

Tulio Carella's Recife Days: Politics, Sexuality, and Performance in *Orgia*¹

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Recent research on the little known and insufficiently studied time that the Argentinian poet, critic, and playwright Tulio Carella (1912-1979) spent in Brazil highlights its importance for the understanding of gender performance and constructions of masculinity in Brazilian culture. This essay is an attempt at contextualizing the queer project undertaken by Carella's alter ego Lucio Ginarte in the performative narrative that makes up most of *Orgia*. Ginarte's symbolic, sexualized occupation of Recife's downtown foreshadows the queering of public spaces and openly affirms the physicality and presentness of interclass and interracial gay sex in Latin America.

The events discussed in this essay took place in 1960 and 1961 in the city of Recife, capital of the state of Pernambuco, in Brazil's impoverished Northeast, an area traditionally seen as a leftist stronghold. Carella arrived in Recife only a year after the Cuban revolutionary forces toppled the Batista government. He was in the Nordeste during a particularly polarized period in the country's history, with the right and the Armed Forces identifying Pernambuco as a site of "foreign infiltration" and "communist subversion."

Tulio Carella was a visiting professor in the theater department at the Escola de Belas Artes, which eventually became a part of the Federal University of Pernambuco. His tenure there was cut short when after about a year and a half he was arrested and interrogated under torture.² Having lost his job at the university, he left the country under suspicion of being a Cuban agent. However, since no charges were ever brought in Recife or elsewhere in Brazil, he was never tried or given a chance to clear his name. The evidence against him seems to have consisted of reports of political comments he made in the classroom and on the streets of downtown Recife, where he enjoyed talking to people of all walks of life, and accusations of engaging in "immoral

behavior” with individuals he met while cruising for gay sex, an activity he recorded in a secret diary he kept during his time in Brazil.³ The Carella incident is of particular importance because it exposes the construction of a connection between political agitation and homoeroticism while it helps us better understand how political and cultural stresses converge on the life and career of one individual. In addition, the event throws further light on the deep anxieties of the elite regarding sex, class, and race in the Nordeste during the early 1960s.

At the time he left for Recife, Carella was a theater critic and playwright who had seen productions of several of his plays. Two of his early works,⁴ *Don Basilio Mal Casado* (1940) and *Doña Clorinda la Discontenta* (1941), received considerable attention. Both had prestigious directors and casts as well as musical interludes by Alberto Ginastera and were premiered in venerable theaters, the Nacional de Comedia (Cervantes) and the San Martín, respectively, where they enjoyed relatively long runs.⁵

Carella’s first important play, *Don Basilio Mal Casado*, premiered on October 4, 1940, under the direction of Antonio Cunill Cabanellas (1894-1996) and starred Guillermo Battaglia (1899-1988) in the title role. Beatriz Seibel notes that Carella’s farce was selected for staging at the Cervantes a year earlier and that it was “un gran éxito cómico que recibe el 3er. Premio Nacional,” while Battaglia was given the Premio Municipal for “mejor actor cómico” for his performance in *Don Basilio* (188). Cunill Cabanellas was a key theater director who headed the Cervantes for five years (and later, the Municipal San Martín from 1953 until 1955). In his five years at the Cervantes, Cunill Cabanellas “ha dado un estilo propio, valorizando la calidad artística y buscando la modernización de la escena” (Seibel 188). At the end of his tenure at the Cervantes, *La Nación* heaped high praise on the director: “Justo es reconocer que en sus versiones interpretativas, en el conjunto de su espectáculo, el Teatro Nacional de Comedia, . . . sin comparación posible con ninguno de los otros espectáculos de su género que se realizan en Buenos Aires, ha llegado casi a la perfección” (qtd in Seibel 188).

Both *La Nación* and *La Prensa* began announcing the forthcoming *renovación del cartel* at the Cervantes in the days leading to the premiere of *Don Basilio Mal Casado*. The next day (Saturday, October 5, 1940), both newspapers ran long and largely favorable reviews of the opening night.⁶ Despite some flaws, the anonymous staff writer at *La Prensa* wrote a mostly positive review:

Si bien en algunos pasajes se advierten indecisiones propias de quien por primera vez llega al teatro, el novel autor revela condiciones muy estimables y es fácil pronosticarle renovados éxitos de insistir con tesón en su labor. Hay galanura en el lenguaje y sentido del teatro, dos condiciones primordiales; sabe manejar el diálogo con soltura, coloca oportunamente frases ingeniosas, plantea y desarrolla bien las situaciones y mueve ágilmente a los personajes. Su obra interesa, divierte y por ello es justo el caluroso aplauso que anoche le fué acordado.” (*Don Basilio Mal Casado*)

A colleague at *La Nación* contributed an even more effusive report. The favorable tone is evident from the headlines, “Es inspirada y ágil *Don Basilio Mal Casado*; el autor novel acusa verdadera vocación teatral.” “Ha surgido un autor,” the first sentence announces unequivocally, with the rest of the paragraph stating in part,

Tulio Carella nace armado de las dones que, a falta de experiencia, sólo concede la intuición sorprendente. Resulta, en verdad, halagado poder, alguna vez, lo que desgraciadamente sólo sucede cada tanto tiempo, proclamar la aparición de un valor nuevo, de un hombre que se presenta con todos los atributos para cultivar la literatura escénica, y a quien es posible vaticinarle, con el menor margen de peligro y de equivocación, un franco, lisonjero éxito para su pieza inicial, y un éxito ascendente y largo para su producción futura. (“Es inspirada y ágil”)

The reviewer points out two shortcomings—“algunos efectos calculados” and a serious linguistic anachronism—only to return to the enthusiastic evaluation of play and author as the review comes to a close:

Tulio Carella ha demostrado, en su iniciación, las dotes más promisorias, y ha probado ya, como una cristalización lograda, las más ágiles condiciones escénicas. [. . .] ha construido, en síntesis, él, que ahora se inicia, una de las piezas más frescas, gratas y felices que en estos últimos años han pasado por los escenarios nacionales. [. . .] El público, que ya en el ensayo general llenaba la sala en una forma inusitada, y en mayor cantidad aun la noche del estreno, prodigó al novel autor un caudaloso bautismo de aplausos. (“Es inspirada y ágil”)

Doña Clorinda la Discontenta was the play selected to open the *temporada oficial* at the San Martin theatre⁷ the evening of March 21, 1941.⁸ That day’s edition of *La Prensa* describes the play as a “comedia en tres actos, dividida en cinco cuadros, original de Tulio Carella” and lists the entire

cast ("Teatro, música y cinematografía" 18). The March 22, 1941, issue of *La Prensa* notes that Carella, "[quien] se inició tan promisoriamente" with *Don Basilio*, "realiza con su nueva producción una obra de tono similar al de aquella, de farsa frívola, tema ligero, intrascendente, con personajes [...] eficaces y de vibración escénica. Fue recibida la novedad con abundantes aplausos" (14). The anonymous reviewer adds that the play has an auspicious opening, with "escenas frescas, pintorescas, pasajes ingeniosos y réplicas felices, que predisponen muy bien, agradan y hacen reír," but goes on to remark that when the author "inicia la serie de suplantaciones de personalidad, cae en repeticiones, insiste demasiado sobre motivos triviales y la obra pierde la agilidad inicial y con ello parte de su atractivo." Despite these reservations, the reviewer states in closing that "A pesar de ello, en conjunto, es una obra estimable, por cuanto encierra una inquietud, un propósito de hacer teatro bueno, apartándose de las sendas más trilladas y buscando elevación, lo que dentro de tales propósitos se ha logrado basta para merecer el elogio" (14). In keeping with the prevalent trend at the time, the actress playing the title role is the focus of this review and other notes related to the production, unlike plays such as *Don Basilio*, where the actor playing the title role, even one as well-known as Battaglia, is not the focus of this much attention. The headlines celebrate the lead of the company that bears her name: "Gloria Guzmán⁹ se presentará el viernes en el San Martín," "Gloria Guzmán fué muy celebrada en su reaparición anoche," "Éxito singular de Gloria Guzmán," and so on. The text of the review heaps more praise on the star: "Gloria Guzmán demostró anoche [...] verdadera calidad de intérprete, ductilidad y firmeza, sentido de la farsa y capacidad de expresión [...] Ella mantuvo el interés de toda la pieza: fué el alma del espectáculo" (14). This tone is echoed in Foppa's *Diccionario* twenty years later: "Gloria Guzmán demuestra el dominio del escenario, con su agilidad ocurrente que sabe graduar con arte y con el entusiasmo contagioso que revela en todos sus gestos, que patentizan una vitalidad que pareciera que la experiencia acrecienta" (367).

An active participant in the bustling Buenos Aires literary and theatrical scene in the 1940s and 1950s,¹⁰ Carella authored a volume on the tango,¹¹ wrote an award-winning memoir,¹² edited the still relevant anthology *El sainete criollo: Antología* (1957), translated important playwrights,¹³ and enjoyed the visibility afforded contributors to such prestigious journals as *Sur* and *Ficción*, for which he wrote reviews of works by key authors,¹⁴ authored original essays,¹⁵ and reviewed important stagings of Argentine works such as Osvaldo Dragún's *Tupac Amarú*, Samuel Eichelbaum's *Las aguas del*

mundo, and European comedy from Molière to Noel Coward.¹⁶ In both the Dragún and Eichelbaum reviews, Carella comes across as a strict and not always fair critic. Of the former playwright Carella writes,

El raproche más serio que se puede hacer a Osvaldo Dragún, es la falta de emoción. En *Tupac Amarú* hay diseño claro de los personajes, intriga, sentido de la continuidad de los hechos, interés en las escenas. No obstante, la noble y dolorida emoción humana, no es alcanzada. (*Tupac Amarú* 130)

All pretense of critical neutrality is dropped in relation to the Eichelbaum work, about which Carella opines, “Hay un descuido sorprendente de toda congruencia y de todo el discurso dramático, y, salvo en la escena capital [. . .], de toda verdad humana” (*Las aguas del mundo* 132). Despite acknowledging “la gloria que disfruta Samuel Eichelbaum” in the Argentine theater scene, Carella chooses to adopt a caustic edge (encompassing some of his fellow critics) as he brings his review to a close: “*Las aguas del mundo* es, en nuestra opinión, una de las obras menos logradas del autor de *Un guapo del 900*. El hecho es lamentable, pero no es tan lamentable como el aplauso de ciertos sicofantes de la crítica” (*Las aguas del mundo* 133).

Whatever visibility Carella had in the Buenos Aires theatre scene before his tenure at the Brazilian university, it was no longer there only fifteen months later when he returned home in the wake of the Recife “scandal.” Now a pariah, he was a victim of cultural erasure as his plays disappeared from the stages and prestigious venues stopped featuring his contributions. Relegated to intellectual ostracism and fearing persecution from different administrations, Carella lived a reclusive existence in a small Buenos Aires apartment until his death in 1979. The first years of his return home were spent preparing revised editions of some of his books published before 1968,¹⁷ but the titles stopped appearing in Brazil and Argentina after 1970,¹⁸ almost certainly because of the Nordeste affair and the subsequent publication of *Orgia* in 1968, as well as the worsening repression and crimes of torture and disappearances perpetrated by the ever more nefarious regimes in both nations.

While in Recife, Tulio Carella taught set design, directing, and world theater and also conducted informal sessions with his students and friends, with whom he shared his solid knowledge of theater history and stagecraft. His extramural activities and popularity among students created some jealousy among the drama faculty (whom he considered mediocre and unqualified),¹⁹ which may have contributed to the termination of his appointment. As for the evidence found in a search of Carella’s apartment in Recife, it did not match

the military's expectations; instead of conspiracy plans, the diary provided detailed accounts of Carella's cruising for sex. Despite its considerable artistic and religious content, the notebook's explicit material was deemed "subversive" enough for use as evidence in an eventual trial. The original was returned to Carella while a copy was made and possibly remained in the hands of the military.

The manuscript was reconfigured by Carella into a hybrid text that in the end was only in part a diary and, with Carella's abrupt arrest, an incomplete one. While the orgiastic quality of the catalogue of encounters that formed the bulk of the original text is still found in much of the revised text, *Orgia* shows an erudite autobiographical voice who cultivated the author's creative loneliness but at times craved a kind of intimacy that many times appears to have been realized through casual sex. The voice we hear harbored deep feelings of guilt and sin and expressed a desire for redemption while at the same time exalting an ample range of sexuality.²⁰ Among the extensive changes that were made, Carella added a fictional alter-ego, Lucio Ginarte,²¹ as well as other characters. He also used a combination of first- and third-person narratives, alternating italics and bold with regular type, and adding drawings in the margins. The importance of this expanded visual dimension cannot be overestimated for research on Carella; unfortunately, as mentioned above, the location of the original handwritten manuscript is not presently known.

In personal and political terms, the invitation to join the drama faculty in Recife was timely for Carella as it came precisely at a moment of profound disappointment with the deteriorating conditions in Argentine politics and a closeted life entailed by his heterosexual marriage (*Orgia* 34). As Carella reached Recife, he embarked on a project best described as a performative queering of Pan-Americanism that would embrace a Latin African component through the political act of publicly seeking sexual contact with men of African descent.²² While on the one hand Carella's attempt at overcoming social and cultural barriers was made easier by Brazil's more flexible definitions of race and the fact that at that time color lines were less defined there than in Argentina, on the other he was woefully unaware of how firmly those barriers still stood in the Nordeste or how deeply entrenched was the social ban on interclass and interracial sex.

Carella's personal project is, more than anything, an affirmation of a queer presence, the affirmation of a sexualized body, a literal embodiment. As a literal embodiment, it entailed a queering of Recife's space, his search for sex in public areas, an insistence made even more clear in Lucio's first-

person political statements.²³ Like all performances, this one originates from and through the body and is further predicated on the demand for a more pronounced visibility of the queer body in the public space and the political arena. Textually, it begins with a deliberate transformation as the gendered performer is cast as Lucio Ginarte. Performatively, with a body and an audience, Ginarte could now explore the possibilities of self-transformation and embark on the expression of a queer esthetic and political vision.

This sexualized project is an early contribution to the evolving meaning of dramatic space, which in the ensuing decades moved away from the physicality and confines of traditional buildings (*teatros*) and stages to areas and concepts more consonant with a post-dramatic theater. Partly in accord with Lehmann's notion, it put an increased emphasis on "the undocumentable event of performance" as something whose "only life is in the present" (Phelan 146, 148). Ginarte's queer performance of the self questions the concept of cultural hegemony in Brazil by looking at "a marginalized or alternative form of representation not endorsed by powerful forces in a patriarchal, limiting, and often repressive society" (Albuquerque and Bishop-Sánchez 7).

On the one hand, Ginarte's provocations in the streets of Recife are acts of intervention, improvised skits incorporated into his conversations with unsuspecting, potential sex partners, which challenged the prevalent decorum of the time. On the other hand, they are related to what came to be known in the early 1970s as *teatro de rua*, which drew from practices proposed by Augusto Boal in his influential *Theater of the Oppressed* (1973), forum theater, newspaper theater, legislative theater, and so on. What is common to all of these political and educational tools for change and should be of interest to students of Carella is that these performance strategies break through the barriers between performer and audience and enable participants to try out courses of action applicable to their everyday lives. Ginarte is in many ways a dislocated character capable of engaging in some of the strategies described above, but he is not dislocated in the sense of deterritorialized expatriates; his is rather a displacement resulting from a more visceral disconnect and that is why his project would have ultimately failed even in the absence of outside interference in the form of his detention. Underneath Ginarte's affirmations of disgust for a place such as Recife—which he found dirty, uncultivated, and backward—is the panicked anxiety of someone who has abandoned an unsatisfactory existence for a place and culture he had yet to learn how to navigate.

The construction of a dislocated/displaced queer character like Ginarte is predicated on a good deal of theatricality. These performances of a reinvented

self were planned carefully (he was after all a man of the theater) and pervaded his daily routines to the point of constituting an occupation that paralleled his teaching job at the university. These routines began even before he hit the streets; at home he walked about naked, with windows and shades kept open, in part because of the tropical heat, but also because he knew he had an audience in the building directly across the street. When he left the private quarters for the public space, Ginarte remarks with pride, he could count on spectators who could double as supporting cast—the men who followed him in his strolls. After a few weeks, this tall, attractive, well-dressed, green-eyed white man, whom many took to be European or North American, was attracting a true cortege or entourage, a quasi-parody of the performative processions and pageants in the streets of medieval towns. His diary entries suggest that his strolls followed set itineraries with a pattern of repetition and (self-) citation. This reiterative mode of performativity, as Muñoz writes in connection with the work of Richard Fung, echoes Butler in *Bodies that Matter*—“a performative ‘works’ to the extent that it draws on and covers over the constitutive conventions by which it is mobilized” (226-27)—, and Derrida, who asks if a performative could work “if it were not identifiable in some way as a citation” (18).²⁴ In *Orgia*, the code that is being repeated or the performance that is being reiterated is that of the nineteenth-century European *flâneur*. Lucio Ginarte, the cruising *flâneur*, observes his spectators observing him in the alleys of old Recife, spaces of former colonial architectural glory that were beginning to turn into urban ruins after decades of neglect.

The spectacularization of the queer character, initially in its most basic instantiation—the mere presence of Ginarte in a public area—is complicated when other factors are considered. Among them is the fact that he was a foreigner in a part of Brazil that up until that point had seen little European immigration (beyond the Portuguese colonizers) and of a race and culture that post-WWII cinema and marketing had eroticized if not intensely fetishized. His higher social status made him even more desirable to, and desired by, many of the men who surrounded him in the streets. The black body, too, becomes a spectacle, with the aggravating factor that its construction is one mediated by the racist culture of a national imaginary predicated on what Thomas Skidmore and others call “the whitening theory.”²⁵ A related, complicating factor is the self-illusion of the first-person narrator who, believing he could count on the reader’s empathy, tries to pass the notion that Lucio is being cruised by these men, which is in contrast with the third voice narrator’s implication that it is he, Lucio, who is exercising privilege and power in these complex

interactions, as for example, in the scenes occurring in front of shops where objects displayed in the windows occasioned elaborate gesturing (keeping in mind that Carella's Portuguese was limited at the time) or on sidewalks outside appliance stores, where television sets, still relatively rare and definitely out of reach for the majority of the population, were kept running at night, with small crowds watching the soaps or commercials or pretending to do so while engaging in intricate negotiations for sex.

This experiment in queer performance harks back to cosmopolitan practices such as those of the above-mentioned *flâneur* in nineteenth-century Paris and other cities, with the predecessor of the interest in this mood being Baudelaire. Much has been written on this, of course, including, among others, Walter Benjamin (in *Illuminations* and elsewhere), Ross Chambers in *Loiterature*, and Anne McClintock's section on "the gendering of urban space" by the *flâneur* in *Imperial Leather* (81-83). The *flâneur* was transitioned and received in Brazil via the cultural and *avant-la-lettre* queer performance interventions of João do Rio (Paulo Barreto, 1881-1921) in turn-of-the-century downtown Rio de Janeiro. Other considerations on cruising and power in an imperial context or post-colonial situation apply here as well, for example those of European intellectuals in former French colonies in North Africa, including, famously, Barthes in Morocco. In this regard, we need to keep in mind that when Carella was growing up, Argentina enjoyed a first-world quality of life while Brazil's Nordeste was very much a deeply underdeveloped region in the grip of an oligarchy whose economy depended on a single commodity (sugar cane), so we can sense in the text that Ginarte has an imperial attitude sometimes still seen in tourists who enjoy the warm waters of the Atlantic in Pernambuco. I see some provoking parallels between Ginarte's strolls and the exploits of Arthur J. Munby as told in McClintock's above-mentioned *Imperial Leather* (80-81). Not unlike Mr Munby's searching for working women in Victorian London, the Carella alter-ego "set out daily into the terra incognita" of Recife's downtown and harbor area, charting not the diversity of female labor (as Munby did) but mingling with mostly unemployed men of color and bringing back to the private comfort of his room exotic memories of these men and erotic fantasies or actual encounters to document in his secret diary.

In his queer interventions, Ginarte pitches his performative project on the edges of social limits—gender and race, employment and vagrancy—while the chance encounters and hook-ups across social and racial lines serve as reminders that gender, in Philip Auslander's didactic explanation, "is not being

but doing; it is not who you are but what you do, that is, how you express your identity in word, action, dress, and manner" (74), as in the performative project that guided Ginarte's stay in Recife.

As the narrative proceeds, we see what was, for that time and culture, an unusual combination of political commentary and performative narrative, descriptive to a large degree of sexual activity in the form of, mostly but not always, sexual encounters. We gradually come to realize that Carella is casting his notion in terms of what could be called a pan-sexual vision and embracing it—now that he found himself in this place he referred to as "Estados Unidos do Fogo"—to a degree that he had not been able or ready or brave enough to look for in Argentina. The sex Carella was interested in while in Recife is not exclusively with one gender or race or class. There are plenty of accounts of sex with dark-skinned men but also references to a few encounters with men of other classes and races. We also learn of a couple of women lovers, but these were white and people he did not meet in the streets; they belonged to the same social class as he and invited him to their homes. But because of the demographics of the Nordeste and the parts of Recife he chose to frequent—the downtown and port area, around which there was at the time a vibrant red-light district, an area already in the early stages of urban ruination—the people he was meeting in the streets were from the disadvantaged social segments, which in the case of Brazil meant that most of those men were dark skinned or Black. In his study of the construction of territories of pleasure and pain in the lives of male homosexuals in urban Nordeste, Durval Muniz de Albuquerque Junior stresses the importance of taking advantage of opportunities to confront heteronormativity by engaging in "practices previously carried out in secret, in hidden places, to come out onto the streets" (139) in a performative taking over of public space, where performance is again seen as a tool for empowering subjects and where the border between the public and the private is questioned. With his gendered, queering performances in the center of the city, Lucio Ginarte was also remapping the racialized body in 1960s Recife. Ginarte's racialized queer interventions have become more than just performances of cruising for gay sex. Unlike the 19th-century foundational Romantics and *libertadores* and their nation-building genealogies both prior and subsequent to independence, Carella's program shows a central concern with the African meaning-originating experience in the Americas. Accordingly, he proceeded to implement it with a demonstrable interest in racialized individuals, the Black men he was meeting in the streets and harbor, a keen sexual interest that is

always steeped in personal politics. Problematizing some long established binaries, his disidentifying practice destabilized the mythical repository of *nordestino* power. Following Eve Sedgwick's research on the role that affect and shame play in queer performativity and Butler's calls for performances that take form in a culture through repeated action and lead to a multiplicity of gendered and sexual identities, disidentification, as applied to Carella's experience in Recife, resists racial and sexual binary constructs and rejects non-inclusive configurations by launching a "scrambling" of normative codes. Scrambling, called by Muñoz a "disidentificatory strategy" of survival, allows, almost invites, the queering of Brazilian masculinity as practiced at the time and place of Ginarte's interventions.²⁶ Disidentification is therefore a change in gear having to do with "rethinking encoded meaning [. . .] [and] recruit[ing] its workings to account for, include, and empower minority identities and identifications" (31). That Carella was engaging in such a public display of alternative sexuality posed a serious challenge to the heteronormativity abided by the local elites, to a large degree because it was being performed in the hegemonic center of the region.²⁷

I began by contextualizing Carella's experience as emblematic of the conflation of the personal and the political in early 1960s Northeast Brazil, and from there went on to examine Recife as a contested space as I deployed key notions of queer theory in an attempt to understand Ginarte's street interventions. His interactions with the men who followed him show how racialized and gendered identities intersect in the Nordeste and how these racialized and sexualized bodies are objectified, with the dark-skinned men losing agency as they occasionally enter into gainful transactions with the controlling Other. His Recife days allowed Carella to stand at the intersection of two worlds, moving across race, class, and gender boundaries in a way that no other city had afforded him. His doing so invites us to begin a necessary debate on the role that sex-oriented public performances have played in the fight for control of public space in authoritarian Brazil.

In the end, Carella's contribution to Pan-Americanism may have been a queer, de-stabilizing intervention on issues of private vs. public spaces, a fluidity to previously compartmentalized political stances, and an early occurrence of a queering of South-South connections amidst Cold War anxieties in a Latin American context. *Orgia* provides a provocative view of Carella's take on Pan-Americanism and charts a fascinating set of intimate and racially and erotically charged male relationships stretching across vast cultural distances and deep class divides. Positioned on the

outskirts of propriety, in his moral ambiguity, religious indeterminacy, and an unequivocally queer transgressiveness, Tulio Carella had few people to defend his reputation after his repatriation to an unwelcoming Argentina. A careful reconsideration of his contributions is in order, beginning with the reasons behind the all but complete ignorance of his work in Argentina and Brazil. *Orgia* and Carella's Recife experience touch on too many issues that are central to contemporary theory to have been so blatantly ignored, with few exceptions, by scholars of gender, race, and theater and performance. After decades of ostracism, beginning with the publication of the 2011 edition of *Orgia*, Carella's legacy is finally beginning to be studied.

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Notes

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I'd like to dedicate this article to Alvaro Machado, whose outstanding revised edition of *Orgia* (2011) has spearheaded a revival of interest in Tulio Carella. Among the review essays of Carella's book in the wake of the new edition, see, for example, Leusa Araújo, "A *orgia* de Tulio Carella sai da clandestinidade," *Revista USP*, no. 93 (2012), pp. 238-43. Among longer essays, see Lucas Merteikian, "Tulio Carella: del *closet* de la nación a la salida latinoamericana," *Revista de Estudios Literarios Latinoamericanos*, no. 2 (2015), pp. 66-97.

² Trevisan 82. His *Devassos no paraíso* has seven pages on Carella, with several quotes from *Orgia*, including a description of a graphic encounter with a man Carella called King Kong (75-82).

³ A press release distributed in the days following Carella's disappearance shows how the security forces linked engagement in private behavior to national security. In the release, Coronel Bandeira, head of the Fourth Army's Second Section, states that Carella's arrest was consequent to "a denúncia recebida de que aquele senhor vinha mantendo ligações com elementos de baixo nível moral e ligados a atividades nocivas ao país." The colonel added that Carella, as an "integrante da famosa rede internacional de contrabandistas que exerce atividade em nosso país," was kept "incomunicável até segunda ordem." ("IV Exército confirma furo") . In *Prontuário Tulio Carella* (Registro Geral number 14.660, DOPS-PE). I am grateful to Alvaro Machado for bringing to my attention the digitalization project of the DOPS-PE files currently underway at the Arquivo Público Estadual Jordão Emerenciano (APEJE) in Recife.

⁴ Carella's career had a humble but relevant start given the role of the circus in the creation of a popular national theater. In 1934, at age 22, Carella saw an unnamed work of his, "un acto representado en un modesto circo de Barracas" (Foppa 160).

⁵ Both were published, *Don Basilio* the same year it was staged, but *Doña Clorinda* had to wait thirty years for a print version in an anthology of South American plays (*Don Basilio Mal Casado: Farsa en tres actos y nueve cuadros*. Argentores, 1940; "Doña Clorinda la Discontenta," in *Luz negra*, edited by Alvaro Menen Desleal, Universidad de Chile, 1970).

⁶ I am grateful to Talía Guzmán-González at the Hispanic Division of the Library of Congress for her help finding the reviews of *Don Basilio Mal Casado* in the two leading Buenos Aires dailies of the time.

⁷ This was the old San Martín on Esmeralda, one of the most prestigious theaters in Buenos Aires at the time. It was there that Angelina Pagano staged Florencio Sánchez's *La Gringa* in 1904. The current San Martín on Corrientes is connected to the ample Centro Cultural General San Martín on Sarmiento, which opened in May 1970.

⁸ The play ran until April 24, 1941, with two evening shows Tuesdays through Saturdays and an added matinee on Sundays. *Doña Clorinda* was the first of a series of comedies the Gloria Guzmán Company staged in the San Martín that season. It was followed by *Julia Sandoval, candidata a concejal*, a farce in three acts by the Chilean playwright Armando Moock (1894-1942).

⁹ Spanish-born Gloria Guzmán (1902-1979) settled in Argentina, where she was a successful film actress and for many years a vedette in *compañías de revistas*, including that of Teatro Maipo, during which time she was considered "la más descollante vedette de las revistas nacionales" (Foppa 367). Among her numerous film credits is her performance in *Las luces de Buenos Aires*, which was Paramount's "most important success in Argentina in 1931. The songs of Carlos Gardel and the performance of Gloria Guzmán were the most notable aspects of the film" (Finkelman 177).

¹⁰ Carella also had a parallel career in film, where he was a respected script writer for a number of films, including *El gran secreto*, directed by Jacques Rémy (1942) and *Mi divina pobreza*, directed by Alberto d'Aversa (1951), who recommended Carella's name for the Recife appointment.

¹¹ *El tango, mito y esencia* (Buenos Aires: Doble P, 1956), reviewed by F. J. Salero in *Ficción*, no. 3 (1956), pp. 186-88.

¹² The innovative diary, *Cuaderno del delirio*, was the winner of the Faja de Honor from the Sociedad Argentina de Escritores the year before Carella left for Recife. For a review of this work, see the short essay by Joaquín O. Giannuzzi in *Ficción*, no. 23 (1960), pp. 125-26.

¹³ See his 1957 translation of Goldoni's *Los chismes de las mujeres*, the first play staged in the Caminito theater (Foppa 160, qtd in Seibel, p. 198).

¹⁴ *Sur* charged Carella with reviewing Borges and Bioy Casares' *Libro del cielo y del infierno* (1961); the piece appeared in volume 271 (1961), pp. 83-85.

¹⁵ See, for example, the *crónica* "Murguística" in *Sur*, no. 261 (1959), pp. 35-39, and the essay on "El amor de la estanciera," a sainete from the late 18th century that Ricardo Rojas attributes to Juan Baltasar Maciel. Carella believes that in this early sainete "encontramos caracteres definitorios de una nueva modalidad: la gauchesca" (*Ficción*, nos. 24/25 [1960], pp. 158-60).

¹⁶ His reviews of Molière's *Las picardías de Scarpin* and Noel Coward's *Desnudo con violín* are featured in *Ficción* 19 (1959), pp. 135-37 and *Ficción* 17 (1959), pp. 126-29, respectively.

¹⁷ An exception is the volume of poetry, *Roteiro recifense* (1965), published, ironically, by the press of the same university that discontinued his contract four years earlier.

¹⁸ Carella was relegated to what Silvia Molloy has termed "el closet de la crítica" in her *Poses de fin de siglo: Desbordes del género en la modernidad* (Eterna Cadencia, 2012), quoted in Mertezhikian, p. 67.

¹⁹ Among the few exceptions was Hermilo Borba Filho (1917-1976), the beloved critic, director and playwright who had founded, along with other important Nordeste authors, foremost among them Ariano Suassuna (1927-2014), the groundbreaking Teatro Popular do Nordeste. Through his São Paulo connections, Hermilo invited Carella to join the Recife faculty and in the years following Carella's dismissal from the university it was Hermilo who translated and managed against enormous odds (among them the military regime's strict censors) to first publish *Orgia* in 1968 as part of a series of erotica classics he was editing for a small Rio de Janeiro press. The Portuguese text is the only extant version of Carella's Recife diaries, thus raising key issues in regard to language and transnationality in South-South connections. There's considerable speculation surrounding the fate of the Spanish-language manuscript, which may well have been destroyed; the book has never been published in Argentina.

²⁰ Machado's introduction to his edition of Carella's book includes valuable information about the intellectual depth of Carella's work and the changes that were made in the manuscript.

²¹ The name Tulio Carella refers to the individual and author while Lucio Ginarte denotes the performance voice in the revised text of *Orgia*. With the insertion of the “fictional” Ginarte into the diary format, *Orgia* now occupies a liminal space between “subjective” and “objective” prose. With this in-betweenness, the diary’s subjectivity is relativized as it is pushed to take on an aura of objectivity to offset or confront the new fictional element brought in by the presence of Lucio Ginarte.

²² See my article “Queering Pan-Americanism: Counternational Politics in Tulio Carella’s *Recife Diaries, 1960-1961*,” in *Beyond Binaries: Sex, Sexualities and Gender in the Lusophone World*, edited by Ana Raquel Fernandes and Paulo Pepe. (Forthcoming 2018).

²³ This casts Carella’s work as autoethnography, with *Orgia* serving as an illustration of José Esteban Muñoz’s remarks concerning the movement of personal histories into a public sphere. Muñoz is drawing on Françoise Lionnet and her study of the way in which autoethnography operates in cultural production. Lionnet sees it as a “skepticism about writing the self, . . . turning it into the allegory of the ethnography project that self-consciously moves from the general to the particular to the general” (*Autobiographical Voices*, pp. 99-100, quoted in Muñoz, p. 81).

²⁴ Both Butler and Derrida are quoted in Muñoz, p. 80.

²⁵ According to Dávila and Morgan, “Brazilian intellectuals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries managed their racial and nationalist anxieties by interpreting miscegenation as a dynamic process that would dilute Brazil’s black” (409).

²⁶ Disidentification and its operating tool, scrambling, differ considerably from but never stand in opposition to Lyotard’s domestication; the domus assigns the subject to a position of undecidability, in-betweenness, while a disidentifying subject “works to hold on to [a lost] object and invest it with new life” (Muñoz 12).

²⁷ For an important consideration of the reasons why, despite this powerful symbolism, the region and its people are so stereotyped and marginalized, not only in other areas of the nation but also in the Nordeste itself, see Durval Muniz de Albuquerque Junior, *A invenção do Nordeste e outras artes* (Cortez, 1999). In *The Color of Modernity: São Paulo and the Making of Race and Nation in Brazil* (Duke UP, 2015), Barbara Weinstein complements Albuquerque Junior’s work with an extensive analysis of the racialized regionalism deployed as part of the modernist construction of São Paulo as the site of a Europeanized prosperous Brazil, with the Nordeste depicted as its racial Other, a locus of poverty and backwardness. In Weinstein’s account, this construct opened the way to policies that exacerbated these inequalities and impeded democratization.

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