to create a third, for Wirth grafting implies a maintenance of original elements, where from two you would create one. The characteristics of the hybrid, of the resulted third element, cannot be clearly traced back to the

⁸⁰ Ted Bilderback et al., "Grafting and Budding Nursery Crop Plants," 2014.

⁸¹ Uwe Wirth, "Pfropfen," 2018, p. 330.

⁸² Ibid pp. 337-8.

original two elements involved in the mixture, or better yet: the two original elements are lost within the hybrid creation. In grafting, the differences between the two original elements are celebrated in the end, and not lost: they are both present in the resulting unit. In culture, grafting means a recontextualization of traditions, a resignification of signs, without the power struggle between the old and the new. They connect and reconnect, being made again and again into one.

The model of grafting, for Wirth, can enlighten the understanding of culture as cultural processes.⁸³ In doing so, it can examine the ruptures and points of connection present in textual and medial processes by conceptualizing and exposing the differentials of the in-between spaces created in them. According to Wirth, “[d]ie Aufpfropfung konzeptualisiert jenen space in between, der durch interkulturelle Prozesse der Aneignung und Übersetzung (zumindest teilweise) überwunden werden soll.”⁸⁴

In a (trans)cultural encounter, grafting would preserve both cultures in the resulting unit, emphasizing the strengths of each, and the processes that happened during the contact. Cultural cannibalism, in opposition, would only preserve pre-selected elements of one of those cultures (the one initially considered stronger in the context of the encounter) within the other, and the resulting hybrid is not a harmonious unit, but a stronger version of the culture who initiated the process in order to invert the power structure.

Different from all aforementioned theories, cultural cannibalism presupposes the possibility of a power inversion between the cultures involved, depending on who is the center of the (trans)cultural encounter, as well as an inherent intentionality and humor behind the interaction. It is defined through the individual experiencing the strength of the other within

⁸³ Uwe Wirth, “Kultur als Pfropfung. Pfropfung als Kulturmodell,” 2011, p. 11.

⁸⁴ Ibid p. 25.

his/her own culture and making the decision of incorporating specific elements of the other for his/her own development.

DESSERT

I do not intend (or pretend) to contrast and compare cultural cannibalism to all concepts concerning (trans)cultural interactions in this dissertation. As this would be an impossible task, I chose to deal with theories which I have myself encountered through various discussions and life experiences, namely, transculturation, orientalism, the melting-pot, *Willkommenskultur*, hybridity, and grafting. I have, however, reserved the “Dessert” section of this chapter to one final concept that cannot be avoided when thinking about cultural cannibalism: *cultural appropriation*.

One of the most frequent questions I get after talking about cultural cannibalism is the following: “But isn’t it just cultural appropriation?” The answer is simple: no, it isn’t. Both concepts carry an appropriative and all-consuming characteristic but differ in their core. As it occurred in response to some of the other concepts dealt with in this chapter, the strong use of cultural appropriation in the media at large, and especially its presence in social media, has disseminated various judgments about what the term implies. For the purpose of its comparison to cultural cannibalism, I will refer to the framework presented in the 2021 article “On Cultural Appropriation” by Jason Baird Jackson, an ethnographer and ethnologist who is currently a professor of Folklore and Anthropology at Indiana University.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Another important source for cultural appropriation theory is the 1997 book *Borrowed Power: Essays on Cultural Appropriation*, edited by Bruce Ziff and Pratima V. Rao. Even though the approaches brought together in this work differ from Jackson’s, he brings them to conversation in his article “On Cultural Appropriation,” 2021.

In his article, Jackson defines cultural appropriation as not only a scholarly concept, but also a phenomenon in the wider social sphere that has been particularly striking in the beginning of the 21st century, even though processes that could be called cultural appropriation have been present in different settings (such as precolonial and Indigenous ones).⁸⁶ In order to frame cultural appropriation within its scholarly context, Jackson contrasts it to three other common concepts of cultural studies: diffusion, acculturation, and assimilation. I will not get into the description of these three concepts in this chapter, but below is a simplified figure presented by Jackson that shows the main differences in cultural circulation between them:

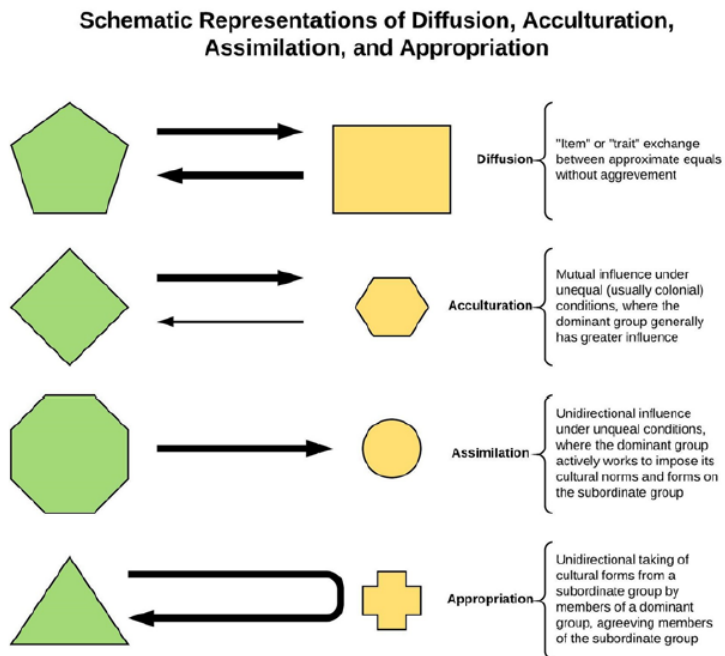


FIGURE 1
 In this representation of the four modes of cultural circulation under discussion, the differences in shapes only serve to evoke eight different hypothetical societies. The relative size of the shapes suggests the relative power of a society in relation to the other in its pair. The arrows characterize the direction or directions taken by the cultural circulations being modeled by each of the four concepts. The arrow of lighter weight pictured in connection with acculturation is intended to suggest that, while bidirectional, acculturation situations are marked by asymmetrical or unequal exchange between the linked societies.

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⁸⁶ Jason Baird Jackson, "On Cultural Appropriation," 2021, pp. 78-80.

⁸⁷ Ibid p. 89.

As delineated in the figure above, cultural appropriation for Jackson is an “unidirectional taking of cultural forms from a subordinate group by members of a dominant group, agreeing [sic] members of the subordinate group.” In other words, cultural appropriation is characterized by two core elements: first, it is a reinforcement of a established power dynamic (where the dominant group takes a cultural form from the subordinated group); and second, there is a consequential suffering (with eventual concrete consequences) of the subordinated group, a feeling of aggrievement that comes from the occurred taking of a cultural form. This latter element is essential when labeling a (trans)cultural encounter as cultural appropriation, as the lack of such feelings from the subordinated group would immediately disallow the use of the concept, as clarified by Jackson:

In a framework of appropriation, ... the powerful group takes aspects of the culture of the subordinated group, making them its own. If the subordinated group was happy or indifferent about a particular instance of such adoption, neither we, nor an on the ground observer, would resort to the label appropriation. ... Appropriations are typically a source of pain and feelings of loss or violation for source communities—often resulting in concrete negative consequences—even as appropriating groups either do not perceive or refuse to attend to, these wider consequences.⁸⁸

Whether the dominant group recognizes the instance of cultural appropriation and its effects to the subordinated group, or does anything to mend its consequences, it is irrelevant for the classification of a particular instance as appropriation. Cultural appropriation only exists if it is

⁸⁸ Ibid p. 88.

recognized by the source culture as generating aggrivement, suffering, pain to members of the community or to their community as a whole.

Cultural cannibalism is, in a way, a complete inversion of cultural appropriation.

Following the model of representation of modes of cultural circulation offered by Jackson in

Figure 1, cultural cannibalism could be represented as follows:

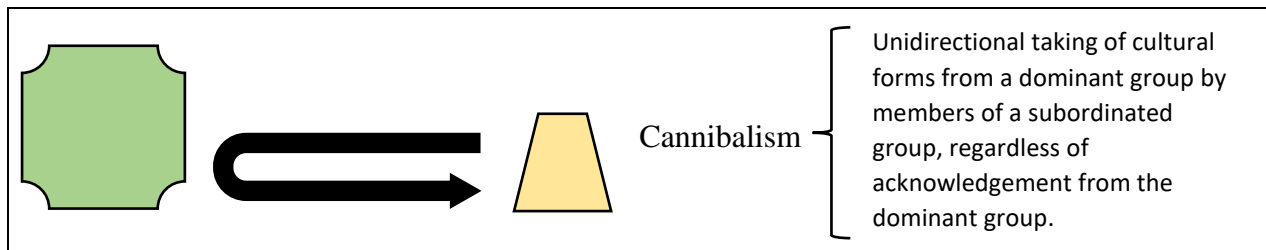


FIGURE 2

As described in the model above, cultural cannibalism can be understood as a “unidirectional taking of cultural forms from a dominant group by members of a subordinated group, regardless of acknowledgement from the dominant group.” Cultural cannibalism inverts the direction of the cultural taking, subverting the two core elements of cultural appropriation: first, it overturns the established power dynamic (as the subordinated group is the one now taking cultural forms from a dominant group); and second, it ignores any consequential suffering or feelings of aggrivement from the source community (now the dominant group). Cultural cannibalism starts within the subordinated group, and completely disregards the reactions of the dominant group (be it positive or negative – or inexistent).

Having presented a framework for cultural cannibalism against other established concepts – transculturation, orientalism, the melting-pot, *Willkommenskultur*, hybridity, grafting, and now cultural appropriation – the next chapters of this dissertation will focus on analyzing concrete instances of (trans)cultural encounters through the lenses of cultural cannibalism.

Macunaíma: The German-Brazilian Hero

“I am only interested in what’s not mine. The law of men. The law of the cannibal.”

– Oswald de Andrade, *Manifesto Antropófago*. 1928

Christian Theodor Koch was born in 1872 in Grünberg, Germany. He studied classical philology at the University of Tübingen, and in 1896 became a secondary school teacher. In 1901, after participating as a volunteer in an expedition to the Xingu River in Brazil, he quit his job and started to work as a volunteer research assistant under Karl von den Steinen (1855-1929) at the Museum für Völkerkunde, in Berlin. In 1902, he received a doctoral degree with a thesis on Guaicuru languages at the University of Würzburg. He went on a very successful expedition to the rivers Negro, Içana, Aiari, Japurá, and Uaupés in northern Brazil between the years of 1903 and 1905. After that, he changed his name by adding his hometown to his surname: Koch-Grünberg. The now-called Theodor Koch-Grünberg worked at the Museum für Völkerkunde until 1909, the same year in which he received a habilitation degree from the University of Freiburg. Between 1911 and 1913, he went on his most well-known expedition, which went from Mount Roraima, in Venezuela, to the river Orinoco, in northwestern Brazil. In 1915, he joined the Linden Museum in Stuttgart as a scientific director. In 1924, he joined the American explorer Hamilton Rice (1875-1956) on an expedition to the Orinoco River and died of malaria right at the start of the trip, in the town of Vista Alegre, Brazil.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Erik Petschelis, “Theodor Koch-Grünberg (1872-1924),” 2019, p.197.

Ethnography (*Völkerkunde*) was not yet an established and funded academic discipline in Germany when many of the ethnographic expeditions to South America took place, including Koch-Grünberg's trips to Brazil – which meant that there was a lack of anthropological training, as well as no distinctive developed methods of collection and documentation. Like many of the new German ethnographers, Koch-Grünberg had a varied scholarly background: as mentioned above, he was for many years a schoolteacher, who had studied philology, German, history, and geography, and later worked at the Museum für Völkerkunde, in Berlin. His background influenced greatly not only his writing style, but also the objectivity of his observations. These circumstances were common among researchers of the time, as explained by the scholar Thomas O. Beebee, in his 2015 article “Cultural Entanglements and Ethnographic Refractions: Theodor Koch-Grünberg in Brazil.”

What the varied background of the researchers added up to was first of all a rapid evolution of and improvisation in the methods of collection, and second a high level of literary engagement with the material, increased by the fact that books about South American Indians based on their travels could become bestsellers, to the extent that they were often reprinted in cheaper (shortened) editions in order to reach a wider reading public. Sales of books provided some of the income to support museums and their expeditions.⁹⁰

Even though his expeditions were focused on the observation of the indigenous tribes in the northern part of South America, Koch-Grünberg often demonstrated his own point of view regarding Brazil through the descriptions of the connections between different Brazilian social

⁹⁰ Thomas O. Beebee. “Cultural Entanglements and Ethnographic Refractions: Theodor Koch-Grünberg in Brazil,” 2015, p. 98.

strata and the indigenous peoples. “Combining personal experience with theory and with prejudice, and availing himself of a variety of writing techniques, Koch-Grünberg produces his own negative vision of Brazilianness as pseudocivilization.”⁹¹ The ethnographer admired and wrote mostly about the peoples that were “untouched” by the Europeans, but his impressions of the different social layers and their relation to one another were also registered in his logs.

Koch-Grünberg’s writing about Brazil can be divided into various concentric circles of interest, admiration, and attention: Taking first place are the unspoiled First Nations; then the common people, nearly always racially mixed; then the local economic and political powers, often international in composition and outlook; and finally the national government, distant and ineffective, entering the scene mostly to deny or delay visas or to extort outrageous duties on imported equipment.⁹²

The further a person was from the “unspoiled First Nations”, the less reverence they deserved in the author’s eyes, and the more skepticism and negativity was shown in his writings.

Koch-Grünberg’s preference for the “untouched” cultures was also clear in his description of the two indigenous guides who accompanied him in his travels and told him the tales he collected: this first guide was called Moseuaípu, from the Arekuná tribes (nicknamed Akúli), and the second was called Mayuluaípu, from the Taulipáng tribes (also called José, he was the one responsible for translating Akúli’s words into Portuguese). Even though Koch-Grünberg admires both men, he shows a clear preference for Moseuaípu, always calling him by his nickname Akúli, and describing him as “klug und lebhaft ... erfolgreich auf Jagd und Fischfang und in der Liebe.” On the other hand, he refuses to refer to Mayuluaípu by his other

⁹¹ Ibid p. 100.

⁹² Ibid p. 99.

(European) name, José, and describes him simply as “ein sehr intelligenter, etwa 28 Jahre alter Taulipáng-Indianer[.] ... Er hat mehrere Jahre unter den Weißen gelebt und beherrschte die portugiesische Sprache, war aber in seinem ganzen Denken und in seinen Anschauungen ein echter Indianer geblieben[.]”⁹³ Koch-Grünberg’s pessimism toward Brazilian – and European – society was coupled with his desire to save the culture of indigenous people before their imminent disappearance “either due to the massacres, diseases, or by the damaging contact with European culture.”⁹⁴

Not long after his death in 1924, Koch-Grünberg reemerged through the work of a prolific Brazilian writer, Mário de Andrade (1893-1945). Even though Andrade shared Koch-Grünberg’s negativity towards the European and Brazilian elites, as well as an interest in the indigenous cultures, he had a very different agenda. Andrade was part of the modernist movement in Brazil, a movement that was searching for a national identity that could stand tall against the cultural pressure and influence from Europe. He did not look kindly at the Brazilian elite, mocking its European pretension. Andrade tried to reframe a national culture that celebrated its ties to native populations, asserting the contradictory, expansive, all-encompassing culture of modern Brazil. In the process, Andrade discovered Koch-Grünberg’s *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, and utilized the tales he found there to construct his “hero without any character”, the hero that represented Brazil in Andrade’s eyes, Macunaíma.

Various historical and cultural reasons – including high illiteracy rates and restrictions in the public-school curriculum – prevented Mário de Andrade’s *Macunaíma*, published in Brazil in 1928, from reaching a large public in the first decades that followed its publication. The first

⁹³ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, p. V.

⁹⁴ Erik Petscheli, “Theodor Koch-Grünberg (1872-1924),” 2019, p.202.

edition, paid for by the author himself, consisted of only 800 copies. In 1937, the second edition was printed under the nationally recognized publishing house José Olympio Editora, and carried important alterations and corrections by Andrade⁹⁵, but consisted of only 1000 printed copies⁹⁶. Only in the 60s and 70s was the book rediscovered and canonized as the best prose of modernist fiction, becoming mandatory read in high schools and colleges and being adapted to different mediums, such as the theater, cinema and even an allegorical samba plot in the 1974 carnival parade in Rio de Janeiro.

The delayed success of *Macunaíma* is, however, not necessarily a direct result of the small number of copies in the initial editions. The book contains a miscellaneous collection of tales, folklore, regional legends, religious beliefs, etc., as well as a quasi-impenetrable language, result of Andrade's mixture of "fads, phrases, traditions not yet registered in books, syntactic formulas, oral punctuation processes, etc. of Indigenous speech, maybe already Brazilian speech, feared and rejected by the brilliant Brazilian writers of the beautiful Portuguese language."⁹⁷ After a decade of constant debates by writers and critics about what literary genre it should belong to, the book was categorized as a rhapsody in its second edition (published in 1937) by the author himself.

The style and language of *Macunaíma* inevitably rendered the book avant-garde and misplaced in its own time. The contemporary response to the rhapsody is bifold: some showed perplexity, followed by admiration towards its innovative language and complex content (e.g. by

⁹⁵ In this dissertation, I will use the second edition of *Macunaíma*, as it is the one with the most complete text, and in which Andrade was deeply involved with the alterations.

⁹⁶ Silviano Santiago, "A Trajetória de Um Livro," 1988.

⁹⁷ Mário de Andrade. "A Raimundo Moraes," 1931, p. 3. (My translation) Original text: "...modismos, locuções, tradições ainda não registradas em livro, fórmulas sintáticas, processos de pontuação oral, etc. de falas de índio, ou já brasileiras, temidas e refugadas pelos geniais escritores brasileiros da formosíssima língua portuguesa."

the poet Joaquim Cardozo), while others showed incomprehension, followed by criticism mainly toward the inaccessibility of its language to the average reader (e.g. by the writer Rubem Braga)⁹⁸. Andrade also used writers, texts, and other sources unapologetically, without any direct mention or citation. This practice unleashed an immediate reaction among Andrade's peers, who either complimented his work as a model for the modernists' *anthropophagy*⁹⁹, or accused him of plagiarism.

Andrade had remained, for the most part, publicly silent after the aforementioned debates and accusations regarding *Macunaíma*. However, once Raimundo Moraes, a Brazilian writer from the northern state of Pará, published a note in defense of Andrade's originality, Andrade replied to the fellow author with an open letter, published in 1931 in *Diário Nacional* – a journal associated with the Democratic Party (PD) of Brazil, that circulated between the years of 1927 and 1932¹⁰⁰. In this letter, titled “A Raimundo Moraes”¹⁰¹, Andrade thanks Moraes for his words, but finds his compliments misplaced. Andrade, in his flowery elaborated style, admits that, not only had he gotten inspiration and copied from Koch-Grünberg's *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, but he had also copied from many others (mentioning some by name, e.g., Teschauer and Barbosa Rodrigues), and found surprising that his critics had forgotten to mention these other sources.

I did copy, my dear defender. What amazes me and I find it sublime in kindness is that the slanderers forgot everything they know, restricting my copy to Koch-Grünberg, when I copied them all. ... At long last, I have to confess once and for all: I copied Brazil, at

⁹⁸ Silviano Santiago, “A Trajetória de Um Livro,” 1988, pp. 188-9.

⁹⁹ The term *anthropophagy*, its modernist's roots, as well as its development to *cultural cannibalism* are discussed in depth in the first chapter of this dissertation.

¹⁰⁰ Amélia Cohn and Sedi Hirano. “Verbete,” accessed 05 Oct. 2021.

¹⁰¹ Mário de Andrade. “A Raimundo Moraes”, 1931.

least in that part where I was interested in satirizing Brazil through itself. ... My name is on the cover of *Macunaíma* and no one will be able to take it off. But that's the only reason why *Macunaíma* is mine.¹⁰²

Andrade's open letter did not majorly change or influence the reception of the book by his peers. Only after about three decades has this letter (and the book itself) been rediscovered, and studies on *Macunaíma* have started to permeate every literary department in the country. Not only was the rhapsody's writing style and techniques studied, but the assumed optimistic nationalism from Andrade was also questioned, as the scholars noticed his sarcasm and satire more clearly. At the time of *Macunaíma*'s publication, Koch-Grünberg was not widely known in Brazil, as his works were yet to be translated to Portuguese.¹⁰³ However, those who were interested in the studies of the Amazon – and could access books in different languages – would not have been able to ignore Koch-Grünberg's publications.

The (trans)cultural encounter between the two authors happened through Andrade's work, and *Macunaíma* became the perfect example of cultural cannibalism as an aesthetic form in literature. For the remainder of this chapter, we will look in detail at many of Koch-Grünberg's collected tales that have been used by Andrade (in the order that they appear in *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*). I offer a short summary of the stories as they appear in Koch-Grünberg's work and show how they were cannibalized into the rhapsody by Andrade.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Ibid (my translation). Original text: "Copiei, sim, meu querido defensor. O que me espanta e acho sublime de bondade é os maldizentes se esquecerem de tudo quanto sabem, restringindo a minha cópia a Koch-Gruenberg, quando copiei todos. ... Enfim, sou obrigado a confessar cuma vez por todas: eu copiei o Brasil, ao menos naquela parte em que me interessava satirizar o Brasil por meio dele mesmo. ... Meu nome está na capa do *Macunaíma* e ninguém poderá tirar. Mas só por isso apenas o *Macunaíma* é meu."

¹⁰³ The volumes of *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco* were first published in Portuguese in the 2000s.

¹⁰⁴ The language used in both works when talking about physiology, e.g., when describing body parts and bodily functions, is usually rough and unpolished. In order to stay true to the effects that the language in these works may

DER WELTBAUM UND DIE GROSSE FLUT. (Erzählt vom Arekuná Akúli.)¹⁰⁵

In this origin tale, the interactions of Makunaíma and his brothers with nature, especially with a tree that gives all types of fruit, evoke a big flood. The consequences of the flood explain why the animals, trees and fruits are different in the northern and southern sides of the river.

The only one of Makunaíma's brothers who receives a name in this tale is the oldest, Žigé. He is an important figure in the story, as he is the only one that goes against the decisions he considers bad made by his youngest brother, Makunaíma. He fights and tries to overpower Makunaíma, but the young brother is not only more stubborn, but also smarter, faster, and stronger – also the reasons why his brothers follow him in the first place. A great example of this struggle between the brothers is the following passage, as they decide whether or not to cut down a tree that gave them good fruit:

Der älteste Bruder sagte: „Nein! Wir wollen den Baum nicht wieder umhauen; sonst haben wir wieder nichts zu essen!“ ... *Makunaíma* aber wollte ihn nicht anhören, sondern wollte mit aller Gewalt den Baum umhauen. Da wurde *Žigé* des Streites müde und sagte: „Er mag ihn umhauen!“¹⁰⁶

The tension between the brothers influences more than just the decision-making of the group. There is also an element of sexual competition between both, where they need to prove who is stronger and more manly. The following scene happens after the great flood, as the brothers try to save themselves from it. It shows not only Makunaíma's personality, but the aforementioned tension between him and Žigé:

have on their readers, I am using similar words (that may be read as distasteful or vulgar) when describing or transcribing passages of the texts.

¹⁰⁵ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, pp. 33-6.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* p. 34.

Makunaíma steckte einen sehr hohen Inajá-Stamm (*Maximiliana Regia*) in die Erde. *Žigé* zürnte mit ihm, aber er konnte ihn nicht hindern, denn was *Makunaíma* tun wollte, das tat er doch. *Žigé* steckte nun einen Inajá-Stamm von derselben Höhe, wie der des *Makunaíma* war, in den Boden. Die Bäume bekamen Früchte, und jeder erstieg seinen Baum. Da sagte *Žigé*: „Meine Früchte haben noch keinen Geschmack. Sind deine Früchte gut?“ *Makunaíma* antwortete: „Nein! Meine Früchte haben auch keinen Geschmack. Laß mich deine Früchte kosten!“ Da reichte ihm *Žigé* eine Frucht. *Makunaíma* biß ein Stück davon ab, strich die Frucht über seinen Penis, gab sie *Žigé* zurück und sagte: „Versuche sie jetzt!“¹⁰⁷

Koch-Grünberg's *Žigé*, *Makunaíma*'s oldest brother, became Mário de Andrade's *Jiguê*, *Macunaíma*'s older brother (now a middle brother, not the oldest). From this tale, Andrade took not only the brother's name, but also the tension and competition between the siblings.

In Andrade's *Macunaíma*, *Jiguê* is described as being “in his prime,”¹⁰⁸ strong and responsible – who often punished his brother (and others, like his partners) with beatings, whenever he thought *Macunaíma* had misbehaved. The power struggle and sexual competition between the brothers is even more accentuated in the rhapsody: *Macunaíma* slept constantly with *Jiguê*'s first partner – and they were caught red-handed by *Jiguê* who, after punishing them, returned her to her father. Once *Jiguê* had a new partner, the beautiful *Iriqui*, *Macunaíma* also seduced her and had sex with her frequently – violent scenes that were described in detail as a “play” between them.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid pp. 35-6.

¹⁰⁸ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, p. 3.

Another element that Andrade cannibalized from the tale is the paradisiac tree, able to produce all and every fruit there is. This tree is not as central or important to the rhapsody as the brothers' relationship, but it is essential to the story in *Macunaíma*'s fifth chapter, "Piaiman"¹⁰⁹. Macunaíma goes with his brother Maanape to visit a merchant (who turns out to be the evil giant Piaiman, Eater of Men) in his cottage, where they see the paradisiac tree: "Behind the merchant's dwelling rose the Tree of Life, a huge and lofty silky-cotton tree on which were growing all kinds of fruit[.]"¹¹⁰ The paradisaic environment of the merchant's property functions as a sign that he was a mythical being, not a normal human.

DER WELTBAUM UND DIE GROSSE FLUT. (Erzählt vom Taulipáng Mayūluaípu.)¹¹¹

In the second version of the same origin tale, there is no obvious power struggle or competition between the brothers. Here Makunaíma has four brothers: Ma'nápe, Anžikīlañ, Wakalámbe and Aníke, but only Makunaíma and Ma'nápe are part of the story. Ma'nápe is here the oldest brother – an element that is also used by Mário de Andrade in his rhapsody, as specified in the first chapter, "Macunaíma"¹¹² – but he only does as he is told by his younger brother, Makunaíma.

In this tale, the brothers are hungry, but Akúli, a rodent that used to be human in the old times (identified by Koch-Grünberg as a *Dasyprocta Aguti* in a footnote¹¹³), hides from them the tree that gives good fruit. This is the same paradisiac tree that appears in the first version of this

¹⁰⁹ Ibid pp. 30-40.

¹¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹¹ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, pp. 36-8.

¹¹² Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, pp. 3-7.

¹¹³ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, p. 33.

origin tale, and that is taken up by Andrade in his fifth chapter. The brothers discover the trickery, and Ma'nápe destroys the tree (ignoring Akúli's warnings) causing the great flood: "Da sagte Ma'nápe, der Verfluchte, zu seinem Bruder: „Morgen wollen wir den Baum umhauen!“ Akúli, der sehr klug war und alles vorher wußte, sagte: „Nein, wir wollen ihn nicht umhauen! Wir wollen nur Früchte holen! Wenn du den Baum umhaust, gibt es ein großes wasser!“ ”¹¹⁴

From this tale, Andrade took the roots to what became his second chapter in the rhapsody, called "Growing Up"¹¹⁵: the punishment of the flood. In this tale, as well as in Andrade's work, the Amazon Forest has an ethic, a moral principle of self-preservation, that punishes anyone that violates this precept by destroying or killing mythical beings of the forest. When the tree is taken down in the tale, a great flood comes, separating the forest and defining where each fruit would grow and where each kind of fish would be found – and there is no more paradisiac tree after that. In Andrade's rhapsody, the punishment of the flood happens after the mythical Boto (a dolphin from the Amazon River) is killed by Maanape:

At this time, when the last of Macunaíma's tapir had been eaten, famine struck the household. Game ... no one found game anymore, not even an armadillo; and because Maanape had killed a dolphin¹¹⁶ for food, the small toad Maraguigana, who is Father of the Dolphins, had become annoyed and sent a flood which rotted the corn crop.¹¹⁷

Both the Boto (the mythical dolphin) and the toad Maraguigana are indigenous legends, most likely originated in the Amazon region and in the Tupi-Guarani language family.¹¹⁸ They serve

¹¹⁴ Ibid p. 38.

¹¹⁵ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, pp. 8-15.

¹¹⁶ Even though it is not specified here in the translation, it is clear in the Portuguese original that they are talking about the mythical boto of the Amazon Forest.

¹¹⁷ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, p. 8.

¹¹⁸ Both the Boto and the Maraguigana are widespread legends in Brazil, that originated in cultures of oral tradition. Some scarce scholarship can be found on the myths and legends from the Tupi-Guarani cultures, such as Henry

as great examples of how Andrade cannibalized more than just Koch-Grünberg into his rhapsody. The Boto is a popular legend in the Brazilian folklore, used to explain unexpected pregnancies, specially of single women who were known to be virgins: the Boto would come out of the river at night, transformed into a beautiful and seductive man, and sleep with young, beautiful women. He would impregnate them and leave before morning came. Especially in northern Brazil, if a child did not have a father, or did not know who their father was, they would be known in their communities as a “Boto’s child.” Andrade’s choice of incorporating the Boto and having Maanape kill it for food, may be a reference back to Freudian theory and the metaphorical “eating of the primeval father,” as neither Macunaíma nor his brothers know who their father was.¹¹⁹

The flood they get as a punishment for the violation of killing the Boto not only kills the crops, but also brings no fish or anything else to where Macunaíma lives with his family. Because of that, they suffered for a long time from hunger. Hunger is a frequent motivator for the deeds of Macunaíma in the rhapsody, and can be interpreted as a criticism to the Brazil of the beginning of the 20th century that Andrade was representing: at the time, the country’s population – especially of the northern regions – was suffering from a lot of misery and hunger, which motivated the waves of migration from the country side to the metropolitan areas of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. The journey of Andrade’s Macunaíma is also from the North to São Paulo city, and even though his main motivator was not hunger, he encounters many migrants that suffer from economic and social discrimination in his way.

Wassén, “The Frog in Indian Mythology and Imaginative World” (1934), Judith Shapiro, “From Tupã to the Land without Evil: The Christianization of Tupi-Guarani Cosmology” (1987) and Mark A. Cravalho, “Shameless Creatures: An Ethnozoology of the Amazon River Dolphin” (1999).

¹¹⁹ More on the use of Freudian theory by the Brazilian modernists can be found in the first chapter of this dissertation.

TATEN DES MAKUNAÍMA. (Erzählt vom Taulipáng Mayūluaípu.)¹²⁰ and

WEITERE TATEN DES MAKUNAÍMA. (Erzählt vom Arekuná Akūli.)¹²¹

The fourth and fifth tales (respectively “Taten des Makunaíma” and “Weitere Taten des Makunaíma”) have together influenced Mário de Andrade into assuming a sort of upside-down perspective of epic poetry. The rhapsody is moved by the feats and pranks of the contradictory hero, as well as by the use and creation of a characteristic poetic language. The influence of these two tales is clearly found in Andrade’s 17th chapter, “The Great Bear”¹²², for example in the passage in which Macunaíma’s parrot wakes him up in the morning:

When dawn broke, the parrot took its beak from under its wing and breakfasted off the spiders that had spun their webs from the branches to the hero’s body during the night.

Then it said,

“Macunaíma!”

The sleeper did not respond.

“Macunaíma, O Macunaíma!”

“Let a fellow sleep, parrot!”

“Wake up hero! The sun has risen!”

“Aw! What a fucking life!”

¹²⁰ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, pp. 39-40.

¹²¹ *Ibid* pp. 40-2.

¹²² Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, pp. 155-66.

With fewer ants and better health

Brazil will be a place of wealth!”

Macunaíma gave a great guffaw and scratched his head, which was crawling with chicken lice. Then the bird repeated what it had learned the previous evening, and Macunaíma gloated over his former glories. This encouraged him to tell the parrot another extravagant tale of his deeds. Thus they went on day after day.¹²³

On the above passage we find Andrade’s poetic language inserted within the dialogue of the hero and the parrot, that gives off an almost out of place rhyme and theme, as if the hero had been dreaming about his country before waking up. The hero is also described in an unkept, dirty manner – not like an epic hero, after achieving great glory. Andrade took not only this general upside-down feeling for the hero from the fourth and fifth tales of Koch-Grünberg, but also more specific elements from within the stories.

The fourth tale, “Taten des Makunaíma”, tells of the sequence of feats done by Makunaíma after he goes to the other side of Mount Roraima, including the transformation of men and women into animals, as well as the creation of all hunting animals and fish. A good example of Makunaíma’s power, as well as his character, is the following deed:

Ein Mann hatte Makunaíma ein Stück Urucú gestohlen. Makunaíma folgte seiner Spurr, erwischte ihn, schnitt ihm Kopf, Arme und Beine ab und verwandelte alles in Steine, wie man sie noch heute auf einer Savanne des Mairarí-Gebirges sieht. ... Dort sieht man auch eine Frau mit dem Hintern nach oben. Alle Teile sind sichtbar.¹²⁴

¹²³ Ibid p. 156.

¹²⁴ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, p. 39.

The mythical value of the stones in the Indigenous culture is present not only in this tale, where Makunaíma frequently transform people in stones as acts of vengeance and shows of power, but in the fifth one, “Weitere Taten des Makunaíma,” as well.

In the fifth tale, Makunaíma is frustrated for not being able to fish with his hook made of beeswax, that kept on breaking when the fish bit. He then sees a man who is successfully fishing Aimarás (large Amazonian fish, that can weigh as much as 40kg/88lbs) with a different hook and decides to steal it for him and his brother Žigé, by transforming himself in a giant fish, and biting off the hook. After they are done, Makunaíma and his brother transform themselves into crickets to follow the man to the other side of the river, where he goes to work and get another hook. On their way, and after getting there, Makunaíma transforms all that he comes across in parts of the forest itself, as well as uses this power of transformation to affirm himself to those who do not believe his creational stories.

Makunaíma aber verwandelte alles, was ihn begegnete, Menschen, Tiere, Mutum, Hirsche, Wildschweine, Reiher usw., in Steine, Bäume und Wald. Und dies blieb bis heute so. ... Dann begegnete er den Leuten, die nicht an das große Wasser glauben wollten, von dem er ihnen erzählt hatte, und die nach Hause gehen wollten.

Wahrscheinlich kamen sie von weit her. Er sagte zu ihnen: „Wohin wollt ihr gehen?“ Als sie sich umdrehten, verwandelte er alle in Termitenhaufen, wie man noch viele an der Seite des Mairarí-Gebirges findet.¹²⁵

Andrade incorporates the story of the fifth tale into his chapter 11, “Ceiuci, the Greedy Old Woman,”¹²⁶ where there is an Englishman, fishing Aimarás – and the sequency of actions is

¹²⁵ Ibid pp. 41-2.

¹²⁶ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, pp. 88-103.

repeated, step-by-step, here by the hero Macunaíma. Andrade also picks up on the importance of transforming things in the rhapsody's sixth chapter, "The French lady and the Giant,"¹²⁷ in which Macunaíma and his brothers create pests that will ail the country, out of a simple argument¹²⁸. In the same chapter, when recollecting about his land, Macunaíma thinks about all the stones he had there: "All these stones had once been alive, as wasps, ticks, animals, songbirds, men and women, young women and girls, even those portions of a woman that excite a man's depravity ...!"¹²⁹

Andrade recaptures this power of transformation – specifically in relation to the stones – from the Makunaíma of Koch-Grünberg throughout the rhapsody, and there are usually two types of stone (and of transformation): the good ones are from his homeland, beautiful stones that were once alive (as the passage in the paragraph above shows); the bad ones are from the city, where people became lazy and greedy, and lost their ability to transform themselves. We can see this, for example, in chapter 15, "Oibê's Offal,"¹³⁰ in which the rhapsody hero says his farewell from São Paulo city as he is leaving it behind with his brothers, ironically transforming the booming capitalistic city into a stone sloth: "Then he (Macunaíma) cast a spell: he waved his arms in the air and turned that one-time Indian village which had become a great city entirely to stone, in the shape of a three-toed sloth. They left."¹³¹

¹²⁷ Ibid pp. 41-9.

¹²⁸ More on the pests mentioned here on the section "7. Wie der Stachelrochen und die Giftschlange in die Welt kamen" of this chapter, where I describe the seventh tale of Koch-Grünberg.

¹²⁹ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, p. 49.

¹³⁰ Ibid pp. 131-42.

¹³¹ Ibid p. 131.

STREICHE DES MAKUNAÍMA. (Erzählt vom Arekuná Akúli.)¹³²

The sixth tale of Koch-Grünberg is particularly present in the first two chapters of Andrade. In short, Makunaíma is still a young boy, who lives with his mother, his older brother, and his brother's wife. Makunaíma transforms himself into an adult (as well as into an insect) in order to seduce the brother's wife and sleep with her – first he does so forcefully (“tat ihr Gewalt an”) and later, after many times, the woman seems to accept it, or at least the act is not described with violence (“wohnte ihr bei”¹³³). The brother finds out what is happening, and gives Makunaíma a beating. Makunaíma then uses his power to move with his mother to the top of a mountain in a split second, taking with them his entire house, as well as all the plants and everything surrounding it, leaving the brother and the brother's wife in a barren land to starve. After the mother's pleading, Makunaíma returns everything back to where the brother is (who is now only bones, after starving for so long.) Makunaíma then seduces the brother's wife once again. The brother (who is now back to his former weight and strength) however, is afraid of Makunaíma's powers, and decides to pretend to not know anything: „Der ältere Bruder wußte alles, aber er wollte es nicht wissen, da er an den Hunger dachte, den er gelitten hatte, und nicht mehr ohne seine jüngeren Bruder leben konnte. Er wollte deshalb nicht mehr mit ihm streiten.”¹³⁴

Andrade recreates in his work's first and second chapter (respectively “Macunaíma”¹³⁵ and “Growing Up”¹³⁶) the transformation from boy into man – and insect – of the hero in order to seduce and sleep with the brother's wives (Jiguê marries twice, and Macunaíma seduces both wives). Even though the sexual act is very violent in itself (especially with the first wife, Sofará),

¹³² Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, pp. 42-5.

¹³³ Ibid pp. 43-4.

¹³⁴ Ibid pp. 44-5.

¹³⁵ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, pp. 3-7.

¹³⁶ Ibid pp. 8-15.

it is not described as rape by Andrade, but as a consensual “play” between Macunaíma and the brother’s wives.

The very next day he (6-year-old Macunaíma) pestered Sofará to take him for a walk, and they dallied in the bush until nightfall. The little boy had no sooner touched the foliage than he was transformed into a prince burning with ardor. They made love. They made love again. They made love three times, then ran deeper into the forest to rouse themselves into the mood for more. . . . Macunaíma wrenched up a balsam sapling for a club and hid behind a great caribe-lure tree. When Sofará came running up, he dealt her such a whack on the head that her scalp split and she fell, doubled up with laughter, at his feet. She jerked at one of his legs and Macunaíma grunted with relish as he lifted his club again, but the minx bit off his big toe and swallowed it. Macunaíma, whimpering with delight, traced tattoo patterns on her body with the blood trickling from his foot.¹³⁷

The passage above is the beginning of the last sexual encounter(s) between Macunaíma and Jiguê’s first wife, Sofará. Their violent play goes on for longer, and it is all witnessed by Jiguê, who then returns the woman to her father, and flogs Macunaíma as a punishment. Mário de Andrade took the “Gewalt” from Koch-Grünberg, expanded and transformed it into a shockingly violent, but consensual, encounter. I understand this moment in *Macunaíma* as having two meanings: first, the loss of the hero’s virginity, and his pleasure in the violent sexual act mark the beginning of his coming-of age; shortly after this scene, he is kicked out of the house by his mother and undergoes a short journey that changes his body permanently into that of an adult. His head, however, remains the size of a child’s, which could be Andrade’s way of signaling

¹³⁷ Ibid pp. 6-7.

that the hero kept his indigenous naivety and innocence, and at the same time, that Macunaíma was still ruled by nature, and not reason.

The second meaning of the violent sexual encounter scene would be an ironic take on how Europe saw the Brazilian natives as wild cannibals. True to the *anthropophagic* movement's ideas, Andrade takes the point of view of the European in relation to the "savages" as his own and turns it into its head: Macunaíma and Sofará not only cannibalize themselves for pure pleasure, but the more violent they become, the more they enjoy the sexual act and the stronger their connection becomes.

Two other elements from Koch-Grünberg's sixth tale are also worth mentioning here, as they became an important part of the coming-of-age of Andrade's hero: in *Macunaíma*'s chapter one, the hunting of a tapir is also used as a ritual of passage from boyhood to manhood, just like in Koch-Grünberg's tale; and in chapter two, the death of Macunaíma's mother, which is a very short mention in the tale, becomes a detailed story in the rhapsody, and it is the reason why Macunaíma comes back home to his brothers after becoming an adult.

WIE DER STACHELROCHEN UND DIE GIFTSCHLANGE IN DIE WELT KAMEN.

(Erzählt vom Taulipáng Mayūluaípu.)¹³⁸

In the seventh tale, Makunaíma and his brother Žigé are still hostile toward each other because of the affair between Makunaíma and his brother's wife (described in the sixth tale.) Interestingly, there is here no apparent difference in power between the brothers, and no clear winner in the

¹³⁸ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, pp. 45-6.

dispute – there is only antagonism and malice between both. First, Makunaíma hurts the brother when they are fishing, by transforming a leaf into a stingray, and mocking Žigé’s pain:

Žigé kam zu den Rochen und trat auf ihn. Der Rochen stach ihn in den Fuß. Žigé schrie laut. Da sagte Makunaíma: „Ach, schmerzt es, mein Bruder? Das schmerzt doch nicht! Wenn er mich gestochen hätte, würde es mich nicht schmerzen!“ Da sagte Žigé einen Spruch für sich, sodaß der Schmerz verging.¹³⁹

After that, Žigé transforms a tree vine into a poisonous snake, that bites Makunaíma as they are building a house:

Als Makunaíma den Sipó herauszog, biß ihn die Schlange. Makunaíma schrie laut. Da sagte Žigé zu Makunaíma: „Ach, schmerzt es, mein Bruder? Das schmerzt doch nicht! Wenn sie mich gebissen hätte, würde es mich nicht schmerzen!“ Da sagte Makunaíma einen Spruch für sich, sodaß er nicht starb.¹⁴⁰

Even though Žigé seems to be as powerful as Makunaíma in this tale, as they both have the power to create animals that never existed before, it is worth noting that Žigé can only imitate what his younger brother has done before, but he never surpasses him in power – a contrast that is also present in other tales.

Andrade cannibalizes this tale and transforms the incident between Makunaíma and Žigé into an expanded, more detailed event in chapter six of his rhapsody, “The French Lady and the Giant.”¹⁴¹ The event involves not only Macunaíma and Jiguê, but also their other brother, Maanape. As they mock each other, they end up creating the three main pests that ail Brazil.

¹³⁹ Ibid p. 45.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid p. 46.

¹⁴¹ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, pp. 41-9.

The hero became fed up with them (the brothers). He took a spoon, turned into a brown bug[.] ... Next he took a wad of cotton and turned into a white bug.

Maanape was already on his way into the digs for another cup of coffee. The bug stung his tongue painfully. “Ouch!” cried Maanape.

Macunaíma, very slyly, said, “Something hurting you, brother? When a gnat stings me, I don’t feel it!” ...

Then Jiguê came into the digs for forty winks. The white bug sucked so much of his blood that it turned pink. “Hey!” yelled Jiguê.

Macunaíma commented, “Are you in pain, brother? Pooh! When a bug sucks me, I like it!” ...

Maanape and Jiguê were still fuming and just biding their time to get back at their brother[.] ... Jiguê picked up a brick, but to make it less lethal he turned it into a hard leather ball, which he passed to Maanape, who with a deft kick lofted it over to hit Macunaíma smack on the nose. “Ugh!” spluttered the hero.

The brothers slyly called out, “How now, brother, are you in pain? Since when did it hurt a man to be hit by a ball?” ... It was thus that Maanape introduced the coffee bug, Jiguê the cotton boll weevil, and Macunaíma the football; three of the main pests in the country today.¹⁴²

When compared to the extracts from Koch-Grünberg’s seventh tale, the longer passage from Andrade’s rhapsody above contains not only the antagonistic feeling between brothers, but also

¹⁴² Ibid pp. 41-2.

the mockery – translated almost verbatim from the tale – once they fall into the traps and their power to transform and create new animals and objects. Some noticeable differences in both stories, is that not only the third brother, Maanape, is present, but also the animosity between brothers is in a way less violent in the rhapsody than in the tale. In the tale, Makunaima and Žigé could have killed each other, had they not been powerful enough to cast spells to counter the effects of their tricks; while in the rhapsody, the tricks seem to only cause a small annoyance to each of them.

Also, with the three pests of Brazil, Andrade created a sort of origin myth for the Brazilian cultural identity: the “coffee bug pest” represents the African contributions to Brazilian culture, especially since coffee is a plant of African origins that was introduced into Brazil’s ecosystem by Europeans in the early 1700s. The “cotton boll weevil” is actually a different animal in the Portuguese original, it is a “taturana” (a type of venomous caterpillar, that burns the skin when touched). As a resilient animal of Brazilian origins, the “taturana pest” represents the native culture, that has always existed in every corner of the land. Lastly, the “football pest,” as an originally (British) European sport, represents the cultural influence that Europe has within the country since colonial times, and the fascination and admiration that the population had with anything that came from Europe. By calling these three elements “pests,” Andrade also expresses his pessimism and annoyance towards the “cultural mix” that is considered to be characteristic of the Brazilian identity.

MAKUNAÍMA IN DER SCHLINGE DES PIAI'MA. (Erzählt vom Taulipáng Mayūluaípu.)¹⁴³

In Koch-Grünberg's ninth tale, Makunaíma falls into a trap of the god Piai'mã, and is almost eaten, but manages to escape in the last minute. Mário de Andrade takes over this tale almost word by word in a sequence of his chapter six, "The French Lady and the Giant"¹⁴⁴, in which the hero is captured by the Piaiman giant, who also ate people.¹⁴⁵ When Makunaíma encounters the trap in Koch-Grünberg's tale, for example, he tries to set himself free, but only manages to get even more stuck in it.

Sie fanden eine Schlinge des Piai'mã. ... Dann wollte Makunaíma die Schlinge mit dem Fuß fortstoßen. Da wurde sein Fuß gefesselt. Dann wollte er sie mit der Hand fortstoßen. Da wurde seine Hand gefesselt. Dann wollte er sie mit der anderen Hand fortstoßen. Aber die Schlinge faßte auch seine andere Hand. Dann wollte er mit dem anderen Fuß fortstoßen. Aber die Schlinge faßte auch diesen Fuß.¹⁴⁶

Andrade mixed this moment when Macunaíma is running from Piaiman with an African tale of a wax doll, but the sequence of Macunaíma (disguised as a French woman) becoming stuck in a trap follows the same pattern as the tale.

The Frenchwoman swerved behind a bush in order to hide, but there was a little Negress there blocking the way. Macunaíma not grasping who she was, whispered to her, "Catharina, let me pass!" ... "Catharina, let me pass or I'll slap you!"

¹⁴³ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, pp. 47-8.

¹⁴⁴ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, pp. 41-9.

¹⁴⁵ A more detailed analysis of Andrade's cannibalization process of this tale can be found in the first chapter of this dissertation – here the analysis is more focused on the textual content, rather than what the elements may have represented for Andrade.

¹⁴⁶ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, p. 47.

Catharina didn't budge. Macunaíma gave the wretched creature a slap in the face, and his hand stuck to her. "Catharina, let go of my hand and get out of my way or I'll give you another wallop, I'm telling you!" ... Macunaíma dealt it another slap with his free hand, which was also imprisoned. "Catharina, Chatarina! Let go of my hands, kinky-hair, or I'll kick the stuffing out of you!" He gave it a kick and his foot was held fast. At last the hero got himself completely glued to the sticky dummy.¹⁴⁷

The following moment in both works is also interesting to compare side-by-side, as Andrade did not do many alterations to Koch-Grünberg's text. In the tale, right after Makunaíma gets stuck in his trap, Piaj'mã approaches to collect him.

Nach kurzer Zeit kam Piaj'mã. Er brachte einen großen Tragkorb mit. Er zog Makunaíma aus der Schlinge heraus und steckte ihn in den Tragkorb. Er sagte zum Tragkorb: „Öffne dein Maul, dein großes Maul!“ Da öffnete der Tragkorb sein Maul. Piaj'mã steckte Makunaíma hinein, und der Tragkorb machte sein Maul wieder zu. Piaj'mã lud ihn auf den Rücken und ging davon.¹⁴⁸

The same moment happens almost word-by-word in Andrade's rhapsody:

At this point Piaiman arrived with a basket. He plucked the Frenchwoman from the trap and shouted to the basket, "Open your mouth, basket, open your big mouth!" The basket opened and the giant stuffed the hero in it. The basket closed again, Piaiman picked it up and went back to the house with it.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, p. 45-6.

¹⁴⁸ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, p. 47.

¹⁴⁹ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, p. 46.

Andrade's verbatim translation and use of the above passage is a perfect example of how he inserted full passages of Koch-Grünberg's tales in his rhapsody. His cannibalization of the textual content almost never removes elements from the source, but instead, add pieces of other cannibalized texts and cultures to strengthen his resulting work – while cannibalizing this tale, for example, Andrade adds the element of the African wax doll, gives a name to the doll (Catharina), and disguises the hero as a French woman.

MAKUNAÍMAS TOD UND WIEDERBELEBUNG. (Erzählt vom Taulipáng Mayūluaípu.)¹⁵⁰

The eleventh collected tale of Koch-Grünberg is cannibalized in its entirety by Mário de Andrade, who uses it as the core event of *Macunaíma*'s fifth chapter, "Piaiman."¹⁵¹ The text suffers almost no alteration in content, mainly some adjustments in the language and the dialogues.

In a short summary, it is a tale of the death and resurrection of Makunaíma – the death through the hands of the cannibal deity Piaĩ'mã, and the resurrection through the powers of Makunaíma's brother, Ma'nápe. As the two brothers are hunting small animals by the paradisaic tree that gives all fruit, Piaĩ'mã imitates a bird, tricking Makunaíma, and finds both brothers. Piaĩ'mã shoots a poisonous arrow with a blowpipe and hits Makunaíma's little finger, killing him. Ma'nápe tries to give all of their game to Piaĩ'mã in exchange for his brother, but he does not accept it. After a life threat, Ma'nápe gives the deity his brother's body, but then follows a trail of Makunaíma's blood back to Piaĩ'mã's house (where the deity and his wife are going to eat him.) On his way, Ma'nápe receives the help of a wasp and a lizard, and manages to enter

¹⁵⁰ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, pp. 48-50.

¹⁵¹ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, pp. 30-40.

Piaj'mã's home and kills both him and his wife. At this point, Makunaíma is already chopped in pieces being cooked in a pot. The tale comes to an end with Makunaíma's resurrection, described as follows:

Makunaíma war schon in Stücke zerschnitten und in dem Topf über dem Feuer. *Ma'nápe* zog ihn vom Feuer weg und legte ihn in eine flache Korbwanne. Er fädelt alle Stücke mit Blättern des *Kumí* ein, Finger, Arme, Beine, alles. Dann goß er das Blut, das *Kambežike* (the wasp) gesammelt hatte, auf ihn. Dann blies ihn *Ma'nápe* mit *Kumí* an, deckte die Korbwanne darüber und ging aus dem Haus hinaus. Nach kurzer Zeit erhob sich *Makunaíma*, ganz geschwitzt. Er fragte *Ma'nápe*, was er mit ihm gemacht habe. *Ma'nápe* erwiderte: „Habe ich es dir nicht gesagt, du solltest keinem Tier antworten!“¹⁵²

Interesting to notice that this is the first time Makunaíma is not smarter than his brother(s) and is the one that falls prey to a fatal trick – not the one playing tricks or killing others. The same resurrection moment – and power inversion, since Maanape is the one to save Macunaíma – occurs in Andrade's rhapsody.

The hero, chopped into twenty times thirty little scraps, was bubbling away in a thick stew. Maanape fished out the scraps of flesh and the bones, spreading them on the cement floor to cool. Meanwhile, the albino ant Cambigique sprinkled them with the blood he had lapped up. Maanape then wrapped all the bloody bits and pieces in banana leaves, put the bundle in his quake and carried it to his lodgings. On arrival, he set the quake on its feet and blew smoke into it; Macunaíma emerged from the wrappings feeling weak at the knees. Maanape gave his brother some guarana to drink; this soon brought him around,

¹⁵² Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, p. 50.

and before long, he was hale and hearty again. He scared off the mosquitoes and inquired, “What on earth happened to me?”

“Well now, I warned you, didn’t I? I told you not to reply to any bird’s song. I did indeed. But then...”¹⁵³

The addition of details and small alterations by Andrade, as well as the more elaborate language, create a different feel to the passage. It is as if in the rhapsody, the resurrection is more complicated; Maanape does a thorough ritual to bring Macunaíma back – more like witchcraft than the innate power they have in Koch-Grünberg’s tales. The ritual performed by Maanape, especially with the “blowing smoke” element, resembles many traditional rituals of syncretic religions of African descent that exist in Brazil (such as Candomblé, Umbanda, and Macumba). Such religious rituals would also frequently involve food offerings, which may be the reason why Andrade adds both banana leaves and guarana to the passage. Other possible reason for the addition of the food elements could be that banana leaves were commonly used by natives in their traditional artisanry, and guarana, as a processed version of the Amazonian fruit of the same name, became a popular soft drink in the beginning of the 20th century.

AKALAPIŽEIMA UND DIE SONNE. (Erzählt vom Arekuná Akúli.)¹⁵⁴ and

WIE DIE MENSCHEN DAS FEUER ERHIELTEN. (Erzählt vom Taulipáng Mayūluaípu.)¹⁵⁵

In his creation of the Macunaíma hero, Mário de Andrade mixed in one chapter two tales from Koch-Grünberg that, at first sight, are not related – nor does the Indigenous deity, Makunaíma,

¹⁵³ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, p. 39.

¹⁵⁴ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, pp. 51-3.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid* p. 76.

appears in them. The first one is the 13th tale, “Akalapižeima und die Sonne,” a story about the forefather of all the Indigenous people and the reason why people grow old; the other one is the 23rd tale, “Wie die Menschen das Feuer erhielten,” a story about the creation of fire and of the fire stone, that is used by the Indigenous people to create fire themselves. When looked upon closely, the tales have four elements in common at their core: feces, fire/warmth, age/growing old, and manioc (a very important food for the Indigenous population at the time.) Andrade connected these elements, and weaved both tales together to form his rhapsody’s eighth chapter, “Vei, the Sun.”¹⁵⁶

In a few words, Koch-Grünberg’s 13th tale is about a young man, who by his own doing gets stuck in a small island with nothing in it, except a tree. Above the tree sat vultures that daily covered the man in feces. The man felt very cold and asked both the Venus star and the moon for help; but they refused him, saying he had always offered manioc bread to the sun, and none to them. Then comes the sun, Wéi, in a woman form, with her three daughters. She helps him and wants him to become her son-in-law. He, however, falls in love with the daughter of the vultures. At that point, Wéi curses him: „Wenn du meinem Rate gefolgt wärest und eine meiner Töchter geheiratet hättest, so wärest du immer jung und schön geblieben wie ich. Jetzt bleibst du nur kurze Zeit jung und schön. Dann wirst du alt und häßlich!”¹⁵⁷ After that, the man marries the daughter of the vultures, and becomes the father of all Indigenous people.

Andrade reconstructs closely the tale of this man, but now having Macunaíma as the center of the story. The curse from the sun, for example, is repeated almost word by word in the rhapsody: “If you had obeyed me, you would have married one of my daughters, and you would

¹⁵⁶ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, pp. 60-6.

¹⁵⁷ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, pp. 52-3.

have stayed young and very handsome forever and a day. As it is now, you'll remain young just a short time like anyone else, then you'll grow old and not be attractive at all.”¹⁵⁸ Macunaíma passes through the same predicaments as the man did on the island and is also only helped by the sun. However, in an ironic twist from Andrade, the hero falls in love with a Portuguese woman – but then abandons her to her death by an ogre by the end of the chapter. With this change in characters, Andrade could be appointing Macunaíma as the forefather of the Brazilian people, with its mixed Indigenous and Portuguese roots – in an already inverted position, as, historically, there were more Portuguese men who (forcefully or not) had children with Indigenous women. And by killing the Portuguese mother, Andrade reverses history once more: where once thrived the Portuguese, now lives on the Indigenous hero.

Koch Grünberg's 23rd tale, “Wie die Menschen das Feuer erhielten,” is very short, and does not carry such an impact in Andrade's *Macunaíma*. It is the tale of an old woman who shat fire, in the time when people did not know how to make fire yet. A little girl sees her shitting fire, and tells everyone else. Then the people decide to confront the old lady. As she does not give them the fire willingly, they tie her arms and legs on top of some firewood and press her until she excretes fire once again. However, this fire turns into the fire stone Wató, that can still be found in the present. Andrade turns this tale into a scene between Vei, the sun, her daughters, and Macunaíma. Vei refused to warm them up, so they tie her arms and legs, and Macunaíma slaps her stomach, until she farts fire, so that they can warm themselves.

¹⁵⁸ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, p. 65.

WIE DER MOND ZUM HIMMEL KAM. (Erzählt vom Taulipáng Mayūluaípu.)¹⁵⁹ and
ŽILIŽOAIBU WIRD TAMEKAN (PLEJADEN). (Erzählt vom Taulipáng Mayūluaípu.)¹⁶⁰

In the fourth chapter of *Macunaíma*, “The Moon Water-Mamma,”¹⁶¹ Mário de Andrade cannibalized two tales of Koch-Grünberg at the same time: the 14th and the 18th tale. The 14th tale, “Wie der Mond zum Himmel kam,” tells the origin story of how the moon, Kapéi, came to be in the sky after a confrontation with the people’s healer¹⁶². From this tale, Andrade did not take much, as he changed the entire sequence of events, and reasoning behind the moon’s transformation. He took, however, the moon’s name, Capei, as well as a short passage in which the moon struggles to decide what it would become after being locked outside. The text in the original tale reads as follows:

Kapéi dachte nach, wo er nun bleiben sollte. Er sagte: „Cutía wird gegessen! Tapir wird gegessen! Wildschwein wird gegessen! Alle Jagdtiere werden gegessen! Soll ich mich in einen Vogel verwandeln? Einen Mutúm? Ein Cujubím? Ein Inambú? Auch sie werden gegessen! Ich gehe zum Himmel! Am Himmel ist es besser als hier! Ich gehe, von dort meinen Brüdern zu leuchten! Laßt uns gehen, meine Töchter, zum Himmel!“¹⁶³

Different from other moments in which Andrade cannibalized the text of specific passages in their entirety, with this one what he took was the feeling behind the passage: the anguish and torment felt by the character in this moment, that led to the conclusion of becoming the moon. In the rhapsody, the passage became as follows:

¹⁵⁹ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, pp. 53-4.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid pp. 55-60.

¹⁶¹ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, pp. 22-9.

¹⁶² *Zauberarzt*

¹⁶³ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, p. 54.

The head (of Capei) waited a good while, but seeing that they wouldn't open (the door) up, it began to brood on what would become of it. If it turned into water, then somebody would drink it; if it became a mosquito, it would be sprayed with Flit; if it became a railway train, it would be derailed; if a river, it would be put on a map. It resolved ... "I'm going to be the Moon!" It screamed, "Open the door, gentlemen, I want to ask you something!"¹⁶⁴

Capei (who is a female character in *Macunaíma*) struggles in the above passage, when being forced to decide what to become in order to survive as herself in the world. The character's internal debate, however, reflects different fears from the original tale: instead of displaying the fear of being hunted and eaten if transformed into an animal (as in the Koch-Grünberg original), Andrade's Capei is afraid of becoming part of the society, of interacting with (in a deadly manner or not) or being controlled by the people around her.

Koch-Grünberg's 18th tale, "Žilizoibu wird Tamekan (Plejaden)," is a rather long one in comparison to his other collected stories. It tells the story of how two brothers struggled over the wife of one of them, and how they and their children transformed later on into the Araiuiág.¹⁶⁵ Here there is also moment similar to the passage shown above (from the 14th tale), in which the characters struggle about what to become, deciding at the end on becoming the Araiuiág. Andrade could have used this tension as inspiration for Capei's internal struggle as well, but the influence of the text is not so clear as with the passage shown above.

¹⁶⁴ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, pp. 26-7.

¹⁶⁵ Amazonian animal that ate honey, described by Koch-Grünberg in a footnote as „[e]in Vierfüßler, ähnlich dem Fuchs, aber mit schönem, weichem, schwarzem Fell. Er hat länglichen Körper, runden Kopf und langen Schwanz.“ (Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, p. 59).

An element of the 18th tale that was undeniably cannibalized by Andrade, however, is the messenger bird. In the tale, a little bird flies up to the Indigenous man to warn him about his wife having cut his brother's leg, which triggers the development of the story. In the rhapsody, Macunaíma is approached by a little bird as well, who sings about the fate of the hero's amulet, and the location of the man-eater giant, which triggers Macunaíma's journey to São Paulo city – place where most of the hero's epic saga takes place.

MAUAI-PODOLE, E'MORON-PODOLE, PAUI-PODOLE. (Erzählt vom Arekuná Akúli.)¹⁶⁶

The 20th collected tale of Koch-Grünberg tells the story about two brothers-in-law (one of them being a healer¹⁶⁷) who find and try to master three mythical beings of the forest: Maúai-pódoḷe (the Father of the Crab), E'morón-pódoḷe (the Father of Sleep), and Pauí-pódoḷe (the Father of the Mutum¹⁶⁸). Their fight with the latter, Pauí-pódoḷe, results in their transformation into stars, more specifically into the constellations Southern Cross, Alpha Centauri, and Beta Centauri.

Mário de Andrade cannibalized this tale and spread it into three different chapters. First, he takes the transformation into stars to his chapter three, "Ci, Mother of the Forest,"¹⁶⁹ in which Macunaíma's son is poisoned while nursing and dies immediately. Ci (the mother) follows in her grief the same fate of the tale's Pauí-pódoḷe: she ascends into the sky and becomes a constellation. The difference here would be that Pauí-pódoḷe becomes the Southern Cross in the tale, and Ci becomes the Beta Centauri in the rhapsody. She also has another characteristic that was taken from the Pauí-pódoḷe, which is the unbearable struggle with ants.

¹⁶⁶ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, pp. 61-3.

¹⁶⁷ *Zauberarzt*

¹⁶⁸ Amazonian bird.

¹⁶⁹ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, pp. 16-21.

The story of Pauí-pódole is also present in the rhapsody's chapter 10, "Pauí-Pódole, the Father of the Crested Curassows,"¹⁷⁰ in which the hero retells the third part of Koch-Grünberg's 20th tale with his own words, in a poetic – and prophetic – manner, in order to explain the origin of the Southern Cross.

Lastly, in his 14th chapter, "Muiraquitã, the Amulet,"¹⁷¹ Andrade cannibalized the second part of the tale, where the two brothers-in-law try to capture E'morón-pódole (the Father of Sleep). In the rhapsody, Macunaíma is the one that tries to trick and capture the Father of Sleep, but he is unsuccessful, as he keeps falling asleep when he gets too close to him (exactly what happens to the characters in Koch-Grünberg's tales.)

PIAIMAS TOD. (Erzählt vom Taulipáng Mayūluaípu.)¹⁷²

Koch-Grünberg's 26th tale describes the death of the man-eater deity, Piaǰ'mã, through the hands of the younger brother of a family. This family had lost almost all of their male relatives to Piaǰ'mã, who had tricked them and then, together with his wife, killed and eaten them. The young man kills Piaǰ'mã, his soul gets transformed into a butterfly, that talks to and shows the man his way back home.

Andrade cannibalizes the transformation of Piaǰ'mã's soul in *Macunaíma*'s 15th chapter, "Oibê's Offal."¹⁷³ In this chapter, Oibê, the Terrible Giant Worm of the Amazon¹⁷⁴, releases a soul in the form of a butterfly at the end of a long chase after Macunaíma: "... (Oibê) turned into

¹⁷⁰ Ibid pp. 80-7.

¹⁷¹ Ibid pp. 120-30.

¹⁷² Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, pp. 78-81.

¹⁷³ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, pp. 131-42.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid p. 136.

a bush dog, and opened its mouth wide in disenchantment, and from inside its guts soared a brilliant-blue butterfly which had been the soul of a man imprisoned inside the wolf.”¹⁷⁵ Even though it is unclear whether or not Oibê is dead, he is not mentioned in the rhapsody again.

Even though Andrade recaptured the death of Piaj'mã and his soul transformation in the rhapsody, it is important to notice that he did not transfer these elements to his own version of Piaiman, the man-eating giant, but to the character Oibê. In *Macunaíma*'s 14th chapter, “Muiraquitã, the Amulet,”¹⁷⁶ Piaiman, the Eater of Men, dies in a “cauldron of bubbling macaroni,” to which Andrade writes: “And that was the end of Venceslau Pietro Pietra, who was the giant, Piaiman, Eater of Men.”¹⁷⁷ His death follows no transformation, no final destination – and he is the only character in *Macunaíma* with this fate. This choice may be seen as a criticism from Andrade to the capitalistic values that had taken over Brazil's big cities, as Venceslau Pietro Pietra was the personification of them. As an “evil capitalist,” he had, therefore, no soul to be reintegrated into the cosmos, like the other characters who died and underwent transformations in the rhapsody.

DER BESUCH IM HIMMEL. (Erzählt vom Taulipáng Mayūluaípu.)¹⁷⁸ and

ETETO. WIE KASANA-PODOLE, DER KÖNIGSGEIER, SEINEN ZWEITEN KOPF

ERHIELT. (Erzählt vom Taulipáng Mayūluaípu.)¹⁷⁹

Koch-Grünberg's 27th tale, “Der Besuch im Himmel,” tells the story of a man named Majt̃xaúle, who had lost his entire family in a war between two tribes. He captures the daughter of the king

¹⁷⁵ Ibid p. 141.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid pp. 120-30.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid p. 129.

¹⁷⁸ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, pp. 81-91.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid pp. 92-8.

vulture and asks that she became a woman, because he felt lonely. She becomes his wife and later takes him to heaven to meet her father, Kasána-podole, the Father of the King Vultures. Kasána-podole challenges the man three times, threatening to kill and eat him if he were not up to the tasks. Maĩtxaúle, however, receives help from other animals, especially from three different birds – and manages to complete all the impossible tasks he had been given. He then returns to his long-lost relatives on earth, and brings them corn – and that is how the people learned how to cultivate corn.

From this long and detailed tale, Mário de Andrade cannibalized two elements into *Macunaíma*: first is the helping bird, who takes Maĩtxaúle back to his relatives. In chapter 11, “Ceiuci, the Greedy Old Woman,”¹⁸⁰ the rhapsody hero is only able to return home to his brothers after asking for the help of a jabiru stork, who transforms itself into an airplane, and takes him back to São Paulo. The second cannibalized element is the fact that Kasána-podole had two heads. In the end of chapter 16, “The River Uraricoera,”¹⁸¹ Macunaíma’s brother Jiguê has a ghostly shadow that hopped onto the Father of the King Vultures’ shoulder, and thus became his second (left) head.

Even though the second head of the Kasána-podole is already mentioned in Koch-Grünberg’s 27th tale, it is in the 28th story, “Eteto,” that it is explained how he got it in the first place: a young man, Ẽteto gets transformed into it. The final passage of the tale, in which this transformation happens, is completely cannibalized by Andrade in the conclusion of his above-mentioned chapter 16. In Koch-Grünberg, the scene develops as follows:

¹⁸⁰ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, pp. 88-103.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid* pp. 143-54.

Der Tapir war tot. *Wewé* (*Etetó*) wartete, wer kommen würde. Der Tapir verweste und stank. Da kamen die Aasgeier. *Wewé* sah zu. Des Nachts kam der Königsgeier, der Vater der Aasgeier. *Wewé* faßte ihn an der Schulter und setzte sich darauf. Da wurde der Königsgeier sehr froh und sagte: „Ah, Gefährte meines Kopfes!“ Er wurde sehr froh mit ihm und dachte nicht mehr daran, den Tapir zu essen. Er flog mit *Etetó* zum Himmel. Seit dieser Zeit hat der Königsgeier zwei Köpfe. *Etetó* ist sein linker Kopf. Vor dieser Zeit hatte der Königsgeier nur einen Kopf.¹⁸²

This passage got transformed by Andrade into the last scene of the rhapsody's chapter 16:

The next day, the bull died and turned green with decay. ... The next day the bull was putrid. All the vultures came [...] ... The ghostly shadow was annoyed that they were eating his bull and hopped onto the king vulture's shoulder. The Father of All the Vultures was delighted at this and screamed, "I've found a mate for my head, man!" and he flew off into the sky. To this day the king vulture, who is the Father of All the Vultures, has two heads. The leprous shadow of Jiguê is on the left. To begin with, the king vulture had only one head.¹⁸³

Despite the fact that the animal is changed by Andrade (from a tapir to a bull), the cause of death (hunger) is kept by the author. It is also interesting to notice that not only in the example above, but every time Andrade cannibalized a passage that contained a conclusion sentence that explained the origin of something, he kept it almost to the letter. In the passages above, for example, the sentences „Seit dieser Zeit hat der Königsgeier zwei Köpfe. ... Vor dieser Zeit hatte

¹⁸² Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, p. 98.

¹⁸³ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, pp. 152-54.

der Königsgeier nur einen Kopf.“ were entirely kept as “To this day the king vulture ... has two heads. ... To begin with, the king vulture had only one head.”

DIE AMAZONEN. (Erzählt vom Taulipáng Mayūluaípu.)¹⁸⁴

The 40th tale of Koch-Grünberg is a short, two-paragraph story about the Ulidžán, a tribe of women that lived without any men, “die Amazonen.” They would never marry, but would eventually sleep with men that asked to spend the night in their tribe. If they got pregnant and bore a son, they would kill the child – they would only raise their daughters. They would also kill and bury the tribe women that got older.

Mário de Andrade used this tale to create the background for Macunaíma’s main lover, Ci, first introduced in the third chapter, “Ci, Mother of the Forest.”¹⁸⁵ Not only was Ci the leader of the Amazon warrior-women, but Macunaíma and his brothers lived with them for around 6 months. Ci also gives birth to the hero’s son and (unintentionally) kills him while nursing – her milk had been sucked dry by a poisonous serpent, who left its venom behind in Ci’s body instead of the milk.

The representation of female characters in Andrade’s rhapsody is problematic to say the least. For the purpose of this dissertation, however, I will only say that Ci is the only female character who refuses Macunaíma’s sexual advances, and she is strong enough to physically fight him and win, without getting herself hurt. Her strength as a warrior, her physical description, and her initial refusal of the hero are very much in sync with the cannibalized tale

¹⁸⁴ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, p. 124.

¹⁸⁵ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, pp. 16-21.

from Koch-Grünberg. After that, however, Andrade shifts the character, and her story, away from the tale: seeing that he was weaker than Ci, Macunaíma calls on his brothers to help him. Then, the two of them hold her down for Macunaíma to “play”¹⁸⁶ with her. After the rape, Ci and Macunaíma fall in love with each other, and proceed to engage in daily (sometimes violent) “plays,” during which Ci shows a lot more desire and enthusiasm than Macunaíma.

KAIKUSE UND KONOG. (JAGUAR UND REGEN.) (Erzählt vom Taulipáng Mayūluaípu.)¹⁸⁷
Koch-Grünberg’s 44th tale describes an interaction between the jaguar and the rain, in which they challenge each other to see who could scare the people that were sleeping outside of their houses. They take turns to try and scare the people, but only the rain succeeds in making the people run back into their houses. The jaguar and the rain challenge each other in the following passage:

Der Regen begegnete ihm (dem Jaguar) und sagte: „O Schwager, was machst du da?“ Er antwortete: „Ich mache den Leuten Angst, die dort vor dem Haus sind, damit sie wieder ins Haus gehen.“ Da sagte der Regen: „Die Leuten haben keine Angst vor dir, Schwager!“ Da sagte der Jaguar: „Doch, sie haben Angst! Willst du es sehen? Ich werde singen rund um das Haus. Gehe hin und höre zu, was die Leute sagen!“¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ Andrade never uses the word “rape,” just “play.” It is clear, however, that Ci did not consent to the sexual act, and was physically forced by the brothers to accept it.

¹⁸⁷ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, pp. 130-31.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid* pp. 130-31.

The above sequence is cannibalized by Mário de Andrade in his chapter 11, “Ceiuici, the Greedy Old Woman,”¹⁸⁹ in which Macunaíma challenges a boy called Wee-wee Shower¹⁹⁰ to scare the giant Piaiman and his family, who were sitting outside of their house to enjoy the breeze.

“Watcha doing around here, dad¹⁹¹?”

“Throwing a scare into the giant, Piaiman, and his family.”

“You’ve got a hope! I don’t see that giant being scared of the likes of you!” jeered Wee-wee.

... “I can and I will and I guarantee that Piaiman goes inside because he’s scared of me. Wanna bet? Hide yourself there close up and do nothing, just listen to what they say.”

Macunaíma tries to scare the giant and his family with dirty words and curses, but he is unsuccessful – just like the Jaguar, whose song did not scare the Indigenous people. Then comes Wee-wee, who turns into a piercing rain right on top of the family, making them run inside of the house. The boy mocks Macunaíma: “Shower came down and laughed at Macunaíma: ‘Did you see that?’ / That’s how it is; the giant’s family is terrified of rain but doesn’t turn a hair at the filthiest language.”¹⁹² This last sentence wrapping up the challenge sequence has also been taken directly from Koch-Grünberg’s tale. Right after the rain succeeds in scaring the people back into their houses, it meets the jaguar and says: „Hast du es gesehen, Schwager? Sie haben Angst vor mir, vor dir nicht!“ – – / So ist es noch heute. Wir haben Angst vor dem Regen, aber nicht vor

¹⁸⁹ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, pp. 88-103.

¹⁹⁰ Here the name is from the E. A. Goodland translation (ibid p. 94). The original name in Portuguese is *Chuvisco*, which roughly translates as “little rain” or “drizzle.”

¹⁹¹ The Portuguese original uses the word *conhecido*, a term of endearment one would use during small talk with strangers.

¹⁹² Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, p. 95.

dem Jaguar. –“¹⁹³ The only change Andrade makes is switching the jaguar to Macunaíma’s foul language. This change can be interpreted as another ironic jab at capitalism and the Europe-influenced cities: the giant, as we have seen before, is a personification of capitalism – and he is only afraid of nature, of the native roots of the country, here represented by the rain.

DAS AUGENSPIEL. (KRABBE, JAGUAR UND VATER DES TRAHÍRA-FISCHE.) (Erzählt vom Taulipáng Mayūluaípu.)¹⁹⁴

The 46th tale collected by Koch-Grünberg tells the story of how the symbiotic relationship between the jaguar and the king vulture came to be – where the jaguar hunts and leaves food for the vulture. Mário de Andrade cannibalized this tale almost in its entirety, and transformed it into a myth told by Macunaíma to two lovers in the 14th chapter of the rhapsody, “Muiraquitã, the Amulet.”¹⁹⁵ The cannibalization of the textual content is especially clear in the speech of the characters.

For instance, in the tale a crab is playing with his eyes, sending them into and calling them back from a lake (called Palauá). When he sent them, he would say: „Geht an das Ufer des Sees *Palauá*, meine Augen, fort-fort-fort-fort!“ When he wanted them back, he would say“ „Kommt vom Ufer des Sees *Palauá*, meine Augen, kommt-kommt-kommt-kommt!“¹⁹⁶ In *Macunaíma* there is no crab, but a jaguar called Palauá, who one day sent his eyes away by saying: “Go to the seashore, O my pair of green eyes, quickly, quickly, quickly!” He then called

¹⁹³ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, p. 131.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid pp.132-34.

¹⁹⁵ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, pp. 120-30.

¹⁹⁶ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, p. 132.

them back by saying: “Come back from the seashore, O my pair of green eyes, quickly, quickly, quickly!”¹⁹⁷

There are many other passages which were taken from the 46th tale by Andrade, but the example above encapsulates his cannibalization process very well. Not only did he maintain the aesthetic of the text (with the word repetition in the incantations), but he also kept intact the main events and the main character of the tale (a jaguar encounters the crab later on and becomes the main character of the tale). Andrade, however, changed the language into a more rhythmic chant that suited his already poetic style, and threw away the characters that were unrelated to the story – such as the crab, that disappears by being substituted by the jaguar in the rhapsody.

KONE'WO. (Erzählt vom Taulipáng Mayūluaípu.)¹⁹⁸

The 49th tale of Koch-Grünberg consists of a collection of small stories (19 in total) about the adventures of a man called Kone'wó. Kone'wó is a sharp man, who tricks his way in and out of different situations. The first and fourth story are the only ones where the text is cannibalized by Mário de Andrade. However, the trickster disposition of Kone'wó, that explores and punishes the greed and gluttony of people and animals, can be seen inversely reflected in the rhapsody's hero – as greed and gluttony are strong traits of Macunaíma's (lack of) character. In his first adventure, Kone'wó fools a gluttonous jaguar:

Ein Mann Namens Kone'wó zerschlug Tucumá-Früchte mit einem Stein zwischen seinen Beinen nahe seinen Geschlechtsteilen. Da kam ein Jaguar ... "Was machst du da,

¹⁹⁷ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, pp. 123-24.

¹⁹⁸ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, pp. 140-9.

Schwager?" Kone'wó ... sagte: "Ich zerbreche meine Hoden und esse sie." Der Jaguar fragte: "Schmeckt es gut?" Der Mann zerklopfte eine andere Tucumá-Frucht, aber ohne daß der Jaguar sehen konnte, was es war, gab sie ihm und sagte: "Da! Versuche sie!" Der Jaguar ... sagte: "Es schmeckt gut, Schwager!" Der Mann sagte: "Schmeckt es gut? Dann versuche deine!" Da nahm der Jaguar einen Stein, schlug mit aller Wucht auf seine Hoden und fiel tot um.¹⁹⁹

The above sequence of events appears in chapter 12 of Andrade's rhapsody, "The Peddler, the Sparrow and the Cowbird, and the Injustice of Man,"²⁰⁰ but the roles are inverted: the hero, Macunaíma, is the one who is tricked by a monkey, and made to kill himself by crushing his own testicles (later on he is revived by his brother, Maanape). Andrade not only took the text from Koch-Grünberg's tale, but also enhanced its humor and mockery, for example in the following passage, as Macunaíma encounters the monkey and asks: "But whatever are you doing down there, uncle?" The monkey held the nut in his fist and replied, "I'm cracking my knackers and eating my nuts!" ... "Does it taste good?" The monkey smacked his lips. "You bet; just try a bit!"²⁰¹

Even though Macunaíma has a tendency to lie and try to trick others, in this scene he is the opposite of Kone'wó, showing only a slow and dull personality, falling for an obvious prank. In the same chapter of the rhapsody, Andrade also cannibalized the fourth story of Kone'wó, in which he tricks a greedy man:

¹⁹⁹ Ibid p. 140.

²⁰⁰ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, pp. 104-11.

²⁰¹ Ibid p. 110.

Er fand eine Mucúra (possum). Er steckte ihr Silberstücke in den After und ging mit ihr unter dem Arm weg. Er begegnete einem Manne, der eine große Hängematte trug. ... "Ich will dir die Mucúra für die Hängematte geben! ... Es kackt nur Silber!" Als er dies gesagt hatte, drückte er den Leib der Mucúra zusammen, und diese kackte Silber. ... Da gab ihm der Mann die Hängematte für die Mucúra. Kone'wó nahm die Hängematte und ging weg. Als alles Silber heraus war, kackte die Mucúra nur noch Kot. Da sagte der Mann: "Dieser Elende hat mich betrogen!"²⁰²

Once again, the roles are reversed by Andrade, and Macunaíma is the one tricked by a clever, greedy man who was walking by and wanted to make some easy money. The man forces a ferret to swallow some small silver coins, and sells it to Macunaíma for a hefty sum of money. The scene happens exactly as it does in the passage above, but (like in the cannibalization of the first story) Andrade adds humorous language, especially on the speech of the swindler, making it obvious that the hero was about to be tricked. A good example of Andrade's humorous aesthetic is when the man is trying to convince Macunaíma to buy the ferret: "Sure it (the ferret) stinks. Yes, but it's a very lovely animal. When it does its business, it shits nothing but silver! I could sell it to you very cheap, as a special favor!"²⁰³ The expressions and word-choice of the swindler are similar to that of street vendors in large populated cities in Brazil.

CONCLUSION

The (trans)cultural encounter between the works of Koch-Grünberg and Andrade is a perfect example of cultural cannibalism as an aesthetic form in literature. Both authors, however, have

²⁰² Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, p. 141.

²⁰³ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma*, 1984, p. 106.

also used different kinds of cultural taking that cannot be labeled as cultural cannibalism in their works – such as grafting or cultural appropriation. If cultural cannibalism is defined by the “unidirectional taking of cultural forms from a dominant group by members of a subordinated group, regardless of acknowledgement from the dominant group,”²⁰⁴ then whenever Andrade took, for example, elements of African descent to use in his rhapsody, then those were not forms of cultural cannibalism, as there was not a power inversion in the cultural taking.

Koch-Grünberg’s relationship to the Indigenous tales he collected can also not be considered a form of cultural cannibalism, as he clearly belonged to a dominant culture in the context of his voyages. It is also worth mentioning the close relationship between Koch-Grünberg’s tales and the German fairy tale, which makes me wonder how much of the original tales were changed in order to suit the taste of a German audience who was already used to reading fairy tales.

When looking closely at the collected tales, it is undeniable that some similarities to Germany’s fairy-tale models exist. However, there is no way of knowing whether or not Koch-Grünberg altered the tales told by his Indigenous companions in order to fit them to Germany’s literary expectations of the time – there were no other records of these oral traditions, no side notes from the author (e.g., in a manuscript or earlier edition), nor any witnesses to the interaction between the two Indigenous men and Koch-Grünberg. The only information we receive on that regard by Koch-Grünberg is that the tales were translated orally by their companions into Portuguese (which he spoke), and he transcribed and translated them into German.

²⁰⁴ See chapter one of this dissertation.

Right in the first collected tale, “Der Weltbaum und die große Flut,”²⁰⁵ the rivalry between siblings present throughout the story is a good example of a common component of the German fairy tale. Not only that, but the youngest brother, Makuna’ima, is the most quick-witted one, and is the one who triggers the events of the tale – exactly like in fairy-tale models, where the youngest sibling is the smartest, the purest, the most beautiful one. Another element present in Koch-Grünberg’s collected tales that is also part of the fairy tale tradition in Germany is the repetition of events, especially in threes. For instance, in the 27th tale, “Der Besuch im Himmel,”²⁰⁶ the protagonist is given three tasks by his father-in-law and receives the help of three different birds in order to overcome these tasks and survive. Regardless of the German fairy tale influence in Koch-Grünberg, however, the popularity of his collected tales is what allowed for them to reach Andrade.

Andrade’s cannibalization of Koch-Grünberg took on many forms within *Macunaíma*: from the general reversing of the moral standard of a hero, to specific names and passages, to the reconstruction of the tales by the hero himself. Andrade’s aesthetic was highly influenced by his cannibalized sources (for example by keeping the concluding sentences of Koch-Grünberg’s tales almost verbatim in the rhapsody, or by using common European names to characters that he wished to give European backgrounds). Andrade’s cultural cannibalism shaped not only his text, but even the idea of the mysterious, savage, indigenous hero; and he brought his amoral character to São Paulo city, so that he could clash with the urban Brazilian society and expose Andrade’s criticism of what had become of the national culture and identity.

²⁰⁵ Theodor Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco*, 2009, pp. 33-6.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid* pp. 81-91.

Cannibalism on Stage: Milo Rau's (Trans)cultural Theater

“Erst kommt das Fressen, dann kommt die Moral.”

– Bertolt Brecht, *The Threepenny Opera*. 1928

Since the turn of the century, the Swiss director Milo Rau has been regarded as a central artistic and political voice in Europe and has been prolific in producing award winning works. Especially after the refugee crisis of 2015, Rau has been praised and lauded as an influential voice on the issues of global forced migration, and refugee treatment, putting together productions such as *Mitleid. Die Geschichte des Maschinengewehrs* (2016)²⁰⁷, *Orest in Mossul* (2019)²⁰⁸, and *Antigone in the Amazon* (2023)²⁰⁹.²¹⁰ Rau presents his theater as an initiator of critical thinking, questioning morality, representation, and theater as an ineffective art form. Theater remains for him incapable of direct political intervention and it ends up as fruitless as other art forms through which people have tried to incite change before him. Therefore, he holds that what he produces cannot be theater – he wants to reshape his material into a new form of political activism.

Rau's political theater often carries an appropriative component, in which he combines elements of different cultures, languages, media forms, texts, etc., in order to transform his theater into political activism in the public sphere. Many – if not most – of the projects, however, still culminate in a staged performance that cannot escape the general cultural concept of

²⁰⁷ Milo Rau, *Mitleid. Die Geschichte des Maschinengewehrs*, 2016, Schaubühne, Berlin.

²⁰⁸ Milo Rau, *Orest in Mossul*. 2019, NTGent, Ghent.

²⁰⁹ Milo Rau, *Antigone in the Amazon*, 2023, NTGent, Ghent.

²¹⁰ These performances will be discussed in detail later on this chapter.

“theater.” Because of the aforementioned appropriative element and the combination of different culture into his projects, many of Rau’s performances can also be categorized as a form of (trans)cultural theater, in which the (trans)cultural encounter happen on the fence between cultural cannibalism and cultural appropriation.

Rau’s (trans)cultural theater concerns not only political activism, cultural cannibalism, and cultural appropriation, but it also brings to light matters of displacement, exile, and other forms of (forced) migration – all contexts that enable (trans)cultural encounters. The portrayal of such encounters takes place in his performances through the use of different media forms such as photography, audio recordings, film, and live zoom calls, as well as through the incorporation of “real life” people and stories to each piece. Consequently, the audience encounters performances with artists acting in various geographical regions, with completely different backgrounds, and thus has to confront different cultures from around the world – a rare, if not impossible, opportunity within conventional theater. This “real life” element of his performances results in an implicit claim of authenticity, making the audience wonder what of it was rehearsed and what happened spontaneously; what was reality brought to the stage, and what was reality created on stage.

As both the concepts of authenticity and cultural appropriation rely solely on the judgment of the audience, the approach to (trans)cultural theater taken by Rau counts on the “real life” elements in the performances to bring about a perceived authenticity and to avoid questions of cultural appropriation – an unwanted concept to be associated with in today’s cancel culture. In 2018, Rau published a collection of his own writings in a book called *Global Realism*, where he claims that “in [his] projects, there is no as-if”: his theater should establish an awareness of

“something more important, more essential, more decisive, and, finally, realer than in so-called *real life*.”²¹¹ The denial of the “as-if” element in his projects asserts the authentic element of his (trans)cultural theater, but it also contradicts two important elements of post-modern performances, namely, self-reference and self-reflexivity. As these are widely explored concepts, for the purpose of this dissertation, I understand them as posed by Chiel Kattenbelt, a scholar of Cultural, Media and Performance Studies, in his essay “Intermediality in Performance and as a Mode of Performativity:”

Because of its constituting (i.e., world making) and staging aspect, a performance by definition refers to, and reflects on, itself and on the event in which the performance occurs. Audiences are aware, even during the most naturalistic of presentations, that they are witnessing a staged ‘reality’, not actuality itself. Self-reference and self-reflexivity are not only characteristics of the performance itself, however, but also of the perceiver who assumes the position of the spectator, of the audience.²¹²

Kattenbelt sees the audience’s awareness of a “staged reality” as essential for the making of any post-modern performance. By claiming that “in [his] projects, there is no as-if”, however, Rau wants the audience to ignore this idea of a “staged reality,” and think of his performances as “actuality itself”. Rau is attempting a new, authentic reality on his stage, that should be observed and accepted by the audience.

To support his political – and now also (trans)cultural – theater, as well as to inspire others to follow his lead, Rau created the “Ghent Manifesto,”²¹³ published in the aforementioned

²¹¹ Milo Rau, “In my projects, there is no as-if,” *Global Realism*, 2018, p. 198.

²¹² Chiel Kattenbelt. “Intermediality in Performance and as a Mode of Performativity,” 2010, p. 32.

²¹³ Milo Rau, “Ghent Manifesto,” *Global Realism*, 2018, pp. 279-81.

2018 book, *Global Realism*. The manifesto criticizes the unspoken rules of (mainly European) conventional theater, and explicitly posits what Rau wants to achieve in his redefinition of theater, as well as how he plans to do it. As the current artistic director of NTGent (or Nederlands Toneel Gent), the city theater of Ghent founded in 1965, Rau describes what the “city theatre of the future²¹⁴” should look like in a set of ten rules, committing himself and the future NTGent productions to follow them.

One: It's not just about portraying the world anymore. It's about changing it. The aim is not to depict the real, but to make the representation itself real.

Two: Theatre is not a product, it is a production process. Research, castings, rehearsals and related debates must be publicly accessible.

Three: The authorship is entirely up to those involved in the rehearsals and the performance, whatever their function may be – and to no one else.

Four: The literal adaptation of classics on stage is forbidden. If a source text – whether book, film or play – is used at the outset of the project, it may only represent up to 20 percent of the final performance time.

Five: At least a quarter of the rehearsal time must take place outside a theatre. A theatre space is any space in which a play has been rehearsed or performed.

Six: At least two different languages must be spoken on stage in each production.

²¹⁴ In Germany, all major theaters are financed by public funds. Therefore, they're called *Staats-*, *Landes-* und *Stadttheater*. However, Rau has most likely a deeper meaning when using “the city” in his manifesto – aspect that will not be explored in this chapter.

Seven: At least two of the actors on stage must not be professional actors. Animals don't count, but they are welcome.

Eight: The total volume of the stage set must not exceed 20 cubic metres, i.e. it must be able to be contained in a van that can be driven with a normal driving licence.

Nine: At least one production per season must be rehearsed or performed in a conflict or war zone, without any cultural infrastructure.

Ten: Each production must be shown in at least ten locations in at least three countries. No production can be removed from the NTGent repertoire before this number has been reached.²¹⁵

In a nutshell, he says his theater is about showing and changing reality, as per the first rule. We can also understand Rau's new theater as having an inclusive element to it – or at least an attention to diversity, equity, and representation – because, for example, of the sixth rule, which dictates there must be at least two languages on stage, as well as the second rule, that says “[r]esearch, castings, rehearsals and related debates must be publicly accessible.” Even though one could also take the ninth rule as an example of Rau's intention to make the city theater more diverse and concerned about the real world, the rule itself presupposes a problematic question: what does *cultural infrastructure* mean? Even if Rau is referring solely to the equipment that would usually be used in a traditional European stage, shouldn't other forms of theater and cultural expression – that do not necessarily follow a European standard – also be considered cultural infrastructure? Nigeria, for example, has a strong theater tradition, which is deep-seated

²¹⁵ Milo Rau. "Ghent Manifesto", p. 281.

in street masquerade performances and is known for their itinerant or traveling theaters, who perform in improvised indoor and outdoor stages in various parts of the country.²¹⁶ The choice of the term “cultural infrastructure” ignores such variations of theater apparatus, and immediately classifies the countries, cities, and spaces chosen by Rau as not belonging to the “ideal,” standard culture based of western Europe.

Particularly interesting to the categorization of Rau’s theater as (trans)cultural, is the manifesto’s fourth rule: “The literal adaptation of classics on stage is forbidden. If a source text – whether book, film or play – is used at the outset of the project, it may only represent up to 20 percent of the final performance time.” If we understand the classics as a cultural form belonging to a dominant culture, then Rau’s theater immediately becomes part of a subordinated group, and the fourth rule turns into a controlled mechanism of adopting cultural cannibalism on stage. While limiting the taking of a classic source to the max. of 20 percent of the final performance time, the rule does not stipulate what is to be taken and how it should be incorporated into the performance. What it does, however, is create the opportunity for (trans)cultural interactions on stage, opening the door for a guilt-free taking and mixing of different cultural forms.

(TRANS)CULTURAL THEATER

As said before, Rau’s theater creates a space for the taking and mixing of different cultural forms; a space for (trans)cultural encounters to happen. To differentiate this kind of theater from other concepts in the field, I will be using the term “(trans)cultural theater” in this dissertation.

²¹⁶ For more information on the Nigerian theater tradition, see J. A. Adedeji’s “Oral Tradition and the Contemporary Theater in Nigeria” (1971) and Ademola O. Dasyuva’s “Forms of Traditional Theatre Practice in Nigeria.” (2017).

The (trans)cultural theater label, however, is not exclusive to Rau's performances. Various influential figures of the contemporary theater scene in Europe have been putting into question traditional ideas of what theater should look like by exploring, for example, different cultures and cultural expectations through the use of multiple media types in their projects, as well as through the enlisting of non-professional performers on stage – and even the idea of what this “stage” should look like is being challenged.

Christoph Schlingensief, a German theater director, film maker, and artist, who passed away in 2010 at the age of 49, is undoubtedly one of the European directors of the late 20th and early 21st centuries that challenged the traditional notions of “stage,” and of who should appear on the stage. In 2000, for example, for the duration of one week (during the yearly Wiener Festwochen²¹⁷), Schlingensief staged twelve asylum seekers in three shipping containers in the central public square of Vienna, the Karajan Square. Referencing the world popular reality TV show, *Big Brother*, the Austrian population (and the international public who was watching the project online) could evaluate and vote out the refugees based on a live broadcast from the containers – but they would be voted out of the country, not out of the show. Perhaps Schlingensief was not only referencing the reality TV show, but also the 1949 novel by George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, where Big Brother was the leader of a totalitarian state that had every citizen under constant surveillance by the authorities.²¹⁸ After this novel, the term “Big Brother” has usually been associated with governmental abusive practices, mass surveillance and

²¹⁷ The *Wiener Festwochen* (or the Vienna Festival) is a cultural festival founded in 1951 that takes place every year in Vienna, Austria, for the duration of five to six weeks in the months of May and June.

²¹⁸ For more information on George Orwell's dystopian novel, see the 2018 volume edited by Ezio Di Nucci and Stefan Storrie, *1984 and Philosophy: Is Resistance Futile?*.

policies that aim to control people's choices and behaviors in society – a fitting description of the role the audience played in Schlingensiefel's performance.

For the duration of the performance, Schlingensiefel was like a circus director with his megaphone, stirring up the audience, who did not necessarily know who Schlingensiefel was and what he was doing there, to see what they were made of. In 2002, a couple of years after the project took place, Paul Poet directed a documentary movie about Schlingensiefel and this performance, called *Ausländer raus! Schlingensiefels Container*. The documentary, just like the project itself, brought up questions of racism and xenophobia, still very much present in Europe today. Esmé Hogeveen, a writer and critical theorist based in Toronto, wrote in 2018 about the documentary and about Schlingensiefel's attempt to create a commotion strong enough to cause self-reflection and political change.

For Schlingensiefel, appropriating spectacle as a vehicle for political change necessarily involves the risk of getting lost in the crowd. At one point in *Foreigners Out! Schlingensiefel's Container*, Schlingensiefel calls out to the public gathered by the containers: "This is 'Foreigners Out!' This is Vienna! This is Nazi! This is you and I!" He entreats tourists to photograph the containers and "Show all your relatives and friends what is going on in Austria! Show them the future of Europe!" Schlingensiefel's trust in his audience's ability to make up their own minds, or to indict themselves comparably, ultimately provides space wherein contemporary facism [*sic*] may be unmasked by art.

Schlingensiefel's project was created in response to the 1999 Austrian election, in which the far-right, nationalist, anti-immigration party, the *Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs* (FPÖ), became the second most popular party in the National Council of Austria. Since 1986, the FPÖ had been under the leadership of Jörg Haider, a controversial right-wing politician. The political tensions

explored by Schlingensiefel ruffled many feathers during and after the performance. A great cause of complaint was the fact that outsiders had no way of knowing whether the people inside the containers actual asylum-seeking refugees or trained actors were. Marc Hill and Erol Yildiz, two Professors of Education at the University of Innsbruck, give a good example of the implications the project had in the European context at the time:

The Festival management even put up a sign explicitly stating that it was an art performance, i.e. a staging. Earlier on the performance had already caused huge outrage. The Austrian ambassador in France complained about the way in which the performance had been staged, since French businesspeople had interpreted it as something real rather than art. To mitigate the confusion, information leaflets in several languages were distributed²¹⁹. ... The container performance thus drew its vital power from this blurring of boundaries between real life and art, between reality and fiction[.]²²⁰

As it turns out, the container inhabitants were indeed real asylum-seeking refugees, but they had been hired as actors and given fabricated biographies to play the role of real asylum-seeking refugees – a move that played into the gray areas of the legal system. The audience, however, had no access to this information. All they knew was what was stated on Schlingensiefel's website: a short life biography that contained each individual participant's views on life (with small anecdotes of their thoughts on sex, money, and family values) and that the last person to remain in the container would be offered a money prize and a marriage to an Austrian citizen, which

²¹⁹ The leaflets said, "This is a Wiener Festwochen art performance" (Matthias Lilienthal and Claus Philipp, *Schlingensiefels Ausländer raus*, 2000, p. 132).

²²⁰ Marc Hill and Erol Yildiz. "A Postmigrant Contrapuntal Reading of the Refugee Crisis and Its Discourse: 'Foreigners out! Schlingensiefel's Container,'" 2021, p. 111.

would give them legal residency. Every day of the performance, the audience could call in and vote for the two candidates they would like to see deported.²²¹

The performance *Ausländer raus!* created three spaces in which different forms of (trans)cultural encounters took place: first, the space of the containers themselves: regardless of whether the refugees/actors were acting like themselves or with a script, they all had different cultural backgrounds, and were made to interact with each other on “stage” for an audience to see. The second space was that of the public square: the containers were placed in a busy square of Vienna, during a festival that makes the city particularly cosmopolitan, with visitors from all over the world walking around and observing everything; the location, combined with the ways Schlingensiefel provoked and instigated the passers-by, exposed the “audience” to the presence of different cultures in the city, and forced them to not only interact with each other as an audience, but to deal with each other’s cultural backgrounds and opinions on the matter of migration. Lastly, the third space was the virtual one: by displaying the history of each container inhabitant online, and making people vote on who they wanted out of the country, Schlingensiefel required from the virtual audience a one-sided encounter with each of the participant’s cultures; every time a member of the virtual audience voted a participant out of the country, they were internally judging each culture in relation to their own. Even if we assume that most of the virtual crowd was aware of Schlingensiefel’s project and, in order to collaborate with it, they were themselves playing the role of xenophobic Austrians when casting their votes, they were still forced to make a decision between each individual of the container while only provided with the cultural background information on each of them. These three spaces combined created an unforgettable

²²¹ Kirsten Weiss, “Recycling the Image of the Public Sphere in Art,” 2001, p. 60.

performance, that challenged the idea of a traditional stage, and opened up possibilities for different uses of various cultures on said stage.

Different from Schlingensief, Milo Rau's (trans)cultural theater almost always culminates in a performance presented on a traditional stage. Along with the staged performance, Rau creates an array of materials within various media forms around every project, exploring old and new medias to enhance the audience's experience and to bring different cultures to light before and after the performance itself. He produces, for example, various articles, proclamations, manifestos, YouTube videos, documentary films, social media posts, interviews, etc. – inspiration he might have taken from Brecht and Piscator's epic theater, which used various modern technological devices to give a political context to the performance, in order to get the spectators and others involved in the play to reflect on their world views and ideas, and bring about social and political change.²²²

Especially after proposing in the Ghent Manifesto's ninth rule that "[a]t least one production per season must be rehearsed or performed in a conflict or war zone, without any cultural infrastructure[,]"²²³ Rau has used a combination of videos showing the behind-the-scenes of projects and rehearsals, interviews with actors, impactful pictures, etc. to connect the different parts of the world to the European stage (where the final performance usually takes place). A good example of this approach is his 2019 project, *Orest in Mossul*.

First premiered in Ghent, on 17 April 2019, *Orest in Mossul* is a modern version of the Greek tragedy *Oresteia*, taking place in the former capital of the Islamic State, Mosul, in Iraq.

²²² For more information on their epic theater, see Christopher D. Innes' work, *Erwin Piscator's Political Theatre. The Development of Modern German Drama*, from 1972.

²²³ Milo Rau, "Ghent Manifesto," 2018, p. 281.

The reinterpretation of the tragedy in a modern-day conflict zone is here summarized by the Schauspielhaus Zürich, where the performance arrived in October of the same year:

How is it possible to stop the never-ending chain of violence in which the parties of the Syrian-Iraqi civil war and their Western allies find themselves? In the first two parts of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* there appears to be no way out. The only one who can stop this violence is Athena: she calms down the goddesses of vengeance by allotting them a place in society. Where hate has not helped, the loving embrace now succeeds. Milo Rau retains the ancient grandeur of the tragedy, but links it to present-day issues, with an international ensemble.²²⁴

The *Orest* project is the first of Rau's *Trilogy of Ancient Myths*, followed by the Jesus film called *The New Gospel* (2021), produced in the southern Italian refugee camps, and the *Antigone in the Amazon* (2023), produced in Brazil in partnership with the national Landless Workers Movement (MST).

Orest was the first production that followed the ninth rule of the Manifesto. By taking his projects to places where there is a lack of financial investment in cultural production, Rau wants to attract global interest and, consequently, provide means of production to these chosen places. Additionally, his team leaves behind any technology and materials they used during the rehearsals of their project, as well as the training and knowledge given to the non-professional actors that took part in the project so that the local people and institutions can have a starting point to create their own productions. In the case of the *Orest* project, NTGent entered a partnership with UNESCO and the Institute of Fine Arts in Mosul to start a film department. The

²²⁴ "Orest in Mossul." Accessed 11 October 2022.

students who took part in the project went on to create seven short films about the city and its people – films that premiered in the European scene on 16 October 2022, in the 49th Film Fest Ghent. It is too early to tell whether Rau’s project will bring a long-lasting change to Mosul, but so far it seems that the focus still lies more on the *Orest* project, rather than in any productions that came out of Mosul.²²⁵

In regards to the rehearsals of *Orest*, even though they took place in a war zone, there was no infrastructure lacking for the NTGent team: they brought to Mosul all the cameras and technology they needed, as well as their own stage props and clothing, and used a protected space for their rehearsals where they would be somewhat shielded from the dangers of the city. They also safely stayed in a hotel, had full meals every day, and even had safe means of transportation (an enclosed bus) between the hotel and their rehearsal spot. They were so alienated from the conflict zone reality, that Elsie de Brauw, a Dutch actress member of NTGent’s global ensemble, said that she was not bothered by their environment anymore, as “the danger ha[d] become abstract”²²⁶ – a reality that their local artists most likely have not shared.

The stark difference in the experiences of the project’s participants creates a dichotomy between dominant vs. subordinate culture within Rau’s (trans)national theater that mirrors the already existing “real world” dichotomy. Consequently, Rau’s performance engages in two different power structures: first, it occupies a position of a subordinated group in relation to the classic Greek tragedy *Oresteia*; second, it plays the role of a dominant group in relation to the

²²⁵ I was only able to find two sources that talked about Mosul after the *Orest* project: one was NTGent’s own website, <https://www.ntgent.be/en/productions/film-fest-gent> (2022), and the other was an article at The Phnom Penh Post, a daily Cambodian newspaper, <https://www.phnompenhpost.com/lifestyle/film-students-get-tell-their-own-stories-war-torn-mosul> (2021).

²²⁶ Said by Elsie de Brauw in *Orestes in Mosul. The Making-Of*, at 1h06min.

local culture of the non-professional actors of Mosul. Throughout the project, the different (trans)cultural interactions may fall within one or both power structures, increasing the complexity needed to analyze them – it is not always clear whether the interactions can be classified as cultural cannibalism, cultural appropriation, or another concept of the field.

Within the first few minutes of the *Orest* performance, there is already a great example of the complexity mentioned above: The Iraqi actress Baraa Ali gives a testimony about a traumatic memory of her past. Her testimony is projected on a screen, hanging high on the center of the stage. The screen projected only her face, wearing a black niqab, in front of a black background, looking straight at the camera as she talked. All the actors on stage sat back, watching the testimony, becoming members of the audience themselves. There was no question that one should be watching the projection and ignoring the rest of the stage – the screen was the reality Rau wanted to show. Baraa Ali talks about her Mosul origin and about a memory from her school time, when a friend was taken by a group of ISIS fighters, never to be seen again. She is then asked questions as if she were interviewing for the performance, to which she is given the role of Iphigenia. Immediately thereafter, the camera zooms out to a full shot, and the audience watches as Baraa Ali – now Iphigenia – is strangled on a carpet, in a long, disturbing execution scene. As the camera slowly zooms in to the dead Iphigenia, the Belgian actress, Marijke Pinoy, steps up to the center of the stage, below the projection screen, and narrates the scene of the Greek tragedy *Oresteia*, when the gods demand from Agamemnon the sacrifice of his daughter, Iphigenia, in order for the Greeks to have favorable weather and sail to Troy.

The testimony scene exemplifies the complex (trans)cultural interactions present in Rau's theater, as it encompasses both an act of punching up (through cultural cannibalism) as well as

one of punching down (with what could be considered cultural appropriation²²⁷). The cultural cannibalism can be seen with the use of the *Oresteia* passage: the short narration provides the execution scene with a background that serves to strengthen the feelings of helplessness and injustice in relation to Iphigenia/Baraa Ali's sacrifice. Even if those feelings were already present in the audience after the traumatic story told by the Iraqi actress, the passage creates a parallel between the story and the Greek tragedy, reinforcing the emotions that were born from it. Rau does not use humor as a tool here, but the use of the Greek tragedy to invert the power structure of the cultures on stage fits well within the idea of cultural cannibalism.

Since Rau wants to bring and expose reality on his stage, the story told by Ali needs to seem authentic in the eyes of the audience – regardless of it being a real memory from the actress or not. In order to emphasize the authenticity of it, Rau uses a method that could be considered cultural appropriation: the actress, Ali, wears a niqab to give her testimony. A niqab is a veil that covers the head, neck and face, leaving only the eye area uncovered. Ali, however, usually wears a hijab, a veil that covers the head and neck, but leaves the face uncovered. Rau's choice for the niqab is an attempt of making the testimony – and the actress – more authentic, creating a “realer” reality on stage, as a niqab would look more culturally different to a Western audience, evoking preconceptions, and personal experiences that the audience may have in relation to Islam, a religion that is many times portrayed through fanaticism and extremism in Western media.

By managing to keep *Orest* in the in-between of two power structures, Rau created a space to use different processes related to (trans)cultural encounters – such as cultural

²²⁷ I am not making a claim of cultural appropriation here. In order to make that claim, I would have to belong to the source community and have feelings of aggrievement as a consequence of this cultural taking, as explained by Jason B. Jackson's theory on cultural appropriation, mentioned in the first chapter of this dissertation.

cannibalism and cultural appropriation. These forms are weaved tightly throughout the performance and, even though they do not cancel each other out, they blur the lines between the opposite power structures at play.

Another performance that belongs to Rau's (trans)cultural theater and that also encompasses the complex power structures and taking of cultural forms is *Mitleid. Die Geschichte des Maschinengewehrs*. This performance predates Rau's *Orest* (and the Ghent Manifesto), as it premiered in 2016, at the Schaubühne, in Berlin. *Mitleid* explored the influx of refugees into Europe in 2015 – during the so-called “refugee crisis” – through the voices of two actors, each representing one side of the crisis (Western European vs. refugee/immigrant). Stuart Young, a Theater Studies professor at the University of Otago, New Zealand, explains in his review of the performance how Rau uses two different voices to create a critical view of Western humanitarianism:

By giving particular attention to Central Africa in the work—notably, the Burundi and Congolese civil wars of the 1990s and their aftermath—Rau situated this recent European crisis within a larger geopolitical and historical context, illuminating the coercion and violence hidden within Western humanitarianism. ... *Mitleid* merges two separate narratives whose construction and juxtaposition serve to critique the conventional representation of types of witness and witnessing in European fact-based theatre.²²⁸

In the performance, the problematic of immigrants in Europe, as well as the attitude to “witness and witnessing in European fact-based theatre” is exposed by two performers: Ursina Lardi (in the European role) and Consolate Sipilius (in the refugee role). A big screen hangs above them

²²⁸ Stuart Young, “Review of *Mitleid*,” 2017, p. 427.

in the back – a staple on Rau’s stage – projecting either the performers themselves (more specifically, their faces in a close-up as they speak), or images and documents that complement their monologues. Mirroring the effects of a close-up in film, which models the cognitive process of paying attention and the affect of intimacy, the audience has no doubt about where to look at as, most of the time, the live action on stage is secondary in importance to the screen projection. Rau’s approach works as an interesting parallel to how people absorb information through the media: it is shown on TV or on the news, for example, what information to focus on, what is important to listen to – and nothing else. This also connects back to Kattenbelt’s essay on intermediality, where he comments on how reality has been replaced by its representations in media:

In a mediatised culture and society, the mass media – in particular television – have become a substantial part of reality itself, more than just representing reality through a mediating function. In other words, our mediatised culture and society have turned into a hyperreality of simulations and simulacra, which means that the signs have become more real than the objects to which they refer (Eco 1985) or, to put it differently, that reality has been replaced by its representations.²²⁹

Mitleid offers a critique of the central role of a mediated reality present in Western culture. Especially through the manner in which each of the actors are projected onto the large screen, the performance poses a commentary on how manipulative mass media can be in relation to people’s understanding of global events. Rau sends an ambivalent message through his performance: on the one hand, he presents the theater as an initiator of critical thinking, and therefore an

²²⁹ Chiel Kattenbelt, “Intermediality in Performance and as a Mode of Performativity,” 2010, p. 34.

inspiration for change; on the other hand, he shows that a Western theater, even if symbolically critical to itself, cannot help but to inevitably reproduce the cultural power dynamics at play. *Mitleid* is in this regard a perfect mirror of how Western media treated the European “refugee crisis”: a little bit about the victims, and a whole lot about the European experience.

The distinct ways the two actors are placed on stage and projected onto the screen create distinguishable effects on the performance and on the audience. Ursina Lardi, who is a famous Swiss actor and a member of the Schaubühne’s ensemble, speaks directly to the audience, looking ahead while standing up behind a lectern, or while walking around the stage. Her projected image, together with her monologue and posture, give the audience the feeling of being in a lecture by someone who one should listen to. Her face is projected, but she does not look straight at the camera: she looks at the audience, as if she was having a conversation with them. With her gestures and speech, she creates the illusion of a personal connection to the audience. When she wants to show the audience something, like an image or an object, she holds them up close to her face, so that they appear in the projection – but her face is always in focus. Not even the globally famous image of the Syrian boy, Alan Kurdi, who drowned in 2015, is allowed to be by itself in front of the camera; the face and experience of the Western European remain as the main characters of Lardi’s story.

The monologue and projection of Consolate Sipilius are very different from Lardi’s. Even though, when projected, her face is also the only thing in focus, she does not look at the audience, but straight to the camera, which is set to the side of her table. If one looks at the screen, it is like she is trying to establish a connection through her eye contact; but if one looks at her, facing away from the audience, the connection she was trying to establish is immediately

lost. Sipérius is not in a confident, central position on stage like Lardi: she sits behind a desk, in a dark corner of the stage. While Lardi's monologue accounts for most of the performance time, Sipérius speaks only twice: a few minutes in the beginning, opening the performance, and a few minutes at the end, bringing it to conclusion. Not only that, but while Lardi remains the main character of her story even when showing images and objects to the audience (with her face still central on the screen), Sipérius has to give up her centrality whenever projecting other images and objects: she puts them directly in front of her face, blocking it in front of the camera, or she simply projects the image of the object without being in the camera at all.

The complexity of *Mitleid* as a (trans)national performance lies in how Rau positions the performance itself in relation to the power structure of the cultures that appear on stage, how he approaches those cultures throughout the performance. By opening the performance with Sipérius' testimony, which is focused on her childhood history and trauma, Rau situates his audience in the mindset of a migrant/refugee; that is, he places *Mitleid* within the subordinated culture (from Central Africa), criticizing the Western European (dominant) culture with a bottom-up approach. Immediately thereafter, Lardi's lengthy monologue, as well as Rau's choice of language²³⁰ and representation for both performers, positions the performance and the audience within the dominant culture, shifting the direction from which his critique comes from – from a bottom-up approach, it becomes a self-critique, an internal reflection. At the end, although Sipérius' monologue continues to address her personal life and history, she speaks directly to the audience, with clear allegories to the holocaust, creating a distance between her and the audience. The audience ends up exposed as having always belonged to the dominant

²³⁰ Sipérius speaks in French, and her monologue is subtitled onto the screen, while Lardi speaks in German, the audience's mother language.

culture, while the performance itself seems to side back with the subordinated culture of Sipérius, even though it clearly does not abandon its powerful roots in Western culture.

The shifting of *Mitleid*'s cultural belonging (from the subordinated to the dominant, then back to the subordinated culture) makes the categorization of Rau's use of the cultures on stage flexible and difficult to determine. Depending on when the (trans)cultural interaction happens within the performance, is conceptualization (e.g., as cultural cannibalism or cultural appropriation) will vary. To make this categorization even more complex, Rau does not take one specific cultural form or object (as is the case of the niqab in *Orest*, for example) in order to create the effect he wants: he takes the personal stories of the two performers on stage; he takes their entire individualities as stand-ins for each culture.

The best example to represent the flexible and difficult categorization of *Mitleid*'s (trans)cultural encounters is the stage set-up and duration of the monologues. If we consider times in which the performance belongs to the subordinated culture, the fact that Sipérius sits on the sideline, witnessing the long, ironic, and increasingly disturbing monologue of Lardi, can be defined as cultural cannibalism. Sipérius is taking the potential identification that the audience will have to Lardi to generate self-reflection and self-critique in them, as well as to create a space for her own story to be heard. It is a choice that tries to invert the power structure through irony and subversion, which are clear elements of cultural cannibalism. However, in the moments when the performance belongs to the dominant culture, the same setting cannot be considered cultural cannibalism. The choice to literally put the subordinated culture on the corner of the stage and to only expose elements of Sipérius' story that complement and strengthen Lardi's

monologue reinforces the existing power dynamic – which then cannot be considered cultural cannibalism.

Rau's (trans)cultural theater puts into question traditional ideas of what theater should look like, and creates a space for the taking and mixing of different cultural forms. He sets the stage for (trans)cultural interactions to happen and, using old and new media forms, navigates the complex power structures created in the performances. Because of this complexity, the taking of cultural forms, objects, and individuals on stage are difficult to label and can, sometimes, generate problematic questions regarding Rau's use of different cultures.

(DIS)APPEARANCE OF OTHERS

Milo Rau affirmed that “reality is not ‘real’. [We] don’t see people dying from Corona, or the forest burning. Art has to make it real.”²³¹ To make reality *real*, Rau creates the space within his stage for (trans)cultural interactions to happen and, through those interactions, he connects not only stages set up in different countries, but performers and audiences belonging to different cultural backgrounds. The connections created by his performances allow the audience – and perhaps the performers as well – to experience a reality they would not be able to otherwise. Rau's (trans)national theater stands near political activism and works with the real “to drag out the so-called *actuality* into the light of truth, revealing its presence.”²³² However, as exposed by the examples discussed in the previous section of this dissertation, Rau's approach to the contrasting cultures in each project can generate problematic questions in relation to the use of individuals and the taking of cultural forms – questions, for instance, related to cultural

²³¹ Tania Bruguera, Milo Rau, and Lara Staal, “This Madness Has to Stop,” 2020.

²³² Milo Rau, “What is Global Realism?,” 2018, pp. 175-83.

appropriation and racism. Azadeh Sharif, “a German theater and cultural scientist (of colour),”²³³ as he describes himself, talks about racism in the European theater scene in his 2017 book, in which he attempts to outline the history and the trends in European theater from a postmigrant perspective:

In the context of theatre, racism is clearly visible in different connections. There is the Europe-wide and much criticised practice of “blackface”, in which white actors use black theatrical makeup; there is the practice of casting actors of colour in ethnic roles and characters, but also the practice of contracting artists of colour only for “migrant” theatre productions. Racism strongly influences the subject of theatre and migration on both a structural and an aesthetic level.²³⁴

Sharif is especially worried about the ethnicization, and racial discrimination of persons starting at second generation migrants, who do not have the same emotional relationship to the country of origin as most first-generation migrants do, and who contribute artistically to the German theater landscape – which defines the “Postmigrant theater” category that established itself in the beginning of the 21st century.

In the quote above, Sharif is not talking specifically about Rau’s performances, nor do I believe that they necessarily encompass racist practices. However, in the pursuit of reality and authenticity in his performances, Rau’s choice of performers and how he uses their personal stories and cultural background could generate questions related to the practice of casting actors of color brought up by Sharif.

²³³ Azadeh Sharif, “Theatre and Migration: Documentation, Influences and Perspectives in European Theatre,” 2017, p. 333.

²³⁴ Ibid p. 326.

Rather than a problem with casting actors of color, Rau's (trans)cultural theater struggles with the contrasting strengths belonging to the different cultures brought on stage. If we look at his performances and ask who observes, who performs, who appears *as* the other and who appears *for* others, his works fail to create an open space for the "appearance of others," especially others that belong to a subordinated culture. The audience may see a "real" refugee of Burundian descent, Consolate Sipérius, in *Mitleid*, but her appearance can simply reinforce their preconceived notions of what the other (in this case a refugee) is supposed to look and sound like, and Sipérius will consequently disappear in the background of Western European culture. To talk about the (dis)appearance of others in Rau's performances, I draw from Rebecca Schneider's talk "Appearing to Others as Others Appear,"²³⁵ where she debates questions of appearance in and with Hannah Arendt's *The Human Condition* (1958). More specifically, Schneider dissects a specific passage from Arendt:

The *polis*, properly speaking, is not the city-state in its physical location; it is the organization of the people as it arises out of acting and speaking together, and its true space lies between people living together for this purpose, no matter where they happen to be. "Wherever you go, you will be a *polis*": these famous words became not merely the watchword of Greek colonization, they expressed the conviction that action and speech create a space between the participants which can find its proper location almost any time and anywhere. It is the space of appearance in the widest sense of the word, namely, the space where I appear to others as others appear to me, where men exist not merely like other living or inanimate things but make their appearance explicitly.²³⁶

²³⁵ Rebecca Schneider, "Appearing to Others as Others Appear," 2020.

²³⁶ Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 1958, pp. 198-9.

Schneider understands that, for Arendt, to appear explicitly as human is what creates the public space. In other words: that which appears, is human. The *polis* is a mobile space of appearance. One receives recognition as a citizen, as human, through appearance, taking place in and creating a public space. To explicitly appear to others as others appear (the appearance of the human) implicates the disappearance of “other living or inanimate things”, the disappearance of the inhuman, the other. The explicitly appearing as human is consequently a matter of othering: there can only be appearance where there is also disappearance.

Schneider sees appearance as not necessarily symmetrical within the public space. Some can only appear by actively disappearing the other. Schneider considers that political manifestations in public spaces are attempts by groups that have been disappeared, that have been othered, to explicitly appear as others appear – to appear as humans and demand their worth. A good example of such manifestations would be the 1968 Memphis Sanitation Workers’ Strike²³⁷, where (mainly black) sanitation workers carried signs that read “I Am a Man,” an attempt to appear as humans in a society that had disappeared them. The *polis* appears where people appear, however, not all people appear as people: For one to be human, they must appear properly, or appear “just right”. If they appear “too much” or “too little”, they are considered non-humans²³⁸ by their community. Schneider illustrates her analysis saying that one must know, for example, how to walk a sidewalk (and properly do so) in order to have a “proper” appearance in that particular space.

²³⁷ The Memphis Sanitation Workers’ Strike was a demonstration that happened in the first months of 1968 in Memphis, Tennessee, encouraged and joined by Martin Luther King up until the moment of his assassination. The strike was a response to the long history of neglect and abuse of the city’s black employees, and it was ignited by the deaths of two garbage collectors, Echol Cole and Robert Walker, who were crushed by a malfunctioning truck. The strike – and King’s death – forced the City Council to recognize the workers’ union and guarantee better wages. For more information on the strike, see the “Memphis Sanitation Workers’ Strike” entry in the Stanford University’s King Encyclopedia: <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/memphis-sanitation-workers-strike>.

²³⁸ Rebecca Schneider, “Appearing to Others as Others Appear,” 2020.

Theater, according to Schneider, is a playground for unbecoming human; a place where one can appear as that which cannot appear (the animal, the inanimate); it is a place that can extend the limits of human. In theater, one appears as others appear, and yet, they are not necessarily what they appear, they do not have to be themselves. It is, to her, a common preconception that one cannot control how they appear to others; one can never know how they are seen by others – unless you are acting in theater/in a performance. For Schneider, however, it is not an impossibility to control how you are seen. Theater creates a paradox, where the performer can appear both “as is” and “as if” simultaneously, expanding the possibilities of perceived appearance in and outside of the stage. Not only the performers can in a way control how they are being seen, but they can also simply show up as themselves. Which bears the question: What if one only appears to act? The disappearance in theater happens in the void between audience and performance.

Rau seems to perceive a need for creating a place where those who have been historically disappeared by others can explicitly appear as humans in the public space. Through the rules of his manifesto, for example, Rau clearly proposes that the European institutional theater has to make space for other cultures on stage, which would give the opportunity to those cultures to “appear to others as others appear;” to occupy not only the physical space in the performance, but also the abstract space of the Western European collective mind. Rau (trans)cultural theater tries to challenge the void between audience and performance, in which, according to Schneider, the disappearance occurs, by stating the reality of his theater. When Rau says that “in [his] projects, there is no as-if,”²³⁹ he is trying to break the paradox of traditional theater, where the performer can appear both “as is” and “as if” simultaneously: he wants the performer to appear

²³⁹ Milo Rau, “In my projects, there is no as-if,” 2018, pp. 198-204.

simply “as is” for the audience; he wants to incite in the mind of the audience the perception of the other as one belonging to the same space, the same reality that they themselves belong to.

Taking the appearance of Baraa Ali in *Orest* as an example, the complexity of what Rau is trying to do becomes clear. On one hand, he is cannibalizing the influence and power – as well as the space in the collective mind of a European audience – from the Greek tragedy *Oresteia*, in order to bring the Iraqi culture and political situation to light; that is, Rau uses the space created by the tragedy to invite the (Iraqi) other to appear as human in the eyes of the audience. On the other hand, he uses the niqab to show Ali’s authenticity in relation to the audience’s previous knowledge and experience with Islam, which may, consequently, limit the impact Ali’s testimony have, as Islamic and Muslim culture has been historically othered and disappeared by Western culture.

CANNIBALISM ON STAGE

One of Rau’s projects that embraces the elements of (trans)cultural theater, as well as provides us with examples of cultural cannibalism and the above-mentioned appearance and disappearance of others on stage, is the *Antigone im Amazonas* project. The project started back in 2019, but it had to stop for a couple of years due to the Covid-19 pandemic. The performance that resulted from this project premiered at NTGent Schouwburg in Ghent, Belgium, on 13 May 2023 (a significant date in Brazil’s history, seeing that on 13 May 1888 slavery was officially abolished in the country).

The project is a reinterpretation of Sophocles’ tragedy, *Antigone*, written around 441 BC. In the tragedy, Antigone commits an act of civil disobedience by choosing to bury her brother, as

she believed the law created by her uncle, the current king, to be unjust and to go against the gods' decrees. When caught, she bravely admits her actions, and stands up for her convictions, welcoming the death-punishment she would receive. Her fate brings up the gods' anger, and tragedy befalls the tyrant. Antigone stands as a symbol of righteousness, fearlessness in the face of injustice, and rebellion against a corrupt government. The tragedy *Antigone* has been a nutritious source for different cultures, who want to use the strength of its symbols to reinforce their own struggles. In Colombia, for example, Carlos Satizábal, a theater director, poet, actor, and university professor, directed the collective creation *Antígonas Tribunal de Mujeres* (Antigones Women's Tribunal) by the theater company Tramaluna Teatro. The play premiered in 2014, in Bogotá, and cannibalized the symbolic meaning of the burial and what the character Antigone stood for in the original tragedy.

On stage, this group of women converts their pain and their memory into poetry through songs, dances, projections, narrations, and the presentation of personal objects of their family members such as a photo, a doll, a letter, or pieces of clothing. Like the Antigone of Greek Mythology, the characters in this work are disobedient; despite all the difficulties and obstacles that surround them, they seek to give a dignified burial to their missing family members, claim justice and resist the neglect and omission on the part of the State and the impunity of those responsible.²⁴⁰

²⁴⁰ My translation. Original in Spanish: "En el escenario, este grupo de mujeres convierte su dolor y su memoria en poesía, mediante cantos, danzas, proyecciones, narraciones y la presentación de objetos personales de sus familiares como una foto, un muñeco, una carta o prendas de vestir. Como la Antígona de la mitología griega, los personajes de esta obra son desobedientes; a pesar de todas las dificultades y los obstáculos que las rodean, buscan darle un entierro digno a sus familiares desaparecidos, reclaman justicia y resisten al olvido por parte del Estado y a la impunidad de los responsables." Museo de Memoria de Colombia, "Antígonas Tribunal de Mujeres." Accessed 9 July 2023.

The performance involved a mixture of professional artists and women who had been victims of violations of human rights in Colombia. Like Antigone, these women demanded proper burials for their family members, and stood tall against the State's injustice.

Rau's reinterpretation of the *Antigone* tragedy also relies on the symbol of the burial and Antigone's civic disobedience. Following the Manifesto's fourth rule, that states "[i]f a source text – whether book, film or play – is used at the outset of the project, it may only represent up to 20 percent of the final performance time,"²⁴¹ Rau cannibalizes Antigone's strength and rebellion as an allegory to fight local political issues: the final performance reflects on State and police brutality, as well as on the violent displacement of indigenous and non-indigenous populations in the north of Brazil caused by the overtaking and deforestation of the Amazon by capitalist forces. The production was created in cooperation with local artists and activists, as well as with the Brazilian Landless Workers Movement (MST) – a mass social movement that exists in the country since the 80s, fighting for land reform and against social injustice, mainly through the occupation of *latifundios* (large and mostly underused rural areas) and the resettling of landless families in those occupied lands.

Like in all his other large productions, Rau released a plethora of materials within various media forms to complement the audience's experience and political reach of the *Antigone* project, even while it was on hold due to the pandemic. One important material that set the scene for the project is the first episode of the livestream series *School of Resistance*²⁴², an initiative created by Rau and NTGent after the stay-at-home orders around the world. In the first episode, moderated by the writer and curator Lara Staal, Milo Rau and Tania Bruguera (a Cuban artist

²⁴¹ Milo Rau. "Ghent Manifesto", p. 281.

²⁴² Tania Bruguera and Milo Rau, "This Madness Has to Stop," 2020.

and activist) talk about the *Antigone im Amazonas* project, debate issues of art and political activism, and watch the speech which was meant to be given in person at the opening of the Wiener Festwochen, “This Madness Has to Stop.”²⁴³ The speech had been recorded (and supposedly written) by the indigenous artist and activist Kay Sara, the Brazilian performer who would take the role of Antigone in Rau’s project, but could not make it to Vienna because of travel restrictions.

One central question of their debate was how both artists (Rau and Bruguera) amplify other voices that are within their reach. To that, Rau affirmed that “theater creates platforms” and that he tries to “find places where [he] can bring people together that would never work or think together.”²⁴⁴ The platform formed by Rau with the *Antigone* project tried to amplify two different voices – but they did not necessarily appear equally in that created space: the first one was the voice of the indigenous population of Brazil, represented by the artist Kay Sara; the second one was the voice of the displaced (and disobedient) Brazilian population, represented by the members of the MST movement.

The appearance and use of Kay Sara’s voice, similar to the appearance and use of Baraa Ali’s image in the *Orest* project, raised some problematic questions. For example, even though space was given in the *School of Resistance*’s episode to play the entirety of Kay Sara’s speech, when the live online audience asked why Kay Sara was not invited to the discussion with them, Rau replied: “Impossible! It takes eight hours to upload a ten-minute video. She’s in the middle of the Amazon, it’s really kind of... it was crazy to only get this speech made and sent to us, so it’s completely impossible that she’d be with us. I hope soon she will.”²⁴⁵ Kay Sara currently

²⁴³ Kay Sara, “This Madness Has to Stop,” 2020.

²⁴⁴ Tania Bruguera and Milo Rau, “This Madness Has to Stop,” 2020.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

lives in the megalopolis São Paulo, but during the time that she recorded the speech – and that the episode aired – she was with her family in Manaus, a city with over two million people that not only is the capital of the Amazonas state, but has a strong industry park, an international airport and it is the only free trading zone in Brazil. Kay Sara has a blooming career in theater and television and is daily active in her social media platforms. How “impossible” could her participation in the discussion be, if the city (and the artist) was not lacking in infrastructure or access to the internet, even in the midst of a pandemic? Tania Bruguera, the artist that collaborated with Rau in the episode, was in Cuba at the time and having a lot of trouble with her internet connection – but she was still invited and joined in the discussion. The answer given by Rau to the audience disappears Kay Sara as human, only allowing to appear the image of her as the exotic, primitive, wild other.

Kay Sara’s exotic image is reinforced by how she appears in the speech itself: she has a painted face and is sitting in front of an open forest as the background; the public can hear the birds, and the wind on the trees as she speaks. Depending on how this appearance came to be, it can generate two different outcomes: if Rau was the one to choose how Kay Sara would appear on the speech, then he took elements of her cultural heritage to bring authenticity to the whole project, as it would show that he has found a “real” indigenous Brazilian to be part of the performance; on the other hand, if Kay Sara decided herself how she wanted to appear in this space, then she is using the reach of Milo Rau and his European influence in order to bring forth her indigenous heritage and have her voice heard. Both outcomes do not necessarily exclude each other, but the first could be considered a misuse of a minority’s culture, while the latter could be considered an act of cultural cannibalism.

The second voice amplified by the platform Rau created with the *Antigone* project was that of the displaced non-indigenous Brazilian population, represented by the members of the MST movement. Rau published, for example, a series of online pamphlets on the NTGent website in various languages, that not only described the history and concerns of the MST movement, but also allowed interested people to purchase MST agroecological products through GEA Waldviertler and Öko & Fair, two online international stores that support the cause²⁴⁶. On the day the performance premiered, NTGent published on their website the *Declaration of 13 May*, a petition written by the MST, in partnership with the organizations Rettet den Regenwald e. V., Attac France, Les soulèvements de la Terre, IIPM (International Institute of Political Murder), and ZAD Notre-Dame des Landes. The declaration explains what “greenwashing” means and presents a set of demands to fight against it. In their own words, they are “against the ‘sustainable’ destruction of the rainforest and the people who live in it!”²⁴⁷ Anyone interested can find the declaration through NTGent’s website, and sign the petition online to support their cause and demands.

Not only was Rau able to provide a platform where the MST could make their voice heard internationally, but the performance itself also opened a space for the movement’s ideas to come through. Like in the *Orest* performance, the *Antigone im Amazonas* engages in two different power structures: first, it occupies a position of a subordinated group in relation to the classic Greek tragedy *Antigone*; and second, it plays the role of a dominant group in relation to the indigenous and non-indigenous displaced Brazilian population. However, different from what

²⁴⁶ “MST - A Real Utopia of a Fair and Ecological Agriculture,” accessed 13 July 2023.

²⁴⁷ MST – Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra, “Declaration of 13 May,” 2023.

happened in *Orest*, Rau acted as a bridge between both cultures, allowing for direct acts of cultural cannibalism to take place.

The best example of the cultural cannibalism that happened in the *Antigone* performance is one of the main scenes in the performance, the re-enactment of the largest massacre by the military police against the MST, the Eldorado do Carajás massacre. The re-enactment took place on April 17th, the 27th anniversary of the violent bloodbath that happened in 1996, on the same spot where it occurred. The moment cannibalized the burial element of the *Antigone* tragedy, as well as the powerful chorus participation. In Rau's *Antigone*, the chorus is composed of non-professional actors, activists, and MST members – among them, survivors of the Carajás massacre. The MST chorus cannibalizes, for example, the widely known quote from the Greek tragedy's chorus, "Many wonders, many terrors, but none more wonderful than the human race. Or more dangerous," by adding their revolt against the exploration of the Amazonian Forest and the displacement of the population, to the dangerous wonders of the human race. The version sang by the MST chorus is as follows:

Nothing is more monstrous than the human race, he cuts the forests with machines, energy and fire in the greedy search for gold and ore, he traps the energy of rivers in dams, he forces the children of the forests to forget their homeland, he calls it private property the places where their ancestors lived.²⁴⁸

The cannibalization of the chorus words and the massacre re-enactment served as powerful places of appearance for the MST history and cause, as one of their biggest enemies is the

²⁴⁸ My translation. Original in Portuguese: "Nada é mais monstruoso que o homem, ele corta com máquinas, energia e fogo as florestas na busca gananciosa de ouro e minério, ele apanha a energia dos rios em barragens, força os filhos das florestas a esquecer sua terra natal, chama de propriedade privada os lugares onde viveram seus ancestrais." Douglas Estevam and Coletivo de Cultura do MST (the Cultural collective of MST). "Antígona Na Amazônia Contra a Monstruosidade Do Homem," 23 April 2023.

forgetfulness and neglect of the Brazilian state and population at large. Laurindo Ferreira da Costa, one of the massacre survivors that took part in the project – and in the chorus – explains that part of his motivation to participate in the *Antigone* project was “because this will tell our story, and it is what we stand for, that our story of Eldorado do Carajás and many others does not turn to ashes, that our memory is not erased.”²⁴⁹

CONCLUSION

Even though the *Antigone* project is still on tour, and new various materials, interviews, etc., are frequently made available to the public, it is clear that this project has been one of Rau’s most culturally respectful so far. The space created by Rau in his (trans)cultural theater evolved throughout the years, as described in the examples used in this chapter. From *Mitleid*, to *Orest*, to *Antigone*, the complexity of the power structures on stage remained, but how Rau approached the relationships between subordinate and dominant culture varied, moving toward a more “punch-up” approach, and allowing for more clear acts of cultural cannibalism.

If through the use of cultural cannibalism and the creation of platforms for othered voices, Rau can forge the perception of belonging in his audience (who are mostly middle/high class liberals of the wealthy North, mainly Europeans, who already buy, in one way or the other, into progressive humanitarian values), then what could follow his performances would be acts of self-reflection and empathy, which might generate some form of political action. However, if Rau’s (trans)cultural theater ends up only reinforcing the already established power structures of the world, his audience would most likely still perceive the other brought on stage, the one that

²⁴⁹ Ibid. My translation. Original in Portuguese: “...porque isso vai contar nossa história, e é o que defendemos, que a nossa história de Eldorado do Carajás e de muitas outras não vire cinzas, que nossa memória não seja apagada.”

acts (or appears to act), as the invisible non-human, and continue the cycle of cultural disappearance they are already part of.

Conclusion

“The water I had drunk grew and grew in my belly and soon it had become a huge sphere of water
with the names of thousands of cities written on it.”

– Yoko Tawada, *Wo Europa anfängt*. 1991

Cultural cannibalism is an aesthetic practice and analytical tool that can be used to look closely at (trans)cultural encounters that happen in the arts. From its modernist roots, the term inherited a bold spirit, a playful self-assertion in the face of the other, a refusal to submit to the “good taste” of the metropole. This refusal is reflected by the power inversion present in such encounters, in which a subordinate culture takes the initiative to eat and absorb elements of a dominant culture into itself, becoming stronger in the process. Important to note is that who plays the role of the subordinate culture and who the dominant culture can greatly vary depending on the context of the interaction – roles of the same two cultures may even be completely inverted from one (trans)cultural encounter to another.

There are, and there have been throughout history, many different concepts in the fields of cultural and transnational studies that can be used to analyze the moment two or more cultures meet, and the consequences that surge in the arts following those moments. In this dissertation, I have placed cultural cannibalism in conversation with the concepts that I most often came across while considering specific (trans)cultural encounters. Particularly in the first chapter, I looked at cultural cannibalism vis-à-vis transculturation (a term coined by Fernando Ortiz in the 40s), orientalism (first conceived by Edward Said in the 70s), the melting-pot metaphor (both in the US and in Germany), the European *Willkommenskultur* (especially in Germany), the concept of

hybridity (a still very productive term in itself), grafting (in the contemporary model by Uwe Wirth), and lastly, the frequently (ab)used concept of cultural appropriation (through the approach of Jason B. Jackson).

When looked at in contrast to the above concepts, cultural cannibalism brings forth another two elements that differentiate it among them: first, the term itself evokes a special affect, an irreverence and aggressivity that are not present in the others; and second, it carries the idea of “punching-up,” of recognizing the agency and intentionality of the less powerful culture in a (trans)cultural interaction. These two elements, together with the already mentioned playfulness and power inversion characteristics, make cultural cannibalism a long-needed analytical lens in the field.

In the second chapter of this dissertation, I wanted to give a concrete example of cultural cannibalism being used as an *aesthetic* practice, for which I chose the (trans)cultural encounter that happened through the literature of two authors: the German ethnographer Theodor Koch-Grünberg, and the Brazilian modernist Mário de Andrade. Since Andrade was part of the Brazilian modernist movement, and one of the artists who created and supported the idea of anthropophagy, the cannibalization of Koch-Grünberg in his work is very intentional, and his rhapsody, *Macunaíma*²⁵⁰, is one of the best examples of what tangible form cultural cannibalism can take in literature.

As I was researching the literary pair Koch-Grünberg and Andrade, I was captivated by the movement of cultural knowledge that happened in order for this encounter to take place: Koch-Grünberg went from Germany to Brazil and met Indigenous men who guided him through

²⁵⁰ Mário de Andrade, *Macunaíma, O Herói Sem Nenhum Caracter*, 1928.

his expedition; these traveling companions told him their local myths and legends, which he translated and published in Germany; Andrade went to Germany and encountered these native Brazilian tales, which he then brought back to Brazil and cannibalized into his rhapsody. The cultural knowledge of those stories had to travel from Brazil to Germany, then back to Brazil again before it became the literary work *Macunaíma*.

The third chapter of this dissertation complements the approach of the second: not only does it present a concrete example of cultural cannibalism as an *analytical* tool, but it also shows the inversion of the movement of knowledge: now it goes from Europe to Brazil, then back to Europe again. In order to represent this movement, I chose to analyze the work done by the Swiss theater director Milo Rau. More specifically, I look at three of Rau's performances, all of which deal with two or more cultures on stage: *Mitleid. Die Geschichte des Maschinengewehrs* (2016)²⁵¹, *Orest in Mossul* (2019)²⁵², and *Antigone in the Amazon* (2023)²⁵³. In the latter, Rau brings the Greek tragedy *Antigone* to Brazil, where he creates a reinterpretation of the play in cooperation with local artists and activists, as well as with the Brazilian Landless Workers Movement (MST). The performance, as well as some of the local artists, were then brought back to Europe, where the performance premiered with a standing ovation. From Europe to Brazil, then back to Europe again.

The works analyzed in this dissertation are a small but telling selection of ones where (trans)cultural encounters happened between Germanophone and Brazilian cultures. They should simply open the doors for cultural cannibalism to be used as an aesthetic and analytical tool in contemporary scholarly pursuits. Many other examples come to mind that can also serve as great

²⁵¹ Milo Rau, *Mitleid. Die Geschichte des Maschinengewehrs*, 2016, Schaubühne, Berlin.

²⁵² Milo Rau, *Orest in Mossul*. 2019, NTGent, Ghent.

²⁵³ Milo Rau, *Antigone in the Amazon*, 2023, NTGent, Ghent.

examples of cultural cannibalism between the aforementioned cultures. In the theater scene, the 2010 performance *FatzerBraz*, by the Berliner theater collective andcompany&Co., for example, was a project that involved both European and Brazilian artists and performers, and it presented Brazil's cultural history through the work of Bertolt Brecht.²⁵⁴ The late German theater director, Christoph Schlingensiefel, also had two projects in Brazil in 2007 that were cannibalistic in their making: first, in April 2007, the performance "Der Fliegende Holländer" premiered in the Teatro Amazonas, in Manaus;²⁵⁵ later, from November to December 2007, he opened the installation "Trem Fantasma: Erster Prototyp einer Operngeisterbahn," in São Paulo city.²⁵⁶

There is also a great deal of other examples in literature, where the (trans)cultural encounters could be analyzed through the lens of cultural cannibalism. The Austrian novelist Stefan Zweig, for example, fled Europe in 1934 to England, then to the US, then finally to Brazil, where he arrived in 1940. In love with the country, but nostalgic and in despair for Europe's future, he published the book *Brasilien: Ein Land der Zukunft*²⁵⁷ a year before being found dead in his house, with his wife, in 1942. Another example is the German writer, Anna Seghers, who befriended the Brazilian modernist Jorge Amado and his wife, which led to her visiting Brazil three times, and publishing the book *Überfahrt: Eine Liebesgeschichte*²⁵⁸. The Brazilian Lya Luft has also published various works that could serve as concrete examples for cultural cannibalism. Coming from the Brazilian South, her family has a strong German ancestry, and before becoming a writer herself, she was a well-known translator, having translated great authors like Thomas Mann, Rainer Maria Rilke, Hermann Hesse, and Günter Grass. Her book

²⁵⁴ Frauke Pahlke, "Berlin, Brecht, Brasilien: 'Kollektive Fördern, Gruppen Politisieren,'" 2011.

²⁵⁵ Patrick Hilss, and Sonja Füsti, "Der Fliegende Holländer" (accessed Sept. 2023).

²⁵⁶ Klaus Hart, "Geister in São Paulo" (accessed Sept. 2023).

²⁵⁷ Stefan Zweig, *Brasilien: Ein Land Der Zukunft*, 1941.

²⁵⁸ Anna Seghers, *Überfahrt: Eine Liebesgeschichte*, 1971.

called *A Asa Esquerda Do Anjo*²⁵⁹ (the angel's left wing) was filled with cannibalized elements from her family's cultural heritage.

Cultural cannibalism should not be limited, however, to the (trans)cultural encounters between Germany and Brazil – where the countries, to be sure, are not conceptualized as political or territorial bodies, but as cultural ones. For instance, the Japanese writer Yoko Tawada is a great example of a write whose work can be analyzed with this concept outside of the German-Brazilian context. She was born in Tokyo in 1960 and has lived in Germany since 1982, having won various prizes for her contributions to German culture and literature ever since. She writes both in Japanese and in German and, in 1991, published *Wo Europa Anfängt*²⁶⁰, a collection of stories that show individuals who embrace (selected) elements of European culture, and consciously reflect about (trans)cultural borders.

This dissertation situated cultural cannibalism as a valuable and productive concept, that can be used both as an aesthetic form and an analytical lens to look at moments of (trans)cultural encounters. My hope is that, moving forward, my research can encourage scholarly rumination on such encounters, without culminating in terrible indigestion.

²⁵⁹ Lya Luft, *A Asa Esquerda Do Anjo*, 1981.

²⁶⁰ Yōko Tawada, *Wo Europa Anfängt*, 1991.

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- , and Ottmar Ette, editors. *Nach der Hybridität: Zukünfte der Kulturtheorie*. Berlin, Walter Frey, 2014.
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- Young, Stuart. Review of *Mitleid. Der Geschichte des Maschinengewehrs (Compassion: The History of the Machine Gun)*, by Milo Rau. *Theatre Journal*, vol. 69 no. 3, 2017, p. 427-429. *Project MUSE*, DOI:10.1353/tj.2017.0053.
- Zank, Wolfgang. *The German Melting-pot: Multiculturalism in Historical Perspective*. New York, St. Martin's Press, 1998.
- Zantop, Susanne. *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1997.
- Zweig, Stefan. *Brasilien: Ein Land Der Zukunft*. Stockholm: Bermann-Fischer, 1941.

Curriculum Vitae

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EDUCATION

- 2019–
2023 Ph.D. German Studies with a Modern German Literature and Culture track,
Indiana University, Department of Germanic Studies
Minors: Latin American and Caribbean Studies, and Critical Theory
Dissertation: Biting off More Than You Can Chew: German-Brazilian
Cultural Cannibalism
Committee: Ben Robinson, Fritz Breithaupt, Teresa Kovacs, Luciana
Namorato
- 2017–
2019 M.A. Germanic Studies, Indiana University, Department of Germanic Studies
Thesis title: Tricking the Trickster: The Devil in Grimm’s Fairy Tales
- 2010–
2014 B.A., with honors. German and Translation Studies, Federal University of
Minas Gerais. Belo Horizonte, Brazil
- 2006–
2008 B.B.A. Business and management, Escola Técnica de Formação Gerencial,
SEBRAE/MG. Belo Horizonte, Brazil

PROFESSIONAL APPOINTMENTS

- 2023– Visiting Assistant Professor of German
Department of Modern Languages and Literatures
Rhodes College
- 2019 Faculty Appointment
Portuguese Summer School
Middlebury College

RESEARCH AND TEACHING INTERESTS

Literature from the 1800s to the present; Transcultural, Transnational and Migration Studies; Cultural Cannibalism; Race and Ethnicity Studies; Germany-Africa and Germany-South America Relations; Performative Pedagogy; Contemporary German Theater and Film; Fairy Tales; Translation studies

PUBLICATIONS

Published Articles:

“Bringing it all together ONLINE: Performance, Outreach, and Education – The model of the German Theater Project at Indiana University.” Co-authored with David Bolter and Juliane Wuensch. Cork, Ireland: Scenario Journal, Volume 16, Issue 2, 2022, pp.63-73.

“‘Nein, ich gehe nicht mit dir ins Bett, du bist ein Netzwerk!’: Netzwerk-Figurationen bei René Pollesch und Christoph Schlingensief.”Co-authored with Teresa Kovacs in: Sammelband Netzwerke Performanz Kultur. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2021, pp. 143-59.

“Futebol e Música no Hino do Galo.” In: *Futebol, Linguagem e Artes*. Belo Horizonte, Brazil: Editora Viva Voz, 2015, pp. 41-4. ISBN: 978-85-7758-254-9.

Forthcoming Article:

“‘In my projects, there is no as-if’: Projecting Reality in Milo Rau’s Performances.” In: *Milo Rau: Political Theatre of the Future?* (forthcoming 2024). Paderborn: Brill/ Fink Verlag.

Translations:

“Intermediality, Remediation, Multimedia” (“Intermedialität, *remediation*, Multimedia”) by Irina Rajewsky. In: *Handbuch Medienwissenschaft* (2014), pp. 197-206. Stuttgart: Verlag J.B. Metzler.

“A abordagem da metáfora à luz da dinâmica do discurso e análise do discurso e análise do discurso a luz das metáforas” (“The Discourse Dynamics Approach to Metaphor and Metaphor-led Discourse Analysis. Metaphor and Symbol”). By Lynne Cameron, et al. Co-translated with L. Ferreira. In: *Cadernos de Tradução*, vol. 31 (2012). Porto Alegre, Brazil: Instituto de Letras da UFRGS.

Manuscript in Progress:

“Biting off More Than You Can Chew: German-Brazilian Cultural Cannibalism.”

FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS & AWARDS

2023-2024	Impuls Deutsch: Grant for Amplifying Voices in German Studies – Klett World Languages
2023	Hill Grant: Fund for Curricular Development and Pedagogical Innovation – Rhodes College, Memphis TN
2022-2023	Dissertation Completion Fellowship – College of Arts and Sciences, Indiana University

- 2021 Summer Fellowship, Institute of German Studies – Germanic Studies, Indiana University
- 2021 Ferdinand Piedmont Drama and Theater Scholarship – Germanic Studies, Indiana University
- 2020 E.O. Wooley Graduate Studies Award – Germanic Studies, Indiana University
- 2019 Phi Lambda Beta Portuguese Collegiate Honor Society – Spanish and Portuguese, Indiana University
- 2019 E.O. Wooley Graduate Studies Award – Germanic Studies, Indiana University
- 2012–2013 Study Grant – Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst (DAAD). Düsseldorf, Germany
- 2010–2014 CNPq Undergraduate Research Mentorship – Federal University of Minas Gerais, Brazil
- 2010–2014 UFMG Undergraduate Research Mentorship – Federal University of Minas Gerais, Brazil
- 2011 CNPq Undergraduate Tutoring Program – Federal University of Minas Gerais, Brazil

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

At Rhodes College:

German in the Professional and Business World (Fall 2023)

Contemporary German Media and Film (Spring 2023)

Intermediate German I (forthcoming Spring 2024)

Beginning German II (forthcoming Spring 2024)

Beginning German I (Spring 2022, Fall 2023)

At Middlebury College:

“African heritage in Brazil” – Cultural unit taught three times, in different levels: Beginning Portuguese (level 1), Beginning Portuguese for Spanish Speakers (level 1SS) and High-intermediate Portuguese (level 2.5) (Summer 2019)

Pre-intermediate Portuguese (level 1.75) (Summer 2019)

At Indiana University:

“In English, bitte?!“ – German Culture and Society through Translation (Spring 2019; Spring 2020)

Fairy Tales Grimm’s to Today (Fall 2019 – co-taught with Prof. Susanne Even; Spring 2021)

Critical Approaches: *Introduction to Radical Thinking: From Karl Marx to Martin Luther King, Jr* (Spring 2018 – co-taught with Prof. Benjamin Robinson)

Upper-Intermediate German II (Spring 2022)

Advanced College German – topic: Business German (Fall 2019; Fall 2021)

Advanced College German – topic: Literature (Fall 2020)

Intermediate German II (Summer 2018; Summer 2020 – online)

Intermediate German I (Fall 2018; Summer 2020 – online)

Elementary German for Graduate Students (online) (Summer 2019)

Accelerated Elementary German (Fall 2017)

Beginning German I (Spring 2017; Summer 2017)

ACADEMIC PRESENTATIONS

Conference Presentations:

““In my projects, there is no as-if”: Projecting Reality Through the Big Screen in Milo Rau’s Performances” – Paper presented at the conference “Milo Rau – Political Theatre of the Future?”. University of Cincinnati, OH (Fall 2022)

“*Antigone im Amazonas*: Milo Rau’s Transmedial Theater and the (Dis)appearance of Others” – Paper presented at the seminar “The New Media of Migration”, at the 45th Annual GSA Conference. Indianapolis, IN (Fall 2021)

“Bringing it all together ONLINE: Performance, Outreach, and Education – The model of the German Theater Project at Indiana University” – Paper presented in collaboration with David Bolter and Juliane Wuensch at the 8th SCENARIO Forum Symposium: Sore Back, Square Eyes? Going Performative in Digital Teaching and Learning Spaces. International online conference (Summer 2021)

“Tricking the Trickster: The Figure of the Devil in Grimm’s Fairy Tales” – Paper presented at KFLC: The Languages, Literatures, and Cultures Conference. University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY (Spring 2018)

“Football Metaphors” – Paper presented at the conference “IV Congresso Internacional sobre Metáfora na Linguagem e no Pensamento”. Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, Brazil (Fall 2011)

Workshops, Roundtables, and Other Presentations:

“Family Friction Around the World” – Paper presented at Roundtable “Teaching Fairy Tales for the Modern World” at the 47th Annual GSA Conference. Montréal, Quebec (Fall 2023)

Presenter and moderator at the DDGC Conference “The Hotcomes Conference: Creating Just Outcomes and Assessments, Together.” <https://www.ddgcollective.org/events-calendar/ddgc-conference-2023>. Diversity, Decolonization, and the German Curriculum (DDGC) Collective (Spring 2023)

“Performative Teaching of Fairy Tales” – Workshop in collaboration with Susanne Even at the CSCTFL: Central States Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (Spring 2021)

“Online Language Class: Teaching and Tools” – Departmental training workshop in collaboration with Susanne Even. Indiana University-Bloomington, IN (Spring 2020)

“Donaudampfschiffahrtselektrizitätenhauptbetriebswerkbauunterbeamtengesellschaft!?!” – Workshop in collaboration with Juliane Wuensch at the German Theater Project for High Schools. Indiana University-Bloomington, IN. Festival moved to online format due to COVID (Spring 2020)

“The Colors of Brazil” – Invited presentation at “Día de Inmersión España y Brasil”. American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese (AATSP). Indiana University-Bloomington, IN (Fall 2019)

“Popcorn, Pop, and Pronunciation” – Workshop in collaboration with Franziska Krüger at the German Theater Project for High Schools. Indiana University-Bloomington, IN (Spring 2017)

SERVICE TO THE PROFESSION

Outreach:

Advanced College Program (ACP) German Review Seminar (for Indiana High School Teachers).

Presented the new literary supplement used for G200 Intermediate German I: *drüben*, by Simon Schwartz – which high school teachers throughout the state then adopted in their ACP G200 courses (Spring 2019)

German Instructor Summer Program (GISP): Professional development for High School German instructors about current pedagogical approaches with German course content and the possibility for three-credit master’s level.

Organization, hospitality, and technology support (Summer 2017, Summer 2018)

German Theater Project for High Schools (GTP): Annual endeavor that culminates in a one-day festival and competition, where students from different Indiana High School German programs present video recorded versions of brief theatrical productions in German and participate in tailored-made interactive workshops on all things German and theater.

Workshop leader and organization (Spring 2017)

Outreach, hospitality, organization, and promotion (Spring 2018)

Master of ceremony, hospitality, and organization (Spring 2019)

Workshop leader, organization, and adaptation to online format (Spring 2020)

Organization and online support (Spring 2021)

Workshop leader, organization, and online support (Spring 2022)

Institutional Service:

Diversity and Inclusion Committee – Students’ representative. Department of Germanic Studies, Indiana University-Bloomington (Fall 2021–Spring 2022)

Student-Faculty Colloquium Organizer. Department of Germanic Studies, Indiana University-Bloomington (Fall 2019–Spring 2020)

Faculty Liaison of Graduate Student Committee. Department of Germanic Studies, Indiana University-Bloomington (Fall 2018–Spring 2019)

Co-Chair of Graduate Student Committee. Department of Germanic Studies, Indiana University-Bloomington (Fall 2017–Spring 2018)

Organizer of the Germanic Studies Translation Group. Department of Germanic Studies, Indiana University-Bloomington (Fall 2017–Spring 2018)

Proxy for Graduate and Professional Student Government. Department of Germanic Studies, Indiana University-Bloomington (Fall 2017–Spring 2018)

Professional Memberships:

American Association of Teachers of German (AATG)

Coalition of Women in German (WiG)

German Studies Association (GSA)

Heterodox Academy (HxA)

OTHER PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

2015–2017 The Learning Project – NPO identification number: 46-3923540. Bloomington, IN
Non-profit program manager
Outreach coordinator

2013– Evolution Languages. Belo Horizonte, Brazil
2015 Business administration director
German-Portuguese translator

LANGUAGE

Portuguese:	Native Proficiency
English:	Near-Native Proficiency
German:	Near-Native Proficiency
Spanish:	Advanced Proficiency
French:	Reading Knowledge