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'The Captains of the Sands' and the 'Pirate Ship': Reflections on Forms of Social and Spatial Segregation in Salvador / *'Os Capitães da Areia' e o 'Navio Pirata': reflexões sobre formas de segregação social e espacial em Salvador*

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ABSTRACT
This paper draws a parallel between the song Duas Cidades (2015) by the band Baiana System and the novel Capitães da Areia (1937) by the writer Jorge Amado, in order to spark a discussion on the forms of social and spatial segregation in the city of Salvador, which are made invisible by the idea of happiness that permeates the state of Bahia and are hyperbolized in the capital by the tourism and carnival industries. Drawing on the reflections on representation by historian Roger Chartier (1990), the concept of cultural identity discussed by Stuart Hall (2006), Benedict Anderson (2008), and writings on the city by Renato Cordeiro Gomes (2008) and Jamile Borges Silva (2020), among other references, the text emphasizes how the myth of racial democracy that structures Brazilian and Salvadoran national identity influences the formulation of a local image that neglects the real social issues—such as social and spatial segregation in Salvador. In addition to the social critique, the paper also highlights the importance of the exchanges between literature and history and the selection of distinct texts in structure, but which can converge and complement each other—such as the case of the novel and the song.
KEYWORDS: Salvador; Social and spatial segregation; Representation.

RESUMO
O presente trabalho elabora um paralelo entre a música Duas cidades (2015) da banda BaianaSystem e o romance Capitães da Areia (1937) do escritor Jorge Amado, de modo que suscite uma discussão sobre as formas de segregação social e espacial na cidade de Salvador, que são invisibilizadas pela ideia de felicidade que acomete o estado baiano e são hiperbolizadas na capital pelo mercado turístico e carnavalesco. Apoiado nas reflexões sobre representação do historiador Roger Chartier (1990), no conceito de identidade cultural discutido por Stuart Hall (2006), Benedict Anderson (2008) e em escritas sobre a cidade tecidas por Renato Cordeiro Gomes (2008) e Jamile Borges Silva (2020), dentre outras referências, o texto dá relevo a como o mito da democracia racial que estrutura a identidade nacional brasileira e soteropolitana incide nas formulações de uma imagem local que negligencia cuidados aos reais problemas sociais – a exemplo da segregação social e espacial em Salvador. Além da crítica social, o artigo dá relevo à importância das trocas feitas entre a literatura e a história e a seleção de textos distintos em estruturas, mas que podem convergir e ser uma forma de complemento do outro – caso do romance e da música.
PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Salvador; Segregação social e espacial; Representação.

1 Introduction

In times of political crises, issues concerning identity discussions and the revival of a nationalist sentiment become more prominent. What comes to the forefront is an urgent patriotic behavior in search of a return to harmony, the real 'rights' stolen from citizens, and the nostalgic revival of a time when, mythologically, people lived in a better way. It is possible to identify, therefore, that the notion of national identity goes beyond the mere delimitation of an individual born within a geographical border, but, in addition to that, behaves as a product of a constellation of cultural, sociological, moral,

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and political guidelines, adopted by a community. This does not mean that a particular identity will be fully performed by all citizens, but it will be a foundational reference within a politically institutionalized civility.

In contrast to the discourse advocating for the diminishing of the humanities within the curricula of basic education in Brazil, this writing seeks to illustrate, in a way, the importance of discussions of a more abstract nature, different from the 'hard sciences.' Subtle, yet of robust ingenuity, such as the formulation of cultural identity. The illustration proposed here does not claim to be a totalizing truth and does not aim to do so, but seeks to understand and elaborate on the means, forms, and paths taken by such an abstract concept, which, despite its high level of abstraction, takes the form of an institution that is indispensable to modern social life and helps us interpret the political life of nation-states in different parts of the world and in Brazil.

Cultural identity, despite its lack of concreteness, assumes importance in the life of a person embedded in society. Stuart Hall (2006) confirms that just as we have physical apparatus, we need an identity. It is noted that this constitution occurs through identification, but also through difference, meaning we are Brazilian because we do not belong to another culture – there is a maintenance of the elements that construct this imaginary (temporal distance for recourse to origin myths, the existence of a 'pure' 'octopus,' the valorization of pure language), and the difference between cultural identities is realized through various configurations. This abstract apparatus arises from the human need to belong to a group, which aids in the production of social cohesion. It is configured as a discourse that elaborates, in any individual, a narrative of representation and identification with a symbolic image.

The mentioned device of representation is discussed by Stuart Hall (2006). The author elaborates on the functioning of this symbolic tool and affirms its power by stating that one is not born with Brazilian, Bahian, or English blood, but as one is socially integrated, the individual is led to behave as such. One unconsciously dresses the role. The power of this device is perceived when behavior is recognized as so genuinely Brazilian, or of any other nationality, to the point where a certain characteristic seems to be part of the biological system. Brazil had its process of forming national identity within the perspective of an imagined community, as did many modern states. Benedict Anderson (2008) proposes to reflect on national condition, confronting various paradoxes and detecting

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a complex contradiction: the national condition involves the establishment of sovereignty, but the logic behind constructing this structure faces a significant philosophical poverty in explaining it.

Based on these two references, Hall (2006) and Anderson (2008), it is possible to observe the process of constructing a cultural identity through a movement that evokes myths and demands a certain effort and rhetorical manipulation in the creation of a patriotic history in the name of the nation's progress and order. Beyond the fabrication of a sense of belonging, this also sought—and continues to seek—encouraging loyalty. Anderson (2008) adopts a methodological approach that tends to confirm national condition as a product of modern nations and as a Marxist product, also viewing this product as a replacement of the structures that preceded it: religious communities, dynastic kingdoms... It is a structure that forges communal belonging, and, paraphrasing Ernest Renan, Anderson reveals that—besides creating the bond between individuals inscribed in that place—'it is necessary that these individuals have forgotten many things' (p.32, 2008).

Thus, the purpose of this writing is to discuss how certain silences and forgetfulness help to camouflage the real social problems. Colonization is a highly relevant event for the discussion at hand, as it is necessary to focus on the process of Brazilian colonization. Colonization was an event that strongly influenced the Brazilian worldview and, contrary to clear reality, is sometimes downplayed.

This article develops a qualitative discussion and a bibliographic survey on themes related to the imagistic construction of Salvador, the capital of Bahia. Through the song 'Duas Cidades' (Baiana System) and the novel *Capitães da Areia* (Jorge Amado, 1937), it aims to build a critique of practices of silencing that rely on the cultural image of Bahia and Brazil to camouflage the real social problems. Beyond the political interest, it is evident that this imagistic appeal in Bahia also has commercial and touristic motivations—slogans like 'Land of Happiness' or 'Mother Land of Brazil' are constantly updated.

The investigation into the functioning of this identity and imagistic strategy is carried out with the aid of some studies focused on the research of the concept of city, in both its concrete and abstract senses—streets and ideas. In addition to highlighting the concept of representation developed by the historian Roger Chartier (1990), drawing attention to the struggle of representations and their mechanisms as crucial issues for society and its forms of sociability, and consequently, the creation of 'images,' such as the image of the city of Salvador.

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2 Development

Nineteenth-century Brazilian writers and artists, such as José de Alencar, the *Carta de Pero Vaz de Caminha* (a document with interested divulgation[1]), and the painting *A Primeira Missa no Brasil* (1859-1861) by the Santa Catarina artist Victor Meirelles, were distinct structures, but they marked a political, social, and artistic moment in the formation of a Brazilian cultural identity. This imagistic 'foundation,' based on the inauguration of the 'new country,' leaves as a legacy its discursive perspectives up to the present day—even after the attempts to break with it by the modernist movement of the Week of 1922. The image of a fertile and abundant land, the welcoming native, driven by affection and innocence; the Brazilian who is receptive to what comes from abroad, a cordial individual moved by instinct who cannot distinguish the boundaries between public and private (see Schwarz, 2019), still finds strong preservation today. The process of Brazil's double trauma, as seen in Cunha (2006)—that of colonization and slavery, through literary, historical, and artistic narratives—manages to forge the image of encounter and the opening of the new world to Portugal, and these narratives manage to consolidate not the image of violence or trauma, but of discovery. This attenuation of colonization and the reconfiguration of its modes of violence, which cross generations, demonstrate how the fallacy of racial democracy and supposed rejection of discrimination are not naïve mechanisms in the desire to forge the image of the country.

The concept of cultural identity, focused on the elaboration of the symbolic structure that is the idea of an imagined community—especially in Bahia—is the starting point for the reflection intended here. What this work seeks to reflect on is how social problems, such as racial and spatial segregation, are camouflaged due to the slogan of 'land of happiness and hospitality' by which Bahia (especially Salvador) is represented. As previously mentioned, Stuart Hall (2006) and his discussion on the concept of identity in postmodernity provide the necessary theoretical support for this argument. Within this thematic segment, Benedict Anderson (2006) is one of the theoretical supports for reflection on

[1] Eneida Leal Cunha (2006) raises a question about the publication of Pero Vaz de Caminha's letter, which remained private for almost three centuries and was only published in 1817, when there was a great effort among nineteenth-century Brazilian intellectuals to build a "Brazilian face," a consolidation of the "local color"" (Alencar, 1836).

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this imagined community of Bahia. The issue that must be exposed, as the search for solutions to a problem begins and is made through its discussion, is the camouflaging of the glaring social ills that Bahia faces and suffers.

This specific focus on Salvador is made in this text due to the relevance of some aspects. The first aspect is the scope and prominence that Salvador has gained, both in the media and economically, with the carnival and tourism market. This scope hyperbolizes and expands the boundaries of the city, making it the main producer of a 'image/feature' of Bahia, a condition that, in a way, renders the interior cities invisible to the rest of the country, as if Bahia were reduced to Salvador and carnival. Another relevant aspect helps in understanding the widely spread idea that the city of Bahia has a unique atmosphere: Salvador's ability to physically and culturally resist the modernizing wave of urbanity. There is a resistance and maintenance of its Africanness despite attempts at 'modernization.' The focus and hyperbole of Salvador discussed earlier denote the more abstract aspect of the concept of city. An element often propagated in its geometric and rational character, the city reveals itself as a symbol, discourse, and representation—the city takes form and becomes a protagonist-character.

Paulina Alberto (2017) discusses in chapters 5 and 6 the forms of manifestation and differences within the Black Movement and activism in the cities of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Salvador. In her book, the author demonstrates how the Black Movement in Brazil, in these three regions, assumed different trajectories due to unique influences and distinct contexts. Bringing the discussion to the Salvadoran territory, Alberto portrays that Black activism did not manifest in such an overt manner, and it did not have a strictly racial focus, but rather a cultural and religious one. What the author shows is that, despite not having a strictly racial focus, Candomblé was, and still is, as a belief system and set of practices, a form of affirmation of Africanness and of paramount importance for the recovery of the ancestry of Brazilian identity, which was also located in Africa. Religious leaders, such as Mãe Senhora (from the Ilê Axé Opô Afonjá house), during a period of strong political suppression and a government-sponsored acceptance of Candomblé, played a key role as important conduits for the reconnection and exchange between Bahia and Africa.

Alberto's text portrays that, despite the religious movement in Salvador being carried out through religion and expanding its acceptance to white men—Jorge Amado and Pierre Verger are some examples—the affirmation and recovery of an Africanness claimed by Mãe Senhora, with the

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help of Pierre Verger, who reconstructed a bridge between Bahia and Africa, was a subversive way of denying the dilution of the power of a people who were and still are of extreme importance and powerful presence in Brazilian society. This bridge built under the blessing of Xangô went against the myth of racial democracy, which was in vogue as a major Brazilian product, as Brazil was still an emerging nation and recently began the process of modernization. To claim and recover the power of Africanness was to give voice to a group, a people, who suffered and still suffer from governmental attempts to dilute their history within the Brazilian roots. In homage to Xangô, the orixá of justice, Candomblé exalted in Brazilian territory an Africanness beyond the stereotype of slavery and folklorization. This may be one of the motivations why, beyond the media, market-driven, and biased appeal, Salvador exudes such charm: its capacity to resist and still, despite all the colonial logic, maintain, since the early days of anti-racist struggle, its powerful Africanness. This curve in the face of the urbanizing and modernizing process is cited by Silva (2020), who summarizes this reflection:

> [...] Even having wet my feet in the three oceans, Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific, I am still surprised by Salvador's ability to reinvent itself. This city that resists all attempts to 'de-Africanize in order to civilize or transform the 'old mulatta' into a 'mademoiselle'... (Silva, 2020, p. 48).

To understand a bit about the symbolic construction of a Salvadoran image, in addition to the social events that contributed to the cultural process, it is necessary to observe how certain representational and symbolic apparatuses are elaborated. Benedict Anderson (2008), like Hall, portrays that: 'In contrast to the enormous influence of nationalism on the modern world, it is remarkable how scarce plausible theories about it are' (p.28). From the acknowledgment that it is still not possible to create a clear definition, the author embarks on some reflections for us to think about nationalism. The first view to be adjusted is to interpret nationalism as an imagined construct, but not imagined in the sense of falsehood or negative connotation, but as an imagined and abstract construction, in order to be a conjecture of a community.

The notion of a unified identity is today questioned and suffers from successive shocks. One of these questions arises from the existence of social movements that emerge with a certain urgency for the recognition of diverse identities, seen as minorities in the face of the universal subject, and

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which have their cultural particularities and specificities, such as the Black movement, the feminist movement, and, later, the more prominent cry of the indigenous peoples.

In addition to the influence of globalization and the capitalist economic model, movements have reduced borders and facilitated cultural exchange among the most diverse communities in the world. However, in the face of the differences that gain prominence and make their demands, cultural identity and nationalism, despite their philosophical poverty in terms of explanation, are still among the greatest institutions that manage to establish a sense of limited sovereignty, loyalty among their members, and achieve the status of a nation-state.

Literary writing would not escape the changes, becoming a privileged space for protest against the major social issues. Songs about love, the beautiful city, and the beloved were no longer enough, as reality presented a desolate scenario. Roger Chartier's (1990) concept of representation unfolds within the studies of Cultural History, a field of knowledge that broke away from previous and conservative ways of doing history to appropriate new objects of study and new research areas that, until that point, were not considered sources for research. For the researcher, historical knowledge, like the cultural history of a people, was strongly present in the routine and the automatic. This perspective allowed literary texts to become a historical source, just like other institutionalized sources that conveyed a sense of greater concreteness, unlike fictional texts.

This study of representation and more symbolic aspects, which seem to belong to the realm of imagination and fiction, gained greater attention from Chartier. He realized that this symbolic apparatus would be influential in the construction of what he calls a 'real well-real,' meaning the more concrete and precise aspects. Thus, he draws attention to the importance of the struggle of representations as being just as important as economic struggles. The prevailing and 'victorious' representation obliterates other voices, governs many dogmas and social institutions, and holds great power over social life. The victories of representations are often forged on the podium of violence, as is the case with colonial exploitation. Treating literature as a structure amenable to historical and scientific studies, scholar Sandra Pesavento (2006) states:

> Literature is, therefore, a source for the historian, but a privileged one, because it provides special access to the imagination, allowing him to see traces and clues that other sources might not offer. A particularly special source, because it reveals,

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> sometimes in a coded form, the sensitive images of the world. Literature is a narrative that, in an ancestral way, through myth, poetry, or novelistic prose, speaks of the world indirectly, metaphorically and allegorically. (2006, p. 3).

According to the writer, we can then see literature as a new horizon of possibilities for History. For, according to Pesavento, the notion that the imaginary is a privileged source for History stems from the logical idea that reality is enunciated from a sensitive knowledge. Historical practice begins to acknowledge the notion that it is carried out by an individual shaped and influenced by many other voices and who carries a personal baggage, not having a totally neutral character, and undergoes a selection that privileges representations. The awareness of this fragmentation gives voice to discourses previously invalidated as useful for serious social reflections, in addition to giving voice to the silences and the defeated. This restructuring of the notion of reality provoked a behavior illustrated by the philosopher Walter Benjamin as 'brushing history against the grain'. In other words, reading history from a perspective other than that of the victor, but giving prominence to the stories of the defeated.

Two literary texts with distinct structures are used to foster and contextualize the discussion in this work: the novel *Captains of the Sands* (1937) by the Bahian writer Jorge Amado and the song *Duas Cidades* (2014) by the band BaianaSystem. The choice of different textual typologies is justified as a way to encourage a diverse reading of the world and its various forms of cultural expression. Furthermore, the two texts demonstrate a thematic convergence – the afflictions of the city of Salvador. Starting from this assumption, this article aims to analyze how certain discourses were and are still being formulated in society, and how specific social issues are perceived, such as the Idea of Bahia and social segregation, by examining these two texts. The earlier contextualization regarding the confluence between literature and history allowed for the identification of social aspects that historically have not been overcome, using literary fiction as a means to explore this theme. Embarking *Captains of the Sands* on the Pirate Ship is to update still-living, yet invisibilized issues that continue to impact the Salvadoran city. This discussion seeks to pave the way for reflections that may highlight issues often overlooked in our cultural repertoire and which become commonplace for our perception simply because they are part of the daily routine and the automatic.

3 Two Cities

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Captains of the Sands, a book from 1937, is structured as a narrative of great political richness, portraying social afflictions and the cruelty of the lives of abandoned children living on the streets — children marginalized by society and crime. Jorge Amado, in 1945, was elected federal deputy for the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB), and his ideological references are evident in his writing. His questioning stance in life and in narratives led to the burning of several copies of the novel in a public square, which served as a warning for the beginning of censorship during the military dictatorship.

With the reading of the novel *Captains of the Sands*, one observes the weaving of a strong social denunciation present in the writing, and the importance of the book as a reflection of both the society of its time and the contemporary one is evident, as the narrative remains relevant. This denunciation reinforces the recognition of the confluence between Literature and History, with literature serving as both a tool and a social science, much like History, acting as a tool for studying human life and its practices/representations within a specific time frame. Literature, as a historical document, breaks away from traditional conventions of what is institutionalized as a document and its classification. Through allegories, metaphors, and the unsaid, literature reveals and denounces social features.

In addition to these considerations, it is necessary to deconstruct the idea of literature as fiction and history as scientific knowledge, creating a kind of dichotomy. When speaking of 'Philosophy of History', Jacques Le Goff in *History and Memory* (1924) argues that history is not a completely delimited and 'pure' subject, but rather has the performance of a narrative, since documents, selections, and their interpretations belong to a person living within a social context and shaped by multiple voices. To reinforce this, History, intentionally or not, is not innocent. Its lack of neutrality is accentuated by its object of study: portraying the past, what has already occurred. Substantiating these reflections, Sandra Pesavento (2006) writes about history and its aim to describe the 'could-have-been', citing the discussion proposed by Ricoeur on 'representance'. Using this concept, 'representance' would be a greater desire than simply retrieving the past and transporting it to the present; it is a historian's will to reconstruct the past, a way of reaching it. For her, it is 'a militancy in the sense of reaching the unreachable, that is, what once happened, in physical time already passed' (Pesavento, 2006, p.5). It is a utopia.

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Jorge's novel is of great importance, historically speaking, as it gives a voice to the history of the marginalized, to the history of the excluded, and to the diversity found in the trajectories of the characters, such as Pedro Bala, Pirulito, Sem-Pernas, Professor, João Grande, Volta-Seca, João-de-Adão, Don'Aninha, Dora, among others, showing that the history of society is not linear and homogeneous; it is characterized by multiculturalism. According to Nelson H. Vieira (2017):

> These works or discourses can create a certain cultural discomfort. However, as strategies, works manifesting hybridity and otherness can also be seen as ways to discover new cultural and social references and, above all, to recognize the coexistence of multiple identities, cultures, and histories, in contrast to the neocolonial tendency toward the exclusion, subordination, and segregation of the non-canonical (Vieira, 2017, p. 51)

The importance is exposed as a strong denunciation and possibility of existence for the voice of the excluded, the abandoned little children captured by crime. The multiculturalism reflected in Jorge Amado's narrative emerges from the discussion of this facet of literature in highlighting non-official histories, but, in the same way, it raises the discussion of the Idea of Bahia as the land of diversity. The aim is to analyze how social and spatial segregation occurs in Salvador, Bahia's capital, and how it is portrayed in the novel by the aforementioned Brazilian writer and in the song *Duas Cidades*.

The idea of Bahian joy is reinforced through the media by information vehicles that, with financial interests, aim to promote the city's tourism market, which is the engine of its economy. This marketing movement attracts tourists who, in addition to wanting to witness the beauty of the city, seek to enter an intoxicating atmosphere of joy and comfort provided by the Bahian hospitality. The search for contemplation of the aforementioned items would be a form of 'escape' from the hectic routine of big cities. Although Salvador is a major capital, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro are the references for large metropolises. The capital of Bahia represents joy, the stereotype of rest and paradise, a welcoming diversity, and the most hyperbolized form of aversion to conflicts – a 'quality' that the Brazilian supposedly possesses. The well-known metropolises, on the other hand, symbolize work and progress.

To understand the illusory fame of joy and hospitality towards diversity, it is necessary to look at the process of settlement and exploitation of Brazil. The market-driven interest based on carnival festivities is just an appropriation of old interests, interests that have deep roots dating back to 1500,

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when the first Portuguese set foot on Brazilian soil. From Pero Vaz de Caminha's letter to the current governments that attempt to neglect the real rights of the so-called 'minorities' – using the argument that 'there is no racism in Brazil' – we see that this Brazilian representation is a form of argument and strategy used by authoritarian and violent governments. Governments that have changed their appearances, but since colonization, have adopted similar practices that affect the same segregated groups.

Cunha (2006), in discussing the character of dependency and bringing to light Brazilian cultural identity as dependent due to its double trauma (colonization and slavery), uses the Letter of Caminha as a backdrop for the construction of Brazilian identity. It serves as the proto-scene of Brazil. In the author's text, the Letter of Caminha appears at a very opportune moment and becomes the rhetorical model for other artistic and literary narratives that will fuel the foundational narrative in various ways, but with the objective of solidifying an idea that persists to this day: the Brazilian as highly susceptible and cordial to foreigners and the different. The author questions this idea—were the natives truly so cordial and passive, or did they simply respect the existence of an Other, which is quite different from the behavior of the colonizer? This narrative of cordiality has, over time, served to mask the remnants of colonization and exploitation that were left in that colony.

In this space, the seemingly 'joyful' becomes contradictory, questioning: how can a land of welcome that embraces diversity experience such a serious problem of racial segregation, a social and geographical apartheid? This entire forcibly forged idea is an ambiguous process, used as is the construction of national identity (the popular participates in this process) and deliberately forged by the cultural industry, an ambivalence of public and private interests. According to Pinho, drawing from Homi Bhabha's contribution:

> The inherently disjunctive character of this ambivalence is sustained by what Bhabha calls supplementary (suplementary): a discursive strategy, exercised through the arts and technology, that interrupts the pluralization of pre-nation discourses, constituting the people as 'One' through a substitution that precedes the contradictory combination of the performative and the pedagogical in national discourses. Supplementary creates a narrative 'presence' that unifies the proliferation of cultural differences, which are always the result of processes of transfer and displacement that produce another, the locus of articulation of identity discourses (1998, p. 2).

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Despite the strength of the marketing slogan it receives, Salvador suffers from a significant problem of social and racial segregation (because a large portion of the peripheral population in Salvador is Black). This segregation, as in other major urban centers in Brazil, materializes spatially, dictating places for the elite and for the periphery, as well as dictating places for Black people and places for white people.

The chosen texts portray in their narratives the routine of divided Salvador. They depict the segregation of privileges observed in the partition of 'High City/Low City' – the two cities. Jorge Amado makes the lives of street children and the struggles they face in the city the central theme of his book. Beneath this theme, there is the work of recording the universe of multiple voices and personalities that the gang possesses, showing that in Bahia, regardless of the identity forged by the media, there is cultural diversity, there are multiple voices. And speaking of plurality, it's worth noting that BaianaSystem is a band from Bahia that blends samba, rap, rock, with the touch of axé from the Bahian guitar. Its lead singer, Russo PassaPusso, reveals the abstraction of the band's delimitation and, according to him, the band is a mixture, just like the Brazilians, but he does not deny that, despite the Brazilian being governed by this diverse and plural identity, Brazil still coexists with the perversity of social and racial prejudice. The song *Duas Cidades*, from the eponymous album, depicts the division between the Upper City and the Lower City.

In the lyrics of the song, the lyrical self begins the song by describing the routine of life in Salvador, which, like any other major urban center, follows a philosophy of 'an eye for an eye.' The city, in its contemporary unfolding, is a fragmentation of the idealized city by modernity. Globalization, together with the capitalist way of life, exerts an influence on the individual who is immersed in this maze with no way out. The current urban format, the fast access to diverse information, and the different cultures make the contemporary man into a 'fencer' – the metaphor is from Renato Cordeiro Gomes (2008) – and creates a defense mechanism to dodge all the absurd and countless events that affect him, thus creating a blasé attitude. Beyond dodging countless novelties, surviving within this way of life is a real unfair race, a 'save yourself if you can,' the true 'eye for an eye.' The expression 'eye for an eye,' cited in the lyrics, converges with the blasé attitude depicted by Joel Birman (2014). Birman, when talking about an increasingly anarchic violence, portrays indifference as a form of defense and a lack of hope for the contemporary subject, as if the succession of chaotic events creates an individual who

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expects worse news and cannot bear any form of empathy. A philosophy that does not inspire or align with the so-called 'Bahian joy' and empathy. A famous sentiment of a geographic space that is classified as the cradle of miscegenation, the land of 'charms and axé,' 'sacred and profane, the Bahian is...'. According to Hall (2006):

> To put it simply: no matter how different its members may be in terms of class, gender, or race, a national culture seeks to unify them into a cultural identity, to represent them as belonging to the same great national family. But would national identity be a unifying identity of this kind, an identity that nullifies and subordinates cultural difference? (p.59).

The answer sought by Hall to the previous question is provided with a brief, even superficial, observation of the daily life in the city of Bahia. A city that is portrayed as having a strongly present, enchantingly empathetic identity still faces many social issues that are quickly identifiable but made invisible due to the manipulative practices that representation can generate, creating a false sense of a singular and possible discourse. The utopian attempt to fit all subjects into one identity does not annul or subordinate the cultural difference that shouts and resists in segregated spaces. The city, within its idealization of geographical rationality – rational space – obliterates and segregates all demands that are not in harmony with its urban ideals of order and progress, excluding all other existences that may "dirty" its space.

The city cannot handle the 'entanglement of existences' (an image by Renato Cordeiro Gomes, 2008) and indirectly creates unofficial spaces to accommodate the exclusions it provokes. Thus, we see in Brazil this segregation manifested in spatial and geometric terms, such as 'asphalt/slum,' 'upper city/lower city,' and 'official city/unofficial city.' In *Captains of the Sand* – despite the social criticism, the criticism against the 'rich men' living in mansions in the upper city – the Salvador of Jorge Amado appears as a mystical city where different races and cultures converge and are welcomed. It welcomes Candomblé, poor boys, dock workers, rich men, Catholics, and country folk, holding an inspiring atmosphere:

> (...) Pedro Bala turns to him and is surprised by his smile. The city is joyful, full of sunshine. The days in Bahia seem like days of celebration, thinks Pedro Bala, who is also filled with joy. He whistles loudly, pats Professor on the shoulder, and they both laugh, and soon their laughter turns into a burst of giggles. However, they have

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> only a few nickels in their pockets, are dressed in rags, and don't know what they will eat. But they are full of the beauty of the day and the freedom of walking through the streets of the city (Amado, 1937, p.123).

From this passage, it is possible to perceive a duality adopted by the narrator. The writing, which weaves criticisms of the unequal way of life provided by governmental institutions, simultaneously adopts a tone of hope and happiness, celebrating the city as "the days of Bahia seem like festival days." This dual movement of reinforcing the "identity image" becomes understandable, as the subject, upon birth, incorporates an identity within a culture, and embraces the guidelines of a representation, adopting discourses. The narrative created about Brazil as a land of mixing has deep roots dating back to the period of its colonization. Bahia, having been the first capital of the country – before passing the title to Rio de Janeiro in 1763 – and the port where various peoples converged, embodies this hyperbolized Brazilian characteristic. It is important to highlight another key point of this discursively structured identity feature: it is not an image maintained exogenously (from outside in), but rather occurs endogenously (from inside out), as a type of self-promotion by some Bahians. This self-promotion is carried out by media outlets with financial interests, but sometimes it happens spontaneously by the population that is born within this representational universe and embraces the idea. Phrases such as "I live where you spend your vacations" or "a Bahian is not born, they debut" are common in the repertoire of many Bahians.

Lilia Moritz Schwarcz (2019), when investigating the deep roots of Brazilian authoritarianism, identifies the myth of the three races – which generated the idea of miscegenation still defended today – as one of the first strategies used by authoritarian and violent governments as a way of constructing Brazilian identity, created for the new Republic that needed a unique identity. This strategy was deliberately employed to obliterate other cultures in favor of the Portuguese colonial culture, at the expense of the colonizer who saw the need to take control of this symbolic space in order to carry out greater exploitation. In the balance between love for the city and social critique, the narrator of 1937 continues:

> Omolu had sent the black pox to the upper city, to the city of the rich. Omolu didn't know about the vaccine, Omolu was a god from the African forests, how could he know about vaccines and scientific things? But since the pox was already released

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> (and it was the terrible black pox), Omolu had to let it descend to the city of the poor. Since he had released it, he had to allow it to do its work. But because Omolu felt sorry for his poor little ones, he took the strength away from the black pox, turning it into alastrim, which is a white and foolish pox, almost like measles (Amado, 1996).

In contrast to the festive atmosphere, the city is portrayed as divided into the city of the rich and the city of the poor. The partition and allocation of rights is exposed when a passage describes the punishment of Omolu. The orixá had sent a disease to the city of the rich (the upper city) as revenge and reparation, but Omolu did not foresee the existence of another privilege of the rich: the vaccine. He had no scientific technological knowledge, he was a king of the forests, and as he could no longer contain the "black pox," he allowed it to do its work. He removed the strength of the disease he had sent as a way to protect the people of the city of the poor—people who would not easily have the privilege of access to the vaccine. This passage takes on great relevance in 2020, in the context of the deadly virus pandemic—the coronavirus—where the allocation of privileges to elite groups was undeniable. With a rapidly spreading and highly contagious virus, the government imposed social distancing measures in large urban centers, the most important being to stay home. But there was a group that could not isolate the infected member in a separate room, because they did not have adequate housing. There was another group that kept the wheels of progress moving and had to expose themselves to contamination. Some were left to their own fate, like the people in the city of the poor in Jorge Amado's narrative.

Discussions, specifically geographical ones, about the segregation of the city of Bahia are part of the writing of the Bahian author Aleilton Fonseca (2012). In the short story *O Corredor*, the author uses the journey of Tobias to bring to the forefront the question of the mindset: "a white person running is an athlete, and a black person running is a thief," and addresses social and spatial segregation in Salvador. The chosen setting could not have been better selected; the plot unfolds in the Corredor da Vitória neighborhood, an upper-class area occupied by a portion of the elite of Salvador, a space that Tobias, a black man, should not occupy or pass through. The short story is part of the book *As Marcas da Cidade* (2012). In this book, Aleilton narrates both the beauty and the scars of the Salvadoran space, narrating the true marks of the city. Salvador is portrayed as this turbulent city full of social differences,

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described in the song as "Babylon." In many studies on the concept of the city, the urban city is metaphorized as the very Babel, a chaotic city in opposition to the city of heaven:

> The Babel myth refers to the critique of the mechanical urbanity of speed, of growing gigantism. It illustrates, beyond the possibility of communication, the fragmented time and space; an endeavor linked to a permanent restarting. It is, therefore, associated in its projection in the modern metropolis, to the shapeless spectacle of the fragmented city in this discontinuous universe marked by the lack of measure. There, no defined forms are perceived; one contemplates a continuous amorphous mass, the chaotic whole (Gomes, 2008, p. 88).

The Babylon where the law is different, privilege is for a few or none, where the law of "an eye for an eye" exists, sung in: “Say in which city you fit: upper city, lower city?” (Seko, 2015). The city, whether upper or lower, of the rich or the poor, is not a choice, but a reflection of one's position, economic, and social condition, and continues: "Every day wakes up early for work, puts on his garlic necklace, and heads out for battle. Eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth. Spreads. The law of Babylon is different," the abandoned boys, the Captains of the Sands, lived by the law of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," seeking survival through petty thefts, every day they woke up ready to fight a new battle.

Considerações finais

With studies conducted on the concept of the city, an unattainable utopian idealization is observed, which was dictated when conceiving the urban space. This space of geographical delimitation, but one that was laid out in the name of urban rationality, technological progress, and linked to the capitalist and globalized way of life, was not realized in Brazil. This unrealized ideal has justification rooted in the founding process of the country, which was colonization—a form of exploitation and violence towards various peoples. Although colonization and the process of slavery are in the past and “institutionally” finished, they found ways to perpetuate their mechanisms, which camouflage themselves in different practices but with the same objective. The Brazil of official discourses, economic and artistic elites, has its representation based on objectives aimed at maintaining authoritarian governments, forms that are by no means innocent. The music and the novel

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sing of the city and show that, despite the mystical aura and undeniable exaltation of the popular and the traditional up until the present day, Salvador-Bahia is a large urban center like any other Brazilian city. A city that is embedded within capitalist, urban, and globalized guidelines, suffering from the severe inequality that afflicts the country and the world—it is not a celestial and paradisiacal oasis free from any problems. It must be admitted that the problem becomes greater and more difficult to resolve when it is rendered invisible; a problem that is not discussed is a problem that does not exist (Moritz, 2019).

What should be sought is the discussion and questioning of such segregation beyond geographical spaces. The image of Gamboa de Baixo (a neighborhood in Salvador) resisting, rising towards the large mansions and apartments of the city's upper district, is the image of proximity and exclusion. So close, all Salvadorians, yet very different. The divided city is not a particular characteristic of Salvador's land, but of the entire country. The discussion of this theme is already a valuable path that goes against the tide of enchantment and axé. However, it becomes paradoxical to confirm that Salvador enchants, enchants because it resists. It resists by claiming its tradition and African roots in its rituals, in its afoxés, in its Candomblé, in its intoxicating syncretism, just as in the Lavagem do Bonfim, where the sacred and the profane mix, and Catholicism and drums unite. The supposed Salvadorian joy might lie in the ability to resist, survive, and pulse.

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