

## Between the lines of Alfred Döblin's novel *Der blaue Tiger*: a world of knowledge

### Entre las líneas de la novela *Der blaue Tiger* de Alfred Döblin: un mundo de conocimiento

Celeste Ribeiro-de-Sousa<sup>1</sup>

#### Abstract

Alfred Döblin dealt theoretically with the relationship between history and literature, stating in *Der historische Roman und wir* (The Historical Novel and Us) that a novel presupposes a background of reality, that it is first and foremost a novel and not history, that it does distort history, falsifies it, misrepresents it, and that a writer is a special kind of scientist. He is a mixture of psychologist, philosopher, and social observer, and like an emigrant who lacks a present, his desire is to find historical parallels, to justify the need for memories, the tendency to console oneself and seek revenge, at least in an imaginary way. This essay starts from these theoretical positions of Alfred Döblin and shows the coherence between them and their poetic realization in the novel *Der blaue Tiger* (The Blue Jaguar). Embedded in the axis of the novel, which has a background of historical reality, are several micro-stories that falsify/invent history and a wealth of information that constructs true historical parallels that promote the author's imaginary identification with well-known figures and establishes bridges not only with the various levels of the past, but above all with the present, which makes the novel uniquely relevant today.

**Keywords:** Alfred Döblin, Latin American indigenous peoples, mythology, religion, science, economy.

#### Resumen

Alfred Döblin se ocupó teóricamente de la relación entre historia y literatura, afirma en *Der historische Roman und wir* (*La novela histórica y nosotros*) que una novela presupone un trasfondo de realidad, es en primer lugar una novela y no historia; desfigura la historia, sí, la falsifica, la desvirtúa, y añade que un escritor es un tipo especial de científico. Es una mezcla de psicólogo, filósofo, observador social y que como al emigrante que le falta el presente, su deseo es encontrar paralelismos históricos, justificar la necesidad de recuerdos, la tendencia a consolarse y a vengarse, al menos de una manera imaginaria. Este ensayo parte de estas posiciones teóricas del escritor Alfred Döblin y muestra la coherencia entre ellas y su realización poética en la novela *Der blaue Tiger* (*El jaguar azul*). Incrustados en el haz principal de la obra, que tiene un trasfondo de realidad histórica, hay varios micro relatos que falsifican/inventan la historia y una gran cantidad de información que construye verdaderos paralelismos históricos que promueven la identificación imaginaria del autor con figuras conocidas al establecer puentes no solo con los diversos niveles del pasado, sino sobre todo con el presente, lo que hace que la novela sea de una actualidad única.

<sup>1</sup> Profesora titular de la Facultad de Filosofía, Letras y Ciencias Humanas de la Universidad de São Paulo (FFLCH-USP). Coordinadora del Grupo de Investigación RELIBRA (Relaciones Lingüísticas y Literarias entre Brasil y los Países de Lengua Alemana) y del Proyecto de Investigación LIBEA (Literatura Brasileña de Expresión Alemana). Correo: [celeste@usp.br](mailto:celeste@usp.br) ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6044-8921>



**Palabras clave:** Alfred Döblin, pueblos indígenas latinoamericanos, mitología, religión, ciencia, economía.

## Introduction

Anyone who reads the title of my text may ask: What do you mean? How can literature *stricto sensu* be a vehicle of knowledge? Yes, it can! Virginia Woolf, for example, in her essay *A room of one's own*, stated that “fiction here is likely to contain more truth than fact” (Woolf, 1929, p. 4). Also, five sentences authored by the writer of the novel, the German-Jewish Alfred Döblin, recorded in his essay *Der historische Roman und wir* (The historical novel and us)<sup>2</sup>, initially published in 1936, guide the words of this text. They are:

1. “Every novel needs a fund of reality”.<sup>3</sup>
2. “The historical novel is first of all a novel and secondly not history”.<sup>4</sup>
3. “The novel messes up history, yes, falsifies it, suppresses it”.<sup>5</sup>
4. “A writer [...] is a special kind of scientist. He is a special alloy of psychologist, philosopher, and social observer”.<sup>6</sup>
5. “Understandably, because apart from the lack of present, the is [in the emigrant] the desire to find one's historical parallels, to locate oneself historically, to justify oneself, the need to reflect, the inclination to console and to avenge oneself at least imaginarily”.<sup>7</sup>

These five sentences that show Döblin's theoretical position regarding the relations between literature and history are applied in the narrative *Der blaue Tiger* (The blue jaguar)<sup>8</sup>, they give shape to interconnections between historical data and imagined but plausible stories, they form a believable world – our world – that we grasp easily.

The last statement, which refers to the author's exile, allows that the time worked in the novel *Der blaue Tiger*, originally published in 1938, not only regresses but also is extended, and not only to the time of the writer's exile (1933-1945) and before, but also to the reader's time.

The objective of this essay is to illuminate how Döblin proceeds literarily, that is, how he deals with history and fiction in relation to the work of the Jesuits in South America and constructs the historical novel *Der blaue Tiger* (The blue jaguar).

The central subject of Alfred Döblin's novel *Der blaue Tiger*– the 2<sup>nd</sup> volume of his South America trilogy *Amazonas* – is the epic of the Jesuits during the evangelization of the native South Americans in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.

<sup>2</sup> This essay is also available in Portuguese. See Döblin (2017).

<sup>3</sup> All translations are the author's Original: Kleinschmidt (1989), “Jeder Roman hat einen Fonds Realität nötig” (p.291).

<sup>4</sup> Original: Kleinschmidt (1989), “Der historische Roman ist erstens Roman und zweitens keine Historie” (p.298).

<sup>5</sup> Original: Kleinschmidt (1989), “Der Roman verhunzt doch die Historie, er fälscht doch, unterschlägt [...]” (p.300).

<sup>6</sup> Original: Kleinschmidt (1989), “Ein Schriftsteller [...] ist eine besondere Art Wissenschaftler. Er ist in spezieller Legierung Psychologe, Philosoph, Gesellschaftsbeobachter” (p. 307).

<sup>7</sup> Original: Kleinschmidt (1989), “Begreiflicherweise, denn abgesehen vom Mangel an Gegenwart, ist da [im Emigrant] der Wunsch, seine historischen Parallelen zu finden, sich historisch zu lokalisieren, zu rechtfertigen, die Notwendigkeit, sich zu besinnen, die Neigung, sich zu trösten und wenigstens imaginär zu rächen” (pp. 313-314)

<sup>8</sup> This novel is also available in Portuguese under the title *O tigre azul*. Epopeia dos jesuítas nas missões sul-americanas.

To build the “fund of reality” of the novel, Döblin uses a large number of facts articulated on a main beam that unfolds into a thematic quadripod, namely,

- 1) The culture and knowledge of the native peoples of South America – a magical world;
- 2) the culture and knowledge of the Roman Catholic Church of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries – a magical and materialistic world;
- 3) the knowledge of science that emerged with force at that time and was projected into the future – a rationalist and materialistic world;
- 4) the culture and knowledge of the colonizers and merchants of those times - a materialistic world par excellence.

Such cultures and information reverberate to this day.

### About the culture and knowledge of the native peoples

About the culture and knowledge of the native peoples, a magical world, the novel offers fragments glimpsed in the midst of historical colonialist action and Jesuit evangelization. Right at the beginning of the novel, at the end of the trip from Europe to South America, there is a fictional dialogue between two Jesuits, the historical figure Emanuel de Nobrega and the invented newcomer Mariana, about the heat that is present in the caravel as they approach the South American tropics. For the inexperienced Mariana, the heat had to be fought, because acting, taking the gospel to the native populations, under that heat would be impossible. The mistake of the historical Dominican Las Casas in the work of evangelizing the foresters in Central America, and in the territories of what is now Mexico and Venezuela, had been precisely this: to have ignored the heat when approaching the indigenous people in the forest, the same indigenous people who surrendered to the heat, that is, the natives who were in tune with the climate, with the forest, with nature. For evangelization to succeed, this bond had to be severed, for in Western culture, there was a belief that heat made civilization impossible, that heat was responsible for laziness, moral weakness, and exaggerated sensuality; civilization presupposed the domination of nature! This problem of heat in human life was to be reflected in 1748 in the book *The Spirit of Laws* (*L'esprit des lois*) by Montesquieu (1689-1755), a landmark of the Enlightenment. For the French philosopher, the climate would determine the characteristics of a country. The torrid climate would cause human and political depravities. And today, curiously, among the standards established for example by the Brazilian CLT (*Consolidação das Leis do Trabalho*, in English *Consolidation of Labor Laws*), is the Ergonomics Regulatory Standard. The ideal temperature for maximum productivity, suggested by the standard, is that the workplace is between 20 and 23°C.

The harmony between natives and nature is once again addressed in the novel, when one arrives at the precarious village known as Piratininga, then São Paulo, when the narrator recognizes that the huts covered with palm leaves were well suited to the forest floor. This harmony also ends up translated into the action of the natives in the middle of the forest, building huts with the elements of nature available, looking for roots, fruits and honey to feed themselves. This harmony also comes up in the scene of the novel in which the natives identify themselves with birds and imitate their movements. In nature, all the elements are animated, they have spirit just like the so-called humans. The waters of the rivers, for example, are animated by the Sucuriçu, a huge serpent, which promotes a harsh and tragic dialogue with the newcomer Mariana more or less converted to the indigenous worldview. The Sucuriçu snake says that humans are bad, because they kill animals and plants, because they don't have a life

of their own. This animism present in indigenous culture and knowledge is also recorded in the scene in which the foresters are fascinated by the manual work of the Jesuits and want to imitate them. So, the screws are confused with the walk of John the Baptist through the desert, the nails and the hammer with the crucifixion of Jesus Christ; a house becomes “a cave along the refugee trail, the heavy nail that penetrated the rough log was implored not to hurt and not to keep Jesus suffering on his cross, it was called ‘Have-no-fear’” (Translated by Godwin, 2018, p. 95).<sup>9</sup>

Or even:

the beam, the plane and Mary all went into a scandalous, burlesque mix. There stood houses one, two and three, but were not houses one, two and three, rather fragments of a narrative, a pious Indian account overflowing with plants and animals. Hammer blows were associated with the punching of holes for a rosary, screws they drove squealed, called out, the board answered, not once but every time, and everybody noticed and attested to it. (Translated by Godwin, 2018, p. 104)<sup>10</sup>

The magical world of the natives, animated by spirits, is also shaped by what the whites call superstition, that is, the Indians believed that a spell they made with grass knots and wooden figures actually protected the novice Jesuit Mariana; a magical world in which everyone lives with joy. A world of forests and fields that was missed by Lucas, a native already transformed into a chamberlain for a royal inspector. A world referred to, confirmed and defended today by the indigenous writer Ailton Krenak, in the book *Ideias para adiar o fim do mundo* (Ideas to postpone the end of the world) of 2019, when he states that:

When we depersonalize the river, the mountain, when we take away their senses, considering that this is an exclusive attribute of humans, we free these places to become residues of industrial and extractive activity. From our divorce from integrations and interactions with our mother, the Earth, it results that she is leaving us orphans, not only to those who in different degrees, are called Indians, natives, or indigenous peoples, but to everyone. (Author's trans..)<sup>11</sup>

It was necessary to reach the second decade of the twenty-first century, in the face of the climate crisis installed on the planet, for the indigenous Ailton Krenak to tell us that without the resacralization of nature, we have no salvation. Something that the physicist and astronomer Marcelo Gleiser also defends as the only way out for the survival of the Earth in the book *O despertar do universo consciente. Um manifesto para o futuro da humanidade* (The awakening of the conscious universe. A manifesto for the future of humanity) of 2024. He says:

<sup>9</sup> Original: Döblin (1963), “die Höhle auf der Flucht; der schwere Nagel, der das grobe Holz durchbohrte, wurde beschworen, nicht wehzutun und den leidenden Jesus nicht am Kreuz zu halten, er hiess Fürchtetichnicht” (p. 409).

<sup>10</sup> Original: Döblin (1963), “Der Balken, der Hobel und Maria gingen eine ungeheuerliche, burleske Mischung ein. Da standen die Häuschen Zahl eins, Zahl zwei, Zahl drei, waren aber nicht Häuschen, sondern Stücke einer Erzählung, eines frommen indianischen, mit Pflanzen und Tieren vollgestopften Berichtes. Hammerschläge gingen zusammen mit den Körnern eines Rosenkranzes, Schrauben, die man eindrehte, knarnten, riefen, das Brett antwortete, nicht ein einzelnes mal, sondern immer, und alle stellten es fest und bestätigten es” (p. 424).

<sup>11</sup> Original: Krenak (2019), “Quando depersonalizamos o rio, a montanha, quando tiramos deles os seus sentidos, considerando que isso é atributo exclusivo dos humanos, nós liberamos esses lugares para que se tornem resíduos da atividade industrial e extrativista. Do nosso divórcio das integrações e interações com a nossa mãe, a Terra, resulta que ela está nos deixando órfãos, não só aos que em diferente graduação são chamados de índios, indígenas ou povos indígenas, mas a todos” (pp. 49-50).

The conceptual basis for this change in mindset is the scientific revelation that life is a rare event in the universe and Earth is a rare planet. Perhaps life exists in other worlds, even intelligent life. In practice, given the vast interstellar distances and the lack of any evidence confirming the existence of extraterrestrial life, we need to become aware of our cosmic loneliness, roll up our sleeves, and immediately start working on reorienting our civilization project in a direction that secures its future.

This is a revolution dedicated to the spiritual awakening of humanity, a spirituality without a specific denomination, centered on the reconnection of each of us with the earth and with the collectivity of life to which we belong.

(Author's trans.)

### **About the knowledge and culture of the Catholic Church of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries**

About the knowledge and culture of the Catholic Church of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the novel unfolds the narrative into two broad perspectives, which in turn unfold into smaller ones. The two major perspectives encompass:

- A) the culture and knowledge of the Roman Catholic Church, which are called to the reader's reflection through the allusion to Protestantism and the Counter-Reformation, as well as to the 30 Years' War and
- B) the culture and knowledge of the Jesuits, which in their time revealed a utopian Catholicism and later a pragmatic and a sacred/profane Catholicism.

The culture and knowledge of the Catholic Church in Europe, in the Vatican, is shown through a worldly Church with its soldier popes and their wars such as that of the Thirty Years between Protestants and Catholics with their human miseries, for instance the rape perpetrated without mercy on innocents. For example, Pope Urban VIII (1568-1644), who at the same time behaves like a head of state with immense temporal powers, a pope who expands the territory of the Vatican by arms and through cunning political games. At the same time, Pope Urban VIII, like a patron, also encourages the arts and, as lord of the Church, proceeds to reforms on the spiritual plane, although sometimes in a biased way, as the novel points out. The bishops sent to South America – to the city of Asunción in what is now Paraguay – are also more profane than religious. The historical bishop Don Reginaldo de Lizárraga, a Spanish Dominican, for example, in the novel had never adapted to the precariousness of South American life; the fictional Bishop Felix, his successor, with an entirely aristocratic profile, a lover of Renaissance art, lives in love with his chambermaid with whom he has a daughter.

Felix, an Italian, sat on his horse like a knight and enjoyed the gentle landscape. He lifted himself in the saddle to gaze behind and to the side. They passed dense groves of bamboo that accompanied the river's course and concealed the low growth along the deep roadside ditches, in which water stood. His face, grave and calm, exuded benevolence, a dark brown beard framed the face, melancholy black eyes queried and greeted the landscape. Now he was riding along the bank of the Paraná. Rome, Florence, Ferrara were far away, he had given up his Classical studies in order to hear no longer the hideous din of European wars.

He dreamed of the magic of a southern landscape, of a great peace. He had a particular reason to seek out the remarkable and much discussed reductions of the pugnacious Jesuits. (Translation by Godwin, 2018, pp. 143-144)<sup>12</sup>

For Felix, the Jesuits are nothing more than fanatics like his invented nephew González, who had abandoned all the benefits he had offered him in Asunción and had buried himself in that closed world of the reductions.

As said before the culture and knowledge of the Jesuits can be seen in the novel in three phases: a utopian phase, a pragmatic phase and a sacred/profane phase.

In its utopian phase, the culture and knowledge of the Jesuits is marked by the leadership of Father Emanuel de Nóbrega who, although he is a historical figure, presents in the novel a biography entirely created by Döblin in order to glorify the missionary work of the Jesuits. The fictional Emanuel de Nóbrega believed, for example, he was able to establish, in South America, together with the Indians, the celestial New Jerusalem, as well as he believed in miracles. Quoting from the novel:

And if you rubbed your eyes you still could not dismiss the image displayed solidly there before you, of the peaceful happy life of simple fisherfolk on the sea of Galilee, Simon and Andrew cast their nets, and Jesus spoke to them saying: "I shall make you fishers of men", and so they abandoned their nets and followed him. And there was James, son of Zebedee, and his brother John in their boat repairing their nets, and Simon and Andrew and the Saviour sat by the sea, a mass of people thronged to them, and he showed himself master of all the ancient laws, they clung to him, he climbed into a boat, the great crowd stood on the shore, and he spoke to them of the sower and the seed, how the seed fell on good soil, the seed grew and bore fruit, thirtyfold, sixtyfold, a hundredfold. (Translation by Godwin, 2018, p. 104)<sup>13</sup>

But miracles end up not happening. For example, a great battle that the Jesuits fought against the Mamelukes of Piratininga/São Paulo was lost. The novel says:

<sup>12</sup> Original: Döblin (1963), "*Felix, ein Italiener, saß wie ein Ritter auf seinem Pferd und genoß die weiche Landschaft. Er hob sich im Sattel, um seitwärts und zurück zu blicken. Sie passieren die dichten Bambuswälder, die sich den Fluß entlangzogen und die Böschungen der tiefen Längsgräben bedeckten, in denen Wasser stand. Ernst und friedlich war sein Gesicht, aus dem Wohlwollen sprach, ein dunkelbrauner Bart umrahmte das Gesicht, die melancholisch schwarzen Augen befragten und begrüßten die Landschaft. Er ritt nun am Ufer des Paraná. Rom, Florenz, Ferrara waren fern, er hatte seine klassischen Studien aufgegeben, um den scheußlichen Kriegslärm Europas nicht zu hören. Ihm träumte vom Zauber einer südlichen Landschaft, von einem großen Frieden. Er hatte einen besonderen Grund, die merkwürdigen, vielerörterten Reduktionen der streitsüchtigen Jesuiten aufzusuchen*" (p. 483).

<sup>13</sup> Original: Döblin (1963), "Und wenn man sich auch die Augen rieb, man konnte es doch nicht aus der Welt schaffen, daß sich da leibhaftig vor einem abspielte das friedlich glückselige Leben der einfachen Fischer am galiläischen Meer, Simon und Andreas, die ihre Netze auswarfen, und Jesus sprach sie an und sagte: 'Ich will euch zu Menschenfischern machen', und da verließen sie ihre Netze und folgten ihm. Und Jakobus war da, der Sohn des Zebedäus, und sein Bruder Johannes, die in ihrem Boot ihre Netze zurechtmachten, und Simon und Andreas, und der Heiland saß am Meer, die ganze Volksmasse zog ihm nach, und er erwies sich als Herr über die alten Gesetze, sie hingen ihm an, er stieg in ein Boot, der ganze Haufen war am Strand, und er sprach zu ihnen vom Sämann und von der Saat, wie die Saat auf gutes Land fiel, die Saat ging auf, wuchs heran und trug Frucht, dreißigfältig, sechzigfältig, hundertfältig" (p. 425).

They waited for a miracle. The Fathers were with them. The Fathers sang with them of the kingdom of Heaven. Jerusalem, you holy city! O holy city, o open door, o jewelled gate. Whoever here receives Jesus Christ may atone lightly for his sins, he is greeted with music and jubilation, and no longer suffers torment. [...] They slew hundreds in this battle. (Translation by Godwin, 2018, pp. 116-117)<sup>14</sup>

The Jesuits' pragmatic phase is also marked by a historical leader, Father Montoya, and by the need for absolute protection of the Jesuits and Indians under his custody. This means the foundation of heavily armed reductions, which come to be referred to as a state within the state, a communist state, viewed with a bad eye by the colonizing apparatus, aligned with the emerging European bourgeoisie. In the words of the governor of the Province of the Río de la Plata and Paraguay, Don Álvaro Nunez Cabeza de Vaca<sup>15</sup> (1540/41 to 1544), a historical figure, referring to the Jesuits: "Gentlemen, gentlemen, what do you ask of me? Such clever men, and now whatever are you thinking? You can't isolate yourselves like that. It seems you are forming a state within a state" (Translation by Godwin, 2018, p. 110).<sup>16</sup> And, later, they were seen in the same way by the Marquis of Pombal. Quoting from the novel:

Over there in America, using pious donations and under the protection of Catholic monarchs, they had inveigled a whole empire for themselves, out of motives which were still unclear, but little by little it emerged that it had been constructed on communist principles. There they had amassed riches, stripped gold mines whose very existence they had kept concealed; cunning as they were, on the excuse that Whites were ruining the customs of the natives, they had even prevented any inspections, those foxes, those wolves in sheep's clothing. They had manufactured gunpowder in quantities sufficient to blow up every capital city in Europe. On the pretext of protecting poor Indians, they had enabled these cannibals and savages to acquire modern weapons. Furthermore, they had recently shown their teeth in the Sacramento affair, when they conducted open warfare against Spain and Portugal. And now, impatient, they have revealed their hand by taking aim at the sainted person of the king. To them, any means is justified if it leads to the goal, treachery, perjury, even regicide. (Translation by Godwin, 2018, p. 239)<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Original: Döblin (1963), "Sie warteten auf das Wunder. Die Väter waren bei ihnen. Die Väter sangen mit ihnen vom Himmelreich. „Jerusalem, du heilige Stadt! O heilige Stadt, o offenes Tor, o Pforte aus Juwelen. Wer duldet hier um Jesu Christ, daß Sünden werden leicht gebüßt. Vorbei ist alles Quälen.“ [...] Sie haben Hunderte in dieser Schlacht umgebracht" (pp. 443-446).

<sup>15</sup> See Chagas (2010).

<sup>16</sup> Original: Döblin (1963), "Herrschaften, Herrschaften, womit kommt ihr mir da. Ihr seid doch so vernünftig, was fällt euch denn da ein. So isolieren kann man sich schließlich doch nicht. Das sieht ja grade aus, als ob ihr einen Staat im Staat bilden wolltet" (p. 434).

<sup>17</sup> Original: Döblin (1963), "Aus frommen Geldern hatten sie sich unten in Amerika, unter dem Schutz katholischer Monarchen, ein ganzes Reich erschwandelt, von dem man noch nicht wußte, was sie eigentlich mit ihm vorhatten, aber man erfuhr jetzt nach und nach, daß es nach kommunistischen Grundsätzen aufgezogen war. Dort hatten sie Reichtümer aufgehäuft, Goldbergwerke ausgebeutet, deren Vorhandensein sie zu verschleiern verstanden; sie hatten ja, schlau wie sie waren, unter dem Vorgeben, die Weißen verderbten die Sitten der Indianer, alle Kontrolle verhindert, diese Füchse, diese Wölfe im Schafspelz. Sie hatten Pulvermasse fabriziert in solcher Menge, daß man alle europäischen Hauptstädte damit in die Luft sprengen konnte. Sie hatten unter dem Vorgeben, arme Indianer zu schützen, diesen Menschenfressern und Wilden eine moderne Bewaffnung ermöglicht. Daraufhin hatten sie schon neulich die Zähne gezeigt, im Fall Sacramento, wo sie offen Krieg gegen Spanien und Portugal führten. Und

Although the characters are historical figures, the way their actions intertwine is absolutely fictional, but plausible.

Now, since Döblin introduced this reflection on communism in the time of the novel, that is, in the seventeenth century, the reader is also in a certain way obliged to research the history of the concept and will find its beginning in Plato's *Republic* (427 BC - 347 BC). Already there, Plato presents a society that shares its goods and the education of its children, adopting a system without private property and without families. Plato, also author of *Critias* and *Timaeus*, texts that give news of Atlantis and the Atlanteans, that Döblin most probably handled in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, where he spent much of his exile, precisely entertained with books on the Atlanteans, on the Amazon, its inhabitants, on South America, books on the experiment of the Jesuits - Charlevoix, Métraux, Murr, Southey. Then, in 1516, Thomas More published *Utopia*, that pursues the same egalitarian ideal seen in Plato's *Republic*. In 1755, Jean-Jacques Rousseau published the essay "Discourse on the Origin and Foundations of Inequality Among Men" (*Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes*), demonstrating that the origin of inequalities lies in private property. And it is only with Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the "Communist Manifesto" (*Das Kommunistische Manifest*), of 1848, that the term reaches a modern configuration with various developments, reaching the time of Alfred Döblin (1878-1957), author of the novel *Der blaue Tiger*, the time of the Bolshevik Revolution (1917), the time of the Nazism (1933-1945) and even the current polarization between left and right. It is important to note that communism, as we know it today, that is, as a socio-economic system that defends the common ownership of the means of production, did not exist in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Modern communism only emerged with the ideas of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

Returning to the culture and knowledge of the Jesuits, Montoya's pragmatic phase evolves into a sacred/profane phase, in the novel led by the superior Luís de la Roca, which is marked by the peak of the economic and military prosperity of the reductions, in which the ecclesiastics no longer mix with the original peoples, having given them administrative positions, although under their supervision. Quoting from the novel:

The reductions thrived wonderfully. With the surplus the Fathers bought gold, copper, bronze, silver, paid the king's tribute. Yerba-maté remained their most precious medium of exchange, the north brought honey, wax, maize, cotton, the south gave wool, hemp, wheat, forests, fish, meadows for the cattle, and horses everywhere. The Fathers in the reductions shut themselves up in their college houses. They appeared only on big occasions. They ruled with the help of a lay magistracy, corregidor, alcalde, assessors, all of them dark men. They appeared in church surrounded by a gorgeously attired boy choir. They never visited houses or huts, the sick were brought to a building in the college. When the Fathers showed themselves, they did so in a great procession, with pomp and majesty. (Translation by Godwin, 2018, p. 202)<sup>18</sup>

jetzt, gereizt, decken sie ihre Karten auf und gehen die geheiligte Person des Königs an. Alles ist ihnen recht, wenn es zum Ziel führt, Verrat, Meineid, sogar Königsmord" (pp. 625-626).

<sup>18</sup> Original: Döblin (1963), "Die Reduktionen gediehen prächtig. Von ihrem Überschuss kauften die Väter Gold, Kupfer, Erz, Silber, zahlten den Tribut für den König. Die Yerba-Mate blieb ihr kostbares Tauschprodukt, der Süden brachte Honig, Wachs, Mais, Baumwolle, der Norden gab Wolle, Hanf, Weizen, Wald, Fisch, Weiden für das Vieh, und überall Pferde. Die Väter in der Reduktion schlossen sich in ihren Kollegenhäusern ein. Sie erschienen nur bei großen Gelegenheiten. Sie regierten mit Hilfe eines weltlichen Magistrats: Corregidor, Alcada, Assessoren, die alle dunkle Männer waren. In der Kirche erschienen sie umgeben von schön gekleideten Knabenchören. Häuser

[...]

The people out there, with their savage envy of the thriving reductions, should see that we have teeth. This important official, accompanied by the Master of Horse and the Sergeant-major, was taken to the armoury. Hundreds of horses were kept always in reserve, there were huge numbers of lances, clubs, iron spikes, good bows, stones for sling and handthrow, firearms and the paraphernalia of powder. [...] They showed the Visitor the famous cattle ranches each with its chapels, fruit trees, orange groves. Such prosperity! Such strength! (Translation by Godwin, 2018, pp. 204-205)<sup>19</sup>

At this point, the narrative makes room for more historical parallels, and the debate about communism is rekindled. Was Jesus a communist? And the Liberation Theology was militated in the twentieth century by the Jesuits Juan Luis Segundo, Uruguayan, and Jon Sobrino, Spanish? And what about the sale of the surpluses of production at the time of the superior De la Roca? These are topics for reflection, although it is known that the Jesuits, who belonged to the Society of Jesus, were a religious order, created in 1534 by Ignatius of Loyola, linked to the Catholic Church and recognized by it, therefore, in principle, they were not communists. In the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Jesuits stood out mainly for preaching the Gospel throughout the world, as well as for education, having developed early knowledge of psychology and pedagogy.<sup>20</sup>

In the missions or reductions, that they founded in areas of Paraguay, Argentina and Brazil, they converted the natives to Christianity; with severe discipline, they taught them agriculture, handicrafts, music, and other skills. Therefore, although the Jesuits practiced a form of communal living in their missions, this should not be confused with communism in the modern sense of the term, as the Jesuits were not concerned with the implementation of a specific economic system. However, the words of Alfred Döblin, in the essay "Der historische Roman und wir" (The historical novel and us), when speaking of his interest in historical parallels, allow the discussion to extend to the merits and demerits of liberalism versus socialism in an attempt to solve human misery, a discussion that still echoes vigorously today. On the one hand, liberalism, cultivated since the seventeenth century to confront the reigning absolutisms, flourished in the economy of the eighteenth century and has continued to this day, defending the efficiency of merchants (in today's words, of the market), in the distribution of wealth; on the other hand, socialism, which emerged at the end of the nineteenth century with its defense of the end of the exploitation of labor and of a classless society, already practiced, in some way and in its own way, at the time of the Jesuits in their South American reductions.

---

und Hütten betraten sie nicht, Kranke wurden in das Gebäude am Kolleg gebracht. Wo die Väter sich zeigten, taten sie es in großem Aufzug, mit Würde und Majestät" (p. 369).

<sup>19</sup> Original: Döblin (1963), "Da draußen die Leute, die wild eifersüchtig auf die blühenden Reduktionen waren, sollten wissen, daß man Zähne habe. Man führte den hohen Beamten, begleitet vom Feldmeister und Sergeantmajor, in die Arsenale. Hundert Pferde wurden immer in Reserve gehalten, es gab massenhaft Lanzen, Beile, Eisenpfeile, gute Bogen, Schleuder- und Wurfsteine, Feuerwaffen und Pulvervorräte. [...] Die berühmten Rinderfarmen besuchte der Visitor, Kapellen, Fruchtbäume, Orangerhaine bei jeder Farm. Welcher Wohlstand! Welche Macht!" (p. 573).

<sup>20</sup> See Massimi (2023).

## On the knowledge of the sciences

Still in parallel to the presented worlds of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, another world is also concomitant and is revealed by the narrator. In his words: "Something mysteriously ominous, which even those who feared it did not merely fear, closed in on the Whites. They sensed it in many ways, had many ways of alluding to it, it came sooner over one people than another." (Translation by Godwin, 2018, p. 197).<sup>21</sup> In the midst of this mysterious and gigantic something, the world of science looms large, gains strength, a world that makes visible the beginning of the desacralization of nature. Scientists and their stories, their true biographies, are brought into the narrative in a shuffled sequence. Among the scientists named, Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543), Girolamo Cardano (1501-1576), Miguel Servetus (1511-1553), Andreas Visalius (1514-1564), Giordano Bruno (1548-1600), Galileo Galilei (1564-1642) stand out.

Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543), Polish, as everyone knows, was the astronomer and mathematician who developed the heliocentric theory of the Solar System, which opposed the Aristotelian explanations, accepted by the Church, which stated that the Earth was the center of the Universe. In the words of the astronomer Marcelo Gleiser:

a profound change of perspective on our place in the universe occurred in 1543, with the publication of the famous book [...] *On the revolutions of heavenly spheres* (De revolutionibus orbium coelestium). Copernicus proposed that, contrary to what everyone had thought until then, the Earth was not the center of the universe, but a mere planet revolving around the Sun, like Venus, Mars, and all the others in our solar system. (Author's trans.)<sup>22</sup>

And this Copernicus observed from his roofless tower. Copernicus was also a canon of the Catholic Church, governor and administrator, jurist and physician. Because of his revolutionary ideas and distance from the traditional world, he was punished by the Inquisition with the silencing of his works and his voice, but his discoveries were not annihilated. He influenced Giordano Bruno, Johannes Kepler, Galileo, Isaac Newton, René Descartes, who, in turn, will influence others and so on to this day. With Copernicus, in Marcelo Gleiser's words, "even the diversity of life has lost its magic, when we position ourselves above animals, believing that we humans are more gods than animals, the owners of nature" (Author's trans).<sup>23</sup>

Girolamo Cardano (1501–1576) was an Italian polymath. He wrote more than 200 works on medicine, mathematics, physics, philosophy, religion, and music. In mathematics he was the first to introduce the general ideas of the theory of algebraic equations. He influenced: Lodovico Ferrari, Isaac Newton, Pierre de Fermat and so on. He was condemned by the Inquisition and then released.

<sup>21</sup> Original: Döblin (1963), "Etwas geheimnisvoll Ungeheueres, das auch die, die es fürchteten, nicht nur fürchteten, zog sich über den Weißen zusammen. Sie fühlten es auf viele Weise, sprachen es mannigfaltig aus, über ein Volk kam es rascher als über das andere" (p. 561).

<sup>22</sup> Original: Gleiser (2024), "Uma mudança profunda de perspectiva sobre o nosso lugar no universo ocorreu em 1543, com a publicação do famoso livro [...] *Sobre as revoluções das esferas celestes* (De revolutionibus orbium coelestium). Copérnico propôs que, ao contrário do que todos pensavam até então, a Terra não era o centro do universo, mas um mero planeta girando em torno do Sol, como Vênus, Marte e todos os outros do nosso sistema solar" (p. 14).

<sup>23</sup> Original: Gleiser (2024), "Até a diversidade da vida perdeu a sua magia, ao nos posicionarmos acima dos animais, acreditando que nós humanos somos mais deuses do que bichos, os donos da natureza" (p. 14).

Miguel Servetus (1511-1553), was a theologian, physician and philosopher from Aragon in Spain, humanist, interested in subjects such as astronomy, meteorology, geography, jurisprudence, mathematics, anatomy, biblical studies and medicine. Servetus was the first European to describe the pulmonary circulation. Condemned to death for heresy, he also had his books burned.

Andreas Vesalius (1514-1564) was a Belgian physician, considered the "father of modern anatomy", having based his observations on the dissections he himself practiced. He was the author of the publication *The fabric of the human body* (De Humani Corporis Fabrica), an atlas of anatomy published in 1543, the same year that Copernicus published *On the revolutions of heavenly spheres*. Vesalius was sentenced to death by the Inquisition. (A curiosity about this book: A copy of this rare work has just arrived at the IEB - Institute of Brazilian Studies, according to a report in the *Jornal da USP*, by Ricardo Thomé, on June 11 of this year 2024. It is worth reading the comment on the form and content of the book, which bears the title "Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros da USP recebe livro do século 16", in English "Institute of Brazilian Studies of USP receives book from the 16th century").

Giordano Bruno (1548-1600) was an Italian theologian and Dominican friar, philosopher, writer, mathematician, poet, hermetic occultist, and theorist of cosmology. He presented theories of the infinite universe, composed of multiple worlds, going beyond Copernicus. He was sentenced to death at the stake by the Inquisition. He influenced: Galileo Galilei, Gottfried Leibniz, Umberto Eco, among others.

Galileo (di Vincenzo Bonaiuti de) Galilei (1564–1642) was a Florentine astronomer, physicist, and engineer, sometimes described as a polymath. He is often referred to as the "father of observational astronomy", "father of modern physics", "father of the scientific method", and "father of modern science". He improved the telescope, worked with kinematics and dynamics. Because of this, he was sentenced by the Inquisition to the silence of house arrest until his death.

All these discoveries contradicted and put in check the still hegemonic theological knowledge of the Catholic Church in Rome. All these scientists, with all their vicissitudes, must have been a consolation to our writer Alfred Döblin, according to his statement at the beginning of this text: "Understandably, because apart from the lack of present, there is [in the emigrant] the desire to find one's historical parallels, to locate oneself historically, to justify oneself, the need to reflect, the inclination to console oneself and to avenge oneself at least imaginarily". He was not the only one misunderstood and punished.

### **On the culture and knowledge of the colonizers and merchants**

On the culture and knowledge of the colonizers and merchants, another parallel world that takes shape in the novel and in the history of the sixteenth, and eighteenth centuries encompasses colonizers and merchants. Almost always rude and uneducated people, the colonizers, and even the governors and their subordinates linked to the Crown in the metropolis, looked to South America for new possibilities of survival.

The colonizers of São Paulo, for example, were explorers of the hinterlands and discoverers of emerald mines and did so together with their indigenous people. There were also colonizers, on ranches and farms, who progressed thanks to the slave labour of the native people, watched over by armed white men, and later also thanks to the work of blacks trafficked from Africa to America. Quoting from the novel: "They're friendly to us only as far as they fear us. If my brother, the one who just rode off, didn't go about with his gun and thrash without

mercy anyone he catches running away, we'd sit here alone and would already be massacred". (Translation by Godwin, 2018, p. 174).<sup>24</sup>

With the advent of science and the development of nautical instruments, there was an irrepressible explosion of merchants who began to trade between Europe and the American continent, highlighting the alienation of kings and nobility - let us not forget that Brazil also was under Spanish power between 1580 and 1640 -, a subject that also yields discussion to this day. Quoting from the novel:

Suddenly there was alarm in Madrid among the ministers surrounding I the King, who was still in place and ruling. The brutish merchants and shipowners of Cadiz, Seville and Malaga came along in person. They stormed and laid siege to the halls of government. [...]. It was colonization in reverse, Spanish riffraff puffed up into moneybags, failed hidalgos forced to work for a living, wheeler-dealers, exporters, all daring to make inroads on the home country that had spat them out. (Translation by Godwin, Trans., 2018, p. 213)<sup>25</sup>

Just as scientists called into question the theological principles of the Catholic Church, so merchants threatened the traditions of the nobility overcoming its uselessness. A new world emerged, pointing to the eighteenth century, a world entirely focused on rationalism and materialism. And also, in the search in the search for new spaces to survive and have a better life, we can glimpse another parallel world that was unfolding at the time of Alfred Döblin: the demand for a territory to settle the Jews of the East, with Peru, among others, being an example of this possibility.

With the science and techniques of navigation, nature also began to be systematically and progressively dominated and modified by man. The biomes began to be altered and moved from one side to the other. The novel in a chapter entitled "Die Bäume und Sträucher" (Trees and bushes), runs over the characteristics and trajectory of coffee, sugarcane, cotton, tobacco, cocoa, corn and wood, rubber trees. Coffee originating in Ethiopia passed through Arabia, Guyana, and was cultivated in the Amazon valley and then in other regions of Brazil. Sugarcane from India passed through Syria, was taken to Spain by the Crusaders and then brought to São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco. Cocoa and the rubber tree originate from the Amazon itself. (As a thought-provoking curiosity, I would like to mention here the current research of Giselle Beiguelman and the title of one of her latest works - "'Botannica Tirannica', a história do colonialismo pelo olhar das plantas", in English "'Botannica Tirannica', the history of colonialism through the eyes of plants").<sup>26</sup>

As the plants, people were also transplanted. This was the case with the blacks of Africa who, in the words of the novel, "were stronger and more resilient than the Indians" (Translation by Godwin, 2018, p. 211).<sup>27</sup> With this began another wave of commercial globalization, in the

<sup>24</sup> Original: Döblin (1963), "Genau so lange sind sie freundlich zu uns, wie sie uns fürchten. Ohne daß mein Bruder, der eben abgeritten ist, mit dem Gewehr herumzieht und gnadenlos jeden niederschießt, den er auf der Flucht erwischt, saßen wir heute allein und wären schon massakriert" (p. 528).

<sup>25</sup> Original: Döblin (1963), "Plötzlich wurden in Madrid den noch vorhandenen und regierenden Ich den König die Ministerien alarmiert. Die rabiate Kaufmannschaft und Reederschaft von Cadix, Sevilla und Malaga war angerückt in Person. Sie hielt in Madrid nach einem veritablen Sturm die Zimmer der Regierung besetzt. [...]. Es war eine rückwärtswandernde Kolonisation, die sich in das Inland wagte, spanischer Abhub, jetzt aufgedonnert zu Geldsäcken, verkrachte Hidalgos, die arbeiteten, Geschäftemacher, Exporteure" (pp. 586-587).

<sup>26</sup> See Beiguelman (2024).

<sup>27</sup> Original: Döblin (1963), "[...] stark und zäher als die Indianer" (p. 583).

words of the narrative “the new heavenly-earthly primal power” (Translation by Godwin, 2018, p. 222).<sup>28</sup> Quoting from the work:

And the black-robed black-hatted Fathers were, to be sure, learned and honourable priests, but they found the position of ruler agreeable and in the churches and ceremonial processions, at least, elaborated the same gaudy pomp as those monarchs across the sea; also, for them, trade had long ceased to be a mere sideline. (Translation by Godwin, 2018, p. 223)<sup>29</sup>

It is a theme that opens space for the broad debate about the colonization of South America, a colonization with capitalist objectives, but without free workers for support, which led to the enslavement of indigenous people and, later, of blacks, that is, to the invention of non-capitalist relations of production.

And all this flourished in the eighteenth century with the ideas of the Enlightenment that marked a mechanistic science that believed only in the force of reason as the best instrument to arrive at the truth. Gleiser, in the cited book, says that “this materialist intellectual attitude despised, with indifference and arrogance, indigenous cultures and their knowledge, considering ‘primitive and savage’ the deep connection with the land and with all aspects of nature that characterizes their worldviews” (Author’s trans.).<sup>30</sup>

In the novel, spokespersons for these ideas are the Marquis of Pombal and the King of Spain, Charles III, and their voices dictate the historical end of the Jesuits and of the reductions. The work of the Jesuits is also not understood, and this subject is in itself worthy of reflection. Ironically, these Europeans, enlightened despots, are an extension, a concreteness, of the mythological and destructive blue Guarani jaguar/tiger, which lends its name to the title of the novel. In the words of the already demented historical Jesuit Gabriel Malagrida, “this world cannot endure, it is ruled by men of violence and freethinkers, the blue Jaguar they talk of in the south, that evil beast, instrument of destruction, has come down from Heaven and is tearing the world to pieces” (Translation by Godwin, 2018, p. 237).<sup>31</sup>

If we continue to read between the lines of the novel, we will see more historical parallels projected in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries with other struggles and other wars that continue to destroy the world, destroying the once sacred nature of the native peoples.

Borrowing once again the words of Marcelo Gleiser in the book already mentioned, “despite the violence linked to the history of our species – and, here, unlike modern culture – for our ancestors the connection with nature was sacred and mysterious, animated by spirits”. (Author’s trans.).<sup>32</sup> Today, according to the scientist:

<sup>28</sup> Original: Döblin (1963), “[...] die neue himmlisch-irdische Urgewalt” (p. 601).

<sup>29</sup> Original: Döblin (1963), “Und die schwarzhütigen und schwarzhütigen Priester waren gewiß gelernte und ehrliche Priester, aber es tat ihnen auch wohl, zu regieren, denselben Prunk wenigstens in den Kirchen und in ihrem festlichen Aufzug zu entfalten wie die Monarchen draußen, und der Handel war ihnen schon lange keine Nebensache” (p. 602).

<sup>30</sup> Original: Gleiser (2024), “[...] essa atitude intelectual materialista desprezava, com indiferença e arrogância, as culturas indígenas e seus saberes, considerando ‘primitiva e selvagem’ a profunda conexão com a terra e com todos os aspectos da natureza que caracteriza suas cosmovisões” (p. 70).

<sup>31</sup> Original: Döblin (1963), “[...] diese Welt hat keinen Bestand, Gewalttäter und Freigeister regieren sie, der blaue Tiger, wie sie im Süden erzählen, der blaue Tiger, das böse Untier, der Träger der Vernichtung, ist vom Himmel heruntergestiegen und zerreit die Welt” (p. 623).

<sup>32</sup> Original: Gleiser (2024), “[...] apesar da violência atrelada à história da nossa espécie – e, aqui sim, diferentemente da cultura moderna –, para nossos ancestrais a conexão com a natureza era sagrada e misteriosa, animada por espíritos” (p. 13).

the Earth lost its enchantment and was desacralized and objectified, populated by sinful humans and savage beasts. [...] The world's population has grown and, with it, so has the consumption of natural resources, forcing us to dig deeper, to extract more efficiently, consuming the planet to supply the energy that feeds our insatiable project of civilization. [...] Our project of civilization will only be viable when we identify ourselves as members of a single tribe, the human tribe, which encompasses all the others. (Author's trans.)<sup>33</sup>

So too today's natives - Ailton Krenak, 71 years old, and Davi Kopenawa, 68, - believe and defend it.

### By way of conclusion

In the novel *Der blaue Tiger* (1938), between invented and historical lines, a world emerges woven not only with fictional and plausible information, with credible realities, but also with historical truths. Precisely for this reason, *Der blaue Tiger* is not history, it is a novel – a historical novel – that fulfils Döblin's theoretical positions related to the connection between literature and history as presented in his essay *Der historische Roman und wir* (1936).

Between the fictional and the historical lines of the novel, the world unveils itself and the blue jaguar/tiger of the novel's title, the apocalyptic mythological figure of the Guarani people, within the woven tissue of the work remains a threat, a symbolic threat, to us readers, also spectators of the ongoing and unstable climatic situation and ever more dangerous wars. And all this the novel offers to the reader's reflection between the lines. These are subjects that still can be unfolded and discussed to infinity. Within the information mentioned (historical and fictional) we can see and discuss the world of today, problems that are still very close to us and concern us: the heat that does not stop increasing and puts our lives at risk; nature that is losing its fertility, running the risk of not being able to feed us; there are no spiritual or scientific miracles in sight (for now); people do not stop arming themselves to defend their borders, although there is an ideology of egalitarianism, which opposes the privileged social strata; we continue to investigate more and more deeply the functioning of the human organism, in an attempt to overcome the limits of life; and we continue to scrutinize the heavens looking for external solutions to our misery. Here is our past and present between the lines of Alfred Döblin's novel *Der blaue Tiger* - a world of knowledge.

<sup>33</sup> Original: Gleiser (2024), “[...] a Terra perdeu seu encantamento e foi dessacralizada e objetificada, povoada por humanos pecadores e bestas selvagens. [...] A população mundial cresceu e, com ela, também o consumo de recursos naturais, nos forçando a cavar mais fundo, a extrair com mais eficiência, consumindo o planeta para suprir a energia que alimenta nosso insaciável projeto de civilização. [...] Nosso projeto de civilização só será viável quando nos identificarmos como membros de uma única tribo, a tribo humana, que engloba todas as outras” (pp. 13-18).

## References

- Beiguelman, G. (03 junho 2024). "Botannica Tirannica", a história do colonialismo pelo olhar das plantas. *JORNAL DA USP*. <https://jornal.usp.br/radio-usp/botannica-tirannica-a-historia-do-colonialismo-pelo-olhar-das-plantas/>
- Chagas, N. (2010). *O Guairá nos séculos XVI e XVII – as relações interculturais* [Tese de mestrado, Universidade Estadual de Maringá]. <http://repositorio.uem.br:8080/jspui/handle/1/2976>
- Copernicus, N. (1992). *On the revolutions of heavenly spheres* (E. Rosen, Trad.). Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Döblin, A. (1963). *Amazonas*. Walter Verlag.
- Döblin, A. (2017). *A construção da obra épica e outros ensayos* (A. Gregory, Trad.). EdUFSC.
- Döblin, A. (2018). *Amazonas*. (C. D. Godwin, Trad.). <https://beyond-alexanderplatz.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Web-Amazonas-vol-2-download.pdf>
- Döblin, A. (2022). *O tigre azul* (C. Ribeiro-de-Sousa, Trad.). Aetia Editorial.
- Gleiser, M. (2024). *O despertar do universo consciente. Um manifesto para o futuro da humanidade*. Record.
- Kleinschmidt, E. (1989). *Alfred Döblin. Schriften zu Ästhetik, Poetik und Literatur*. Walter-Vlg.
- Krenak, A. (2019). *Ideias para adiar o fim do mundo*. Companhia das Letras.
- Marx, K. e Engels, F. (2021). *Manifesto do comunista* (M. Como, Trad.). Paz & Terra.
- Massimi, M. (2023). *História dos saberes psicológicos na cultura brasileira*. EDUSP.
- Montesquieu, C. (2017). *L'esprit des lois*. Hachette Livre.
- More, T. (2018). *Utopia* (D. Bottmann, Trad.). Companhia das Letras.
- Platão (2001). *Crítias*. In *Timeu - Crítias - O Segundo Alcebiades - Hípias Menor* (C. da Costa Nunes, Trad.). EDUFPA.
- Platão (2001). *Timeu*. In *Timeu - Crítias - O Segundo Alcebiades - Hípias Menor* (C. da Costa Nunes, Trad.). EDUFPA.
- Platão (2020). *A república* (C. Mioranza, Trad.). Lafonte.
- Rousseau, J.J. (1973). *Discurso sobre a origem e os fundamentos da desigualdade entre os homens* (L. Santos Machado, Trad.). Abril.
- Thomé, R. (11 junho 2024). Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros da USP recebe livro do século 16. *Jornal da USP*. [https://jornal.usp.br/cultura/instituto-de-estudos-brasileiros-da-usp-recebe-livro-do-seculo-16/#:~:text=Arte%3A%20O%3ADvia%20Rueda\\*\\*&text=Em%20abril%20deste%20ano%2C%20o,%E2%80%9Cpai%20da%20anatomia%20moderna%E2%80%9D](https://jornal.usp.br/cultura/instituto-de-estudos-brasileiros-da-usp-recebe-livro-do-seculo-16/#:~:text=Arte%3A%20O%3ADvia%20Rueda**&text=Em%20abril%20deste%20ano%2C%20o,%E2%80%9Cpai%20da%20anatomia%20moderna%E2%80%9D)
- Vesalius, A. (2003). *The Fabric of the Human Body. An Annotated Translation of the 1543 and 1555 Editions* (D. Garrison and M. Hast, Eds.). Northwestern University.
- Woolf, V. (1929). *A room of one's own*. Alma classics.