

**RAIN OF UMBRELLAS: TOWARDS A NON-HEGEMONIC VISION OF CULTURAL ASSETS**  
**CHUVA DE SOMBRINHAS: POR UMA VISÃO NÃO-HEGEMÔNICA DE BENS CULTURAIS**  
ANA ELISABETE MEDEIROS

**Ana Elisabete de Almeida Medeiros** is an Architect and holds a Ph.D. in Sociology. She is an Adjunct Professor at the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism at the University of Brasília (UnB), Brazil, and the Graduate Program in Architecture and Urbanism at the same institution. She conducts research on the preservation of cultural heritage and its interfaces with modern architecture and urbanism, design theory and teaching, local development and international insertion, narratives and representation, popular participation and public policies. ana@unb.br

<http://lattes.cnpq.br/1766107518538219>

ARTICLE SUBMITTED ON AUGUST 15, 2022

How to quote this text: Medeiros, A. E. de A., 2022. Rain of Umbrellas: Towards a Non-Hegemonic Vision of Cultural Assets. Translated from Portuguese by Diogo Saraiva. *VIRUS*, 25, December. [online]. Available at <<http://www.nomads.usp.br/virus/papers/v25/572/572en.php>>. [Accessed dd Month yyyy].

## Abstract

The carnival block Galo da Madrugada, whose name translates to "Dawn Rooster", is recognized as an Intangible Heritage of the state of Pernambuco in Northeast Brazil. It is materialized in an area of Recife, the state's capital, which is recognized as a tangible heritage. In a posture against the dissociation between the (in)tangible dimensions of the Galo and the city as cultural goods, the present article makes the carnival block and the Guararapes and Dantas Barreto avenues in which it expresses itself objects of a narrative based on photos and the recollection of the ecstatic, moving, dancing body. Thus, it defends counter-hegemonic values in the face of a cultural policy that still separates the tangible and intangible dimensions of heritage. The conclusion points to the inseparability of various aspects in the post-Covid-19 scenario.

**Keywords:** Galo da Madrugada, Recife, Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage, Counter-hegemony

## 1 Introduction

In the draft project of what would become the SPHAN, the predecessor to Brazil's current Heritage agency IPHAN, Mário de Andrade shows awareness of Brazilian cultural diversity, recognizing its expression through (in)tangible forms. Years later, Aloísio Magalhães's CNRC, which precedes IPHAN's intangible heritage policy, privileged the treatment of living culture. But it is the 1988 Constitution that defines Brazilian cultural heritage as a set of goods of (in)tangible nature. In 1997, the Charter of Fortaleza attests intangible goods should be subject to specific protection, which led, three years later, to the institutionalization of the Registry of Intangible Goods (Brasil, 2000).

Despite the progress that the Registry represents in the process of the social construction of cultural heritage, and even though the inseparability between tangible and intangible heritage dimensions discussed over the last two decades, we can still say that, in most cases, tangible goods continue registered without considering their intangible dimension, and intangible goods are still registered without taking the material culture that supports them into account. Despite efforts to change the situation, this persistence in the dissociation between the dimensions of heritage, a tenet of hegemonic preservationist thought and practice, leads to the rise of a counter-hegemonic posture. So much so that Meneses (2017, p. 39) refers to the unjustifiable polarity between tangible and intangible heritage. Schlee (2022) proposes to end the administrative separation between the tangible and intangible dimensions of cultural heritage, to work on it in its complete constitutional sense, from an integrated point of view.

In line with this counter-hegemonic stance, this article aims to contribute to greater integration between the (in)tangibilities of cultural goods. It also proposes a counter-hegemonic approach to the theme by making the Galo da Madrugada (loosely translated as "Dawn Rooster"), the biggest carnival block in Recife, the object of a narrative, one among many possible narratives. This narrative sprouts from the space in which it takes place - the Dantas Barreto and Guararapes avenues. It is not only about Galo's valuation as intangible heritage but also about the contradiction of the hegemonic vision of cultural policy that recognizes it in its intangibility but dissociates it from the materiality in which it is realized. The text is a manifesto of struggle, questioning, and opposition to a dichotomous understanding of cultural heritage as tangible vs intangible. It is a narrative of the body - physical, architectural, social, and cultural - that resists.

Recognized by the government of the northeastern state of Pernambuco (Pernambuco, 2009) as an intangible heritage good, the Galo has been calling the people of Recife, the state capital, to take to the streets on Carnival Saturdays since 1978. The intangible expressions that were the basis of the block's registry are materialized and spatialized in the city, in a path that experienced transformations throughout its history of over forty years. Tearing through the urban fabric of Pernambuco's capital between the 1930s and 1970s, the Dantas Barreto and Guararapes avenues, tangible objects of architectural studies (Pontual, Cavalcante, 2003), represent modernity neighbored by heritage-listed buildings, survivors of the urban interventions of the early 1900s. They also became an integral part of an area for the preservation of the historical heritage of Recife (PCR, 2008). The Galo, currently considered intangible heritage, materializes in the tangibility of an urban heritage site. However, if Galo's dossiers' registration as an intangible heritage good of Pernambuco and the listing of the perimeter where the Guararapes and Dantas Barreto avenues are located recognizes the first from an ethnographic and

anthropological point of view and the avenues from the perspective of the architect and urban planner, in this article I am interested exploring in an integrative approach created through narrative.

In my perspective, the realization of the city space is not objectively defined in the materially constituted place but also in the narration-action of the subjects that historically conformed and confirm it. I understand narrating as an action as well. If for Motta (2013, p. 17) “our lives are narrative events” are carried out through orality or image, I propose a narrative whose action aims to find a link between the present and past. It would contribute to integration between the (in)tangibilities of the Galo and the Dantas Barreto and Guararapes avenues.

The narrative is partially constructed from photography. After all, as Sontag (2004, p. 170) states, the photo “(...) is a window to something that existed at some time and space”, a window I choose to open to reveal traces of a Recife as seen in the Neighborhood of Santo Antônio between the late 1920s and the second decade of the 2000s. The neighborhood that the photographic window reveals is sometimes the scenario of urban rapture, sometimes the stage for frevo music and dancing.<sup>1</sup> I assume, in this narrative, the perspective of what Barthes (1984, p. 22) calls the subject who looks<sup>2</sup>. This position is justified, on the one hand, by the character of photography as an element of duration (Didi-Huberman, 2015, p. 16), that is, an image that can last beyond the demise of all subjects who practice it<sup>3</sup>, allowing me to narrate times and spaces that are contemporary to me – or that have always been past to me, even if captured by operators who have experienced them – bequeathing to future subjects the possibility of seeing, through my eyes, the photographs that will also live beyond me. On the other hand, the narrative is built on the experience of the body in the time and space of the Galo between the Dantas Barreto and Guararapes avenues, from the perspective of the subject who narrates. Architects and urban planners go to the field to survey a physically determined space with actions that measure and record it, with measuring tape, sketches, and photographs. This is not the space I’m interested in narrating. The body that, entwined by the block along the streets, moves according to an unknown law, was only allowed to live, feel, remember and narrate.

It is important to remember Ricoeur (1998), for whom the narrative is a configuring operation for a time. That is, the narration takes place in time in a movement of prefiguration, configuration, and reconfiguration, which always occurs in the present, in the now, the moment in which I write. It can be said that every narrative act is fictional. For Kossoy (2014, p. 132), regardless of the object represented – architectural, urban, anthropological, or ethnographic – photographs contain the (un)conscious aspect of the illusory capture of a time from which they preserve memory. Although also understood and recognized as historical evidence, photography only acquires meaning when borrowed from subjects who look at it. Faced with a photograph, old or recent, present and past never cease to be reconfigured from the point of view of the subject, who varies and is referenced in their field of knowledge and life story. Therefore, as Le Goff (1990) points out, the narrative that is born of what the body has seen, felt, and witnessed transcends lived moments. After all, the act of narrating what was lived is a configuring action that is reconfigured from a critical selection – also (un)conscious – of facts, premises, promises, (re)discoveries, and forgetfulness. Memory, therefore, assumes a declarative character by the subject it recalls, since, according to Meneses “the elaboration of memory occurs in the present and to respond to requests of the present” (1992, p. 11) or, as Benjamin states (apud Gagnebin, 2006, p. 40, our translation) “we articulate the past [...] we do not describe it”.

That said, the lines that follow break with the hegemonic way of structuring articles and are instead built on a narrative that makes photographs its main foundation – though not the only ones, since it also uses theoretical foundations – and resorts to the memory of my body – a body that is female, native of Pernambuco, a *foliã*<sup>4</sup>, an architect, an urban planner - in search of a dilution between the (in)tangibilities of the Dantas Barreto and Guararapes avenues and the Galo.

## 2 From the gathering place to the apotheosis

<sup>1</sup> T.N.: Frevo is a style of music and dance originating and associated with Recife and its carnival. The word frevo derives from the Portuguese *ferver*, to boil, an association that becomes clear once one experiences the hectic acrobatics of the players and dancers.

<sup>2</sup> In contrast to the subject looked at (photographed) or the subject operator (photographer).

<sup>3</sup> What looks, what is looked at, and what accomplishes it.

<sup>4</sup> T.N.: *Folião* is a term for a reveler stemming from *folia*, the ecstatic, merry street parties characteristic of the Brazilian Street Carnival.

From the present where I am, at this very moment in which I write, the narrative of the Galo at Santo Antonio makes itself plural. By articulating the past in the process of recalling it, there is no way to ensure that memories do not mix in overlaps of times now revisited. I turn to readings about Santo Antônio and its relationship with a carnival, photographs, and music<sup>5</sup>, sure about the power that ends in awakening memories capable of feeding the narrative of my body in the Galo.

Although the roots of frevo hark back to the nineteenth century, it is in this Recife that frevo quickly became urbanized (IPHAN, 2007). If the city's public space has always been intensely used by the "socially urban segments"<sup>6</sup>, only with reforms it becomes attractive to the emerging elite and middle class, who also want to take possession of it, including during carnival. Frevo, the first musical genre created in Brazil specifically for Carnival, is born, therefore, as an urban expression. It is manifested and explained as an urban expression in the streets, squares, bridges, church courtyards, and forts of Recife such as the Cinco Pontas Fort, the Galo's gathering spot and place of departure. It is from there I start my procession, in which I follow behind a *trio elétrico*<sup>7</sup> to South Avenue. It is important to remember that Haussmann's urban planning, which inspired the capital of Pernambuco at the time, was associated to a way of life; of socio-spatial resignification of the city that the carnival exposed: a Recife that was remodeled according to certain models of progress, where streets and squares should express what was being done in the image of Rio or Venice, where the carnival was a spectacle conceived and staged by the aristocracy to be applauded by society<sup>8</sup>. The modernizing Recife no longer had spaces for the savagery of the "batalhas d'água" or the "farinha-do-reino"<sup>9</sup> (Cascardo, 2001).

However, on the route through South Avenue, it is not the aristocracy dancing their steps, despite the intensification in the presence of viewer's boxes in the apartments above the streets when the block enters Imperial Street and approaches Sérgio Loreto Square. There, the first chords of "Voltei, Recife" (Valença, 2014) are enough for the "drunkenness of the frevo that enters the head then takes the body and ends up in the foot" to raise the crowd and blur the scenario of the boxes that materialize above and behind the siding that surrounds squares or hides nineteenth-century facades, or present themselves in the buildings, fully dressed for the party, removed, the day before, from the condition of abandonment. Then we arrived at Dantas Barreto Avenue.

In 2011, after thirty-two years of existence, the Galo changed its course: it left Concordia Street and included Dantas Barreto Avenue. Decree N°. 378 of December 20th, 1943 determined the beginning of the demolitions to construct this avenue, an effort in three phases that would last until the late 1970s. Many streets met their end in the first of these phases when it tore through the area between Republic Square and Independence Square<sup>10</sup>. The overhead shot (Figure 1) presents Dantas Barreto avenue during its third stage of construction<sup>11</sup> as it diagonally cuts the landscape. Above, the color of the pavement reveals when this avenue splits into Nossa Senhora do Carmo Avenue, on the left, finishing the second stage of the works. Still on the left, the photo reveals the *Pátio de São Pedro* and, further back, the bridge next to which you can see the Cinco Pontas Fort. Between the *Pátio de São Pedro* and the Fort, a massif of townhouses and alleys. On the right side of the Fort, the towers of the Church of São José are visible. To the right of these, where Dantas Barreto Avenue ends, we have Sérgio Loreto Square. Perpendicular to Dantas Barreto, the Church of Martyrdom, is in a process of demolition. This avenue, which has never exercised its planned role as an urban connector, has remained occupied by informal trade and was the object of

<sup>5</sup> Here, I am inspired by Soares (2020).

<sup>6</sup> As slaves, workers, in short, the people for the obligation of breadwinning or for the pleasure of sociability and leisure. (Araújo, 2018, p. 34).

<sup>7</sup> T.N: The *trio elétrico* is a type of carnival truck float with powerful sound systems and a stage on top for live musical performances. First developed in the 1950s in the Carnival of Salvador, the *trio elétrico* has become a staple of street carnivals and *micaretas* (off-season carnival-like parties) throughout the country.

<sup>8</sup> (Araújo, 2018, p. 34).

<sup>9</sup> Two street carnival traditions – the "*batalha d'água*" (water battle) consists of using various implements to hurl water at other revelers; the "*farinha-do-reino*" (kingdom flour) is similar, but with wheat flour.

<sup>10</sup> Florentines, Cabugá, Trincheiras, Laranjeiras, Hortas, and Santa Tereza streets, and part of the Estreita do Rosário street, as well as the Saldanha Marinho Square and the Pátio do Paraíso, the Nossa Senhora do Paraíso church, the Hospital São João de Deus, the Barracks of the Artillery Regiment, and the Academia do Paraíso.

<sup>11</sup> It has already started in the Do Carmo Street, but has not yet reached Sérgio Loreto Square.

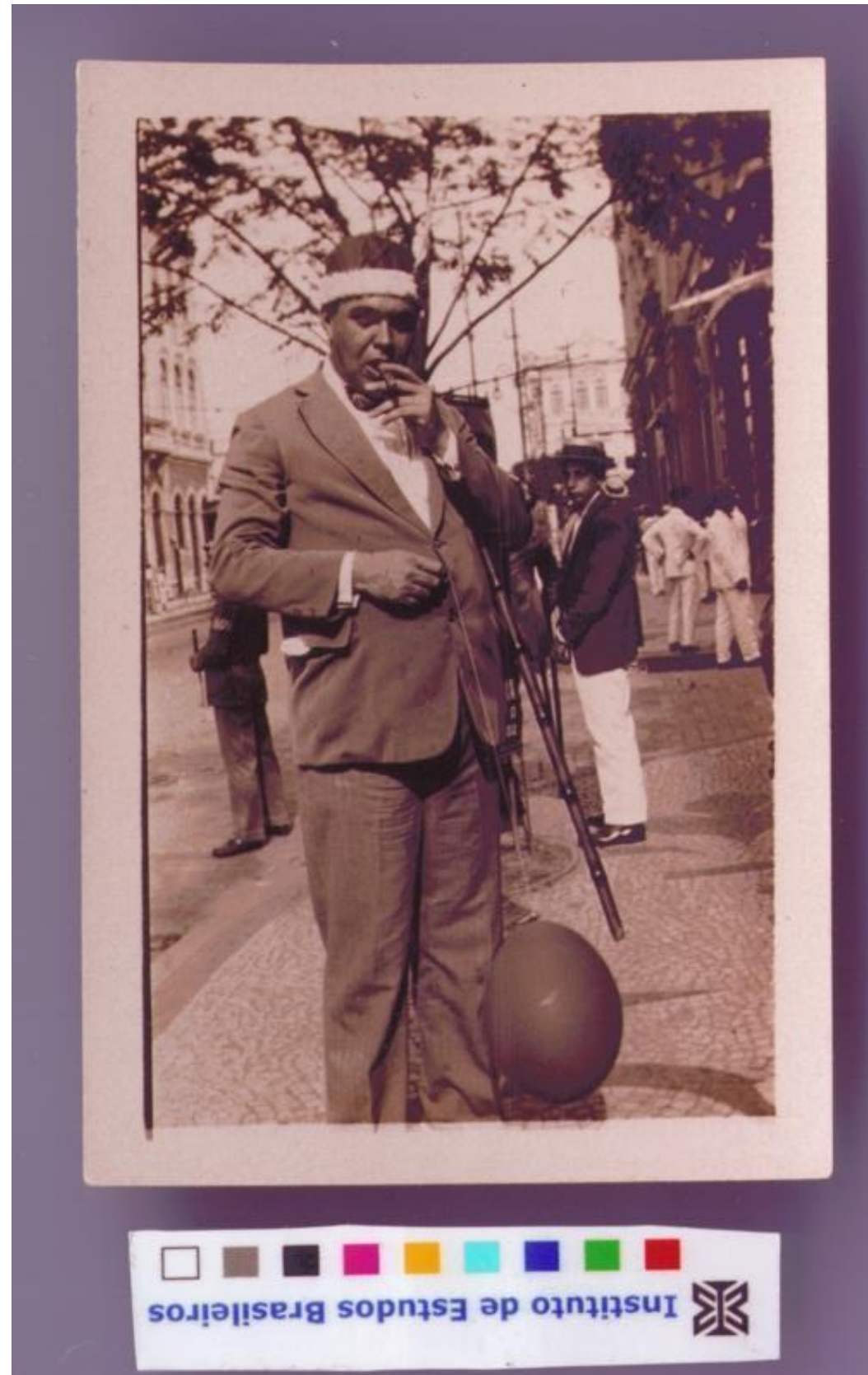


Fig. 1: The Dantas Barreto Avenue.  
Source: By Alcy Lacerda, 1979.

Available at:  
<http://acervocepe.com.br/uploads/2018/09/19/5ba28e92c0765.book-almanaque.pdf>.

Accessed 01 December 2022.

an intervention in 1992<sup>12</sup>, is where the crowd decompresses in ecstasy when the “*passo da ema*” (tr. “The Emu’s Step” - Carlos, 2019) echoes through the air.



**Fig. 2:** Ascenso on a Carnival Sunday. Source: Archive of the Institute of Brazilian Studies USP – Mário de Andrade Fonds, reference code: MA-F-1128. 1929.

<sup>12</sup> The Revaluation Plan of the Center, proposed by the City Hall of Recife. From then on, it started to house the “Peddler’s Boardwalk”, popularly known as Camelódromo, organizing the region’s informal market. The construction, designed by Ronaldo L’Amour and Zeca Brandão, was inaugurated in 1994. (Lima, 2007).

In Independência Square, the number of revelers increases, as if part of the *brincantes*<sup>13</sup> went directly to the traditional headquarters of frevo waiting for the Galo to arrive. In fact, Santo Antonio, targeted with demolitions starting in 1927<sup>14</sup>, has always been a carnival space, as shown in a newspaper article from February 4th, 1923, on a carnival itinerary:

Comércio Square (...), Marquês de Olinda, Maurício de Nassau Bridge, 1º de Março, Independência Square, Sigismundo Gonçalves, Barão da Vitória, Boa Vista Bridge, Floriano Peixoto, Visconde de Camaragibe, Riachoelo [sic], Maciel Pinheiro Bridge, Floriano Peixoto, etc. to Comércio Bridge. (Diário de Pernambuco apud Gaspar, 2020, our translation).

In 1929, Mário de Andrade, then an apprentice tourist, reported: "Carnival Sunday (...). It was the afternoon, I was with Ascenso (...) I fell into the frevo headfirst" (Andrade, 2015, p. 240). In his photographer's diary, Andrade captures Ascenso Ferreira on Carnival Sunday, 02/10/1929 (Figure 2) and, when he does, it allows me to glimpse a Recife that does not seem immersed in Momo's revelry<sup>15</sup>, except for the *punctum* of the photo – for Barthes this "chance that stings me" (1984, p. 46) – shows me something that looks like a balloon and a hat that resembles Santa's cap. Meanwhile, staying at the Glória Hotel on Nova Street, Andrade was in the heart of Santo Antônio, near Independência Square, or "Pracinha" (the little square), as it is known, where it is possible that he had "fallen headfirst" into the Vassouras frevo (Araújo, 2007) on the previous Friday, as recorded in his diary (2015, p. 240).

Andrade, in Recife as part of his ethnographic journey of the late 1920s, testifies to a modernist ideology that spread in Brazil in search of a national identity anchored in the binary modernity-tradition, inaugurated in the 1922 Modern Art Week in São Paulo. In Recife, this idea was expressed in the Regionalist Movement of 1926 and its defense of Pernambuco's values, including the tortuous streets of the *Cidade Maurícia*<sup>16</sup> and the carnival. This is how, between the years 1930-1945, the capital of Pernambuco lived the ambiguity of being modern. On the one hand, while the carnival was consecrated as a symbol of "Pernambucanity"<sup>17</sup>, in the wake of the Estado Novo<sup>18</sup> of Agamenon Magalhães for whom, according to Santos "(...) frevo was the symbol that best represented Pernambuco culturally" (2018, p. 110), it also transformed itself, in the name of the order and social well-being of the New State, into a civilizing framework, losing much of its spontaneity (Santos, 2018, p. 80). On the other hand, despite the institutionalization of preservationist practice, the new code of works allowed a vast part of the traditional urban fabric that constituted the central massif of Santo Antonio to be torn down.

Through this photograph by Verger from 1947, the year Capiba released the song "E nada mais"<sup>19</sup>, it is possible to see the Church of Santo Antonio (Figure 3). You can almost hear the frevo, the choreography of which is shown in the gestures of the dancing umbrellas. According to the IPHAN (2007), "(...) improvised in the street (...) the dance, a game of arms and legs, is attributed to the *ginga*<sup>20</sup> of capoeira practitioners, who took on the security of bands and blocks at the same time as they created the choreographies". Hence the presence of umbrellas become an indispensable accessory of the revelers in the early twentieth century<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> T.N.: *Brincante* is another term for reveler in the Brazilian street carnival, from *brincar*, to play.

<sup>14</sup> Between the late 1920s and the 1930s, Outtes (1997) presented several urbanizations plans for Recife, focusing on the district of Santo Antônio.

<sup>15</sup> *Festa de Momo*, as Carnival is also referred to in Brazil.

<sup>16</sup> T.N.: *Cidade Maurícia*, or *Mauritsstad* is how Recife was known during the period when the region was under Dutch rule. It was the capital of Dutch Brazil, named after John Maurice de Nassau, the first ruler of Dutch Brazil.

<sup>17</sup> As in the set of features that characterize something and/or someone from Pernambuco.

<sup>18</sup> T.N.: Authoritarian regime installed in Brazil in 1937.

<sup>19</sup> See (Germano, 1960) from 6'54".

<sup>20</sup> T.N.: *Ginga* is the basic to-and-fro motion from which all other movements of Capoeira are executed. It is also used to denote someone's rhythm and style when dancing, walking or moving in general.

<sup>21</sup> As a disguised weapon, once the Pernambucanas, the *capoeirista's* fishmonger, were prohibited.



**Fig. 3:** Recife. Source:  
By Pierre Verger.  
©Fundação Pierre  
Verger, 1947.





**Fig. 4:** Street Carnival in front of Santo Antonio Parish Church. Source: By Marcel Gautherot – IMS Collection, 1957.

A decade later, the carnival in the Pracinha was again the object of photographic record, now through Gautherot's lenses (Figure 4): Santo Antonio Parish Church in the background and in the very foreground, perhaps to the sound of “Evocação” (Ferreira, 1957), the photographic window opened by Gautherot shows a cordon, on the other side of which you can see the street floor where the participants' carnival unfolds, while on this side is a catwalk made of planks covering the street floor hosts a carnival spectacle. According to Lima (2018, p. 230), in the 1950s, the carnival was institutionalized, becoming the responsibility of the municipal government, and, as such, lost much of its free character. It is also Lima (2018, p. 226) who

claims that the 1960s were the decade in which the dispute between two types of festival that, already at the end of the previous decade, was present in Recife: the participatory and spectacle carnivals.

It is seeking to strengthen the latter that the Galo emerges in 1978, when Guararapes Avenue and Nova Street were still home to the most important stores in Pernambuco's capital, alongside movie theaters, offices, and bank headquarters<sup>22</sup>. That's why the Galo rose early so that the revelers could celebrate before commercial hours. Without a banner<sup>23</sup> and anthem (Valença, 2018), but accompanied by an orchestra with twelve musicians, it took from Padre Floriano Street, followed along Hospício, Imperatriz, Nova, September 7 streets, and Guararapes Avenue, ending by returning to Padre Floriano Street (Teles, 2018).

Guararapes might be the apotheosis of the Galo, but for the avenue, then known as November 10<sup>th</sup>, to materialize, many streets disappeared under construction starting in 1938<sup>24</sup>. Over a length of 400 meters and a width of 30 to 50 meters, connecting Independence Square to Conde da Boa Vista Avenue, a clean slate was laid over old and thin colonial townhouses, replaced by proto-rationalist buildings that stretched beyond seven floors and spread out extending the street on its ground floor, in semi-public spaces set up in imposing covered galleries for pedestrians. (Naslavsky, 1998, p. 108).

In the carnival of 1945<sup>25</sup>, the Sulacap building already marked the skyline of the new Recife, standing out imposingly in the landscape. It was situated on the left side of Guararapes Ave as it left Independence Square, where the carnival crowd was concentrated, crossing Duarte Coelho bridge over the Capibaribe River and stretching to the horizon and reaching Conde da Boa Vista Avenue on the other side. Guararapes Avenue is not yet the main stage of the party, which seems to disperse through Nova Street, to the left of the Church, one of the main arteries of the city at the time. The history of Galo and Guararapes Avenue is deeply intermingled.

According to Teles (2018), "the club grew in geometric progression". In the meantime, Santo Antônio was emptied.<sup>26</sup> During the decade and a half after its foundation, the scenario in which the Galo was spatialized deteriorated. The buildings in Guararapes Avenue were stripped of glamour, covered instead with the marks left by the passage of time. Before the turn of the century, Santo Antônio became a contested territory in disputes for the right to the city. According to Lacerda (1999), in 1999, some of Recife's homeless population occupied a part of the INSS building on Dantas Barreto Ave. From then on, struggles around the social function of property found a favorable battlefield in the emptied buildings of Guararapes Ave. or the Pracinha, as exemplified by the cases of the occupation of the Trianon building (Pinto, 2018) or the former Hotel Nassau (Cavalcanti, 2018). But during the carnival, a truce is called and the Galo reigns supreme.

Upon entering Guararapes, a certain air of achievement for having lived the Galo throughout its journey mingles with nostalgia for the approaching apotheosis. That's when the infectious *mangue beat* of "A praieira" (Science, 1994) starts booming out of the *trio elétrico's* speakers. Over the mass of people, it is possible to see the large structure in the center of the avenue imitating a circus big top. Further along, on top of the Duarte Coelho bridge, the block's signature giant Rooster towers above the masses. The proto-rationalist façades of Guararapes Ave, projecting over the throng of revelers, frame the pageantry. It would be the same austere frame in its original color palette was it not for the carnival paints of the first floors, where viewing boxes are common, or the patina and dubious chromatic choices.

But as soon as the "rain of umbrellas" (Rio, 1997) begins, the colors fade and momentarily compose a background. However, it is the music, more so than the colors, that are the main ingredient to the Galo's spatiality. The frevo dictates my body's

<sup>22</sup> Like Viana Leal or Sloper and the Trianon and Art-Palace cinemas.

<sup>23</sup> Created in 1978, but after the parade.

<sup>24</sup> Conselheiro Peretti, Pedro Ivo, Neto Mendonça, Agostinho Bezerra, and 28 de Setembro streets, in addition to Praça do Sol Square (Cavalcanti, 1972, p. 207).

<sup>25</sup> A year later, in 1946, the song "O frevo é assim" (tr. That's the way frevo is"), was released, interpreted in the voice of Carlos Galhardo to the delight of the revelers.

<sup>26</sup> In 1980, Boa Viagem inaugurated the Shopping Center Recife with its stores arranged in indoor streets with air conditioning, protected from heat and rain, with its Multiplex cinemas and its vast and safe parking garage. Little by little, as the Recife citizens lived their day-to-day lives, the central streets of Santo Antonio were emptied.

rhythm, determining at which moments it can see/perceive what constitutes the spatiality of the Galo. The perceptions I have of this spatiality, from the point of view of the crowd as it expands and compresses, depending on the width of the streets and their relations with the trios as they get closer or farther apart, is a consequence of the ability that music has to take me completely - or not. I feel there are frevos that touch us more than others. For me, the most touching frevo in the Galo is precise “Chuva de Sombrinhas” (tr. “Rain of Umbrellas”). not because it is a “panoramic shot of the Carnival in Pernambuco” (Teles, 2020), talking as it does about Pernambucans and “Pernambucanities”<sup>27</sup>. Not because it represents the Galo from the point of view of someone deeply acquainted with it: “(...) I composed the song all at once. (...) the image of rain of umbrellas, and the 40 degrees of Vassourinhas!” (Rio apud Teles, 2020). Above and beyond all that, the song simply touches me, and that’s it!

### 3 Conclusion

From the recalled apotheosis, this narrating body now wonders: what will the carnival of 2023 be like? How to think about the spatialization of Galo's intangible expression, materialized in the Dantas Barreto and Guararapes avenues, in the post-pandemic world? As already perceived by Teles (2020), the rescue of the old carnivals, participatory carnivals, which guided the block in its early days, was later lost. The fact is that the Galo did not rescue Recife's carnival but actually reconstructed it from the ground up. In the choice between a show and participation, it chose both: a carnival of participatory spectacle. The Galo has reinvented itself with time and will certainly be able to reinvent itself again, offering itself to other narratives in post-pandemic times.

Given this possibility and the narrative that now closes, it is necessary to be aware of two facts. First: narrating the Galo through photos and through the reveler's body bumps into the impossibility of speaking the unspeakable, of expressing through words the experience of being a *folião*, a condition that prevents or limits access to the symbolic, to the language that orders and rationalizes the narrative. Second: the written narrative, as Gagnebin (2006, p. 11) puts it, wishes to perpetuate the lived life, preserving its memory for future generations. When it does so, it codifies and anchors it, stiffening its inherent plasticity.

In the narrative path, the naturalization of Dantas Barreto Avenue, the Pracinha, and Guararapes Avenue, spaces known from daily life and past carnivals, is denaturalized according to the rhythm, to the way it is offered up to be appropriated by the body as it experiences the Galo. There is a strangeness that allows the understanding of the architecture of the city as a locus where the block is spatialized, enabling one to apprehend it as an expression that only has meaning in that specific space. The Galo wouldn't be the same in a different route. The performance of the block, of the reveler who embodies it, is transmuted according to the space it occupies, whether in Dantas Barreto Avenue or in Guararapes Avenue. The intangibility of the Galo, as an expression of Pernambuco's culture, is inseparable from the tangibility of the space it passes through. This fact reinforces an understanding of the need to integrate the tangible and intangible dimensions of this and other cultural goods, in a posture in opposition to the current hegemonic dichotomy.

But, if you, dear Reader, want to really understand the narrative shaped by Galo's spatiality, go to experience the river of steps and rain of umbrellas as it traverses Dantas Barreto and Guararapes avenues!

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<sup>27</sup> Duda, Alceu, Antônio Nóbrega, Selma, and Lia, all famous musicians of Recife. Rivers of footsteps, umbrella rains, the *coco*, the *ciranda*, the *passo da ema*, the passing snake, all sights and sounds of the Carnival!

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