ONE FOOT IN THE HINTERLAND, THE OTHER ON THE BEACH: THE CATTLE TRADE IN THE SERTÃO REGION AT BAHIA'S FAIRS

Miguel Angelo Almeida Teles[1]

ABSTRACT

This work aims to characterize the transport of cattle, on foot, from the Bahian hinterlands to the fairs of Capoame and Feira de Santana, recognized as major supplier centers for the market of meat, leather and draught animals to Salvador and its Recôncavo. In this way, we seek to represent the human figure of the *tangerinos* [drovers] in the performance of this work, as well as the socioeconomic context of these individuals imbued in the cowherd activity, in the specificity of the cattle transport. Placed in a condition of inferiority and segregation, these representatives of the grazing economy convoyed cattle on foot, over long distances, from the beginning of the appropriation of the lands of the native peoples until the middle of the twentieth century, with the gradual emergence of railroads and highways. In this way, we seek, with this work, to bring to the center of the debate on the History of Bahia, through the oral narratives of our coadjutors, the socioeconomic and cultural contribution of the cattle drovers, as well as the knowledge and practices, the hardships and the life trajectories of these historical subjects, scarcely discussed by historiography.

Keywords: Bahia backlands; drovers; cattle routes.

RESUMO

Este trabalho tem como escopo caracterizar o transporte do *gado vacum*, a pé, dos sertões baianos para as feiras de Capoame e Feira de Santana, reconhecidas como grandes centros fornecedores para o mercado da carne, do couro e dos animais de tração para Salvador e seu Recôncavo. Desse modo, buscamos representar a figura humana do tangerino na realização desse trabalho, assim como o contexto socioeconômico desses indivíduos imbuídos na atividade vaqueira, na especificidade do transporte das boiadas. Colocados na condição de inferioridade e segregação, esses representantes da economia do pastoreio, comboiavam o gado a pé, a longas distâncias, desde os primórdios da apropriação das terras dos povos originários até meados do século XX, com o surgimento gradativo das ferrovias e rodovias. Dessa forma, procuramos, com este trabalho, trazer para o centro do debate da História da Bahia, através das narrativas orais dos nossos coadjutores, a contribuição socioeconômica e cultural dos tangerinos, assim como os saberes e fazeres, as agruras e as trajetórias de vida desses sujeitos históricos, parcamente discutidos pela historiografia.

Palavras-chave: sertões da Bahia; tangerinos; trajetória do gado.

[1]Bachelor's degree in History (UNOPAR). Specialization in the History of Bahia (UEFS). Photographer and documentary filmmaker. Member of IGHB.

Introduction

In the present work, we seek to valorize the memory of the *tangerinos*—the cattle drivers who, since times of old, accompanied the *vaqueiros* in guiding herds toward the distant centers that consumed meat and supplied the motive power of the sugar mills. Aiming to recover the saga of these men, we highlight their life trajectories and the social legacy of the drovers, with their bodies of knowledge and practices, thereby recognizing them as "subjects," co-authors of this study.

In undertaking an analysis of the *tangerinos*—historical actors distinctively placed in positions of inferiority and segregation—we align with Sharpe's (1992) reflections, in which he offers significant insights regarding the activities of these historical subjects, insights that could well be articulated but remain concealed within unexplored traces. According to the author, such analyses, over time, will fill gaps, refining and expanding the mainstream currents of History. Thus, "history from below," besides enabling a more consistent understanding of past events, ultimately renders perceptible a plurality of historiographical enigmas which, enveloped in as-yet-unexamined traces, might otherwise come to be known only through official History (Sharpe, 1992).

Accordingly, this study emphasizes and justifies the need for debate on the theme, lest the trajectories of certain peoples and social groups—whose memories rely fundamentally on oral tradition—fall into oblivion and disappear from the historical record. In this regard, Zumthor echoes Halbwachs's thought in affirming that:

> What is known as the oral tradition of a social group is formed by a set of oral exchanges linked to more or less codified behaviors, whose basic aim is to maintain the continuity of a particular conception of life and of an experience without which the individual would be left to solitude, perhaps even to despair (Zumthor, 1985, p. 4 apud Matos, 2005, p. 5).[2]

It is for this reason that, throughout this work, we endeavor to recover oral accounts—of which we preserve documentary records—grounded in the testimonies of the subjects portrayed across their lifetimes. Thus, in referring to them as "subjects," we position them as co-authors of the detailed histories herein constructed, that is, beyond the status of mere "oral sources." They are direct participants in the narrative that this

[2] Original version: O que se conhece por tradição oral de um grupo social é formado por um conjunto de intercâmbios orais ligados a comportamentos mais ou menos codificados, cuja finalidade básica é manter a continuidade de uma determinada concepção de vida e de uma experiência sem as quais o indivíduo estaria abandonado à sua solidão, talvez ao desespero (Zunthor, 1985, p. 4 apud Matos, 2005, p. 5).

investigation seeks to build, a perspective advocated by Thompson: "[...] oral evidence, by transforming the 'objects' of study into 'subjects,' contributes to a history that is not only richer, more vivid, and more moving, but also more truthful" (Thompson, 1992, p. 137).

However, identity exists only insofar as memory exists; in this sense, memory is "an essential element of what is commonly called identity, individual or collective, whose pursuit is one of the fundamental activities of individuals and societies today, in fever and anguish" (Le Goff, 2003, p. 469, emphasis in the original).

Yet, to this possibility of a deeply rooted knowledge of the past, Halbwachs adds that "the memory of a society slowly ebbs away at the edges that mark its limits, as its individual members—especially the eldest—disappear or become isolated" (Halbwachs, 1990, p. 84).

Nonetheless, Le Goff (2003, p. 422) regards forgetting and silence as mechanisms through which collective memory and collective oblivion are manipulated by the social forces of power—through individuals who have dominated and continue to dominate historical societies.

As a methodological approach within the scope of qualitative research, working with Oral History means working with meanings. Thus, within historiography and the theory of history, where conceptual frameworks are gathered to analyze the impasses posed by historical research, Ferreira argues that oral history cannot be conceived as a discipline, technique, or methodology, but rather as a theoretical–methodological perspective (Ferreira, 2012).

Consequently, we draw upon two unpublished interviews conducted by the Aboio Project team in August 2005, aside from those used in the documentaries *Vaqueiros Canudos* (Teles; Santos Neto, 2007) and *O Sertão que o Coração Vê* (Teles; Santos Neto, 2010).[3]

[3] TELES, Miguel Angelo Almeida; SANTOS NETO, Manoel Antonio dos. *O sertão que o coração vê*. Salvador: CEEC/UNEB, 2010. 1 DVD. (20 min.). Available at:: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kziriF-uBnI

Bellowing Cattle

The introduction of the first breeding stock of cattle into lands absent from the cartographic maps of the fifteenth century was undertaken by the Genoese navigator Christopher Columbus, regarded as the first European to anchor the caravels under his command in territories that would later belong to the Spanish Crown. Thus, according to Dias (2006, p. 8), drawing on the writings of Historia de las Indias by Friar Bartolomé de Las Casas, it was in 1493 that Columbus himself, while at the Island of La Gomera, arranged for the embarkation of the first small lot of bovine, caprine, ovine, and swine destined for those lands. However, whereas Spanish America possesses historiographical records concerning the arrival of these first breeding animals, in the Portuguese Colony there remains, to this day, disagreement among historians regarding the introduction of the first head of cattle into Brazilian territory, due to the insufficiency of documentary evidence that might correctly indicate the location and date of the animals' landing.

At the same time, in Portuguese America, the Indigenous peoples encountered by the members of the fleet of the Portuguese navigator Pedro Álvares Cabral in 1500 also had no knowledge of Old World domestic animals. Thus, when the fleet's scrivener, Pero Vaz de Caminha, informed King Manuel of Portugal of the discovery of the Land of Vera Cruz, he reported to the monarch the practices of the Indigenous people, who "[...] do not till, nor do they raise [animals], and here there are no oxen, nor cows, nor goats, nor sheep, nor chickens, nor any other creature accustomed to living among men [...]" ([Caminha], 1900, p. 12). Nevertheless, as Azevedo (1969, p. 318) notes, though the Indigenous peoples occasionally adopted certain local species, they neither employed the *mimbaba*[4] as draft power nor made use of its meat for consumption.

As noted, the absence of documentary evidence systematizing the arrival of cattle in Brazilian lands has led scholars to formulate various hypotheses and suppositions concerning this event. In this regard, some researchers (Dias, 2006; Simonsen, 2016) maintain that the first bovine breeding stock—thirty-two animals in total—reached the Captaincy of São Vicente in 1534, brought by D. Ana Pimentel, wife and attorney of the donatário Martim Afonso de Souza.

[4] According to the Tupinologist Teodoro Fernandes Sampaio, the term *mimbaba*—"corr. mymbaba: a Tupi-Guarani word whose meaning refers to offspring; breeding; domestic animal" (Sampaio, 2010, p. 282).

Other scholars (Prado, 1945; Freyre, 1989; Neves, 2011), however, advance distinct hypotheses concerning the beginnings of cattle in Brazil. Gilberto Freyre, for instance, asserts the possibility that the animals entered Brazilian territory at Pernambuco in 1535, through the agency of its *donatário* Duarte Coelho Pereira, who, "on arriving in Brazil with his wife and kin, perhaps with Black slaves, with oxen, with horses, with seeds [...]" (Freyre, 1989, p. 119), introduced them. Likewise, Goulart (1965), drawing on Aurélio Porto[5], emphasizes that although in insignificant numbers, bred merely for consumption, cattle may have appeared in Brazil at the dawn of the sixteenth century, prior to the establishment of the Hereditary Captaincies, when Portuguese and French traders set up trading posts near the coast, where

> [...] agents often remained, sometimes for long periods, engaging in barter with the people of the land. It would not be surprising, therefore, if vessels arriving from Europe carried bovines intended to be unloaded here, forming part of their cargoes." (Goulart, 1965, p. 13)[6]

With this situation in view, King João III of Portugal, in an effort to regulate and structure settlement in the colony and to prevent possible attacks and invasions, established the system of Hereditary Captaincies in 1534. Lands belonging to the Portuguese Crown, delimited by the imaginary line of the Treaty of Tordesillas, were divided into fifteen strips and distributed among twelve Portuguese noblemen. Fifteen years later, however, given the administrative failure of the Captaincy system and the difficulties caused by the colony's distance from the metropolis, the Portuguese Crown created the General Government of Brazil on 17 December 1548 and appointed Tomé de Sousa as Governor. During this second phase of occupation, the Crown reclaimed the Captaincy of the Bay of All Saints from the heirs of its *donatário*, Francisco Pereira Coutinho, making it the seat of government in 1549, with the founding of the city of Salvador as its initial landmark.

---

[5] PORTO, Aurélio. Introdução do gado na América. In: Anais do terceiro congresso de história nacional. Rio de Janeiro: 1942.

[6] Original version: [...] costumavam permanecer, às vezes por longo tempo, prepostos que se entregavam ao escambo com a gente da terra. Não seria de se admirar, portanto, que nas embarcações vindas d'Europa, bovinos destinados a serem aqui desembarcados e fizessem parte de seus carregamentos (Goulart, 1965, p. 13).

However, regarding the presence of cattle in Bahia, evidence existed in Portugal that the animals were already in Brazilian territory before the departure of the first Governor-General. Such an indication derives from the presence of several individuals skilled in cattle handling among Tomé de Sousa's entourage, which landed in Salvador on 29 March 1549. As Sampaio (2016, p. 297) notes, among those newly arrived in Bahia were "the cowhands Pero Gonçalves D'Alpedrinha, Domingos Fernandes de Vianna, and Gonçalo Rodrigues de Murça," as well as "the cart drivers João Dias de Soajo and Martin Gonçalves."

In connection with this, some authors (Prado, 1945; Azevedo, 1969) refer to an authorization issued by the Governor-General on 16 August 1549 to the treasurer of the Royal Revenues, Gonçalo Ferreira. In that directive, Tomé de Sousa approved an expenditure of twenty-eight thousand *réis* (28$000) for the purchase of two tame oxen[7], at thirteen thousand *réis* (13$000), as well as four steers for fifteen thousand *réis* (15$000), to be used in the construction of the city of Salvador.

At the same time, in Bahia, some authors (Prado, 1945; Azevedo, 1969; Neves, 2011) attest that one year after the arrival of the first Governor-General, a herd of fifty head of cattle arrived from the Island of Cape Verde. This shipment, exchanged for timber from Bahia, was reported to the King on 18 June 1551, in which Tomé de Sousa announced that it "[...] is the greatest nobility and abundance that can be had in these parts" (Prado, 1945, p. 106).

These cattle, brought aboard the *Galga* — or *Galega*, as Neves (2011, p. 253) cautions—were distributed among palace aristocrats, "lords of rope and knife," including the steward and storekeeper of Salvador, Garcia de Ávila, who was rumored to be the illegitimate son of Tomé de Sousa (Neves, 2011, p. 253). In addition to these potentates, a lot of twelve cows was delivered to the Jesuit College "so that the boys might have milk, which is great nourishment" (Nóbrega, 2015, p. 182).

These animals were initially raised in the vicinity of the capital of Bahia. One of the beneficiaries, Garcia D'Ávila, erected the posts of his first cattle pen in the district of

[7] The term "*boi manso*" refers to animals already accustomed to work, to the yoke of ox carts, or to the movements of the trapiches in the sugar mills (author's note).

Itapagipe, later Itapuã, and finally Tatuapara,[8] today Praia do Forte, in the municipality of Mata de São João, Bahia.

Thus, the productive adaptation and acclimation of cattle along the Bahian seashore slopes was attested by the sugar-mill owner and cattle raiser Gabriel Soares de Sousa, who stated that "[...] they fare so well that they calve[9] every year, and do not fail to calve even when old. The heifers, once a year old, await the bull, and at two years they come calved [...]" (Sousa, 2015, p. 218).

Given the natural proliferation of herds on the fertile red soils of the coast—lands reserved for the cultivation of manioc and sugarcane—it soon became evident that cattle raising within that geographical space was impossible. Thus, faced with mounting dissatisfaction, conflicts, and disputes between farmers and cattle raisers, the Portuguese Crown intervened during the seventeenth century with various provisions, including permitting only the raising of draft animals in enclosed pastures.

Nevertheless, after unsuccessful attempts by the Crown to pacify the disputes—reserving the coastal zone exclusively for agricultural production—extensive cattle raising was pushed beyond the ten leagues surrounding the seashore. As Simonsen explains:

> One of the reasons for moving the cattle ranches into the Brazilian backlands, far from the sugar mills, cane fields, and manioc plantations, and into poorer lands unsuitable for the crops demanded by the increasing number of coastal engenhos. A Royal Charter of 1701 even forbade cattle raising less than ten leagues from the coast. (Simonsen, 2016, p. 196).[10]

Consequently, the coastal zone of Bahia was demarcated exclusively for agricultural production, relegating cattle raising to lands beginning in the *agreste* and expanding into the Bahian *sertões*. From the perspective of several scholars (Furtado, 1975; Guimarães, 1977; Prado Júnior, 1963), this territorial segmentation constituted the

[8] Tatuapara, the House of the Tower, or the Castle of Garcia D'Ávila.
[9] The term "*parem*" in this case alludes to the verb *parir* "[from the Latin *parere*] to expel from the *uterus* [said of a viviparous female in relation to the being she has conceived]. To give birth" (Ferreira, 1986, p. 1271).
[10] Original version: Uma das razões da retirada dos currais de criação para o sertão brasileiro, longe dos engenhos, dos canaviais e dos mandiocais e em terras mais pobres que não poderiam ser aproveitadas para as culturas exigidas pelo número crescente de engenhos do litoral. Uma Carta Régia de 1701 proibia mesmo a criação a menos de dez léguas do litoral (Simonsen, 2016, p. 196).

principal impetus behind the division of Bahia's two productive sectors: agriculture and livestock raising.

The inclination of the first Portuguese settlers to occupy the humid and fertile coastal lands, and their preference for settling along the "skirts of the sea and occupying themselves solely with making sugar" (Brandão, p. 52), where they remained "scratching along the seashore like crabs" (Salvador, 2009, p. 39), is evident in the narratives of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century chroniclers. According to Neves, these men,

> [...] accustomed to reasoning within the territorial limits of Portugal, were bewildered by the colonial geographical dimensions. [...] Only with regard to the sugar mills, and to the cultivation and processing of tobacco, does one notice sound knowledge grounded in experience. As for cattle raising and mining, one perceives generalizations, partialities, and digressions, signs of information gleaned from oral sources. (Neves, 2016, pp. 51–52).[11]

However, the discontent experienced by cattle raisers under Portuguese rule was successively compensated, as a form of redress, by the Crown, which granted vast tracts of land beyond the zone reserved for agriculture. This acquiescence enabled several palace protégés to take advantage of such concessions and to seize extensive swaths of territory, spending "only paper and ink in petitions for *sesmarias*" (Abreu, 2006, p. 133), obtaining them "with the same ease with which they requested them—more through prudence and courtesy than through the importance of the concessions" (Calmon, 1983, p. 57). Thus, under the banner of Christianity, the set of mercantilist practices, and the Portuguese pact with the Vatican for the universalization of these values, Europeans, by force of arms, enslaved, exterminated, and expelled the remaining Indigenous peoples ever farther away. In sum, the lands of Indigenous groups were parceled out among those who, "animated by a deplorable zeal to coerce the savages by iron and fire to embrace Christianity and accept baptism, dispatched armed detachments into the forests" (Neuwied, 1940, p. 377).

It was in this context, in the early centuries of the appropriation of Indigenous territories, that cattle—domesticated animals wholly unfamiliar to Indigenous lifeways—

[11] Original version: [...] acostumados a raciocinar sobre os limites territoriais de Portugal, perdiam-se nas dimensões geográficas coloniais. [...] Apenas no que se diz respeito aos engenhos de açúcar e ao cultivo e processamento do tabaco, nota-se o conhecimento próprio do que apresenta. No que se refere à pecuária e a mineração, percebem-se generalizações parcialidades e divagações, indícios e coleta de informações orais (Neves, 2016, p. 51-52).

opened paths, penetrated the *sertões*, and gave new form to that inhospitable, arid, and hardened landscape, one that had been adverse to any other form of cultivation capable of yielding substantial results. Thus, the advance of cattle herds imposed upon the early Bahian *sertões* an essentially rural civilization, which Capistrano de Abreu would later term the "age of leather" (Abreu, 2006, p. 135).

Once the cattle herds were driven into the interior, *fazendas de criar* (cattle-breeding ranches) began to take shape, where corrals could be established for the raising of cattle and horses. These establishments were built in a rudimentary manner, which helps explain the rapid expansion of the pastoral frontier. As described by the unknown author of the *Roteiro do Maranhão a Goiaz pela Capitania do Piauhi*, in an eighteenth-century account: "Once a house is erected, covered mostly with straw, some corrals made, and some cattle brought in, three leagues of land are populated and a ranch established" (Roteiro, 1900, p. 88). Thus, the organization of such undertakings, carried out in basic form, consisted of appropriating land, acclimating the animals to new pastures, and then entrusting them to the care of the *vaqueiro*, whether enslaved or waged. This pastoral social structure was embodied in the figure of the "man of leather," for in many cases the absenteeism of patriarchal owners—usually urban dwellers who lived "ostentando como outros dominadores do solo um feudalismo achamboado" (Cunha, 2002, p. 106), devoting themselves to other economic activities, especially commerce—made the *vaqueiro* the central figure of the ranch.

Consequently, the cattle were raised at large and entrusted to the care of the *vaqueiro*, an agent of the landowner responsible for all labor on the property, assisted by several *fábricas*,[12] and who would only begin to receive compensation after four or five years of service. In this labor relationship, payment consisted of twenty-five percent (25%) of the animals born on the property—an arrangement known in the pastoral vocabulary of the *sertão* as *tirada na sorte* [selected by lottery] or *quarteação*. Under this system of remuneration, the *vaqueiro* received one fourth of the animals—hence the term

[12] According to Prado Júnior (2002), the *fábricas* were sometimes enslaved individuals but generally wage laborers, subordinates, and assistants to the *vaqueiros*, their number varying in proportion to the size of the estate.

quarteação—born on the ranch in the previous year, with the division carried out in the presence of the owner (Abreu, 1998; Prado Júnior, 2002; Andrade, 2005).

Capistrano de Abreu classified this phase of settlement of the northeastern *sertões* into two categories, known as the "outer *sertões*" (*sertões de fora*) and the "inner sertões" (*sertões de dentro*) (Abreu, 1998, p. 137). In the occupation designated as the *sertão de fora*, the route, beginning in Pernambuco, crossed the Borborema highlands in Paraíba and reached as far as Ceará. From another perspective, the road beginning in Bahia—called the *sertão de dentro*—was described by the author based on reports from travelers who traversed the Bahian interior, as recorded by the Jesuit André João Antonil in the early eighteenth century:

> The *sertão* of Bahia extends to the mouth of the São Francisco River, eighty leagues along the coast; and traveling upriver to the mouth called Água Grande, Bahia is one hundred and fifteen leagues from that point; from Santunse [Sento Sé], one hundred and thirty leagues; from Rodelas, inland, eighty leagues; from the Jacobinas, ninety; and from Tucano, fifty. (Antonil, 1997, p. 199).[13]

At the same time, the Jesuit details the number of corrals distributed across these *sertões*, following the arrangement of the cattle ranches along the major waterways:

> The corrals in the Bahian region are situated along the São Francisco River, the Rio das Velhas, the Rio das Rãs, the Rio Verde, the Rio Paramirim, the Rio Jacuípe, the Rio Ipojuca, the Rio Inhambupe, the Rio Itapicuru, the Rio Real, the Rio Vasa-Barris, the Rio Sergipe, and other rivers [...]. (Antonil, 1997, p. 199).[14]

The great families who controlled these cattle corrals—among them the houses of Garcia D'Ávila and Guedes de Brito—after the establishment of the First General Government of Brazil in 1549, accumulated, as royal grants, enormous *sesmarias* that penetrated ever deeper into the Bahian *sertões* with each petition, following the courses of the major rivers and "making them lords of territorial expanses greater than many European kingdoms" (Andrade, 2005, p. 184).

---

[13] Original version: Estende-se o sertão da Bahia até a barra do Rio São Francisco, oitenta léguas por costa; e indo para o rio acima até a barra que chamam de Água Grande, fica distante a Bahia da dita barra cento e quinze léguas; de Santunse, [Sento Sé] cento e trinta léguas; de Rodelas, por dentro, oitenta léguas; das Jacobinas noventa, e do Tucano cinquenta (Antonil, 1997, p. 199, grifo nosso).

[14] Original version: Os currais da parte da Bahia estão postos na borda do rio de São Francisco, na do rio das Velhas, na do rio das Rãs, na do rio Verde, na do rio Paramirim, na do rio Jacuípe, na do rio Ipojuca, na do rio Inhambupe, na do rio Itapicuru, na do rio Real, na do rio Vasabarris, na do rio Sergipe e de outros rios [...] (Antonil, 1997, p. 199).

However, these aforementioned proprietors were not the only major landholders who, through the benevolence of the Portuguese Crown, secured large tracts of land usurped from Indigenous peoples. According to Barbosa Lima Sobrinho (1946), other magnates—such as João Peixoto Viegas, Manoel de Oliveira Porto, Afonso Rodrigues Adorno, and Bernardo Vieira Ravasco, among others—also became *senhores de ferro e sinal* [masters of the branding iron and the mark], wielding authority over vast domains in the Province of Bahia.

The standardized dimensions of a *fazenda de criar* [cattle ranch], according to Prado Júnior (2002, pp. 1289–1290), "generally consist of three leagues of land laid out along a watercourse, one league in width, half belonging to each bank." Between such estates, one league of land was interposed, forming the boundary strip known as the *sobrado*.,[15] the collective of estates linked through the waters of the same river was referred to as the ribeira.[16]

In reference to the exodus of cattle from the coastal red-soil lands reserved for agriculture—following the prohibitions imposed by the Royal Charter of 1701 (Simonsen, 2016)—the *sertão* became responsible for supplying Salvador and its Recôncavo with animal protein and draft oxen. Regarding the importance of cattle in sugar production, Lima Sobrinho observes:

> Not all sugar mills were powered by water, and it could occur that a harsh drought prevented the use of this element [...]. There existed a type of mill known as the trapiche, which relied solely on oxen for grinding. [...] Each of these mills required at least sixty oxen, which worked in alternating groups of twelve. There was also the transportation of cane cut in the fields and carried to the presses; the supplying of firewood to the boilers; and, finally, the hauling of the manufactured sugar to the shipping ports. (Lima Sobrinho, 1946, pp. 41–42).[17]

---

[15] Some authors, mistakenly, contextualize the term *sobrado* [townhouse] as a dwelling, "[…] to which this name is given because they vaguely resemble a building […]" (Abreu, 1998, p. 133). However, the term refers to a league of vacant land that separated the cattle-raising estates, intended to prevent the incursion and mingling of animals from neighboring properties, owing to the absence of fences and enclosures between them.

[16] *Ribeira*: a term no longer in use today. It refers to the number of cattle estates situated along both banks of a watercourse that crossed multiple properties along its path, and which lent its own name to that grouping. In this way, the markings applied to herds of cattle and horses followed the following criteria: on the right side, the owner's brand was burned onto the animal's body with a hot iron, and on the left side, the mark of the *ribeira* (Serejo; Viana; Macedo, 2022, p. 167).

[17] Original version: Nem sempre os engenhos eram movidos à água, e podia suceder que uma seca inclemente impedisse o emprego desse elemento [...]. Existia um tipo de engenho denominado "trapiche", e que não empregava senão bois no serviço de moagem. [...] Para cada um daqueles engenhos precisava-se, no mínimo, de sessenta bois, que trabalhavam revezadamente de doze em doze. Havia também o

From the standpoint of supplying fresh meat and hides to meet the needs of the Bahian capital and its environs, the early seventeenth-century chronicler notes that these demands were met by shipments of *sertão* cattle:

> [...] which ordinarily come to Bahia in herds of one hundred, one hundred and fifty, two hundred, and three hundred head of cattle; and of these, nearly every week some arrive at Capoame, a place eight leagues from the city, where there is pasture and where the traders buy them; and at certain times of the year there are weeks in which herds arrive every day. (Antonil, 1997, p. 202). [18]

However, since the "man fixed to the corrals"—the fazenda's resident *vaqueiro*, representative of the landowner and responsible for overseeing the animals—could not abandon his duties, the cattle destined for the major markets were driven by the coadjutores of the *vaqueiros*, hired specifically for this task. These men, entrusted with convoying the cattle to the principal consumer centers and simultaneously ensuring the outflow of production from the cattle estates, became known throughout the northeastern *sertões* as *tangerinos*.[19]

Thus, the *tangerinos* bore the immense responsibility of preserving, caring for, and delivering the "merchandise" in perfect condition for consumption. Moreover, this merchandise—after weeks on the road and upon reaching its final destinations, the cattle grounds of the markets of Capoame[20] and Santana dos Olhos D'Água[21], represented the

---

transporte de cana apanhadas no corte e que eram carregadas até junto das moendas; havia o abastecimento de lenha para as caldeiras; havia, por último, que conduzir o açúcar fabricado aos portos de embarque (Lima Sobrinho, 1946, p. 41-42).

[18] Original version: [...] que ordinariamente vêm à Bahia de cem, cento e cinquenta, duzentas e trezentas cabeças de gado; e destas, quase cada semana chegam algumas a Capoame, lugar distante da cidade oito léguas, aonde têm pasto e aonde os marchantes as compram; e em alguns tempos do ano há semanas em que, cada dia, chegam boiadas (Antonil, 1997, p. 202).

[19] Considering, by way of introduction, the etymology of the term *tangerino* derives "from the Latin tangere, in the sense of touching, feeling, going to see" (Girão, 1967, p. 217). Its grammatical definition, as rendered by various lexicologists and philologists (Ferreira, 1986, p. 1647; Girão, 1967, p. 217; Souza [1939], p. 309), refers to "one who, on foot, drives cattle or a herd." Likewise, according to Souza—reiterating these assertions—the term designates "in the Northeast, individuals, whether *vaqueiros* or not, on foot or on horseback, who drive the cattle of the herds to the fairs or to new estates" (Souza, [1939], p. 309). Similarly, in our research we identified the synonym *salta-moitas* (Trigueiro, 1977, p. 175; Souza [1939], p. 309), described by the latter as "a pejorative term given to the conductor of herds, an auxiliary to the *vaqueiros* properly speaking, who travels on foot, flanking them" (Souza, [1939], p. 309).

[20] Capoame was a commercial outpost for *sertanejo* cattle, located where the municipality of Dias D'Ávila, Bahia, now stands. There is disagreement among authors in the consulted bibliography concerning the year of its establishment, as well as its subsequent relocation to Santana dos Olhos D'Água. Thus, regarding the founding and transfer of this cattle market, Neves (2016, p. 132) states that it lasted from 1727 to 1830, whereas Schwartz (1988, p. 88) asserts that it remained active between 1614 and 1870.

[21] The Santana dos Olhos D'Água estate, which gave rise to the village and consequently to the municipality of Feira de Santana (Poppino, 1968, p. 55), served as a stopping place for *tropeiros*, travelers, and herds

result of Herculean effort combined with considerable physical expenditure, ensuring the economic sustenance of the corrals, as well as providing cattle for meat consumption by the coastal population, hides, and draft animals essential to sugar production.

Regarding the transport of cattle from the pastoral estates of the *sertões* to the consumer center of Capoame at the dawn of the eighteenth century, Antonil (1982, p. 202) states that it was carried out by "white men, mulattoes, and Blacks, and also Indigenous people who sought to earn some income with this work." He further notes:

> To the Indians who come from the Jacobinas to Capoame, four to five thousand réis are given; and to the man who guides the herd with his horse, eight thousand réis. When the distances are greater, the payment increases proportionally. And thus, from above the São Francisco River, coming toward Capoame, some of those who take upon themselves to bring herds belonging to others demand six or seven tostões per head, and more if the distance is greater. (Antonil, 1982, p. 202).[22]

According to Puntoni (2002), this Indigenous labor was often supplied by missionaries responsible for the aldeias surrounding pastoral enterprises, provided that the payment offered was deemed satisfactory by the clergy. In most cases, this remuneration, as the author notes, was divided between the clerical representatives and the Indigenous workers, to the latter's great disadvantage.

From a governmental standpoint, Puntoni (2002) observes that this manipulation of Indigenous labor enjoyed the acquiescence of Governor-General João de Lencastro,[23] with the stipulation that the wages paid to Indigenous *tangerinos* be supervised by their

---

arriving from the Bahian *sertões*, Minas Gerais, Piauí, and Goiás. Located three leagues south of São José das Itapororocas, now the district of Maria Quitéria, it became an important commercial center for cattle herds from the seventeenth century onward.In 1837, the cattle market was transferred to the Campo da Gameleira, the present-day Praça D. Pedro II, known as Praça do Nordestino; between 1938 and 1943, it was relocated to the "Model Corrals" (Currais Modelos), situated in the central zone of the city, where the Colégio Municipal (now the Centro Integrado de Educação Municipal Professor Joselito F. Amorim) and the Fórum Filinto Bastos currently stand; between 1959 and 1962, the cattle fair was moved to the Queimadinha neighborhood and now operates in the Campo do Gado Novo, in the Campo do Gado neighborhood (Oliveira, 2008).

[22] Original version: Aos índios que das Jacobinas vêm para Capoame se dão quatro até cinco mil réis, e ao homem que com seu cavalo guia a boiada, oito mil réis. Sendo as distâncias maiores, cresce proporcionadamente a paga de todos. E, por isso, do rio São Francisco acima, vindo para Capoame, alguns dos que tomam à sua conta trazer boiadas alheias querem seis ou sete tostões por cada cabeça e mais, se for maior a distância (Antonil, 1982, p. 202).

[23] The 32nd Governor, D. João de Alencastro, took office on 25 May 1694 and remained in the position until 3 July 1702 (Vilhena, 1969b).

legal representatives and certified in the presence of a "more experienced Indian." Drawing on the work of,[24] the author emphasizes that:

> Cattle owners who kept on their estates only the strictly necessary number of enslaved workers would, if prohibited from allowing 'the Indians to drive this cattle from the sertões to Bahia or its Recôncavo or to Pernambuco, never be able to send them, thereby depriving the population of such an essential provision.' The work of guides and drovers performed by the Indians was, from their point of view, very useful to the workers themselves, for with their wages they earned 'something with which to clothe their women'. (Puntoni, 2002, p. 43)[25]

Still with respect to the wages of Indigenous *tangerinos*, the missionary friar Miguel de São Jerônimo petitioned the Governor of Bahia, D. Rodrigo da Costa.,[26] requesting appropriate measures for the payment of a debt incurred at his Mission by the *vaqueiro* Francisco da Costa. In response to friar Miguel's letter of 11 August 1704, the Governor—after addressing other matters raised by the missionary, unrelated to the reimbursement—answered that "[...] I had Francisco da Costa summoned and ordered him to pay at once the two Indians who came with his herd what his *vaqueiro* had agreed with Your Paternity […]" (Brasil, 1938, p. 137).[27]

Likewise, regarding enslaved individuals employed as cattle drovers, the account books of the Fazenda Brejo do Campo Seco record two separate cattle shipments at the beginning of the nineteenth century, organized by its owner, Pinheiro Pinto. According to Santos Filho (2012, p. 224), to transport his animals the rancher used the labor of "his own people," as noted in the 1809 ledger entries with the author's commentary:

> From Mr. Ignácio José da Nunciação, regarding the herd that I sent him on 11 January 1809 by means of my slaves [...]. (This herd required twelve days to cover the 180 kilometers separating Campo Seco from

[24] "'Document in which Dom João de Lencastro responds to the sixteen points concerning the missions, 26 July 1702.' In: RAU, Virgínia (ed.). Os manuscritos do arquivo da Casa de Cadaval respeitantes ao Brasil. Coimbra: 1956, pp. 49–52, vol. 2, apud Puntoni, 2002, p. 43."

[25] Original version: Os proprietários de gado que mantinham em suas fazendas o número estritamente necessário de escravos, se fosse proibido que "os índios conduzissem esses gados, dos sertões para a Bahia ou seu Recôncavo ou [para] Pernambuco, nunca os poderiam enviar, faltando aos povos aquele provimento tão essencial". O trabalho de guias e tangedores realizados pelos índios era, do seu ponto de vista, muito útil para os próprios porque com as pagas ganham "com que vestir suas mulheres (Puntoni, 2002, p. 43, grifos do autor e grifo nosso).

[26] The 33rd Governor, D. Rodrigo da Costa, took office on 3 July 1702 and remained in the position until 8 September 1705 (Vilhena, 1969b).

[27] "Letter to the missionary priest Frei Miguel de São Jerônimo, concerning the order given to Francisco da Costa that he pay the Indigenous men who came with his herd [...]" (Brasil, 1938, p. 161).

> the present-day comarca of Maracás, then a small village. [...] It consisted of approximately 150 oxen.) (Santos Filho, 2012, p. 224).[28]

Similarly, the author records another shipment that same year, destined for the capital of the Province of Bahia:

> Luiz took down 183 oxen on 20 April 1809. (Luiz, a mulatto whom the rancher sometimes referred to in the manuscript volumes as "my Luiz," drove other herds of 183 head to be sold in Salvador in 1809. [...] The expression "to go down" signified, in the *sertão* of Rio de Contas, traveling toward Salvador da Bahia, descending toward the port.) (Santos Filho, 2012, p. 224).[29]

In the first leagues of the journey, several *vaqueiros* were summoned to drive the herd, in order to "take"[30] or recover any animal that attempted to return to its original pasture. Thus, as Serejo, Viana, and Macedo explain:

> Only after the first night's rest do the cattle resign themselves and, abandoning any attempt at resistance, follow submissively along the road toward the market. Three or four *vaqueiros* suffice to conduct the large herd. Before that, however, for every five head, one *vaqueiro* is needed on average. (Torres, *apud* Serejo; Viana; Macedo, 2022, p. 305).[31]

In sum, these initial procedures, grounded in seventeenth-century travel narratives, were described by Antonil as follows: "They are guided by some who go ahead, [calling the cattle] so that the herd follows them, and others come behind the animals, driving them and taking care that they do not stray from the path or bunch together" (Antonil, 1982, p. 202). Similarly, in the work group coordinated by José da Conceição—known as

---

[28] Original version: "De. O sr. Ignco José da Nunciação da boyada q' lhe mdo. [mando] em 11 de Janro. de 1809 pelos meos escravos [...]". (Essa boiada consumiu 12 dias para vencer 180 quilômetros que separam o Campo Seco da atual comarca de Maracás, naquela época um pequeno povoado. [...] constou mais ou menos de 150 bois) (Santos Filho, 2012, p. 224, grifo do autor).

[29] Original version: "Levou Luiz para bayxo 183 bois em 20 de Abril de 1809". (Luiz, um mulato a quem o fazendeiro chamou por vezes, nos livros manuscritos, de "meu Luiz", conduziu para vender no Salvador, ainda em 1809, outras boiadas de 183 cabeças. [...]a expressão "seguir para baixo", significava, no sertão de Rio de Contas, seguir para Salvador da Bahia, descer para o porto) (Santos Filho, 2012, p. 224, grifos do autor).

[30] The term *tomar*, in cattle-handling practice, carries the sense of cutting off, occupying, opposing, or preventing the animal from moving in the opposite direction, other than the predetermined path. Thus, when one is instructed to "take" the lead, the rear, or the flank (the edges of the paths), it means "to place oneself in any of these positions in relation to an animal or group of them" (Serejo; Viana; Macedo, 2022b, p. 310, authors' emphasis).

[31] Original version: Só depois do primeiro pernoite é que as reses se desenganam e, desistindo de qualquer tentativa de resistência, seguem submissas estrada fora, rumo ao mercado. Três ou quatro Vaqueiros apenas bastam para conduzir o numeroso rebanho. Antes disso, porém, a cada 5 cabeças deve corresponder, em média, um vaqueiro (Torres, apud Serejo; Viana; Macedo, 2022, p. 305).

"Zezão"—the roles between the guide and the rear driver were clearly defined; according to him, "you need three drovers: one guiding and two behind, driving. One in front so the cattle do not run, and [the herd] keeps following, and we keep accompanying [the animals]" (Conceição, 2005).

Thus, we emphasize that these practices involving cattle transport—performed by passadores,[32] guides,[33] *tangerinos* of old, described in the writings of the Jesuit André João Antonil—were reinforced, detailed, and perpetuated by other *tangerinos* two centuries later. In this way, the procedures and techniques used by cattle drovers in the early appropriation of the Bahian *sertões* endured well into the mid-twentieth century, carried out by *tangerinos* who traveled along rural roads and trails through a rudimentary chain of knowledge and practice, transmitted orally from elders over generations.

Another of our interviewees, Manoel Gonçalves dos Santos—known as "Mané de Tomás"—highlights the correlation between the number of animals and the number of *tangerinos* required to convoy the cattle: "it depends on how many oxen [...] eight, six drovers. Fifty oxen, five; a hundred oxen, well, about ten" (Santos, 2005). Thus, as our collaborator emphasized, the labor was collective, the roles equally shared, and even "the man in charge of the herd was a *tangerino*, but he was also the one who carried the money to provide for us" (Santos, 2005).

These marches of *tangerinos* and cattle herds through the trails and pathways of the Bahian *sertões*, described by Antonil in the eighteenth century, include, among other facts, the daily mileage of the drovers:

> Their journeys are of four, five, or six leagues, depending on the availability of pastures where they are to stop. But where there is lack of water, they follow the path for fifteen or twenty leagues, marching

[32] Passador: "Driver of cattle, taking it from the breeding estates to the fairs or points of sale across dozens of leagues. He supervised the *tangerinos*, choosing the roads, making shortcuts, and knowing the best fords, or vaus, in swollen rivers and the least dangerous crossings, as well as the natural reservoirs where water remained in the cavities of rocks, in the overhangs of the mountain ranges, and in certain roots and bulbs" (Cascudo, 1954, p. 476, author's emphasis)..

[33] Guide: "The *tangerino* (on foot), the *vaqueiro* (on horseback), or even the animal or head of cattle that walks ahead of the others, that is, at the front of the herd. At intervals, the man usually *abóia* [he/she calls the cattle with an *aboio*] and, in modern times, carries a red flag to warn vehicles on the roads. When on foot (*tangerino*), he carries a pole or club to turn back any animal that attempts to flee." (Serejo; Viana; Macedo, 2022b, p. 207, authors' emphasis).

> day and night with little rest until they find a place to halt (Antonil, 1982, p. 202).[34]

Likewise, in the 1950s, our collaborator Manoel Gonçalves dos Santos—Mané de Tomás—described his hardships and adversities as a *tangerino* escorting cattle herds, as detailed in his interview:

> I drove cattle for two years toward the North: Viçosa [in the State of Alagoas] and Rio Branco [now Arcoverde, in Pernambuco]. [...] To Viçosa it is six leagues per day that we have to cover. To Rio Branco it is four, five that we had to cover. But to Viçosa it is farther. When we arrived in Viçosa the last time I went, I wanted to stay there. Coming back on foot to here is far, my lord—it is far. (Santos, 2005).[35]

From the standpoint of cattle-drive routes, these paths cannot be understood as broad, wagon-worthy roads, nor can they be identified under the modern concept of "highways." They were, by nature, trails, footpaths, and narrow beaten tracks—winding, rudimentary, carved through natural clearings between trees—which allowed the passage of herds and gave rise to the routes along which cattle droves and mule trains traveled. In this respect, according to Adolpho Augusto Pinto (1903 apud Cintra, 1934), prior to the arrival of Europeans at the dawn of the sixteenth century, there already existed in Pindorama a rudimentary road system of trails, paths, and extensive routes built by Indigenous peoples, linking "various points of the coast with the farthest interior of the country" (Pinto, 1903, p. 9). These Indigenous communication lines, encountered by Europeans and described by Pinto, were thus defined by Cintra:

> This path, an early Indigenous route of communication, pre-colonial in origin, was called Peabirú or Piahiyú[1] by the Indians, and 'the road of Saint Thomas' by the Jesuits. Finding a road in existence before the coming of the European conquerors, the Jesuits attributed it to supernatural intervention and concluded that it had been made by miracle, through the mere passage of the apostle Saint Thomas through those regions. (Cintra, 1934, p. 4) [36]

---

[34] Original version: As suas jornadas são de quatro, cinco e seis léguas, conforme a comodidade dos pastos onde hão de parar. Porém aonde há falta de água, seguem o caminho de quinze e vinte léguas, marchando de dia e de noite, com pouco descanso até que achem paragem aonde possa parar (Antonil, 1982, p. 202).

[35] Original version: Tangi boi dois ano pro Norte: Viçosa, [Estado de Alagoas] e Rio Branco [atual Arcoverde, em Pernambuco]. [...] Pra Viçosa é seis légua pur dia, pra gente tirar. Pra Rio Branco é quato, cinco tinha de tirar. Mas pra Viçosa é mais longe. Pra Viçosa quando nóis chegamo a derradêra vez que eu fui, me deu vontade de ficar lá. Pra vim de pé praqui é longe, meu sinhô, é longe (Santos, 2005, grifos nossos).

[36] Original version: Esse caminho, primitiva via indígena de comunicação, pré-colonial, era chamado de Peabirú ou Piahiyú1 pelos índios, e "caminho de São Tomé" pelos jesuítas. Encontrando caminho existente antes da vinda dos conquistadores europeus, os jesuítas o atribuíram a intervenção sobrenatural, e

Along these cattle roads traveled *tropeiros* and *tangerinos*, driving mules and oxen, bringing "news from the world beyond," as well as foreign travelers and researchers journeying through the Bahian *sertões*. Along one such trail in northern Bahia, the Germans Spix and Martius, during their voyage to Brazil between 1817 and 1820, witnessed in the remote Serra de Itiúba a drove of cattle convoyed by men who shared information about the route: "As we descended the western side of the mountain, we encountered a herd of 300 head of cattle, which, coming from Piauí, had already traveled one hundred leagues and were destined for Bahia." (Spix & Martius, 2016, p. 223)

Still in the nineteenth century, Neves records that during Teodoro Sampaio's passage through the region of Caetité in 1880, "herds of cattle raised in these fields, or stationed here when coming from the floodplains of the São Francisco River, continually descend toward the coastal region, and are purchased in the corrals at 25 to 30 *mil-réis* per head" (Sampaio, 1955, pp. 176–184 apud Neves, 1998, pp. 211–212).

Revisiting cattle-drive routes using the official records of the Government of Bahia from 1923 (Pereira,[37] 2004), we may conjecture, based on these reports, the paths opened in the colonial period—routes along which oxen were driven on foot to the markets of Capoame and Santana dos Olhos D'Água. Along these plausible itineraries, which formed the transit routes of earlier cattle drives, arose the *arraiais*, villages, and settlements that became the seeds of today's major urban centers. Thus, Pereira mapped the flow of cattle in accordance with contiguous geographic regions, described by him as follows. In the First Stream, the herds coming from the

> [...] south of the State of Piauí, receiving cattle from northern Bahia, descend, cross the São Francisco River a little above the city of Barra, and head toward the city of Morro do Chapéu; [while in the second itinerary, the cattle coming from] northern Goiás, passing above the city of Barreiras and receiving cattle from neighboring municipalities, also head toward the municipality of Morro do Chapéu. (Pereira, 2004, pp. 127–128).[38]

concluíram que fora feito por milagre, com a só passagem do apóstolo São Tomé por aquelas partes (Cintra, 1934, p. 4).

[37] Dionysio Pereira held the post of Delegate of the Pastoral Industry Service of the Government of the State of Bahia during the administration of Governor Joaquim José Seabra, between 1920 and 1924.

[38] Original version: [...] Sul do Estado do Piauí, recebendo gado do Norte do Estado da Bahia, desce, atravessa o rio São Francisco um pouco acima da cidade da Barra e se dirige para a cidade de Morro do Chapéu; [enquanto que no segundo itinerário, o gado derivado do] Norte de Goiás, passando acima da cidade de Barreiras, recebendo gado dos municípios vizinhos, dirige-se também para o município de Morro do Chapéu (Pereira, 2004, p. 127-128, grifos nosso).

Likewise, Poppino, drawing on Ferreira, states that

> "cattle from southern Piauí and northern Goiás traveled more than 450 miles[3] to reach Jacobina via the city of Barra on the São Francisco River, [where the two streams crossed and most of these animals were directed] through Morro do Chapéu to the rich pastures of Mundo Novo and Rui Barbosa." (Poppino, 1968, p. 162).[39]

In the third stream, as described by Pereira, the cattle originating from Goiás and northern Minas Gerais followed this route:

> "[...] crossing the São Francisco River between the cities of Cachoeirinha and Lençóis, entering the municipality of Capivari [present-day Baixa Grande], through the city of Orobó [now Rui Barbosa], into the municipality of Mundo Novo via the aforementioned crossroads of Barra, and also into the municipality of Itaberaba." (Pereira, 2004, p. 128).[40]

"[...] crossing the São Francisco River between the cities of Cachoeirinha and Lençóis, entering the municipality of Capivari [present-day Baixa Grande], through the city of Orobó [now Rui Barbosa], into the municipality of Mundo Novo via the aforementioned crossroads of Barra, and also into the municipality of Itaberaba." (Pereira, 2004, p. 128

> […] crossing the São Francisco River, passing through Monte Alto, Caetité, Bom Jesus dos Meiras [present-day Brumado], Ituaçu, Maracás, João Amaro, and from there through Itaberaba by the place called Gonçalo Grande, dispersing across neighboring municipalities. (Pereira, 2004, p. 128).

According to Poppino (1968, p. 163), these cattle "traveled nearly seven hundred miles[41] to reach Feira de Santana, following a well-defined path trodden since the early eighteenth century by gold miners." Furthermore, from João Amaro, "some of these herds proceeded directly to Itaberaba, while the rest dispersed through the fattening fields of neighboring municipalities" (Poppino, 1968, p. 163).

---

[39] Original version: "o gado do Sul do Piauí e Norte de Goiás, percorria mais de 450 milhas1 para alcançar Jacobina, via cidade da Barra, no rio São Francisco, [onde as duas correntes se entrecruzavam e a maioria dessas reses era encaminhada,] através Morro do Chapéu, para as ricas invernadas de Mundo Novo e Rui Barbosa" (Poppino, 1968, p.162, grifo nosso).

[40] Original version: "[...] atravessando o rio São Francisco, entre as cidades de Cachoeirinha e Lençóis, entra no município de Capivari, [atual município de Baixa Grande], pela cidade de Orobó [atualmente Rui Barbosa] no município de Mundo Novo pela citada encruzilhada Barra e também no município de Itaberaba" (Pereira, 2004, p. 128, grifo nosso).

[41] 700 miles correspond to approximately 1,126 kilometers, or 188 leagues (author's note).

Other herds, coming from additional districts in northern Minas Gerais, entered Bahia according to Pereira:

> "They come from Fortaleza [present-day Pedra Azul–MG], northern Minas, crossing the Rio Pardo, heading toward the municipality of Conquista, Poções, Jequié, and branching in this municipality: part continues to Santa Ignez, Areia [present-day Ubaíra], Amargosa, Santo Antonio de Jesus, and Nazareth; part heads toward João Amaro, meeting the fourth stream, and proceeds toward the municipality of Itaberaba, passing through the place called Gonçalo Grande." (Pereira, 2004, p. 128)[42]

Along this route, Poppino notes that the cattle traveled roughly three hundred miles[43] to reach Feira de Santana. Thus, "once sufficiently recovered from the long journey, the animals of the two regions [from the two distinct routes] continued on to Feira de Santana via Mundo Novo and Ipirá" (Poppino, 1968, p. 163)

Finally, according to Dionysio Pereira, the cattle from Bahian territory, as well as the herds arriving from other states, after resting and regaining body weight in pastures of various municipalities, proceeded toward Feira de Santana following these paths:

> [...] that of Mundo Novo, passing through the municipalities of Camisão [present-day Ipirá] and Baixa Grande; that of Capivary through Camisão; that of Itaberaba through Camisão. The cattle from the municipalities of Jacobina and surrounding areas, which also come from Goiás and Piauí, partly head toward Mundo Novo and partly toward Monte Alegre, Riachão [do Jacuípe], Tanquinho, and Feira de Santana. Cattle from Monte Santo, Queimadas, Santa Luzia, Gavião, and neighboring municipalities head toward [Conceição do] Coité and from there to Tanquinho and Feira de Santana. Cattle raised in Pombal, Tucano, and nearby municipalities head toward Araci, Serrinha, Tanquinho, and Feira de Santana. Those from Itapicuru, Bom Conselho, Santo Antonio da Glória, and Patrocínio do Coité are destined mostly for the State of Sergipe. Those from Curaçá are destined partly for Pernambuco and Alagoas. (Pereira, 2004, p. 128).[44]

---

[42] Original version: Vem de Fortaleza, [atual, município de Pedra Azul-MG], Norte de Minas, atravessando o Rio Pardo, dirige-se para o município de Conquista, Poções, Jequié, bifurcando neste município: parte segue para Santa Ignez, Areia, [atual cidade de Ubaíra] Amargosa, Santo Antonio de Jesus e Nazareth; parte dirige-se para João Amaro, encontrando-se com a quarta corrente, e segue para o município de Itaberaba, passando pelo lugar denominado Gonçalo Grande (Pereira, 2004, p. 128, grifo nosso).

[43] 300 miles correspond to approximately 483 kilometers, or 80 leagues (author's note).

[44] Original version: [...] o de Mundo Novo passando pelos municípios de Camisão, [atual Ipirá], e Baixa Grande; o de Capivary por Camisão; o de Itaberaba por Camisão. O gado dos municípios de Jacobina e municípios circunvizinhos que vem também de Goiás e Piauí, parte segue para Mundo Novo e parte para Monte Alegre, Riachão [do Jacuípe], Tanquinho e Feira de Santana. O gado de Monte Santo, Queimadas, Santa Luzia, Gavião e municípios vizinhos dirige-se para [Conceição do] Coité e daí para Tanquinho e Feira de Santana. O gado criado em Pombal, Tucano e municípios próximos se dirige para Araci, Serrinha, Tanquinho e Feira de Santana. O de Itapicuru, Bom Conselho, Santo Antonio da Glória, Patrocinio do Coité

The bodily condition of this cattle, according to the account of another observer from the eighteenth century, was deplorable upon reaching the fields of Feira de Santana after walking hundreds of kilometers. The oxen, "[...] though standing, are dead, corrupted for the butcher's knife, [and] there are those who do not realize that the flesh of such animals is far from being good nourishment [...]" (Vilhena, 1969a, p. 160).

This work, besides demanding attention, care, and extraordinary effort on the part of the drovers, subjected the herds to enormous physical exhaustion throughout the journey, causing them to arrive maimed, thereby resulting in poor-quality meat. Likewise, Vilhena (1969a, v. 1, p. 160) describes these herds—coming from the distant hinterlands to the Cattle Market of Feira de Santana in the early nineteenth century—as skeletal animals whose bodies were sustained exclusively by the native vegetation found along the routes, already worn by the continuous passage of previous droves.

Similarly, the common feeding practices of the herds along the routes remained unchanged over the centuries, as attested by our collaborators. José da Conceição, whose journeys lasted up to eight days, states that during the trips "the cattle eat the leaves of the brush, the brush out there. Where we find a *roça*, we put them in the *roça*, and where we don't find one... There are days they go two days without eating" (Conceição, 2005). Under such conditions, Manoel Gonçalves—whose routes lasted up to twenty-eight days—affirms that the fatigue of long marches caused ulcerations in the hooves of some animals:

> We give the cattle feed here and there, we circle them so they can eat, give them water [...]. They fill their bellies as they like. But they get crippled. Many get crippled. The road cripples them. I stayed with three oxen in a place called Oiti; the overseer left me to treat the oxen, putting arches on their hooves so they wouldn't peel. I stayed twelve days with those oxen giving them feed. (Santos, 2005).[45]

Regarding river crossings, Antonil records in the eighteenth century that "in the crossing of some rivers, one of those who guides the herd, placing an ox mask on his head,

---

destina-se em maior parte para o Estado de Sergipe. O de Curaçá destina-se em parte para Pernambuco e Alagoas (Pereira, 2004, p. 128, grifos nossos).

[45] Original version: Dá o de cumer o gado aqui e aculá, arrudiava pro gado cumer, dava água [...]. Enche a barriga a vontade. Agora istrupêia. Tem muito qui istrupêia. A istrada istrupêia. Eu fiquei cum três boi num lugar pur nome Oiti, qui o incarregado do trabáio me deixou tratar dos boi, botano árcu nos casco, pra aquilo num caliçê. Fiquei doze dia cum esses boi dano o dicumê (Santos, 2005).

and swimming, shows the cattle the passage through which they must cross" (Antonil, 1982, p. 202). However, in the mid-twentieth century, according to the collaborators of this study, as in the seventeenth century, the herds swam across the larger rivers guided by men in canoes, though without the ruse described by Antonil.

According to Andrade (2005), the *tangerinos* lived in villages, towns, and settlements near the ranches, where the demand for driving cattle was greater. Some lived on the ranches themselves, and in areas where the soil was fertile enough, they practiced subsistence agriculture—planting maize, beans, and manioc. These dwellings, still according to the author, were truly

> "[...] huts with a single-slope roof, called *testas de bode* in Sergipe. The beds they had, very poor and made of a wooden platform resting on forks, were called *isidoras*. At lunchtime the whole family gathered around a clay basin, from which the food was taken with the hands. The only daily meal consisted almost always of beans, manioc flour, pepper, and salt, sometimes accompanied by meat." (Andrade, 2005, p. 204).[46]

Thus the *tangerinos* spent their lives traversing the hinterlands, driving the herds—at short paces—to the ranches or the coastal markets that consumed meat and draft animals. The transport of these large droves, since the dawn of the eighteenth century, was paid to the "drover" (*passador*) according to the number of cattle delivered, as Antonil explains: "[...] if the herd consists of two hundred head of cattle, he is given as many *cruzados* if all arrive at the designated place. Yet if along the way some flee, so many cruzados are deducted as the number of missing cattle" (Antonil, 1982, p. 202).

According to Mané de Tomás, the expenses with food during the journey, as well as on the return trip, were borne by the *tangerinos* themselves. Regarding the payment received, he states that at the time he earned "a cheap wage [...]. In those days of the old money. I don't know what that old money is anymore. I knew it, but today the money is different" (Santos, 2005).

As for lodging, Manoel de Tomás and his companions rested according to the conditions imposed by the trails and by the cattle themselves. During his journeys, he carried slung over his shoulder a hammock: "A little hammock on my back. One of those

[46] Original version: [...] choupanas com telhado de uma só água, chamadas em Sergipe de "testas de bode". As camas de que dispunham, muito pobres e formadas por um estrado sobre forquilhas, eram chamadas "isidoras". A hora do almoço toda a família se reunia em torno de um alguidar de barro, de onde se retira com as mãos o alimento. A única refeição diária era constituída, quase sempre, de feijão, farinha, pimenta e sal, às vezes acompanhada de carne (Andrade, 2005, p. 204).

small ones. Some slept on the ground [...]. Mostly on the ground [...]. I slept in a little hammock" (Santos, 2005). These hammock posts were located at fixed stopping points already defined in the initial route. These sites, maintained at strategic points by the beiradeiros[47], served as night corrals, offering rest and support to mule troops and drovers. The residents were compensated by travelers for the services rendered. Mané de Tomás recounts: "At those points for us to sleep, we paid. They provided water, firewood, and pots for cooking" (Santos, 2005). Systematically, before stopping for the night, the *tangerinos* circled the cattle along the paths to offer some comfort and relieve their hunger and thirst. As Mané de Tomás explains:

> "We circled [the cattle]. We circled until around three o'clock, three or four o'clock, then we headed to the sleeping point [...]. That place charged eighteen *réis*, two *tões*, for each ox to sleep in the *corral*. [...] We arrived at sunset, we got up at sunrise, and set off again. [...] At dawn, we put our feet on the road." (Santos, 2005) [48]

Whereas at the random stopping points chosen by Zezão and his company they ate only "an old little piece of roasted meat with a bit of *rapadura*" and would find "some stall to drink a little cachaça to cut the tiredness," Mané de Tomás and his group had different arrangements. According to him:

> "At daybreak we got up. For us to make coffee, roast meat—who said we were going to eat? [...] We arrived at night, put the meat on the fire, ate shredded meat. At that hour we had already eaten. By night or midday we ate something else, but the best meal was at night. [...] When it got dark, we put beans on the fire—whoever wanted would eat, goat meat there [...]. And we had a little sip. And from there on at night, folks drank a lot. Not too much—just a sip here and there." (Santos, 2005).[49]

---

[47] Beiradeiro: dweller living along the roadside. According to Santos Filho (2012), travelers and naturalists who traversed the country in the early eighteenth century reported numerous establishments set up along the routes to provide support for passersby, tangerinos, and tropeiros.

[48] Original version: A gente arrudiava [o gado]. Arrudiava até base dumas três hora a gente arrudiava. Quando dava a base dumas três pra quato hora, a gente tinha aqueles ponto de a gente durmir que a gente puxava pra durmir, né. [...] Aqueles ponto, [inaudível] cobrava o boi dizoito réis, dois tões, pra o boi durmir no currá daqueles camarada. [...] Chegava no pôr do sol, levantava na saída do sol e balançava no mundo. [...] De madrugada, mitia os pé (Santos, 2005).

[49] Original version: [Ao romper do dia] levantava. Pra gente fazer café, assar carne quem dizia que ia comer [...]. Chegava de noitche, botava a carne no fogo, cumia iscamuçada. Essa hora já tinha cumido. [a entrevista foi realizada entre 09hs e 10hs]. Quando fosse de noitche ou mei-dia cumia ôta coisinha, mas o de cumer mió era de noitche. [...] Iscureceu botava fejão no fogo, quem quizesse cumer, carne de bode ali [...]. E tomava uma bicadazinha. E de lá pra cá de noitche, nego tomava era muita. Não muita assim também. Um golinho aqui, aculá (Santos, 2005, grifos nossos).

Early colonial chronicles note that expenses with the animal used for carrying supplies (*matalotagem*), as well as the loss, theft, or death of any head of cattle, were deducted from the payment due at delivery. It was the *passador's* duty to deliver all cattle alive at the contracted destination, even if in a skeletal state, as noted by Vilhena. José da Conceição confirms this practice: "If a cow dies, the loss is the owner's; and if the mount dies, the loss is ours. [...] Whoever loses it pays for it." (Conceição, 2005)

Regarding crimes such as theft or assault, neither the bibliographic sources nor our informants reported such occurrences. According to Mané de Tomás, who drove cattle in the 1950s:

> "Back then, there was no robbery! [...] No sir. Things were different. We took and brought the boss's money on our backs and nothing happened. [...] There was an overseer who carried the money on his back, in a bag tied tight with sheep's wool, strapped well on the back, and he came all the way to deliver it here." (Santos, 2005).[50]

Throughout the entire journey, the number of animals was counted at every stop to ensure none strayed. As Manoel Gonçalves recounts: "We counted the oxen every day. In the afternoon, before sleeping, we counted to be sure. There was an overseer" (Santos, 2005). Thus, despite the immense care and responsibility exercised by the *tangerinos* in handling the cattle along the routes, it sometimes happened—through some momentary lapse—that an animal strayed from the herd. To illustrate such an occurrence as a probable deviation in the herd's trajectory, there appeared in 1952, on the Alecrim estate [51], among the livestock, an *alvaçã* heifer [52] bearing a brand and mark unknown in the region. The landowner, Mr. Francisco de Souza Bonfim, after two decades had passed since the animal's appearance, decided to sell all the offspring descended from this heifer and employ the proceeds in the construction of the José Bonfim Sobrinho Parish School, which was delivered to the community of Santa Rosa de Lima on 12 October 1975.

---

[50] Original version: Nesse tempo, tinha rôbo não! [...] Não sinhô. Nesse tempo a coisa era ôta. Levava, trazia o dinhêro do patrão nas costa e num tinha... Era. Ói o maço de dinhêro. [...] Tinha um incarregado e trazia o dinheiro, nas costa, pra intregar aqui os patrão.[...] Hoje é que você pega dez tões daqui praquela rua, vão tomar. Naquele tempo, trazia dinheiro, nas costa, num malote bem amarrado cum lombo de ovêia, bem atracado nas costa ali e vinha disatar aqui (Santos, 2005).

[51] The Alecrim estate is located in the village of Santa Rosa de Lima, in Jaguarari, Bahia. The donation document (1 leaf), typed and signed by the owner, Francisco de Souza Bonfim, is held at the Museu do Vaqueiro in the village of Santa Rosa de Lima and was provided to us by the researcher Mônica Andrade (author's note).

[52] "[...] Said of bovines that possess *alvaçã* coat color, that is, white or whitish, without any spot, mark, patch, or stripe (Serejo; Viana; Macedo, 2022b, p. 46).

These animals, weakened by the fatigue of the journey, by frugal feeding, and by the scarcity of water along the marches, often became a hindrance to the progress of the herd and delayed the delivery of the "merchandise" within the contracted time. Consequently, some *beiradeiros* established dwellings along the roads in order to trade in the crippled cattle that fell behind during the journeys, either to set up a small estate or to offer them later in improved condition. As Prado Júnior notes:

> "Along [these roads] settled certain inhabitants who, despite the local hardships, offered assistance to travellers and to the herds passing nearby, or who purchased at low cost some animal maimed by the long marches and thus established a small farm" (Prado Júnior, 1963, p. 68).[53]

According to Mané de Tomás, the work garments standardized among the *tangerinos* of his group were made by seamstresses residing in Canché and consisted of blue mixed-fabric clothing, accompanied by a bisaco[54] of the same material in which the provisions [55]for the journey were stored:

> "It was a very well-made *bornal*, huge, of blue *mescona*. [...]. There were many seamstresses here, they made those big very well-made *bornal* sacks [...]. A very well-equipped one [...] It had a flap for putting the meat and another flap for putting the flour [...] Flour, meat, *rapadura*, coffee, everything. [...] And the little coffee can we put on one side" (Santos, 2005).[56]

Regarding the utensils used on the journeys, Mané de Tomás describes his gear concisely, consistent with what is visible in the rare photographs depicting the implements commonly used by *tangerinos* in driving cattle: "[...] The knife hung on one side [at the waist, and in the hand] a small leather manguá."[57] A little piece of strong wood—I don't

---

[53] Original version: Ao longo [dessas estradas] estabeleceram-se alguns moradores, apesar das dificuldades locais, para prestarem concurso aos viajantes e as boiadas que transitavam na proximidade ou para recolherem a baixo custo alguma rês estropiada pelas longas caminhadas, e constituírem assim uma pequena fazenda (Prado Júnior, 1963, p. 68).

[54] *Bisaco*: satchel; pack (Ferreira, 1986, p. 261)..

[55] Farnel: food provisions for the journey (Ibid., p. 759).

[56] Original version: Era um bornali bem feitcho medonho de mescona azuli. [...]. Aqui tinha muita custurêra, faziam aqueles bornalzão bem feitcho [...]. Um bem equipado medonho [...] Tinha a capa da gente botar a carne e tinha a capa de botar farinha [...] Farinha, carne, rapadura, café, tudo. [...] E a latinha do café a gente botava dum lado (Santos, 2005).

[57] *Manguázin*: Diminutive of *mangual*. According to Serejo, Viana, and Macedo, the term refers to "a long whip made of tanned, braided leather, attached to a wooden handle, having at its extremity a resistant cord known as the *ponta de linha* [or simply *ponteira*]. [...] [Also known as *gurinhém*], it is not used solely to drive the animals; it also serves to guide them, change their direction, lead them onto another path, always contrary to the lash" (Serejo; Viana; Macedo, 2022b, pp. 131, 209)..

have one here now. It was a *manguá* made of reins, real cattle hide, leather. Very well made. Properly fitted with an *agidô* [58], all decorated" (Santos, 2005).

In examining a photograph of the Campo do Gado in Feira de Santana, Bahia, from 1929, Oliveira (2016, p. 104) observes the photographer's effort and desire to "capture as many elements as possible" from the famous Bahian cattle fair of the last century. In that photograph, the *tangerinos* are highlighted as *saltamoitas* and portrayed as "men with very little baggage, with a satchel slung across the body in which they carried the trousers they removed as soon as they left the town, dried meat, flour, a tin cup, and ammunition for the shotgun" (Lajedinho, 2006, p. 71, apud Oliveira, 2016, p. 104). Otavio Pinto further states that the *tangerino*:

> "Always wears simple clothing, a hat woven from *carnaúba* palm, sandals, a whip, carrying on his back a hammock inside a leather bag, along with the utensils needed to prepare his meals. In his characteristic attire and nomadic life, he resembles an unarmed *cangaceiro*. [...] He sleeps in the bush or in the corrals of the farms, where he hangs his hammock while the cattle graze" (Pinto, 1943, p. 48)..[59]

In closing this study on the driving of cattle destined for the coastal supply of meat and draft animals, we recognize the importance of the *tangerinos* for the pastoral economy and note that, nevertheless, like other historical subjects, they were placed by Social History within a social stratum marked by inferiority and segregation.

Final Considerations

In concluding this study on the drovers of cattle, we perceived—through the testimonies of our collaborators—the importance of these individuals for the pastoral economy, even though, like other historical actors, they were placed by Social History within a social stratum of inferiority and segregation.

With the aim of characterizing the routines and socioeconomic conditions of the *tangerinos* as auxiliary figures to the *vaqueiros* in the specific task of driving herds from

[58] Agidô: We presume that the term used by our interviewee refers to the four-strand braided piece, manufactured from raw bovine hide and measuring approximately half a *braça* (1.10 m) in length, used in the making of the *mangual*. Thus, we surmise that the term alludes to a linguistic corruption of an instrument that "acts with pain" (author's note).

[59] Original version: Traja sempre roupa comum, chapéu de palha de carnaúba, alpercatas, chicote, trazendo às costas a rede dentro dum saco de couro e os utensílios para preparar as suas refeições. Em seus trajes característicos e em sua vida nômade, assemelha-se a um cangaceiro desarmado. [...] Dorme no mato ou nos currais das fazendas onde arma a sua rede enquanto o gado fica pastando (Pinto, 1943, p. 48).

the remote hinterlands of the Northeast to the principal markets of cattle, we found in our research only sparse references to these men in the consulted bibliography. Thus, the need for recourse to oral history became evident, under an expanded perspective that understands it as more than a mere methodological tool, as pointed out by Thomson (Alistair Thomson, 2000).

It became clear that these individuals—although scarcely discussed by Bahian historiography—bequeathed significant contributions to the economy, the culture, and the body of knowledge and practices related to the movement of cattle along the paths and byways of the Northeastern hinterlands. Nevertheless, other aspects concerning the labor performed by these historical subjects remain obscure and still require a more deeply rooted investigation.

In this regard, it was also demonstrated that a detailed study is needed concerning the particularities of the work agreements entered into solely by word of honor and governed by bonds of trust and honesty. Such dynamics, as well as the labor relations themselves, are rooted in oral traditions, which demarcate unequal social relations and were, to some extent, shaped by the foundations and premises of the colonial economy.

Thus, based on these findings, one notes the undeniable necessity of further research into the role of the *tangerinos* as conductors of cattle within historiography, in view of the importance of these individuals in Brazil’s socioeconomic and cultural formation.

REFERENCES

ABREU, J. Capistrano de. Capítulos da história colonial: 1500-1800. Brasília: Senado Federal, 1998. 226 p.

Acesso em: 29 mai. 2023

ANDRADE, Manoel Correia de. A terra e o homem do Nordeste: contribuição ao estudo da questão agrária no Nordeste. 7 ed. São Paulo: Cortez, 2005. 334 p.

ANTONIL, André João. Cultura e opulência do Brasil. 3 ed. Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia; São Paulo: USP, 1997. 240 p.

AZEVEDO, Thales de. Povoamento da cidade do Salvador. Salvador: Itapuã, 1969. 428 p.

BOAVENTURA, Eurico Alves. Fidalgos e vaqueiros. Salvador: UFBA, 1989, 458 p.

BRANDÃO, Ambrósio Fernandes. Diálogos das grandezas do Brasil. Brasília: Senado Federal, 2010. 332 p.

BRASIL. Ministério da Educação e Saúde. Documentos históricos. Senado da Câmara: Bahia: 1696-1726; Consultas do conselho ultramarino Bahia: 1673. [Rio de Janeiro]:Biblioteca Nacional, 1950. v. 87.

BURKE, Peter. Trad. Magda Lopes. São Paulo: USP, 1992. p. 39-62.

CALMON, Pedro. História da Casa da Torre: Uma dinastia de pioneiros. 3 ed. Salvador: Fundação Cultural do Estado da Bahia, 1983. 230 p.

[CAMINHA, Pero Vaz de]. Carta de Pero Vaz de Caminha a el-rei D. Manuel: escrita na ilha de Vera Cruz em 1º de maio de 1500. Ed. *fac-simile*. Bahia: Reis e Comp., 1900. Edição para o Instituto Geográfico e Histórico da Bahia pelo 4º centenário da descoberta do Brasil.

CINTRA, Jaime. Viação Férrea nos estados de São Paulo e Mato Grosso. Revista do Club de Engenharia. set, 1934, p. 3-13.

CONCEIÇÃO, José da. Entrevista concedida à equipe do Projeto Aboio. Canudos, 10 ago. 2005.

CUNHA, Euclides da. Os sertões. São Paulo: Martin Claret, 2002. 560 p.

DIAS, João Castanho. 500 anos de leite no Brasil. São Paulo: Calandra, 2006, 147 p.

Disponível em: https://repositorio.ufpe.br/jspui/bitstream/ 123456789/7050/1/ arquivo3296_1.pdf. Acesso em: 12 out. 2024.

FREYRE, Gilberto. Nordeste: aspectos da influência da cana sobre a paisagem do Nordeste do Brasil. 6 ed. Rio de Janeiro: Record, 1989. p. 119.

FURTADO, Celso. Formação econômica do Brasil. 13 ed. São Paulo: Nacional, 1975. 249 p.

GOULART, José Alípio. Brasil do boi e do couro. Rio de Janeiro: GRD, 1965. 265 p. v. 1.

GUIMARÃES, Alberto Passos. Quatro séculos de latifúndio. 4 ed. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1997. 255 p.

HALBWACHS, Maurice. A memória coletiva. Trad. Laurent Léon Schaffter. São Paulo: Vértice, 1990. 189 p.

LE GOFF, Jacques. Memória. *In*: LE GOFF, Jacques. História e Memória. Trad. Bernardo Leitão et. all. 5 ed. Campinas: Unicamp, 2003. p. 419-476. FERREIRA, Marieta de Moraes. História oral: velhas questões, novos desafios. *In*: CARDOSO, Ciro Flamarion; VAINFAS, Ronaldo. (Orgs.) Novos Domínios da História. Rio de Janeiro: Elsevier, 2012. p. 169-186.

LIMA SOBRINHO, Alexandre José Barbosa. O devassamento do Piauí. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nacional, 1946. 190 p.

MATOS, Gislayne Avelar. A palavra do contador de história: sua dimensão educativa na contemporaneidade. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2005. 203 p.

MAXIMILIANO, Príncipe de Weid-Neuwied. Viagem ao Brasil. Trad. Edgar S. de Mendonça; Flávio P. de Figueiredo. São Paulo: Editora Nacional, 1940. 511 p.

NEVES, Erivaldo Fagundes. Crônica, memória e história: formação historiográfica dos sertões da Bahia: Feira de Santana: UEFS, 2016. 512 p.

NEVES, Erivaldo Fagundes. Curraleiro, crioulo, peduro: a pecuária como fator da formação socioeconômica do semiárido. *In*: NEVES, Erivaldo Fagundes (org.). Sertões da Bahia: formação social, desenvolvimento econômico, evolução política e diversidade cultural. Salvador: Arcádia, 2011. p. 253-281.

NÓBREGA, Manoel da. Cartas jesuíticas: cartas do Brasil: 1549-1560. Salvador: P55, 2015. 350 p.

OLIVEIRA, A. M. C. dos S. Feira de Santana em tempo de modernidade: olhares, imagens e práticas do cotidiano (1950-1960). 2008. 220 f. Tese (Doutorado) – Centro de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, Universidade Federal do Pernambuco, Recife, 2008.

OLIVEIRA, Clóvis Ramaiana Moraes. Canções da cidade amanhecente: urbanização, memórias e silenciamentos em Feira de Santana, 1920-1960. Salvador: Edufba, 2016. 436 p.

PEREIRA, Dionysio. Indústria pastoril no estado da Bahia. *In*: BAHIA. Secretaria de Cultura. Diário Official do Estado da Bahia. Ed. fac-símile. Salvador: Cartograf, 2004. p. 124-129.

PINHO, Wanderley. História de um engenho do Recôncavo: Matoim, Novo Caboto, Freguesia: 1952-1944. São Paulo: Nacional; Brasília: INL, 1982. 601 p.

PINTO, Adolpho Augusto. História da viação pública de São Paulo. São Paulo: Vanorden, 1903. 322 p.

PINTO, Otavio. O tangerino. O Malho, Rio de Janeiro, ano 61, n. 47, p. 48, dez. 1943.

PITA, Sebastião da Rocha. História da América portuguesa. Brasília: Senado Federal, 2011. 474 p.

POPPINO, Rollie E. Feira de Santana. Salvador: Itapuã, 1968. 328 p.

PRADO JÚNIOR, Caio. Formação do Brasil contemporâneo. *In*: SANTIAGO, Salviano (coord.). Intérpretes do Brasil. 2 ed. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Aguilar, 2002. v. 3. p. 1103-1488.

PRADO, J. F. de Almeida. A Bahia e as capitanias do centro do Brasil: 1530-1626. São Paulo: Editora Nacional, 1945. 343 p. v. 1.

ROTEIRO do Maranhão a Goiaz pela Capitania do Piauhi. *In*: Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro. Rio de Janeiro, tomo LXII, parte I. p. 60-161. 1900.

SALVADOR, Frei Vicente do. História do Brasil: 1500-1627. Curitiba: Jaruá, 2009. 358 p.

SAMPAIO, Teodoro. História da fundação do Salvador. 3 ed. Salvador: ALB, 2016. 494 p.

SAMPAIO, Teodoro. O tupi na geografia nacional. Ed. fac-símile. 6 ed. Salvador: Gráfica Falcão, 2010.

SANTOS FILHO, Lycurgo. Uma comunidade rural do Brasil antigo: aspecto da vida patriarcal no sertão da Bahia nos séculos XVIII e XIX. Salvador: FPC; Feira de Santana: UEFS, 2012. 528 p.

SANTOS, Manoel Gonçalves dos. Entrevista concedida à equipe do Projeto Aboio. Jeremoabo, 12 ago. 2005.

SCHAWARTZ, Stuart B. Engenhos e escravos na sociedade colonial: 1500-1835. Trad. Laura Teixeira Motta. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1988. 474 p.

SEREJO, Vicente; VIANA, Graco Aurélio Melo; MACEDO Helton Rubiano de (org.). O Sertão de Oswaldo Lamartine: vocabulário do criatório norte-rio-grandense. EDUFRN: Natal, 2022. v. 4. E-book (345 p.). ISBN 978-65-5569-226-6. Disponível em: https://repositorio.ufrn.br/handle/123456789/45957.

SHARPE, Jim. A história vista de baixo. *In*: A escrita da história: novas perspectivas.

SIMONSEM, Roberto C. História econômica do Brasil. Brasília: Senado Federal, 2016. 604 p.

THOMPSON, Paul. A voz do passado: história oral. Trad. Lólio Lourenço de Oliveira. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1992. 385 p.

THOMSON, Alistair. Aos cinquenta anos: uma perspectiva internacional da história oral. *In*: FERREIRA, Maneta de Moraes; FERNANDES, Tania Maria; ALBERTI, Verena. História oral: desafios para o século XXI. Rio de Janeiro: Fiocruz; FGV, 2000. p. 47-65.

VILHENA, Luís dos Santos. A Bahia no século XVIII. Salvador: Itapuã, 1969a. 292 p. v. 1.

VILHENA, Luís dos Santos. A Bahia no século XVIII. Salvador: Itapuã, 1969b. 253 p. v. 2.