

The Afterlives of Chico Rei

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In Daniela Bleichmar's study of catalogues and inventories of *Wunderkammern* (cabinets of curiosities), she contends that these early modern collections, which are also the origins of the modern museum, displayed the geographical reaches of power, knowledge and wealth that the collector had acquired. The collections transported knowledge across borders and became a way for Europeans to observe and learn about other cultures. However, knowledge was constructed around slippery and imprecise descriptions given to these objects. For example, "India or China did not stand for specific geographic locations but for an exotic origin that was hard to pin down, remained unspecific, and could mutate unexpectedly" (Bleichmar 19). Rather than having a focus on the specific object, the collections became a space for a particular kind of viewing and narrative that changed according to the protocols of the guided visit. How the material object acquired a transformed meaning had to do with the strategies of display. Meaning shifted depending on who was doing the interpreting. Cultural materials were reordered, regrouped and, in the process, they lost geographical specificity. Their original meaning was emptied and the objects became vessels to construct new narratives. Benjamin Schmidt's analysis of the migrating meaning of parasol imagery demonstrates that mobility and circulation softened the original meaning. He contends, "exotic icons are performative" (Schmidt 34). Performative interpretation is made possible due to the trans-media spaces that "spectralize" the thing. Jacques Derrida's concept of spectrality refers to a representation that is always mediating. It enables "an interpretation that transforms the very thing it interprets" (Derrida 64). Trans-media spaces are performative in the sense that they dislodge geographical specificity and rely on the act of interpretation, which transforms what is interpreted.

During the early modern period, the global circulation of iconic objects, such as the parasol, transformed their meaning due to the practices of display and interpretation that spectralized or abstracted objects from any real geographical place and framed them within a new space and narrative. Bleichmar and Schmidt have analyzed how these mobile circuits and the transference of iconic imagery across media unfixed cultural specificity for the objects on display. European ways of seeing made legible, in European terms, narratives that were intended for a European audience. This strategy of seeing and display privileged European forms of knowing, since it ignored the historical and geographical specificity of what was actually being observed. Guided visits to cabinets of curiosities followed protocols of displaying and seeing that supposed a certain type of specialized knowledge over the objects and, by extension, the subjects who used those objects. The guide created a narrative that assumed knowledge over the object that was being looked at, and implied European imperial domination over the colonies that these objects represented. However, just as the global flow of material culture destabilized cultural meaning and presented a way of seeing based on European epistemology, the same strategies of seeing and display were utilized by captive and freed people in the Americas who were also able to take advantage of the globalization of cultural and religious material culture to negotiate new cultural and political identities in the Americas. The focus of this study is the ways in which performative interpretation of trans-media iconography functioned

within the institution of slavery and in the religious practices of the brotherhood of the Rosary of the Church of Santa Efigênia in Ouro Preto, Brazil.

This article analyzes the way that subordinated groups engaged in ways of seeing that were reflective of early modern forms of globalization, where mobility unfixed geographical specificity of cultural objects, enabling different interpretations based on newfound juxtapositions. It examines the religious art and architecture found inside the Nossa Senhora do Rosário, do Alto da Cruz do Padre Faria, commonly known as the Igreja de Santa Efigênia in Ouro Preto, Brazil. The religious iconography, images and performances that I will examine are representative of different cultural and religious traditions. However, I argue that when viewed together in the space of the Church of Santa Efigênia, they are used to tell narratives in a way that is comparable to the protocols of visit to the Wunderkammers, which depended on strategies of display and performative interpretation for meaning making. The type of visit determined the kind of meaning available.

In the study of the parallels between culture and memory, Macarena Gómez-Barris locates collective memory in shared resources. She defines culture as the process of meaning-making that is enacted in symbolic repertoire and points out that it creates the terrain onto which meaning is constantly under negotiation. Gómez-Barris evokes the term "afterlife" to discuss memory and culture in terms of their tangible, psychological and material manifestations that attest to the ongoing persistence of violence in the psychic and social lives of those who have lived through political violence (6). The afterlives of Chico Rei that have been monumentalized at the Church of Santa Efigênia reveal layers of contested power. It is a historical archive, performance site, themed attraction for tourism, as well as, memorial and historical monument. In *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, Françoise Choay traces the historical trajectory of the historic monument. Monument and historic monument are distinct she argues. Monuments are raised by the community in order to commemorate or send a message to the future. The construction of a linear notion of time does not exist in the way that it does for the historic monument whose origin does not have a memorial function. Rather it is given one at a later date. The process of preservation is what transforms the relic into a historic monument. Heritage is created through the invention of a unified construction of a distanced past.

The church serves a patriotic function, since during the dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas, figures such as Chico Rei and Aleijadinho (Antônio Francisco Lisboa) became national heroes and symbols of national identity. In 1980, UNESCO inscribed Ouro Preto onto its World Heritage List, making it the first Brazilian city to appear on it. The categorization of the art and architecture as *barroco mineiro*, a delayed form and mixture of European baroque and rococo is used to attract historical tourism. For tourists, a visit up the steep hill that leads to the church provides the opportunity to observe examples of the barroco mineiro and frontispiece sculpted by Aleijadinho. Local residents, further demonstrating the performative interpretations that produce new narratives with each visit, dispute the genre itself. Local tour guides can often be heard explaining to visitors that the term barroco comes from the fact that the church walls are made of *barro oco* (hollow clay). Moreover, the active mining industries continue to be main points of attraction for visitors and business people alike, who have taken up temporary and at times extended lodging in Ouro Preto. Aside from its national and economic functions, and international recognition as a World Heritage site, the annual Festival of the Rosary and *congado* do Chico Rei that begins at the Church of Santa Efigênia reinforces the physical place as a sacred space.¹ The festas do congado that occur throughout the state of Minas Gerais are performative acts of reclaiming public space. Gathering in historically charged and traumatic spaces such as *pelourinhos* (sites of public punishment) and emptied goldmines, congados performatively enact the social memory of forced diasporas whose homeland reimaginings are also rooted in the passage to slavery.

To begin, I will discuss Iberian-Catholic power relations through analyzing the rhetorical regime of the *Theatrum Sacrum* (sacred theater). I will then examine the cult of Santa Efigênia and the popular canonization of Chico Rei, and the subversive strategies that worked within and against the Iberian-Catholic slave-society to redefine relations of power. For the confraternity that formed the church, the space related the hegemonic relationship between empire and colony, as well as freedom and enslavement. Religious references came from forced geographical movements that shaped the significance of newfound locations and juxtapositions. Under the Iberian-Catholic regime, not only was the proof of Christian lineage a matter of life and death, but so was the proof of Catholic devotion since, with the Counter-Reformation, the decrees of the Council of Trent (1545–1563) transformed religious orders into a political structure of domination whose goal was to eradicate Protestant and Machiavellian elements from the Iberian Peninsula. Niccolò Machiavelli's political treatise *Il Principe* (1513) was the first philosophical work that separated politics from ethics through arguing that power was not natural, but born from brute force. A new type of man was needed to unify Rome and this man would have the virtues of a lion, representing force, decisiveness and strength, and the qualities of a fox, symbolizing acuteness and perspicacity. The new prince would be cruel and punishing but would appear to be "merciful, faithful, humane, upright, and religious" (Machiavelli XVIII). The practice of appearances separated politics from ethics and morality. The philosophy was fundamentally atheist--negating the existence of God and further claiming that God was not necessary--and thus it was taken as a direct attack on the Catholic Church.

In 1517, Martin Luther posted a series of petitions against Rome and accused the Church of widespread corruption. With the advent of the Gutenberg Press, which allowed for the mass printing of the Bible, Luther proclaimed that neither the Church nor the clergy were necessary, because anyone could have a direct relationship with God through reading the Bible. Luther and other reformers proclaimed that power came directly from God, who then chose kings to bring order to the anarchy of men corrupted by Original Sin. The teachings of Machiavelli and Martin Luther were, thus, direct attacks on the Church and Rome. Machiavelli negated the actual existence and need for God and Martin Luther claimed that the intermediary position of the Pope and the Church were not necessary. The Catholic Church fought against the Protestant and Machiavellian teachings, mainly through the efforts of the Jesuits. The Catholic Church taught that God was the origin of power, the *causa universalis*, or universal cause of nature and history, but not the direct effect of them. For Iberian Catholicism, power was born out of a societal contract that was transmitted through the Church. During the Inquisition, anyone found with a Bible was considered a Lutheran, and thus, an enemy of the Catholic Church. The Inquisition fostered an illiterate society in Portuguese and Spanish America. When the decrees of the Council of Trent became Portuguese laws, which the Jesuits played a key role in spreading, the edicts came to govern every aspect of society, including art, architecture, painting, music, etc. Sacred art and architecture, in their form, displayed the *corpo místico* (spiritual body) of the Portuguese Empire, where society was a political body that was subordinated to its head (the king). The *Theatrum Sacrum* was the conjunction of the way that the Church fought Protestant reformation and Machiavellian ideology through staging, painting, imaginary, sculpture, music and architecture. The Church was the setting for the theatricalization of political power.² All artistic production had to conform to preexisting authoritative models referred to as the rhetorical regime, or mimesis, of the works of antiquity. Ingenuity was measured in terms of how accurately the artistic representation referenced its model. Invention referred to the ability to imitate classical models with a slight variation. Imitation, rather than individualism, was acclaimed.³ Under the Inquisitorial watch of the Church, there was no concept of autonomy or originality and all were subordinated to conform to the rhetorical regime. However, the Church could not fully control all forms of mimesis, since the colonial concept of ingenuity tolerated a space for invention, albeit in reference to a model. Furthermore, it was even

more difficult to control symbols that were visually the same but charged with meanings that differed according to the viewer's interpretation.

The cult of Efigênia attests to a long Catholic lineage that dates to Biblical times. Hagiographies of Santa Efigênia indicate that she was a princess in the Nubian region who reigned over what today encompasses Egypt, the Sudan and Ethiopia. The apostle Matthew converted the princess to Christianity. Efigênia's iconographic statements, in particular, the *manta* (cloak) and the black and white habit are references to the Carmelites, descendants of the Israelites from the area of Mount Carmel. This story gives the worshippers of Santa Efigênia dos Carmelitas claims to Christian origins that began in Africa during the time of the New Testament. During her evangelical efforts, a plague swept through the region. The non-Christian priests believed that they could placate the disease by sacrificing Efigênia to appease the gods. Efigênia was tied to a stake and would be burned alive. However, when the fire was lit, she proclaimed the name of Jesus. In doing so, an angel appeared and saved the princess. On the same day, her brother, Prince Efrônio, fell gravely ill. The emperor allowed Matthew to visit Efrônio and in so doing, Matthew laid his healing hands upon him and cured him of disease. From the miracles that he witnessed that day, the emperor became a believer and allowed Christianity to be spread throughout the land. Efigênia decided to consecrate her virginity to God and continued to spread the gospel (de Lima Junior 85-95).

The saint is also a symbol of patriarchal resistance and socioeconomic empowerment. Deolinda Alice Dos Santos's decades-long anthropological and participant study of festivals in Minas Gerais has found that in the oral tradition, Efigênia is the defender of women who are forced into marriage and she is also the caretaker of those who need assistance in purchasing private and domestic real estate. Anderson José M. de Oliveira has found that the cult of Santa Efigênia grew out of cultural codes that people of Western Africa practiced in the homeland that were then recreated in the "New World" in the setting of captivity. He demonstrates that Santa Efigênia gained popularity over other contemporary black saints such as São Elesbão due to gendered associations common among Yoruba and Esan cultures that viewed women as the protectors and providers of the household and community. Along these lines, Joseph Roach has observed that "any public market becomes a site of cultural self-invention, exchange, and performance" (64). In Brazil, African and Afro-Brazilian women created small economies by working as street vendors in self-created public markets. The entrepreneurial acts placed women of color in positions that were more autonomous than those of European women during the same period.

Another example of religious iconography found in the Church of Santa Efigênia that prevents a fixed possibility of interpretation is not attributed to Christian origins, but rather to African religions. Due to the lacuna of historical documentation about the construction of the church, Lázaro Francisco da Silva's study of the Church of Santa Efigênia brings together different methodologies to make sense of the missing pieces. Interviews with local residents and meticulous comparative archival work between the Church of Santa Efigênia and other brotherhoods of the Rosary make apparent the significant role that these brotherhoods held in society. Through analyzing church archival documents such as *o Compromisso, Justificações e Requerimentos, o Livro de Admissão*, and *Os Atos da Mesa* alongside oral tradition and visual iconography, Silva contends that the Catholic saints are also religious deities from Western African religions. Santa Efigênia is also Oxum, São Benedito references Urumilá, Santa Barbara is Iansã, and São Jerônimo is Xangô (Silva 74). However, at the same time that religious icons represent African deities, they also uphold Christian symbolism. For example, seashells and sea motifs are also used to reference the Virgin Mary, the Star of the Sea. These competing explanations have been debated in scholarship. Gavin Alexander Bailey's in-depth study, *The Andean Hybrid Baroque* (2010) problematizes the concept of mestizo architecture. He does not agree that it was a misinterpreted style of European art, but rather argues that the indigenous impact on Latin American art has been overlooked in academic studies.

Bailey's contention could be applied similarly to the Church of Santa Efigênia and used to further a conceptualization of different modes of seeing that depend on the viewer to perform the role of interpreting.

Besides the contesting iconography found inside the Church of St. Efigênia, archival manuscripts showed that the confraternity actively refused to accept the Igreja do Pilar as the Igreja Matriz, an act that asserted Santa Efigênia as a church and not a chapel. The demand to be recognized as a church is a mode of proof that the confraternity wanted autonomy through the recognition that they were economically responsible for the construction of the church and did not receive help from the Igreja do Pilar. According to historical records, the Church of Santa Efigênia was constructed in the 1730s by the brotherhood of the Rosary, which was composed almost exclusively of freed and captive people from Western Africa. Silva found a copy of the Compromisso (Commitment) written in 1717 where the confraternity formally claimed that they did not receive any type of financial or spiritual support from the parish. Interestingly, since, according to the Bishop, cockroaches ate the original document, in order to attest to the veracity of the copy, three white men gave testimonies and swore their oath on all of the Gospels. Their testimonies were enough to allow the confraternity to begin building the church while they waited for definitive approval from Lisbon. Bureaucratic delays working in their favor, they received a letter from Dona Maria I fifty years later, in 1785, stating that they were denied their claims. However, by that time, the church had already been completed (Silva 73). The accounts of the white men who attested in favor of the brotherhood demonstrate an early example of how people of African and European ancestry may have worked together to oppose the system of slavery.

Even though their claims were denied, this case demonstrates an example in which confraternities such as that of Santa Efigênia worked within the colonial legal system to claim their rights to religious worship. Under the dominant theological and political cultural models of the Portuguese Empire, religious cultural production was an area where power and knowledge could be negotiated. At the same time that cultural production could be subsumed by dominant colonial models, there were symbolic references that escaped complete control, since they depended on the viewer's mode of seeing. Religious objects and material culture were juxtaposed and positioned to tell new narratives of freedom, diaspora and locale. In addition to serving as a space for narrative possibilities, the church provided social and political security. Confraternities promoted social bonds and political alliances. They provided healthcare, disability benefits and burial services for its members and were responsible for raising manumission funds.

Painted on the lining above the main altar of the Church of Santa Efigênia is the image of a black clergyman who is wearing what appears to be either a red cap or head covering. The ambiguity between whether it is a hat or a headscarf makes ambiguous the religious reference that such a prominent article of clothing would normally reference. There is an angel behind his right hand, which is securing a quill pen. His left hand secures a large book, a likely reference to *The Book of Life*. Since his hand is dipping the quill into an inkwell, it implies that we are watching him in action. He is just about to write in *The Book of Life*. Allegorically, it suggests that he has the power to write the members of the brotherhood into the religious system that dictated colonial society in Portuguese America. Three white men are seated around the black bishop. One of them is wearing a miter, which implies that the black clergyman is seated among other high-ranking members of the clergy (see figure one).

According to the oral tradition of Ouro Preto, the painting of the black cleric is of Chico Rei, a king from the Congo who had been captured and forced to work in the goldmines of Vila Rica. His triumphant story tells of how captive people were able to earn their freedom and negotiate a place within society through such tactics as the formation of Catholic brotherhoods. During the Carnival of 1964, the samba school Acadêmicos do Salgueiro performed the original samba-enredo

Chico Rei, which they based on the legend of Chico Rei (<http://www.salgueiro.com.br/>). In the samba-enredo written by Fernando Pamplona under the direction of carnavalesco Arlindo Rodrigues, sambistas and musicians recounted the life of Chico Rei through music and dance. According to the lyrics, which continue the same themes and motifs found in the oral tradition, the African king was captured, along with his entire village in the Congo and forced into slavery in the goldmines of Antonio Dias in the Portuguese colony of Vila Rica. The king was baptized Francisco before being forced to cross the middle passage that would take the lives of his wife and entire family, except for his son. The survivors arrived at the port of Rio de Janeiro where Francisco, who later became known as Chico Rei, and his son were sold to a wealthy aristocrat. The latter took them to Vila Rica where gold had been discovered at the end of the seventeenth century (1696-1698). While working in the mines, Chico Rei hid gold inside his nails, the cavities of his teeth and in his hair. He also worked on his free days and eventually was able to save enough to purchase his son's *alforria* (manumission).⁴ Significantly, the *alforria* is always mentioned in the retellings of the story, conveying that liberty can come about through the formation of new communities even while they still reside within a dominating political order. The stories of Chico Rei and Santa Efigênia reveal that they come from separate cultural traditions that originate from different parts of the African continent. However, their newfound juxtaposition in the space of the Church of Santa Efigênia shares the reference to multiple stories of diaspora that converged in a common space and time. Moreover, African religious sects did not require exclusivity. In conjunction with the concept of mimesis that Iberian Catholicism upheld, there was room for invention. Catholic imagery was easily adapted into African religions such as those of Yoruba slaves, who found commonality between the sea motifs that reference the Virgin Mary and the *orixás* Yemanjá and Osun, who possess similar attributes.

A further characteristic that Santa Efigênia and Chico Rei share is that both figures reference the Circumatlantic passage and the imagined diasporic homeland. Joseph Roach's re-conceptualization of the Middle Passage in terms of the Circumatlantic brings together different times and spaces that intertwined on the routes and destinations that would lead to new identity formations and sense of home, or homelessness. Marina de Mello e Souza has shown that the presence of Catholicism in the Congo since the fifteenth century served as a link with the African past that became an important element in the construction of new identities for descendants of the African diaspora to Brazil (*Catholicismo* 125-26). The Portuguese crown's intention of spreading Christianity throughout the Muslim world led to missionary expeditions to the Congo that resulted in conversions such as that of the Manicongo Nzinga Kuwu, who was baptized Dom João in 1491. Baptism also meant that he accepted the alliance with the Portuguese crown. During the reign of Alfonso I (1507-1542) the Congo adopted Catholicism as its official religion. Furthermore, Portugal and Rome officially recognized the Congo as a Christian kingdom. The capital city of the Congo, Banza Congo, was renamed São Salvador and Portuguese hands and materials erected churches there. However, after internal wars and external attacks, the kings returned to practicing a type of Catholicism that was closer to central African religious traditions (*Africa* 53-54).

Rubens Alves da Silva's social anthropological study of the oral tradition of Chico Rei and historian Elizabeth Kiddy's participant research and study on the *festas do congado* have brought together oral tradition and archival documentation to prove a historical linkage between Chico Rei and the *festas do congado* that are prevalent in the Congo region. Elizabeth Kiddy explains,

Leaders or relatives of African leaders did play a role in the colonial black society; blacks entered lay religious brotherhoods and built their own churches; and they did find ways to become free from slavery... Chico Rei, as the King of Congo would later represent the

emergence of a new identity, one made up of shared histories of Africa. (“*Congados, Calunga, Candombé*” 79)

Kiddy contends that the formation of the brotherhoods of the rosary created the sense of belonging and kinship among different ethnic groups from Africa. Participation and active marching/procession through the streets complicate resistance-versus-accommodation dichotomies. I suggest that these acts are not an either/or but rather, they dynamically recall history and actively participate in the creation of collective memory that is sustained in embodied practice including performance and ritual.

In January 2012, over fifty congados gathered in Ouro Preto to participate in the sacred ritual. The different congados distinguish themselves through distinct drumming and beat patterns that overlay each other. The physical march begins at the Church of Santa Efigênia and ends at the Encardideira mine (also known as Chico Rei’s mine). The march is a performative act of claiming the streets and has even led to the main road that led to the church to be renamed, the *Rua de Efigênia* (see figure two). According to Kiddy, the ritual: “Nurtures a link with the unseen world and with ancestors, and care for the recent dead. Slaves, who did not run away, like the legendary Chico Rei, chose to negotiate their way through the system and create a place for themselves within society through their participation in the brotherhoods of Our Lady of the Rosary” (“*Congados, Calunga, Candombé*” 79). Embodied enactment and the physical setting are key aspects of the ritual. The dynamic and symbolic value of the church is demonstrative of the shifting locus of power that structures the uses of the place, allowing it to act like the polyrhythmic beats of the samba of Chico Rei, where many different actors bring multiple pulses to this story.

Stories of Chico Rei and Santa Efigênia exist in oral tradition, folklore, religious artifact, and popular culture such as samba and carnival. These trans-media and trans-spatial stories demonstrate the performative nature of the social memory that relates lived time to collective memory. Ritual and carnival are performances that form part of a repertoire of reenactment that reinforces or renegotiates the historical meanings associated with the church as monument, serving a supplementary function to both memory and history. During the Carnival of 1964, the *Acadêmicos do Sanguêiro* performed the original samba-enredo *Chico Rei*. During that same year, the *golpe de estado* that occurred on March 31 officially marked the start of the eleven-year hiatus of democracy that would be maintained by political violence and a reign of terror. During the years of the military dictatorship (1964-1985), stories of Chico Rei and Santa Efigênia appeared in significant numbers in both literature and popular culture: Agripa Vasconcelos’ *Romance do Ciclo da Escravidão nas Gerais: Chico Rei* (1966); Anajá Caetano’s *Negra Efigêniga Paixão do Senhor Branco* (1966); Cecília Meireles’s poem “Chico Rei Romance” (1977); the play *Chico Rei: A Salamanca do Jarua* (196) by Walmir Ayala; Mario Prata’s screenplay of *Chico Rei* (1985); and the film *Chico Rei* (1985), directed by Walter Lima, Jr. The surge of literary and popular cultural production about Chico Rei and Santa Efigênia during the period of the dictatorship suggests that their allegorical function, as saints that embodied the resistance to oppressive regimes, resonated with contemporary audiences in face of a new period of extreme political oppression. The story that inspired the slew of adaptations conveys the complex relationship between emancipation and freedom. Chico Rei did not rely on outside forces to emancipate him. Rather he attained his own liberty through economic autonomy and community-building within oppressive hegemonic structures.

The cult of Santa Efigênia and the popular canonization of Chico Rei relay multiple political and economic tensions that converged in the physical place of Ouro Preto. In the age of digital media, and shared digital resources, participants of the congados have taken their performances to the internet in the form of online social networks such as blogs, Facebook, YouTube and online forums. The Congada/Congado do Brasil Facebook page had 2,180 members as of June 4th 2012.

Congados from all over Brazil share photographs and digital clips of congados that occur on the same day but in different locations throughout Minas Gerais and beyond. In text boxes, in addition to descriptions of images and clips, people also share song lyrics, prayers and personal messages, allowing the fragments of boxes to serve as new connecting nodes to paths that differentially portray identities —not as fixed— but as constantly in motion. The multiple cultural traditions across trans-media outlets continue to rely on performative interpretation as a vital and dynamic part of cultural production whose strategies of display are no longer a matter of freedom and death, but rather of a politics of memory.



Figure One

Painting above the main altar of the Church of Santa Efigênia.
Photo by Ana Paulina Lee



Figure Two

Exterior view of Church of Santa Efigênia and street placard in homage.
Photo by Ana Paulina Lee

Notes

¹ Elizabeth Kiddy's ethnographic and detailed archival research traces the historical trajectory of the annual festivities of Our Lady of the Rosary to the lay Catholic brotherhoods associated with the namesake. These popular festivals include the crowning of kings and queens (*Reinado*), who are escorted by *congados* to various locations. Congados are "different ritual groups (*guardas* and *ternos*) that participate in the festival of the rosary. Folklorists in Minas Gerais refer to these groups as the "seven brothers," which are named the Candombe, Mozambique, Congo, Caboclo/Caboclinho, Catué/Catopê, Marujo and Vilão... Historically, the groups are referred to as the "ambassadors" to the King of Congo" (*Blacks of the Rosary* 262). They are distinguished by drumming and dance. The festivals take place throughout the state of Minas Gerais and other parts of Brazil.

² João Adolfo Hansen has written prolifically on Iberian-Catholic political and colonial domination. He has argued extensively that the baroque period in Brazil was actually the theatricalization of Iberian-Catholic power during the colonial period. He contends that the *Theatrum Sacrum* was the theatricalization of political power against the non-Catholic world. See Hansen, "Artes seiscentistas e teologia-política" in Tirapeli Percival *Arte Sacra Colonial*. São Paulo: Editora da Unesp, Imprensa Oficial do Estado, 2001. pp. 180-89; "Ratio Studiorum e a política católica ibérica no século XVII" in Vidal, Diana Gonçalves and Hilsdorf, Maria L. Spedo (Eds). *Brasil 500 anos: tópicos em história da educação*. São Paulo: EDUSP, 2001b. pp. 13-41; "Teatro da memória: monumento barroco e retórica". In: *Revista do IFAC*, Ouro Preto, n.2, p. 40-54, dez. 1995.

³ Hansen has demonstrated that the under the *instituição retórica* (rhetorical regime), rhetoric was the art (in the Greek sense) of speaking well. The measure of speaking well was determined by how well the speaker performed a mimesis of the authoritative classical model. Hansen discusses the strategies of the rhetorical regime and the authoritative classical models in great detail in *Alegoria. Construção e interpretação da metáfora*. São Paulo: Hedra Campinas, Editora da Unicamp, 2006.

⁴ Laura de Mello e Souza's important archival work on manumissions has allowed for a more complex look at populations that were neither enslaved nor free, but freed and impoverished. See *Desclassificados do ouro*. Rio de Janeiro: Graal, 1990.

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