NOTES

Introduction

7. Tenorio mentions these details, but see also José Vasconcelos, La raza cósmica: Misión de la raza iberoamericana (Barcelona: Agencia Mundial de Librería, 1925), 58–66, for his visit to São Paulo.
10. Toward the end of the 1920s Brazilian modernistas associated with the Verde-Amarelist group, some of whom later founded the fascist Integralist Party, would approvingly cite Vasconcelos’s notion of the cosmic race (see, for instance, Plínio Salgado’s “Revolução da Anta”), but there is no indication of earlier contact.
11. In the past decade or so there has been a growing number of comparative studies on Mexico and Brazil that deal with topics ranging from literature, film, and urban protest to environmentalism, judicial reform, and multinational corporations. For the most relevant, see Esther Gabara, Errant Modernism: The Ethos of Photography in Mexico and Brazil (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2008); Rielle Navitski, Public Spectacles of Violence: Sensational Cinema and Journalism in Early Twentieth-Century Mexico and Brazil (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2017); Sergio Delgado Moya, Delirious Consumption: Aesthetics and Consumer Capitalism in Mexico and Brazil (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2017); and Paulo Moreira, Literary and Cultural Relations between Mexico and Brazil: Deep Undercurrents (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).


16. Although there is no room to explore this topic here, it is worth noting that the appearance of “avant-garde” movements in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s coincides with the Vietnam War and a perceived decline in U.S. world power, exacerbated by the economic recession of the early 1970s.


21. George Yúdice points to this problem in his argument for a “conjunctural” understanding of the avant-garde that would take into account the struggle for local autonomy and the “logic of community building” in explaining the pro- modernization and statist tendencies of many peripheral avant-gardes (56). From my perspective, however, Yúdice is too willing to overlook the contradictions of these “community-building” projects, and we need to guard against taking the state (or the local) as the only means of resistance to imperialism. “Rethinking the Theory of the Avant-Garde from the Periphery,” in *Modernism and Its Margins: Reinscribing Cultural Modernity from Spain and Latin America*, ed. Anthony L. Geist and José Monleón (New York: Garland, 1999), 52–80.


25. Marx makes a similar point in his “Introduction to a Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right,” where he rails against the backwardness of Germany but also notes that in the sphere of political theory it offers a much clearer view of developments in England than that country’s own philosophers do.


29. One example of this move to subsume the idea of uneven development into the literary field as a way of bolstering the claim of literary autonomy is Pascale
Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, trans. M. B. DeBevoise (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004). I find it puzzling that Casanova can use the language of uneven development—even when referring to the early twentieth century—without making any reference to Trotsky and other political figures who debated this issue and explicitly addressed literary issues. (The same could also be said of Franco Moretti, despite his Marxist affiliations, and of Fredric Jameson, who is strangely silent about how Trotsky’s idea might relate to his own framework of “uneven modernization.”) One exception to the tendency to dehistoricize the concept and detach it from its radical political links is the Warwick Research Collective’s recent *Combined and Uneven Development: Towards a New Theory of World-Literature* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015).


39. I develop these ideas in more detail elsewhere. See “De sobremesa, ‘crónicas revestidas de galas’ y el escenario ausente del modernismo hispano-


**Chapter 1**

1. Enrique Krauze uses this term in his influential *Caudillos culturales en la Revolución Mexicana* (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 1976), as does Joaquín Cárdenas in José Vasconcelos: *Caudillo cultural* (Oaxaca: Universidad José Vasconcelos de Oaxaca, 2002). The scare quotes register my skepticism of the phrase, which conflates symbolic and political power and overestimates the force that “culture” had at the time.

2. “Más de cien niñas que iban a morir insoladas ayer en el Estadio Nacional,” *Excélsior*, April 28, 1924. It is clear from later reports that none of the children were in serious condition.

3. Vasconcelos’s communiqué was reprinted under the headline “Circular que giró el Secretario de Educación Pública,” *Excélsior*, April 29, 1924. According to the paper, Vasconcelos had fifty thousand copies printed and sent out; he later repented and revoked his order, but they had already been distributed to many schools.


5. For a few months in 1940, Vasconcelos was the editor of the pro-Nazi journal *Timón*, published in Mexico by the German embassy. Much of his motivation seems to have been his anti-U.S. sentiment. See Itzhak Bar-Lewaw, *La revista “Timón” y José Vasconcelos* (Mexico City: Casa Edimex, 1971).


7. Réda Bensmaïa makes a similar point when he describes the essay as a cinematic montage, a mise-en-scène or “theatricalization” that “renders language limitless in multiplying perspectives and points of view, and in highlighting the ‘limits’ (rhetorical, formal, and above all ideological) of other languages.” “L’art de l’essai chez Montaigne,” *Continuum* 3 (1991): 19.


11. The journal was *Cuadernos*, which Arciniegas edited from 1963 to 1965. Four decades earlier, when Vasconcelos was the director of Mexico’s Secretariat of Public Education, Arciniegas led a group of Colombian university students in proclaiming him “Maestro de las Américas.”


13. The tautological nature of this statement is underscored by the reference to José Martí’s “Our America,” which is now usually read as an essay. Strangely, Arciniegas does not mention this canonical text.


24. On Vasconcelos’s activities during the revolution, see Luis A. Marentes, *José Vasconcelos and the Writing of the Mexican Revolution* (New York: Twayne, 2000), xi–31. Although he was born in the southern state of Oaxaca in 1882, Vasconcelos spent his childhood in the northern state of Coahuila, where
his father was a customs official. He attended primary school across the border in Texas and did stints in secondary schools in central Mexico and Campeche before ending up in Mexico City, where he completed a law degree. Prior to the revolution he worked for a New York firm that legalized the purchase of land and mines in Mexico.


28. For his analogy between the state of exception and the miracle, see Carl Schmitt, Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty, trans. George Schwab (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 36–52.


30. On Vasconcelos’s interest in Indian philosophy, see Laura J. Torres-Rodríguez, “Orientalizing Mexico: Estudios indostánicos and the Place of India in José Vasconcelos’s La raza cósmica,” Revista Hispánica Moderna 68, no. 1 (June 2015). The Theosophical Society was founded in 1875 in New York by a group that included the U.S. Buddhist Henry Steel Olcott and Helena Blavatsky, a Russian occultist. It sought to form a Universal Brotherhood of Humanity with no distinctions based on race, creed, sex, caste, or color. On its influence among Latin American intellectuals, including Vasconcelos, see Eduardo Devés Valdés and Ricardo Melgar Bao, “Redes teosóficas y pensadores (políticos) latinoamericanos 1910–1930,” Cuadernos Americanos 78 (1999): 137–152.

31. A second edition was published in Mexico in 1921.


38. One well-known example of the latter was Karl Bücher, whose Arbeit und Rhythmus (Labor and Rhythm, 1896) is discussed in Erlmann, Reason and Resonance, 289–291, and in Golston, Rhythm and Race, 21–24.


42. See Samuel Chávez, “Lo que es la gimnasia llamada especialmente gimnasia rítmica en sus relaciones con el baile y la gimnasia común,” El Maestro (January–February 1922): 468–483. In 1910 Chávez had designed the Anfiteatro del Antiguo Colegio de San Idelfonso, site of Rivera’s mural La creación.


44. Jane Bennett, Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2010). Bennett also links her ideas to a long history of philosophical monism (Lucretius, Spinoza, Bergson, Deleuze) and draws on Nietzsche, Wagner, and the figure of Prometheus as well as the language of cellular biology.

45. Golston, Rhythm and Race, 7.


47. Ibsen originally wrote the verse drama Peer Gynt without any intention of seeing it staged, and although the drama was published in 1867, it was not staged until 1876.


49. I insist here on this “almost” in opposition to those who simply replace ideology with an emphasis on affect and habit as the sole mediums of social contestation and control. Jon Beasley-Murray, for instance, states that “the politics of habit is not the clash of ideologies within a theater of representation. It is a politics that is immanent and corporeal, that works directly through the body.” But theater itself belies such a simplistic (and ultimately idealist) opposition between ideas and affect. It is inseparable from the issue of embodiment, yet as a number of scholars have pointed out, it is also derived from the same Greek root as “theory.” See Beasley-Murray, Posthegemony: Political Theory and Latin America (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 181.

50. Martin Harries, “Theater after Film, or Dismediation,” ELH 83, no. 2 (Summer 2016): 358. For the quotes in their original context, see Althusser, “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses,” 120, 118.


52. Harries, “Theater after Film,” 358.


58. Martin Puchner, Stage Fright: Modernism, Anti-Theatricality, and Drama (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 18.

59. There is also a “racial” dimension to Nietzsche’s celebration of Prometheus. Nietzsche sees the myth of Prometheus as exemplifying a specifically Aryan notion of active sin, as opposed to the “passive” Semitic myth of the Fall.


61. Vasconcelos, El monismo estético, 8.


64. Jorge Mañach’s “Indagación del choteo” (1928) draws on Bergson’s essay “On Laughter” (a point of connection with Vasconcelos). In Mexico, relajo was associated with the working-class pelado character and the actor Cantinflas, who started off performing in carpa (tent) theaters in the 1920s and later transitioned to cinema. Two classic texts—both regarded as essays of Mexican identity—are Samuel Ramos’s El perfil del hombre y la cultura en México (1934) and Jorge Portilla’s Fenomenología del relajo (1966).


66. The verb querer, used here as a noun, is difficult to translate, since it can mean “wanting” (in a sexual or nonsexual sense), “wishing,” or “loving.”


68. The sainete is a one-act farce, usually involving music, and was originally performed between longer plays. It originated in Spain but became popular in Latin America in the nineteenth century, where it took on regional characteristics. The entremés is a similar genre that was popular in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

69. See John Ochoa, The Uses of Failure in Mexican Literature and Identity (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), for a very helpful and relevant discussion of the role of failure in Vasconcelos’s work.
73. Lunacharsky’s play *Vasilisa the Wise* (one of several he wrote) was published in 1919. There are many striking similarities between Vasconcelos and Lunacharsky that warrant more attention from a scholar with knowledge of Russian.
74. On Vasconcelos’s ideas about theater and the activities of the SEP, see Fell, *José Vasconcelos*, 463–479. For a broader view of theater in this period, see Alejandro Ortiz Bullé Goyri, *Teatro y vanguardia en el México posrevolucionario* (1920–1940) (Mexico City: Universidad Metropolitana Autónoma, 2005).
75. Vasconcelos, “El teatro al aire libre.”
77. Vasconcelos, “El teatro al aire libre.”
86. “Un poema de sol, de color, de ritmo y de entusiasmo, fue la inauguración del gran Estadio Nacional,” *Excélsior*, May 6, 1924.
88. See, for example, Salvador Pioncelly, *José Villagrán García: Protagonista de la arquitectura mexicana del siglo XX* (Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, Dirección General de Publicaciones, 2004), which omits any mention of the Estadio Nacional, and Ramón Vargas, *José Villagrán García: Vida y obra* (Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Nacional de México, 2005), which includes a photo of the stadium but never mentions it.
91. Vasconcelos, “Inauguración del Estadio.”
Chapter 2


15. In his questionable “confessions,” which date from 1929, Baliev stated that Trotsky even attended a show and claimed he had been imprisoned before leaving the Soviet Union. Nikita Balieff, “My Cabaret Confessions,” *New Yorker*, June 22, 1929, 29.


17. Prior to this, however, Théâtre Fémina had also hosted Lugné-Poe’s Théâtre de l’Oeuvre, known for its symbolist productions of August Strindberg and Henrik Ibsen. Lugné-Poe was an admirer of the Chauve-Souris and wrote at least two reviews of the show. For excerpts see Lawrence Sullivan, “Nikita Baliev’s Le Théâtre de la Chauve-Souris: An Avant-Garde Theater,” *Dance Research Journal* 18, no. 2 (Winter 1986–1987): 17–29.

18. According to Richard Taruskin, Stravinsky attended a performance of the Chauve-Souris with Diaghilev and Sudeikin and became infatuated with Zhenya Nikitina, the ballerina who played Katinka. Stravinsky orchestrated four short pieces for the show (including the polka for the Katinka number), and these eventually became his Suite No. 2 for Small Orchestra. Shortly afterward Stravinsky started an affair with Sudeikin’s wife Vera, whom he eventually married. Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works through Mavra* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 1546–1549.


25. Nozière, “Femme de Luxe—La Chauve-Souris,” L’Avenir, February 5, 1921, 2. Cited in Sullivan, “Nikita Baliev’s Le Théâtre de la Chauve-Souris,” 25. The Chauve-Souris’s fascination with Asian and Muslim countries evokes a long history of Russian orientalism, which was linked to empire-building and continued during the Soviet period. Yet orientalism could also act as a destabilizing form of otherness, and in this case it was complicated by the fact that Baliev was from Armenia, the status of which was in question between the end of the Russian Revolution and the founding of the Soviet Union in 1922.


27. Marx, Capital, 1039. Says Marx: “A singer who sings like a bird is an unproductive worker. If she sells her song for money, she is to that extent a wage-labourer or merchant. But if the same singer is engaged by an entrepreneur who makes her sing to make money, then she becomes a productive worker, since she produces capital directly” (1044).


29. On June 5, the Chauve-Souris moved to the Century Roof Theater for its summer run; in preparation for this Nikolai Remisov, one of the Chauve-Souris set designers, painted and decorated the theater with Russian and orientalist iconography. The group gave its final performance on May 5, 1923, after which it returned to Paris, but it had a reprisal on Broadway in late 1923–1924 and returned several other times, also traveling to other cities across the United States. It continued to tour until 1934.


31. The music was adapted from a song by the German composer Leon Jessel. The Chauve-Souris turned it into a runaway hit, and in 1933 the Rockettes choreographed a version for their Radio City Christmas Spectacular, which is still performed today.

32. In 1934 the writer Nathanael West submitted a proposal to the Leland Hayward agency for an “American Chauve-Souris” that included sketches of Nantucket during the days of the whaling industry, French patois songs from Louisiana, and a Harlem rent party with scat music. Jay Martin, Nathanael West: The Art of His Life (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1970), 248–249.


34. In 1913 Sudeikin (sometimes spelled Soudeikine) drew inspiration from Beardsley’s drawings in designing the costumes and set for the Ballets Russes’s production of La Tragédie de Salomé, based on Oscar Wilde’s play. He would later design sets for the original 1935 production of Porgy and Bess.

35. On Japonisme in Mexico (including Tablada’s role), see Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, I Speak of the City: Mexico City at the Turn of the Twentieth Century (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 211–247.

36. José Juan Tablada, Un día… poemas sintéticos (Caracas: Imprenta Bolívar, 1919), 75.

38. Gaston Sorbets, “Los espectáculos de la ‘Chauve-Souris,’” El Universal Ilustrado, March 24, 1921, 6, is a translation of an article from L’Illustration. The journal also later published a translation of an article on synthetic theater by H. I. Brock, who hyped this concept in several New York Times articles about the Moscow Art Theater (MAT) Musical Studio, a subset of MAT directed by its cofounder Vladimir Nemirovich-Danchenko that performed in New York at the end of the 1925 in conjunction with the Chauve-Souris’s second visit to Broadway. See Brock, “Lo que es el teatro sintético ruso,” El Universal Ilustrado, December 24, 1925, 20–21, 51.

39. José Vasconcelos, El monismo estético (Mexico City: Tipografía Murguía, 1918), 5.


41. On the early development of anthropology in Mexico, including the Museo Nacional and the role of Boas, see Mechthild Rutsch, Entre el campo y el gabinete: Nacionales y extranjeros en la profesionalización de la antropología mexicana (1877–1920) (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2007).

42. Manuel Gamio, Forjando patria, trans. Fernando Armstrong-Fumero (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2010), 156. Note the duality implicit in the title: like the English “to forge,” forjar can also mean “to fabricate” and can carry the connotation of deception.

43. In Forjando patria, Gamio acknowledges that the followers of Emiliano Zapata have legitimate grievances but attributes their leader’s appeal to “banditry” (the solution for which is “extermination without mercy”) and manipulation by “reactionary elements” of previous regimes (158). He later condemned the “exotic bolsheviks who approve and preach destruction of foreign capital invested in Mexico, a move that would immediately bring not only foreign intervention, but the dismemberment of the Republic.” Introduction, Synthesis and Conclusions of the Work “The Population of the Valley of Teotihuacán” (Mexico City: Dirección de Antropología, 1922), lxxxi.

44. Marx, Capital, 874.


47. As Rosa Luxemburg wrote in 1913, “Capitalism is the first mode of economy with the weapon of propaganda, a mode which tends to engulf the entire globe and to stamp out all other economies, tolerating no rival at its side. Yet at the same time it is also the first mode of economy which is unable to exist by itself, which needs other economic systems as a medium and soil.” Rosa Luxemburg, The Accumulation of Capital, trans. Agnes Schwarzschild (London: Routledge, 2003), 447.


50. Manuel Gamio, *La población del Valle de Teotihuacán* (Mexico City: Dirección de Talleres Gráficos, 1922), xciv. For Gamio’s own translation of this passage, which is less poetic than the Spanish, see his *Introduction, Synthesis and Conclusions*, xcii–xciii. Francisco Goitia is a fascinating figure who had traveled with Pancho Villa’s army as its official painter, an experience that generated works such as his haunting series *Los aborconados* (The Hanged Men).


53. Evans, *Before Cultures*.


55. On both theater and ethnographic and educational film at Teotihuacán see Aurelio de los Reyes, *Manuel Gamio y el cine* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autonóma de México, 1991). In 1923 Gamio also built a second open-air theater called the Teatro de la Naturaleza, where the theatrical pageant *Tlahuicole*, based on his own outline for a never-made film about an Aztec warrior, was performed (Reyes, *Manuel Gamio y el cine*, 11–30).

56. Velásquez Bringas was director of the SEP’s Department of Libraries from 1924 to 1928 and later became director of the National Library. In addition to her radio show and journalistic work, she was a prominent lawyer and public defender.


58. For a brief description of the methodology and objectives of the project, see Gamio’s introduction to Roque Ceballos Novelo’s *ensayo de comedia regional “La tejedora,” Ethnos* (February–April 1923): 49–50.


63. “En un humilde pueblo de Michoacán, en San Pedro Paracho, se inauguró el domingo próximo pasado el teatro regional,” *El Heraldo*, June 12, 1923.

64. Mario Montes, “Nuevos senderos para llegar a la creación del verdadero teatro nacional y el ballet mexicano,” *El Mundo*, January 24, 1923. This also mentions that Saavedra had previously staged his piece *La Cruz* at a theater in Mexico City using indigenous actors from Teotihuacán, though the performance evidently garnered little attention from the press.


69. Rafael Saavedra later claimed to have first heard of the Russian group from members of the visiting Ukrainian National Choir in December 1922. “El teatro sintético mexicano: ‘Tiene la culpa el cilindro,’ obra de Rafael Saavedra. Una acusación de plagio,” *El Mundo*, September 1, 1923.


71. According to an announcement in *Excélsior* that same day, “Tiene la culpa el cilindro” (described as a “panorama in a snapshot”) was to be performed at the Teatro Arbeu in Mexico City on August 30, 1923. It is unclear whether this took place. The following day González publicly accused Saavedra of plagiarizing his idea—to which Saavedra responded by acknowledging that the literary value of the piece was negligible while still insisting that as a “PAINTER, but not a WRITER,” González could not be the author. “Obra de teatro que se dice ha sido plagiado,” *Excélsior*, August 31, 1921, and “El teatro sintético mexicano” (for full reference see note 69 just above).


74. Numerous newspaper articles in Mexico reported these details, and memorabilia including telegrams, letters, and speeches can be found in the scrapbook assembled by William Wallace Nichols and catalogued as American Industrial Mission to Mexico Records, 1924–1948, Manuscript and Archives Division, New York Public Library. In his communications with Nichols, the mayor offered suggestions for invitees, including Henry Ford (who did not come). The mission included prominent bankers and the presidents or vice presidents of the U.S. Steel Corporation, Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing, International General Electric, Royal Typewriter, H. J. Heinz, Eastman Kodak, Mack Trucks, and Nestlé Food (among others).

75. See the itinerary “Programa de festejos organizados por el H. Ayuntamiento de la Ciudad de México en honor de la distinguida Misión Industrial Americana,” in American Industrial Mission to Mexico Records, 1924–1948, Manuscript and Archives Division, New York Public Library.
76. According to an untitled piece of paper that includes the lunch menu, the group visited the Fábrica Nacional de Vestuario y Equipo (a clothing factory). American Industrial Mission to Mexico Records, 1924–1948, Manuscript and Archives Division, New York Public Library.

77. “San Juan Teotihuacán reveló a los industriales,” Demócrata, September 18, 1924.

78. Quoted in “La Misión Americana visitó ayer Teotihuacán,” El Universal, September 18, 1924.

79. Quintanilla and González, Teatro Mexicano del Murciélago, 3.

80. For more on Bartolo Juárez, see Hellier-Tinoco, Embodying Mexico, 83–88.

81. Quintanilla and González, Teatro Mexicano del Murciélago, 5.

82. Quintanilla and González, Teatro Mexicano del Murciélago, 6. Fifi usually refers to a young man from a wealthy family who enjoys the good life without working, and as the language of the Murciélago’s scene suggests, it is an emasculating term that carries connotations of homosexuality.

83. Quintanilla and González, Teatro Mexicano del Murciélago, 8.


86. Evans, Before Cultures, 115.

87. Quintanilla and González, Teatro Mexicano del Murciélago, 7.

88. A brief review of the September 27 performance was negative, remarking on its “visible disorientation” and “harangue” to the public while admitting the music was more pleasing. See Elizondo, “Notas teatrales,” Excélsior, September 29, 1924. Antonio Magaña Esquivel later claimed there were two performances at the Teatro Principal, though I have not found evidence of a second. “Teatro experimental en México: ‘El Murciélago,’” El Nacional (Mexico City), May 11, 1938.

89. On Gamio’s conflict with Calles see Ángeles González Gamio, Manuel Gamio: Una lucha sin final (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1987), 79–82.


91. For the play, see José Gorostiza, “Ventana a la calle,” El Universal Ilustrado, November 27, 1924, 20. For his jabs at teatro sintético, see his “Glosas al momento teatral,” El Universal Ilustrado, December 10, 1925, 63. Gorostiza was affiliated with the Contemporáneos, a group of writers often at odds with the estridentistas. On the theatrical activities of the Contemporáneos, including their Teatro de Ulises and Teatro de Orientación, see Luis Mario Schneider, Fragua y gesta del teatro experimental en México (Mexico City: Ediciones del Equilibrista, 1995).


93. “El primer festival del teatro sintético regional mexicano,” El Universal, November 30, 1925. The other scene incorporated from the Teatro del Murciélago was “El Cántaro Roto.”

94. José Manuel Puig Casauranc, “Cuáles son los altos propósitos que se persiguen con la fundación del Teatro Sintético Nacional,” El Universal, November
29, 1925. For a debate on the topic, see “Algunas opiniones acerca del Teatro Sintético,” *El Universal Ilustrado*, October 29, 1925, 52–53.

95. Magaña Esquivel lists several pieces performed at the Casa del Estudiante Indígena, all of which were indigenous-themed. None of the pieces performed by the Murciélago at its debut seem to have been included. See his “Teatro experimental en México.” In 1927 the estridentista sculptor Germán Cueto published a work of teatro sintético called “Comedia sin solución” in the group’s journal *Horizonte*, though it is more in line with Italian futurist sintesi.

96. Carlos Mérida, “La danza y el teatro,” in *Escritos de Carlos Mérida sobre el arte: La danza* (Mexico City: CENIDIAP, 1990), 143. Domínguez was also involved in the National Dance School, which I discuss in chapter 3.


98. Hellier-Tinoco stresses that this dissemination began at least as early as the 1930s with accounts of both rituals in the journal *Mexican Folkways*. On the role of traveling folkloric troupes and immigration, see her *Embodying Mexico*, 100–119.


100. Starting with the Sindicato de Actores in 1922, several theater workers’ unions formed during the early 1920s, and this allusion seems to suggest that the Teatro del Murciélago ran into issues (and extra expenses) with these groups.

Chapter 3

1. Leopoldo Méndez, “Proyecto elaborado con el objeto de estimular y articular la producción del dibujo a las actividades de la enseñanza en las escuelas de toda la República,” August 2, 1932, Serie Subsecretaría, Caja 6/Exp. 60, Archivo Histórico de la Secretaría de Educación Pública (hereafter referred to as AHSEP). All AHSEP files were recently incorporated into the Archivo General de la Nación, and it is possible the numbering of documents has changed.


21. Fernando Mejía Barquera, *La industria de la radio y la televisión y la política del estado mexicano* (Mexico City: Fundación Manuel Buendía, 1989), 39. El Buen Tono cigar company (which owned CYB) was founded in 1894 by Ernesto Pugibet, a Frenchman who resided in Mexico, and it maintained close ties to business interests in France.


24. Álvaro Obregón’s regime studied potential models and entertained proposals from various parties before opting for a “mixed” (public/private) system of radio. Its primary concern was to avoid the foreign monopolies that had controlled telegraphy and telephony under Porfirio Díaz, and to place radio in the hands of “national” interests—though these were ultimately dependent on


30. The first official effort to regulate the content of broadcasting was the Ley de Comunicaciones Eléctricas of 1926, which prohibited the transmission of any information contrary to “the security of the State, harmony, peace, public order, good customs, the laws of the country and the decency of language, or that cause any scandal or attack on the constituted government or private life” (cited in Mejía Barquera, *La industria de la radio*, 43).

31. See “Fue un éxito clamoroso el estreno del teatro nacional del murciélago,” *Excélsior*, September 18, 1924, which mentions radio as one of several topics the members of the Murciélago were studying for possible future sketches.


43. On the League of Revolutionary Writers and Artists and the Taller de Gráfica Popular (Popular Graphics Workshop), see Caplow, *Leopoldo Méndez*.

44. This period of political polarization from about 1929 to 1933 coincided with the so-called left turn of the Comintern. See Barry Carr, *Marxism and Communism in Twentieth-Century Mexico* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992); Luis F. Ruiz, “Where Have All the Marxists Gone? Marxism and the Historiography of the Mexican Revolution,” in *Militantes, intelectuales y revolucionarios: Ensayos sobre marxismo e izquierda en América Latina*, ed. Carlos Aguirre (Raleigh: A Contracorriente, 2013), 387–410; and José Revueltas, *Ensayo de un proletariado sin cabeza* (Mexico City: Logos, 1962), the classic critique of the party by a brother of Silvestre Revueltas (composer of Troka’s theme song).

45. “Conoce la policía a los comunistas del discurso por radio,” *Excélsior*, November 13, 1931. While all official reports confirm the involvement of Campa and List Arzubide, some name Hernán Laborde, the head of the Mexican Communist Party, as the second accomplice rather than Siqueiros.

46. “La voz del Partido Comunista de México desde la ‘X.E.W.,’ ” *El Machete*, November 10 and 20, 1931. The article also insists that neither Siqueiros nor List Arzubide were party members. Siqueiros had been expelled not long before (though he would later rejoin), and List Arzubide went in and out of the party. Mejía Barquera (61n25) claims the takeover of XEW was carried out by Rosendo Gómez Lorenzo, the editor of *El Machete*, and Evelio Vadillo, whose experience in the Soviet Union inspired José Revueltas’s novel *Los errores*.


49. For an “official” history of the SEP’s radio activities going up to the 1990s, see *Historia hecha de sonidos*. The SEP station was first launched in 1924 with the call letters CYE (later changed to CZE, and then XFX).


51. Teatro Orientación was funded by the SEP from 1932 to 1934 and again from 1936 to 1938; it performed works by Mexican writers (including Villaurrutia) and European and U.S. modernists including Eugene O’Neill and Jean Cocteau. See Luis Mario Schneider, *Fragua y gesta del teatro experimental en México* (Mexico City: Ediciones del Equilibrista, 1995).

52. For an account and some highlights from the reports, see *Una historia hecha de sonidos*, 59–69.

53. Maples Arce in the first page of an untitled document from 1932 or 1933 included among documents related to reorganization of XFX, Serie Radioeducación, Caja 9474/Exp. 37, AHSEP.

55. “Al C. Subsecretario de la Secretaría de Educación Presente,” February 11, 1933, Serie Radioeducación, Caja 9474/Exp. 37, AHSEP.

56. List Arzubide, *Troka el poderoso: Cuentos infantiles* (Mexico City: El Nacional, 1939). Only one partial Troka script remains in the archive (from the initial proposal submitted by Leopoldo Méndez, discussed in the following paragraph and cited in note 1), and it corresponds almost word-for-word with the text identified as Troka’s First Appearance in the 1939 collection.

57. See citation in note 1.

58. In most of the correspondence sent to Troka via the station schoolchildren and teachers spelled his name with a c (“Troca”). The word *troca* is still used in northern Mexico to refer to a truck.

59. List Arzubide wrote up a report on the topic, which is in the Acervo de Leopoldo Méndez, CENIDIAP, Mexico City. It was published as “Una visita al Teatro de los Niños de Leningrado,” in Germán List Arzubide, *Tres comedias para el teatro infantil* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1936), iii–xix. An unsigned article on puppet theater in *El Maestro Rural* (a journal published by the SEP and distributed to rural schoolteachers) states that the SEP’s guión troupes were modeled after the Soviet troupes and cites Natalya Sats, director of the Moscow Children’s Theater. See “Teatro de muñecos,” *El Maestro Rural* 6, no. 7 (1935): 36–37. Although the SEP puppeteers were well aware of the Rosete Aranda company and other examples of Mexican puppetry, they rejected this tradition as trivial and devoid of educational value.

60. Critics have overlooked Méndez’s role as a puppet practitioner and theorist, though his archive includes multiple manuscripts for speeches and essays he wrote on the topic. One of the few to touch on this is Caplow, *Leopoldo Méndez*, 85–89.

61. Some sources suggest a connection, but this is hard to verify. Puppetry does not appear to have been central to Cercle et Carré, but some of its artists (Enrico Prampolini, Sophie Taeuber, László Moholy-Nagy) had worked with marionettes, and the group’s cofounder Joaquín Torres-García was known for his constructivist toys. In an article in the April 15, 1930, issue of the group’s journal, the Russian set designer Vera Idelson draws a connection between puppetry and abstraction: citing Edward Gordon Craig and Maurice Maeterlinck’s call to replace human actors with marionettes, she argues instead for counterpoising human and mechanical actors, and states that the movement of marionettes offers “pure, abstract movement, movement in itself.” “Problèmes du Théâtre,” in *Cercle et carré: Collection complète (1930)* (Paris: J. M. Place, 1977).

62. For details on how the puppet project began see Sonia Iglesias Cabrera and Guillermo Murray Prisant, *Piel de papel, manos de palo* (Mexico City: Consejo Nacional de las Artes y Culturas, 1995).

63. List Arzubide also wrote and broadcast a cycle of historical radio dramas with his brother Armando. He created two other children’s programs: El Médico
Familiar (The Family Doctor) and El Periquillo Andarín, who taught children history and geography by narrating his travels around Mexico. El Periquillo was also the name of a popular puppet used by the guiñol troupes.

64. *El teatro guiñol de Bellas Artes (Época de oro en México) / The Puppetry of the Institute of Fine Arts (Golden Age)* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes / Editorial RM, 2010), 14. Like other sources, this book stresses the connection between the puppet movement and the progressive Cárdenas regime. See also Iglesias Cabrera and Prisant, *Piel de papel*, which mistakenly claims that the SEP’s troupes were founded in 1934—the year Cárdenas became president (183).


66. This piece has evolved over time, and recordings of several different versions are available online (some featuring Alejandro Benítez and others Pablo Cueto). My description is based on the video at https://vimeo.com/3271539, accessed December 15, 2017.


69. As Philip Auslander and others have argued, “liveness” is a historical construct that arose in reaction to and in dialogue with new forms of technological mediation. *Liveness: Performance in a Mediatized Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1999). The *Oxford English Dictionary* dates the first recorded use of the word “live” in this sense from 1934. The equivalent in Spanish (*en vivo*) was not yet part of the vocabulary of those involved in the SEP’s station, though their frequent comparisons between radio and theater suggest they were working through this issue.


71. List Arzubide, *Troka el poderoso*. Although there is no clear evidence, it seems likely that Troka fell silent around 1937, when XFX was placed under the direct control of a centralized agency that managed the federal government’s various radio stations.


74. A translation, *Much Ado about Kasper*, is included along with other broadcasts (including one on “Berlin Puppet Theater”) in the volume *Radio Benjamin*.  

76. See, for instance, Angelina Beloff, Muñecos animados: Historia, técnica y función educativa del teatro de muñecos en México y en el mundo (Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1945).


78. For a description and discussion of the score see Eduardo Contreras Soto, Silvestre Revueltas en escena y en pantalla: La música de Silvestre Revueltas para el cine y la escena (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes y Literatura: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2012), 26–39. Contreras Soto interviewed List Arzubide in 1994, but at the ripe old age of ninety-six he did not remember whether the pantomime version of Troka was ever performed. I thank Contreras Soto for his emails pointing me toward key sources.

79. On ¡30–30! (first staged November 21, 1931), see Margarita Tortajada Quiroz, La danza escénica de la Revolución Mexicana (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Estudios Históricos de la Revolución Mexicana, 2000), 16–26. The music was by Francisco Domínguez. For more on Campobello’s dance-related work see Manuel Ricardo Cuellar, “Imagining a Festive Nation: Queer Embodiments and Dancing Histories of Mexico” (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2016), 56–82.


81. Campobello’s half-sister Gloria was also a dance instructor at the school, as was Hipólito Zybine, a Russian dancer who had settled in Mexico. On the creation of the Escuela Nacional de Danza, see Margarita Tortajada Quiroz, Danza y poder (Mexico City: CENIDIAP, 1995), 66–78.


83. Mérida cites Petrushka in his discussion of Russian dance in “La danza y el teatro” (133), and List Arzubide and Méndez were familiar with the character due to their investigations into Russian theater.

84. See Tortajada, Danza y poder, 72–76, on early performances, which included a ballet by Francisco Domínguez and indigenous or folk dances choreographed by the Campobellos.

85. See, for example, an unsigned memo regarding the program for an upcoming open-air festival in the Colonia Morelos zone of Mexico City in February 1935, where twenty-five hundred programs are requested. The program includes a mariachi group from the SEP’s Division of Music, three short plays by one of the puppet troupes, a jarabe (traditional dance) by Gloria and Nellie Campobello, and a “farce” that seems to have involved children and perhaps puppets. “Programa para el Festival cultural al aire libre en Colonia Morelos,” unsigned memo from 1935, Serie Teatro, Caja 6–34/Exp. 1/Faja 8, AHSEP. Memos and programs from the archives of XFX indicate that the station sometimes broadcast festivals.

86. Agustín Yáñez, “Ideas para la reorganización de la Dirección de Radio de la SEP,” February 28, 1932, Serie Radioeducación, Caja 9474/Exp. 37, AHSEP.

88. Readers can consult Albarrán, *Seen and Heard in Mexico*, 129–174, for details about some of the children’s drawings in a chapter on the SEP’s radio station. Although Albarrán also devotes a separate chapter to the guiñol movement, she does not mention the radio/puppet connection.

Chapter 4


3. A *passadista* is someone who is retrograde or stuck in the past. Mário de Andrade, “Prefácio interessantíssimo,” in *Poesias completas* (São Paulo: Livraria Martins, 1966), 14. The above is my translation, but see also “Extremely Interesting Preface,” in *Hallucinated City: Paulicéia desvairada*, trans. Jack E. Tomlins (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1968), 5–18. Tomlins translates teorias-avós as “granddaddy-theories,” overlooking the gendering of “theories” as feminine. (It is also worth noting that both of Mário’s own grandmothers were mulatta.)


5. In 2015, the archive of the Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa finally allowed access to a letter Mário wrote to his close friend Manuel Bandeira on April 7, 1928, in which he explicitly refers to his “homosexuality” and how rumors of it constrained his social life. Parts of the letter had been published in a 1966 collection of their correspondence, but this section was excised.


8. See the introduction to this book for a brief discussion of the export age, which is dated from 1870 to 1930.


11. Brazil was not the only Latin American country where intellectuals of ambiguous racial and sexual affiliations took on symbolic roles during this period. On a case in Chile (with connections to Mexico), see Licia Fiol-Matta, *A Queer Mother of the Nation: The State and Gabriela Mistral* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).


14. Sodomy laws had not existed in Brazil since 1830, though laws against cross-dressing and vagrancy were used to restrict displays of “deviant” sexuality. See James N. Green, *Beyond Carnival: Male Homosexuality in Twentieth-Century Brazil* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 20–23. The first major literary work about same-sex relations, Adolfo Caminha’s naturalist novel *Bom-Crioulo* (1895), portrays a loving (if ultimately violent) relationship between two sailors, one black and the other blond and blue-eyed.


31. *Il Guarany* (with a libretto written in Italian by Antonio Scalvini and Carlo D’Ormeville) is based on the classic novel *O Guarani* by the Brazilian writer José Alencar. Gomes was originally from Campinas (in São Paulo State).

32. For an in-depth comparison of the Colombo and the Municipal, see Aiala Teresa Levy, “Forging an Urban Public: Theaters, Audiences, and the City in São Paulo, Brazil, 1854–1924” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2016), 89–152. Levy notes that nearly two hundred theaters were inaugurated in São Paulo between 1890 and 1924 (338).

33. Álvaro Lins, *Jornal de Crítica, 1a série* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1941), 191.

34. *Paulista* refers to someone or something from São Paulo State. Residents of the city of São Paulo are referred to as *paulistanos*, but the modernistas typically used the broader term *paulista*, and their discourse of civic pride was tied not only to the city but to the entire region.


37. Sérgio Miceli, *Intelectuais e classe dirigente no Brasil (1920–1945)* (São Paulo: DIFEL, 1979), 24–26. The term is apropos, given Oswald and Mário’s shared last name (though they were not related). Miceli stresses that Mário was the only major modernista writer who had not studied law, the usual path for well-to-do young men. See also Miceli, “Mário de Andrade: A invenção do moderno intelectual brasileiro,” in *Um enigma chamado Brasil: 29 intérpretes e um país*, ed. André Botelho and Lilia Moritz Schwarz (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2009), 160–172.


39. Curiously, Mário sent Marinetti a copy of *Paulicéia desvairada* shortly after it was published. However, when Marinetti visited Brazil on a lecture tour in 1926, Mário snubbed him. See Jeffrey T. Schnapp and João Cezar de Castro Rocha, “BrazilianVelocities: On Marinetti’s 1926 Trip to South America,” *South Central Review* 13, nos. 2/3 (1996): 105–156.

40. Fernando Goes makes this claim in “História da Paulicéia desvairada,” *Revista do Arquivo Municipal* (1946): 95. Critics continue to repeat it, though surely the affair would have caused less scandal if Mário had simply not responded. I suspect this reflects the desire to see Mário as a victim, an image he himself often fostered.

41. Oswald de Andrade, “O meu poeta futurista.”


46. Telê Ancona Lopez refers to the harlequin as a *traje teórico*—a theoretical garment or suit—and connects this motif to cubism and Dadaism. “Arlequim e modernidade,” in *Mariodeandradiando* (São Paulo: HUCITEC, 1996), 17–83.


48. José Miguel Wisnik, “Machado maxixe: O caso Pestana,” in *Sem receita: Ensaios e canções* (São Paulo: PubliFolha, 2004), 64. This quote is particularly apt evidence of the connection among racial mixture, music, and the “secret” since it refers to a story by Machado de Assis about a musician who specializes in the popular genre known as maxixe.


51. References to the bandeirantes were common among São Paulo boosters, including Oswald and Mário de Andrade (though in Mário’s case they often have an ironic edge). See Saulo Gouveia, *The Triumph of Brazilian Modernism: The Metanarrative of Emancipation and Counter-Narratives* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).


53. A *fancaria* is a factory where cotton textiles are produced (so this is probably a jab at the cheap material used in the costumes), but it can also signify anything prefabricated, of poor quality, and made purely for profit.


55. The maxixe (sometimes referred to as the Brazilian tango) is a popular, urban dance that originated in Rio in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and became popular for a while in the United States. It is usually said to have developed out of a mix of European dances (i.e., polka) and an Afro-Brazilian dance, the *lundu*. 
56. For a cultural history of the city of São Paulo during the 1920s that also draws on operatic metaphors, see Nicolau Sevcenko, *Orfeu extático na metrópole: São Paulo, sociedade e cultura nos frementes anos 20* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1992).


59. In colonial times *entradass* were the state-sponsored correlate to the *bandeiras*: whereas the bandeiras were private enterprises that prospected for minerals and captured indigenous slaves, the entradas were excursions intended to expand the Brazilian territory in the name of the Portuguese Crown.


62. See Jorge Schwartz, *Caixa modernista* (São Paulo: Edusp, Imprensa Oficial, Governo do Estado de São Paulo, 2003), for the program and exhibition catalogue. In an article published the day of the talk, Menotti del Picchia (writing as Hélios) stated that Mário would proclaim “infernal things about the amazing creations of the futurist painters, justifying the canvases that have caused so much scandal and shouting in the ball of the Municipal.” See his “Chronica social: A segunda batalha,” *Correio Paulistano*, February 15, 1922. Months afterward, in a Belgian journal, Sérgio Milliet would recall Mário “with his beautiful head like that of a beardless apostle, tall and svelte, round eyeglasses and bald head, explaining, over heckles and sarcastic comments, theories of modern art and affirming with a strong voice amidst the booing, ‘the old ones will die, sirs.’ ” See his “Une semaine d’art moderne à São Paulo (Les arts plastiques),” *Lumière* 3, no. 7 (April 15, 1922).

63. The claim that Mário read parts of *A escrava* is repeated in countless academic articles, dissertations, and websites. It seems to have originated with Telê Ancona Lopez, the official curator of his archive at the Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros for many years and author of numerous studies about his work. In her chronology of his career, which has been reprinted in several publications, she speculates that he most likely read an initial version of *A escrava*, which had already been announced in the journal *Klaxon* under the title *A poesia moderna*. See the year 1922 in “Cronologia,” in *Eu sou trezentos, sou trezentos-e-cincoenta: Uma “autobiografia” de Mário de Andrade* (São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo, Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, 1992).


66. See the introduction for my discussion of Trotsky’s critique of the Russian futurists and his conception of relative autonomy.

67. Aracy A. Amaral, for instance, includes a reproduction of the image and describes its formal characteristics in detail without speculating on its significance in her *Artes plásticas na Semana de 22* (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1970), 142.
68. The second Tenentes’ Revolt, often seen as a precursor to the Revolution of 1930, began in São Paulo on July 5, 1924, and sparked uprisings in other cities. After briefly securing control of São Paulo, the main forces withdrew into the interior and waged a guerrilla campaign known as “The Long March” for the next three years under the leadership of Miguel Costa and Luís Carlos Prestes. Prestes later became a prominent figure in the Brazilian Communist Party.

69. Brandão, Teatro Municipal, 46.

70. All page numbers for quotations in both English and Portuguese are from the bilingual version of the text (with translation by Tomlins) in Hallucinated City, 77–99.

71. Mário de Andrade, “Notas de Arte Moderna,” A Gazeta (São Paulo), February 7, 1922.


78. Theodor Adorno, In Search of Wagner, trans. Rodney Livingstone (London: Verso, 2005). Adorno explains that Walther von Stolzing “wishes to re-establish the old feudal immediacy, as opposed to the bourgeois division of labor enshrined in the guilds” (83). As a result of their reconciliation, “bourgeois innovation and archaic regression meet in the phantasmagoria” (84).

79. Martin Puchner, Stage Fright: Modernism, Anti-Theatricality, and Drama (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 15.

80. One possibility would be to perform As enfibraturas as a radio play, which was apparently done in 1942 to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the Week of Modern Art. See Otávio de Freitas Júnior, letter to Mário de Andrade, March 11, 1942, MA-C-CPL3193, Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, Universidade de São Paulo.

81. In particular, see Nick Salvato, Uncloseting Drama: American Modernism and Queer Performance (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2010).

82. Although he does not relate it to the “split” form of the oratorio, Justin Read notes the gender ambiguity of My Madness in Modern Poetics and Hemispheric American Cultural Studies (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 82.

83. “The area quickly became a meeting ground for men interested in same-sex erotic activity. . . . Propriety and impropriety, bourgeois respectability and erotic
homosociability coexisted precariously in this urban landscape.” Green, *Beyond Carnival*, 94.

84. Andrade, “O movimento modernista,” 231–232. Note again that Mário states that his speech was about “plastic arts,” which suggests it was not an early version of *The Slave That Is Not Isaura*.


86. Love, *Feeling Backward*, 64.


Chapter 5

1. Ignácio Loyola de Brandão, *Teatro Municipal de São Paulo: Grandes momentos* (São Paulo: Dórea Books and Art, 1993), 44. Caruso performed seven operas at the Theatro Municipal de São Paulo during the 1917 season. He also performed in Rio de Janeiro, though neither he nor Sarah Bernhardt ever performed at the Teatro Amazonas.


4. Although I do not address this in the chapter, there are interesting similarities between Mário’s works and the scripts/dramatic outlines for operas and ballets that Cuban writer Alejo Carpentier (also a musicologist) wrote at this very same time. His works were also not performed (though the music was). See Mareia Quintero Rivera, “Relecturas de lo popular: Ópera y ballet en la obra de Mário de Andrade y Alejo Carpentier,” *Revista Iberoamericana* 217 (October–December 2006): 867–882.

5. Esther Gabara, *Errant Modernism: The Ethos of Photography in Mexico and Brazil* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2008), 36–45. Gabara also connects Mário’s “errancy” to Schwarz’s notion of ideas out of place, but her embrace of Mário’s “critical nationalism” overlooks some of its more troubled aspects and (in my view) makes the very move that Schwarz critiques.


19. The lundu and modinha were popular genres that had gained favor among the Brazilian elite. (The lundu, also a dance, has obvious African influences whereas the modinha evolved out of European forms.) Details about Figner’s early recordings and his itinerary come from Franceschi, *A Casa Edison e seu tempo* (Rio de Janeiro: Sarapuí, 2002), 17–22, and *Registro sonoro*, 15–17. Süsskind cites a newspaper article about the anti-Republican speech in her *Cinematograph of Words*, 34.


23. The word “phonograph” originally referred to machines that played cylinders (which were eventually phased out), but in practice it was often used as a synonym for “gramophone” (a term more common in Britain).


31. Victor ads appeared in newspapers, some of which featured an entire page on the industry by the late 1920s, and in magazines such as *O Malho* and
Fon-Fon. Until the late 1920s almost all recordings listed were of classical music or opera.

34. Blackface minstrelsy was not unknown in Brazil, though it does not appear to have been a well-established genre. In his essay “Lundu do escravo” (1928), Mário tells of a white circus clown named Antoninho Correia who blacked up to perform a lundu about a slave. In Música, doce música (São Paulo: Martins, 1963), 74–80.
37. “Propaganda carnavalesco,” an editorial in the February 28, 1931, issue of Phono-arte, mentions that Victor had started this practice the year before and repeated it, with Columbia following its lead.
44. Pronominare (Oswald de Andrade), “Uma adesão que não nos interessa,” Revista de Antropofagia, June 12, 1929.
45. See “Os três sargentos” (April 14, 1929) and “Miss Macunaíma” (June 26, 1929).
47. O turista aprendiz includes Mário’s diary of his journey and the newspaper chronicles he wrote for the Diário Nacional during his second “ethnographic voyage” to northeastern Brazil. See Fernando Fonseca Pacheco, “Archive and Newspaper as Media in Mário’s Ethnographic Journals,” Hispanic Review 84, no. 2 (Spring 2016): 171–190; Gabara, Errant Modernism.


50. Paulo Duarte, Mário de Andrade por ele mesmo (São Paulo: HUCITEC, 1977), 49–50. Among others Duarte cites as frequent attendees at these gatherings are the singer Elsie Houston, her husband Benjamin Péret (a French surrealist), and Paulo Ribeiro de Magalhães. Mário later recalled the initial meetings as “almost exclusively a repetition of the Week of Modern Art,” though he remained silent and “immensely insulated” as others discussed politics. O empalhador de passarinho (São Paulo: Livraria Martins, 1948), 24.


53. Mário de Andrade, “O phonographo,” Diário Nacional, February 24, 1928. At this point Mário apparently had no access to a phonograph either at home or at the conservatory.

54. This was the Discoteca di Stato, now called Instituto Centrale per i Beni Sonori ed Audiovisivi.

55. Roquette-Pinto, a physician who taught courses on anthropology at the National Museum, made recordings of the Nambikwara and Parecis in 1912 while on an expedition led by the army engineer and explorer Cândido Rondon. Roquette-Pinto also founded the first radio station in Brazil in 1923.


58. The critic and folklorist Antônio Bento de Araujo Lima tried to help Mário acquire a sufficiently small and cheap phonograph in Rio before his trip to the Northeast. See his letters to Mário dated April 18, 1928 (MA-C-CPL4067), and May 27, 1928 (MA-C-CPL4068). The poet Jorge de Lima in Maceió (a city Mário visited on his trip) suggested that he might be able to find an apparelho registrador (presumably a phonograph) when he arrived. See his letter to Mário dated February 15, 1929, MA-C-CPL4150, IEB.

59. Mário’s record collection is now part of his archive at the Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros (IEB). For an inventory of his “popular” discs, including his annotations and related references in his writings, see Toni, A música popular na vitrola de Mário de Andrade. Another useful source that includes many references to Mário is Camila Koshiba Gonçalves, Música em 78 rotações: “Discos a todos os preços” na São Paulo dos anos 30 (São Paulo: Alameda, 2013).

60. Paulo Ribeiro de Magalhães, letter to Mário de Andrade, November 6, 1930, MA-C-CPL4414, IEB. Cornélio Pires served as a mediator between musicians and the industry and helped to establish música caipira (roughly equivalent to hillbilly music) as a commercial genre.

61. Paulo Ribeiro de Magalhães, letter to Mário de Andrade, August 5, 1931, MA-C-CPL4427, IEB.


64. See, for instance, Bryan McCann’s excellent *Hello, Hello Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004), 16. In stressing Mário’s opposition to the industry (which was quite true in his later years), McCann points to the chronicle “Música popular,” which he dates to the late 1920s, but the text (which I discuss at the end of this chapter) is actually from 1939.


67. In 1931, Mário published several chronicles in the *Diário Nacional* criticizing the poor quality of the Rádio Educadora Paulista’s programming, and he was averse to the Vargas government’s propagandistic use of radio. At certain points he did express an interest in the democratizing potential of radio (as in his chronicle “A língua radiofônica” from 1940), and in 1936, as director of São Paulo’s Department of Culture, he oversaw plans for a Rádio-Escola (Radio-School) that would broadcast concerts from the Theatro Municipal and play recordings from the department’s archive of recordings; Mário himself, however, was opposed to the Rádio-Escola, and it never came to pass. See his letter to Paulo Duarte dated April 3, 1938, in Duarte, *Mário de Andrade por ele mesmo*, 159.


70. Andrade, “Carnaval tá ahi.”


77. *Esquisito* and its English cognate “exquisite” obviously share the same etymology, and it is worth noting that the latter was used as a synonym for “foppish” or “dandyish” in the early twentieth century.

78. Schwarz, “As idéias fora do lugar,” 159.

79. Oscar Lorenzo Fernández, letter to Mário de Andrade, December 4, 1927, MA-C-CPL2706, IEB.

80. Mário de Andrade, “Ópera em seis quadros,” unpublished manuscript, MA-MMA-087, IEB.
81. Heitor Villa-Lobos, letter to Mário de Andrade, December 25, 1928, MA-C-CPL6994, IEB.


86. Lindolfo Gomes, “Uma das de Pedro Malasarte,” in *Contos populares colhidos da tradição oral em Minas por Lindopho Gomes* (Juiz de Fora: Dias Cardoso, 1918), 109–111.

87. Luis Quintanilla, letter to Mário de Andrade, September 30, 1928, MA-C-CPL6032, IEB.

88. There are two extant manuscripts of the libretto in Mário’s archive. The first is handwritten; the second is the typed version, which includes his very light edits. The most significant change is a change in the subtitle from “Opera cómica em 1 ato” to “Opera bufa em um ato / texto regional.” Here I quote from the published version that is based on Mário’s typewritten manuscript. Mário de Andrade, “Malazarte,” *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros* 33 (1992): 59–67.


91. Guarnieri and Lamberto Baldi thought that limiting the action to the inside of the house was “undramatic,” and when Pedro Malazarte was finally staged in 1952, the stage was divided, with the interior of the house on one side and on the other a terreiro de São João, or place where rituals for the São João festival are held. This is where the ciranda took place (with the actor-singers visible to the audience). See Eurico Nogueira França, “A primeira audição universal de ‘Pedro Malazarte,’ de Camargo Guarnieri,” *Correio da Manhã* (Rio de Janeiro), May 25, 1952.


94. See Miceli, “Mário de Andrade,” for a succinct analysis of the role of Mário and his intellectual colleagues in the Revolução Constitucionalista.

95. In 1938, Vargas removed the mayor of São Paulo (Fábio Prado) from his post, and Mário was called on to participate in the creation of the Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional. Accounts of his early death often link


Chapter 6
5. See Paul Ryder, “The Living Theater in Brazil,” *TDR* 15, no. 3 (Summer 1971): 20–29, for photos and statements by the directors Julian Beck and Judith Malina.


16. Oswald de Andrade would later depict the aftermath of this event in his 1943 novel A Revolução Melancólica, which was intended to be the first of five novels imagined as murals like those of the Mexican muralists, particularly David Alfaro Siqueiros.

17. Vargas surrendered power in 1945 while facing a military coup. He was elected to the presidency in 1951 and served until August 24, 1954, when he committed suicide in the face of opposition from army officers.


25. This is my translation from the Portuguese (“ser pelo menos, casaca de ferro na Revolução Proletária”) from the preface to Serafim Ponte Grande (São Paulo, 1933), 9. “Casaca de ferro” can also refer to a naval soldier, and the published translation by Jackson and Bork renders it as “Knight in Armor,” but this overlooks the circus metaphors in the text, which quite clearly suggest it signifies a roustabout.


33. See Jairo Severiano, Getúlio Vargas e a música popular (Rio de Janeiro: Editora da Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 1983). This is not to say, however, that the Vargas regime was able to control samba; for an account that emphasizes its subversive elements, see Bryan McCann, Hello, Hello Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004).


35. This parallels the processes occurring in Germany and Italy, but also (as Giorgio Agamben argues) in liberal democratic regimes, where the right of the sovereign to declare a state of exception became normalized as a paradigm of government during this era. Agamben, State of Exception, trans. Kevin Attell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).


37. For the artist’s own account and analysis of the event, see Flávio de Carvalho, Experiência No. 2 (São Paulo: Irmãos, 1931).


39. The details in this paragraph come from the chronology of CAM’s activities in J. Toledo, Flávio de Carvalho: O comedor de emoções (São Paulo: Brasilense, 1994), and are confirmed by articles in newspapers including the Correio de São Paulo, Folha da Noite, and Diário da Noite.


42. On Integralismo see Rosa Maria Feitinho Cavallari, Integralismo: Ideologia e organização de um partido de massa no Brasil (1932–1937) (Bauru: Editora da Universidade do Sagrado Coração, 1999).

43. See Mário de Andrade, “Kaethe Kollwitz,” Diário de São Paulo, June 9, 1933; and Mário Pedroso, “As tendencias sociais da arte e Käthe Kollwitz,” O Homem Livre, July 2, 1933; July 8, 1933; July 17, 1933; and July 24, 1933.

44. On this history and the archive see No coração das trevas: O DEOPS/SP visto por dentro (São Paulo: Arquivo do Estado/Imprensa Oficial, 2001).
45. Unsigned and undated memo to Dr. A Caiuby, Delegado da Ordem Social, Prontuário DEOPS-SP 2241 (Clube dos Artistas Modernos), Arquivo do Estado de São Paulo, São Paulo. The accompanying article is from the Diário da Noite. Note: At the time I consulted the DEOPS files the numbering of the individual documents within folders was irregular or nonexistent. All DEOPS documents cited below are at the Arquivo do Estado de São Paulo.

46. It is possible the mole was Rolando Henrique Guarany, who is cited in many DEOPS reports as an antifascist leader, but one assumes (perhaps mistakenly) that an undercover agent would be more discreet.

47. Document titled “Relatório reservado: Club dos Artistas Modernos, rua Pedro lessa, n. 2,” July 18, 1933, Prontuário DEOPS-SP 2241.

48. Toledo, Flávio de Carvalho, 134.

49. Unsigned and undated report to Dr. A. Caiuby, D. D. Delegado da Ordem Social, Prontuário DEOPS-SP 2241.

50. “A arte proletária, brilhante conferencia da pintora sra. Tarsila do Amaral no Clube dos Artistas Modernos” (clipping from unidentified newspaper attached to document cited in note 57 above), Prontuário DEOPS-SP 2241.

51. See note 49 just above.

52. Report by Reservado J. de Moraes, November 29, 1933, Prontuário DEOPS-SP 2241.


54. Report by Guarany, August 4, 1933, Prontuário DEOPS-SP 2241.

55. Unsigned report to Exmo. Snr. Doutor Chefe do Gabinete de Investigações, August 23, 1933, Prontuário DEOPS-SP 2241.

56. Teatro de Brinquedo was founded by Álvaro and Eugénia Moreyra in 1927. It lasted for only a few months, but the following year the group also performed at the Theatro Municipal in São Paulo with Flávio de Carvalho as one of its participants.

57. Toledo, Flávio de Carvalho, 177.


59. Excerpts from the license application are reprinted in Carvalho, “A epopeia do Teatro da Experiência,” RASM–Revista Anual do Salão de Maio 1 (May 1939). Carvalho doesn’t mention the TotalTheater, or any other artistic influences, but he was probably familiar with Piscator and Gropius: the Bauhaus artists were a significant influence on modernista architects in Brazil, and CAM had a close affiliation with Theodor Heuberger, a German known for his role in popularizing the Bauhaus style in Brazil.

60. These details come from Toledo, Flávio de Carvalho, 179–180.

61. Flávio de Carvalho later claimed the line of attendees stretched for more than 150 meters down the street. See his “Recordação do Clube dos Artistas Modernos,” RASM–Revista Anual do Salão de Maio 1 (May 1939): 38.

62. Report by Mário de Souza, September 18, 1933, Prontuário DEOPS-SP 2241.

63. Report (“Informe Reservado”) by Guarany, September 19, 1933, Prontuário DEOPS-SP 2241.

64. Toledo, Flávio de Carvalho, 180.

66. Reports identify the anarchist Aristides Lobo as the main ringleader of the antifascists and also cite the anarchist shoemaker Pedro Catallo; both also appear in reports on CAM. See also “A manifestação anti-integralista do dia 14 de novembro,” *O Homem Livre*, November 20, 1933.

67. “O Theatro da Experiência às voltas com a policia!” *O Dia* (São Paulo), November 17, 1933.


71. The Frente Negra Brasileira (Brazilian Black Front) started in São Paulo, with chapters later forming in several other cities. The political orientation of its members was far from uniform, as evidenced by the split between its two most prominent leaders: Arlindo Veiga dos Santos was a conservative nativist who expressed support for Hitler and the Brazilian Integralists, whereas José Correia Leite moved increasingly toward international socialism and pan-Africanism. See Paulina L. Alberto, *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 110–150.


73. Report from Delegado de Costumes Costa Netto to Ignacio da Costa Ferreira (D.D. Delegado de Ordem Social), November 28, 1933, Prontuário DEOPS-SP 2241. The Russian play is identified as *Esperança* (Hope) and its author as Nicolaieff.

74. Mimeograph of letter from Delegado de Ordem Social to Exmo. snr. Dr. Costa Netto (D.D. Delegado de Costumes), December 1, 1933, Prontuário DEOPS-SP 2241.

75. See “O Theatro da Experiência condemnado de morte pela policía de costumes,” *O Dia*, December 6, 1933; and “A policia impediu a realização do espetáculo do Theatro de Experiência,” in *Folha da Manhã*, December 10, 1933.

76. There were even some short-lived “all-mulatto” and “all-black” revista companies. On teatro de revista and the “massification” of social identity in Rio, see Tiago de Melo Gomes, *Um espelho no palco: Identidades sociais e massificação da cultura no teatro de revista dos anos 1920* (Campinas: Editora da Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2004).


80. Andrade, O homem e o cavalo, 26.


83. Andrade, Seraphim Grosse Point, 3.

84. See Boris Groys, The Total Art of Stalinism: Avant-Garde, Aesthetic Dictatorship, and Beyond (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), for the provocative (and to my mind simplistic) claim that “under Stalin the dream of the avant-garde was in fact fulfilled and the life of society was organized in monolithic artistic forms, though of course not those that the avant-garde itself had favored.” In other words, socialist realism was the result of the “internal logic” of the avant-garde itself (9).


86. The line is from a 1929 speech by Antônio Carlos Ribeiro de Andrada, president of the state of Minas Gerais and a future leader of the Revolution of 1930.

87. The leftist journal O Homem Livre frequently referred to Barroso as “Gustavinho da Garapa.” Garapa is sugarcane juice, and the epithet is probably a comment on his syrupy, sentimental writing style.

88. “‘Coisas de negro’ no Theatro da Experiencia,” Diário da Noite, December 7, 1933.


91. J. Toledo notes that those who protested CAM’s closure included Victoria Ocampo (the Argentine founder of Sur) as well as international collaborators such as Waldo Frank, Alfonso Reyes, and José Ortega y Gasset. He also cites an article criticizing CAM’s closure in the Buenos Aires newspaper Crítica. See Toledo, Flávio de Carvalho, 210.


93. Toledo, Flávio de Carvalho, 169–170.

94. Toledo, Flávio de Carvalho, 211. The last DEOPS report on CAM is about a meeting held on January 9, 1934, at which two members of the directorate expressed their resolution to stand strong and keep the club open. Report by Guarany, January 11, 1934, DEOPS-SP Prontuário 2241.

95. Patrícia Galvão (Pagu), letter to Oswald de Andrade, OA-02-2-00257, Acervo Oswald de Andrade, Centro de Documentação IEL-UNICAMP, Universidade de Campinas.


97. Oswald mentions Putnam’s plans in “Bilhetinho a Paulo Emílio.” The translation/loose adaptation, titled “Horse and the Man: A Mythological-Historical Extravaganza, with a Meaning for These Times,” is in Special Collections, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale.