

1 **Brazilian Voices in the Making:**
2 **Paulo Pontes, Chico Buarque and Euripides' Medea**

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5

6 **Abstract**

7 *Based on Euripides' Medea, the Brazilian play Gota d'Água (1975, Paulo Pontes and Chico*
8 *Buarque) is primarily a comment on the exploitation and silencing of Brazil's lower classes during*
9 *the military dictatorship of 1964-1985. In the Marxism-influenced introduction to the published*
10 *text, the authors claim that such exploitation was the consequence of the military government's*
11 *turn towards capitalism. They also refer to a cultural crisis originating from a residual*
12 *colonialism that had managed to endure in Brazilian society: "Brazilian history has (...) two*
13 *cultures: on the one hand, an elitist, colonizing one, brought here from Portugal; on the other*
14 *hand, a popular, silenced one, born of the social experience of the lower classes. Gota d'Água (...)*
15 *is a tragedy of Brazilian life" (Pontes & Buarque, p. xii; my translation). This article explores*
16 *how Gota d'Água adapts three specific elements of Euripides' tragedy to deliver its political*
17 *message. First, the adaptation strongly associates Jasão's new marriage with social climbing.*
18 *Second, the authors convey a tension between power and speaking through Joana's voicing of the*
19 *injustice she has suffered and Creonte's subsequent attempt to silence her. Third, the adaptation*
20 *evokes Medea's notorious monologue on being both female and a foreigner by portraying lower-*
21 *class women influenced by African religious practices as a marginalized group. By reframing*
22 *these three elements within a deprived suburb in 1970s Rio de Janeiro, Gota d'Água's engagement*
23 *with Medea enables the adaptation to comment on class struggle and the silencing of marginalized*
24 *cultures in Brazil at the time when the play was first performed.*

25
26 ***

27
28 This article identifies three elements of Euripides' *Medea* of interest to Chico
29 Buarque and Paulo Pontes in their play *Gota d'Água* (1975). These elements, this article
30 argues, enable Buarque and Pontes to reimagine *Medea* as a commentary on the reality

31 of the Brazilian lower classes in the 1970s. The article proceeds in five parts. The first
32 section is an overview of Brazilian history, contextualizing key elements in Brazil's
33 military dictatorship (1964-1985), under which *Gota d'Água* was written and performed.
34 The second section is a summary of *Gota d'Água*. The third, fourth and fifth sections
35 address thematic similarities between the two plays—namely, the relationship between
36 economic power and social climbing, between political power and silencing, and
37 between otherness and marginality.

38

39 1. Historical background

40

41 Brazil was colonized by the Portuguese between 1500 and 1822. Brazilian
42 independence can be traced back to 1808, when the Portuguese court sailed to Brazil in
43 a desperate measure to escape from Napoleon and to establish a power base in the New
44 World. At that time, Brazil was already an economic powerhouse, responsible for
45 approximately 60% “of the exports that earned Portugal’s trade surplus” (Skidmore,
46 1999, p. 31), leading the prince regent John VI to unify Brazil and Portugal into a “United
47 Kingdom”. This bold move had two implications: Brazilian elites, on the one hand, saw
48 the manoeuver as an opportunity to claim independence; Portuguese elites, on the other
49 hand, felt the need to reclaim Brazil’s colonial status and urged the court to return to
50 Portugal. This return, however, occurred only partially: John VI, now monarch, sailed
51 back to Portugal, but his son Pedro I remained in Brazil as prince regent.

52

53 In 1822, Pedro I declared Brazil’s independence and was crowned Emperor
54 Pedro I. That Brazilian independence was declared by a member of the Portuguese Royal
55 family reveals the continuities of the socio-political structures of the old regime (Caldeira
56 2017, p. 208): slavery was not yet abolished, and both economic and political power
57 remained concentrated in the hands of elites. The lack of a sharp divide between Brazil,
58 “the colony”, and Brazil, the newly founded “Empire”, has survived in Brazil for
59 centuries. Even after becoming a republic in 1889, presidential elections in Brazil

60 remained little more than a formality for decades. Frauds were not uncommon, and
61 candidates appointed by parties that were more influential in the government were often
62 “chosen” by the people – with hardly any use of campaigning or debates (Caldeira, 2017,
63 p. 340-341; p. 395-402).

64

65 In 1964, the military led a coup d’état in an attempt to control the “communist
66 threat” posed by João Goulart, the president at the time, who demonstrated a keen
67 interest in promoting social change (Skidmore, 1999, p. 155). The military dictatorship
68 argued that one of the main reasons for the rampant inflation Brazil was facing at the
69 time was a recent but significant increase in the minimum wage. Attempts to favor the
70 lower classes were also bound to be interpreted as communist-leaning and would
71 therefore risk forfeiting foreign investment, mainly from the United States.

72 This mindset inevitably reinforced the social inequality Brazil had inherited from its
73 colonial past. The resulting dissatisfaction among parts of the population had fewer and
74 fewer chances to manifest itself as repression by the military government was
75 progressively reinforced over time. The institutional act No. 5 of 1968 enforced
76 censorship on the press, public demonstrations and artistic productions (Skidmore, 1999,
77 p. 164). Torture and purges followed.

78

79 **2. Plot summary**

80

81 Such is the context in which *Gota d’Água*, following several censorship cuts, was
82 published and performed in 1975. The two authors, Paulo Pontes and Chico Buarque,
83 also wrote a “manifesto” claiming that their work reacted to a political and cultural crisis
84 in Brazil. They state:

85

86 “(...) First and foremost, the play explores a facet of Brazilian society that has
87 gained prominence in recent years: the experience under capitalism (...). There’s

88 nothing new in fostering the concentration of wealth in the upper classes through
89 the draining of the income of the lower classes”.¹

90

91 While this is a clear reference to the economic measures taken by the military, the authors
92 also attribute the oppression of the Brazilian lower classes to residual colonialism
93 surviving among the upper classes:

94

95 “Brazilian history has (...) two cultures: on the one hand, an elitist, **colonizing**
96 one, brought here from Portugal; on the other hand, a popular, silenced culture,
97 born of the social experience of the lower classes. (...) *Gota d’Água* (...) is a tragedy
98 of Brazilian life”.²

99

100 The play is set in Rio de Janeiro, on a fictional suburban apartment block (“conjunto
101 habitacional”) called Vila do Meio-Dia – a residential area not sufficiently deprived to
102 qualify as a slum (“favela”), but one in which its working-class experience severe
103 financial struggles. The main character, corresponding to Euripides’ Medea, is called
104 Joana. Though Joana, a lower class Brazilian woman, does not share Medea’s status as a
105 foreigner, she does share her magical powers, namely *macumba* – an umbrella-term
106 referring to various African rituals and religious practices often stigmatized as dark
107 magic. She is married to Jasão, who is younger than she is, just Jason is younger than
108 Medea. Jasão, however, is a less heroic figure in *Gota d’Água*: he is an amateur songwriter
109 uncommitted to music or, for that matter, anything else. Creonte—Euripides’ Creon—is
110 the real estate developer who owns Vila do Meio Dia’s housing and is portrayed as a
111 nasty and manipulating slumlord. Egeu, an analogue to Aegeus, is a small business

¹ “A primeira e mais importante de todas [preocupações fundamentais que a nossa peça procura refletir] se refere a uma face da sociedade brasileira que ganhou relevo nos últimos anos: a experiência capitalista (...). Forçar a acumulação de capital através da drenagem de renda das classes subalternas não é novidade nenhuma” (Buarque & Pontes, 1975, p. xi). All translations from the Portuguese (with a few adaptations so that they are more accessible in English) are mine.

² “Ao longo dessa história correram (...) duas culturas: uma, elitista, **colonizadora**, transposta da matriz pra cá; a outra, popular, abafada, nascida da existência social concreta das classes subalternas. (...) *Gota D’Água* (...) é uma tragédia da vida brasileira” (Buarque & Pontes, 1975, p. xii-xvii).

112 owner in the neighborhood and the only character with his own property and, therefore,
113 without any debt to Creonte.

114

115 Joana and Jasão live with their children at Vila do Meio-Dia, where most
116 inhabitants pay for their homes in the form of a monthly debt to Creonte. Before the
117 events of the play, Creonte had paid a radio station to play Jasão's latest samba song,
118 "Gota d'Água", and turned it into a massive hit. Jasão is also leaving Joana to marry
119 Creonte's daughter. In the play's first act, Joana's female friends and Jasão's male friends
120 form a split chorus: the female characters lament that Joana, stronger and smarter, is
121 about to be abandoned by a boyish, younger man who, until recently, was unable to fend
122 for himself. The male characters, in turn, acknowledge Jason's talent as a songwriter and
123 celebrate the fact that he is on the verge of gaining financial and social capital. Egeu,
124 meanwhile, has been helping Joana financially during her crisis while plotting an
125 uprising against the abusive Creonte.

126

127 In the second act, Creonte promises his residents that he will renovate their
128 houses as long as they stop their riot. Creonte gives Joana one day to leave the house. As
129 revenge, Joana sends her children to Jasão's wedding ceremony with a poisoned cake,
130 but Creonte sends them home. Realising that her plan has backfired, Joana conjures the
131 African deity Xangô and asks him why he will not let her take revenge on her enemies.
132 Seeing no way out, she decides that she and her children should eat the poisoned cake
133 and die.

134

135 **3. Economic power and social climbing**

136

137 Mastronarde (2002, p. 31) points out that Jason "frequently employs commercial
138 and financial terms and metaphors". Though such language is unexpected in the
139 aristocratic environment of Greek tragedy, they reoccur in Jason's justification of his new
140 marriage:

141

142 “(...) but my purpose was that **we should live well** – which is the main thing –
143 and **not be in want**, knowing that everyone gets out of his way to avoid a
144 **penniless friend**”.³

145

146 Medea also implies that social climbing contributes to Jason’s treason, claiming that “his
147 passion was to marry a king’s daughter”.⁴ This theme becomes prominent in *Gota d’Água*.
148 Several characters comment on Jason’s change of social status throughout the play:

149

150 “Let’s drink to Jasão, that lucky bastard
151 who is about to marry the king’s daughter”.⁵

152

153 This is hardly the sole instance in which Creonte is referred to as king. Allusions to
154 Creonte’s royalty are more than mere attempts to reference source material, however,
155 and in fact reveal the relations of power in Brazil from colonialism to capitalism – a time
156 span included in the authors’ “manifesto”.

157

158 McLeod (2000) defines colonialism as the seizing of a foreign land for the
159 economic profit of the homeland while developing unequal relations of power between
160 colonizer and indigenous people. This is not radically different from Creonte’s vision of
161 capitalism: he builds houses on a piece of land for his own economic profit and takes
162 advantage of his position to exploit members of lower classes by means of abusive
163 charges. The difference in scale in each case is obvious, but the parallels remain striking.
164 References to Creonte as king, in this sense, broaden his reach, rendering him a generic

³ ἄλλ’ ὡς, τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, οἰκοῖμεν καλῶς
καὶ μὴ σπανιζοίμεσθα, γιγνώσκων ὅτι
πένητα φεύγει πᾶς τις ἐκποδῶν φίλον. (*Med.*, 559-561). The Greek edition and the English
translation are Kovacs (2001).

⁴ ἀνδρῶν τυράννων κήδος ἡράσθη λαβεῖν. (*Med.*, 700)

⁵ “Vamos beber à Jasão

Aquele sim, nasceu cóo cu pra lua. Está
Pra se casar cóa filha do rei” (Buarque & Pontes, 1975, p. 17).

165 agent of social injustice that has always been present in Brazil –previously in the form of
166 colonialism and now in the form of capitalism.

167

168 4. Power and silencing

169

170 Injustice, in Euripides' play, is connected to the tense relationship between power
171 and speaking. In the *agōn*-scene, Jason ascribes Medea's hopeless situation not to the
172 injustice she has suffered—that is, the fact that her husband has abandoned her—but to
173 her decision to voice such injustice and therefore challenge the ruling power:

174

175 “Although you could have kept this land and this house by patiently bearing
176 with your **superior's arrangements**, you will be exiled because of your foolish
177 talk. Not that it bothers me: go on, if you like, **calling** Jason the basest man alive.
178 But as for your **words against the ruling family**, count yourself lucky that your
179 punishment is exile”.⁶

180

181 Here, Medea's act of speaking is placed at the center of the threat she poses. Silencing
182 her through exile, then, allows Creon to reinforce his authority. This is but one of many
183 instances in ancient literature in which women are belittled for being vocal.⁷

184

185 In *Gota d' Água*, too, Joana verbally challenges Creonte's authority:

186

187 “Joana held rallies

188 at the *terreiro*, at the bar, in front of the building,

⁶ σοὶ γὰρ παρὸν γῆν τήνδε καὶ δόμους ἔχειν
κούφως φερούση **κρείσσωνων βουλευματα**,
λόγων ματαιῶν οὐνεκ' ἐκπεσσή χθονός.
κάμοι μὲν οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα. μὴ παύση ποτὲ
λέγουσ' Ἰάσον' ὡς κάκιστός ἐστ' ἀνὴρ.
ἂ δ' ἐς τυράννους ἐστὶ σοὶ **λελεγμένα**,
πᾶν κέρδος ἡγοῦ ζημιουμένη φυγῆ. (*Med.* 448-454)

⁷ See Mary Beard's recent *Women and Power: a Manifesto* (2017, p. 3-45).

189 She cut Creonte to pieces”.⁸

190

191 The Portuguese word “comício”, translated here as “rally”, often refers to a public
192 meeting or protest in which a leading figure makes a political speech. The word,
193 therefore, alludes to the power dynamic integral to speaking—one recognized by
194 Euripides. That this term is used to refer to Joana’s allegations against Creonte further
195 reveals how marital and social conflicts are deeply intertwined in *Gota d’Água*. Indeed,
196 Creonte uses his social status to silence Joana’s voice: escorted by policemen, he forces
197 his way into Joana’s house and commands her to leave “calmly, without **complaining**”
198 (“Saia sem **chiar**, calma”, Buarque & Pontes, 1975, p. 148). This scene becomes even more
199 powerful when rooted in the context of dictatorship in the 1970s, during which the police
200 repressed rebellion through violence, torture and purges. Joana, in this sense, represents
201 Brazilian voices continuously silenced by the ruling power.

202

203 5. Marginality/Otherness

204

205 Motifs of marginality and otherness inevitably evoke Euripides’ famous passage
206 in which Medea declares herself representative of a marginal, oppressed group—
207 women:

208

209 “Of all creatures that have breath and sensation, **we women** are the most
210 unfortunate. First at an exorbitant price we must buy a husband and **take a**
211 **master for our bodies**. The outcome of our life’s striving hangs on this, whether
212 we take a bad or a good husband. For divorce is discreditable for a woman and
213 it is not possible to refuse wedlock.”⁹

⁸ “Ela fez comício
No terreiro, outro no bar, no edifício,
Deixou Creonte mais raso que o chão” (Buarque & Pontes, 1975, p. 98).

⁹ πάντων δ’ ὅσ’ ἔστ’ ἔμψυχα καὶ γνῶμην ἔχει
γυναικῆς ἔσμεν ἀθλιώτατον φυτόν·
ἄς πρῶτα μὲν δεῖ χρημάτων ὑπερβολῇ
πόσιν πριάσθαι, δεσπότην τε σώματος

214

215 The use of master /δεσπότης here reinforces the idea of the oppression of otherness: in
216 this case, male oppression of what is not male. Indeed, much has been said about Medea
217 representing otherness: females, foreigners, witches.¹⁰ Medea actually appeals to such
218 otherness, claiming that her condition is even worse than those in the chorus, as she is
219 away from home and without supporting family. By the end of the play, however, she
220 is no victim. In the final scene, she “rises to complete triumph over her enemies and
221 appears physically raised above Jason (...) like the gods for whom the upper level and
222 locomotion by the theatre-crane are normally served” (Mastronarde, 2002, p. 12).

223

224 In *Gota d'Água*, Joana's otherness manifests itself in what escapes the Portuguese
225 colonizing culture mentioned earlier in the manifesto: Joana is not male, not elite, not
226 catholic and, as a *macumba* practitioner, linked to the colonial oppression of Africans.
227 The big difference, however, is that Joana, unsuccessful and driven to suicide, concludes
228 her story rather differently. Her last lines are:

229

230 “To Creon, the daughter, Jason and others
231 I'll leave this wedding gift
232 I'll give you **our** agony
233 because, oh Father, I learned that the pain
234 from living in tragedy every single day
235 is worse than dying from poisoning”.¹¹

236

λαβεῖν. (...) κὰν τῶδ' ἀγῶν μέγιστος, ἢ κακὸν λαβεῖν
ἢ χρηστόν· οὐ γὰρ εὐκλεεῖς ἀπαλλαγὰι
γυναιξίν οὐδ' οἶόν τ' ἀνήνασθαι πόσιν. (*Med.* 230-237)
¹⁰ See Mastronarde (2002, p. 15) and Hall, Macintosh, and Taplin (2000).
¹¹ “A Creonte, à filha, a Jasão e companhia
vou deixar esse presente de casamento
Eu transfiro pra vocês a **nossa** agonia
porque, meu Pai, eu compreendi que o sofrimento
de conviver com a tragédia todo dia
é pior que a morte por envenenamento” (Buarque & Pontes, 1975, p. 167).

237

238 In using the first-person plural here, Joana speaks not merely for herself and her
239 children, but for the otherness she impersonates. Further, the choice to use an ending
240 that differs from Euripides'¹² – where Medea survives and triumphs over her enemies –
241 intensifies the tragedy of Brazilian life highlighted in the manifesto. These Brazilian
242 voices of which Joana is a spokeswoman are bound to be silenced again and again
243 throughout history. Such silence, Joana maintains, though experienced while living,
244 proves even less bearable than the silence of death itself.

245

246 These three elements – social climbing, the tension between power and speaking,
247 and marginality – reveal that the authors of *Gota d'Água* engaged with *Medea* in a way
248 that enhances the socio-political tensions present in the Greek text. Although they may
249 not be central aspects in Euripides' play, they serve as springboards for the authors to
250 comment more effectively on the constraints facing Brazilian lower classes at that time
251 and, more broadly, on a scheme of social inequality that can be traced to Brazil's colonial
252 days.

253

254 Bibliography

255

256 Beard, M. (2017) *Women & power: a manifesto*. London: Profile Books Ltd.

257

258 Buarque, C. & Pontes, P. (1975) *Gota d'Água*. Rio de Janeiro: Editor Civilização
259 Brasileira S.A.

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261 Caldeira, J. (2017) *História da riqueza no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Mameluco Edições e
262 Produções Culturais Ltda.

¹² This ending was inspired by a Brazilian television adaption of *Medea* that, as they claimed, "showed that the elements of the tragedy we wanted to disclose already lied in Euripides's dense plot" ("nos forneceu a indicação de que na densa trama de Eurípides estavam contidos os elementos da tragédia que queríamos revelar", Buarque & Pontes, 1975, p. xx)

263

264 Hall, E. Macintosh, F., and Taplin, O. eds. (2000) *Medea in performance 1500-2000*.

265 Oxford: Legenda.

266

267 Kovacs, D. (2001) *Euripides: Cyclops, Alcestis, Medea*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard

268 University Press.

269

270 Mastronarde, D. J. (2002) *Euripides: Medea*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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274 Skidmore, T. E. (1999) *Brazil: five centuries of change*. New York: Oxford University

275 Press.

Preprint

Reviews for Brazilian Voices in the Making: Paulo Pontes, Chico Buarque and Euripides' Medea by Fabiana Lopes da Silveira (STAAR 8 - 2018)

Review 1 – Wesley Correa – Minor revision

1. Is the subject matter of the article suitable for an interdisciplinary audience? Definitely, as it is very concise in its approach.

2. Does the title reflect the subject matter of the article? Yes, the title perfectly conveys the message of the whole article.

3. Does the article make a contribution to the discussion in its field? Although I am not an expert in this field, there is certainly some thought-provoking points in this article that make contributions.

4. Is the article clearly written? Certainly. I would say that this is one of the strongest features of this article.

5. Is the article well structured? Yes, the structure is considerably clear and it helps to follow the argument as well.

6. Are the references relevant and satisfactory? Again, as I am not an expert in this field, all seems fine - especially considering an interdisciplinary audience.

7. Do you feel the article appropriately uses figures, tables and appendices? This is not the case here.

8. What is your recommendation? Minor revision

Reviewer's comments to the author: I have only a few suggestions:

- In history we normally do not translate the names of kings and such, so "King João" would sound better (you left Pedro, for instance);
- On page 3 there is, to my understanding, a gap between the contextualization of Brazil's First Republic and the Dictatorship (Fifth Republic) - which can be solved with only a few words and this can even help with the understanding of the dictatorship itself, given the role of the army throughout the republican period;
- I would suggest that you opt for a more standard spelling. On page 3, you used American spelling in "favor" as opposed to the British "favour". However, you used an S "realising" on page 5 which can only be a British choice of spelling (or Canadian, etc). At the same time, you kept the Z in basically the whole article, as in 'colonizing' and 'marginalized' in the abstract; 'contextualizing' on p.2; colonizer, on p.6, etc;
- I am not really familiar with Euripides's Medea but I wonder if, on page 6, "treason" is the word you really want for Jason's act. Maybe "betrayal"? "Treason" may remind readers of a political/judicial concept, is that the case?

- Still on page 6, I think there is a typo in this sentence: "...he builds houses on a piece of land or his own economic profit...". You might want to say "for his own economic profit";
- On page 7 you write "previously in the form of colonialism and now in the form of capitalism", which to me sounds a bit oversimplistic. First, I would say "then", not "now" - as capitalism was a bit different at the time. Second, I would not generalize capitalism, maybe "one form of capitalism" or something in those lines.

Review 2 – Xavier Buxton – Minor revision

1. Is the subject matter of the article suitable for an interdisciplinary audience? Yes. The piece discusses the relationship between a Greek text and Brazilian one, making comparisons between them. It offers some historical context for the latter. All quotations are in English, with the Portuguese and Greek text in footnotes.

2. Does the title reflect the subject matter of the article? Yes.

3. Does the article make a contribution to the discussion in its field? I believe so. The reception of Greek tragedy is a large and growing field, but Brazilian encounters with these plays have been relatively neglected. The author thus illuminates both the latent politics of Euripides' *Medea*, and the literary nuance of a significant Brazilian text. It is particularly interesting to see how *Medea* the foreign barbarian crosses over, in the Brazilian context, with the status of the colonized.

My only complaint is that it does not promote its contribution strongly enough: the article has implications for the study of Euripides' play and its reception which are not fully explored. See bibliographical notes below.

4. Is the article clearly written? Yes. The article is lucid, compelling, and jargon free. I have some brief copy-editing notes that I will send to the editor.

5. Is the article well structured? The article is very clearly structured. Its organisation is signalled in the abstract, and completely followed through. The thematic breakdown is useful and effective.

6. Are the references relevant and satisfactory? Reflecting the freshness of the field, the bibliography is quite light - perhaps a little too so. It would be useful to reference two short articles that have been published (in English) on the relation between the two plays: Woodyard, George, 1978, 'The Dynamics of Tragedy in *Gota D'Agua*', and Gemelli, Cesar, 2015, 'Medea in Brazil: Interview with Director Heron Coelho' (about the TV adaptation). Some more bibliography on *Medea* and tragic women, too, beyond Mastronarde's 2002 edition: Rabinowitz' 1993 essay in 'Anxiety Veiled: Euripides and the Traffic in Women' offers a robust appraisal of the play's politics; more recent, and more directly pertinent, is Roisman's 'Women's Free Speech in Greek Tragedy' (2004). Some reference might be made to other receptions of *Medea* around the world, see Taplin, Hall, and Macintosh, 2000, 'Medea in Performance 1500-2000' - whose neglect of the Americas is striking. Finally - and

this is not my field- but perhaps some nod to 'colonialism' debates might be good; are there definitions different from that of Macleod's?

7. Do you feel the article appropriately uses figures, tables and appendices? N/A

8. What is your recommendation? Minor revision

Reviewer's comments to the author: This was a compelling article, about a neglected area of classical reception; clear and well-written, it deftly introduces the necessary historical background, allowing for an insightful reading of the Brazilian play. My only concern is largely bibliographical: I think the article would be stronger if Pontes and Buarque's reconstitution of Euripides was placed in the context of feminist/postcolonial interpretations of the Greek original, and the other receptions of the play around the world.

Review 3 – Adir De Oliveira Fonseca Junior – Minor revision

1. Is the subject matter of the article suitable for an interdisciplinary audience? Yes.

2. Does the title reflect the subject matter of the article? Yes.

3. Does the article make a contribution to the discussion in its field? Yes.

4. Is the article clearly written? Yes.

5. Is the article well structured? Yes.

6. Are the references relevant and satisfactory? Yes.

7. Do you feel the article appropriately uses figures, tables and appendices? Not applicable.

8. What is your recommendation? Minor revision

Reviewer's comments to the author: The article's main argument is original and persuasive. The text is well structured, clearly written, and accessible to a non-specialist audience. I thought the author has made a concise yet effective use of historical information; and the passages she quotes were particularly well selected and illustrative. Thus I strongly recommend this article for publication, although I would also suggest a few minor corrections:

- in l. 107: for "just Jason is younger", read "just as Jason is younger";
- in l. 137: perhaps include a short introductory paragraph or comment, in order to make the transition from section 2 to 3 a little smoother;
- in l. 148: for "Jason", read "Jasão";
- in l. 272: add year of publication.