

**Protean Ulyssisms in Portuguese Modernism:
Reconceptualizations of Nationhood and Interactions with Brazil**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the spaces of interaction between Portuguese and Brazilian modernists. Relocations and transfigurations of the Ulysses myth are the main threads reconceptualizing the nation in the works analysed. In this respect, ‘Portuguese Ulyssism’ is an axial cultural construct, which this thesis partially absorbs but also departs from, in order to assert mutating literary experiences referring to the Camonean version of the myth in the Renaissance epic *Os Lusíadas/The Lusiads*. The research, therefore, suggests a Ulyssian voyaging of the mind in Pessoa’s and the brothers Campos’s works. For this, it reveals a dialogue between the modernists of both countries who, outside of their respective national literatures, open a space of interaction beyond the territories of nation-states through texts on exile, national identity, and colonialism.

This thesis suggests that Portugal’s Modernism is evidence of the double-writing on the nation of the country’s leading modernists: Fernando Pessoa, Mário de Sá-Carneiro, and António Ferro. The research focuses on Pessoa’s ‘Ulisses’ in *Mensagem*; his meditations in *Os Portugueses/The Portuguese* (1928), and the writer’s ‘invisible translator’ in Pessoa’s heteronymic performance. It also analyses correspondence between Portuguese and Brazilian modernists, including between Pessoa and Brazilian Ronald de Carvalho, and an unpublished letter between António Ferro and Brazil’s Oswald de Andrade. The two issues of the Luso-Brazilian quarterly *Orpheu*, 1915, and Ferro’s contributions to Brazil’s *Klaxon*, 1922 (celebrating the centenary of Brazil’s political independence from Portugal), are also examined, as are Brazilian Haroldo de Campos’s later poems *Galáxias/Galaxies* (1984) and his ‘Finismundo a última viagem’/‘World’s end, the last voyage’ (1997), where Haroldo’s intertext engages in dialogue with Pessoa and Camões.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines interactions between Portugal's and Brazil's Modernisms, which are generally studied separately from the perspective of national literatures. Arnaldo Saraiva's work details correspondences between Portuguese and Brazilian modernists. This work, of undeniable value in terms of primary sources, lays an important foundation for this comparative study. This thesis aims towards a more analytical study, moving beyond an historical and aesthetical interpretation of the two Modernisms in order to investigate the interactions, including the differences, between Portugal's and Brazil's Modernisms.

My research raises the hypothesis that certain publications, including *Orpheu* – the quarterly magazine which Fernando Pessoa (1888-1935) was both a director of and contributor to – create a space of interaction between the Modernisms of Portugal and postcolonial Brazil. Dialogue in the two landmark issues of the Luso-Brazilian *Orpheu*, launched in 1915, mark the beginning of Brazil's Modernism and express the fierce attempts of young poets gathered around Pessoa to destabilize the historicism of the nation and the superiority of Portuguese Modernism. For, as it says, 'nossa intenção é formar, em grupo ou ideia, um número escolhido de revelações em pensamento ou arte, que sobre este principio aristocratico tenham em ORPHEU o seu ideal esotérico e bem nosso de nos sentirmos e conhecermo-nos', in order ultimately to change conceptions of art in Portugal and Brazil (*Orpheu* 1). The thesis will thus argue that Portugal's Modernism, usually seen as monolithic, in fact disrupts the centre-periphery binary and reveals the double-writing of the nation.

This study will also provide insights into the contribution and role of one of *Orpheu*'s 'exiled art temperaments', Ronald de Carvalho (1893-1935). De Carvalho was a Rio-born poet and Brazilian Ambassador to Lisbon who contributed to both *Orpheu* and Brazil's equally groundbreaking *Semana de Arte Moderna/ Week of Modern Art*,

which, in São Paulo in 1922, launched the country's Modernism in the centenary year of Brazil's political independence from Portugal. This thesis will analyse de Carvalho's work, which is generally overlooked, to investigate de Carvalho's 1922 concept of *liberdade criadora*. De Carvalho's poems are, according to Pessoa, 'suaves e doentios', Pessoa adding that the poet himself is 'um dos mais interessantes e nossos dos poetas brasileiros de hoje' (Pessoa in Saraiva 2004: 534). My examination will also correlate Brazilian emancipatory discourses on the colonial mentality with Pessoa's meditations in *Os Portugueses* (1928) on Portugal's 'mental tragedy of provincialism', whilst looking at Pessoa's perception of ambivalence in the images projected by Portugal's cultural and territorial project abroad.

Why Protean Ulyssisms in Portuguese Modernism?

Ulysses, the tragic Greek hero, has been part of the Portuguese imaginary from the country's formation as a nation. According to a legend based on (false) etymology, Ulysses discovered Lisbon – the city bearing his ancient Latin name of Olisipona or Ulixibona – whilst on his odyssey through the Mediterranean and after trespassing Hercules's imposed markers westwards in Dante's *Inferno*. Ulysses reappears in the Portuguese epic *Os Lusíadas* in the sixteenth century (1572), a work highly influenced by the European culture of the Renaissance but rooted in the context of the maritime expansion of Portugal. Luís Vaz de Camões's epic describes Vasco da Gama's voyage to India and his encounters with numerous obstacles and hardships in the New World, thus relocating Homer's *The Illiad* and *The Odyssey*, and, in particular, Virgil's *The Aeneid*. The myth of Ulysses combines with the subject of Portuguese colonial dispersal throughout the world to form the focus of Camões's epic, whose characters are split into two archetypes: Ulysses – nationals with diasporic identities – and the Old Man of

Restelo, who represents the arguments of the settled identities of the nation against the Portuguese global diaspora.

The relationship between Ulysses and Lisbon is central in *Os Lusíadas*, as ‘Ulysses figures first in a line-up of Lusitanian heroes whose images appear painted on silken banners’ (Stevens 2001: 35). Dana Shaw Stevens delineates the role given to Ulysses in *Os Lusíadas* despite his being, according to the critic, ‘an anomaly’ (a displacement) that becomes the centre of the work:

the apparent anomaly of Ulysses’s appearance at the start of what is to be a pantheon of Portuguese historical figures (poems dedicated to such figures as Viriato, the ‘barbaric’ forefather of the Lusitan tribe, a sort of Portuguese Vercingetorix; Dom Afonso Henriques, the first Portuguese King; King Henry the Navigator; the explorer Diogo Cão, etc.) – an anomaly which in Camões goes unremarked – becomes here the very focus of the poem itself. (Stevens 2001: 35-36)

Ulysses is indeed the very focus of the poem itself, as part of a pantheon of Portuguese historical figures and heroes of the Portuguese ‘collective imagination’ (Mattoso 2008: 35). He is an icon of their departure from ‘[Portugal’s] ocidental praia Lusitana’, by ‘mares nunca de antes navegados’ for their foundation of a ‘Novo Reino’ (Camões 1572: 43). In Canto II, the speaker nostalgically recalls Portugal’s ‘memórias gloriosas’ and bygone ‘obras valerosas’ in order to introduce the Portuguese Ulysses in Canto I: 3:

Cessem do sábio Grego e do Troiano
As navegações grandes que fizeram;
Cale-se de Alexandre e de Trajano
A fama das victórias que tiveram;
Que eu canto o peito ilustre Lusitano,
A quem Neptuno e Marte obedeceram.
Cesse tudo o que a Musa antiga canta,
Que outro valor mais alto se alevanta. (Camões 1572: 44)

‘Sábio Grego’ and ‘Tróiano’ are Homer’s Ulysses and Virgil’s Aeneas. According to the speaker, Ulysses is a personification of the ‘ilustre Lusitano’ who, standing with the collective Lusitanian navigators, represents the first Portuguese imagined community (see Benedict Anderson’s concept, below).

Camões's epic poem celebrates the Portuguese language, in keeping with European notions of nationhood in the Renaissance period, whilst the Portuguese were scattering across the globe during their maritime quest. The Portuguese Ulysses, represented by da Gama, was the first major European to 'discover' the tropics and Orient by *trespassing* all the signs prohibiting this and also all knowledge of the time, voyaging towards knowledge of a *new* world. The discoveries attached to da Gama's explorations are much more than a sixteenth-century maritime tour from Lisbon to India.

As Landeg White says:

the confirmation by the late-fifteenth century Europeans that the world was much larger than the Mediterranean basin with parts of the east attached was matched a century later by proof that the earth was not the centre of the universe ... Both discoveries posed a challenge to existing beliefs from which the world, in and beyond Europe, is still recovering. (White 1997: int. x)

Thus *The Lusíads*, in comparison to *The Odyssey*, dramatizes the voyages of the (Greek) Ulysses and Aeneas as cultural events, narrates the Portuguese as the first nation to connect the world by sea, and voices the dispersal of a nation that refused to become voiceless. (For soon after Camões's death, on 10 June 1580, the Portuguese throne passed to Philip II of Spain and Portugal lost its independence).

Portugal's loss of independence followed the disappearance of D. Sebastian after the battle of Alcácer-Quibir in 1578, a disappearance that has become a messianic myth in Portuguese culture as well as for a cultural and literary movement in Portuguese Romanticism as Sebastianism acquires different connotations throughout time. A critique of it is seen, for example, in Almeida Garret's play *Frei Luís de Sousa*, in which the 'encoberto' King of Portugal (in this play in beggar's clothes, like the Homeric Ulysses, after being away for twenty one years) returns to Portugal in order to rescue the nation and thus fulfil the Fifth Empire. In Garret's play, a hypothetical return of D. Sebastian has dramatic consequences as the family falls apart and one character dies. The play explores the negative consequences of a return to a Sebastian past. Thus Pessoa, in

dialogue with the world's literary heritage, reconceptualizes the myth in his poem 'Quinto Império', the fifth era of the nation comes after Greece, Rome, Christianity, and Europe – the old empires of the past – in order to uncover a transnational and translational project of language and culture in Portuguese. In this sense, Pessoa's suggests a Ulyssian voyaging of the mind (Chapters One and Two) as it stems from the idea of decadence already present in Camões's epic and recast by Padre António Vieira as the millenarian basis for a universal empire. As he says in *Mensagem*, these four epochs 'se vão para onde vai toda a idade. Quem vem viver a verdade que morreu D. Sebastião?' (Pessoa in Martins 2004: 73). Arguing that 'Deus quer, o homem sonha, a obra nasce / Deus quis que a terra fosse toda uma, que o mar unisse, já não separasse', as 'cumpriu-se o Mar, e o Império se desfez. Senhor, falta cumprir-se Portugal!', Pessoa suggests a discovery of the nation as an intertextual Ulyssian voyaging of the mind (Pessoa 2004: 49). This thesis argues that Pessoa, aware of *Sebastianismo* and the myth of the Fifth Empire in Portuguese Romanticism,¹ writes *Mensagem* in order to displace the historicism of this myth and of the nation. Pessoa performs this displacement by proposing a Fifth Empire consisting of uncovering myths through an heteronymic performance, as it opens spaces of dialogue and interaction across time and spaces, rather than waiting for the return of a Ulyssian king-messiah.

The thesis further argues that there is a shift away from the Homeric and Camonean and towards a Joyce-like Ulyssism in Portuguese Modernism with Pessoa. Pessoa spent nine years of his childhood in the British-governed town of Durban in South Africa, an experience that surfaces in his work as the refusal definitively to position both his own and Portugal's national identity. An analysis of his poem 'Ulisses', in which the myth is 'the nothing that is everything' and also 'the brilliant and mute myth', will be followed by my interpretation of Pessoa's heteronyms as a translational performance which

¹ This is also present in the popular poetry of Gonçalo Annes Bandarra and in Father António Vieira's literary work, as Pessoa asserts.

constitute the paramount example of his non-positioning of Portugal's national and literary identity. In order to conduct this analysis, my thesis investigates how his heteronyms and their cultural identities of dispersal in the world – diasporic identities – and in the territory – settled identities – perform a Ulyssian voyaging of the mind (Chapter Two). For this I explore Pessoa's translation theory, the 'invisible translator', and argue that it displaces the historicism that has dominated discussions of the nation as a cultural force.

A Ulyssian voyaging of the mind also expands on existing studies by Else Vieira and Bernard McGuirk on the renowned postmodern Brazilian poets and brothers Augusto and Haroldo de Campos. The brothers, as polyglot 'bad savages' (Haroldo de Campos's term), revitalized Brazilian Modernism's non-xenophobic agenda of embracing global cultural heritage, whilst at the same time inscribing national specificities in their translation and recreation of the world's cultural heritage. The thesis examines the embracing of Homer found in the transfigurations of Greek myth in Haroldo's later poems *Galáxias* and 'Finismundo a última viagem' to argue for an intertext between these works and the works of Pessoa and Camões. Pessoa's national, mute hero, resurfaces in *Galáxias* as it focuses on the shipwreck and a hero without a quest. Haroldo de Campos dialogues with Camões in *Galáxias* as Haroldo transcreates a Ulyssian voyaging of the mind. The thesis also suggests that Haroldo, in his dialogue with the world's cultural heritage, dialogues with Portugal's literary relocation of the Ulysses and the Old Man of Restelo motif in Camões's *The Lusiads* and Pessoa's 'Ulysses' in his 'Finismundo a última viagem',² despite his claim that this poem, 'an allegory of the search for adventure', was 'inspired by a canto from Dante's *Inferno* about the last voyage of Odysseus' (Campos 1997b: 29). One of the claims of this thesis is that Pessoa's poem 'D. Dinis' (in *Mensagem*) details the presence of Dante's Ulysses and the

² The echo of 'Finnegans' is quite audible in 'Finismundo'.

Fifth Empire in the cultural fabric of the country – a presence which led to the Portuguese Discoveries after Ulysses's trespass of Hercules's imposed markers. For this I will refer to Dante's *Inferno* and complement the work of Piero Boitani whilst arguing for a Ulyssian voyaging of the mind in Pessoa's and brothers Campos's work. According to Boitani, Dante's Ulysses's 'life of non-being' resurfaces in Pessoa's poem 'Ulisses', 'the nothing that is all' (Boitani 1994: 32) as an intertext of the world's cultural heritage.

Gilberto Freyre's 'Portuguese Ulyssism'

'Ulyssism' has been a concept enabling this thesis to advance previous readings of the two Modernisms. This thesis, however, suggests a Ulyssian voyaging of the mind in the work of Pessoa (Chapters One and Two) and in the works of the brothers Campos (Chapter Four). 'Ulyssism' relates to the groundbreaking theses by the Brazilian cultural theorist Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987), written in the 1930s. His work positively broadened the conceptual field concerning cultural encounter, not only by incorporating historical experience and ambivalence but also by departing from the binary anthropological premise of the precariousness of certain groups leading to celebratory conclusions about another group's superiority. Freyre's 'Portuguese Ulyssism' draws upon a literary source, Camões's *Os Lusíadas*, in order theoretically to formulate the Portuguese embracing of the world and 'plasticidade' (malleability) in cultural encounter, resulting from the country's preceding experience of long contact with both Arabs and Jews. 'Ulyssism' also refers to the ambivalence of the Portuguese in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who, although greatly attached to their land and traditions, leave their 'claustrophobic peninsula' and embrace the adventure of seafaring (see details below). The thesis, whilst drawing on Freyre's theories, nevertheless also offers a critique of his controversial and non-rigorous adventure bias. After all, the overcoming of insurmountable obstacles by Ulysses-style seafarers in the Portuguese Renaissance epic per se, including Camões's epic, relates not only to those who left in

search of adventure, or to escape war with North Africa, but also for example, to the countless Inquisition-persecuted Portuguese Jews seeking survival through exile in the Old and New Worlds (Samuel 1971: 2004).

In this way, this thesis offers a critique to Freyre's view of the Old Man of Restelo as Freyre does not consider the ambiguity of the latter and overlooks the latter's opposition to the maritime expansion. By suggesting that the Old Man of Restelo opposes the maritime expansion because he is a traditional character who is attached to his territory, Freyre does not see the double-bind of the nation. The quest of the Old Man of Restelo is to keep the independence of the nation by defending the territory, the same territory to which diasporic nationals may return to after their Ulyssian projects abroad. As Freyre observes – whilst omitting the warfare of the nation – the 'Velho do Restelo-espécie de Antiulisses' represents the settled nationals' 'rotina agrária, a estabilização do homem no solo, além do seu nativo, ancestral apego à terra e a tradições religionárias', nationals who have an 'apego à terra e à lavoura e não ao mar e à aventura comercial' (Freyre 1961: 54). The contributions of the settled nationals are, for example, wood for the *caravelas* and the labour of peasants that made the Portuguese Discoveries possible (following D. Dinis's reign and reforms in agriculture and of the navy), contributions which, as this thesis argues, Pessoa, in dialogue with Dante's trespassing Ulysses, inscribes in 'D. Dinis' (Chapter One).

Freyre's cultural construct, whilst drawing upon literary sources, nevertheless does not recognize the aporia of the nation at the time of the maritime expansion. He also omits the historical persecution of countless nationals by the Portuguese Inquisition and the obliteration of non-Catholic and *others* in Portugal and the colonies when reflecting on the heterogeneity of the Portuguese being 'o Mouro e o Judeu duas grandes presenças' (Freyre 1961: 55) and their embracing of the world. Freyre defines 'Portuguese Ulyssism' as the Portuguese

gosto de aventura, a mobilidade transregional estendida em mobilidade transcontinental, o entusiasmo pelo mar e pelo exótico, a inconformidade com os limites europeus de Portugal ou com aquela profundidade de vida agrária: vida densa e fechada aos ventos estranhos-ao próprio vento espanhol, tido por tão perigoso como o casamento com espanhola-, a ponto de se tornar, para alguns, uma aflição semelhante à da claustrofobia, da qual o oprimido só pudesse escapar fugindo pelo mar para bem longe, para outros ares, outros ventos e até outros casamentos com mulheres de cor. (Freyre 1961: 55)

Arguing here that exile, persecution, migration, colonialism, and the diasporic and settled identities of nationals are the reasons behind trespassing and transgressing rather than ‘gosto de aventura’ and ‘entusiasmo’ per se, this thesis asserts that ‘Portuguese Ulyssism’ in Pessoa’s reconceptualization of the nation is one at crossroads and in dialogue with the world’s cultural heritage. In his dialogue with Camões, Pessoa reveals the transversal displacements of the nation as Camões’s epic writes about lives in-between who experience the crossings of time and spaces. As Helder Macedo notes, ‘Camões viveu num mundo em transição’ as the poet

usou a temática tradicional do exílio metafísico para registar os passos concretos de uma ‘vida pelo mundo em pedaços repartida’ e, ao fazê-lo, deu expressão a um novo entendimento que contrapõe ao absoluto da ordem divina o relativismo da ordem – ou desordem – humana. (Macedo 2010: 34)

In the spirit of the Camonean ‘disorder’ as a new understanding that opens spaces of dialogue across time and space, against the decadence of the nation, this thesis argues for an intertext in Pessoa’s and the brothers Augusto and Haroldo de Campos’s works.

Theoretical framework

The nation is shown to have several formulations in Pessoa’s critical and creative writings, amongst which is his dialogue across time and space and his heteronymic performance as an ‘invisible translation’ – his translation theory – of the nation. His formulations, including his reading of the Fifth Empire and of the Sebastian myth, his tripartite classification of nationalism, that correlates Modernism, tradition, and the *patria* (Chapter One), challenge the historicism of the nation whilst incorporating

ambiguity and revealing the crossings of the nation in time and space. Arguing here that Pessoa and the brothers Campos reconceptualize the nation, this thesis retrieves Homi Bhabha's theorization of the dual discourses of the nation, as an instrument with no wholesome application however, to read the works of Pessoa and of the brothers Campos. Bhabha's theorization of the dual discourses hinders an investigation of the heteronyms as *textes*, in Derrida's sense, for it reduces the heteronymic performance, Pessoa's 'drama-em-gente', into a stage with archetypical caricatures. This thesis suggests that Pessoa and the brothers Campos write from a position of 'liminality of the nation, from the margins of modernity which cannot be signified without the narrative temporalities of splitting, ambivalence, and vacillation' (Bhabha 1990: 298). In this way, Pessoa's and the brothers Campos's works are a 'double-writing or dissemi-*nation* ... *within the nation*' (Bhabha 1990: 299) revealing an intertext in Portuguese language-as-translation.

This thesis, therefore, pivots upon Pessoa's statement that 'racial mixture is the basis of the foundation of all nations, as culture contacts of their development' (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 293). This thesis refers to the insights and work of Jacques Derrida, who never wrote about Pessoa, for Derrida's work enables an intertextual reading of Pessoa's work. This thesis particularly refers to Derrida's logic of supplement in translation and nationhood as *textus* of worldly-stories, as this thesis argues that Pessoa's Portuguese is language-as-translation and not the official language of the State; for instance, Bernardo Soares's language (as himself, as he tells us) is, and can only take form, in the fragments he writes. As Derrida notes, 'truth would be the *pure language* in which the meaning and the letter no longer dissociate. If such a place, the taking place of an event, remained undiscoverable, one could no longer, even by right, distinguish between an original and a translation' (Derrida 2002: 127). Advancing an interpretation of Pessoa's discovery of culture in line with his reflections on translation, this thesis explores how Pessoa,

accusing the ruling elites of Portugal of alienating culture, society, and language by *adopting without adapting* European ideals and culture to Portuguese society, argues that their ‘mental provincialism’ is a major obstacle to cultural life and expression in Portuguese.

Important here is my assertion of the parallel between translation and Pessoa’s reconceptualization of nationhood as Pessoa’s double-writing on the nation disrupts centre-periphery binaries and challenges interpretations of Portugal’s Modernism as peripheral or semi-peripheral. For this, this thesis argues that Pessoa’s writing is a crossing of borders in time and space – *aporia*, in Derrida’s sense – revealing the double-bind of the nation as a Ulyssian voyaging of the mind, in dialogue with the world’s cultural heritage, in the works of the brothers Campos. As Derrida suggests,

This formulation of the paradox and of the impossible therefore calls upon a figure that resembles a structure of temporality, an instantaneous dissociation from the present, a *différance* in being-with-itself of the present, of which I gave then some examples. These examples were not fortuitously political. It was not by accident that they concerned the question of Europe, of European borders and of the border of the political, of *politeia* and of the State as European concepts. (Derrida 1993:17).

To talk about the paradox and the impossible, of which the oxymoronic Pessoa’s Ulysses in *Mensagem* is an example, is to confront the ‘limits of truth’ that structure yet another ‘dimension of waiting’: ‘waiting one another’, ‘waiting oneself at death and expecting death’ ‘by awaiting one another’ (Derrida 1993: 76). Thus in the spirit of death as passage, of ‘all that is only possible as impossible’ (Derrida 1993: 79), this thesis argues for a transcreational love in dialogue with the world’s cultural heritage in the works of the brothers Campos. In this sense, Haroldo de Campos’s dialogue with Pessoa and Camões is also a critique to Europe and to the State as a European concept as he transcreates the Ulysses myth whilst dialoguing with the world’s cultural heritage in Portuguese.

The theory of Benedict Anderson's 'Imagined Communities' is a productive concept through which to reveal Camões's epic as the first Portuguese imagined community. As Anderson suggests:

in an anthropological spirit, then, I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear about them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. (Anderson 1991: 6-7)

The role of language in Anderson's imagined communities also enables an investigation of the relationship between the Portuguese language and Pessoa's conceptions of cultural translation and his heteronymic performance as modern nationhood. Through Anderson's theoretical framework, this thesis suggests that Camões's national narrative is a crossing, and 'dimension of waiting' in Derrida's sense, revealing the cultural interactions and hybridity in the development of the nation. This thesis also asks the same question that Anderson raises when he says that 'print-language is what invents nationalism, not a particular language per se' (Anderson 1991: 134) when investigating the written exchanges between the two Modernisms in several literary publications (see Chapter Three) to argue for a Portuguese language as a translational language and the nation as a site of ambivalence. It further examines how the works of poets like Pessoa, de Carvalho, and others create spaces for identities transversal to Portugal and Brazil whilst suggesting that the latter double-write the nation.

Methodology

This thesis explores the spaces of interactions of the two Modernisms, pivoting upon Pessoa and, conversely, the resurfacing of this intertextual dialogue in Brazil's Post-Modernism by the poet-translators Haroldo and Augusto de Campos. The comparative orientation of this thesis allows a cultural reconceptualization of nationhood in Portuguese, complementing the Atlantic configuration of Ramalho Santos's *Atlantic*

Poets (2003), which compares the poetry of Pessoa in Portuguese to that of English-speaking poets in the UK and in the United States. So, whilst there are works such as Santos's comparing Pessoa's poetry in Portuguese with poetry in English, there are no comparisons of the two Modernisms and Modern poetry in Portuguese, particularly the articulation between translation and cultural criticism – a claim which this thesis advances.

Textual analysis of primary literary sources such as poetry and poets' statements on nationhood, modernity and translation enable an investigation of the nation not as homogeneous but as a site of ambivalence, thus dislocating margins and centres. For this reason, this thesis investigates Pessoa's and the brothers Campos's uncovering of culture in Portuguese as inscriptions of the nation's heterogeneity, hybridity and cultural transversalities. This research will, therefore, broaden and complement studies of the classical myth of Ulysses (by W. B. Stanford, Maria Pereira, and Piero Boitani). Arguing that the two Modernisms write transnational *and* translational cultural critiques and literary discourses, this thesis utilizes Anderson's concept of imagined communities in order to analyse reconceptualizations of nationhood and language in the interaction of the two Modernisms. In this way, my work moves beyond the horizons of national literatures in order to examine a narrative of displacement in the literary discourses of the two Modernisms and argue for the intertext that is a nation.

Rationale for Methodology

Revisiting the two Modernisms and Modern poetry, this thesis considers the mythical Atlantic configuration in the work of Pessoa – a Portuguese Jew who lived as part of the diaspora for nine years – and the Brazilian modernists with whom he interacts through aesthetic and theoretical texts. The hypothesis driving this thesis is the translation of the myth of Ulysses in Portuguese culture as an imagined community, which reveals Helena

Buescu's notion of 'observar em português' as a simultaneously identical and different way of perceiving the *other* in the interactions of the two Modernisms. This thesis argues that the cultural and literary concept of 'Portuguese Ulyssism' refers to the historical and cultural ambiguity of a mythical anthropology posterior to both the Homeric and Camonean Ulysses, that is, a Ulysses of modernity such as Leopold Bloom enunciates when he defines the nation as the same group of people living in the same place *or* in different places in Joyce's *Ulysses* (in Chapter Twelve). Thus this thesis consists in an investigation of Pessoa's Ulysses in line with his reconceptualizations of nationhood and argues for a Ulyssian voyaging of the mind across time and spaces resurfacing in the works of the brothers Campos in Brazil in dialogue with the world's cultural heritage.

Another claim of the research resides in its relational approach to the two Modernisms, usually studied in terms of national literatures, and, more particularly, in my comparative study of Pessoa's and the brothers Campos's works (an analysis not previously conducted). The question of translation and Pessoa's theoretical and creative work resurfaces in Brazil's Post-Modernism in Augusto and Haroldo de Campos's theories of literary and creative translation, as the brothers integrate the transversal character of the myth in Portuguese as an illustration of what is both common to and different in Portuguese and Brazilian understandings of the world. This thesis suggests that poetry and critique are the vehicles par excellence of the imagined communities of the two Modernisms, which reconceptualize and double-write the nation in the context of the cultural politics of the time. This thesis proposes that Pessoa's heteronymic project is the ultimate example of his non-positioning of Portugal's national identity (see Prado Coelho and Eduardo Lourenço, amongst others) by suggesting that the cultural fabric that is the nation is transnational and translational.. Contrary to readings of Pessoa's Modern project as nationalistic and imperialistic (as in Canelo, Stevens, Maria Moreira Sá, for example), this thesis argues that Pessoa's interactions turn the two Modernisms into a

space in which the same and the *other* reconceptualize and broaden horizons of reflections in Portuguese.

State of the Art: Mapping the Field

Besides Saraiva's work, studies on the historical relationship of Brazil and Portugal include those of João de Barros (1496-1570), Jaime Cortesão (1884-1960), amongst others. Other studies include those of Manuela Sanches (1951-), Sousa Santos (1940-), *inter alia*, all of which centre on semi-peripheral identities and the invention of a Portuguese identity (see also Sousa Santos, Eduardo Lourenço) whilst challenging the binary representations of the nation found in Teófilo Braga (1843-1924) and Adolfo Coelho (1847-1919).

Margarida Ribeiro's study uses the framework of Anderson's imagined community to argue that the relationship between Portugal and Brazil can only be imagined by those who have lived in the periphery, a locational concept that this thesis challenges when investigating the two Modernisms and their spaces of interaction. Ribeiro further argues that postcolonial Brazil became the centre of the Portuguese-speaking world, following the dislocation of the Portuguese Monarchy to the Kingdom of Brazil and how Portugal became the periphery to Brazil (Ribeiro 2004: 15-16).³ João Nunes (2006) argues that Eurocentric perceptions continue to be privileged and are responsible for hierarchical perspectives in investigations of postcoloniality. This study argues that the spaces of interaction between the two Modernisms reveal a transversal dialogue resurfacing in the transcreational work of the brothers Campos.

³ Of paramount significance is the performance of the heteronyms. Ricardo Reis' Portuguese, a monarchic classicist in Brazil, is of a 'purismo exagerado' that Pessoa dislikes and which Álvaro de Campos contrasts with 'mestre' Caeiro's language. Pessoa further states that Caeiro 'escrevia mal o português' and Caeiro tells us, on another occasion, that the Portuguese language is not his *patria*: 'patriota? Não: só português. Nasci português como nasci louro e de olhos azuis. Se nasci para falar, tenho que falar uma língua' (Caeiro 2009: 165).

This study complements Santos's *Poetas Atlânticos* with an interpretation of the Pessoaan Ulysses as heteronym of the *patria*, in this thesis a Ulyssian voyaging of the mind, as Pessoa's artistic 'missão patriótica' (see Santos, Jorge de Sena). My work investigates the Pessoaan and Camonean Ulysses as 'transmissão cultural da cultura grega' (Buescu, Martins) in the creative translations of the brothers Campos by using Anderson's theoretical framework. In this manner this thesis provides a novel exploration of Pessoa's poetic adventure in Portuguese (see Fernando Martins, Luísa Freire, and others), also present in the creative translations of the world's cultural heritage by the brothers Campos who, inspired by Pessoa's work, theorize and broaden poetic and cultural horizons in the Portuguese language.

The research is also informed by Dionísio Vila Maior's groundbreaking study *Fernando Pessoa: heteronímia e dialogismo: o contributo de Mikhaïl Bakhtin*. Vila Maior explores the heteronymic dialogism in the light of Bakhtin's theory. This thesis, however, departs from Vila Maior's research by exploring the heteronymic dialogue and the nation.

Organization of the Thesis

There are several ways in which Pessoa absorbs the imaginary of the Fifth Empire into his literary musings upon concepts of the nation. Chapter One argues that Pessoa relocates *Sebastianismo* and the myth of the Fifth Empire in order to inscribe the heterogeneity of the nation and suggest a Modern nationhood which negotiates Camões's dichotomy of settled and diasporic national identities. For this, Pessoa fulfills the messianic hopes of the nation by becoming the supra-Camões, and turning *Sebastianismo* into an 'imperialismo de gramáticos' and an 'imperialism of poetas' (Serrão 1979b: 240). Pessoa's Fifth Empire in *Mensagem* is a non-metaphysical project of language as signs and symbols in Portuguese, the language to 'feel' and to 'say', as the poet argues. In

Portuguese, 'sentido' refers to the senses, to meaning and to the emotions. I also claim that Pessoa's modern Ulysses of transmutation and Argonaut of sensations heteronym Alberto Caeiro is a settled identity who migrates from the centre to periphery and thus is a modern version of the Old Man of Restelo of Camões's epic. Caeiro's contributions are acknowledged by the nation, represented by the heteronyms and Pessoa, who see in Caeiro their 'mestre' and find in his verses a source of transmutations. Caeiro is Pessoa's 'invisible translator' (a claim that this thesis advances in Chapter Two). This example of a literary (rather than seafaring) Ulyssism (Freyre's 'Portuguese Ulyssismo') incorporates duality and heterogeneity into the analysis of Portugal's Modernism as it reveals a dialogical intertext across time and spaces. Most importantly, it positively negotiates the settled and diasporic identities of the nation, identities that Camões portrays as ambiguous as he double-writes the nation and which the regime of Salazar excludes, as all of those nationals who managed to escape his regime were perceived by the regime and its propaganda for settled nationals as traitors to the nation. For the regime, the latter were nationals with no value owing to their leaving the territory (territory meaning all countries where Portuguese is the official language except postcolonial Brazil). For this, I argue that, in *Mensagem*, Pessoa strategically adopts essentialist positions on the nation in order to deconstruct them whilst conceptualizing the importance of positionality and refusing essentializations. Pessoa's anti-Salazarism is present in his later work. However, it is not in the scope of this thesis to explore his anti-Salazarism but rather to investigate his reconceptualization of nationhood and his double-writing on the nation.

Chapter Two investigates to what extent the heteronyms reflect the nation and Pessoa's reconceptualization of nationhood. The chapter analyses the poet's heteronymic project as a translational dialogue of poetic rhythms and literary critiques and as a 'family discussion' on nationhood. This chapter includes various Pessoaan concepts (the

‘invisible translator’, *desassossego*, *atlantismo*, *sensacionismo*, and others) in order to investigate Pessoa’s heteronymic performance and the heteronyms’ double-writing of the nation. Works include Pessoa’s ‘theatro estático’ *O Marinheiro* (1913); ‘Prefácio a *Alma Errante* de Eliezer Kamenezky’ (1932), *Naufração de Bartolomeu* (1913); ‘personalidade literária’ Bernardo Soares’s *O Livro do Desassossego*; letters to Adolfo Casais Monteiro in 1935; ‘mestre’ Alberto Caeiro’s *O Guardador de Rebanhos* and other poems published in 1915; Álvaro de Campos’s *Ode Triunfal*, *Ode Marítima* (Campos’s critique of Pessoa’s *O Marinheiro*); and Ricardo Reis’s *Odes*, *Livro Primeiro* and other *Odes*, all published in 1924; António Mora’s ‘Orpheu’ (1915?). A leitmotif in this chapter is the concept of translation as an intertextual project that gives visibility to the transmutations of the nation.

Chapter Three analyses, in depth and in line with the conclusions of Chapter Two, reflections on identity in Jean-Luc Nancy’s *Identité: Fragments, Franchises* (2010) whilst investigating the relationship between Portugal and Brazil’s Modernisms. Firstly, this chapter reviews Saraiva’s work, then discusses my Orpheu-related hypothesis upon the interactions between the two Modernisms, looking specifically into interactions established by Ronaldo de Carvalho. Publications examined in this chapter include not only *Orpheu* but also *Centauro*, *Exílio*, *Portugal Futurista*, *Contemporânea*, and *Athena*, for the purpose of analysing the question of tradition and modernity for modernists in Portugal and in Brazil and their reconceptualizations of nationhood. This chapter looks closely at the poets’ conceptualizations of ‘qualidade cultural (*lusitanizante*)’ and ‘qualidade literária (*modernista*)’ in Saraiva’s study. In this way, this chapter argues that issues raised by Pessoa resonate in the manifestos emerging from the 1922 Week of Modern Art in São Paulo and it investigates the interactions between Brazilian Oswald de Andrade and Portuguese António Ferro, including an unpublished letter of de Andrade to Ferro. Oswald de Andrade’s *Antropofagia* and its movement in ‘Revista da

Antropofagia (1928-1929)' is particularly relevant, as this reveals the modernists' reconceptualization of nationhood that resurfaces in Haroldo de Campos's creative translations in Chapter Four.

Chapter Four investigates the performative discourse and metalanguage of the Post-modernists and translators Haroldo and Augusto de Campos. In order to do this, the chapter will assess the re-emergence of the anthropophagic agenda of Modernism in their translation work and theorization as a process of inclusion of the *other*. For this, this thesis investigates the myth of Ulysses in the context of the brothers Campos's extensive translation activity as well as Pessoa's and Camões's presence in the Campos's work. I analyse how both Pessoa's Ulysses – mute heteronym of the poet's *patria* – and the poet's work associated with Camões reappear in the brothers Campos's oeuvre. To this end, the thesis argues that both Haroldo de Campos's *Galáxias* and 'Finismundo, a última viagem' allude to Pessoa's 'mute' heteronym Ulysses and also a modern Joycean Ulysses, as this thesis claims that Pessoa's poem 'D. Dinis' inscribes the last journey of Odysseus in Dante's *Inferno*. In this way, this thesis advances that the brothers Campos's '*diferença, o nacionalismo como o movimento dialógico da diferença*' is 'nacional por não ser nacional ... Como o Ulisses mitológico de Fernando Pessoa, que "foi por não ser existindo ...", e "nos criou ...". Daí a necessidade de se pensar a *diferença*' (Campos, Haroldo de 1992: 237).

This fourth chapter also articulates Pessoa's Ulysses of transmutation to argue that the brothers Campos's negotiate the nation's negative dichotomies and thus the relationship between knowledge and its objects by opening spaces for intertextual dialogue across time and spaces. For this it considers Haroldo's statement that 'o risco da criação pensado como um problema de viagem [...] uma empresa que, se por um lado é punida com um naufrágio, por outro lado é recompensada com os destroços do naufrágio que constituem o próprio poema' (Campos, Haroldo de 1997b: 15). The chapter argues

for an intertextual dialogue in a corpus of ‘original’ literature and translations as it looks at the brothers Campos’s extensive translation activity in the light of Pessoa’s work in association with Camões, as both Pessoa and Camões recur in the brothers Campos’s writings.

CHAPTER ONE

A Mute Heteronym Called Ulysses: Fernando Pessoa's Reconceptualization of the Nation as a Ulyssian Voyaging of the Mind⁴

Fernando Pessoa's reconceptualization of the Ulysses myth and his trans-creation of the Ulysses of Camões's epic *Os Lusíadas* (1572) will be the main subject of this chapter, which addresses the Portuguese historical experience of dispersal in the world and the intertext of displacements that double-write the nation. Arguing that Camões's national narrative on the Portuguese historical experience of dispersal in *Os Lusíadas* suggests the ambivalence of the nation at the time of the Portuguese Discoveries, present in the dialogue of the (many-as-one) Portuguese Ulysses and the Old Man of Restelo – this chapter investigates how Pessoa's long poem *Mensagem* is Pessoa's celebration of the discoveries and a reflection of its decadent outcome. It argues that Pessoa's reconceptualization of the nationhood advances with a Ulyssian voyaging of the mind, by suggesting a Ulysses of transmutation resurfacing in an intertext, representative of Pessoa's reflections on the diasporic and settled identities of the modern nation. For this, he creates a heteronymic performance of a nationhood of invisible translators (Chapter Two).

Bhabha refers to the splitting of the national subject as the context where performative discourses manifest life-struggles and enunciations of misrepresented voices in the pedagogy of the nation. As Bhabha argues:

the pedagogical founds its narrative authority in a tradition of the people described by Poulantzas as a moment of becoming designed by *itself*, encapsulated in a succession of historical moments that represents an eternity produced by self-generation. The performative intervenes in the sovereignty

⁴ Presently there is reform of Portuguese orthography taking place in the various countries in which Portuguese is an official language. This study uses the current orthography until this reform has run its course and orthography has become consensual in all the countries. It is relevant to note, however, that Fernando Pessoa wrote several texts against the reform of Portuguese orthography being in progress in his lifetime and he never adopted these orthographic changes.

of the nation's *self-generation* by casting a shadow *between* the people as 'image' and its signification as a differentiating sign of Self, distinct from the Other of the Outside. (Bhabha 1994: 211-12)

Arguing that the nation is a site of ambivalence where, for Pessoa, subjects are simultaneously objects, this chapter investigates how the poet's reconceptualization of nationhood articulates the split of the nation. It also examines how Pessoa proposes a nationhood of language and culture in *Mensagem* as the Fifth Empire in Portuguese, rather than the official empires of colonization and maritime voyaging.

The concept of 'imagined community' in Benedict Anderson's work on the nation is a productive construct as this chapter argues that Portugal's national narrative in *Os Lusíadas* projects the first imagined community of the Renaissance, as it refers to the period of Portuguese maritime expansion and to the dispersal of countless nationals throughout the world. Whilst dramatizing the voyages of (the Greek) Ulysses and Aeneas as cultural events in his historical narrative of the nation, Camões creates the first Portuguese imagined community. Camões's national narrative, however, such imagined communion by excluding cultural interaction and hybridity in the development of the nation, as well as obliterating all non-Catholic and countless *other* nationals. Pessoa, aware of this past, writes, in remembrance, a juxtaposition of the Portuguese Inquisition and Salazar's 'directrices' on what intellectuals have to say about the nation. Arguing that Pessoa negotiates in his work the split of the nation even prior to the Discoveries in Camões's epic, this chapter uncovers how the poem 'D. Dinis' in *Mensagem* inscribes a transmutation of Dante Alighieri's Ulysses in *Inferno*. This chapter, therefore, illustrates how Pessoa's modern 'Ulisses' in *Mensagem* portrays a Ulysses of transmutation rather than reinscribing Dante's Ulysses (as traditionally thought), for Dante's Ulysses is in fact the 'marulho obscuro' in Pessoa's poem 'D. Dinis' – the poet-king (rather than a messianic-king) 'plantador de naus a haver' and not the 'mute' creative myth, 'o corpo morto de Deus, vivo e desnudo'. Piero Boitani's study of the myth of Ulysses argues that

the last voyage is both Ulysses's and Dante's journey: transgressing, trespassing (Boitani 2007: 93).

This chapter expands on Boitani's *trespassing* as an aspect of Dante's Ulysses, who disobeys Hercules's imposed markers westwards across Gibraltar with the intent of '[gaining] experience of the uninhabited darkness' even though 'on the threshold of his own consciousness he must be aware that what waits him beyond Hercules' "markers" is death. Deep within himself, Ulysses yearns for the life of non-being, and yearns for the life-in-death' (Boitani 1994: 32). According to Boitani, Dante's Ulysses's life of non-being is also Pessoa's Ulysses: 'the nothing that is all' (Boitani 1994: 32). This thesis suggests, however, that Dante's Ulysses – the 'life of non-being', as Boitani notes – is also the 'marulho obscuro' in Pessoa's poem 'D. Dinis'. For this, it refers to Dante Alighieri's *Inferno* and to Pessoa's poem 'D. Dinis' in *Mensagem*. Furthermore, I suggest that Pessoa's mute Ulysses in his poem 'Ulysses' resurfaces as an Ulyssian voyaging of the mind in dialogue with the world's literary heritage (Chapters One and Two) and as *persona* in the transcreational dialogue in Haroldo de Campos's 'Finismundo, a última viagem' and *Galáxias* (Chapter Four).

Gilberto Freyre's 'Portuguese Ulyssism' is an important cultural construct which this thesis partially accepts but also seeks to redefine and broaden, for this study positively acknowledges the contributions of the settled Old Man of Restelo in Camões's division of the nation, working for the Portuguese empire often without pay and as slaves or under persecution. Freyre, however, excludes the historical persecution of numberless nationals by the Portuguese Inquisition and the obliteration of non-Catholics and *others* both in Portugal and in the colonies, whilst at the same time reflecting on the heterogeneity of the Portuguese and exoticizing their maritime expansion. Freyre defines 'Portuguese Ulyssism' as the Portuguese

gosto de aventura, a mobilidade transregional estendida em mobilidade transcontinental, o entusiasmo pelo mar e pelo exótico, a incorformidade com os limites europeus de Portugal ou com aquela profundidade de vida agrária: vida densa e fechada aos ventos estranhos-ao próprio vento espanhol, tido por tão perigoso como o casamento com espanhola-, a ponto de se tornar, para alguns, uma aflição semelhante à da claustrofobia, da qual o oprimido só pudesse escapar fugindo pelo mar para bem longe, para outros ares, outros ventos e até outros casamentos com mulheres de cor. (Freyre 1961: 55)

Arguing here that exile, migration, colonialism, and the diasporic and settled identities are the reasons behind this adventurousness and enthusiasm, this chapter asserts that ‘Portuguese Ulyssism’ in Pessoa’s reconceptualization of nationhood is evidence of the dialogue with the world’s cultural heritage of one of the country’s literary authorities who remembers the historical persecution of his Jewish family members and writes from a position of cultural ambivalence. Freyre’s conceptualization of the nation as ‘Portuguese Ulyssismo’ includes an Anti-Ulysses as a sociological and psychological complex. As Freyre explains:

dada a precocidade da sua actividade marítima e comercial, a terra moderna por excelência de Ulisses: um Ulisses às vezes contido, mas não impedido de agir pelo velho do Restelo-espécie de Antiulisses na sua função de símbolo de outro complexo sócio-psicológico, característico da formação do *ethos* lusitano. (Freyre 1961: 54)

Freyre recognizes the split of the nation but does not perceive the ambiguity of the Old Man of Restelo for his quest is the survival of the nation at home as the enemy wants to invade the territory from North Africa. The position of the Old Man of Restelo is an aporetic voice that argues for national security and the importance of shielding the nation at home. As he suggests:

Deixas criar às portas o inimigo,
 Por ires buscar outro de tão longe,
 Por quem se despovoe o Reino Antigo,
 Se enfraqueça e se vá deitando ao longe;
 Buscas o incerto e incógnito perigo
 Por que a Fama te exalte e te lisonje
 Chamando-te senhor, com larga cópia,
 Da Índia, da Pérsia, Arábia e Etiópia.

Oh! Maldito o primeiro que, no mundo,
 Nas ondas vela pôs em seco lenho!
 Digno da eterna pena do Profundo,
 Se é justa a justa lei que sigo e tenho!
 Nunca juízo algum, alto e profundo,
 Nem cítara sonora ou vivo engenho,
 Te dê por isso fama nem memória,
 Mas contigo se acabe o nome e glória! (Camões, n. d.: 198-99)

The Old Man of Restelo believes that if the young men leave the ‘doors’ open (to use his reference as it resurfaces in the work of Haroldo de Campos in Chapter Four) of the old world, the ‘Reino Antigo’ of Portugal, they might never have a territory to return to after living abroad (an allusion to the Odyssean theme once more). The Old Man of Restelo, therefore, argues that the enemy is at the frontiers, ‘às portas’, and wants the young men to stay and fight for their territory. He reminds them that the loss of the territory would also imply the obliteration of their culture and nationhood. It would result in the invisibility and voicelessness of countless nationals contributing to other nation-states in the world but with no nation-state of their own. In this way the Old Man of Restelo reveals his love for the nation as he wants to make sure that the nation is able to keep its nation-state to host its settled and diasporic citizens who return to the territory.

Advancing an interpretation of Pessoa’s creation of culture in line with Jacques Derrida’s concept of the logic of supplement in translation and nationhood as *textus* of worldly-stories, this chapter investigates the ambivalence of the nation in Pessoa’s Portuguese language-as-translation. Pessoa, accusing Portugal’s ruling elites of alienating culture, society, and language by *adopting without adapting* European ideals and culture to Portuguese society, argues that their provincial mentality is a major obstacle to life and cultural expression in Portuguese, saying that

o provincianismo consiste em pertencer a uma civilização sem tomar parte no desenvolvimento superior dela — em segui-la pois mimeticamente, com uma subordinação inconsciente e feliz (Pessoa, n.d (a): 159).

Pessoa's reconceptualization of nationhood includes the cultural interactions in the nation's development but as translation rather than mimicry, in the logic of the supplement in translation instead of hierarchically, and is thus in line with Derrida's definition of translation as 'garment – a sacred robe, a layer of meaning that is superimposed and which, nevertheless, needs to be renewed in order not to lose its vigour – [that] returns to the logic of supplement' (Derrida 2002: 125).

Pessoa's performative discourses on the nation are the poet's strategy for shattering socio-political movements legitimating the perpetuation of past traditions (not renewed and thus without vigour) in the pedagogy of the nation, namely Teixeira de Pascoaes's *Saudosismo* and António Sardinha's *Integralismo Lusitano*. Arguing that these movements were nationalistic but not patriotic, Pessoa reconceptualizes the temporality of the nation as a future-of-the-past rather than a permanent mimicry of its history. As Luísa Medeiros observes:

a pátria, na sua opinião, estava a deixar-se sufocar por este modelo de Nacionalismo inferior que, na sociedade portuguesa, tinha no Saudosismo de Pascoaes e no Integralismo Lusitano os seus mais dignos representantes. A personalidade dos primeiros, caracterizava-a, Pessoa, por ir ao 'passado para descobrir o presente', a do segundo, por assentar a sua ideologia em ir 'ao presente e ao passado para descobrir o presente'. A ambos, aponta o dedo acusador responsabilizando-os pelo estado ancilosado em que a nação portuguesa se encontrava. (Martins 2008: 503)

Pessoa strategically adopts the masterwords of these movements in order to question the authority of their positions, and also to expose their (marginalizing) threat to the nation.

Ulysses the Greek: Founder of the Portuguese Nation

Ulysses, the Greek tragic hero, has been part of the Portuguese imaginary since Portugal's formation as a nation. Pessoa writes *Mensagem* as a modern relocation of mythical figures in Camões's *Os Lusíadas*. According to a legend based on (false)

etymology, Ulysses discovers Lisbon, the city hosting his ancient Latin name of Olisipona or Ulixibona, whilst on his odyssey through the Mediterranean. Ulysses reappears in the Portuguese epic of Camões's *Os Lusíadas* in the sixteenth century, highly influenced by the European culture of the Renaissance but in the context of the maritime expansion of Portugal. Camões's epic describes Vasco da Gama's voyage to India and his encounters with numerous obstacles and hardships in the New World, referring to Homer's *The Illiad* and *The Odyssey*, and, more specifically, to Virgil's *The Aeneid*. The relationship between Ulysses and Lisbon is central to *Os Lusíadas*, as 'Ulysses figures first in a line-up of Lusitanian heroes whose images appear painted on silken banners' (Stevens 2001: 35). Dana Shaw Stevens delineates the role given to Ulysses in *Os Lusíadas* despite his being, according to Stevens, 'an anomaly' (a displacement) that paradoxically becomes the centre of the text:

the apparent anomaly of Ulysses's appearance at the start of what is to be a pantheon of Portuguese historical figures (poems dedicated to such figures as Viriato, the 'barbaric' forefather of the Lusitan tribe, a sort of Portuguese Vercingetorix; Dom Afonso Henriques, the first Portuguese King; King Henry the Navigator; the explorer Diogo Cão, etc.) – an anomaly which in Camões goes unremarked – becomes here the very focus of the poem itself. (Stevens 2001: 35-36)

Ulysses indeed is the very focus of the poem itself, as part of a pantheon of Portuguese historical figures and as hero of the Portuguese 'collective imagination' (Mattoso 2008: 35). He is an icon of the departure from '[Portugal's] ocidental praia Lusitana', by 'mares nunca de antes navegados' for the foundation of a 'Novo Reino' (Camões n.d.: 43). In Canto II, the speaker nostalgically recalls Portugal's 'memórias gloriosas' and bygone 'obras valerosas' in order to introduce the Portuguese Ulysses in Canto I: 3:

Cessem do sábio Grego e do Troiano
As navegações grandes que fizeram;
Cale-se de Alexandre e de Trajano
A fama das victórias que tiveram;

Que eu canto o peito ilustre Lusitano,
 A quem Neptuno e Marte obedeceram.
 Cesse tudo o que a Musa antiga canta,
 Que outro valor mais alto se alevanta. (Camões n.d.: 44)

‘Sábio Grego’ and ‘Tróiano’ are Homer’s Ulysses and Virgil’s Aeneas and, according to the speaker, Ulysses is a personification of the ‘ilustre Lusitano’ who, standing with the collective Lusitanian navigators, represents the first Portuguese imagined community. Camões’s epic poem celebrates the Portuguese language, according to European notions of nationhood in the Renaissance period, whilst the Portuguese were spreading across the globe during their maritime enterprise. The (Portuguese) Ulysses, represented by Vasco da Gama, is the first major European to discover the tropics and Orient by trespassing all prohibiting signs and knowledge of the time, voyaging towards knowledge of a new world. The discoveries attached to da Gama’s maritime explorations are much more than a sixteenth-century oceanic tour from Lisbon to India. As White says:

the confirmation by the late-fifteenth century Europeans that the world was much larger than the Mediterranean basin with parts of the east attached was matched a century later by proof that the earth was not the centre of the universe ... *Both discoveries* posed a challenge to existing beliefs from which the world, in and beyond Europe, is still recovering. (White 1997: introduction x; my italics)

Thus *The Lusíads* is, in comparison with *The Odyssey*, a reconstruction of humankind’s position in the world and the course of human affairs. It dramatizes the voyages of the (Greek) Ulysses and Aeneas as cultural events, narrates the Portuguese as the first nation connecting the world by sea, and voices the dispersion of a nation that will be not left without a voice. For soon after Camões’s death, on 10 June 1580, the Portuguese throne passed to Philip II of Spain and Portugal lost its independence, following the disappearance of D. Sebastian, the Portuguese King, after the battle of Alcácer-Quibir in 1578. Pessoa’s dialogue with Camões is a critique to the Discoveries

as an imperial project and a tribute to the contributions of the manifold discoveries as they open spaces of interaction for cultural transformation (as I investigate in Chapters Three and Four).

Fernando Pessoa's Creation of Civilization as a Cultural Discovery of the Nation

Pessoa reconsiders the late fifteenth-century position of Portugal in the world. As the poet says, 'Portugal surgiu definitivamente na civilização europeia pelas descobertas, e as descobertas são um acto cultural, são um acto de criação civilizacional. Criámos o mundo moderno, porém a nossa descoberta foi descobrir a ideia de descoberta' (Pessoa in Serrão 1981: 38). For Pessoa, the idea of discovery implies a (difficult) crossing of borders across time and spaces and a confrontation with the concept of (im)possibility. As the poet suggests, to discover (in) the modern world one needs to revisit the world's cultural heritage and the crossings that double-write the nation. As Derrida notes, a way of thinking about the concept of possibility is as 'crossing *of* borders: of the border that separates the world of the living from that of the dead, of course, but as soon as the crossing goes in both directions, hin and fro, the same border is more or less than one, and more or less than one from one culture to another' (Derrida 1993: 62). The poet's quest – the cause to which he dedicated his entire life and work – is the creation of civilization as a cultural discovery of the nation in the (in)visible crossings of times and spaces.

The modern nation is a crossing of cultures and nations where the impossible is a passage towards immortality (of death as inscriptional presence) in the world's cultural heritage. In Álvaro de Campos's *Ode Marítima*, Portugal is a place where the world's cultural heritage resurfaces as foreign ships always arrive whilst nation-ships constantly depart:

Piratas do tempo de Roma! Navegadores da Grécia!

Fenícios! Cartagineses! Portugueses atirados de Sagres
 Para a aventura indefinida, para o Mar Absoluto, para realizar o impossível!
 (Campos 2002: 118)

Whilst recognizing that Portugal has always had foreign ships disembarking as Portuguese ships sail away, Álvaro de Campos highlights ‘o impossível’, the errant adventure of the nation. Yet he is also reflecting upon the heterogeneity of his own nation (influenced by the pirates of Rome, navigators from Greece, and other maritime nations) at the same time as referring to ancient Greece as intrinsic to the very idea of nation. As Pessoa elucidates in a text upon the nation (written in English, a language the poet regards as scientific and thus the best one to communicate in, whilst defining Portuguese as a literary language and therefore the idiom in which to *feel* and to *say*):

by nation is meant a civilized society coexisting with other progressive societies. That it is a society is not necessary to prove, for that is intimate to the very idea of nation. That it is a progressive society is also inherent to that idea, for an unprogressive society, if it can be described as a society, presents none of the characteristics which we are wont to look for in a nation ... Yet, if we consider the matter well, it becomes evident that ancient Greece coexisted in itself with civilized nations; it had no civilized nations, properly speaking, outside itself, but its inner division had that effect. (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 295)

Like Álvaro de Campos, arguing that Ancient Greece coexisted with other nations by defining it as a nation containing civilized nations *within*, Pessoa too comments on his own idea of nationhood and also the purpose of the only book he published during his lifetime – the sequence of poems entitled *Mensagem* – in a letter to Adolfo Casais Monteiro:

concordo absolutamente consigo em que não foi feliz a estreia, que de mim mesmo fiz com um livro da natureza de ‘Mensagem’. Sou, de facto, um nacionalista místico, um sebastianista racional. Mas sou, à parte disso, e até em contradição com isso, muitas outras coisas. E essas coisas, pela mesma natureza do livro, a ‘Mensagem’ não as incluí. (Pessoa n.d. (b): 202)

The traditional interpretation of the myth – consisting of the literal return of the historical El-Rei D. Sebastião in order to rescue the nation – becomes in *Mensagem* the

signal enabling the nation to save itself by its own merit rather than depending upon traditional saviours, whether these be gods, semi-gods or king-messiahs, to perform this rescue. Knowing that monological readings of the Sebastian myth and of the Camões's national narrative reinforce the historicism that has dominated discussions of the nation as a cultural force in order to legitimate colonization, the persecution of non-Catholic *others*, fratricide and political tyranny, the poet reconceptualizes nationhood and culture to give visibility to the shipwrecks of cultural heritage (this reference to debris and shipwrecks reappears in Chapters Three and Four). As he advances:

ha trez generos de nacionalismo ... Dos trez nacionalismos, o primeiro e o inferior é *aquelle que se prende às tradições nacionais e é incapaz de se adaptar às condições civilizacionais geraes*. É, na literatura, o nacionalismo de Bocage e dos árcades em geral, até Castilho. Caracteriza-o nas suas relações com a civilização geral o estar sempre em atrazo e prezo a tradições. O segundo nacionalismo é *aquelle que se prende, não às tradições, mas à alma directa da nação, aprofundando-a mais ou menos*. É o de um Bernardim Ribeiro, no seu grau inferior, e de um Teixeira de Pascoaes no seu alto grau.

O terceiro nacionalismo é *o que n'um nacionalismo real integra todos os elementos cosmopolitas*. É, no seu grau inferior, o de Camões; no seu alto grau ainda não o tivemos entre nós, mas há-o em Shakeapeare, em Goethe ... em todos os representantes supremos das culminâncias literárias das nações que ahi chegaram. (Lopes 1993: 313; my italics)

Pessoa's patriotic and literary purpose, therefore, is the promotion of the third dimension of a 'cosmopolitan nationalism', a 'supreme' sense of nationhood which is at a lesser level (but not inferior to) that of Camões and, at a higher level (but not superior to) the nationhood yet to come, that is, Pessoa himself as the supra-Camões, a Portuguese creator of the calibre of William Shakespeare and Johann Goethe. Pessoa suggests that he is creating a great textual performance for the cultural transformation of the nation. As the poet announces, as the supra-Camões, in 'A Águia' in 1912:

Tirem-se, rapidamente, as tónicas conclusões finais. São três. A primeira é que para Portugal se prepara um ressurgimento assombroso, um período de criação literária e social como poucos o mundo tem tido. Durante o nosso raciocínio deve o leitor ter reparado que a analogia do nosso período é mais

com o grande período inglês do que com o francês. Tudo indica, portanto, que o nosso será, como aquele, maximamente criador. Paralelamente se conclui o breve aparecimento na nossa terra do tal supra-Camões. Supra-Camões? A frase é humilde e acanhada. A analogia impõe mais. Diga-se ‘de um Shakespeare’ e *dê-se por testemunha o raciocínio, já que não é citável o futuro*. (Pessoa n.d. (b): 42; my italics)

And as if becoming a supra-Camões were not challenging enough, in conjunction with this Pessoa also aspires to a transformation of the Sebastian myth – a messianic belief in the return of King Sebastião, whose disappearance resulted in Portugal’s lost independence to Spain – into a cultural movement rather than an imperialistic one.

To this aim, he re-creates the Fifth Empire in *Mensagem*. As Joel Serrão observes:

É que tal ‘super-Camões’ se liga, no pensamento de Pessoa, ao ‘regresso’ de ‘El-Rei D. Sebastião’, o qual teria ocorrido num ‘dos anos entre 1878 e 1888’. Pois bem: 1888, como é sabido, é a data do nascimento de Fernando Pessoa! (Serrão 1981: 44)

As a ‘racional’ El-Rei D. Sebastião, Pessoa uses his mind and wit in order to pursue a ‘*bellum sine bellum*’ – a warless war – when the poet instigates the foundation of his Fifth Empire in *Mensagem* as a Ulyssian voyaging of the mind for, as he says, ‘Deus e o próprio universo, são metáforas também’ (Pessoa in Serrão 1981: 189). He is also the supra-Camões – the one who creates a heteronymous nationhood of invisible translators – whilst thanking God and the universe, two of his often-used metaphors, for having given *the sign*: ‘*benedictus dominus deus noster qui dedit nobis signum*’ (Pessoa 2004: 9). As Pessoa observes, *Mensagem* is one long poem composed of a series of poems ‘representando as navegações e descobertas dos portugueses como provenientes da guerra entre os velhos e os novos deuses’ (Pessoa in Martins 2008: 456). Foreseeing a future intrinsic to the Portuguese language, Pessoa announces his forthcoming book in *Revista Portuguesa* in 1923, by saying that, ‘*literariamente*, o passado de Portugal está no futuro. O Infante, Albuquerque e outros semideuses da nossa glória esperam ainda o

seu cantor' (Pessoa in Martins 2008: 456; my italics). Pessoa's dialogue with Camões in *Mensagem* is his critique to, and re-construction of, the Portuguese Discoveries as product of a war between old and new gods, which is to say that war is an allusion to the debris of cultural encounter revealing a cultural intertext across times and spaces. As Derrida notes, 'what we call production is necessarily a text, the system of a writing and of a reading which we know is ordered around its blind spot. We know this a priori, but only now and with a knowledge that is no knowledge at all' (Derrida 1976: 164). Pessoa desires, and asks for, the critical reading for his work on the past of Portugal in a time to come as a discovery of the mind. Pessoa's *Mensagem*, in this sense, is his response to the idea of decadence already present in Camões's epic and his dialogue with the work of Padre António Vieira.

As Fernando Cabral Martins states, with *Mensagem* 'Pessoa procura fazer um livro para ser lido, e que possa, num sentido radical, ser popular' (Martins 2008: 456-7), despite the limitations imposed by the State of *what* he *may or not* write. As Pessoa explains in a letter to Casais Monteiro, on 30 October 1935:

desde o discurso que o Salazar fez em 21 de Fevereiro deste ano, na distribuição de prémios no Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional, ficámos sabendo, todos nós que escrevemos, que estava substituída a regra restritiva da Censura, 'não se pode dizer isto ou aquilo', pela regra soviética do Poder, 'tem que se dizer aquilo ou isto'. Em palavras mais claras, tudo quanto escrevermos, não só não tem que contrariar os princípios (cuja natureza ignoro) do Estado Novo (cuja definição desconheço), mas tem que ser subornado às directrizes traçadas pelos orientadores do citado Estado Novo. Isto quer dizer, suponho, que não poderá haver legitimamente manifestação literária em Portugal que não inclua qualquer referencia ao equilíbrio orçamental, à composição corporativa (também não sei o que seja) da sociedade portuguesa e outras engrenagens da mesma espécie. (Pessoa in Lourenço 2008: 133-34)

Restricted by the State in *what* he could write, Pessoa focused on *how* to formulate a strategy of cultural identification, one functioning in the name of the nation and its

range of social and literary narratives in order to dislocate its historicism and enable the common reader (and citizen) to resist the authoritarian nationalism of the state.

In Pessoa's time, Portugal was being subjugated from abroad and the poet, who grew up in South Africa when it was part of the British Empire, was not indifferent to the state of the nation following the distressing British Ultimatum to Portugal in 1890. As Maria Canelo states, the British Ultimatum left Portugal with 'two opposite images of the nation abroad: one of authority and one of subjection; for the colonies, it was the centre, for Britain it was the periphery; for the colonies, it was European, for Britain it was the most backward people in Europe, its primitive savage' (Canelo 1998: 89). Moreover, Portugal was going through a period of profound political instability in the implementation of the republic after the fall of the country's decadent monarchy in 1910, almost twenty years after the bloodshed of 31 January 1891. Although these internal events took place prior to the First World War, one could argue that the main reason for this political instability relates to the political and cultural relationship between Portugal and its Portuguese-speaking African colonies at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Pessoa lived both through these socio-cultural changes and under Salazar's authoritarian, corporative and fascist regime on his return to Portugal. In the spirit of his 'nacionalismo cosmopolita' (the third and most profound dimension of nationhood, that of Goethe and Shakespeare according to the poet), Pessoa plans to elevate Portuguese society from its cultural stagnation and dialogue with the world's literary heritage. For this, Fernando Pessoa dialogues with Gonçalo Annes Bandarra and Father António Vieira and proposes, in *Mensagem*, a Ulysses of transmutation, a 'mute' Ulysses of modernity for the Fifth Empire. The latter would be an empire of culture and not an empire of colonies.

'O Quinto Império'

Triste de quem vive em casa,

Contente com o seu lar,
 Sem que um sonho, no erguer de asa,
 Faça até a mais rubra a brasa
 Da lareira a abandonar!

Triste de quem é feliz!
 Vive porque a vida dura.
 Nada na alma lhe diz
 Mais que a lição da raiz-
 Ter a vida por sepultura.

Eras sobre eras se somem
 No tempo que em eras vem.
 Ser descontente é ser homem.
 Que as forças cegas se domem
 Pela visão que a alma tem!

E, assim, passados os quatro
 Tempos do ser que sonhou,
 A terra será teatro
 Do dia claro, que no atro
 Da erma noite começou.

Grécia, Roma, Cristandade,
 Europa- os quatro se vão
 Para onde vai toda a idade.
 Quem vem viver a verdade
 Que morreu D. Sebastião? (Pessoa 2004: 72)

Arguing that D. Sebastião is dead and therefore not the ‘Encoberto’ who will return from Alcácer-Quibir, and instead that this ‘Encoberto’ is rather the Fifth Empire in the popular poetry of Bandarra and António Vieira’s work, Pessoa suggests that the nation ought to live this Fifth Empire by discovering the empire to come: the fifth temporality of the nation after Greece, Rome, Christianity, and Europe – the empires of times past. In saying that ‘ser descontente é ser homem’, this chapter argues that the poet desires a critic reader with ‘a visão que a alma tem’ to transcreate the Fifth Empire, already present in Bandarra and Vieira’s work in Portuguese. As Pessoa asks us, will the Fifth Empire be

um imperialismo de gramáticos? O imperialismo dos gramáticos dura mais e vai mais fundo que o dos generais. É um imperialismo de poetas? Seja, a frase não é ridícula senão para quem defende o antigo imperialismo ridículo. O imperialismo de poetas dura e domina; o dos políticos passa e esquece, se o não lembrar o poeta que os cante. (Pessoa in Serrão 1979b: 240)

Mensagem invites the reader to understand the future of the Portuguese past – the Fifth Empire of culture in Portuguese – but in order to do so one has to learn how to reread and reinterpret the signs and symbols of the nation.

As Pessoa writes, one has to know how to ‘feel’ the symbols, a knowledge greatly facilitated by the language in which it is written as Portuguese is, for the poet, the language most suitable for feeling and saying. But knowing Portuguese alone does not enable anyone to ‘feel’ these symbols. As the poet explains, one has to

primeiro sentir os símbolos, sentir que são gentes. Mais tarde, virá a interpretação mas sem esse sentimento a interpretação não vem ... Quem tenha em si o poder de sentir prompta e instintivamente a vida dos símbolos não precisa de iniciação ritual. (Pessoa 1985: 73)

For Pessoa, interpretation relies upon feeling symbols and knowing them as a metaphor for ‘gente’, ‘drama-em-gente’ as a translational performance (Chapter Two), beyond a mere representation of the people. Symbols hold, for Pessoa, more than one dimension and thus contain the potential to alter those who are able to feel for to feel is to translate in *persona* (as I suggest with the work of Haroldo de Campos, and his dialogue with the world’s cultural heritage, in Chapter Four). Following this non-linear paradigm the reader has the opportunity to broaden his/her horizons in *Mensagem*, as his poem ‘Horizonte’ characterizes it:

‘Horizonte’

Ó mar anterior a nós, teus medos
 Tinham coral e praias e arvoredos.
 Desvendadas a noite e a cerração,
 As tormentas passadas e o mistério,
 Abria em flor o Longe, e o Sul sidério
 Splendia sobre as naus da iniciação.

Linha severa da longínqua costa-
 Quando a nau se aproxima ergue-se a encosta
 Em árvores onde o Longe nada tinha;
 Mais perto, abre-se a terra em sons e cores;
 E, no desembarcar, há aves, flores,
 Onde era só, de longe a abstracta linha.

O sonho é ver as formas invisíveis
 Da distância imprecisa, e, com sensíveis
 Movimentos da esperança e da vontade,
 Buscar na linha fria do horizonte
 A árvore, a praia, a flor, a ave, a fonte-
 Os beijos merecidos da verdade. (Pessoa 2004: 50)

‘Horizonte’ is a symbol in *Mensagem* of the Portuguese maritime enterprise as the conquest of one’s own fears and inner limitations, as the poet alludes: ‘ó mar anterior a nós, os teus medos/ tinham coral e praias e arvoredos’. Portraying the wooden ‘naus’ of the nation’s maritime past as ‘naus de iniciação’, the poet shifts the emphasis on voyaging *outwards*, always in the search for ‘longe’, in order to suggest a journey *inwards*, by sensing the nation *within* as a site of ambivalence where ‘a linha fria do horizonte’ is the subject of ‘beijos merecidos da verdade’ if one senses the nation and sees it through the eyes of the imagination. Horizons constitute a ‘very singular limit’ (Derrida 1993: 43). As Derrida notes in his study of Heidegger’s work, extrapolated here to illustrate this point, horizons (like death) are ‘the true border’ (Derrida 1993: 44), a space of interaction where forms of knowledge, be they based on nature or history and culture, ‘must presuppose a concept of death properly speaking’ (Derrida 1993: 44). In Pessoa’s poem, this ‘true border’ opens a space for dialogue with the world’s cultural heritage, thus contributing to what Derrida calls ‘the grid of borders’ (Derrida 1993:43). Horizons in Pessoa’s ‘Horizonte’ are experiences of (and a feeling for) the crossing of borders that is the nation. Pessoa wants the viewer to always see anew, ‘ver as formas invisíveis/ da distância imprecisa’ like an Argonaut – and invisible translator – venturing

nowhere yet overcoming one's own obstacles in order to feel through the senses. Pessoa's re-creation of Gama's voyaging in Camões's epic trespasses 'de longe a abstracta linha' and is transversal to the 'linha fria do horizonte' in dialogue with the world's cultural heritage. In this sense, the poem is without end as its possibilities (of dialogue across time and spaces) are endless. Thus at a time when Salazar's official discourses of the nation describe the Portuguese maritime past as an historical globalization of knowledge in order to legitimate the possession of its colonies, Pessoa enables another kind of quest: an *a-historical* one which is transversal to time and space. The oxymoron 'ver as formas invísiveis' privileges the primacy of inner vision over other faculties; in other words, in order to engage in this quest inwards that Pessoa proposes in 'Ulisses' one needs to be able to see more than the eyes alone can perceive. One needs to have vision in the broadest sense of the term in order to be able to transform the horizon's 'abstracta linha' into tangible and concrete knowledge, but for this one has to experience a transmutation, in particular of sight, as in 'Horizonte' vision is *the* faculty connecting all the other senses.

Pessoa's Ulysses of Transmutation and Argonaut of Sensations: Alberto Caeiro

Ulysses, the founder of Lisbon and creator of the nation, is a leitmotif of transmutability in Fernando Pessoa's *Mensagem*. While in Camões's epic Ulysses is the leader of the first Portuguese imagined community scattered across the globe in the form of nation and narration in *Os Lusíadas*, Pessoa's modern Ulysses is 'um mito brilhante e mudo':

'Ulisses'

O mito é o nada que é tudo.
 O mesmo sol que abre os céus
 É um mito brilhante e mudo-
 O corpo morto de Deus,
 Vivo e desnudo.

Este, que aqui aportou,

Foi por não ser existindo.
 Sem existir nos bastou.
 Por não ter vindo foi vindo
 E nos criou.

Assim a lenda escorre
 A entrar na realidade.
 E a fecundá-la decorre.
 Em baixo, a vida, metade
 De nada, morre. (Pessoa 2004: 19)

He is the myth/mythical figure that creates the Portuguese despite his nothingness – ‘o nada que é tudo’ – this *all* being Ulysses’s and the nation’s impressive range of mutations. He is ‘nada’ and also ‘tudo’; he is ‘brilhante’ and ‘mudo’, ‘vivo’, God’s dead body ‘desnudo’; he ‘aportou’, and ‘foi por não ser’, ‘existindo’ nevertheless; he ‘nos criou’ despite ‘não ter vindo’. Pessoa’s revival of Ulysses as the founder of Lisbon in *Mensagem* reaffirms the transmutability of the nation both as cultural encounter in the development of the nation, and as a permanent dialogue between tradition and modernity. As a symbol of the nation’s mutability, the poem communicates the creative energy of the Portuguese and the potential of the nation to overcome the country’s various socio-political hardships in Pessoa’s time, but only if one is able to ‘feel’ the signs and symbols *as living ‘gente’* and allow one’s vitality to interact with the sensible world. With this in mind, ‘Ulisses’ is fluid, ‘escorre’ into reality; he is ‘fertile’ (in resources) and thus able to enter reality; he is part of life but greater than life ‘em baixo’, which ‘metade/ de nada, morre’. Pessoa’s modern Ulysses is ‘o mesmo sol que abre os céus’ and makes of all humans family members as they contemplate the same sun or God, the poet’s metaphor for saying the same thing in different languages. Ulysses, the etymological founder of Lisbon and legend of the diasporic nation in *Os Lusíadas*, is in *Mensagem* a figure in constant transmutation and transcreation of the modern nation. He is the ‘mudo’ hero who resurfaces, being in permanent flux for a greater (non-material) purpose, that above

life ‘em baixo’, always wanting to ‘entrar na realidade’ – a reality of which *all is one*, – a figure transversal to the world’s literary heritage.

Ulysses is, in *Mensagem*, a hyphenated poet-hero who exchanges Camões Ulysses’s sword for the pen and the religious wars for the (poetic) word. He is mute, yet he is one who ‘por não ter vindo foi vindo/e nos criou’. His transmutation is a negotiation which writes a narrative as in Pessoa’s *Mensagem* Ulysses is a ‘nada’ who is ‘tudo’ through his potential for transmutation and *will*. Pessoa’s modern ‘Ulisses’ fights a warless war and, as in the process of metempsychosis, assumes so many forms that he becomes *all* in the process. Pessoa wants the reader of *Mensagem* to interpret his protean ‘Ulisses’ as an antidote to the stagnation of the nation and, in this way, creates civilization by driving it towards modernity. Pessoa’s Ulysses, therefore, is a transnational figure of modernity in search of negotiation instead of negation, of nationhood through cultural interactions in the development of the nation.

For Boitani, Pessoa’s oxymoronic Ulysses, ‘o mito é o nada que é tudo’, is an ironic device. As he says, in the reappearance of Ulysses, twentieth-century literature is ‘continually returning to ancient myth for explanations of the foundations of history and poetry, using it almost as a touchstone between the everything and the nothing’ (Boitani 1994: 124-25). Boitani argues that the ‘everything and nothing’ leads to three twentieth-century conclusions: word, enigma, and silence, where ‘the myth [is] an arkhe of reality within the fiction: a beginning in myth and poetry which foreshadows a slender hope of the imminent rebirth of life and culture’ (Boitani 1994: 126). Portuguese society in Pessoa’s time was in dire need of the rebirth of life and culture, which the poet wanted to modernize with new ideas and emotions in the interests of modernity and civilization. As he says in regards to ‘o caso mental português’ on 30 November 1932:

se fosse preciso usar de uma só palavra para com ela definir o estado presente da mentalidade portuguesa, a palavra seria ‘provincianismo’ [...] Os homens, desde que entre eles se levantou a ilusão ou realidade chamada civilização,

passaram a viver, em relação a ela, de uma de três maneiras, que definirei por símbolos, dizendo que vivem ou como campónios, ou como provincianos, ou como cidadãos. *Não se esqueça que trato de estados mentais e não geográficos*, e que portanto o campónio ou o provinciano pode ter vivido sempre em cidade, e o cidadão sempre no que lhe é natural desterro. (Pessoa n.d. (b): 167, 169)

Arguing these three symbols of ‘provincianismo’ as ‘estados mentais e não geográficos’, Pessoa says that the *location of Portuguese culture* is a space of interaction for the world’s cultural heritage, in particular, for modern poetry. Culture, the poet argues, is not an ‘ilusão ou realidade chamada civilização’, but a non-located place where the senses and the imagination are synonymous with modernity, in contrast to tradition without patriotism, that is, culture perpetuating itself in terms of an essentialist position. Thus if modernity moves away from a ‘provincianismo mental e não geográfico’, then Pessoa’s Ulysses of modernity is a creator of culture and civilization only possible through the senses and imagination and in the cultural contacts experienced in the development of the nation.

Pessoa’s mutable ‘Ulisses’ is also a Ulysses of *otherness within*, travelling-nowhere, rather than of traditional sameness. Pessoa’s Ulysses of modernity journeys inwards and within in time and space, embodying the ambivalence in the pedagogy of the modern nation defined as a group of people living in the same place or in different places, like Joyce’s Leopold Bloom. Rather than dispersing outwards and experiencing the Diaspora for several years as in Homer’s and Camões’s narratives on the nation, or towards hell as in Dante’s *Divine Comedy*, Pessoa’s *Mensagem* re-creates these classic narratives, by writing a juxtaposition of the nations in time and space, and suggests a Ulyssian voyaging in Portuguese. This juxtapositioning of the Greek, Italian and Portuguese classical narratives is, in Pessoa, a perception of time as ‘futuro do passado’, the negotiation of culture in tradition and modernity as an alchemic transformation for

cultural purposes. The relationship between poetry and alchemy is a subject that the poet was highly dedicated to throughout his life. As he notes:

o alchimico, ao operar, materialmente quanto aos processos, mas transcendentemente quanto às operações, sobre a matéria, visa transformar o que matéria simboliza, e a dominar o que a matéria simboliza, para fins que não são materiais. (Pessoa in Centeno 1985a: 73)

As an alchemist who seeks to transform matter into symbol for spiritual purposes, Pessoa's poetry is the 'operação': the process through which Pessoa examines what is true for him. And one of these 'verdades fundamentais ou cabalísticas', is that 'o que está por cima é como o que está por baixo [and] quando o discípulo está pronto, o Mestre está pronto também' (Centeno 1985b: 53). Thus in Pessoa's 'Ulysses', *life below is a simile of life above as life in permanent negotiation*. Whilst Portuguese society in Pessoa's time suffers from a 'psiquismo nacional' of stagnation and decay, represented as life below and 'metade de nada', the poet suggests the reinvigorating circularity of a modern Ulysses, a 'criador de civilização' whose voyaging and poetry negotiates the culture and civilization of the world's literary heritage in Portuguese.

Pessoa's Ulysses of transmutation, representing the modern culture he finds in *Mensagem*, is an ambivalent *subject-object* - neither a subject *nor* object. Stevens, however, argues that Pessoa's poetics negates rather than negotiates, saying that 'em baixo, a vida, metade/ de nada, morre' reduces the 'dialectical circuit' of the poem because 'the fusion of absolute and accidental' never takes place, for its movement is 'entropic, disintegrative' where 'things fall apart' (Stevens 2001: 37). She finally concludes her analysis of the poem answering the question, 'who are you?' (directed towards the Portuguese) with the answer 'nobody' (Stevens 2001: 38). Pessoa's 'Ulisses' and the Portuguese nation are not Stevens's 'disintegrative' reality or an entity of 'nobodiness', but a site of ambivalence that holds the capacity to integrate by disintegrating old-anew through a process of transmutability. As in a process of

transmutation and metempsychosis, a ‘nobody’ can be hero-like, as is Homer’s Odysseus, who dresses as a poor old man when he returns to Ithaca, regaining his place by merit alone and without needing to slash his rivals like Joyce’s Leopold Bloom who, at the end of the day, decides that his troubles are almost nothing in comparison to all the daily horrors that occur under the same stars that shine for everyone in the sky. As in a process of transmutation, Pessoa’s Ulysses is the modern founder of the Portuguese who ‘por não ter vindo foi vindo/ E nos criou’, giving the many Portuguese the resources to overcome all the Cyclops and ‘Monstrenços’ of modernity and, particularly, in *Mensagem* our individual ‘monstrenços’.

Only vision through the eyes of the imagination and in sensations, therefore, allows for a negotiation destroying the negative polarities between knowledge and its objects, as is the case with modern society’s monsters, ‘rotina, estupidez, incultura’ (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 31). This capacity to see through the eyes of the imagination is, in *Mensagem*, not only the [s]word with which to fight a warless war but also a process of poetics. As ‘mestre’ Caeiro says, ‘o essencial é saber ver,/ saber ver sem estar a pensar,/ saber ver quando se vê,/ nem ver quando se pensa’ (Caeiro 2009: 58) as he is the settled errant who travels in his sensations, whose flocks of sheep are his thoughts and poetry the sensations of an invisible translator (as I argue in Chapter Two). He is Pessoa’s re-creation of the Old Man of Restelo as Caeiro’s contributions are acknowledged by the nation, represented by the heteronyms and Pessoa, who see in him ‘o mestre’ who opens spaces for cultural interaction. With this (Ulyssian voyaging) imagery in mind, Pessoa dialogues with António Vieira and writes ‘Quinto Império’, emphasizing the ‘visão que a alma tem’ (Pessoa 2004: 72) above all philosophies and metaphysics for, as Caeiro says, ‘os poetas místicos são filósofos doentes,/ e os filósofos são homens doidos’ (Caeiro 2009: 62). The cure for their illnesses is, Caeiro argues, to

unlearn what they have learnt, to undress the artificiality of their knowledge in order to become ‘o Argonauta das sensações verdadeiras’ like Caeiro, who observes:

*ora acertando com o que quero dizer, ora errando,
caindo aqui, levantando-me acolá,
mas indo sempre no meu caminho como um cego teimoso.
Ainda assim, sou alguém.
Sou Descobridor da Natureza.
Sou o Argonauta das sensações verdadeiras.
Trago ao Universo ele-próprio. (Caeiro 2009: 83; my italics)*

Being a subject-object ‘Argonauta das sensações verdadeiras’, Caeiro embodies Pessoa’s artistic movement *Sensacionismo*, an *ism* of ‘uma espécie de poética entendida e entendível como a *coerência da incoerência*, que em si mesma conseguisse abarcar todas as tendências do início do século XX’, a paradigm in which ‘toda a verdade é, afinal, em si mesma, contraditória’ (Martins 2008: 790). Thus for the heteronym Alberto Caeiro – the ‘mestre’ of all heteronyms including Pessoa – if Jesus is a God, amongst other Gods, this is owing to his seeing through the eyes of the imagination and sensing poetry in everything. As Caeiro says, Jesus is ‘a Eterna criança, o deus que faltava’, a ‘criança tão humana que é divina/ é esta minha quotidiana vida de poeta/ e é porque anda sempre comigo que eu sou poeta sempre’ (Caeiro 2009: 38). Caeiro’s ‘Eterna criança’ is a metaphor for the eyes of imagination, a paradigm of Caeiro’s poetry as ‘coerência da incoerência’ that brings ‘ao Universo ele-próprio’ destroying the negative polarities between knowledge and its objects by becoming a subject-object of his poetry and perceptions. While Caeiro is a settled ‘alguém’, an errant ‘Argonauta das sensações verdadeiras’, in *Mensagem* Ulysses is a diasporic poet-hero going nowhere, an ‘Argonauta das sensações verdadeiras’ forever trespassing the prohibited signs and symbols and, in this way, also revealing ‘ao Universo ele-próprio’. When Pessoa transcreates a Ulysses of modernity in *Mensagem*, he desires to create culture in

Portuguese as a global cultural heritage in the language. He is a diasporic poet-hero travelling nowhere, other than as signs and symbols in Portuguese.

Pessoa's Shattering of Essentialist Discourses: Strategic Essentialism

Pessoa saw, in Portuguese cultural life, an essentialist discourse speaking for essence and authenticity in the pedagogy of the nation. Pessoa, however, shatters such discourses: beneath the official discourses of the nation in terms of the essence of the people or the nation as many-as-one, Pessoa's *Mensagem* gestures against the terrible dictatorship that began in Pessoa's time.

For Pessoa, Salazar is

um homem que, tendo que presidir a uma distribuição de prémios litterarios, abre a sessão com um discurso em que enxovalha todos os escriptores portuguezes-muitos d'elles seus superiores intellectuais-com a fútil imposição de 'directrizes' que ninguém lhe pediu nem pediria, e que, pedidas que fossem, ninguem poderia acceitar por não comprehender quaes sejam-esse homem, que assim, *com uma inhabilidade de aldeão letrado, de um só golpe afastou de si o resto da intelligencia portugueza* que ainda o olhava com uma benevolência, já um pouco impaciente, e uma tolerância, já vagamente desdenhosa, não tem sequer o prestigio limitado que lhe permita governar uma republica aristocrática, a acceitação de uma minoria que, ainda que practicamente inútil, fosse theoreticamente intelligente. (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 375; my italics)

Mentioning the literary award of the 'Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional' and Salazar's *censura* on what Portuguese writers *would have to* write, Pessoa considers Salazar a man incompetent to lead Portugal. According to Pessoa, Salazar is a mere 'aldeão letrado', one of these 'casos mentais', a mental 'campónio' (a mental, not a geographical, state) whose only strategy is to erase all that is not in line with his historicism of the nation as a cultural force. Pessoa's *Mensagem* had to satisfy Salazar's 'directrizes' if it were to be available to readers as the poet wished, but Pessoa nevertheless compares Salazar's appropriation of literary works to an 'Inquisição' of modernity. Pessoa aligns Salazar's 'directrizes' with the Portuguese Inquisition's

persecution of countless non-Catholic Portuguese by saying ‘com “directrizes” à arte/ reata-se a tradição,/ e juntam-se Apollo e Marte/ no Theatro Nacional,/ que é onde era a Inquisição’ (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 377-78). The poet’s comparison of Salazar’s ‘directrizes’ with the Portuguese Inquisition’s obliteration of *otherness* in *Mensagem* is, in his case, a familiar and family matter.

Being, amongst other forms of *otherness within*, a Portuguese Jew, Pessoa knew about the Portuguese Inquisition’s persecution of Jews very well. His knowledge included that of the fate of one family member, Sancho Pessoa, who died in an *Auto da Fé* in 1706 for practicing Judaism rather than Catholicism (Quadros 1985: 2). For Pessoa, the *Estado Novo*’s official discourses on the nation are parallel to the Portuguese Inquisition’s homogeneous discourses, as seen when he compares Salazar’s rule with the Portuguese Inquisition and aligns his *Mensagem* with Camões’s *Os Lusíadas*. In saying that Salazar’s ‘directrizes’ remind him of the Portuguese Inquisition’s obliteration of the nation’s *otherness within* by their persecution of all non-Catholics in his work, Pessoa is also comparing Salazar’s treatment of *Mensagem* to the Portuguese Inquisition’s erasing of the historical ambivalence of Camões’s narrative on the nation in *Os Lusíadas*. The poet regrets that both works are (one deduces from his comparison) Salazar and the Inquisition’s propaganda, used in order to legitimate fratricide and the persecution of various nationals for the purpose of homogenizing the nation *within* and justifying the colonization of *others* outwards, namely Salazar’s Portuguese-speaking Africa.

Pessoa was aware of the dual discourses of the nation and denounced Salazar’s *Estado Novo* as an illusion of civilization, saying, with irony, ‘sim é o Estado Novo, e o povo/ ouviu, leu e assentiu:/ sim, isto é um Estado Novo/ pois é um estado das coisas/ que nunca antes se viu’, a country where ‘em tudo paira alegria, / e de tam intima que é, /como Deus na theologia, / ella existe em toda a parte / e em parte alguma se vê’ (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 377-78). As Pessoa observes, in another poem on the nation written in

1935, the Portuguese, whilst dressed in a ‘fato em estado novo’, were merely a facade of a ‘pobre e magro povo’ with nothing ‘coitado, que comer’, living their lives as a ‘transeunte amável’ (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 379). The poet further writes that Salazar could only bring ‘ideias de outrem, visto que as não tem próprias’ and compares his lack of wit with the mediocrity of the Titans, stating ‘não conseguiram os titans, e eram titans, escalar o Olimpo (in another version, o céu), como conseguirão os anões, condenados, *para que possam parecer grandes*, ao desequilíbrio constante das andas que lhes ataram às pernas?’ (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 375; my italics). According to Pessoa, Salazar failed for lacking, amongst other characteristics, two indispensable qualities: imagination and enthusiasm (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 365). Thus, in *Mensagem*, Pessoa strategically adopts essentialist positions on the nation in order to deconstruct them through imagination and enthusiasm, whilst conceptualizing the importance of positionality and refusing essentializations.

Whilst the Titans represent destructive sources of cultural identification, in the poem ‘Fernão de Magalhães’, Magalhães embodies the creativity of the nation by trespassing the limits of knowledge and, in this way, contributing to the Fifth Empire to come as a nationhood of cultural expressions in Portuguese.

‘Fernão de Magalhães’

No vale clareia uma fogueira.
 Uma dança sacode a terra inteira.
 E sombras disformes e descompostas
 Em clarões negros do vale vão
 Subitamente pelas encostas,
 Indo perder-se na escuridão.

De quem é a dança que a noite aterra?
 São os Titãs, os filhos da Terra,
 Que dançam da morte do marinheiro
 Que quis cingir o materno vulto-
 Cingi-lo, dos homens, o primeiro-
 Na praia ao longe por fim sepulto.

Danças, nem sabem que a alma ousada
 Do morto ainda comanda a armada,
 Pulso sem corpo ao leme a guiar
 As naus no resto do fim do espaço:
 Que até ausente soube cercar
 A terra inteira com seu abraço.

Violou a Terra. Mas eles não
 O sabem, e dançam na solidão;
 E sombras disformes e descompostas,
 Indo perder-se nos horizontes,
 Galgam do vale pelas encostas
 Dos mudos montes. (Pessoa 2004: 57-58)

By saying that Titans (in this poem, the Filipinos) do not understand the motivations of Magalhães and celebrate his physical death – ‘de quem é a dança que a noite aterra?/ São os Titãs, os filhos da Terra,/ Que dançam da morte do marinheiro’ – Pessoa contrasts two kinds of nations and quests: that of the Filipinos, fighting for their ‘terra’, and that of Magalhães who, in spite of his death whilst encountering other nations, ‘ainda comanda a armada’. Although Magalhães dies at the hands of the Filipinos in 1521, Elcano, his pilot, returns to Europe in the *caravela* ‘Vitória’ and, in this way, completes the first global circumnavigation, as Magalhães, ‘morto ainda comanda a armada,/ [é] pulso sem corpo ao leme a guiar/ as naus do resto do fim do espaço’. Magalhães’s last journey is a celebration of the last temporal adventure as ‘fim do espaço’, towards the Fifth Empire.

In *Mensagem*, this is a modern adventure leading nowhere other than transmutation *within*, which, in Magalhães’s case, also includes the nation’s cultural and hybrid interactions with the Filipinos throughout the development of the nation. Thus the Titans and – in the poet’s analogy – Salazar are ‘filhos da terra’ who dance a ‘dança que a noite aterra’ in blindness, seeing as ‘tudo’ what lies ‘em baixo, a vida, metade de nada/ morre’ (Pessoa 2004: 19). This stands in contrast to Pessoa’s Ulysses, whose nationhood

is ethereal and based upon transmutation. Thus the Titans ‘nem sabem que a alma ousada’ of Magalhães is able to reach, transversally, ‘a terra inteira com o seu abraço’. They reject Magalhães’s desire to interact and silence prevails, as they ‘[perdem-se] nos horizontes,/ Galgam do vale pelas encostas/ Dos mudos montes’. By drawing an analogy between Salazar and the Titans, Pessoa demonstrates the dimensions of their narrow conceptualizations of the world; their failure to perceive that as above, so below, and how their territorial nationalisms are problematic to the nation. In this manner, the poet emphasizes the aerial project to come of the Portuguese in the Fifth Empire, linking the world through knowledge and creativity. Pessoa’s comparison of Salazar and the Titans in contrast to Fernão de Magalhães also implies the figure of a father who, rather than acknowledging the contributions of his children to the development of the nation, ultimately destroys them. Pessoa’s *Mensagem* expresses, foremost, the poet’s desire to reveal the cultural fabric that forms the nation, and also his wish to enable the reader to recognize in Salazar’s official discourse the tyranny of a ruler who never considers cultural contact in the development of the nation.

Pessoa wishes the nation to move away from decadent discourses based upon essence, and towards the creation of a culture in Portuguese founded on language-as-translation: his conception of *patria*. He writes, in *Mensagem* ‘Noite’, a poem urging the nation to free itself ‘desta vil / Nossa prisão servil’ (Pessoa 2004: 86), including the delusional state of the nation in relation to the socio-political situation of Portugal in the world.

‘Noite’

A nau de um deles tinha-se perdido
 No mar indefinido.
 O segundo pediu licença ao Rei
 De, na fé e na lei
 Da descoberta ir em procura
 Do irmão no mar sem fim e a névoa escura.

Tempo foi. Nem primeiro nem segundo
 Volveu do fim profundo
 Do mar ignoto à pátria por quem dera
 O enigma que fizera.
 Então o terceiro a El-Rei rogou
 Licença de os ir buscar, e El-Rei negou.

*

Como a um captivo, o ouvem a passar
 Os servos do solar.
 E, quando o vêem, vêem a figura
 Da febre e da amargura,
 Com fixos olhos rasos de ânsia
 Fitando a proibida azul distância.

*

Senhor, os dois irmãos do nosso Nome-
 O Poder e o Renome-
 Ambos se foram pelo mar da idade
 À tua eternidade;
 E com eles de nós se foi
 O que faz a alma poder ser de herói.

Queremos ir buscá-los, desta vil
 Nossa prisão servil:
 É a busca de quem somos, na distância
 De nós; e, em febre de ânsia,
 A Deus as mãos alcançamos.

Mas Deus não dá licença que partamos. (Pessoa 2004: 85-86)

The nation, Pessoa argues here, needs to learn the qualities of the navigators and *see* ‘o que faz a alma poder ser de herói’, to see itself from *within* and find ‘*pax in excelsis*’ (Pessoa 2004: 67). Such learning and vision, however, implies an unlearning of all kinds of knowledge that does not allow the individual, and the nation, to see through the eyes of the imagination. As Artur Veríssimo says, in *Mensagem* ‘toda a viagem em busca da verdade é, antes de mais, uma peregrinação interior’ (Veríssimo 2002: 134). Both the

individual and the nation, the poet argues, can only overcome their ‘prisão servil’ from within by unlearning in proximity, rather than searching for understanding ‘na distância de nós’ in a utopian ‘mar da idade’ of Portugal’s glorious past, a ‘past of the future’.

Recognizing that the two brothers ‘do nosso Nome’ are ‘Poder e o Renome’, the poet makes a comparison between the darkness of the brothers Corte-Real’s quest – as with this went ‘o que faz a alma poder ser de herói’ – and the ‘dia claro’ of the Fifth Empire (Pessoa 2004: 73), when culture as an intertext of expressions in Portuguese will be the means to regain ‘o que faz a alma poder ser de herói’. Thus the poet argues that the modern nation cannot (reasonably) repeat itself in time and space as the ‘proibida azul distância’ of the time of the discoveries, as this is, in the dialogical Fifth Empire, the word as power and the sign to discover. Whilst the discoveries signify a trespassing of forbidden distances of signs and symbols, in ‘noite’ the two argonauts are allegories for the modern nation’s ‘poder’ and ‘renome’ – the nation’s qualities ‘sem idade’ – in which ‘Deus não dá licença que partamos’ to fight a *bellum sine bello*’ (Pessoa 2004: 11), a warless war against the enemies of Pessoa’s society: ‘a Ignorância [also inocência], a Tirania e o Fanatismo ou, como enunciou noutro texto, a Rotina, a Estupidez, a Incultura’ (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 31).

Pessoa’s poem ‘D. Dinis’ inscribes the last voyage of Dante’s Ulysses as sign and symbol in the cultural fabric of the nation, a cultural fabric that led to the Portuguese Discoveries according to *Mensagem*.

‘D. Dinis’

Na noite escreve um seu Cantar de Amigo
 O plantador de naus a haver,
 E ouve um silêncio múrmuro consigo:
 É o rumor dos pinhais que, como um trigo
 De império, ondulam sem se poder ver.

Arroio, esse cantar, jovem e puro,
 Busca o oceano por achar;

E a fala dos pinhais, marulho obscuro,
 É o som presente desse mar futuro,
 É a voz da terra ansiando pelo mar. (Pessoa 2004: 24)

In dialogue with the world's cultural heritage, Pessoa transcreates Dante's Ulysses in *Mensagem*. In 'D. Dinis', Pessoa inscribes Dante's Ulysses by transforming the last voyage of the Greek hero, who trespasses Hercules's signs to Gibraltar in a voyage that ends in shipwreck and death, in a source of creativity for the cultural transformation of the nation. As Dante's Ulysses utters from his life-after-death as a condemned (old) man in (Dante's Catholic version of) hell after crossing the borders of time and space to arrive at the narrow passage of death-as-transmutation:

Both of the shores I saw as far as Spain,
 Far as Morocco, and the isle of Sardes,
 And the others which that sea bathes round about.

I and my company were old and slow
 When at that narrow passage we arrived
 Where Hercules his landmarks set as signals,

That man no farther onward should adventure.
 On the right hand behind me left I Seville,
 And on the other already had left Ceuta. (Dante
 in <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1001/1001-h/1001-h.htm#CantoXXVI>)

The displacement of Dante's Greek Ulysses as an 'old and slow' man transversal to the boundaries of knowledge is, in *Mensagem*, a transmutation in dialogue with the works of Dante and Camões. The Dantean Ulysses as an old man and the Camonean Old Man of Restelo resurface in the work of Haroldo de Campos as the latter argues that translation is *persona* of an old Ulysses (Chapter Four). Dante's Ulysses becomes, in Pessoa's 'D. Dinis', the language of the Portuguese 'rumor dos pinhais' that will become

the wood for the caravels, and (sea) waves which ‘ondulam sem se poder ver’; the ‘fala dos pinhais, *marulho obscuro*’; ‘voz da terra ansiando pelo mar [my italics]’. Thus this ‘marulho obscuro’ (note the neologism of *mar*/sea and *barulho*/noise) is, in Pessoa’s poetry, a negotiation of land and sea, of tradition and modernity (as patriotic innovation), and also a transmutation of Ulysses and the Old Man of Restelo in Camões’s epic. Whilst Dante’s Ulysses disobeys Hercules’s imposed markers westwards across Gibraltar with the intent of gaining experience of the (imagined) uninhabited darkness, Pessoa inscribes Dantes’s Ulysses in the time preceding the Discoveries and suggests a Ulysses of modernity, travelling nowhere, in order to experience a process of unlearning as a requirement for the Fifth Empire that opens spaces of dialogue for a Ulyssian voyaging of the mind.

Moreover, in ‘D. Dinis’ Pessoa not only acknowledges the material contributions of D. Dinis, *O Lavrador*, to the maritime adventure of the Portuguese discoveries but also corrects an omission in Camões’s *Os Lusíadas*. Camões never acknowledges the nation’s territorial and agrarian contributions to the Portuguese Discoveries which D. Dinis’s resources and the Old Man of Restelo symbolize. The ‘Portuguese Ulysses’ is, in Camões’s epic, a dominant model in the pedagogy of the nation, at best challenged by the Old Man of Restelo who opposes the Portuguese enterprise abroad but provides wood for the caravels, along with many other material and non-material contributions, making the dispersion of the Portuguese and the discoveries possible. The attitude of the Old Man of Restelo in Camões’s epic is quite complex and ambiguous yet for many he is seen ‘a sort of Anti Ulysses’, as Freyre suggests (1961: 54). João Medina argues that the Old Man of Restelo represents Portugal’s national as the latter is ‘agrário, apegado ao torrão da península, receoso de aventuras distantes e previsivelmente funestas para a grei tradicionalmente dedicada às fainas do campo, o Portugal da monarquia agrícola e territorial’ (Medina 1998: 26). Yet the Old Man of Restelo is not just an old man who is

willing to die for the territory for refusing the cultural transformation of the nation. He is, rather, aware of national death as a possibility and his quest is the survival of the nation. As he says, he has the enemy ‘às portas’ (Camões, n. d.: 198-99), so the Old Man of Restelo is not just an old man (as, for instance, Ferro’s portrayal of the old man at the coffee shop in Berna in Chapter Three) but a voice who questions the motivations for the Portuguese project abroad when the nation at home could be, by force and war, in silence for eternity.

By acknowledging these contributions of the nation in ‘D. Dinis’, Pessoa negotiates the negative polarities of the agrarian and rural in the Portuguese enterprise in *Os Lusíadas* and reconceptualizes Portugal’s most famous historical event. Pessoa negotiates the negative polarities of the diasporic ‘Portuguese Ulysses’ and the Old Man of Restelo in ‘D. Dinis’ by reconceptualizing nationhood in *Mensagem* and positively broadening this to include the contributions of all, both in the country and overseas, to the development of the nation. The negotiation between the ‘Portuguese Ulysses’ and the Old Man of Restelo is, in *Mensagem*, a site where notions of inferior and superior complement each other, for *as above so below*. ‘D. Dinis’ is, therefore, a positive inscription of the contributions of those who were considered to be inferior in the nation prior to the Discoveries and also, by extension, of the countless slaves whose contributions to the development of the nation are still overlooked. According to António Quadros, the merit of the Portuguese Discoveries includes Portugal’s cultural contacts in the development of the nation even though there is no evidence of these contacts for he does not present the intertext in poetry. Yet he suggests that:

A conotação entre a obra de D. Dinis e o pensamento de Dante é forçosa. Se o nosso Rei, homem extremamente inteligente e culto, neto de Afonso X, o Sábio, e discípulo dos melhores mestres da época, não deve já ter conhecido o *Paraíso*, devia conhecer contudo o *Inferno* e o *Purgatório*, e estava certamente familiarizado com a *Monarquia* (provavelmente escrita entre

1310 e 1313) *bem assim como com toda a vaga de fundo mental e espiritual de que se reclamava o poeta. Lembremos as relações que D. Dinis e a Rainha Isabel de Aragão mantinham com as cortes de Sicília e de Nápoles, a que estavam ligadas por laços fraternais; o relacionamento intelectual com os pensadores ‘espirituais’ aragoneses, sobretudo Raimundo Lúlio e Arnaldo de Vilanova, este com frequentes viagens a Itália; o intercâmbio natural das Ordens religiosas, em especial a Franciscana, a que os soberanos estavam ligados; os laços comerciais e culturais com a Itália, sendo de observar que, como já sublinhámos, a renovação da marinha portuguesa foi feita com a contribuição italiana.* (Quadros 1987: 136; my italics)

Quadros’ claims are arguable as he also sets out the distinction between Dante’s *Quinto Império* – a Christian transformation of the ‘Espírito-Santo’ on this earth – and Pessoa’s *Quinto Império* – a geographically unspecified space where god is a hyphenated metaphor, ‘Deus-Espírito’, embracing all gods and polytheisms, without referring to Pessoa’s dialogue with António Vieira and Dante. As Quadro explains:

em percurso aparentemente labiríntico, lendo as nossas evocações do Culto aristocrático e popular do Espírito Santo (porventura excessivamente pormenorizadas), bem como tudo quanto escrevemos sobre o espírito da Ordem to Templo e a dinâmica da sua transformação na Ordem de Cristo, sem esquecer as concepções de Dante e dos gibelinos ... o Rei D. Dinis e ao seu lado a Rainha Santa Isabel, tiveram e chegaram a exprimir em termos simbólicos a até activos, o *projecto áureo* de realizar, nesta terra, o *Império do Espírito Santo, que seria*, esse sim, e não o romano, o *Quinto Império sonhado por Daniel, pelos Judeus e por Dante.* (Quadros 1987: 144; my italics)

This definition of the Ordem de Cristo’s Fifth Empire at the time of D. Dinis and Dante as a ‘projecto áureo’ – a transcendental and metaphysical quest of Christianity – is not Pessoa’s Fifth Empire of a ‘Deus-Espírito no qual coubessem o Deus trinitário do Cristianismo e ainda Jeová e Alah, e mesmo o Deus Desconhecido ou aqueles Deuses únicos e recônditos cujo Mistério subjaz a todos os Politeísmos’ (Quadros 1987: 158). Pessoa not only rejects every orthodoxy but also simultaneously fulfills all messianic

hope (by becoming the supra-Camões and D. Sebastião) in order to create, in dialogue with António Vieira and the world's cultural heritage, the foundation for the Fifth Empire. This is a non-metaphysical project of language as signs and symbols in the intertext of Portuguese language-as-translation.

Ulysses and the Nation: A Transnational and Translational Relationship

The relationship between Ulysses and the nation is transnational but also translational. Pessoa's Ulysses is an interdisciplinary figure resurfacing in language, linguistics and in the socio-anthropological concept of a 'Portuguese Ulyssism' in Freyre and Medina. For Pessoa, Ulysses is a creative interpretation and not a recreation of the myth, for his Ulysses is performative and double-writes the nation rather than essentialism per se. For W. B. Stanford, however, Ulysses is always a transtemporal recreation, with two kinds of quest: one based in the *world of facts* (archaeological and historical); the other in the *world of imagination* (that is, how mythology, literature and art express the figure of Ulysses) (Stanford 1975: 7-9). Fernando Pessoa's modern Ulysses as 'mute' founder of the nation is of the imaginary realm, yet intrinsic to the creation of poetry in Portuguese. A Pessoaan *patria* is language distinct from the territorial boundaries/frontiers of the nation for, when Bernardo Soares says 'a minha pátria é a língua portuguesa', Portuguese is a transversal language bridging all culture contacts in the development of the nation.

As Pessoa suggests, in English, hybridity is the basis of the foundation of all nations, the culture contacts of their development. It is relevant that Pessoa writes this passage on the heterogeneity of the nation in English for, as he asserts in another text, English is the language 'para o que queremos ensinar' while Portuguese is the one for 'o que queremos dizer' (Pessoa in Martins 2008: 502). Thus Pessoa's modern Ulysses, a 'mute' poet-hero signalling the heterogeneity of the nation in silence, differs from W.B.

Stanford's classification of recreations of an historical and archaeological Ulysses, who 'always looks forward into the future and never back to the past' (Stanford 1975: 235). Pessoa's Portuguese Ulysses is a poet-hero of modernity who travels nowhere other than in language across time and spaces. Stanford's Ulysses, a hero always found looking forward to the future and never back to the past, is – contrary to Pessoa's Ulysses as 'future of the past' in dialogue – a narrative as self-generating and self-perpetuating as the movement of '*nacionalismo inferior*' of '*Saudosismo*' and '*Integralismo Lusitano*' in Pessoa's time. Pessoa's Ulysses, in the context of *Mensagem*, creates a translational space of culture that amplifies the world's cultural heritage and contributes to the creation of culture and civilization in Portuguese, as the poet desired.

The relationship between the nation and the *patria* is central in Pessoa's work. These two, however, are *not the same* and do not translate synonymously. As Soares states, regarding his *patria* and the Portuguese language or his relationship with translation and the process of writing:

eu não tenho sentimento nenhum político ou social. Tenho, porém, um sentimento, um alto sentimento patriótico. *Minha pátria é a língua portuguesa. Nada me pesaria que invadissem ou tomassem Portugal, desde que não me incomodassem pessoalmente.* Mas odeio, com odio verdadeiro, com o único odio que sinto, não quem escreve mal portuguez, não quem não sabe syntaxe, não quem escreve em orthografia simplificada, mas a pagina mal escrita, como pessoa própria, a syntaxe errada, como gente em que se bata, a orthographia sem ipsilon, como o escarro directo que me enoja independentemente de quem o cuspiisse. (Soares 2011: 260; my italics)

Maria Irene Ramalho Santos, quoting and translating the passage above into English, decides to translate the poet's *patria* – 'a minha pátria é a língua portuguesa' – as nation, as if Soares states that his 'nation is the Portuguese language' whilst he clearly says 'pátria'. *Patria* and nation are not the same thing, as the two do not coalesce for many people (the discussion on nation and *patria* follows below), and thus cannot translate synonymously. Portuguese is Soares' *patria* and not Soares' nation, as Ramalho

Santos translates in reference to Soares in her English language work (Ramalho Santos 2003: 268).

In ‘Carta a um Herói Estupido’, – an unfinished, open letter regarding Francisco de Aragão, a war hero who fought in Angola in World War One – Pessoa reveals his thoughts on heroism, nation, *patria* and exile and details that the Portuguese who are in movement/in transit include those of the diaspora: a heteronomy of an entire nation of invisible translators in performance (Chapter Two). Thus, whilst nation-ships depart in order to disperse the Portuguese South, East and Westwards – as they do in Álvaro de Campos’s *Ode Marítima* – when the diaspora returns to Portugal (more than a third of the Portuguese are overseas),⁵ as Pessoa did after his childhood and teens in South Africa during the reign of Queen Victoria, Pessoa discovers that

nenhum de nós tem Pátria. O português é hoje um expatriado no seu próprio país. Somos uma nação, não uma pátria; somos um agregado humano sem aquela alma colectiva que constitui uma Pátria. Somos... Sei lá o que somos? Sabe alguém o que somos, salvo o lugar por onde um cataclismo vai passar? (Pessoa in Serrão 1979a: 206).

When Pessoa returns to Portugal he finds the prevalence of a provincial mentality, and many suffering from an inferiority complex in relation to the (perceived as) superior cultures of Europe of his time. For Pessoa, however, the nation is a site of ambivalence when it comes to inscribing the cultural interactions of its development. His *patria* is synonymous to culture in Portuguese, wherever it may be in time as space, for he has lived in the aerial project of the Fifth Empire which he founds with *Mensagem*.

Suggesting that in Portugal there was a nation but not a *patria*, Pessoa argues there was a mimesis of culture, that is, the assumption of external cultures badly translated and poorly applied, and thus disintegrative to the Portuguese *textus* that is the nation. Such

⁵ This is a current statistic (see the Portuguese Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros website: <http://www.mne.gov.pt/mne/pt/infocidadao/comunidades/>). Now, as in Pessoa's time, interactions between territorial nationals and Portuguese extra-territorials and their descendents are central to cultural developments in Portugal.

poor translations of culture were having the two-fold effect of alienating both society and its institutions to the point of disintegration, in a process resembling colonization. As he argues:

estas ideias estrangeiras que hoje formam a fórmula pseudogovernativa da nossa sociedade, são, além de estrangeiras, revolucionárias; isto é, trazem consigo um duplo poder de desintegração social. Dificilmente se concebe um mais desgraçado estado nacional. (Pessoa in Serrão 1979a: 210)

Suggesting that a transcreation of foreign ideas and culture is the only way to integrate society rather than cause disintegration from within, Pessoa saw, in the country of his birth and in the cultural heritage-as-translation of his *patria*, a non-place of integration contributing to the development of the nation and, in the case of the poet, to the world's literary heritage in Portuguese. If the process of translation is not inherent to patriotism then rather than having a *patria* and a nationhood the poet can only be in a place foreign to itself, a country displaying the symptoms of a colony, a place

onde internacionalmente só se pode ser inglês; onde nacionalmente só se pode ser francês (pois que francesas sejam as ideias republicanas que nos 'governam') – um Portugal onde, portanto, tudo se pode ser ('tudo' é um modo de falar) menos português, que espécie de 'Portugal independente' é que é? Que independência há nisto? Triste gente que se contenta com a triste aparência das coisas, e não vê um palmo adiante das sensações quotidianas, para dentro da sua alma súbdita e oprimida! (Pessoa in Serrão 1979a: 210)

In this passage, Pessoa condemns nationalism as the inclusion of all that is foreign (the English from the outside, the French from within) layering over all that is Portuguese in language and culture, as all that is Portuguese language-as-translation is capable of turning the country into his *patria*. This would occur through the affirmation of translation rather than the exclusion of a society looking at the past and overseas for the creation of civilization. Pessoa, on the other hand, suggests a non-located civilization which exists nowhere in space other than in the cultural interactions of the Portuguese

language-as-translation, that is, Portuguese in all its expressions, as distinct as these may be from the official Portuguese language.

Pessoa is not, therefore, suggesting that one should turn to traditional ideas of Portugal's greatest period in history; instead, he promotes creativity and explains that

o Portugal das descobertas não seguiu tradição nenhuma: criou-se. Repare agora para o momento português actual. Qual das duas coisas lhe aparece aí a denunciar-lhe que Portugal é uma Pátria? Quebrámos com todas as tradições; até aqui nada há de mau. Resta saber se lhes substituímos qualquer coisa nova que seja de criação portuguesa. (Pessoa in Serrão 1979a: 207)

Pessoa's insistence on creating the Portuguese reveals the ambiguity of his society. In the hope of a true re-patriation, which he does not find in Portugal, Pessoa reformulates the Fifth Empire in *Mensagem* but rejects the perpetuation of tradition if it adds nothing new, considering that

dentro do tradicionalismo pode haver patriotismo; fora dele, e *não havendo a criação de novos ideais absolutamente nacionais*, não vejo que patriotismo possa haver. (Pessoa in Serrão 1979a: 208; my italics)

Pessoa on Traditionalism, Patriotism, and Modernity

As Pessoa articulates, there can only be patriotism in traditionalism if there is also innovation, that is, if one is able to negotiate the negative poles in the pedagogy of the nation and revitalize tradition outside of essentialist positions. According to Pessoa, there is only nationalism as mental provincialism if tradition lacks supplementation from-within rather than authorship from outside-itself – the external being an untranslatable layer of meaning, detrimentally foreign to patriotism and thus disintegrative. Thus, the poet argues further, Portugal was a nation-state foreign to its own self, legitimating the 'principles' of other nations over the 'poder patriótico' of Portuguese originality. There is, it seems, always a problem of translation which negates the Portuguese experience. As Pessoa explains to the 'stupid hero' in his letter:

os princípios em que assenta esta coisa a que se chama a República Portuguesa. Esses princípios são franceses. São tudo menos nacionais. Que diabo!, não é preciso ver muito pela história fora para perceber isso. Mais nos valera uma experiência fenomenalmente absurda no campo social ou institucional, mas que fosse nossa, que fosse originária de aqui, que, portanto, tivesse o poder patriótico, ou patriotizante, de nos distinguir dos outros países. Mas não há nada disto. Não há Portugal: há uma mistura ignóbil de ‘estrangeiros do interior’ (como com razão, se bem que de outro ponto de vista, se lhes chamou) a governar-nos e a estropiar-nos o resto do que somos. (Pessoa in Serrão 1979a: 207-08)

Pessoa perceives in Portugal the marginalization of the Portuguese themselves, whose culture is held to be inferior to the culture that these ‘estrangeiros do interior’ import from Europe and impose upon Portuguese society. The ‘stupid hero’ is an allegory of those political and military leaders who do not know how to transfer cultural experience and knowledge. Knowledgeable about warfare but not culture, the ‘stupid hero’ does not consider the nation as a site of ambivalence and reveals a traditional patriotism which Pessoa explores as follows:

sabe o que é uma Pátria? Não espere que eu venha fazer lirismos: pergunto, concretamente e *en sociologue*, o que vem a ser uma Pátria? Uma de duas coisas, e nenhuma terceira: um conjunto humano tornando consciência de si-próprio como diferente de outros conjuntos. De que modo pode esse conjunto humano ter essa especial consciência de si próprio? De uma de duas maneiras, e de nenhuma outra maneira. Ou tem essa consciência pela continuidade de vida nacional, pela consciência das tradições especiais que fazem esse conjunto tal e não tal outro: e esta é a maneira tradicionalista de ser uma Pátria: ou tem essa consciência através de ter criado um novo conceito de vida, da sociedade, do mundo, que lhe é próprio, que se distingue dos outros conceitos de vida, *weltanschaaungen*, dos outros países, quer eles os tenham — aos deles — por tradição, quer, também por criação recente. (Pessoa in Serrão 1979a: 206)

Although undermining his own words and intentions concerning ‘imported ideals’ by referring to the German concept of *Weltanschaaungen*, what resurfaces in Pessoa’s definition of *patria* is the idea of ‘criação recente’: the ability to be simultaneously a ‘conjunto humano’ within tradition and a ‘criação recente’ ‘diferente de outros conjuntos’. Pessoa’s *patria*, therefore, is tradition and modernity as a process of

negotiation in translation. Arguing here that the poetic (the performative) in Portugal's Modernism disrupts the centre-periphery binary and related notions of superiority which persist in the pedagogy of the nation, it is important to refer to Ramalho Santos's seminal text *Atlantic Poets*. Ramalho Santos's notion of Atlantic modern poetry in the work of Pessoa and certain English-speaking poets (a notion that excludes the importance of translation) takes the form of a 'spatial expression of a unitary people' – something that can also be interpreted in terms of a homogenizing *out of many one* (Bhabha 1994: 204).

Ramalho Santos argues that the Pessoa-derived geopolitical concept of *Atlanticismo* is the space of modern poetry,⁶ seen in the work of Anglophone poets such as P. B. Shelley, Walt Whitman and Hart Crane, amongst others. Her aim is to explore the geopolitical poetry responsible for relocating the West 'as centre (Portuguese; English; American)', a centre consisting of 'western hegemony [and] white supremacy' (Ramalho Santos 2003: 87). Disregarding both Pessoa's Judaic heritage and his family's historical experience of persecution in Portugal, as well as the processes of translating his Portuguese poetry into English, Ramalho Santos affirms that 'the Anglo-American poetic tradition could actually claim Pessoa as one of its finest poets' (Ramalho Santos 2003: int.1). The premise behind this linking of Pessoa's poetry to the Anglophone tradition is the fact that Pessoa obtained his elementary and secondary schooling in English whilst in South Africa, and was well and widely read in English literature. These experiences are, according to Ramalho Santos, the 'roots of his poetic theory and practice [through which he was able to] reach almost equally into Portuguese literature and the Anglo-American tradition' (Ramalho Santos 2003: introduction 1). Thus in the poetic space created by the Atlantic, Ramalho Santos argues, there are 'inevitable cultural and ... poetic parallels', in the context of an '*Atlantic Alliance* (white supremacy) against more powerful *Others*' through a 'reinvention of the other as the primitive and the exotic from the point of view

⁶ *Atlanticismo* is a concept elucidated by Pessoa in Portuguese, like the vast majority of his poetry – the language of what one wants to 'feel' and 'say'.

of the civilized' (Ramalho Santos 2003: 95). Following this line of thought, Ramalho Santos develops the notion of a poetic disruption of imperialism with Fernando Pessoa by thematically connecting the latter's poetics with the signs and symbols of influential English-speaking modern poets.

Ramalho Santos's comprehensive investigation, examines Pessoa's poetry in Portuguese alongside poetry in English as if the two were in the same *language* and their cultural contexts (fabrics) were identical. But Pessoa's Fifth Empire of culture is in the Portuguese language, the language of his vast translation activity. As a literary translator of texts from around the globe, he is integrally aware of the untranslatable nature of each language and culture. As the poet says, '*estamos, neste mundo, divididos por natureza em sociedades secretas diversas, em que somos iniciados à nascença, e cada um tem, no idioma seu e no que está nela, o seu toque próprio, a sua palavra passe*' (Pessoa in Martins 2008: 506; my italics). To equate Portuguese and English poetics without considering the processes of translation, therefore, homogenizes the nature of each language and culture and also ignores the heterogeneity within nations. For Pessoa, every language is a world of its own, a world of idioms and passages, and nonpassages, thus creating what in Derridean terms would be an *impasse*, a place of *aporia*, 'before a door, a threshold, a border, a line, or simply the edge or the approach of the other as such' (Derrida 1993: 12), in which:

there is no longer any problem. Not that, alas or fortunately, the solutions have been given, but because one could no longer even find a problem that would constitute itself and that one would keep in front of oneself, as a presentable object or project, as a protective representative or a prosthetic substitute, as some kind of border to cross or behind which to protect oneself. (Derrida 1993: 12; his italics)

As the poet posits, it is in surpassing an *aporia* that a nation's cultural interactions contribute to the development of nationhood and, in these interactions, languages are

Babel-like, as each has its own nature and therefore does not ‘feel’ signs and symbols in the same way as others.

Nevertheless, if one is to make a parallel between Pessoa’s Portuguese signs and symbols (that one has to ‘feel’) and English signs and symbols (the language of teaching and learning), an imagined community is formed. Yet although this imagined community and the way it is imagined re-presents the kind of imagined community that is the nation (in this case, in terms of its cultural contacts of development), this cannot be considered Pessoa’s *patria*. For this exists in the Portuguese language and culture itself, the language and culture of not only feeling and saying but also, centrally, transcreating. So, if the equation of Pessoa’s signs and symbols in Portuguese with those of English as sameness results in a re-presentation of the nation as an imagined community that homogenizes culture and excludes the heterogeneity of the nation, translation, on the other hand, is Pessoa’s comparative thinking process which considers the languages of such imagined communities and inscribes the heterogeneity of the nation. Pessoa’s ‘poetic interruption’ is, for Ramalho Santos, the very source of the poetic process which signals ‘the border, the edge, threshold, or limit that desires – but merely desires, or *waits* for – its very trespassing’ (Ramalho Santos 2003: 223). However Pessoa’s ‘poetic interruption’ is in language, as we are ‘*divididos por natureza ... e cada um tem, no idioma seu e no que está nela, o seu toque próprio, a sua palavra passe*’ (Pessoa in Martins 2008: 506; my italics). This is how Pessoa depicts the threshold of a border: it is in the crossings of time and space for, as Derrida says, ‘the identity of a language can only affirm itself as identity to itself by opening itself to the hospitality of a difference from itself or of a difference with itself’ (Derrida 1993: 10). Thus Pessoa’s poetry as Portuguese language-as-translation does not result in a space of exclusivity in the spheres of English and Portuguese as languages of the canon but rather in a space which negotiates poetic desire whilst ‘trespassing’ the prohibited signs and spaces of these two official languages, as in

the process of transmutation and the logic of the supplement in translation. Pessoa, a translator by both profession and vocation, inscribes global cultural heritage in his work, transcreating in *Mensagem* a Ulysses of ‘poetic interruption’: a poet-hero of the nation’s transmutation, always signalling its desire and trespassing nature in dialogical language.

Pessoa’s *patria* as language and nation are, therefore, two highly distinct dimensions for the poet, as Pessoa’s *patria* is Portuguese language-as-translation. Pessoa’s creative work is a constant comparative literary process in Portuguese. Ramalho Santos, however, translates Pessoa’s *patria* as his ‘nation’, and thus reduces Pessoa’s language to territory rather than culture; as a result, Ramalho Santos does not address how the sign circulates within language in Portuguese, a locator of culture, which is how meaning occurs. Pessoa is a poet-translator who always thinks comparatively, and a literary translator to whom Portuguese language-as-translation is his *patria*. As Manuela Parreira da Silva states, ‘ao reflectir sobre tradução, Pessoa entra no campo da teoria estética em geral e da linguagem; para ele, no fundo, ser tradutor é ainda uma forma heterónimica (ou invisível) de ser poeta’ (Silva in Martins 2008: 857). Thus poet-translator Pessoa, in his desire both to embrace global cultural heritage and contribute to this with his work, seeks constant revitalization and innovation when he creates. For this ‘invisible’ creativity that is translation, the poet argues, one needs ‘intuição’ and even ‘advinhação’. A good literary translator is one who senses the nature of all texts as if one knew every language and was familiar with every literary work. As the poet notes in ‘O Tradutor Invisível’:

podemos, por intuição, ou o que quer que seja, figurar-nos a alma e a vida de uma obra poética de que não conhecemos nada, ou, no melhor, não conhecemos mais que uma tradução em prosa, que é outra forma, mais complicada, do mesmo nada. Muitos de nós, porém, nos figuramos, com razoável exactidão, a alma e a vida das obras que nunca lemos, por vagas reminiscências de referências, por obscuras e casuaes allusões, ou de obras, ainda, em idiomas extranhos, e de que não há, ou pelo menos nunca lemos, tradução em idioma que nol-o não seja. Aqui o tradutor invisível opera

invisivelmente. Já não intuicionamos: advínhamos. É como se houvesse em nós uma parte superior da alma que soubesse por condição todos os idiomas e tivesse lido por natureza todas as obras. (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 385)

It is, therefore, very important to distinguish between the Portuguese language and Portuguese language-as-translation – the poet’s *patria*. Arguing here that the poet has to alter the Portuguese language (canonical, and the official language in Portuguese-speaking countries) in order to express his creativity and reconceptualize nationhood, Pessoa’s chosen *patria* of Portuguese language-as-translation provides the poet-translator with a creative adventure. This adventure, in contrast to merely writing in *the* Portuguese language, is Pessoa’s life-giving process, a process which inscribes the cultural fabric that is the nation and allows for poetic observation and contemplation of the world’s literary heritage as *living gente*, that is, the heteronymic non-geopolitical mapping of the world as paramount to the poet’s nationhood. Furthermore, Pessoa’s heteronyms and creative translations of this heritage are not only the poet’s literary adventure but also a dimension of the poet’s work that *complements and amplifies* his writing in Portuguese, and makes of him the creator of *Sensacionismo*. Pessoa’s transcreative adventure in dialogue with the world’s literary heritage as *living gente* on wording:

Gosto de dizer. Direi melhor: gosto de palavrar. As palavras são para mim corpos tocáveis, sereias visíveis, sensualidades incorporadas. Talvez porque a sensualidade real não tem para mim interesse de nenhuma espécie - nem sequer mental ou de sonho –, transmudou-se-me o desejo para aquilo que em mim cria ritmos verbais, ou os escuta de outros. Estremeço se dizem bem. Tal página de Fialho, tal página de Chateaubriand, fazem formigar toda a minha vida em todas as veias, fazem-me raivar tremulamente quieto de um prazer inatingível que estou tendo. Tal página, até, de Vieira, na sua fria perfeição de engenharia sintáctica, me faz tremer como um ramo ao vento, num delírio passivo de coisa movida. (Soares 2011: 259)

According to Ramalho Santos, the word is nothing. As she says with regard to Soares’s passage, ‘to say that a word is complete when seen and heard is to call attention to *spelling* as the crucial dress of the word’s being. The *truth* is that, disrobed, the word

discloses nothing. The word is *nothing*' (Ramalho Santos 2003: 276; my italics). Yet this is not the case with Soares and Fernando Pessoa. In fact, to the contrary, for in Pessoa's Portuguese language-as-translation the word is in everything as 'Il n'y a pas de hors-texte', as Derrida says of the processes of language and textual interpretation (Derrida 1976: 158). There is no outside-text for everything is textual and, (with)in this (con)text, words are sites of heterogeneity revealing that 'there has never been anything but writing; there have never been anything but supplements, substitutive significations which could only come forth in a chain of differential references' (Derrida 1976: 159). Soares discloses a chain of differential references when he refers to the word as 'sensualidade incorporada' in a work of literature, word as a production in Portuguese language-as-translation – the 'ritmos verbais' of the cultural interactions and hybridity in the development of the nation. In this way, Soares distinguishes the Portuguese language from Portuguese language-as-translation in which 'palavrar' becomes pleasure and delirium, that is, *sensations*. Translation is, as Soares says, the process by which the word applies not only to texts in foreign languages but also to those in Portuguese. As Derrida suggests, the text is 'a signifying structure that critical reading should *produce*' (Derrida 1976: 158) for readers also construct their texts, as Soares exemplifies in his reading of Fialho's and Vieira's works, particularly in their 'ritmos verbais'.

Rhythm is, Pessoa observes, the first element to determine when translating a text. As he states in 'O Ritmo e o Sentido':

um poema é uma obra litteraria em que o sentido se determina *atravez* do rhythm. O rhythm pode determinar o sentido inteira ou parcialmente. Quando a determinação é inteira, é o rhythm que talha o sentido, quando é parcial, é no rhythm que o sentido se precisa ou precipita. Na tradução de um poema, portanto, o primeiro elemento a fixar é o rhythm (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 386).

As rhythm 'pode determinar o sentido inteira ou parcialmente', this structure is the central process in translation for it determines, to varying degrees, the sense of the

literary work in translation to Portuguese. Moreover, Pessoa argues that the ‘invisible translator’ is the one who relies on intuition and ‘presentimento’ rather than on knowledge of languages per se. According to Pessoa, even if a translator does not know the language of the work that he/she wishes to translate, the translator is still able to universalize ‘como a música’ ‘um producto de Babel’, the second fall of humankind. As the poet asserts:

por certo é que, a maioria de nós, não mentimos nem fingimos quando, ignorantes do grego, soffremos o entusiasmo de Homero, ou, hospedes e peregrinos no latim, temos o culto de Horacio ou de Catullo. Não mentimos nem fingimos: presentimos. E esse presentimento, feito de não sei de que mixto de intuição, de sugestão e de entendimento obscuro, é uma espécie de traductor invisível, que acompanha por eras fora, e torna universal como a musica, a arte dada em linguagem, esse producto de Babel, com cuja queda o homem pela segunda vez cahiu. (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 385)

Pessoa was an intuitive ‘tradutor invisível’ who always thought comparatively and in terms of transcreating all ‘products of Babel’. Soares, on the other hand, is a different kind of translator than Pessoa, yet is in dialogue with him. As Soares states, regarding Portuguese spelling and its roots in Ancient Greek culture, ‘sim, porque a ortografia também é gente. A palavra é completa vista e ouvida. E a gala da transliteração greco-romana veste-ma do seu vero manto régio, pelo qual é senhora e rainha’ (Soares 2011: 260). For Soares, orthography is only complete once it is able to inscribe the ancient Greco-Roman cultural legacy by translating this into written and spoken words in Portuguese ‘ritmos verbais’. This is an ongoing process of transliteration using the metaphor of dressing and undressing language for it reveals how the sign circulates within language which is how meaning (or readership) occurs. Pessoa’s cosmopolitanism is a mental state and not a geographical one as meaning in language occurs within that language’s specific cultural context(s).

Gilberto Freyre's Portuguese Ulyssism: The Ambivalence of the Nation

Freyre's concept of 'Portuguese Ulyssism' recognizes the contributions of two groups – the diasporic Ulysses and the settled Old Man of Restelo in the historical and cultural reality of the nation as a site of ambivalence. The nation experienced cultural encounters with various groups during the time of the Portuguese Discoveries, but was already split within prior to these cultural interactions with such others. One can trace, as it were, this split of the Portuguese nation in Camões's historical narrative of the nation, through the dichotomy of the nation and the negative interaction between these two groups. But, as Freyre adds to this, one must turn to history in order to witness the bloodshed between the Portuguese and Spanish in Iberia so as to be able to consider the geo-political positioning of Portugal at the time (Freyre 1961: 55), the Portuguese preferring to escape via the Atlantic Ocean rather than embrace Spaniards whilst living in a territory consisting of a "barren" rocky land, which is not propitious to farming, unlike the majority of other Mediterranean countries' (Mattoso 2008: 46-47).

'Portuguese Ulyssism', according to Freyre, represents the colonial desire of gente Portuguese travellers, who wanted to know others. In the words of Robert Young, regarding the English and Englishness of the past, 'Portuguese Ulyssism' is a transmigration 'taken by colonial desire, whose attractions and fantasies were no doubt complicit with colonialism itself' (Young 1995: 3). The Englishness of the past, like the Portugueseness of the past – often represented 'in terms of fixidity, of certainty, centredness, homogeneity, as something unproblematically identical to itself' (Young 1995: 3) – is contrary to the manifestations of ambivalence in not only Freyre's 'Portuguese Ulyssism' but also Pessoa's performative discourses on the nation and the poet's artistic movement *Sensacionismo*.

The artistic movements of '*Saudosismo*' and '*Integralismo Lusitano*' (which Pessoa moves away from, considering these responsible for the negative state of society,

instead veering towards a worldly ‘*Sensacionismo*’) are symptoms of a heterogeneous past and the attempt to mask a nation’s ‘sense of being estranged from itself, sick with desire for the other’ (Young 1995: 2). The unifying discourses of ‘*Saudosismo*’ and ‘*Integralismo Lusitano*’ obliterate the heterogeneity of the nation and negate its cultural encounters, for underneath the cohesive and homogeneous identity promoted in them is the reality of an internal heterogeneity. The Portuguese*ness* of the past in the pedagogy of the nation – Camões’s Ulysses as many-as-one, the first Portuguese imagined community – is a cohesive and homogeneous identity disavowing the reality of internal heterogeneity through long contact with Jews, Africans and Arabs, and also attempting to legitimate the persecution of Jews and *others* who made the Discoveries possible.

For Pessoa, on the other hand, the merit of the Portuguese maritime enterprise is not found in material goods, as the empire-to-come did not need the colonies for these; rather, Pessoa’s perception of value in Discovery relies upon transmutability and cultural contact in the development of the nation. In the poet’s estimation, the nation owes its intrinsic capacity for discovering, and uncovering, the unknown to these two factors. Thus Pessoa dislocates not only the pedagogy of the nation – Portugal as the ‘New Greece’ – but also the entire *universe* as a performative *uni-verso* in Portuguese, performing his deconstructions of one-version, one-verse, and one nation through his portrayal of contacts in the nation’s development and his *patria* as Portuguese language-as-translation. For Pessoa, only the nation conceived in terms of cultural-contact-in-its-development (so to speak) combined with a *patria* of Portuguese language-as-translation are able to discover beyond mere mirroring and thus create (true, strategic-essentialist) art. In an (imagined, of course) interview with Campos, in answer to the question ‘is there a truly Portuguese art?’ Campos replies:

Por arte portuguesa deve entender-se uma arte de Portugal que nada tenha de Português, *por nem sequer* imitar o estrangeiro. Ser português no sentido *decente* da palavra, é ser europeu sem a *má-criação* da nacionalidade. Arte

portuguesa será aquela em que a Europa – entendendo-se por Europa principalmente a Grécia Antiga e o universo inteiro – *se mire e se reconheça sem se lembrar do espelho*. Só duas nações – a Grécia passada e Portugal futuro – receberam dos deuses a concessão de serem não só elas mas também outras. Chamo a sua atenção pelo facto, mais importante que geográfico, de que Lisboa e Atenas estão quase na mesma latitude. (Campos in Martins 2000: 197; my italics)

This passage demands a detailed analysis of its language and concepts, and, to this end, it is useful to turn here to Stevens's reading and translation of it (as I will further expand on this).

Stevens's translated version of the passage reads thus:

by Portuguese art we should understand an art that has nothing Portuguese about it, not *even* the imitation of the foreign. Being Portuguese in the *decent* sense of the word is being European without the *impoliteness* of nationality. Portuguese art will be that in which Europe – understanding Europe principally to mean ancient Greece and the whole universe – sees itself and recognizes itself, without remembering the mirror. Only two countries – Greece in the past and Portugal in the future – received from the gods the concession to be not only themselves but also all others. (Stevens 2001: 15; my italics)

Ancient Greece as the first Western civilization, and Portugal as the 'face' through which Europe looks to the West 'with Greek eyes, remembering', are indeed images that Pessoa utilizes in *Mensagem* in his future-of-the-past, in which the Portuguese are both same and *others*. However, contrary to Stevens's translation and interpretation of this passage, in which she translates 'é ser europeu sem a *má-criação* da nacionalidade' as 'being European without the *impoliteness* of nationality' (having in mind that 'cosmopolitanism was not uncommon in Pessoa's day', Stevens 2001: 16) the '*má-criação*' in Campos's passage in fact has nothing to do with any form of 'politeness' or location of nationality. Although it is correct to translate 'mal-criado' as someone impolite and improper in manners, as Stevens does, it is essential to note that the passage reads '*má-criação da nacionalidade*'. Although 'mal' and 'má' are similar words, a '*má-criação*' of a nationality means that the restrictive nature of nationality is a 'bad' creation

of nationhood. In other words, according to Pessoa, to create nationhood is to transcreate, and Pessoa's nation is transnational, not national. Pessoa's poetic creativity is also transnational and trespasses the limitations of nationalities. Moreover, Campos is the heteronym who sends Europe and its leaders 'à merda' in *Ultimatum*, so an 'impoliteness' of nationality is certainly not of concern to him. According to Campos, true Portuguese art – or rather well-created art in Portuguese – is that which embodies the nation's transmutability and its act or effect of creating. Once again, Pessoa emphasizes that art, in this case made in Portugal as Portuguese language-as-translation, trespasses nationalities and inscribes cultural encounter in the development of the nation.

True art, says the poet, does not conform to the territorial limitations of nations or national narratives, for its signs are able to trespass all of these; if not, then it is not art but a mere mirroring of the past and a perpetuation of tradition that lacks patriotism and creativity. True Portuguese art – in Pessoa's case poetry – has nothing national or mirror-like about it; otherwise, it could not be simultaneously the same and the other and negotiate negative positions of national essentialisms. Mirror-like art would be exclusive rather than inclusive and patriotic and ultimately disintegrate society. Therefore, a 'má-criação' of nationality, on the surface a reminder of education and thus politeness since it follows the idea of 'decency' (an important notion in translation theories and the logic of the supplement), has nothing to do with bad manners. Rather, Campos refuses to see art as a location of culture, disputing this eighteenth-century European perspective which promoted the imperial superiority of European languages over *others*. For Pessoa, art made in Portugal should be the *act* or effect of creating or inventing nationhood – a new India, located nowhere, and only reachable by a 'Portuguese Ulysses' in ships made of dreams, that is, the Fifth Empire in *Mensagem* or modern Atlantic poetry. Whilst dreaming and creating, Pessoa adopted Modernisms coming from Europe in order to adapt them to the Portuguese context (for example, *paulismo* rather than symbolism, and

intersectionismo instead of cubism). Campos's passage regarding Portuguese art and culture should be translated thus: 'being Portuguese in the *decent* sense of the word is being European without the *bad-creation* of nationality'. In other words, according to Campos, to be Portuguese is to be a European living in Europe, but without 'any roots' which would definitively locate the nation and therefore limit it to a geo-political creation of territorial frontiers/ borders.⁷ Campos's concern with nationality is not of an ethical nature – as would be the case with 'politeness' – but conceptual, for Portuguese art, 'in the *decent* sense of the word', excludes the 'bad' act-or-effect of uncovering art made in Portugal as a restrictive conceptualization of Portuguese language and nationality.

The representation of the 'decent sense' of 'Portuguese' is, in many senses, antagonistic to the notion of nationality. As Soares rudely informs us, 'não tenho sentimento nenhum político ou social. Tenho, porém, num sentido, um alto sentimento patriótico. *Minha pátria é a língua portuguesa*. Nada me pesaria que invadissem ou tomassem Portugal, desde que não me incomodassem pessoalmente' (Soares 1987: 37). This well-known passage expresses key concepts in Soares's poetry, for whilst he does not have any social or political sentimentality he still really cares, in a patriotic 'sense', about the Portuguese language. Certain that no-one can take his language-as-translation away from him (despite his memory of the Inquisition's persecution of his family members and its elimination of non-Catholic and *other* nationals), he (unsurprisingly) *is not* even concerned about the possession of the territory with its borders/frontiers. Nor is he at all upset with those who write 'bad Portuguese' (that is, Portuguese that ignores syntax, and/or with simplified orthography) if this inscribes a language in which the meaning and the letter no longer dissociate, itself from its many selves, as-it-were,

⁷ Campos's deterritorialized sense of identity extends beyond just his borderless reconfiguration of Portugueseness, also including his conception of himself as a 'wandering Jew' (like his creator Pessoa). See Chapter Two for a further discussion of Álvaro de Campos's character.

affirming the untranslatability of idioms and their irreducible multiplicity of senses. However, he *is* extremely disgusted by the ‘badly-written page’, ‘badly-written’ meaning to Soares any inscription that alienates a sense of the oral rather than complementing this. To this semi-heteronym, this kind of alienating writing is the only ‘wrong syntax’, the words being mere spit upon the page as they lack those ‘ritmos verbais’ of Soares’s written words as ‘sensualidades incorporadas’ (Soares 2011: 259). The same notion applies to Pessoa’s process of translation, where intuition is more important than the knowledge of languages, and rhythm and waves are Pessoa’s main point of comparison and contrast between a musical and a literary work (and the first things to determine when translating) (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 385). Rhythm determines the verbal structure and meaning of literature so, in this sense, the ‘spat’ rather than the spoken word results in ‘bad-creation’ (be this of nationality or the written page) and a ‘badly-created’ work of art (that is, one lacking the musicality of the oral language and, as a result, patriotic feeling).

On the other hand, Portuguese language-as-translation – Pessoa’s *patria* – is not nationalistic or representative of a geopolitical border/frontier, but rather a ‘mental’ state of nationhood. Thus the negotiation, the ‘nothing’ that is ‘everything’ of Pessoa’s Ulysses as founder and creativity of the nation is, in fact, made up of contradictions, as Ulysses/the nation is the subject-object that forms itself in transit, strategically disrupting homogenizing narratives on the nation. The transmutation of the nation is made possible by the cultural encounters of its development, as the poet says, but as a subject-object that forms itself transversally: a dimension in which an inside-outside subject is the double who affirms ‘I am like you’ while simultaneously negating this by saying ‘I am different’. Therefore, this double subject desires negotiation and writes an aerial bridge in-between Pessoa’s *patria* as language-as-translation. This double is also the agent who is neither one nor other, but an *inside-outside* subject-object, and not an agent of a

‘border/frontier identity’ as Canelo and others define it. Although Canelo refers to the maritime enterprise in order to assert that the ‘malleability of the Portuguese identity has, if nothing else, confirmed how much the nation is indeed an imagined community’ (Canelo 1998: 89), she does not consider the nation as a site of ambivalence or the ambiguity of speaking for *a* (that is, a singular) Portuguese identity. Moreover, her concept of imagined community refers to geopolitical maps, is restricted to ‘fronteiras’ and nation-states, and thus is related to Boaventura de Sousa Santos’s attribution of a ‘semi-periphery’ position for the Portuguese and Ramalho Santos’s concept of *ser* and *estar* as the global versus the regional and local. The ambivalence of the nation in Freyre’s socio-anthropological concept of ‘Portuguese Ulyssism’, on the other hand, includes the Portuguese Diaspora and all speakers of Portuguese just as Pessoa’s *patria* is extended to include those who express themselves in Portuguese wherever they may be, for these groups are the cultural encounters in the development of the nation.

Thus Freyre’s ‘Portuguese Ulyssism’ embodies an assimilation of African, Jewish and Arabic contradictions absent in some analyses. However, his non-rigorous adventure bias nevertheless demands a corrective, as concepts of assimilation necessitate the annihilation of *otherness* in an attempt to shape official discourses on the nation. As previously stated, the Homeresque seafarers who overcame insurmountable obstacles in the Portuguese Renaissance epic *per se*, including *Os Lusíadas*, consisted not only of adventurous gentile colonizers but also, for example, Inquisition-persecuted Jews seeking survival through exile in the Old and New World. Freyre asserts that Camões’s Ulyssism and the ‘plasticidade’ (malleability) of the Portuguese results from a history of cultural encounter owing to earlier experiences of long contact with Arabic and Jewish cultures and peoples, and ultimately even argues that the heterogeneity of the Portuguese historical experience brought into cultural encounter with Brazil has been more positive than conflictive (Freyre 1959: 41). However one cannot ignore the assimilation of *others*

by *terror* occurring both in Portugal and the colonies at this time,⁸ the terror which *others within* experienced while Brazil was becoming the nation we know today being a topic that Freyre neglects to address.

As we read in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, for many in the New World in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Portuguese nationality was indistinguishable from Portuguese Jewish identity (Sephardic Jewish, that is: Marrano, New Christian, and Crypto). This reality became ‘ubiquitous in all the Old and New World centres of trade, to the extent that Portuguese became synonymous with Jewish – much to the consternation of the gentile Portuguese travellers’ (923). Underpinning a discourse of Portugueseness – which always splits the nation *within* – therefore, is the need ‘to have already forgotten’ what Ernest Renan describes as ‘antique slaughters’, a part of ‘family history’ that Pessoa does not forget. To speak of a Portuguese national identity must include a reminder to every young woman and man in Portugal about the series of antique slaughters of their family members by the Portuguese Inquisition between 1515 and 1821, and during Salazar’s dictatorship up until 1974. Pessoa was aware of and familiar with this historical past, and compares Salazar’s ‘directrices’ to Portuguese intellectuals with the Inquisition’s persecution of all non-Catholic nationals.

If Pessoa’s reconceptualizations of modernity in *Mensagem* and the poet’s negotiation of the nation in his work had been considered when translating culture, these could have prevented what came to be another ‘reassuring fratricide’ – a modern perpetuation of history and ambiguity of the nation as seen in *Os Lusíadas* – under Salazar and in the Portuguese colonial wars in Africa up to 1974. But Freyre, speaking from an American post-colonial perspective, does not appreciate that, according to Pessoa, the Portuguese ‘natural position to be everything and everyone’ in Portugal in the

⁸ To read more about Portuguese Jewry, both in Brazil and in the UK, please refer to Edgar Samuel’s *At the End of the Earth: Essays on the History of the Jews in England and Portugal*. London: The Jewish Historical Society of England, 2004.

1920s is the alienation of the subject and the interstitial position from which Pessoa writes and creates in Portuguese language-as-translation. As Freyre asserts, regarding Pessoa's understanding of nationhood:

o autor da *Mensagem* era bem claro ao definir a 'arte portuguesa' como uma arte de Portugal que nada tenha de português (porque para o homem português 'desnacionalizar-se é encontrar-se') e ao dizer que se entendia por Europa principalmente a Grécia Antiga e o universo inteiro. (Freyre in Saraiva 1986: 125)

The 'alienation of the subject', the interstitial space from which Pessoa speaks, is constantly threatened by a nationalist trap in the pedagogy of the nation, a pedagogy that contains the potential to assume and corrupt the performative intentions of its speakers. Indeed, Pessoa affirms that to 'un-nationalize' oneself (the situation of Campos's 'má-criação da nacionalidade') requires an *unlearning* (please note, in Caeiro's sense) only possible as a process of transmutation towards a '*cosmopolitanismo mental*' and away from Salazar's tyranny and '*provincialismo mental*'. In Freyre's positive conceptualization of Pessoa's ideas of Portuguese art and nationhood, these two were already *un-nationalized* and thus distanced from the colonial discourses of the nation.

However, for Portuguese society in the 1920s such a conception of nationhood was inconceivable, owing to the fact that European territorial and geopolitical maps were used in order to legitimate colonization in Portuguese-speaking Africa. Thus nationalism, in all of the historical emblems and symbols of Salazar's official discourses upon the nation, is the product of a territorial nation, one attached to a nation-state and delimited by its frontiers/ borders. Pessoa's nationhood, on the other hand, is a non-located space of culture interactions, Portuguese language-as-translation or, as Freyre says, 'a "arte portuguesa" como uma arte de Portugal que nada tenha de português' (Freyre in Saraiva 1986: 125). Portuguese art cannot be Portuguese for, if it were, it would fall into a caricature of the nation (something seen in the work of Eça de Queiroz, and others) or

become an expression of a provincial mentality – these being the only kinds of art that Salazar permitted and promoted through his ‘directrizes’ and propaganda.

Moreover, the ambivalence of the nation in Pessoa’s time also consisted of the ruling elites of Portugal parroting, for instance, central European culture whilst alienating autochthonous culture, society, and language. Pessoa saw, in this behaviour, a provincial mentality, a major obstacle to life in Portugal of his time, and argues that

o provincianismo consiste em pertencer a uma civilização sem tomar parte no desenvolvimento superior dela — em segui-la pois mimeticamente, com uma subordinação inconsciente e feliz. (Pessoa n.d.: 159)

It is, therefore, the imposition of culture as essence and identity, rather than as culture contacts and interactions contributing to the development of nations, that Pessoa finds so disdainful in Portugal in this period. Thus when Álvaro de Campos says ‘eu, o investigador solene das coisas fúteis/ que era capaz de ir viver na Sibéria só por embirrar com isso,/ e que acho que não faz mal não ligar à pátria/ porque não tenho raiz, como uma árvore, e portanto não tenho raiz’ (Campos 2002: 192), he is distinguishing nationalism from patriotism as his *patria* has no spatial roots and is in the coherence of ‘coisas fúteis’ – the knowledge of sensations in Portuguese. His patriotism travels freely and creatively across the ‘frontiers/ borders’ of any nation-state, contrary to the pedagogy of the nation in Salazar’s dictatorship, which does not allow for imagination or enthusiasm.

Still, if Pessoa’s nationhood is transnational rather than nationalistic and his *patria* linguistic instead of territorial, what does the poet mean with ‘por arte portuguesa deve entender-se uma arte de Portugal que nada tenha de Português, por nem sequer imitar o estrangeiro’? Likewise, what is intended by ‘ser português no sentido *decente* da palavra’? In answer to these questions, Stevens states that

the radicality of the formulation that the only true Portuguese art would be one ‘that has nothing Portuguese about it, not even the imitation of the foreign’ is simply baffling. The traditional tension, in discourses of national

identity formation, between the native and the foreign, is completely undone by that ‘nothing’: if Portuguese art can neither be itself nor imitate a foreign other, what is it left to do? (Stevens 2001: 16-7)

Stevens does not note that, for Pessoa, there is *no native and no foreign*, only the heterogeneity of the nation in terms of its cultural contacts of development. Nor does Stevens consider the socio-cultural reality of Portugal in Pessoa’s time. Let us, however, re-think Pessoa’s arguments for a moment: (Portuguese) art – like any other artistic endeavour, regardless of where it is created or by whom – cannot be an authentic expression if it is not free. Thus, without freedom there is no art. Pessoa did not wish art to perpetuate emblems of nation-states, whether national or foreign, but to transcreate culture and civilization by translating the world’s cultural heritage, in particular that of Ancient Greece. He saw the process of ‘dressing’ art with restrictive layers of nationalities, whether national or foreign, an obstacle to creation and a betrayal of the work of art. Thus, the ‘mystery’ is uncovered: art has no nationality nor is it contained by nationalistic considerations. The ‘nothingness’ of true art knows no national or foreign boundary. It is ‘everything’, like ‘Portuguese Ulyssism’: a space for continuous creativity in transmutation – Pessoa’s *leitmotif* in *Mensagem*.

Despite, or rather because of, Pessoa’s dedication to these ideals of artistic freedom and inclusion, his own ventures were severely constrained by Salazar’s dictatorship. In fact some of the books published by Pessoa’s Olisipo publishing house (opened in Lisbon in 1921) – although by no means all of his publications as many were not even understood owing to Pessoa’s subtleties – were seized by the *Católicos Progressistas* in 1923. Pessoa even considered giving up writing due to the restrictions of both the Catholic Church and even the pre-*Estado Novo* State and the limitations imposed through its insistence upon the concept of nationalities. But before moving on to discussing various Pessoaan concepts (the ‘invisible translator’, *desassossego*, *atlantismo*, *sensacionismo*, amongst others) in order to investigate Pessoa’s project of heteronomy

and the heteronyms' double-writing of the nation in the following chapter, perhaps it is best to let Pessoa himself have the last word here on the subject of the *Estado Novo*. He writes this poem as a reflection on the political state of culture in Portugal and his experience as a poet living and writing in Portugal. As Pessoa satirically declares, in his *Poema de amor em estado novo*, written in the year of his death, 1935:

'Poema de amor em estado novo'

Tens o olhar misterioso
Com um jeito nevoento,
Indeciso, duvidoso,
Minha Maria Francisca,
Meu amor, meu orçamento!

A tua face de rosa
Tem o colorido esquivo
De uma nota oficiosa.
Quem dera ter-te em meus braços,
Ó meu saldo positivo!

E o teu cabelo — não choro
Seu regresso ao natural — Abandona o padrão-ouro
Amor, pomba, estrada, porta,
Sindicato nacional!

Não sei por que me desprezas.
Fita-me mais um instante,
Lindo corte nas despesas,
Adorada abolição
Da dívida flutuante!

Com que madrigais mostrar-te
Este amor que é chama viva?
Ouve, escuta: vou chamar-te
Assembleia Nacional
Câmara Corporativa.

Como te amo, como, como,
Meu Acto Colonial!
De amor já quase não como,
Meu Estatuto de Trabalho,
Meu Banco de Portugal!

Meu crédito no estrangeiro!
Meu encaixe — ouro adorado!
Serei sempre o teu romeiro...
Pousa a cabeça em meu ombro,

Ó meu Conselho de Estado!

Ó minha corporativa,
 Minha lei de Estado Novo,
 Não me sejas mais esquiva!
 Meu coração quer guarida
 Ó linda Casa do Povo!

União Nacional querida,
 Teus olhos encham de mágoa
 A sombra da minha vida
 Que passa como uma esquadra
 Sobre a energia da água.

Que aristocrático ri,
 O teu cabelo em cifrões
 — Finanças em *mise-en-plis!* —
 Meu activo plebiscito,
 Nunca desceste a eleições!

Por isso nunca me escolhes
 E a minha esperança é vã.
 Nem sequer por dó me acolhes,
 Minha imprevidente linda
 Civilização cristã!

Bem sei: por estes meus modos
 Nunca me podes amar.
 Olha, desculpa-mas todas.
 Estou seguindo as directrizes
 Do professor Salazar. (Pessoa in Quadros 1986: 350-1)

In this poem Pessoa mentions the *directrizes* of the regime by mentioning the Colonial Act; the Christian civilisation; the Portuguese Bank system, and other emblems of the Salazarian nation-state. As he concludes, his *modos/* manners will not allow him to be part of a political system that censures culture; thus this poem was not published during his lifetime.

CHAPTER TWO

Fernando Pessoa's Heteronyms and Identity in Modernity: A Nationhood of 'Invisible Translators'

Fernando Pessoa's heteronyms are the paramount example of his non-positioning of the nation, a nation whose language is a Portuguese language-as-translation of 'invisible translators' or, as Pessoa says, the second-hand citations of *subjects* (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 219). Their dialogue reveals the '*double concept of the border*', and not 'the crossing of a given border', where an other 'is no longer *its* other' in the crossings of time and spaces (Derrida 1993: 18). Portuguese language-as-translation is not, therefore, the *official* language of the nation-state, and this chapter argues that Pessoa and his heteronyms are 'invisible translators' whose dialogue opens up spaces for cultural transformation. As 'personagens declamando isoladas em um romance sem enredo' and participants in a 'discussão em família' (Pessoa in Lopes 1990: 455-81), Pessoa and his heteronyms are part of a nationhood of global dispersion. Like Benedict Anderson's concept of imagined communities, Pessoa's heteronyms are the writer's imagined community interacting in Portuguese (as argued in Chapter One). By writing critiques and sharing their poetry and prose with one another, they are fellow people in whom Pessoa sees the image of a comradeship 'de espírito'. As Pessoa says:

com uma tal falta de literatura, como há hoje, que pode um homem de génio fazer senão converter-se, ele só, em uma literatura? Com uma tal falta de gente coexistível, como há hoje, que pode um homem de sensibilidade fazer senão inventar os seus amigos, ou, quando menos, os seus companheiros de espírito? (Pessoa 1966: 95)

As language-as-translation is the space of the heteronyms' imagined community, 'personagens declamando isoladas em um romance sem enredo', the nation presents itself as simultaneously open and closed, for written Portuguese is the medium through which the heteronyms, Pessoa included, imagine each other and are also imagined by

other members who become the readers of their works. Anderson, however, sees written language as a cause of nationalism. As Anderson argues on language:

language is not an instrument of exclusion: in principle, anyone can learn any language. On the contrary, *it is fundamentally inclusive, limited only by the fatality of Babel*: no one lives long enough to learn *all* languages. Print-language is what invents nationalism, not a particular language per se. (Anderson 1991: 134; my italics)

Interpreting the ‘fatality of Babel’ in terms of hyphenated official languages (e.g. Mozambique-Portuguese [Anderson 1991: 134]) or considering all languages as the fatality of Babel resulting from the dispersal of national languages, Anderson does not investigate how language-as-translation transcreates culture and uncovers a nationhood transversal to national literatures and national languages. However, Pessoa’s community of heteronyms, literary personas and pseudonyms (one hundred and six by now) are migrants, emigrants, immigrants, displaced peoples and exiles, that is, voices that write the nation from positions of in-betweenness.

Pessoa and his heteronyms are simultaneous subject-objects whose *patria* is the Portuguese language-as-translation, as they speak in a non-locational space transversal to national boundaries by composing the rhythms of language. As Pessoa asserts, literary and musical rhythms are ‘arte dada em linguagem, esse produto de Babel, com cuja queda o homem pela segunda vez caiu’ (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 385) and therefore Pessoa and the heteronyms’ dialogue transposes the sense/meaning and rhythm/s of written works. They do this because, for Pessoa, both meaning and sense(s), ‘sentidos’, depend on the rhythm/s of a work. As in Portuguese to sense is also to feel, the relation of sense/meaning in works is, therefore, the first element to determine when translating as Pessoa notes in his translation theories (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 386). Thus this chapter investigates the heteronyms’ ‘discuss[ões] familiar[es]’ on the subject of rhythm/s in prose and verse and the productive reconceptualizations of nationhood as time, space, and language in modernity.

When writing his famous 1935 letter to Adolfo Casais Monteiro explaining the genesis of the heteronyms, Pessoa parenthetically interjects, stating:

(interrompo. Não estou doido nem bêbado. Estou, porém, escrevendo directamente, tão depressa quanto a máquina mo permite, e *vou-me servindo das expressões que me ocorrem, sem olhar a que literatura haja nelas. Suponha – e fará bem em supor, porque é verdade – que estou simplesmente falando consigo*). (Pessoa n.d.(a): 203; my italics)

For Pessoa, expression in writing is like holding a conversation with readers and listeners. If language without literary devices is a conversation and dialogue, then what kind of language is that found in literature for Pessoa? This chapter argues that this language resembles Jacques Derrida's 'Babelian performance', a process within which the dialogue of the heteronyms, Pessoa's included, concerning dispersal in the world

becomes law, duty and debt, but the debt one can no longer discharge. Such insolvency is found marked in the very name of Babel: which at once translates as and does not translate itself, belongs without belonging to a language and indebts itself for an insolvent debt, to itself as other. Such would be the Babelian performance. (Derrida 2002: 111)

As Pessoa observes that the collapse of the tower of Babel was the second fall of mankind and also the space from which the 'invisible translator' operates, ideas similar to Derrida's 'Babelian performance' surface in the heteronymic and Pessoaan dialogue which is written in a Portuguese language-as-translation.

Babel, the Second Fall of Humanity: Pessoa's 'Invisible Translator'

Arguing that translation, like music, is 'arte dada em linguagem' and that transnational 'arte dada em linguagem' is a 'produto de Babel', Pessoa creates a community of heteronyms in a second-fallen world of language in terms of fragmentation. As he says:

Ocorre, pois, perguntar por que processo, em literatura, é alguém universalmente célebre, como, ainda que poucos, há relativamente tantos que o são; *por que processo são célebres no espaço, e sobretudo no espaço e no tempo, quando forçosamente, e mormente na poesia, que é a espécie literária*

mais alta, nenhuma tradução, supondo que existe, pode dar conhecimento da obra em sua completa e verdadeira vida.

Porque o certo é que, a maioria de nós, não mentimos nem fingimos quando, ignorantes do grego, sofremos o entusiasmo de Homero, ou, hospedes e peregrinos no latim, temos o culto de Horácio ou de Catulo. Não mentimos nem fingimos: presentimos. *E esse presentimento, feito de não sei que mixto de intuição, de sugestão e de entendimento obscuro, é uma espécie de tradutor invisível, que acompanha era fora, e torna universal como a música, a arte dada em linguagem, esse produto de Babel, com cuja queda o homem pela segunda vez caiu.* (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 385; my italics)

Pessoa sees in translation a synonym for second-hand writing, opening spaces for interaction upon the rubble of Babel. It is important to note, however, that this early twentieth-century Pessoaan construct of the ‘invisible translator’ does not correspond to Lawrence Venuti’s earlier discussion of the ‘translator’s invisibility’, despite the coincidental name of the latter’s work on the history of translation. Whilst Venuti states “‘invisibility’ is the term [...] use[d] to describe the translator’s situation and activity in contemporary British and American cultures’ (Venuti 1995: 1), Pessoa’s ‘invisible translator’ argues rather for a translational language after the second fall of mankind with Babel.⁹ As the latter asserts, the language of ‘invisible translations’ (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 385) is transversal to the boundaries of national literatures and cultures. Pessoa further notes that such a Babelian performance of translation is neither an instrument of exclusion nor a performance ‘causing’ nationalism, whether language is written or spoken, as ‘poderemos criar em 2ª mão- imaginar em nós um poeta a escrever, e elle escrevendo de uma maneira, outro poeta [...] escreverá de outra’ (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 378). Pessoa’s imagined community of heteronyms are living images and citizens who write in this Portuguese language-as-translation. As Pessoa tells Adolfo Casais Monteiro, concerning the genesis of the heteronyms:

⁹ It is not within the scope of this chapter to investigate Lawrence Venuti’s idea of the translator’s invisibility, but for further information on this topic please see Venuti’s *The Translator’s Invisibility, a History of Translation*. Chippenham: CPI Antony Rowe, 1995.

eu *vejo* diante de mim, no espaço incolor mas real do sonho, as caras, os gestos de Caeiro, Ricardo Reis e Alvaro de Campos. Construí-lhes as idades e as vidas. Ricardo Reis nasceu em 1887 (não me lembro do dia e mês, mas tenho-os algures), no Porto, é médico e está presentemente no Brasil. Alberto Caeiro nasceu em 1889 e morreu em 1915; nasceu em Lisboa, mas viveu quase toda a sua vida no campo. Não teve profissão nem educação quase alguma. Álvaro de Campos nasceu em Tavira, no dia 15 de Outubro de 1890 (às 1.30 da tarde, diz-me o Ferreira Gomes; e é verdade, pois, feito o horóscopo para essa hora, está certo). Este, como sabe, é engenheiro naval (por Glasgow), mas agora está aqui em Lisboa em inactividade. Caeiro era de estatura média, e, embora realmente frágil (morreu tuberculoso), não parecia tão frágil como era. Ricardo Reis é um pouco, mas muito pouco, mais baixo, mais forte, mas seco. Álvaro de Campos é alto (1,75 m de altura, mais 2 cm do que eu), magro e um pouco tendente a curvar-se. Cara rapada todos — o Caeiro louro sem cor, olhos azuis; Reis de um vago moreno mate; Campos entre branco e moreno, tipo vagamente de judeu português, cabelo, porém, liso e normalmente apartado ao lado, monóculo. Caeiro, como disse, não teve mais educação que quase nenhuma — só instrução primária; morreram-lhe cedo o pai e a mãe, e deixou-se ficar em casa, vivendo de uns pequenos rendimentos. Vivía com uma tia velha, tia-avó. Ricardo Reis, educado num colégio de jesuítas, é, como disse, médico; vive no Brasil desde 1919, pois se expatriou espontaneamente por ser monárquico. É um latinista por educação alheia, e um semi-helenista por educação própria. Álvaro de Campos teve uma educação vulgar de liceu; depois foi mandado para a Escócia estudar engenharia, primeiro mecânica e depois naval. Numas férias fez a viagem ao Oriente de onde resultou o *Opiário*. Ensinou-lhe latim um tio beirão que era padre. (Pessoa n.d. (a): 208-09)

All of Pessoa's heteronyms are in-between poets who live independent lives, have their own occupations, and are famous for holding different opinions and worldviews. The heteronyms are '*textes*' for '*there is nothing outside the text*' in which they perform. As Derrida notes, 'it is writing as the disappearance of natural presence' that 'opens meaning and language' (Derrida 1976: 158-59). They are citizens originating from a variety of locations in Portugal and their position of cultural in-betweenness, of global dispersal, results in a double writing of the nation. As Pessoa declares, the heteronyms write in the interests of dialogic exchange and are not characters in a novel: they 'representam pessoas inventadas, como figuras em dramas, ou personagens declamando isoladas em um romance sem enredo' (Pessoa in Lopes 1990: 379). Their locations, contrary to the 'enredo' of the novel, are divergent and not convergent. Ricardo Reis is born in 1887 in Porto, the largest city in northern Portugal; Alberto Caeiro is born in

1889 in Lisbon, the capital, located in Estremadura; Álvaro de Campos is born 15 October 1890 in Tavira in the Algarve, the most southern region of Portugal. Their ethnicities and cultural backgrounds vary and, similarly to Fernando Pessoa himself, Álvaro de Campos has Jewish heritage while Alberto Caeiro, for example, appears to be descended from one of the northern tribes of Europe who, in the past, made their way to the territory. Reis is in exile in Brazil; Pessoa ‘does not exist properly speaking’ (as Campos tells us); master Caeiro migrates from Lisbon to the countryside; Campos has lived and studied in Scotland and England, travelled to the Orient, and is now unemployed in Lisbon; Bernardo Soares is a bookkeeper in Lisbon but, as a semi-heteronym, he does not have a biographical identity, unlike the other heteronyms.

The heteronyms’ interactions in their Portuguese language-as-translation create spaces of negotiation where letters, not syllables or words, represent the raw materials through which one expresses one’s mental processes. Rather than language constructing walls of negation (forming decadent towers of Babel), letters are the building blocks of language as negotiation in which there are, according to Pessoa, differences between spoken and written forms. As Pessoa states:

1. *A letra e não a sílaba é a ‘unidade’ da palavra escrita.*
2. *A palavra falada compreende-se fixando-se na memória por meio das sílabas que a compõem, a palavra lida fixando-se na memória por meio das letras com que se escreve. Num caso dirige-se à memória auditiva, no outro à memória visual.*
3. *A palavra escrita é um elemento cultural, a falada apenas social.*
4. *A base da ortografia é não haver confusão de sentido nas palavras escritas...* (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 247; my italics)

And also,

A orthographia é um phenomeno da cultura, e portanto um phenomeno espiritual. O Estado nada tem com o espirito. O Estado não tem o direito a compellir-me, em materia extranha ao Estado, a escrever numa orthographia que repugno, como não tem direito a impor-me uma religião que não aceito. (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 248)

Pessoa's language – whether direct expression or literary artifice – is always seeking to negotiate as language-as-translation, and the letter and not the syllable is the basic unit. This form of language has the vigour lacking in other languages where the syllable and the word are units. Whilst letters enable the construction of many languages and the agency of speakers and writers, the syllable and word as 'unity' is exclusive, restrictive and therefore this type of language lends itself to nationalisms. In this sense, 'a palavra escrita é um elemento cultural' of cultural transformation and 'a base da ortografia é não haver confusão de sentido nas palavras escritas'. By associating the spoken with the social and the written with the cultural, and having 'sentido' (confusion in this context) depend on the orthography of the written word, Pessoa emphasizes that language-as-translation creates transversal spaces for unity in difference and complementarity. Most importantly, for Pessoa the written word is cultural and not a matter for the nation-state, because it disrupts traditional views of national literatures whilst revealing the spaces of interaction of those countless nationals who speak from a position of in-betweenness. He further reveals that the nation-state does not embrace the cultural transformation of its citizens – those in the territory and, in particular, those who are abroad. He suggests that the national is in dialogical displacement and thus is a cultural – not a political – reality. Reis, exiled in Brazil, writes in a 'pure' Portuguese that Pessoa dislikes yet in a dialogue revealing the crossings of time; Álvaro de Campos also (double-)writes in Portuguese, but from countries where English is the official language; Bernardo Soares says his *patria* is the Portuguese language and that he would not care if Portugal (the territory) were invaded or even conquered for he writes fragments as 'eu-mesmo' (in Portuguese language-as-translation); and Alberto Caeiro, the great master of *Sensationism* (the artistic movement that Pessoa creates), has poor Portuguese language skills.

Determining the letter as unit disrupts the decadence of languages in which the syllable and word are units, as in the latter language becomes an exclusive space that obliterates spaces of negotiation rather than creating these. As a result, Pessoa suggests a socio-anthropological temporality of the nation, in order to enable a liberation from it as ‘velho, podre e decadente’. As Pessoa asserts, in his ‘Epílogo ao Jeschú ben Pandira’,

Se, como sociólogos, sabemos que qualquer civilização precisa de uma fé para viver, igualmente como sociólogos, vemos que a fé cristã *não é-ela mesma decadente-a que deve existir hoje. A sua decadência o indica. Portanto, fazemos trabalho salutar destruindo-a. Os povos construirão a fé que se lhes seguirá. D’isso não curemos nós; é difícil, senão impossível, antecipar qual a nova crença que uma sociedade adoptará, porque o indivíduo não pode abarcar o pensamento social senão limitada e com clareza, apenas negativamente.*

O papel individual é destruir; o papel social é construir. Ataquemos pois o que sabemos velho, podre e decadente. A sociedade edificará depois o que haverá de lhe seguir. Destruir implica, socialmente, construir. Destruindo o velho, damos lugar ao novo, seja ele o que for. - É por isso que, sabendo nós que, actualmente, o c[ristianismo] é o velho, o decadente, a esterilidade e o inútil - nós, conquanto não saibamos claramente, nem nitidamente prevejamos o que se lhe seguirá, temos ainda assim a consciência de que, atacando o c[ristianismo] trabalhamos pela nova fé; que desviando [?] e tirando os escombros, preparamos o terreno para o edifício novo; que, arrancando as plantas que degeneraram em bravias, nós deixamos o lugar livre para a semente que germinará em planta, para, no fim, degenerar também em erva daninha, e ser arrancada por outros, para que outras plantas jovens nasçam, e assim indefinidamente e incompreensivelmente no suceder-se dos séculos, e em favor do mistério infinito. (Pessoa in Lopes 1990: 66)

Persuasively arguing that Christianity in his era and society is largely responsible for the decline of the nation, the poet draws an analogy between a deconstruction of the old in order to reveal newness and the removal of debris so that one may prepare for an ‘edifício novo’. The time between clearing the rubble and preparing for the ‘edifício novo’ is the time of the meanwhile: this period of the meanwhile, moving away from decadence towards newness, takes the form of transmutation. Literary persona António Mora also argues for a language-as-translation that works against the decadence of modern society whilst contesting the same Christianity that Pessoa refers to in his epilogue to Pandira. For Mora, ‘Christism’ is a form of fanaticism and idolatry. As he

says, an ‘abysmo do excesso dos nossos amores, que é o fanatismo’ (Mora in Lopes 1990: 446) is corrupting and a major barrier to one’s humanity. As Mora explains:

ao combatermos o christismo, uma das cousas que mais nelle combatemos é o excesso, o exaggero, a extravasão. Tenhamos presente a todos os momentos essa divisa do nosso lábaro. Nós que combatemos o exaggero, se cahimos nelle, não só erramos, como seremos vencidos, porque passamos para o inimigo. Façamos da harmonia, da disciplina e da moderação a cidadella do nosso destino, do nosso pensamento. (Mora in Lopes 1990: 447)

Arguing that fanaticism is the enemy and that the senses are the ‘cidadella do nosso destino’, Mora notes that modernity is a short-lasting, artificial movement lacking in humanity. As he states, ‘não podemos, como pagãos, participar da vida da cidade, ou das cousas da época activamente’; one should, therefore, not take ‘o isolamento em si por um bem, nem, dentro do nosso espirito ponhamos entre nós e a humanidade aquela fronteira que tracemos entre nós e a humanidade presente’ (Mora in Lopes 1990: 446). Mora desires a humanity without borders of any kind and he is aware that this is always current, as it does not depend on the modern era. In this sense, he perceives modernity as superficial and even irrelevant to the humanity without barriers that he proposes. Thus, for Mora, modernity contributes to isolation rather than to dialogue, for modernity is a criterion and a divide separating the modern from the non-modern, or the traditional.

A Heteronymy of Translational Invisibilities for Cultural Transformation

According to Pessoa:

Entendamo-nos bem. Ninguém pode ler tudo, *sequer sobre um só assunto*. É pois necessário, muitas vezes, citar em segunda-mão, quando não ainda mais translatamente. Não há nisso charlatanice, desde que estejamos convencidos da competência e da probidade do primeiro citador; nem é necessário que estejamos sempre indicando que não citamos o original, enchendo as páginas, que escrevemos, de ‘citas de segunda-mão’, ociosas e importunas. Se eu citar, ainda que no original, um frase grega ou alemã, não vem a propósito dizerem-me, o que aliás é verdade, que não sei grego nem alemão. É preferível citar em português, até para conveniência do leitor.

Posso traduzir, através de idioma intermédio, qualquer poema grego, desde que consiga aproximar-me do ritmo do original, para que basta saber simplesmente *ler o grego*, o que de facto sei, ou que obtenha uma equivalência rítmica.

Dessa maneira traduzi alguns poemas da Antologia Grega. A única coisa a perguntar, a quem saiba grego e português, é se a minha tradução está certa quanto ao sentido do poema, e se se consegue uma equivalência rítmica suficiente. As traduções d'essas posso legitimamente pôr 'uma tradução de F.P.', sem que tenha que acrescentar 'através do inglês' ou outra frase de igual teor. O que não posso é criticar uma tradução alheia da mesma espécie, excepto como se criticasse um original português, e muito menos posso pôr notas sobre o texto grego à minha tradução. (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 219)

For Pessoa, language-as-translation therefore reaches an 'equivalência rítmica' bridging knowledge across languages – and even in the same language, as this chapter argues – as it is one's inability to read everything and not a lack of understanding of language(s) per se that opens up spaces of interaction and dialogue. In this way, Pessoa's twentieth-century construct of the 'invisible translator' surfaces in his heteronymic project as their language double-writes the nation and performs across time and spaces. The master of language-as-translation and its 'equivalência rítmica' is, according to Pessoa and the heteronyms, the migrant Caetano, whose poem 'O Guardador de Rebanhos' allows the heteronyms and the poem's readers to experience transmutations and dialogue in the in-between spaces that the poem opens up following its reading. Despite the numerous interactions between the heteronyms in the rhythms and 'sentidos' of their works, Caetano is the only heteronym whose works have the 'equivalência rítmica' for the transmutations of readers as well. In 'Álvaro de Campos, the very great rhythmist', for example, Campos is – says Pessoa, with irony and aware of the paradox – 'one of the very greatest rhythmists that there has ever been', as 'his transitions, his sudden silences, sudden pauses... his change from unstable to equable states of mind' make him 'one of the most unified of poets, and ever a builder and a restorer of parts in an organic whole' (Pessoa in Lopes 1990: 237). Campos is 'one of the most unified poets' for being a 'restorer of parts' revealing, in Derrida's terms applicable here, 'the limits of truth' in

discourses of perfection and totality. For him, just as Derrida studied for Heidegger, ‘a certain thinking of the *possible* is at the heart of the existential analysis of death’, thus bringing together ‘the sense of the virtuality or of the imminence of the future’ and ‘the sense of ability’ or ‘potentiality’ (Derrida 1993: 62). Campos’s desire for a dialogue across time and space is a restoring process enabling this threshold of temporality in-between worlds (and civilizations).

But while Campos is a restorer of parts in an organic whole through his rhythms, Mora, a less-known heteronym, argues that ‘somos poucos, os bastantes para não sermos nenhum, mas pode ser que amanhã venham ao nosso encontro aqueles a quem fallemos a lingua esquecida da civilização’ (Mora in Lopes 1990: 447). Mora’s ‘lingua esquecida’ is always a mental process, not something external to the individual. Thus, when commenting on master Caeiro’s language, Mora admires Caeiro’s poetry as it is

escripta naquelle verso que o é apenas porque o pensamento pensa em verso, e não porque a voz mede o *rhythmo* externo, ella obedece, porém, a um occulto movimento *rhythmico* que tem as suas raizes na curva intima do pensamento em que a execução se gera. (Mora in Lopes 1990: 410)

Mora suggests that Caeiro’s language does not have external and artificial rhythms but rather rhythms representative of Caeiro’s psychological processes. Caeiro’s poetry, argues Mora, ‘tem as suas raizes na curva intima do pensamento em que a execução se gera’, meaning that it achieves an ‘equivalência ritmica’ to his inner mental workings. To a certain extent, Campos agrees with Mora when Campos states that artificial rhythms may cause decadence. As Campos says in ‘*Rhythmo Paragraphico*’, the decadence of symbolism is found in the lack of ‘*rhythmo paragrafico*’ within its art, with the imposition instead of a metric system external to the mirroring of mental processes in poetry. As Campos suggests:

Tudo quanto é artificial no verso-a rima, o metro, a estrofe-é principalmente nocivo secundariamente. Não é tanto o mal que faz a rima, o metro, ou a estrophe em serem em si mesmas artificiais. O mal é que desviam a atenção

da emoção ou do pensamento, criam novos pensamentos, e assim interrompem o que originalmente se pensaria. (Campos in Lopes 1990: 336)

Arguing that poetic artifice is an obstacle to spontaneity of both emotion and thought because it betrays the intention of the subject who becomes instead the object of artificial metric and poetic conventions, Campos wonders ‘como se pode sentir nestas gaiolas?’, suggesting that the only limitation on writing should be one’s ‘organic’ being.

As Campos notes:

quem não sente deveras não falla em verso, nem mesmo em prosa, mas em grito ou acto, é verdade; mas que quem sente um pouco menos deveras, e pode portanto fallar em verso, tenha, ainda por cima, que fallar em verso dos outros- porque outra coisa não é o metro e a rima do que uma imposição alheia- isso é menos que verdade, isso, organicamente, não é nada. (Campos in Lopes 1990: 336-37)

For Campos, those who feel speak in verse or prose; those who do not feel shout and act in non-organic ways. Defining the spoken word of those who feel as verse and prose, the organic in Campos’s rhythms articulates feeling through speaking in verse and prose; he does not relate feelings to the written word but to the spoken if one ‘sente deveras’. Arguing that metre and rhyme are ‘imposiç[ões] alheia[s]’, foreign to one’s (irregular) rhythms and thus not organic ‘falla em verso, nem mesmo em prosa’, Campos further asserts that the ‘rhythmo paragrafico tem sido mal recebido, e, em parte, comprehende-se porquê’ (Campos in Lopes 1990: 337). His main argument for this is that content itself is contained within rhythm, thus the forcing of metre and rhyme empties language of the substance of psychological processes as these conventions exclude one’s ‘irregular rhythms’. Campos exemplifies his perspective with Marinetti’s *futurismo*, whose

banalidade mental lhe não permittia inserir qualquer idéa no rhythmo irregular, porque não permittia inseril-a em coisa nenhuma e lhe chamou ‘futurismo’, como se a expressão ‘futurismo’ contivesse qualquer sentido comprehensivel. ‘Futurista’ é só toda a obra que dura; e por isso os disparates de Marinetti são o que há de menos futurista. (Campos in Lopes 1990: 338)

Suggesting that Marinetti's 'futurista' rhythms do not correspond to Marinetti's thought processes, Campos sees as 'futurist' any work that lasts, whilst a classic work, curiously, is one that is always present and expressive of its subjects' irregular rhythms. For Campos, therefore, the rhythms of Marinetti's futurism are another imposition of metric convention, for they impose the artificial rhythms of poetic tradition upon language. Marinetti's futurism thus fails to create organic rhythms and, as a result, futurism is not a movement of modernity but an artificial convention bringing nothing new to culture – just a short-lasting aesthetic movement external to language. Yet the *isms* of modernity are productive as they open spaces of dialogue across time and spaces as Campos wants a critical reader of his intertextual (as he says, irregular) rhythms for the purpose of cultural transformation.

On the other hand, the heteronym Ricardo Reis, a classicist self-exiled in Brazil, talks about the rhythms in masters Caeiro and Campos's poetry whilst reflecting on those of his own work. Explaining how 'pediram-me os parentes de Alberto Caeiro, cuja tarefa amiga é a de publicarem a sua Obra, que a essa Obra pusesse um prefácio', Reis states that in Caeiro's work,

a única coisa que pode fazer valer o verso-livre é a individualidade rítmica, que o poeta pode nele exprimir. Nos grandes cultores- nos legítimos cultores do verso-livre, o *tom interior* do verso, o seu ritmo espiritual varia de poeta para poeta. Para a plebe de rimadores o verso-livre não é senão uma demonstração a mais do que não deve ter entrada no poema. (Reis in Silva 2003: 56)

Reis argues that the interior tones of free verse are the individual rhythms of the poet. He further suggests that Caeiro's free-verse succeeds in expressing the latter's spiritual rhythms, an achievement which only the great free-verse writers are able to inscribe in their work. So, whilst for Campos one's limitations in articulating poetry and prose (rather than shouting or performing) are found in one's personality and inability to

sense works, Reis argues that poets have spiritual rhythms and those who write great poetry are able to manifest their interior tone in their free verse.

When comparing the rhythms of Caeiro's and Campos's poetry, Reis argues that Caeiro's reveal how 'a natureza [é partes] sem um todo' and that Campos's poetry manifests his 'maravilhosa técnica estrófica' in rhythm. As Reis notes:

Semelhante no único grande cultor português do verso-livre, o sr. Álvaro de Campos, uma individualidade se revela nítida e pessoal, na maravilhosa técnica estrófica que se mostra através da, puramente aparente, desordenação daquela arritmia.

O mesmo sucede com Alberto Caeiro. O seu verso-livre não tem nem o ritmo bíblico, monótono, dos versos dos livros proféticos de Blake; ... nem o de Álvaro de Campos, fortemente contido dentro de um conceito nitidamente sinfónico da *Ode*. O de Caeiro é brusco, absolutamente directo, rectilíneo sempre.

Mas aqui, se originalidade se mostra, é uma originalidade no inferior. Onde Caeiro é deveras grande é na estrutura interna dos seus poemas – no conceito filosófico de todo o poeta novo, [é] que subjaz a sensibilidade que o caracteriza.

Caeiro é, em filosofia, o que ninguém foi: um objectivista absoluto. Inverte os processo poéticos *de todos os tempos*. Reparai bem no que digo *de todos os tempos*. Inverte os processos filosóficos da nossa época, indo além da pura ciência em objectividade. Quebra com todos os sentimentos que têm sido posse da poesia e do pensamento humanos.

Nada o demonstra melhor que um verso que é talvez o superior da sua obra.
A Natureza [é partes] sem um todo. (Reis in Silva 2003: 57)

Positively contrasting Caeiro's free verse with the monotonous rhythm of the Bible, Reis sees in Caeiro's work the 'inversion' of the poetic processes of all eras and epochs and thus the capacity for the intervention of the 'wholeless' fragments that compose nature. As Derrida says, 'originary differance is supplementarity as *structure*. Here structure means the irreducible complexity within which one can only shape or shift the play of presence or absence: that within which metaphysics can be produced but which metaphysics cannot think' (Derrida 1976: 167). In this sense, it is not surprising that Caeiro, the master and (certainly more than just a) poet of nature, inverts the structures of all times to reveal a temporality in which 'originary differance' is the

‘deveras grande’ (post-) structure of his poetry. Thus for Pessoa, the relationship between poetry and rhythm directly relates to the sense(s) of the literary work alone, as it is rhythm that, partially or wholly, inscribes this in literature. Thus with translation, the first element to determine is rhythm. As he states:

Um poema é uma obra literária em que o sentido se determina *através* do ritmo. O ritmo pode determinar o sentido inteira ou parcialmente. Quando a determinação é inteira, é o ritmo que talha o sentido, quando é parcial, é no ritmo que o sentido se precisa ou precipita. Na tradução de um poema, portanto, o primeiro elemento a fixar é o ritmo. (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 386)

Articulating sense and meaning through rhythm in both poetry and translation, Pessoa suggests that rhythm determines meaning in poetry as ‘sentido inteir[o]’ and in translation as ‘sentido parcial’. Thus rhythm in poetry entirely determines the sense of a work by inscribing this (talhando-os) in language, whilst in translation rhythm only partially determines the meaning of the work – it is the task of the invisible translator, therefore, to perceive the sense of a work in its entirety. In both processes alike, translational rhythms restore sense to the work of poets and to translators of poetry by trespassing not only the barriers of language but also the restrictions of national literatures.

Thus, whilst Reis declares that Caetano liberates language from its traditional rhythm towards its ‘ritmo interior’, Reis suggests that Caetano’s rhythms always appear as a ‘sequência desordenada’ of images. As he states:

à primeira vista, a obra de Caetano, aqui inteiramente coligida, não parece divergir, salvo em pontos secundários, das elucubrações métricas de tantos poetas nossos coevos, e um pouco anteriores, em que o principal característico de inspiração é a indisciplina e o individualismo das sensações e dos sentimentos, e o mais patente distúrbio da dicção o caso libérrimo da linguagem, que, liberta não só da rima, como também dos ritmos tradicionais [variant ‘do ritmo regular’], se dá como seguindo o ritmo interior, a sequência desordenada das imagens que surgem no espírito. (Reis in Silva 2003: 60)

For Reis, master Caeiro's 'libérrimo' case of language from 'ritmos tradicionais' migrates from what Mora considers the decadent fanaticisms of the city, or mere 'cousas da época', towards a 'ritmo interior' of self-awareness. Reis further argues that Caeiro's 'ritmo interior' coherently articulates the fragmentary nature of the world rather than 'abstract' conceptualizations of the universe, suggesting the movement of sensationism.

As Reis proposes:

Quando Caeiro, no seu poema principal, exclama:

A Natureza [é partes] sem um todo

afirma que uma ideia que é inteiramente estranha à nossa mentalidade, uma ideia *que nenhum de nós podia ter*. Podemos, é claro, compreendê-la; mas não podemos nunca compreender como alguém a teve.

Ora toda a obra de Caeiro é composta de ideias dessas.

O grego Parménides tem a ideia seguinte do mundo: que ele é infinito, eterno, e uno, e, além disso, *que tem a forma de uma esfera*. Esta junção de qualidades é impensável para nós.

Por isso, muito bem disse Caeiro

[A Natureza é] partes sem um todo.

O Universo, como conjunto, síntese e não soma das coisas, é uma ideia abstracta. Por isso não há Universo. Não é por não sabermos se não há; é por sabermos, por isso que ele é uma ideia abstracta, que não há.

O monoteísmo é uma doença das civilizações, um estigma da sua decadência. A nossa civilização monoteísta foi sempre uma civilização doente.

...

Se os nossos sentidos fossem perfeitos, não precisávamos de inteligência; nem as ideias abstractas de nada nos serviriam.

A imperfeição dos nossos sentidos faz com que não concordemos nunca em absoluto sobre um objecto ou um facto do exterior. Nas ideias abstractas concordamos em absoluto.

Dois homens não vêem uma mesa da mesma maneira; mas ambos entendem a palavra 'mesa' da mesma maneira. Só querendo *visualizar* uma coisa é que divergirão; isso, porém, não é a ideia abstracta da mesa. (Reis in Silva 2003: 74-75)

‘Visualizar’ objects and ‘facto[s] do exterior’ is, according to Reis, more agreeable than naming them. Whilst Reis reveals his critique of consensus in language when contrasting the language of words with that of images, Caeiro, on the other hand, says that in his work ‘o meu materialismo é um materialismo espontâneo’ (Caeiro in Zenith and Martins 2009: 202) rather than being idealistic like Reis’s argument for the (im)possibility of consensus.

Reis, who according to Pessoa writes ‘melhor do que eu, mas com um purismo que considero exagerado’ (Pessoa in Zenith 2011: 506), argues that there are no major differences between poetry and prose other than the relationship between ideas and emotions. As Reis suggests:

Não vejo, entre a poesia e a prosa, a diferença fundamental, peculiar da própria disposição da mente, que Campos estabelece [...]

Em tudo o que se diz-poesia ou prosa-há ideia e emoção. A poesia difere da prosa apenas em que escolhe um novo meio exterior, além da palavra, para projectar a ideia em palavras através da emoção. Esse meio é o ritmo, a rima, a estrofe; ou todas, ou duas, ou uma só. Porém menos que uma só não creio que possa ser.

A ideia, ao servir-se da emoção para se exprimir em palavras, contorna e define essa emoção, e o ritmo, ou a rima, ou a estrofe, são a projecção desse contorno, a afirmação da ideia através de uma emoção, que, se a ideia não a contornasse, se extravasaria e perderia a própria capacidade de expressão.

É o que, em meu entender, sucede nos poemas de Campos. São um extravasar de emoção. (Reis in Silva 2003: 207-08)

For Reis, therefore, expression in a literary work relates directly to ideas and emotions, and not to rhythm. Rhythm in poetry is, for this heteronym, no different for any other convention such as rhyme and the formal verse arrangements of poetry. As a result, the creation of spaces in Reis’s work are not as numerous as they could be if only Reis, like Pessoa, was able to distinguish literary rhythm from poetic convention. Yet, in this way, Reis writes an intertext of a nationhood of dispersion in dialogue with the world’s cultural heritage. In this productive dialogue, Reis interacts with other

heteronyms but his rhythm is always a determination of discipline rather than of meaning, unlike in Pessoa's, Caetano's and Campos's works, for Reis distrusts his senses.

Furthermore, as Reis states:

Como o estado mental, em que se a poesia forma, é, deveras, mais emotivo que aquele em que naturalmente se forma a prosa, há mister que ao estado poético se aplique uma disciplina mais dura que aquela [que] se emprega no estado prosaico da mente. E esses artificios – o ritmo, a rima, a estrofe – são instrumentos de tal disciplina.

No sentido em que Campos diz que são artificios o ritmo, a rima e a estrofe, se pode dizer que são artificios a vontade que corrige defeitos, a ordem que policia sociedades, a civilização que reduz os egoísmos à forma sociável. (Reis in Silva 2003: 208)

When it comes to language and meaning in poetry, the central disagreement between Reis and Campos is that Reis's purist language is a reflection of his quest for the conventions of, whilst in dialogue with, antiquity which, in its (re-)turn, produces even more senses and meaning in the greater text they (inter)write. Campos, on the other hand, argues that rhythm is intrinsic to the poet's mental processes, and the same external rules that Reis follows in his work in fact alienate the poet. But Reis, who finds in both Campos's rhythms and use of punctuation disorder and 'confusion', suggests that Campos should punctuate his pauses so that readers might order Campos's breaks and silences. Reis, moreover, in his babelization distinguishes verse from prose and refers to the confusion of punctuation for it is, as it were, displaced and disjointed. As Reis declares:

Na prosa amplamente emotiva – aquela cujos sentimentos poderiam com igual facilidade ser expostos em poesia- há que atender mais que nunca à disposição de matéria, e ao ritmo que acompanha a exposição. Esse ritmo não é definido, como o é no verso, porque a prosa não é verso. O que verdadeiramente Campos faz, quando escreve em verso, é escrever prosa ritmada com pausas maiores marcadas em certos pontos, para fins rítmicos, e esse pontos de pausa maior, determina-os ele pelos fins dos versos. Campos é um grande prosador, um prosador com uma grande ciência do ritmo; mas o ritmo de que tem ciência, é o ritmo da prosa, e a prosa de que serve é aquela em que se introduziu, além dos vulgares sinais de pontuação, uma pausa maior e especial, que Campos, como os seus pares anteriores e semelhantes,

determinou representar graficamente pela linha quebrada no fim, pela linha disposta como o que se chama um verso. Se Campos, em vez de fazer tal, inventasse um novo sinal de pontuação – digamos o traço vertical (/) – para determinar esta ordem de pausa, ficando nós sabendo que ali se pausava com o mesmo género de pausa com que se pausa no fim de um verso, não faria obra diferente, nem estabeleceria a confusão que estabeleceu. (Reis in Silva 2003: 209)

Reis suggests that Campos should create new punctuation in order to create a norm and convention for his pauses as, contrary to the other heteronyms, Reis does not *feel* language with its sensations and through the senses like the other ‘invisible translators’. Reis mistrusts the senses because for him translation is an interiorized ‘ritmo ordenado’, articulating intelligence and emotion, and this rhythmic articulation is external to the individual and makes sense of the emotions. For Reis, to ‘sense’ the emotions is not to feel them but to structure the ‘confusion’ that he perceives within them. As he notes:

Quasi se conclui do que diz Campos, de que o poeta vulgar se sente espontaneamente com a largueza que naturalmente projectaria em versos como os que ele escreve; e depois, reflectindo, sujeita essas emoções a cortes, retoque e outras mutilações ou alterações, em obediência à realidade exterior. Nenhum homem foi alguma vez poeta assim. A disciplina do ritmo é aprendida até ficar sendo uma parte da alma: o verso que a emoção produz nasce já subordinado a essa disciplina. Uma emoção naturalmente harmónica é uma emoção naturalmente ordenada; uma emoção naturalmente ordenada é uma emoção naturalmente traduzida num ritmo ordenado, pois a emoção dá o ritmo e a ordem que há nela a ordem que no ritmo há.

Na palavra, a inteligência dá a frase, a emoção o ritmo. (Reis in Silva 2003: 211)

For Reis, ‘realidade exterior’ conditions and assimilates the language of subjects and, in the process, objectifies subjects if they fail to translate the language of the past into the language of modernity. Thus there is no ‘realidade exterior’ for Reis; there is no outside text and there is no inside text, for texts have no margins or borders and he is in the text. As he states, ‘desterrado da pátria antiquíssima da minha Crença, consolado só por pensar nos deuses, aqueço-me trémulo a outro sol do que este’ as ‘prefiro rosas, meu

amor, à pátria’, and therefore ‘coroai-me de rosas, coroai-me em verdade de rosas-rosas que se apagam em frente a apagar-se tão cedo! Coroai-me de rosas e de folhas breves. E basta’ (Reis in da Silva 2000: 17; 38; 64). Reis’s Portuguese is that of an invisible translator whose process of translation from Brazil is a performance creating spaces through his interactions with a globally dispersed heteronymic nationhood. He writes a critique across times, in dialogue with the world’s cultural heritage, and reveals how decadence is a barrier to a dialogical Portuguese language-as-translation and the spaces that this opens for cultural transformation.

Unsurprisingly, Reis and Campos also disagree about the classification of poetry and prose, as, for Campos, ‘a poesia é aquela forma da prosa em que o ritmo é artificial’ while Reis argues that ‘a poesia é uma música que se faz com ideias, e por isso com palavras’ (Reis in da Silva 2003: 217). Thus whilst Campos sees the artificial rhythms of poetry as ‘pausas especiais e anti-naturais’, ‘dado pela escrita do teatro em linhas separadas, chamados versos’ and therefore an external imposition that alienates the voice of speakers, Reis embraces the structure that orders and disciplines the emotions so that they do not surface in poetry. As Reis says, ‘o canto é a forma primitiva da poesia’ as ‘quanto mais fria a poesia, mais verdadeira. A emoção não deve entrar na poesia senão como elemento dispositivo do ritmo, que é a sobrevivência longínqua da música na poesia’ (Reis in da Silva 2003: 217). Thus, according to Campos, Reis’s view of ‘pausas’ in poetry are ‘anti-naturais’ to individuals in modernity, as for Reis the rhythms of poetry are a language of antiquity and purism. Pessoa dislikes this approach because Reis looks to the classical past for modern legitimacy, without seeking renovation from within, yet (once again, the paradox) this heteronymic performance writes an intertext that renovates and double-writes the nation.

On the other hand Pessoa, contrary to Reis, notes that music is a universal language following the second fall of Babel, but only if letters bring newness to

language. Arguing that words express the ideal world and that emotion in poetry resurfaces as music, Reis nevertheless complements Campos's argument on emotion as the latter notes that poetry is 'cantar sem música', for one sings when speaking. As Campos explains:

a emoção intensa não cabe na palavra: tem que baixar ao grito ou subir ao canto, e como dizer é falar, e se não pode gritar falando, tem que se cantar falando, e cantar falando é meter a música na fala; e como a música é estranha à fala, mete-se a música na fala dispondo as palavras de modo que contenham uma música que não esteja nelas, que seja mais artificial em relação a elas. É isto a poesia: cantar sem música. (Campos in Silva 2003: 217)

Despite their differing points of view on the form that language takes in poetry, for both Reis and Campos it is apparent that poetry is about dialogue and intertextualities. Thus if for Reis poetry searches for perfection, as 'ritmo, quando é perfeito' is the ideal language of poetry, for Campos the 'períodos absurdos, pronunciados separadamente' in poetry reveal two kinds of rhythm and thus languages. As the latter says, 'de cada verso por si mesmo, como pessoa independente' or as 'uma sugestão acentual, que incide sobre a última palavra do verso, onde se pausa artificialmente, ou (bem entendido) sobre a única palavra, se há uma só, que assim fica num isolamento que não é itálico' (Campos in Silva 2003: 216-17). Arguing that poets sing without music and that their dialogue is no longer in italics, Campos suggests the invisible translator is a person(a) no longer in isolation from the verse but part of it: in the form of linguistic inscription and in the creation of alternative versions. These other versions of invisible translatabilities of cultural transformation, therefore, need neither to be in italics nor, as Pessoa says, full of the invisible translator's notes stating that one is not citing from the original, filling up pages with redundant and inopportune 'second-hand citations'. If these italicized citations are conceivable in the language-as-translation of the text, and thus no longer in italics, then the words achieve their full potential and

renovation as ‘cada verso por si mesmo, como pessoa independente’, in another culture and context even if in the same language as that of the nation-state.

The ‘Príncipe do Grande Exílio’ Bernardo Soares also refers to the act of translation by saying that he prefers ‘palavrar’, a transmutation of ‘ritmos verbais’, to ‘falar’. As Soares tells us:

Gosto de dizer. Direi melhor: gosto de palavrar. As palavras são para mim corpos tocáveis, sereias visíveis, sensualidades incorporadas. Talvez porque a sensualidade real não tem para mim interesse de nenhuma espécie-nem sequer mental ou de sonho-, transmudou-se-me o desejo para aquilo que em mim cria ritmos verbais, ou os escuta de outros. Estremeço se dizem bem. Tal página de Fialho, tal página de Chateaubriand, fazem formigar toda a minha vida em todas as veias, fazem-me raivar tremulamente quieto de um prazer inatingível que estou tendo. Tal página, até, de Vieira, na sua fria perfeição de engenharia sintáctica, me faz tremer como um ramo ao vento, num delírio passivo de coisa movida. (Soares in Zenith 2011: 259)

For Soares, words are tangible, sensual bodies and the transmutation of desire is into verbal-verbal, not written-rhythms. Soares suggests that the *verbal word*, whether his own or that of others who ‘dizem bem’ – like Fialho, Chateaubriand and Vieira, in spite of the latter’s synthetic engineering – is a transmutation of a ‘sensualidade real’ into *verbal rhythms*. As Soares says:

Não fizeram, Senhor, as vossa naus viagem mais primeira que a que o meu pensamento, na derrota deste livro, conseguiu. Cabo não dobraram, nem praia viram mais afastada, tanto da audácia dos audazes, como da imaginação dos por ousar, igual aos cabos que dobrei com a minha meditação, e às praias a que, com o meu [?], fiz aportar o meu esforço.

Por vosso início, Senhor, se descobriu o Mundo Real; por meu o Mundo Intelectual se descobrirá.

Arcaram os vossos argonautas com monstros e medos. Também, na viagem do meu pensamento, tive monstros e medos com que arcar. No caminho para o abismo abstracto, que está no fundo das coisas, há horrores, que passar, que os homens do mundo não imaginam, e medos que ter a experiência humana não conhece; é mais humano talvez o caminho para o lugar indefinido do mar comum do que a senda abstracta para o vácuo do mundo.

Apartados do uso dos seus lares, êxuis do caminho das suas casas, viúvos para sempre da brandura de a vida ser a mesma, chegaram por fim os vossos

emisários, vós já morto, ao extremo oceânico da Terra. Viram, no material, um novo céu e uma terra nova.

Eu, longe dos caminhos de mim próprio, cego da visão da vida que amo, cheguei por fim, também, ao extremo vazio das coisas, à borda imponderável do limite dos entes, à porta sem lugar do abismo abstracto do Mundo.

Entrei, Senhor, essa Porta. Vaguei, Senhor, por esse mar. Fitei, Senhor, esse abismo que se não pode ver.

Penho esta obra de Descoberta suprema na invocação do vosso nome português, criador de argonautas. (Soares in Zenith 2011: 150)

Suggesting that the maritime discoveries explored the ‘real’ world whilst his intellect rather creates spaces for a cultural discovery of expression in Portuguese, another form of the Portuguese destiny of being ‘criador[es] de argonautas’, Soares invites the readers of his book to connect and meet, ‘à porta sem lugar do abismo abstracto do mundo’, for another ‘novo céu e um terra nova’. Soares’s contribution to the fifth-empire, therefore, is one of larynx, palate, tongue, teeth and lips: the five organs of verbal articulation in which Soares’s ‘Mundo Intelectual’ is transmutation for one’s pleasure and ‘delírio passivo de coisa movida’. Arguing that in this discovery in Portuguese Argonauts bring mind over matter, Soares excludes himself from that discovery, saying that he is ‘longe dos caminhos de mim próprio, cego da visão da vida que amo’. Soares cannot continue his discovery alone for he is exiled, like Reis. Yet whilst Reis is in exile because his language cannot deconstruct words or create spaces through letters, Soares’s exile is located within the writing his book, ‘esta obra de Descoberta’ as a ‘viagem do meu pensamento’ – and so not as verbal rhythms with which to interact and dialogue with other Argonauts. Thus Soares, whose ‘*patria* is the Portuguese language’, does not write in a language where the letters open up spaces for interaction and translation, but rather as a translational ‘palavrar’ of ‘ritmos verbais’ in fragments. As he says, ‘não escrevo em português. Escrevo eu mesmo’ (Soares in Zenith 2011: 396). In other words, his work speaks for itself. There is no representation but performance as his fragments produce senses and meaning, thus enabling a Ulyssian

voyaging of the mind. The Portuguese language is, for Soares, the means through which to translate the great intertext (in which) he writes what in Derrida's terms could be seen as the 'disappearance of natural presence' (Derrida 1976: 159). As a result, the rhythms in Soares's work are formed of words in an intellectual book of fragments, for fragments are the style of the author's voyaging in 'inconsciências intervalantes'. As Soares says in 'Viagem nunca feita',

Naufrágios? Não, nunca tive nenhum. Mas tenho a impressão de que todas as minhas viagens naufraguei, estando a minha salvação escondida em inconsciências intervalantes ... (Soares in Zenith 2011: 486)

Contrasting past voyaging with his intellectual quest in which words bring mind over matter as verbal rhythms, Soares argues that other 'inconsciências intervalares', like his own, will restore his work and create a space of words as verbal rhythms in the Fifth Empire to come as a translational space of crossings and very difficult passages. The Fifth Empire, therefore, which in *Mensagem* is a warless battle of bringing mind over matter in Portuguese, is, in Soares's fragments, a voyaging of 'palavrar' connecting other 'inconsciências intervalares' whose textual interactions disrupt national narratives and the decadence of languages.

All the heteronyms – except the exiled-within Bernardo Soares, who never meets Caeiro – see in Alberto Caeiro their master, the invisible translator par excellence who brings *newness* to the world. Caeiro's mastery is that he knows how to use his mind's eye to imagine, like the Eternal-Child Jesus in his 'Guardador de Rebanhos', because of being the least formally educated of all the heteronyms. When encountering Caeiro's poetry, the heteronyms, and Pessoa himself, experience *transmutations* after reading the masterpiece 'O Guardador de Rebanhos'. Caeiro's language moves away from canonical cultural forms, the poem being written like a text of worldly stories in which Pessoa (as Campos tells us) becomes immune to the '*estupidez dos inteligentes*' – the 'estupidez' of investing in reason, rather than the senses and thus the ability to feel language. Caeiro,

who declares that ‘os poetas místicos são filósofos doentes, / e os filósofos são homens doidos’ (Caeiro in Zenith and Martins 2009: 62) for not using their senses, migrates from Lisbon to the countryside, moving away from and not towards the centre. Migrating inversely yet capable of enabling the heteronyms to overcome, by ‘learning how to unlearn’, the three monsters of society in Pessoa’s time – ‘rotina, estupidez, incultura’ – the master narrates displacement and suggests the centre as marginal; for he is the inverse of the centre within the heteronymic nation of invisible translators. Caeiro is the grand invisible translator who *enunciates* another time and space as he reverses them, disrupting decadent geo-political centres while inscribing, in his poetry, the meeting of extremes in the time of the meanwhile. In this way, their interactions complement one another and restore a language of fragments – as ‘a natureza é partes sem um todo. Isto é talvez o tal mistério de que falamos’ (Caeiro in Zenith and Martins 2009: 84) – in which *subject-objects* bring ‘ao Universo ele-próprio’ for cultural transformation. After all, as Pessoa says, ‘ninguém pode ler tudo, sequer sobre um só assunto. É pois necessário, muitas vezes, citar em segunda-mão, quando não ainda mais translatamente’ (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 219) and thus these second-hand citations are, in Caeiro’s masterpiece, his verse as translational like the ‘arte dada em linguagem’ that invisible translators achieve in their rhythmic equivalences. By dialoguing with other invisible translators but without the self-alienation that one may suspect of the ‘invisibility’ in the process of translation Caeiro’s ‘source of transmutations’, ‘O Guardador de Rebanhos’, disrupts national narratives. An example of this intervention is when he asserts the world is his only ‘casa artística/ artistic home’ (Caeiro in Zenith and Martins 2009: 72), and not the construct of the *Casa portuguesa/ Portuguese Home* of Salazar’s national propaganda. As Caeiro says:

Da mais alta janela da minha casa
Com um lenço branco digo adeus
Aos meus versos que partem para a humanidade.

E não estou alegre nem triste.
 Esse é o destino dos meus versos.
 Escrevi-os e devo mostrá-los a todos
 Porque não posso fazer o contrário
 Como a flor não pode esconder a cor,
 Nem o rio esconder que corre,
 Nem a árvore esconder que dá fruto.

Ei-los que vão já longe como que na diligência
 E eu sem querer sinto pena
 Como uma dor no corpo.

And also:

Quem sabe quem os lerá?
 Quem sabe a que mãos irão?

Flor, colheu-me o meu destino para os olhos.
 Árvore, arrancaram-me os frutos para as bocas.
 Rio, o destino da minha água era não ficar em mim.
 Submeto-me e sinto-me quase alegre,
 Quase alegre como quem se cansa de estar triste.

Ide, ide de mim!
 Passa a árvore e fica dispersa pela Natureza.
 Murcha a flor e o seu pó dura sempre.
 Corre o rio e entra no mar e a sua água é sempre a que foi sua.

Passo e fico, como o Universo. (Caeiro in Zenith and Martins 2009: 86)

Caeiro argues that his verses are his best contribution to humanity – transmutable and invisible like water – Caeiro’s ‘fala em verso/ speech in verse’ trespasses the boundaries of official languages and national literatures and dialogues with a nationhood of dispersal in the world that will read and ‘hold’ his verses. He further suggests that ‘invisible translators’ dialogue with his work when he draws a parallel between the verses he gives to humanity and the changes found in the natural environment for his natural presence disappears in the textual process. As his verses scatter and go from his hands in order to alter in the hands of another invisible translator, so do water and other

natural elements disperse and change in nature – despite being always of the same substance, like the Uni(verse), that disperses yet inscribes through transmutation. In this way, Caeiro’s ‘fala em verso’ is a performance that trespasses the boundaries of official languages and national literatures, as Canadian poet Eirin Mouré, for instance, indicates in her dialogue with Caeiro’s work. Mouré’s ‘transelation’ *Sheep’s Vigil by a Fervent Person* is a transcreation of Caeiro’s ‘O Guardador de Rebanhos’ in English.¹⁰ Mouré, like the heteronyms and Pessoa, also sees in Caeiro her master after responding to him for being ‘a person’. As she says, whilst in Toronto ‘I just read the Pessoa line of poetry, then wrote my line, or read a few lines, then wrote mine. It was abrupt, direct, total’ (Mouré 2004: int. viii). Thus Caeiro’s masterpiece and the transmutations of other poet-translators results in ‘equivalência[s] ritmica[s]’ in their works and, in this way, bring the ‘Uni[verso] ele-próprio’ in an intertext where translation is *persona* (I expand on translation as *persona* in Chapter Four). Pessoa, in this way, achieves ‘o mais alto grau do sonho’: to create a transnational space where translational poetry is the means for ‘um quadro com personagens’. As he says:

Poderemos criar em 2ª mão-imaginar em nós um poeta a escrever, e elle escrevendo de uma maneira, outro poeta [...] escreverá doutra.
 O mais alto grau do sonho é q[uan]do criado um quadro com personagens, vivemos *todas ellas* ao mesmo tempo-somos *todas essas almas conjuncta e interactivamente*. (Pessoa in Lopes 1990: 378)

Time and *Patria*: Spaces of Language-as-Translation Disrupting the Decadence of the Nation

Piles of debris and the hour, and the shipwreck of a mariner are all articulations of time, space and *patria* in Pessoa’s ‘Hora Absurda’ and *O Marinheiro*. Through these articulations, Pessoa highlights the fragmentation of languages and suggests the need for

¹⁰ It is not within the scope of this project to investigate Eirin Mouré’s transcreation of Caeiro’s masterpiece in any detail, but for further information please refer to her book *Sheep’s Vigil by a Fervent Person*. 2004. Toronto: Anansi Press Ltd., and also to Professor Albert Braz’s “Correcting the Master: Erin Mouré, Alberto Caeiro, and the Politics of ‘Transelation’” in *Graphos: Revista da Pós-Graduação em Letras-UFPB*. 2009. Vol.11, 2.

‘invisible translators’ in English and Portuguese. As Pessoa asserts in ‘Babel – Or the Future of Speech’ (a bilingual passage written in both languages):

A real man cannot be, with pleasure and profit, anything more than bilingual. One language, even if carefully codified in its rules and precisions, is difficult enough to hold and spread out; two are the human limit for any man who is not born to suicide as a philologist of the useless.

We must make English the Latin of the wider world. To that end not only does a great population concur, but also a great literature and a great power [variant possibility] of a still greater literature.

Temos de pactuar com a realidade. Não podemos fazer da língua portuguesa o privilégio da humildade. Podemos, porém, converte-la em metade de tal privilégio. Os Deuses não nos concedem mais: não podemos aspirar a mais.

Concentremo-nos no português, como ele se houvesse de ser tudo; não esqueçamos porém que ele pode não ser mais que metade de tudo.

O Quinto Império todo pelo espírito – metade pelo verbo.

Usando do inglês como língua científica e geral, usaremos do português como língua literária e particular. Teremos, no império como na cultura, uma vida doméstica e uma vida pública. Para o que queremos aprender leremos em inglês; para o que queremos ensinar, falaremos em inglês; português para o que queremos dizer.

Just so different and so renovated by the other [...], will soon be [...] to the particular. (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 154-55)

Arguably suggesting that knowing two languages by heart is far better than acquiring many languages possibly in part – ‘a philologist of the useless’ – Pessoa insists on the Portuguese and English languages for the private and public spheres respectively; ‘vida doméstica’ is in Portuguese, a ‘língua literária e particular’, whilst ‘vida pública’ is in English, a ‘língua científica e geral’. These intertextual spaces in Portuguese and English are not only ‘half’ of the fifth-empire of culture but are also the poet’s work of alchemy for an empire ‘todo pelo espírito-metade pelo verbo’, a modern quest against the decadence of languages and the imperialistic maritime voyaging of times past.

Conceptions of time are central manifestations of disruption and difficult passages in the work of the heteronyms and Pessoa. As Pessoa reveals in ‘Hora Absurda’:

Chove ouro baço, mas não no lá-fora ... É em mim ... Sou a Hora,
 E a Hora é de assombros e toda ela escombros dela ...
 Na minha atenção há uma viúva pobre que nunca chora ...
 No meu céu interior nunca houve uma única estrela ...

Hoje o meu céu é pesado como a ideia de nunca chegar a um porto ...
 A chuva miúda é vazia ... A Hora sabe a ter sido ...
 Não haver qualquer coisa como leitos para as naus! ... Absorto
 Em se alhear de si, teu olhar é uma praga sem sentido ... (Pessoa 2007: 17)

Time is interior to the poet as a temporality where the hour ‘é de assombros e toda ela escombros dela ...’ after the debris of decadence. In this poet’s ‘absurd hour’ there are no stars in his ‘céu interior’ but the debris of static, stagnant time. Suggesting that the absurd hour is static – the end of all maritime and decadent voyages, where there are no ‘leitos para as naus’ and the (dead) muse of times gone by is now silent – the poet indicates that art and language are made of wonder and gives visibility to the ‘assombros’ and ‘escombros’ of the hour. The hour is the crossing of time and place for it is the in-between space. As the poet observes, the muse of maritime voyaging of times past is now a symbol of death surfacing on the shore, a ‘cadáver que o mar traz à praia’:

Meu coração é uma ânfora que cai e que se parte ...
 O teu silêncio recolhe-o e guarda-o, partido, a um canto ...
 Minha ideia de ti é um cadáver que o mar traz à praia ... , e entanto
 Tu és a tela irreal em que erro em cor a minha arte ...

Abre todas as portas e que o vento varra a ideia
 Que temos de que um fumo perfuma de ócio os salões ...
 Minha alma é uma caverna enchida pela maré cheia,
 E a minha ideia de te sonhar um caravana de histriões ... (Pessoa 2007: 17)

Arguing that only travelling ‘histriões’ may dream of a muse in modern times and that he is a ‘caverna enchida pela maré cheia’, Pessoa suggests that modern poetry *is* the muse of modernity, the ‘tela irreal em que erro em cor a minha arte’. In this way, he is able to open ‘todas as portas’ and move forward in time and space towards a restoration of the ruined palace from where he writes. The poet is eager for movement but the absurd hour leaves him stationary. As he says:

Ah, como a hora é velha! ... E todas as naus partiram! ...
 Na praia só um cabo morto e uns restos da vela falam
 Do Longe, das horas do sul, de onde os nossos sonhos tiram
 Aquela angústia de sonhar mais que até para si calam ...

O palácio está em ruínas ... Dói ver no parque o abandono
 Da fonte sem repuxo ... Ninguém ergue o olhar da estrada
 E sente saudades de si ante aquele lugar-outono ...
 Esta paisagem é um manuscrito com a frase mais bela cortada ... (Pessoa
 2007: 18)

As decadence prevails in the absurd hour – ‘no parque o abandono da fonte sem repuxo’ where ‘ninguém sente saudades de si’ in a fallen place, a ‘lugar-outono’ – the poet proposes another mapping of times gone by and says to the muse that, after all, ‘o teu silêncio que me embala é a ideia de naufragar’ in culture (Pessoa 2007: 18). Thus the poet’s ‘ideia de naufragar’ is in a non-location place where all Norths and Souths intertwine beyond that which past voyaging has already ‘descoberto’. As he says:

Sermos, e não sermos mais! ... Ó leões nascidos na jaula! ...
 Repique de sinos para além, no Outro Vale ... Perto? ...
 Arde o colégio e uma criança ficou fechada na aula ...
 Porque não há-de ser o Norte o Sul? ... O que está a descoberto? ... (Pessoa
 2007: 19)

And also:

É preciso destruir o propósito de todas as pontes,
 Vestir de alheamento as paisagens de todas as terras,
 Endireitar à força a curva dos horizontes,
 E gemer por ter de viver, como um ruído brusco de serras ...

Há tão pouca gente que ame as paisagens que não existem! ...
 Saber que continuará a haver o mesmo mundo amanhã – como nos
 Desalegra! ... (Pessoa 2007: 20)

Once more, Pessoa refers to the image of a child in order to express a temporality of stagnation and the decadence of *beings* – ‘sermos, e não sermos mais!’ – like mere animals in cages or children locked in the classrooms of burning schools (that is, the historicism of the Portuguese Discoveries) if one’s life itself is not one of discovery. For

this, Pessoa notes that discovery is a non-locational and timeless quest in daily life, not just a reminder of the historical maritime adventures when the North and the South were spatial locations still to be discovered. The poet suggests the creation of another time to come in the discoveries of everyday life. This life-quest is, one infers, Caeiro's trinity of the 'eternal child' as he tells us in his 'source of transmutations' work, 'O Guardador de Rebanhos'. In this way Pessoa argues that one has to unlearn the 'pontes' that have already been built and instead create a mapping of discovery with a new vision, 'endireitar à força a curva dos horizontes' embracing the labyrinth of 'paisagens que não existem' in territorial space. Pessoa challenges the reader to break the normative paths and 'bridges' in life, contrary to the decadence of a world that is already made, and rather move towards a world of discovery in everyday life.

This non-locational quest, where the poet is the 'eternal child' of a trinity of discoveries in daily existence, is also Professor Serzedas's suggestion in 'Vencedor do Tempo' (one of Pessoa's short stories). As Professor Serzedas states, spaces are rather spaces in movement in modernity:

Foi então que eu compreendi que as noções de tempo e de espaço não tinham sido ainda suficientemente analisadas. Reanalisei-as. Comecei por ver que o nosso conceito de espaço era mais abstracto do que o de tempo, sem dúvida porque a nossa análise do espaço objectivo é o mais fácil. Vou explicar. Na nossa noção de espaço cabem três ordens de coisas: o espaço, o lugar e o movimento. O espaço é em si difícil de definir, por ser primário à compreensão; podemos, porém, dizer que o espaço é a condição do lugar, ou dos lugares, pouco importa, porque 'lugar' inclui 'lugares'. Do mesmo modo o lugar é a condição do movimento, que outra coisa não é, rudimentar e apressadamente definido, do que a mudança de lugar. Chegado aqui transplantei para a análise da noção do tempo os resultados desta análise. Foi porque há analogia absoluta entre as naturezas (...) do tempo, e do espaço, podendo dizer-se que o tempo é o espaço interior. Leva-me isto à conclusão de originalidade perturbante. Vi que, do mesmo modo concebido, o tempo se resolveria em *tempo*, propriamente dito, condição do momento, ou dos momentos; esse *momento*, correspondente a lugar, lugar do tempo, e em duração que é a mudança de momento para momento, como o movimento propriamente dito é a de lugar para lugar. (Pessoa in Simões 1987, vol. II: 372)

Arguing that time is an ‘espaço interior’ and not an external space that is under the measure of time zones and world clocks, ‘*tempo*, propriamente dito’ corresponds to movement and change where ‘a percepção, a memória, a imaginação’ are an ‘acto criativo do mundo’. As he suggests, to discover is to create time and spaces:

Quando visionamos uma coisa, o próprio visionar é criá-la; a própria visão dela é ela existir. Como porém, o nosso pensamento não é absoluto, essa criação não é absoluta, isto é, não pertence ao sistema do mundo. A percepção, a memória, a imaginação-continua o próprio Serzedas – são actos em nós idênticos ao acto criativo do mundo; reproduzimos a criação, falhando em fazê-la uma criação absoluta, simplesmente porque não temos o pensamento absoluto. (Pessoa in Simões 1987, vol I: 370)

Arguing that perception, memory and imagination are the means to conceive of the world as an ‘espaço interior’ of time, Serzedas concludes that conceptions of the world are never absolute and thus always as subjective as the fragmentation of one’s own mental processes. For Serzedas, this subjectivity of conceptual time and space is, moreover, a mental ‘acto de lógica’ and not, as the heteronyms and Pessoa argue, a product of the senses. As he says:

Vi que para transformar as ideias de tempo e de espaço nas de momento e lugar e estas na de duração e movimento era preciso apenas uma coisa: *pensá-las*. Com efeito, pensando a ideia de espaço logo me ocorrerá a ideia de lugar, *como logicamente contida na ideia de espaço*; e logo que penso a de lugar me ocorrerá a de movimento, *logicamente contida na de lugar*. Compreendi então que a criação do mundo é *um acto de lógica*. Dado que o Pensamento supremo pensasse o tempo, logicamente pensaria logo o momento e logicamente, em seguida, a duração. (Pessoa in Simões 1987 vol I: 374)

Notions of time, space and the *patria* resurface in *O Marinheiro*, Pessoa’s ‘theatro estático’, is a play set in the room of an old castle where the voices of three ‘veladoras’ speak whilst a dead body lies silent. Pessoa manifests his articulation of language and *patria* in this play as, throughout the night, the characters discuss the dream

of the second ‘veladora’, who tells the other two listeners about a shipwreck and a mariner’s search for his *patria*. As Pessoa argues:

Chamo theatro estatico áquelle cujo enredo dramático não constitue acção-isto é, onde as figuras não só não agem, porque nem se deslocam nem dialogam sobre deslocarem-se, mas nem sequer teem sentidos capazes de produzir uma acção; onde não há conflito nem perfeito enredo. Dir-se-ha que isto não é theatro. Creio que o é porque creio que o theatro tende a theatro meramente lirico e que o enredo do theatro é não a acção nem a progressão e consequencia da acção-mas, mais abrangentemente, a revelação das almas atravez das palavras trocadas e a criação de situação. Pode haver revelação de almas sem acção, e pode haver criação de situações de inercia, momentos de alma sem janellas ou portas para a realidade. (Pessoa 2010: 67)

Thus time in this play is also decaying, stagnant, for there is no plot and the performance consists solely of the rhythms of the language used by its speakers. As the ‘primeira veladora’ suggests, they should be singing, as this is better than talking (Pessoa 2010: 34). Suggesting that his ‘theatro estatico’ creates an ‘enredo dramático’ but yet not a plot in terms of event, Pessoa argues that the veladoras’ ‘palavras trocadas’ are a dialogue revealing their spaces of interaction to be a dream-like arena standing in contrast to decadence and death. As the ‘primeira veladora’ says, the dead person may have died because death is ‘não se sonhar bastante’ (Pessoa 2010: 44), and thus she asks the other two women to ‘fallae mais baixo. Ella escuta-nos talvez, e já sabe para que servem os sonhos’ (Pessoa 2010: 44). However, the dialogue of the ‘veladoras’ in *O Marinheiro* emphasizes their search for beauty and eternity whilst also uncovering the human struggle with questions of free will and fate. As the ‘segunda veladora’ says, ‘de eterno e bello ha apenas o sonho ... Porque estamos nós fallando ainda?’ (Pessoa 2010: 44). In this way, this speaker suggests the decadence and lifelessness of their dialogue if this is not able not disrupt normative views of *patria* as a territorial rather than sensory space of renovation.

It is the mariner, the protagonist whose voice we never hear, who best represents the spaces of time and *patria* and the decadence of the nation if there is no reinvigoration

of language. He is, however, a sea-farer of the past, not one whose discoveries renovate the nation from within. As the ‘terceira veladora’ states, after hearing the others talking about the mariner:

Minha irmã, não nos deveis ter contado essa historia. Agora extranho-me viva com mais horror. Contaveis e eu tanto me distrahia que ouvia o sentido das vossas palavras e o seu som separadamente. E parecia-me que vós, e a vossa voz, e o sentido do que dizeis eram tres entre diferentes, como trez creaturas que fallam e andam. (Pessoa 2010: 47-48)

To dissect language – separating words from sound and sense from language – is to treat a modern, living language like an ancient one. These three women do not treat their language as a living thing nor do they do sense it like ‘invisible translators’ who revitalize time and space from within. They live in the search for a lost language and space that they cannot restore and therefore they try to re-enact these. As the ‘primeira veladora’ says, ‘tenho menos medo à minha voz do que à ideia da minha voz, dentro de mim, se fôr reparar que estou fallando ...’, to which the ‘terceira veladora’ responds, ‘que voz é essa com que fallaes? É de outra ... Vem de um especie de longe...’ (Pessoa 2010: 47). As a result, their desire for the voices of distant times and spaces, without the consideration of the complementary spaces of their own dialogue, creates an ‘abyss’ that precludes self-awareness. As the ‘primeira veladora’ says:

Entre mim e a minha voz abriu-se um abysmo ... Tudo isto, toda esta conversa e esta noite, e este mêdo – tudo isto devia ter acabado, devia ter acabado de repente, depois do horror que nos dissestes ... (Pessoa 2010: 47)

The three women in this ‘static’ play fail to reach their ‘rhythmical equivalences’ in language and space that Pessoa suggests in his construct of invisible translators, for they do not tread the path of self-awareness. Likewise, the (dreamed) mariner’s search for his *patria* reveals his quest for Pessoa’s ‘rhythmical equivalence’ of ‘invisible translators’ and the reasons why he is unable to ‘invisibly’ translate his *patria*. As the second veladora says:

sonhava de um marinheiro que se houvesse perdido numa ilha longinqua. Nessa ilha havia palmeiras hirtas, poucas, e aves vagas passavam por elas ... Não vi se alguma vez pousavam ... Desde que, naufragado, se salvára, o marinheiro vivia alli ... Como ele não tinha meio de voltar à pátria, e cada vez que se lembrava d'ella soffria, poz-se a sonhar uma patria que nunca tivesse tido; poz-se a fazer ter sido sua uma outra patria, uma outra espécie de paiz com outras espácies de paysagens, e outra gente, e outro feitio de passarem pelas ruas e de se debruçarem das janellas ... Cada hora elle construía em sonho esta falsa patria, e elle nunca deixava de sonhar, de dia à sombra curta das grandes palmeiras, que se recortava, orlada de bicos, no chão areento e quente; de noite, estendido na praia, de costas e não reparando nas estrelas. (Pessoa 2010: 37)

Dreaming of a shipwreck and a mariner without *patria* in a fallen world following Babel, the mariner is in search of a homeland lost in both time and space. As the speaker suggests, his search creates false *patrias* – sought in territories and countries – rather than the non-locational and non-territorial (that is, translational) *patria* that Pessoa argues for in ‘Carta a um herói estúpido’, and that Bernardo Soares also proposes in terms of a *patria* formed of language. Instead, the mariner perpetuates ‘false’ territorial *patrias* made of impossible dreams in a fallen world:

Durante annos e annos, dia a dia, o marinheiro erguia num sonho contínuo a sua terra natal ... Todos os dias punha uma pedra de sonho nesse edificio impossivel ... Breve elle ia tendo um paiz que já tantas vezes havia percorrido. Milhares de horas lembrava-se de de já ter passado ao longo das suas costas. Sabia de que côr soiam ser os crepusculos numa bahia do norte, e como era suave entrar, noite alta, e com a alma recostada no murmurio da agua que o navio abria, num grande porto do sul onde elle passára outr’ora, feliz talvez, das suas mocidades a supposta ... (Pessoa 2010: 38)

The mariner’s *patria* is not one of transversal culture in Portuguese – like Pessoa and his heteronyms’ in their fifth cultural empire of dispersal in the world – but one of past voyaging and long-gone empires. Failing to sense the rhythmical equivalences of a translational *patria*, he is never at home in his new ‘false’ one. As one of the women says:

Ao principio elle creou as paysagens; depois creou as cidades; creou depois as ruas e as travessas, uma a uma, cinzelando-as na matéria da sua alma –

uma a uma as ruas, bairro a bairro, até às muralhas dos caes d'onde elle creou depois os portos ... Uma a uma as ruas, e a gente que as percorria e que olhava sobre ellas das janellas ... Passou a conhecer certa gente, como quem a reconhece apenas ... Ia-lhes conhecendo as vidas passadas e as conversas, e tudo isto era como quem sonha apenas paysagens e as vae vendo ... Depois viajava, recordado, atravez do paiz que creara ... E assim foi construindo o seu passado ... Breve tinha uma outra vida anterior ... Tinha já nessa nova patria, um logar onde nascera, os logares onde passara a juventude, os portos onde embarcara ... Ia tendo tido os companheiros da infancia e depois os amigos e inimigos da sua idade viril ... Tudo era differente de como elle o tivera – nem o paiz, nem a gente, nem o seu passado proprio se pareciam com o que haviam sido ... (Pessoa 2010: 40)

The mariner desires an ‘anterior’, not interior life, lacking transmutation. He never ‘finds himself’, unlike the heteronyms and Pessoa after their opening of translational spaces of interaction. The mariner in Pessoa’s ‘static’ play recreates but does not transcreate culture, and thus he does not move on from past voyaging towards the Fifth Empire of culture in Portuguese language-as-translation like Pessoa advances in *Mensagem* (see Chapter One). He does not assume the task of Caetano’s ‘aprendizagem de desaprender’, for he remains rooted in the past by thinking monologically about his *patria* instead of sensing its transversal ‘invisible translatabilities’. As a result, as the ‘veladora’ further notes, the mariner:

Quiz então recordar a sua patria verdadeira ... mas viu que não se lembrava de nada, que ella não existia para elle ... Meninice de que se lembrasse, era a na sua patria de sonho; adolescencia que recordasse, era aquella que se creara ... E elle viu que não podia ser que outra vida tivesse existido ... Se elle nem de uma rua, nem de uma figura, nem de um gesto materno se lembrava ... E da vida que lhe parecia ter sonhado, tudo era real e tinha sido ... Nem sequer podia sonhar outro passado, conceber que tivesse tido outro, como todos, um momento, podem crer ... (Pessoa 2010: 41)

The mariner has no *patria* for he is always projecting this on to a distant time and space, for he cannot *translate* its rhythms and, as a result, he creates the ‘abyss’ that disallows self-awareness and a voyaging of discovery. As discussed in this chapter, contrary to the *exiled* Soares whose *patria* is Portuguese translational language – ‘não

escrevo em português. Escrevo eu mesmo' (Soares in Zenith and Martins 2011: 396) – the decadence of the mariner's language and its constructions of time and space expatriate him. Thus, when one of the women suggests that he 'talvez tivesse regressado à pátria', she immediately asks '... mas a qual?' (Pessoa 2010: 42), for all of his *patrias* are 'false' and illusory as he is the errant who dreams, but does not know how to live these dreams. Thus the 'static' play *O Marinheiro* is another of Pessoa's work advancing a non-locational reconceptualization of nationhood and *patria* in Portuguese, *in all its expressions and invisible translations*, as distinct as these may be from the official Portuguese language of any nation-state.

CHAPTER THREE

Brazilian Modernists, Portuguese Modernists, and their Spaces of Interaction

Brazilian and Portuguese Modernisms are generally studied from the perspective of national literatures of nation-states and, as a result, most examinations do not consider the non-locational spaces of interaction between Brazilian and Portuguese modernists and their deterritorialization of culture and the nation. Chapter One examines Portuguese modernist Fernando Pessoa's re-conceptualization of nationhood with his 'mute' Ulysses of modernity and the fifth-empire of culture addressing the Portuguese historical experience of dispersal in the world. It also argues that Pessoa's heteronyms as the paramount example of his non-positioning of the nation whose language is the Portuguese language-as-translation – or, as Pessoa says, the second-hand citations of a 'tradutor invisível' (Pessoa in Lopes 1993: 219) rather than of official languages of nation-states. I will now move on to the issue of the overlooked and, in the case of Brazilian Oswald de Andrade's unpublished presentation on Portuguese modernist António Ferro in Brazil, unexplored dialogue between Brazilian and Portuguese modernists. Arguing that there are contacts and ongoing interactions between the modernists of Portugal and Brazil, this chapter will examine the determined attempts of young poets to destabilize the pedagogy of the nations with letters, public presentations, passages of diaries, and creative writing in modernist publications. The publications discussed here include *Klaxon* and *Orpheu* – the quarterly magazine that Pessoa was both a director of and contributor to, Ferro the editor, and Brazilian Ronald de Carvalho and Mário de Sá-Carneiro contributors.

Particularly representative of the spaces of interaction that I explore here is de Andrade's unpublished oral presentation on Ferro, de Andrade arguing that 'Ferro Portugal não podia deixar de interessar Pau Brazil' as 'Ferro se importa com o Brasil'

for, after all, the modernist and his wife are ‘ambos a mocidade de Portugal – milagre consumado pela greppe de heroísmo de Sacadura e Gago Coutinho no velho tronco quinhentista’ (unpublished document at the Fundação António Quadros 1925: 1). This chapter argues, therefore, that the quest of modernity in the spaces of interaction between de Andrade and other modernists concerns temporality beyond the perpetuation of the past and, in particular, beyond the Romantic agenda of France and the Brazilian and Portuguese literates’ adoration of literatures in foreign languages (Carvalho in Saraiva 2004: 523).

The concept of the *good savage* is thus productive when investigating the national perception of the First Nations of Brazil – the good savage being a construct of Rousseau and other francophone poets – and I consider how this French perception differs from the encounters of peoples recorded in Portuguese as seen, for instance, in Caminha’s Letter to the Portuguese Crown, and, as a result, the national perception of Brazilians become external to the national literature and modern nation of Brazil (Oliveira 2001: 59). The good savage, rather than the conceptualization in English of the noble savage, dialogues with Haroldo de Campos who says that he transcreates like a bad savage – a protest to the cultural bias and xenophobia against the culture(s) of the First Nations as an archetype of the cultural and national heterogeneity of Brazil. First Nations are, therefore, the nations of Brazil before the arrival of expatriates from overseas as the most traditional concept of native becomes inadequate to explore the cultural interactions of the nations in Portuguese as it is a language that promotes, enables, and is made of cultural hybridism. Whilst criticizing the culture of Portugal and all of the alienating ‘bons sentimentos portugueses’, as Portuguese-descendent de Andrade puts it (Andrade in Antunes 1990: 49), the elites of Brazil exchange their language and literature in order to import the Romantic ideals of Europe, ideals that alienate the nation from its own language and culture from within.

This section further investigates the question of temporality by examining letters between Ronald de Carvalho and Pessoa, and their discussions of culture as a transmutation that articulates the temporary and the permanent in a space transversal to their poetics of exile. Noting that de Carvalho's writing is the work of a poet but not yet of a poet 'que se encontrasse' – that is, he is a poet still to be freed from the prisons of language and tradition – Pessoa suggests that de Carvalho is in search of a lost epoch in which time is a temporary abode of the permanent, in order to suggest that the temporary and the permanent are transferable passages within time where creativity liberates the poet from language and tradition. This part of the chapter thus suggests that in his letters to de Carvalho Pessoa conceptualizes providence as a child-like language that liberates the poet from exile, and one that speaks in tongues distant from the grammatologies of the official languages of nation-states.

Cosmopolitan Transits in Exile and the Quest of Modernity

The modernist publication *Orpheu* – a quarterly magazine which Fernando Pessoa was both a director of and contributor to, António Ferro the editor, and Ronald de Carvalho and Mário de Sá-Carneiro contributors – was launched in 1915, expressing the determined attempts of young poets to destabilize the pedagogy of both the Portuguese and Brazilian nations for, as it says, 'nossa intenção é formar, em grupo ou ideia, um numero escolhido de revelações em pensamento ou arte, que sobre este principio aristocratico tenham em ORPHEU o seu ideal esotérico e bem nosso de nos sentirmos e conhecermo-nos', in order to ultimately change conceptions of art (*Orpheu* 1).

Mário de Sá-Carneiro, a diasporic Portuguese national dispersed to Paris during WWI (where he committed suicide) contributed to *Orpheu* with his poetry, and also financially, as his father was the patron of the publication. Sá-Carneiro's poetry disrupts the location of culture and double-writes the nation by asserting the centrality of the

transits of exiles, expatriates, émigrés, amongst others, in modernity alongside intercultural contact in the development of the nation outside of the confines of nation-states. He was in dialogue with another of *Orpheu's* poets, Ronald de Carvalho, a Rio-born poet and Brazilian Ambassador to Lisbon who engaged with modernists in Paris and contributed to both *Orpheu* and Brazil's equally groundbreaking *Semana de Arte Moderna/ Week of Modern Art*, launched in São Paulo in 1922, heralded the beginning of the country's Modernism in the centenary year of Brazil's political independence from Portugal. The interactions between the latter and Pessoa, and the question of their respective exiles, are particularly revealing, with de Carvalho's poems being described by Pessoa as 'suaves e doentios', Pessoa adding that the poet himself is 'um dos mais interessantes e nossos dos poetas brasileiros de hoje' (Pessoa in Saraiva 2004: 185).

Portuguese Modernist António Ferro, editor of *Orpheu* and contributor to *Klaxon*, a Modernist publication in Brazil that de Andrade, de Carvalho and other modernist writers contributed to in the centenary year of independence, interacts with de Andrade and other Brazilian modernists. Ferro attended the same school as Sá-Carneiro, and it was the latter who suggested that Ferro should be editor of *Orpheu*. Being underage, Ferro would not be held responsible for the contributions of poets who wished to disrupt the historicism of the nation, or for the publication of modern art and poetry. In this section of the chapter, de Andrade's unpublished address on Ferro on one of the occasions when Ferro visited São Paulo is examined, as well as de Carvalho's published article on Ferro when the latter went to Rio. In addition, excerpts of the letters exchanged between Ferro and de Carvalho are analysed, and, with these, also *Nós*, Ferro's manifesto of modernity published in *Klaxon* in May 1922. There is apparent in these documents, therefore, an ongoing dialogue between the modernists of Brazil and Portugal, a dialogue that embraces the cultural contacts occurring in the development of both nations. For, as de Andrade states during his unpublished speech on Ferro (given at the Automóvel Club

of São Paulo in 1925), ‘Ferro Portugal não podia deixar de interessar Pau Brazil’, and that ‘Ferro se importa com o Brasil’ for he and his wife are ‘ambos a mocidade de Portugal – milagre consumado pela greppe de heroísmo de Sacadura e Gago Coutinho no velho tronco quinhentista’ (unpublished document at the Fundação António Quadros 1925: 1).

In *O Jornal*, published in Rio de Janeiro in 1920, de Carvalho notes the rupture for Brazil in relation to Portuguese literature and culture when he states that

a literatura portuguesa, apesar da comunidade da língua, desperta menos interesse no Brasil, sobretudo nas classes cultas, que a francesa, a italiana, a alemã ou a inglesa. Pondo de lado alguns escritores de maior renome, ignoramos tudo quanto se passa no mundo das letras em Portugal. Assimilamos e acompanhamos o movimento das idéias universais através [d]a obra dos escritores de língua estranha à nossa. Essa nossa ‘infatigável curiosidade’, a que se refere o ilustre historiógrafo lusitano, raramente se estende às coisas de Portugal. Vivemos mais separados pelo pensamento que alongados pelas águas atlânticas que nos banham os litorais. Só nos lembramos dos mestres de literatura portuguesa, à exceção de um ou outro, para resolvermos questiúnculas de gramática ou problemas de estilo. (Carvalho in Saraiva 2004: 523)

In this passage, de Carvalho condemns the foreign (French, Italian, German or English) layering over all language and culture in Portuguese. He argues that there is a *mimesis* of culture in Brazil, that is, the assumption of external cultures both badly translated and poorly applied, a *mimesis* thus disintegrative to the world literature that is the nation in Portuguese. Such poor translations of culture were having the two-fold effect of alienating both society and its institutions, by a process of disintegration resembling colonization – this time performed by those who de Carvalho terms the ‘classes cultas’ (Carvalho in Saraiva 2004: 523).

Furthermore, the literates’ adoration of literatures in foreign languages, combined with a refusal to embrace Portuguese cultures, also makes of them *good-savages* who mimic and perpetuate the Romantic agenda of France. As Vera Lúcia de Oliveira argues:

o índio romântico, mesmo o de [José de] Alencar, é o ‘bom-selvagem’ de Rousseau, cantado pelos poetas franceses a partir da segunda metade do século XVI (com Ronsard e os poetas da *Pléiade*). Como vimos, os escritores românticos, no afã de renegar qualquer contribuição que pudesse, mesmo longinquamente, recordar o papel de subalternidade em relação a Portugal, substituíram os modelos literários portugueses pelos franceses. Por paradoxal que isso possa ser, e não obstante o facto de terem o índio praticamente na porta de casa, os românticos importam o índio afrancesado, já sublimado de tudo aquilo que poderia escandalizar a sensibilidade católica e tradicional do segundo Império.

É inevitável que tal índio não corresponda ao descrito por Caminha, Vespúcio ou Thevet. E não corresponde porque aquela mítica visão (e era mítica já para os cronistas) do homem natural ‘sem fé, nem lei, nem rei’ fora reelaborada em termos filosóficos, a partir de Montaigne. (Oliveira 2001: 59)

Whilst criticizing the culture of Portugal and all of the alienating ‘bons sentimentos portugueses’, as Portuguese-descendent de Andrade puts it (De Andrade in Antunes 1990: 49), the elites of Brazil exchange their language and literature – already present in the chronicles of Pêro Vaz de Caminha, Pêro de Magalhães de Gândavo, Gabriel Soares de Souza and Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão, amongst others – for imported European Romantic ideals. These ideals alienate the nation, from within, from its own language and culture. It is in this context that de Andrade, with the anthropophagic devouring of European culture, protests against the following:

1.º) o aparelhamento colonial político-religioso representativo implantado pelo colonizador, e sob o qual se forma a sociedade brasileira; 2.º) a sociedade patriarcal com seus padrões de conduta; 3.º) a imitação não digerida da metrópole; e 4.º) o indianismo romântico. (Helena 1985: 154)

De Andrade’s literary anthropophagy, therefore, inverts national chronology in order to write back another literature of the nation, one in which the language negotiates and thus liberates rather than negates those who live it, with the anthropophagic consumption of the historicism of the nation. As de Oliveira notes:

Por meio da paródia, a história é revista e as perspectivas, invertidas. Nesse sentido, o grupo da Antropofagia, em seu irreverente radicalismo, recusa a inteira cronologia colonial e propõe um novo calendário nacional: a história do Brasil deveria iniciar não em 1500, ou seja, com a chegada de Pedro

Álvares Cabral, mas em 1556, ano em que D. Pêro Sardinha, primeiro bispo do Brasil-Colônia, foi literalmente devorado pelos índios Caetés, depois de um naufrágio ocorrido no Nordeste. A história brasileira deveria, assim, partir de uma data que marcou uma reação dissacratória, de legítima defesa, em relação ao poder constituído, religioso e político.

Oswald de Andrade fez tábula rasa do bom selvagem romântico, catequizado e bem educado, símbolo de um intelectual alienado. (Oliveira 2001: 78)

Rather than negating cultural contacts in the development of the nation, de Andrade re-conceptualizes the nation by questioning the articulation of – an issue once more embedded in language – *país* (country) and *pais* (ancestry). By reversing the chronology of the country and revealing the narratives that disrupt the negation of the Portuguese *latifundiários* and superior cultures of Europe, de Andrade enables a dialogue and negotiation that considers the differences of the nation whilst uncovering the hospitality of the First Nations and the many appropriations of those arriving nations and cultures that disintegrate society from within with the purpose of Westernizing Brazil.

Suggesting that a transcreation of foreign ideas and culture is the only way in which to integrate society rather than cause internal disintegration, de Carvalho also argues against the *good savagery* of Brazil's 'classes cultas' when he fiercely criticizes their 'propaganda literária' (Carvalho in Saraiva 2004: 521). As he observes:

Não é pretendendo conquistar mercados vantajosos, não é correndo atrás dos aplausos de encomenda que os escritores portugueses serão lidos no Brasil e os brasileiros em Portugal. Entre uns e outros, está o público, entidade bastante caprichosa para não levar em conta os seus próprios pendores, as suas verdadeiras preferências, o seu gosto e os impulsos naturais. Enquanto esse público se não interessar perfeitamente por uma idéia ou por um homem, será inútil qualquer propaganda literária. O trabalho das elites deve ser justamente de aproximar esse público, por meio de uma difusão de cultura sistemática e inteligente, das grandes obras e dos grandes escritores universais. Ora, escrever artigos apologéticos em jornais, estampar fotografias acompanhadas de legendas mirabolantes em revistas ilustradas, fazer conferências oferecidas aos 'irmãos do ultramar', não é difundir cultura de espécie alguma, não é estabelecer vínculos fortes e duradouros entre países que desejam conhecer-se sinceramente. Para tanto é mister que haja, de parte a parte, um grau de adiantamento mútuo, um desenvolvimento

paralelo, uma índole e um índice de civilização semelhantes. (Carvalho in Saraiva 2004: 522)

Stating that the elites perceive culture as force and are, therefore, naïve in their knowledge of it, de Carvalho argues for an *ahistorical* ‘pensamento puro’ of culture in Brazil and in Portugal – ‘países que desejam conhecer-se sinceramente’ but that *do not* achieve this other than through cultural references of the past (Carvalho in Saraiva 2004: 522-23). Arguing for spaces of interaction away from the disintegrative culture of the elites and literati of Brazil, de Carvalho emphasizes the cultural diversity present in both countries, adding that ‘assimilamos e acompanhamos o movimento das idéias universais através [d]a obra dos escritores de língua estranha à nossa’ for, after all, ‘a razão disso está em que os portugueses, como nós, se educam também nas literaturas estrangeiras, malgrado possuírem uma longa e ilustre tradição intelectual’ (Carvalho in Saraiva 2004: 523). De Carvalho, therefore, argues against the rejection of national languages and literatures in Portugal and in Brazil, and the disintegration of societies caused by such rejections.

Ronald de Carvalho’s ‘liberdade criadora’: the Non-Origin of Tradition and a Utopia of Christism

The persistent mentality of colonialism of *good savages* who reject the nation’s languages and cultures and embrace the mutual ignorance of each other in Portugal and Brazil is at the core of de Carvalho’s ‘liberdade criadora’, and also Ferro’s constructions of modernity. In Rio de Janeiro in 1922, during his presentation on Portuguese modernist Ferro, de Carvalho distinguishes ‘liberdade criadora’ from tradition. As he notes:

Não basta afirmar apenas que o artista é o homem livre por excelência; faz-se mister, por igual, fundamentar esse juízo.

O problema da *liberdade criadora* envolve, desde logo, uma questão básica: a da tradição. Devemos, antes de mais, apurar até onde vai, na obra de arte, a influência do passado, o que representa esse esforço da criação. Mostra-nos a

história do pensamento humano que a tradição, longe de ser um elemento fixo e invariável, é um instrumento auxiliar do espírito, um ponto de referência de que este se serve para verificar as novas experiências a que vai procedendo através das idades. A tradição, pois, não é uma regra de conduta, um dogma fechado, um imperativo categórico inevitável.

A condição do homem é a própria variedade. (Carvalho in Saraiva 2004: 534)

De Carvalho, therefore, proposes a temporality where the temporary and the permanent *are* the assurance of freedom, as artists are not free as artists to liberate themselves from the prisons that are language and tradition. De Carvalho's 'liberdade criadora', therefore, is a strategy refusing a perpetuation of a temporality of the past or naïve manifestations of novelty merely for the sake of modernities that are disintegrative to societies and, in this way, de Carvalho reflects upon the significance of the temporary and the permanent to the nation. It is precisely the pretentious movement of forcing the structures of culture and/or the tremendous effort of an entire culture to protect itself from the structures of its past that arrests the nation's freedom, turning it into a site where time is homogeneous and space for the negotiation of tradition with modernity is disallowed – thus, rather than the creativity that liberates, constructing (obliterating) homogenising worlds.

Ronald de Carvalho's re-conceptualization of modernity is a reflection on humanity and on what it means to be human. In this sense, Ronald de Carvalho believes that cultures of 'Brasil e Portugal, cada um seguindo os seus pendores característicos, não de encontrar-se, sem dúvida, no concerto da civilização universal, e não de estimar-se como duas forças vivas da humanidade' (Carvalho in Saraiva 2004: 523). After all, de Carvalho further argues, 'nem Portugal pode prescindir do Brasil, nem o Brasil, por mais jovem e vigoroso, pode substituir Portugal. Ambos se completam na comunidade da língua e na diversidade do gênio' (Carvalho in Saraiva 2004: 523). Whilst arguing for a *Christian universal civilization*, however, de Carvalho disregards and erases the material

and immaterial contributions of non-Christians to his conceptualization of humanity. As he states:

Dante é o primeiro clarão do Renascimento (ao contrário de Carlyle em *Heroes*; Philippe Monnier no Quattrocento, *De Santis*, na sua *História da Literatura Italiana*, Pierre Ganthiez, no seu excelente estudo sobre o poeta florentino):

1) porque no século XIII, como vimos, modificaram-se muito sensivelmente os institutos políticos, morais, científicos, e religiosos da Idade-Média. As *communas*, as cidade rhenanas e hanseaticas e outros factos vários foram os golpes sucessivos vibrados na oscilante estrutura do edifício medieval.

2) e porque as teorias de Dante constituem uma verdadeira reacção: na literatura, com o aperfeiçoamento da língua vulgar, que ele poliu e desenvolveu; na poesia, com a riqueza de expressões e imagens formosíssimas, numa tão pura vestimenta que serviu de espelho a todas a gerações ocidentais; na politica, com a ideia da separação da Igreja e do Estado; e com a criação de um império universal, que não foi, propriamente dito, uma réplica do império Casaro-Papista de Carlos Magno, mas sonhado por Napoleão, no século XIX; na moral, com a semente da liberdade individual, que ele proclamou necessária à perfeição humana; e finalmente, na filosofia, com a sua concepção de um Deus, governando um mundo pela doçura e pelo amor... *Dante é, portanto, um elo, o elo divine que prende esses dois momentos formidáveis da humanidade cristã.* (Carvalho 1923: 34-35; my italics)

Arguing that Dante is the ‘elo divine que prende’ two moments of the Christian world, de Carvalho does not consider the double-consciousness of the nation and reveals a Christian bias that fails to recognize the contributions of numerous non-Christian nationals to his conception of humanity. De Carvalho, in his interpretation of humanity as Christian, does not perceive that to negate the Jews, therefore, is also to reject Jesus and the Holy Book that the Jews gave to Christians. But De Carvalho sees the homogenization of humanity into a Western world of Christism as progressive. As he declares in his presentation on Ferro, given in Rio:

O verdadeiro artista ama a tradição mas abomina o tradicionalismo, admira aqueles que elevaram o gênio criador da humanidade, porém detesta os fariseus, os que, não tendo energias para realizar obra própria, lastram à feição de parasitas sobre a alheia. *Tradicionalismo*, em arte, quer dizer mimetismo frio, impassível, monstruoso. (Carvalho in Saraiva 2004: 536)

De Carvalho's 'fariseu' and the concept of *tradicionalismo* as non-modern for the Perushim (Pharisees) in the twentieth century is an interpretation lacking in both intellectual rigor and social context. Under Roman domination in Israel, the Jews disagreed about the continuation of the faith following the destruction of the Temple. This was a terrible time for the nation as, to the Jewish mind, a relationship with God was impossible without the Temple, just as the existence of their culture was impossible without their territory. So, as a result, various Jewish congregations came into being, such as the Tsedokim and the Perushim (Pharisees). The Tsedokim were responsible for the service at the Temple, as they saw Judaism in relation to the Temple and their culture in relation to the land of Israel. This group, over time, developed relationships of interest and power with the Roman invaders of Israel, becoming decadent and, as a result, the cause of their conservative views, which de Carvalho defines as 'mimetismo frio, impassível, monstruoso', disappeared. The Pharisees, on the other hand, were highly innovative and creative. They reinvented their culture and faith under persecution and over time, by transferring the relationship of the Jews with God to the synagogical prayer following the destruction of the Temple. Their double-writing of the nation reveals the double-consciousness of modernity and it is not the case, as de Carvalho argues, that the Pharisees 'não tendo energias para realizar obra própria, lastram à feição de parasitas sobre a alheia' (Carvalho in Saraiva 2004: 536): indeed all Jewish contributions to de Carvalho's humanity since the time of the Pharisees exist today also thanks to the 'liberdade criadora' of the Pharisees. Therefore, contrary to Pessoa's *Quinto Império* in *Mensagem* – a geographically unspecified space where god is a hyphenated metaphor, 'Deus-Espírito', embracing all gods and polytheisms, a 'Deus-Espírito no qual coubessem o Deus trinitário do Cristianismo e ainda Jeová e Alah, e mesmo o Deus Desconhecido ou aqueles Deuses únicos e recônditos cujo Mistério subjaz a todos os

Politeísmos’ (Pessoa in Quadros 1987: 158) – De Carvalho not only manifests a Christism and bias against the non-Christians of his humanity, he also displays a methodologically dubious reading of Judaism.

Rather than portraying national languages as barriers of negation for the sake of locational origins and linguistic unity, de Carvalho argues for Brazil and Portugal’s ‘comunidade da língua’ and ‘diversidade do gênio’ by suggesting a language with the logic of the supplement in translation rather than as a site of chronological time. But translation concerns difference and the double-writing of nation for, as Derrida says, it is a ‘garment – a sacred robe, a layer of meaning that is superimposed and which, nevertheless, needs to be renewed in order not to lose its vigour – [that] returns to the logic of supplement’ (Derrida 2002: 125). De Carvalho’s contribution to *Semana de Arte Moderna* (also known as *Semana da Arte Moderna Futurista*) in 1922 was not, however, literary, as it consisted of works in the visual arts that ‘tinham sido produzidos na temporada carioca – e pertenciam ao poeta e diplomata Ronald de Carvalho. Eram dez, dos quais três retratos, um deles do próprio colecionador’ (Gonçalves 2012: 42). Marcos Augusto Gonçalves’s work on *Semana de Arte Moderna* argues that de Carvalho is a ‘visual’ poet (like de Andrade, as Haroldo de Campos declares in his introduction of de Andrade’s *Serafim Ponte Grande*) who arrived with the ‘turma do Rio’, while Anita Maffalti, Brecheret and Di ‘formavam a comissão de frente do grupo de São Paulo’ (Gonçalves 2012: 42). De Carvalho’s paper at the event was on ‘A pintura e a escultura moderna no Brasil’, the poet arguing that none of the works ‘obedecia a nenhuma escola, procurando cada artista ser pessoal’ (Gonçalves 2012: 284). Other modernists attending the groundbreaking week in São Paulo with de Carvalho included the visual artists Vicente do Rego Monteiro and Zita Anita from Minas Gerais (Gonçalves 2012: 42).

These spaces of interaction, therefore, reveal the non-locational arena of his work and, writing in Paris in November 1931, the poet reflects thus on the ‘condição humana’ of the post-WWI era:

o homem do após-guerra distingue-se pelo horror aos ideais de unidade e construcção. O filho da trincheira é um ser em desagregação permanente. O espectáculo da hecatombe *desmoraliza* o sentimento da morte como factor individual, como aspiração à eternidade. O espectador da hecatombe perde o respeito ao homem como alma livre e, ao mesmo tempo, elo indivisível que nos prende ao Creador. Apossa-se dêle uma angústia irremediável: a angustia do efêmero. O ritmo da matéria domina-lhe a inteligência. O contacto com o primado da força transforma-o num puro instintivo. A idéia de continuidade, geradora de aperfeiçoamento moral, a noção da profundidade, que é o dom singular da criatura, em suma, os fermentos mais activos da comunhão humana desaparecem do campo da sua consciência. (Carvalho 1932: 527)

A máquina imprimiu ao espírito moderno uma dimensão de superfície: a velocidade. Êsse divisor comum determinou o aparecimento duma estética puramente espacial. O espaço absorve o tempo. A síntese dos planos que se conjugam e se fundem no perpétuo deslocamento, repele as decomposições analíticas. Antes da máquina, a arte era uma soma de análises. (Carvalho 1932: 529)

In arguing that war is a form of slavery as it robs humanity of its freedom and breaks the ‘elo indivisível que nos prende ao Creador’, de Carvalho suggests that there is a single creator (with a capital C, in his formulation) of humanity. However, he does not recognize difference and, in his discussion of continuity as ‘geradora de aperfeiçoamento moral, a noção da profundidade’, he speaks in universal terms without considering other perceptions of time and space wherein velocity is an obstacle to other modes of being in the world. He does consider, however, the displacements encountered in the transits of modernity and suggests that liberation is the spatial absorption of time. Indicating that war and the dominance of the machine in the name of progress are obstacles to a ‘comunhão humana’ that he calls of unity and construction, de Carvalho concludes that velocity liberates, as the aesthetics of spaces narrate the displacements which become

one, ‘se fundem’, in ‘perpétuo deslocamento’. As he declares: ‘a libertação pela velocidade. Fuga do vácuo’ (Carvalho 1932: 529).

Asserting that velocity is a dimension of modernity, ‘uma dimensão de superfície’ constructed of permanent displacements, the poet does not address the structures that allow the absorption of time by space, an absorption of what he calls ‘vácuo’ – the empty spaces in the imaginary of the nation. According to the poet, velocity is the progress that liberates humanity from the structures that do not allow for unity. This romantic idea of unity and continuity as morality, with a strong Christian bias, also surfaces in de Carvalho’s introduction to Luc Durtain’s work *Imagens do Brasil e do Pampa*, written in Paris in 1933. In this piece de Carvalho advances that ‘a unica regra de Durtain é a disciplina do humano’ and that ‘esse aventureiro pôde evadir-se de todos os quadrantes, sem perigo de extraviar-se. Elle conhece a lingua dos apóstolos e, nas suas alongadas missões, nunca trocou missangas por pepitas de ouro’ (Carvalho in Durtain 1935: xii). Neglecting to mention the internal exiles of the nation created by the project of implementing a single national faith – one law and one king, without (the right to) difference – de Carvalho suggests that the work of Durtain ‘é uma mensagem de transcendente sympathia. Ella nos ensina o mais simples e mais puro de todos os gestos: o de darmos as mãos uns aos outros’ (Carvalho in Durtain 1935: 2). De Carvalho considers the heterogeneity of the nation but not the double-consciousness of modernity, as he does not conceive that many nationals may not desire to unite on his terms, that is, through his strong Christian bias.

De Carvalho’s re-conceptualizations of nationhood and *patria* lead him to write the poem ‘Brasileiro, onde está a tua Pátria?’ In this poem, de Carvalho juxtaposes versions of nationhood and the transits of peoples and cultures of the modern nation. As he suggests, the ‘Pátria’ is not locationable and is made of ‘partilha, com todos os homens sobre a terra’:

‘Brasileiro, onde está a tua Pátria?’

Tua Pátria não está somente no torrão em que nasceste!

Tua Pátria não se levanta num simples relevo geográfico.

O solo em que pisas

as águas em que te refletes,

o céu que te alumia,

as árvores que te dão vozes, fruto e sombras,

as fontes que te dessedentam,

o ar que respiras,

recebeste, em partilha, com todos os homens sobre a terra.

Tua pátria não é um acidente geográfico!

Brasileiro,

se te perguntarem: Onde está a tua Pátria?

responde:

– Minha Pátria está na geografia ideal que os meus

Grandes Mortos me gravaram no coração;

no sangue com que temperaram a minha energia;

na essência misteriosa que transfundiram no meu caráter;

na herança de sacrifícios que me transmitiram;

na herança cunhada a fogo;

no ferro, no bronze, no aço das Bandeiras, dos Guararapes, das Minas da Inconfidência, da Confederação do Equador, do Ipiranga e do Paraguai.

Minha Pátria está na consciência que tenho de sua grandeza moral e nessa lição de ternura humana que a sua imensidade me oferece, como um símbolo perene da tolerância desmedida e infinita generosidade.

Minha Pátria está em ti, Minha Mãe! No orgulho comovido com que arrancaste das entranhas do meu ser a mais bela das palavras, o nome supremo: — BRASIL! (Carvalho in Santos 1949)

The poem emphasizes the matrilineal ancestry of the nation and reveals a non-locational ‘geografia ideal’ in which, as the poet says, ‘os meus Grandes Mortos me gravaram no coração’. Arguing that cultural interactions in the development of the nation disrupt conceptualizations of nationhood as homogeneous time and empty space, de Carvalho explicitly contests the historical thesis of the Portuguese who argue that their discovery of Brazil was not in their mapping of Atlantic voyaging, that is, that the official discourse that the Discovery of Brazil was an ‘error’ in their Atlantic route. As the poet exclaims, ‘tua pátria não é um acidente geográfico!’. Quite the contrary, he argues: it is the input and voice of numberless nationals who experience, in the Atlantic throughout the centuries, modernity and the double-consciousness of the nation. By disrupting the pedagogy of the nation de Carvalho enables the emancipation of Brazilians from the persistent mentality of colonialism, a mentality that disintegrates the nation from within, instead writing back a narrative of the invisible by giving visibility to the cultural and political independence of Brazil. Only in this way may ‘Brasil’ be, says the poet, the ‘nome supremo’ named from within, ‘das entranhas do meu ser’, rather than an objectified word of external projection and reference. De Carvalho’s *patria*, moreover, also disrupts the patriarchal structure of the nation by arguing that the sense of nationhood is matriarchal for, as the poet says, ‘Minha Pátria está em ti, Minha Mãe!’, and his nationhood relates to his memory of his ancestors, ‘Minha Pátria está na geografia ideal que os meus / Grandes Mortos me gravaram no coração’. Arguing that his *patria* is not an external materialization but rather creativity from within, ‘em partilha, com todos os homens sobre a terra’, de Carvalho writes Brazil with capital letters: ‘BRASIL’. He does so in order to manifest the originality of the nation and its self-styled liberation, where its ‘entranhas’ are the innermost being of modernity rather than external layers of meaning.

In one of his letters to de Carvalho, Pessoa emphasizes a movement away from the historicism of the nation and towards a transmutation that articulates the temporary and the permanent in a space transversal to his and de Carvalho's poetics of exile. As Pessoa observes in his letter to de Carvalho, in 1915:

Não sei que lhe diga de seu livro, que seja bem um ajuste entre a minha sensibilidade e a minha inteligência. Ele é deveras a obra de um Poeta, mas não ainda de um poeta que se encontrasse, se é que um poeta não é, fundamentalmente, alguém que nunca se encontra. Há imperfeições e inacabamentos nos seus versos. Vêm-se ainda entre as flores as marcas das suas passadas. Não se deveriam ver. Do Poeta deve ser o ter passado sem outro vestígio que permanecerem as rosas. Para quê os ramos quebrados, ainda, e partida a hasta das violetas? (Pessoa in Saraiva 2004: 504)

And also:

O seu Livro é dos mais belos que recentemente tenho lido. Digo-lhe isto, para que, pois que me não conhece, me não julgue posto a severidade sem atenção às belezas do seu Livro. Há em si o com que os grandes poetas se fazem. De vez em quando a mão do escultor de poemas faz falhar as curvas irreais de sua Matéria. E então é o seu poema sobre o Cais, a sua impressão do Outono, e este e aquele verso, tal poema ou tal outro, caído dos Deuses como o que é azul do céu nos intervalos da tormenta ... Exija de si o que sabe que não poderia fazer. Não é outro o caminho da Beleza. (Pessoa in Saraiva 2004: 505)

Noting that de Carvalho's writing is the work of a poet but not yet of a poet 'que se encontrasse' – that is, a poet who is still not free of the prisons of language and tradition – Pessoa suggests that de Carvalho is in search of a lost epoch in which time is a temporary abode (lasting like roses) of the permanent; that is, time becomes the passage where the temporary and the permanent meet. Thus the temporary and the permanent are transferable passages within time where creativity liberates the subject from language and tradition, but not as a temporality of the eternal. In fact, it is the historicism of the nation and its efforts to attain eternity that result in decadence and arrest the nation's temporality, something that surfaces in de Carvalho's 'liberdade criadora' (Carvalho in Saraiva 2004: 534). The temporality of the nation for de Carvalho, therefore, is in the

articulation of the temporary and the permanent temporalities of the nation, as de Carvalho suggests in his concept of ‘liberdade criadora’, and its liberation from language as an obstacle of negation and tradition if not reinvigorated from within. Observing that they share ‘a hora’ and the ‘comum horror à Realidade’ of their exiles, Pessoa writes further to de Carvalho:

A má sensibilidade dói-me. Por certo que outrora nos encontramos e entre sombras de alamedas dissemos um ao outro o nosso comum horror à Realidade. Lembra-se? Nós éramos crianças.

Tinham-nos tirado os brinquedos, porque nós teimávamos que os soldados de chumbo e os barcos de latão tinham uma realidade mais precisa e esplêndida que os soldados-gente e os pobres barcos que são úteis no mundo. Nós andamos animados longas horas pela quinta. Como nos tinham tirado as coisas onde púnhamos os nossos sonhos, pusemo-nos a falar delas para as ficarmos tendo outra vez. E assim tornaram a nós, em sua plena e esplêndida realidade-que paga de seda para os nosso sacrifícios!-os soldados de chumbo e os barcos de latão, e através das nossas almas continuaram sendo, para que nós brincássemos com a idéia deles. *A hora (não se recorda?) não era demasiado certa e humana.* As flores tinham a sua aí e o seu perfume de soslaio para a nossa atenção. O espaço todo estava levemente inclinado, como se Deus, por astúcia de brincadeira, o tivesse levantado do lado das almas; e nós sofríamos a instabilidade do jogo divino como crianças que riem das partidas que lhes fazem, porque sejam mostras de adulta afeição.

He continues:

Foram belas essas horas tristes que vivemos juntos. Nunca tornaremos a ver essas horas, nem esse jardim, nem os nossos soldados e os nossos barcos. Ficou tudo embrulhado no papel de seda da nossa recordação de tudo aquilo. Os soldados – os pobres deles – furam quase o papel com as espingardas eternamente ao ombro. As proas das barcas estão sempre para romper o invólucro. *E sem dúvida que todo o sentido do nosso Exílio é este – o terem-nos embrulhado os brinquedos antes da vida, terem-nos posto na prateleira que está exactamente fora do nosso gesto e do nosso jeito. Haverá justiça para as crianças que nós somos? Ser-nos-ão restituídos, por mais que cheguem aonde não chegamos, os nossos companheiros de sonho, os soldados e os barcos? ... sim, e mesmo porque nós não éramos isto que somos? ... Éramos de uma artificialidade mais divina ... Parecíamos estar destinados a coisas menos tristes do que a alma.* (Pessoa in Saraiva 2004: 506; my italics)

Stating that their exile is not the artificiality of ‘*má-sensibilidade*’, Pessoa argues that the nation’s imagination and creativity are the faculties required for the providence of the eternal children that he and de Carvalho are. (‘The eternal children’ is a phrase that Pessoa uses not intending to suggest the children of eternity but, rather, a child-like vision that liberates the poet from language and tradition.) The poet notes that *to speak of* the objects of their dreams alludes to the language of providence in which *speech* (and, for Pessoa, language in all its forms speaks) is the greatest provider and animator articulating the temporary and the permanent. Providence, in this context, is a child-like language that liberates the poet from exile and which speaks in tongues distant from the grammatologies of the official languages of nation-states. The poet’s child-like language of times past is ‘the hour’ in search of restoration (Pessoa in Saraiva 2004: 506). This feeling of losing one’s language is an experience of *aporia* in which one has to confront the (im)possible as a nonpassage. As Derrida says, in *aporia* there is ‘no more movement or trajectory, no more *trans-* (transport, transposition, transgression, translation and even transcendence)’ (Derrida 1993: 21). In this sense, the transnational dialogue in this letter is a project, and an attempt, to restore the ‘hour’ for it enables *trans-supplementary* readings across times and spaces.

Oswald de Andrade’s Cannibalistic Manifesto and the Double-Consciousness of the Nation

Within the aerial spaces of interaction of Portuguese and Brazilian modernists (a subject explored in detail in the following section, ‘Exiles, Providence and the Double-Writing of the Nation by Brazilian and Portuguese modernists’) we encounter de Andrade, author of the *Manifesto Antropofágico* with its agenda of breaking with the nation’s ‘*dependência cultural*’ upon Europe since the 1870s (Dacanal, Fisher, Weber 1990: 63).

As de Andrade states:

o relógio brasileiro andava atrasado 30 anos. O que nós procuramos é acertá-lo ... A arte e a literatura brasileira têm estado, de há muito, asfixiadas por um classicismo sem razão de ser no Brasil. Começamos agora a libertar-nos. E para isso, para o desenvolvimento das tendências modernistas, bastante contribuiu a ida de António Ferro ao Brasil. Foi um agitador ... (Oswald de Andrade in Saraiva 2004: 566)

Declaring that the literate in Brazil homogenize the temporality of the nation with the art and literature of the past, de Andrade argues that there is a national *mimesis* of culture and suggests that Portuguese modernist Ferro contributes to the liberation of the temporality of the nation from a homogeneous time *of the past*. The temporality of the nation and the inadequate culture of local elites in the modern nation are, therefore, central concerns for this modernist, who desires to liberate the nation from an external temporality that disintegrates society internally. As Dacanal, Fisher, and Weber observe:

[...] interessa-nos, isso sim, reter a questão do transplante cultural sob a ótica de dependência: nessa ótica, a cultura das elites locais, a partir do momento em que passa a ser conformada pelos horizontes ideológicos fornecidos pela Europe capitalista e burguesa, estabelece um relação ambígua com a própria realidade que deveria abarcar. Isso porque as classes dominantes brasileiras, ao proclamarem a Independência, e ao inserirem o país na órbita de influência do capitalismo europeu, não transformaram, em essência, a estrutura econômico-social herdada do período colonial. O Império brasileiro consagrou, na verdade, o sistema escravagista, fundado na polarização entre o senhor-de-escravos e o escravo. De que, repetindo, resultou no campo da cultura uma situação peculiar: importavam-se os padrões culturais europeus, surgidos no chão das revoluções burguesas na Europa; tais padrões deviam, no entanto, conviver com as especificidades próprias do sistema escravagista. Mais ainda, deviam revestir-se de certa funcionalidade que servisse a uma sociedade de tal natureza. Do descompasso estrutural entre a Europa e o Brasil gerava-se, conseqüentemente, o impasse e a ambigüidade cultural. (Dacanal, Fisher, Weber 1990: 65)

Aware of the persistent colonial mentality and the need to unshackle Brazil from the structures that give continuity to a society consisting of masters and slaves, de Andrade rebels against his own cultural background – the Portuguese Andrade family were *latifundiários* and perpetrators of the capitalistic structures that he wishes to disrupt

– in order to embrace the anthropophagic culture of the First Nations of Brazil. In this way, de Andrade inscribes difference in the nation, giving visibility to its indigenous cultures whilst revealing the savagery of the dominant classes whose riches are accumulated upon the misery and exploitation of the most vulnerable in society. By acknowledging the first nation's hospitality to guest nations in *Pandora* – the name *within* for the nation before it became the exporter of pau-Brazil (wood) and, thenceforth, named Brazil from the outside owing to its natural resources and material goods – de Andrade also rewrites the cultural contacts that continue to occur in the development of the nation by interacting with other modernists who also desire to create modernity.

When de Andrade, in his poem 'brasil', decides to write the name in small letters he does so in order to contest the many dichotomies of the nation. This is seen, for example, with the dichotomy of north/south, when the *guarani* says that he is 'filho da Morte' instead of Gonçalo Dias's 'filho do Norte' in *I-Juca Pirama*, the north being the empty spaces of the national imaginary.

'brasil'

O Zé Pereira chegou de caravela
 E perguntou pro guarani da mata virgem
 — Sois cristão?
 — Não. Sou bravo, sou forte, sou filho da Morte
 Teterê tetê Quizá Quecê!
 Lá longe a onça resmungava Uu! ua! uu!
 O negro zonzo saído da fornalha
 Tomou a palavra e respondeu
 — Sim pela graça de Deus
 Canhem Babá Canhem Babá Cum Cum!
 E fizeram o Carnaval. (Andrade in Baptista and Silvestre 2005: 142)

De Andrade takes the flashes and *montage* of modern technology (photography and cinema) to depict the ambiguity of the nation, as displayed when Zé Pereira, a Portuguese man with a new Christian name arriving in a *caravela*, asks the Guarani and the black man he encounters if Christianity is also their new religion. Each responds

bilingually to the question, Portuguese being a language that double-writes the nation and enables a nationhood, made of Carnivalized time and space, where the heterogeneity of the nation inscribes the cultural interactions in its development. Such a nationhood made of Carnivalized time and space uncovers the displacement of nationals who ‘fizeram o Carnaval’ in languages, Portuguese and their native ‘teterê tetê Quizá Quizá Quecê!’ and ‘canhem Babá Canhem Babá Cum Cum!’ (Andrade in Baptista and Silvestre 2005: 142). The use of languages in de Andrade’s poem (the poet having studied native languages) furthermore allows heterogeneity to disrupt homogeneity, and creates a space where difference is not a negation but rather a negotiation – where doubles speak in their own terms and translation becomes a visual language. Translation in this work is visual and a negotiation that refuses to (mis)translate the untranslatable, as languages are never entirely equivalent in sense and meaning. Carnival in the poem is, therefore, a translational space that enables bilingualism and heterogeneous temporalities, that is, the actual rhythms of the nation(s).

Furthermore, in saying that Zé Pereira ‘preguntou pro guarani’ if he is a new Christian, de Andrade disrupts conceptions of superior and inferior cultures by creating a language that opens spaces for culture. He does so whilst making explicit the foundational contributions of culture in the development of Brazil, starting with the reversal of Caminha’s contribution to the ‘descoberta’ of the nation with his letter to the king of Portugal. As the poet writes, in a language that inverts notions of time and space, in ‘História do Brasil’:

Pero Vaz de Caminha

a descoberta

Seguimos nosso caminho por este mar de longo
 Até a oitava da Páscoa
 Topamos aves
 E houvemos vista de terra.

os selvagens

Mostraram-lhe uma galinha
 Quase haviam medo dela
 E não queriam pôr a mão
 E depois a tomaram como espantados

primeiro chá

Depois de dançarem
 Diogo Dias
 Fez o salto real

as meninas da gare

Eram três ou quatro moças e bem gentis
 Com cabelos mui pretos pelas espáduas
 E suas vergonhas tão altas e tão saradinhas
 Que nós as muito bem olharmos
 Não tínhamos nenhuma vergonha. (Andrade in Baptista and Silvestre 2005:
 111-12)

Suggesting that the Portuguese transatlantic Pass(ing) Over is a ‘caminho por este mar longo’ until the ‘oitava da Páscoa’, de Andrade alludes to the Passover of Jewish diasporas throughout the seven-day holiday of the Feast of Unleavened Bread and juxtaposes the Portuguese Discoveries with the narrative of Noah’s ark, stating ‘topamos aves’ and ‘houvemos vista de terra’. These lines allude, moreover, to the Edenic descriptions of the First Nations in the ‘new’ world as *another* genesis in Caminha’s letter. This letter, written to the Portuguese Monarch reporting the discovery of Brazil, does not however uncover the double-consciousness of the discovery. As Silviano Santiago asserts:

the sailors, the women – homeless, without possession and without an economy – and the native – together make a triangle of the dispossessed. The natives, living outside European feudalism and mercantilism, are only granted a name, an individuality in the future, through Christian baptism. In partial contrast the land, though brought into existence for the western world

by the acts of possession and naming, remains, for many a year, no less forsaken. (Santiago 2000: 330)

Being only granted a name and an individuality in the future under the banner of Christianity and global Westernization, de Andrade reveals the dispossession and renaming of countless persecuted non-Catholic nationals who escaped to the New World in order to save themselves from persecution and death at the hands of the Inquisition, after being dispossessed of all of their belongings and propriety. In alluding to the historical dispersal of the Portuguese by comparing it to a second great flood and Renaissance-era exodus – the ‘oitava’ only applies to the diasporic Jews who, living outside Israel, may need an extra day to travel long distances for the Festival of Unleavened-Bread – de Andrade inscribes, in language, *other* stories that the History of Brazil does not mention when referring to two of the symbolic foods of the Seder plate, the egg and the meat elements, eaten in exile. Portraying the ‘savages’ as scared of a chicken, the poet parodies the encounters of nations in order to blur the dichotomies of savage and civilized. ‘[S]elvagem’ is not the one who lives in wild, unchartered territory (*selva* in Portuguese) but also a displaced nation in which the most vulnerable, the women, are prostitutes at the train station – the train an icon of modernity, velocity and progress.

Progress, argues de Andrade in ‘History of Brazil’, exploits the most vulnerable nationals while the double-consciousness of modernity reveals the ambiguity of the nation. In ‘as meninas da gare’ and ‘brasil’, de Andrade disrupts the imaginary of the nation by giving visibility to the marginal (in the first poem with the prostitution of indigenous women at the train station – one of modernity’s many achievements of progress). Here, the poet not only raises the question of hospitality of the nations who immigrated to Brazil (the Portuguese, amongst others), he also contrasts modern life and its industrial settings with the culture and environment encountered upon the discovery of

Brazil by Pêro Vaz de Caminha. In doing so, de Andrade exposes the internal exiles created by modernity, and the social disintegration that forces a temporality of the future onto the present rather than there being a working towards modernity by departing from traditional conceptions of time and space. The poem ‘as meninas da gare’, moreover, successfully reports the movements/ transits within the nation and the cultural cross-roads of progress in the context of modernity. Whilst the train and train station are symbols of progress, the presence of the girls’ ‘vergonhas tão altas e tão saradinhas’ and the ‘nenhuma vergonha’ (Andrade in Baptista and Silvestre 2005: 112) of passers-by whose consciousness – instead of being memory in time – is knowledge outside time, are the opposite of progress as they disintegrate the time and space of the nation from *within*. So, whilst consciousness as knowledge outside time results in the objectification of the cultures at the cross-roads of modernity by those who see a hierarchical structure in the cultural interactions experienced in the development of the nation, de Andrade instead illustrates that the girls’ ‘vergonhas tão altas’ and the viewer’s ‘nenhuma vergonha’ as a relation of objects and subjects. Such a revelation, therefore, promotes awareness and writes a critique of their condition.

In other words, de Andrade argues that both the modernity of Caminha’s time and that of the poet’s modern society ultimately fails to recognize the contributions of traditional societies and, in this way, each continues to perpetuate the structures that disintegrate the nation internally. The Letter of Caminha and de Andrade’s ‘as meninas da gare’, whilst showing that both the Portuguese colonialists and modern society desire *otherness*, also suggest that the modern structures of desire alienate objects and subjects rather than allowing the redemptive nature of providence – a theme absent from the modernist agenda, and something that enables the integration of the nation from within.

The double-consciousness of modernity resurfaces in de Andrade’s fifteen poems describing the exploitative conditions of the black slaves at the time of colonization.

Lúcia de Oliveira argues that in these poems de Andrade ‘revela a falsa moral daquele sistema económico e social, baseado no latifúndio escravista e patriarcal, aparentemente respeitoso aos princípios humanísticos do catolicismo, mas que, de fato, mantinha sua força por meio da repressão e da submissão de faixas inteiras da população’ (Oliveira 2001: 133). Whilst de Oliveira’s arguments are indisputable, there are, however, more than these matters raised in the poems, as de Andrade is also inscribing the double-writing of the nation and the ambiguity of those nationals to whom Catholicism is an external, if not actually threatening, religion. As de Andrade details in one of these poems:

‘Medo da Senhora’

A escrava pegou a filhinha nascida
 Nas costas
 E se atirou no Paraíba
 Para que a criança não fosse judiada. (Andrade 1974: 94)

This is a profoundly sad poem (as are all his other poems portraying the exploitation of black slaves) that discloses the misery of a black woman who decides to kill herself and her daughter rather than continue living in the same conditions. However, there is more than one level to this poem, as the slave is afraid of her master’s wife (we are not told if she is afraid of her master too or not, but may assume that she is) and of having her female child ‘judiada’. This dual term, deeply offensive when applied by outsiders to mean the practice of all things evil, also means the observance of Jewish law. We do not know if this mistress is a horrible Catholic who wants to do terrible things to the baby girl, or if the master’s wife is Jewish and the slave does not want her daughter to become a black Jewish slave in a Catholic nation where the Portuguese Inquisition persecutes non-Catholic nationals, namely the Jews. Either way, the slave’s dilemma is at the core of modernity as identities double-write the nation by revealing the non-official national narratives of countless nationals and suggesting, of course, that her masters are

actually Jewish. This means that all subjects in the poem are suffering from persecution and that, of all nations in Brazil and in Portugal prior to independence and the abolition of slavery, black slaves were the most vulnerable and exploited of all.

Whilst celebrating a century of independence from Portugal, Brazilian modernists re-conceptualized the nation for, as Marcos Gonçalves says, ‘se a independência política do país estava por completar um século em 1922, ainda nos faltava conquistar a independência mental, pois continuávamos a ser uma colônia das letras’ (Gonçalves 2012: 222). Such ‘independência mental’ is witnessed in de Andrade’s *Manifesto Pau-Brazil* and *Manifesto Antropófago*. Contrary to the xenophobic agenda of the *Escola da Anta* (*Manifesto Verde-Amarelo*) and the ideals of *Integralismo*, *Antropofagia* considers the cultural interactions in the development of Brazil and displays a double-writing of nationhood. It does so by refusing to mimic European culture, and with its discussions of culture as force and homogeneity. In 1910, when de Andrade visited Rio for the first time and witnessed the *Revolta da Chibata* – led by João Cândido, ‘o Almirante Negro’ – de Andrade learned that the revolt’s intention was to change ‘os regulamentos da Armada, que preservava práticas dos tempos do Império e da escravidão – como punir marinheiros, quase sempre pobres e pretos, com chibatadas’ (Gonçalves 2012: 139). The question of representation and of agency, or the lack thereof, is a central one for de Andrade whose Portuguese language-as-translation is the means that enables the double-writing of the nation. This is why de Andrade, for instance, poses the anthropophagic question ‘Tupi or not Tupi’ through the Shakespearean ‘to be or not to be’: the Tupi being *others within* the nation of ‘letrados’ and elites in Brazil. As Vieira states, this famous line of Andrade’s *Manifesto Antropófago* of the twenties is a manifestation: ‘to be, Tupi-through language, the permission for the voicelessness of the Tupi to sound out, allow[s] difference to disrupt homogeneity’ (Vieira in Vieira and McGuirk 2007: 19). De Andrade, therefore, sounds out a ‘to be’ for the Tupi, and, even though he cannot voice

the Tupi, he nevertheless grants them visibility. De Andrade succeeds in giving visibility to the 'Tupi', a displaced 'to be' to those ruling elites of Brazil who believe that these are atextual problems; that is, only by inscribing the Tupi on to the page will these 'letrados' (as de Carvalho says) no longer turn their faces away in order to avoid seeing the Tupi as nationals contributing to world literature. Furthermore, in this way de Andrade re-conceptualizes the time of the nation by revealing the unbearable to the ruling elites who alienate culture, society, and language by adopting without adapting European ideals and culture to society in Brazil: the Tupi are a nation, despite their lack of 'superior' modernities, of undeniable cultural legacy. In other words, the Tupi are, in de Andrade's 'Tupi' of 'to be', an image in which all is one – a figure transversal to the world's literary heritage. The work of de Andrade, in this context, is that of a translator who indeed inscribes a *pure language* (to borrow Derrida's terms once more) in which the meaning and the letter no longer disassociate. By creating a bilingual text that gives visibility to the untranslatable, de Andrade thus inscribes heterogeneity in the wider context of the world's cultural heritage. This 'border of translation', as Derrida notes in the context he studies (1993: 10), points to the issue that 'Babelization does not therefore wait for the multiplicity of languages. The identity of a language can only affirm itself as identity to itself by opening itself to the hospitality of a difference from within itself or of a difference within itself' (Derrida 1993: 10). In this light, de Andrade's Portuguese language-as-translation reveals a difference within itself. He thus writes a tribute to the cultural legacy of the First Nations as he brings them to the text without assimilating their intertextual presence in Portuguese.

Exiles, Providence and the Double-Writing of the Nation by Brazilian and Portuguese Modernists

Interactions and exchanges of letters, poetry, presentations and discourses between and of de Andrade, de Carvalho, Ferro, Pessoa and Sá-Carneiro create non-locational spaces of cultural contact away from the confines of nation-states. As de Carvalho notes, in Rio de Janeiro, 20 June 1914:

Mário de Sá-Carneiro, o elegante e bizarro prosador da nova geração d'além-mar, o artista da ânsia e do desejo, em cujas retinas bóia a nostalgia de um país remoto onde os minaretes são dedos de ouro a colher estrelas e as cúpulas de bronze seios ignotos para a asa irreal da Noite, dá-nos agora um poema, uma alucinação de coloridos e de sons, de evocação e de Memória ...

Dispersão é a legenda emotiva dos sentidos dentro da penumbra sonâmbula de uma paisagem flamenga; tem as tintas de um interior de Van Eyck a perder-se por entre vitrais num fundo morno de aguarela.

[...]

Sua imobilidade é um lenço branco a chamar por si mesma; é um adeus e um incitamento, um retrocesso de ânsias dentro da alma ... (Carvalho in Saraiva 2004: 502; my italics)

Suggesting that Modernism is constructed of diasporic and settled identities of migrants, whose displacements inscribe the cultural interactions in the development of the nation, de Carvalho indicates another mapping of the nation. He suggests, therefore, non-locational spaces of interaction between settled and diasporic identities mapped-out by Portuguese and Brazilian modernists, outside the political maps of nation-states. Re-conceptualizations of nationhood in these spaces of interaction, moreover, surface in the work of diasporic Sá-Carneiro, wherein art is made of transversal creativity. As Sá-Carneiro notes, 'eu não sou eu nem sou eu nem o outro,/ sou qualquer coisa de intermédio:/ Pilar da ponte de tédio/ Que vai de mim para o Outro' (*Orpheu* 1, 11). Suggesting a double-writing of the nation in the poem 'Manucure', published in *Orpheu*, he argues that 'Beleza – sem suporte' is situated in the air, that is, it is an aerial bridge made of 'transito cosmopolita'. As he says, in a passage that I quote at length so that readers may sense the energetic dispersion of its theme and structure:

É lá, no grande Espelho de fantasmas que Ondula e se entregolfa todo o meu passado. Se/ desmorona o meu presente. E o meu futuro é já poeira

Deponho então as minhas limas,
 As minhas tesouras, os meus godets de verniz,
 Os polidores da minha sensação –
 E solto meus olhos a enlouquecerem de Ar!
 Oh! Poder exaurir tudo quanto nêle se incrusta,
 Varar a sua Beleza – sem suporte, emfim! –
 Cantar o que êle revolve, e amolda, impregna,
 Alastra e expande em vibrações:
 Subtilizado, sucessivo – perpétuo ao Infinito! ...

[...]

E pelas estações e cais de embarque,
 Os grandes caixotes acumulados,
 As malas, os fardos – pêle-mêle ...
 Tudo inserto em Ar,
 Tudo afeiçoado por êle, separado por êle
 Em multiplos intersticios
 Por onde eu sinto a minh'Alma a divagar! ...

- Ó beleza futurista das mercadorias!

- Sarapilheira dos fardos,
 Como eu quisera togar-me de Ti!
 - Madeira dos caixotes,
 Como eu anseara cravar os dentes em Ti!
 E os pregos, as cordas, os aros ... –
 Mas, acima de tudo, como bailam faiscentes
 A meus olhos audazes de beleza,
 As inscrições de todos esses fardos –
 Negras, vermelhas, azuis ou verdes –
 Gritos de actual e Comercio & Indústria
 Em transito cosmopolita:

FRAGIL! FRAGIL!

843 – AG LISBON 492 – WR MADRID

[...]

Meus olhos ungidos de Novo,

Sim! – meus olhos futuristas, meus olhos cubistas, meus olhos intersectionistas,

*Não param de fremir, de sorver e faiscar
Toda a beleza espectral, transferida, sucedânea,
Toda essa Beleza-sem-Suporte,
Desconjuntada, emersa, variavel sempre
E livre – em mutações continuas,
Em insondáveis divergencias ...*

- Quanto à minha chávena banal de porcelana?

Ah, essa esgota-se em curvas gregas de anfora,
Ascende num vértice de espiras
Que o seu rebordo frisado a ouro emite ...

É no ar que ondeia tudo! É lá que tudo existe! ... (Sá-Carneiro in Orpheu 2, 13-14)

Sá-Carneiro's emphasis upon the transversality of modernity, a 'transito cosmopolita' in which '*é no ar que ondeia tudo! É lá que tudo existe*', challenges the restrictive frontiers of art, namely the structures of beauty, and suggests the non-locational spaces of the transits of modernity away from the confines of the political maps of nation-states and their respective national literatures. Arguing that '*meus olhos futuristas, meus olhos cubistas, meus olhos intersectionistas, / não param de fremir, de sorver e faiscar / toda a beleza espectral, transferida, sucedânea*', Sá-Carneiro notes that continuity is not linear but instead made of transmutations where beauty disrupts the structures that arrest freedom. As he says, beauty is rather '*desconjuntada, emersa, variavel sempre/ E livre – em mutações continuas/ em insondáveis divergencias ...*'. Therefore, rather than suggesting a settled identity in which the structures of beauty are territorial, Sá-Carneiro argues for a non-locational identity where language is an aerial non-structure, not one made of territorial spaces for languages. In this way, Sá-Carneiro also double-writes the nation, uncovering the nation's deterritorialized spaces of interaction.

Ferro and his wife, Fernanda de Castro, are two of the modernists who exchange ideas with de Andrade, de Carvalho and other Brazilian modernists, both in Brazil and abroad. As Ferro notes in 1923, he also contests the ‘Portugal Dantes’ and argues for modernity removed from the arts of the past. As he says:

Quando eu desembarquei no Rio de Janeiro, esse Rio de Janeiro que Deus pintou alguns dos seus mais belos cenários, o Portugal moderno, o Portugal Infante, o Portugal com os olhos estrelas e cabelos de ondas, era um segredo para o Brasil, em segredo absoluto, um segredo inexplicável ... Os escritores novos, todos aqueles que põem nas suas penas movimentos de locomotiva, todos os pintores cujas almas voam doidas, nas telas, como colibris, todos os dramaturgos que souberam fazer dos bastidores os autênticos cenários, todos os escultores que sabem esculpir na carne com os próprios dedos, todos, enfim, que tentam fazer deste Portugal de barbas, um Portugal escanhado, eram desconhecidos do Brasil ... Foi por isso que o Brasil me perguntou admirado, mal cheguei, se eu era o único escritor novo em Portugal ... Como outros que lá têm ido, que para lá têm escrito e que deixaram o Brasil na ignorância da moderna arte portuguesa, eu podia tê-lo iludido, para minha glória e triunfo, criando-me uma personalidade de exceção, mentindo-lhe e afirmando-lhe que eu era, na verdade, o único escritor novo de Portugal. Não quis, porém, enganar o Brasil confiado e crédulo. Contei-lhes tudo, disse-lhes a verdade toda. Atirei-lhes braçadas de nomes, flori-o com toda a mocidade do Portugal de vinte e tantos anos, icei, nos meus lábios, o estadarte da alegria e atravessei o Brasil a gritar, a destruir a calúnia de que Portugal não era agora, a calúnia de que Portugal era Dantes, de que Portugal era Dantes ... Para isso, evitei o cortejo cívico dos consagrados, dos acadêmicos, de todos os funcionários públicos da arte. Pus-me antes em contato com a mocidade do Brasil, timbre da Raça, único Brasil afinal ... Foram os novos que eu procurei, foram os novos que me rodearam, foram eles que fizeram o meu trinfo, foram eles que afixaram o meu nome, em grandes letras, por todo o Brasil, nas discussões, nos jornais e nos livros ... (Ferro in Saraiva 2004: 558)

For Ferro, modernists in Brazil and the country’s diasporic nationals do not know the modern Portuguese art that he claims to represent. By saying that the Portuguese ‘que lá têm ido, que para lá têm escrito e que deixaram o Brasil na ignorância da moderna arte portuguesa’, Ferro denies the double-writing of the nation and perpetuates its historicism by undermining the contributions of the diasporas. In Ferro’s words surfaces the exclusion of all of those nationals who leave the territory and the nation-state for various and, often, highly legitimate reasons, perceiving these nationals as without value owing

to their departure. Furthermore, in de Andrade's unpublished speech about Ferro – the latter and his wife went to São Paulo on 12 September 1925 (they had recently married in Brazil) – de Andrade notes that his interactions with the Portuguese modernist are important. As he argues in this document:

o primeiro contacto pessoal que tivemos foi num fogo de artifício em Sant'Anna, por ocasião de um jantar campestre que o grupo novo de São Paulo lhe offerecia.

Lembro-me que um dos peores trocadilhistas do mundo – foi Couto de Barros ou Tacito de Almeida – disse que precisavamos importar Ferro. Ao que, o poeta portuguez retrucou: – Porque Ferro se importa com o Brasil.

Estava realizado o contacto.

Tive o prazer de continuar um particular amigo de António Ferro. Aliás, assistira ao seu casamento, almoçando com elle na Rotisserie, quando veio o telegramma nupcial de Fernanda de Castro, grande poetiza de sua terra. (Andrade unpublished presentation, Fundação António Quadros, 1925)

The friendship between the two modernists narrates displacements and reveals how the centre is marginal. As de Andrade further suggests in his presentation on modernist Ferro:

O Automóvel Club de São Paulo que se honra de possuir como seu presidente o melhor escriptor presidente vivo, é um centro particularmente favoravel às letras e às artes. Vae ouvir pela segunda vez António Ferro, acompanhado de Fernanda de Castro. São ambos a mocidade de Portugal – milagre consumado pela greppe de heroismo de Sacadura e Gago Coutinho no velho tronco quinhentista.

Os dois artistas vos encantarão com a alegria de sua intellectualidade e do seu amor. (de Andrade unpublished presentation, Fundação António Quadros, 1925)

Ferro's narrative of displacement in Brazil and his double-writing of the modern nation are relatively productive in revealing how the centre is marginal and disrupts the historicism of the nation. Yet Ferro's work is still overlooked in Portugal, the artist being perceived as a perpetuator of the historicism of the nation throughout Salazar's *Estado Novo*. Owing to this perception of Ferro, there are not, to the best of my knowledge, any in-depth and methodologically rigorous studies in Portugal of the spaces of interaction of

Portuguese and Brazilian modernists. Yet Ferro remains one of the groundbreaking Portuguese modernists. Invited by de Sá-Carneiro to be the editor of *Orpheu*, Ferro did not once contribute to the publication with his own creative writing. He does, however, interact with Brazilian modernists, including de Carvalho. As de Carvalho further argues in his presentation of Ferro in Rio de Janeiro in 1922 (the first year that Ferro visited Brazil):

António Ferro poderia dizer que a Arte não está na beleza, nem na verdade, nem na pura contemplação do espetáculo universal. A arte está em nós, é o artifício com que inventamos uma realidade diferente daquela com que nos depara a natureza. Ele mesmo nos previne que a ‘arte é a mentira da vida’.

Que exprime tal conceito?

Que a lógica do artista não cabe nas fronteiras de um teorema, que a lógica do artista é um problema cujos dados mudam e solução varia, de momento para momento.

À semelhança de Fausto, cada um de nós explica o mundo pelo seu demónio. Esse demónio é a mentira da vida. António Ferro sabe praticar essa mentira e escutar o demônio maravilhosamente. (Carvalho in Saraiva 2004: 537; my italics)

De Carvalho here suggests that there are no *atextual* problems; meaning is neither present in the text nor external to it, but a product of reading the world literature(s) that is the nation. Furthermore, this cultural-making is not encountered in the constraints of theorems and the general propositions or rules can be proven and constructed as evidence by reason, but in a logic of the arts that is in a state of permanent change and never definable as there is no means by which to define the artifice that is the invention of artists. All that is possible is to interpret the artifices of art and see how they trespass the frontiers that disallow creativity and innovation. According to de Carvalho, therefore, Ferro knows how to practice and listen to these artifices, the ‘mentira da vida’, which are part of the world literature that is the nation. Language, therefore, is not reduced to the written word, that is, the print-language that is made official by nation-states. For the artist print-language, according to de Carvalho, does not create frontiers nor is it ‘what invents nationalism’, to use Anderson’s phrase (Anderson 1991: 134): it is the perception

of language as the cultural homogeneity of nation-states that ‘invents’ nationalism. For these modernists, the languages of the arts are transversal to the official language(s) of nation-states, as they are the means by which to disrupt the physical and psychological frontiers that negate the voices of creativity and the deterritorialization of the spaces of interaction.

António Ferro and Ronald de Carvalho: Uncovering a Humanity of Exodus and the Regressions of Luso-Hyphenated Identities

Arguing against *tradicionalismo* and in favour of the ‘liberdade criadora’ of the nation as ‘a condição do homem é a própria variedade’ (Carvalho in Saraiva 2004: 534), de Carvalho advances a conceptualization of humanity and suggests that Ferro

possui o dom de humanizar todas as a imagens que o mundo lhe sugere. Está na raiz de todas as suas criações. Há na liberdade do seu espírito múltiplo, estranho, ondulante, um delírio de criação perene. Mostra-se ele, *a um tempo*, arquiteto e pintor, ourives e entalhador, escultor e músico, porque antes de tudo é o Poeta, o homem *que reduz o universo a um jogo de formas, a um ritmo de alegria e de entusiasmo*. (Carvalho in Saraiva 2004: 536; my italics)

For de Carvalho, Ferro is an artist who at a certain time only, ‘a um tempo’, has the ability ‘humanizar todas as imagens que o mundo lhe sugere’. However, is the ‘liberdade’ of Ferro, both editor of *Orpheu* and director of the Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional of Salazar’s *Estado-Novo*, the creation of modernity? As de Carvalho states, when introducing his presentation on Ferro in Trianon in Rio in 1922: ‘Ferro, cuja palavra de flama ides ouvir dentro em pouco, é um homem que não acredita no passado. Não conheço na literatura modernista do seu país, mais atual, mais perturbador, mais ágil artista [...]’ (de Carvalho in Saraiva 2004: 536). Adding that ‘a razão da sua arte está no movimento, nas surpresas das linhas que se deslocam, que se transformam em cores, em sons, em perfumes’, de Carvalho observes that Ferro ‘procura as correspondências, os tons, os entretons mais penetrantes dos nossos sentimentos’ and

tells us that his subject ‘considera a arte como a realidade, um vir-a-ser contínuo. Fixá-la num ponto, ou melhor, prendê-la a uma determinada tradição, seria contrariar a própria natureza das coisas’ (Carvalho in Saraiva 2004: 536). For de Carvalho, therefore, Ferro’s work liberates art from tradition and creates modernity outside of the past and with a strong emphasis upon the perceivable world.

Ferro would have agreed with de Carvalho’s words concerning the unfixable nature of art. As he says in *Nós*, here quoted at length to show Ferro’s wide embracing of the world’s artistic heritage:

Eu

A vida é a digestão da humanidade; deixemos a vida em paz. Isolemo-nos, exilemo-nos ... E crear universos, para uso próprio, como theatros the papel talhados á tesoura ... Sejamos rebeldes, revolucionarios ... Proclamemos, a valer, os direitos do homem! Em cada um de nós existe o mundo todo! Façamos a volta ao nosso mundo ... Agitemos os braços como bandeiras! ... Que os nossos gritos sejam aeroplanos no espaço ...

A multidão

Mas que desejam? Falem mais claro ...

And Ferro answers this question, in clearer terms:

Eu

A Grande Guerra, a Grande Guerra na Arte!

Dum lado estaremos nós, com a alma ao léu e o coração em berloque, homens livres, homens – livros, homens de hontem, de hoje e de amanhã, carregadores do Infinito ... Gabriel d’Anunzio – o Soutenour da Gloria – abraçado a Fiume – cidade virgem num espanto. Estão os bailes Europeus – russos de alcunha – bailes em que cada corpo é um ballet, com um braço que é Nijinsky e uma perna – Karsavina ... Está Marinetti – esse boxeur de ideias; Picasso – uma regua com bocas; Cocteau – o contorcionista do Potomak; Blaise Cendars – Torre Eiffel de asas e de versos; Picabia – Christo Novo, novissimo, escanhoado; Stravinsky – maquina de escrever musica; Bakst – em cujos dedos ha marionnettes que pintam; Bernardo Schaw – dramaturgo dos bastidores; Colette – o carmin da França, e vá lá, estás mesmo tu, Anatole – Homem de todas as idades. Está Ramon Gomez de la Serna, palhaço, saltimbanco, cujos dedos são acrobatas na barra da sua perna, estou EU – affixador de cartazes nas paredes da Hora!

A multidão

Doidos varridos, doidos varridos ... (Ferro in *Klaxon* 1922: 1-2)

At the close of *Nós*, the multitude calls him insolent and even threatens to beat him. Ferro's artistic war, however, is already in the air, and the digestive metaphor is now explicitly clear: 'a vida é a digestão da humanidade'; 'Isolemo-nos, exilemo-nos', 'agitemos os braços como bandeiras! ... Que os nossos gritos sejam aeroplanos no espaço ...'. This digestive war on the perpetuation of the culture of the past that Ferro, the 'eu' of *Nós*, wages echoes de Andrade's anthropophagic protest against colonialism, patriarchal social structures, the 'imitação não digerida da metrópole' and the French 'indianismo romântico' (Helena 1985: 154).

However, Arnaldo Saraiva's work, *Modernismo brasileiro e modernismo português: subsídios para seu estudo e para a história das suas relações*, does not consider the anthropophagic agenda in the spaces of interaction for Portuguese and Brazilian modernists, nor the heterogeneity of the nations. Therefore, he does not comprehend Pessoa's meaning when Pessoa declares in a letter to Armando Cortês-Rodrigues that de Carvalho is 'um dos mais importantes e *nossos* dos poetas brasileiros' (Pessoa in Saraiva 2004: 185; my italics). As Saraiva suggests, in relation to the exchange of letters between de Carvalho and Pessoa:

Pessoa, quis, sem dúvida, impressionar bem o brasileiro, e sinalizar, desde logo, perante o companheiro de *Orpheu*, a ascendência que os companheiros portugueses lhe não regateariam. Com efeito, em 24 de fevereiro o projeto de *Orpheu* tinha já arrancado decisivamente; lembre-se que cerca de oito dias antes o mesmo Pessoa se apressara a escrever a Cortês-Rodrigues, a anunciar-lhe que ia 'entrar imediatamente no prelo' a revista de que seriam diretores Montalvor e Ronald, que, acrescentava, era 'um dos mais importantes e *nossos* dos poetas brasileiros'.

Poderemos duvidar se 'nossos' referia-se a uma qualidade cultural (*lusitanisante*) ou uma qualidade literária (modernista), ou as duas; mas não parece haver dúvidas de que foi o *Orpheu* que pôs fim ao adiamento da resposta de Pessoa à oferta de *Luz gloriosa* [that de Carvalho gave to Pessoa]. Ao longo de 1915, os dois poetas estariam em contato. (Saraiva 2004: 185; my italics of *lusitanisante*)

These cultural interactions of a nationhood constructed of diasporic and settled nationals, this nation of double-identities, must not, however, be classified in terms of Luso(-) hyphenated identities. To do so is to promote the perpetuation of a foundational past, as the *Lusitanos* were a people living in the mountains of Portugal who were able to save themselves from the colonization of the Roman Empire until they exchanged Viriato for Roman gold. Saraiva's conceptualization of culture in Portuguese as *lusitanisante* obliterates both *otherness* and the temporality of the nation that comes into being within and throughout its own development, and to perpetuate hyphenated identities in which Luso- as a prefix is to repeat the national narrative of Camões's *Os Lusíadas*. In *Os Lusíadas* Viriato, the 'forefather' of the Lusitan tribe, is part of a pantheon of Portuguese historical figures and hero of the Portuguese 'collective imagination' (Mattoso 2008: 35), and culture here is *force* rather than the double-writing of cultural contacts in the development of the nation. The portrayal of the *Lusitanos* as *the* people – the eternal *many-as-one* – in which the foundational past is the cultural force of the nation, moreover, is the reason why Salazar dresses as a *Lusitano* in a poster by the *Serviço Nacional de Informação*. The poster's caption reads 'Salvador da Pátria', Salazar being depicted as a saviour whose sword and shield (shield is *escudo* in Portuguese, *escudos* also being Portugal's currency before the Euro) says 'tudo pela nação, nada contra a nação' (Lemos Martins 1990: poster 10). By arguing for the 'qualidade cultural' in the spaces of interaction of Portuguese and Brazilian modernists as *lusitanisante*, Saraiva does not acknowledge the double-writing of the nation. A hyphenated Luso-hyphenated identity for settled nationals and their diasporic descendants outside of the nation-state of Portugal and in nation-states where Portuguese is the official language perpetuates a temporality of a past, that is, a continuation of the Western tradition and the historicism of nation-states upon the heterogeneity of the nation. There is no evidence in Pessoa and de Carvalho's correspondence for Saraiva's 'qualidade cultural' being *lusitanisante*, as

these and other modernists re-conceptualize nationhood and write a narrative of cultural displacements. It becomes clear that Ferro, in the spaces of interaction of Portuguese and Brazilian modernists, speaks ‘aos novos do Brasil dos novos de Portugal’ against the temporalities of the past. As stated in the *Revista da Semana*, Rio de Janeiro, May 27 1922:

Antônio Ferro vem encontrar nas artes brasileiras as primeiras manifestações precursoras de uma evolução que caminha ao encontro de novas concepções e novos processos, tanto nas letras como na pintura e na música, onde Villa-Lobos afirmou uma individualidade insurgida contra a rotina.

Esperamos que Antônio Ferro não recusará à *Revista da Semana* o artigo que lhe pedimos sobre a sua geração e que nestas páginas fale aos novos do Brasil dos novos de Portugal, que estão alvoraçando de mocidade uma nação antiga. (in Saraiva 2004: 172-73)

Ferro’s dedication and contributions to modernity are undeniable. And he did, indeed, promote Portuguese culture in a way that very few Portuguese people were able to in the first half of the twentieth century. Ferro was, after all, Salazar’s ‘director do Secretário da Propaganda Nacional (1933); Comissário-Geral de Exposições Internacionais in Paris and New York (1937-38); Secretário-Geral da Comissão Nacional de Centenários (1940); Presidente da Direcção da Emisora Nacional (1941); Secretário Nacional de Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo (1944); and Ministro de Portugal in Berna and Rome (1949, 1954)’.¹¹ For Saraiva, Ferro’s departure from the artistic arena in order to develop a political career resulted from ‘a preocupação excessiva com a sua promoção ou com o seu triunfo pessoal – quando ainda não era diretor do SPN – impediram António Ferro de desempenhar na relação dos modernismos português e brasileiro um papel bem mais relevante do que apesar de tudo desempenhou’ (Saraiva 2004: 180). According to Saraiva, Ferro

perdeu excelentes oportunidades de revelar publicamente no Brasil a literatura de Pessoa e seus companheiros modernistas portugueses-preferindo

¹¹ Please refer to the website of the *Fundação António Quadros* for more information on this subject and/or to arrange access to the archives at www.fundacaoantonioquadros.pt.

repetir por onde ia passando duas ou três conferências pouco mais do que divertidas ou habilidosas (em que nem a realidade portuguesa tinha privilégio), como Fernanda de Castro [Ferro's wife] preferia dizer poemas menores e pouco ou nada modernistas. (Saraiva 2004: 181)

It is debatable whether the work of Ferro and de Castro really warrants merit, but the reasons that led Ferro to embrace (or surrender to) a political career are clear as both Portugal and Brazil silence and exile their modernists. There are, moreover, subtle indications in Ferro's work that express the indubitably very difficult choices that he made in his life. In a document written in 1922, for example, Ferro denies that he is the author of *Mar Alto*, his censored and prohibited novel that narrates a shipwreck, declaring that *Mar Alto* was, instead, 'escrito pela Vida' (Ferro in Henriques 1990: 125). Whilst claiming that 'ando pela arte à busca do inédito' and blurring the boundaries of fiction and fact, Ferro also notes that the artist will go but that Salazar his 'Estádio Nacional' – the voice of the artist being the *vida* that wrote *Mar Alto*, as he tells us – Ferro reveals a very good reason to explain the end of his artistic career and the beginning of his political one. There is even more information available on this subject as, in 1919, the young Ferro published the following vocal and explicit passage in *O Jornal*, in Lisbon, here quoted at length for an examination of the resurfacing themes of exile and shipwrecking in the national press of his time:

Com a pena vermelha em tinta do meu sangue eu quero escrever à minha geração, queo comunicar com ela, aqui, da gávea mais alta deste barco ...

Digamos toda a verdade, sem entrelinhas, sem reticências, porque a verdade é a única voz que se impõe, a única voz que se ouve bem, em toda a parte. Portugal naufragou, foi estilhaçar-se contra os homens, hirtos, impassíveis como rochedos ... Dispersos, esfarrapados, salvos, fomos dar a uma ilha deserta, esta ilha da Europa em que vivemos, com o mar a rugir de todos os lados – o mar clamaroso de Espanha, notavelmente ... Portugueses de amanhã, que tendes, como eu, vinte e tantos anos vividos, e outros tantos para viver, escutai-me, ouvi o grito que vos atiro, aqui, na gávea mais alta deste barco, com as mãos em concha nos lábios – sentindo marulhar a raça como o mar num búzio ... (Ferro in Leal 1994: 199)

And also the rewinded *déjà-vu*, using the language of his time:

Que têm feito os políticos, por nós? Pensaram algumas vez esses boémios da Pátria, perdulários das virtudes da Raça, na pobreza em que fica a nossa geração, quando eles desaparecerem, quando chegar a nossa vez, quando nos encontrarmos na maré-alta da Vida, perdidos, isolados, uns em busca dos outros, tateando a treva – como os cegos de Maeterlinck.

Pensaram eles, acaso, em nos garantir o futuro. Lembraram-se porventura que a História de Portugal não terminava com eles, que outra geração, a nossa, aguardava a sua maioridade, para surgir, para lutar, para vencer? Bem ao contrário, bem longe disso, enxovalharam-nos, amesquinharam-nos, desprezaram-nos, fingindo que não davam pela nossa existência (que é uma continuidade da existência deles) tripudiaram, gastaram, esbanjaram, como pais estroinas que não se lembram que os filhos crescem ... Tantas loucuras fizeram, tantos crimes cometeram, que nós, os novos, fomos forçados a reunir o conselho de família e a dá-los por interditos, durante um ano ... Não lhe serviu de exemplo, porém.

Continuam a não pensar em nós, a não nos reconhecer, a desprezarmo-nos ... Pois bem. Se tanto for preciso, iremos para o escândalo, mover-lhe-emos uma acção de investigação de paternidade, obrigá-los-emos a fazer testamento a nosso favor, contemplando-nos com a herança da Pátria, que eles consumiram, que eles desfalcaram. (Ferro in Leal 1994: 200)

It is the same today as it was back then: dispense with the scandal and investigation of parenthood or origins and emigrate, inscribing a shipwreck – and the memory in time – in the double-consciousness of the nation. This critique of Ferro, moreover, applies to both Portugal and to Brazil in modernity, as these societies silence and marginalize their voices of intervention.

Was a life in politics worth it then, for Ferro? Was a political career his own choice, or did he lack any real choice, already disappointed with politics and the social structures of his time in his youth? Furthermore, was the marriage to his also Portuguese wife in Brazil an attempt to flee Portugal and escape the politics of the era? In *Saudades de Mim*, a series of poems written towards the end of his life in Berna between 1950 and 1954, Ferro alludes to his political career and to the act of writing:

o que me dói é saber
(é mesquinho mas confesso-o ...)
que a vida continuará
depois de mim,
como se nada fosse,

sem dar sequer pela minha falta,
espectador que saiu sem ninguém ver ...

O meu lugar será logo ocupado,
como nesta mesa que vou deixar agora,
por outro freguês que também pedirá
chá com torradas ou café com leite ...
Estou a vê-lo ...
O mesmo olhar que não se olha,
o mesmo sonho sem norte ...

Talvez pensando ou escrevendo
o que estou pensando e escrevendo ...
ou então outra coisa tão inútil
e com o mesmo fim:
encher o tempo
que nunca enchemos,
o tempo que se esvai,
sempre vazio ... (Ferro in Henriques 1990: 182)

In short, it could have been Ferro or anyone else seated in his chair, in the coffee-shop as in politics. This voice is not recognizable as the ‘eu’ of *Nós*, but another, the one of an old man and not of an aged *persona*, who speaks of disillusion and disempowerment. Unable to live in the empty time that was passing by at the end of his life, he was certainly able to work towards modernity in his interactions with Brazilian and Portuguese modernists. As de Andrade tells Ferro:

a sua estadia entre nós deu apoio à atitude iniciada pelos modernistas de S. Paulo, perante os volúveis letrados da capital. Sem você, mesmo com todos os remorsos estéticos do inolvidável Graça Aranha, estaríamos mais atrasados. (Andrade in Saraiva 2004: 181)

Arguing that a major contribution by Ferro was his support of the ‘atitude iniciada pelos modernistas de S. Paulo, perante os volúveis letrados da capital’, de Andrade further notes, in an interview in Lisbon in 1923, that ‘o Brasil, sofrendo a influência de tantas línguas, há de criar uma língua nova, riquíssima, que não pode ser o português clássico’ (Andrade in Saraiva 2004: 565). Able to advance the project of modernity in the spaces of Brazilian and Portuguese interaction, Ferro was silenced in Portugal in 1922

with the official censoring of his novel *Mar Alto*. In addition, it is also important to remember that Ferro was one of the members of the jury who argued for the merit of Pessoa's *Mensagem*, the literary award of the 'Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional', a prize that Pessoa, afterwards, refused to receive from the hands of Salazar to accept it by someone else that was not Salazar. At the core of the double-consciousness of the nation is language and translation, as de Andrade observes in a letter to Ferro, the writer of *Leviana*:

abraços a quem fez *Leviana*.

A formosa reação que você produz, desarticulando a sua linguagem, dando-lhe molas imprevistas, fazendo-a agir como um acrobata cinemático, produzindo efeitos desconhecidos de simultaneísmo, de dinamismo.

E *Leviana* traduzida? Pode mandar-me 2 volumes? (Andrade in Saraiva 2004: 246)

An investigation of the double-consciousness of the nation in language and translation and of the translator as an aged *persona* who feels (*deveras*) will be central in Chapter Four. It looks at Haroldo de Campos's creative translations of the world's cultural heritage, or rather transcriptions, to consider 'o risco da criação pensado como um problema de viagem [...] uma empresa que, se por um lado é punida com um naufrágio, por outro lado é recompensada com os destroços do naufrágio que constituem o próprio poema' (Campos, Haroldo 1997b: 15).

CHAPTER FOUR

The anthropophagic agenda of Modernism as a process of inclusion of the *other* in the work of Haroldo and Augusto de Campos: a translational Ulyssism in ‘Finismundo, a última viagem’ and *Galáxias*¹²

This chapter assesses the re-emergence of the modernist anthropophagic agenda as a process of inclusion of the *other* in the work – translations, theorizations, and transcreations – of Haroldo and Augusto de Campos. This chapter argues that Haroldo de Campos’s ‘Finismundo, a última viagem’ dialogues with Pessoa’s ‘mute’ heteronym Ulysses through the (re)creation of an aged *persona* of voyaging in urban everyday life in the (post)modern world. For this purpose, it investigates Haroldo de Campos’s intertextual dialogue with both Camões’s Portuguese Ulysses and Pessoa’s ‘mute’ Ulysses of modernity as, for de Campos, his translation is a transcreation of Homer’s Odysseus. This chapter thus looks at the myth of Ulysses in the context of Augusto and Haroldo de Campos’s extensive translation activity, analysing how both Pessoa’s Ulysses – mute heteronym of the poet’s *patria* – and Pessoa’s work associated with Camões reappear in Haroldo de Campos’s ‘Finismundo’ and *Galáxias*, the latter being a work of Portuguese Ulyssism of dispersal in the world. I argue that Augusto and Haroldo de Campos create another temporality and open up spaces for the nation for, as Haroldo de Campos says, ‘*diferença*, o nacionalismo como o movimento dialógico da diferença’ which is ‘*nacional* por não ser nacional ... Como o Ulisses mitológico de Fernando Pessoa, que ‘foi por não ser existindo ...’, e ‘nos criou ...’. Daí a necessidade de se pensar a *diferença*’ (Campos, Haroldo 1992: 237). Haroldo de Campos’s ‘nacionalismo

¹² It is not in the scope of this work to investigate the concept of Anthropophagy in Brazil but please refer to the work of Stuart Schwartz and James Lockhart, *Early Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983, and also Roberto Schwarz’s “Cultura e política, 1964-1969.” *O Pai de Família e Outros Estudos*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1978, for further on the subject.

como o movimento dialógico da diferença' is in translational language(s) resurfacing as an intertextual Ulyssism in 'Finismundo' and *Galáxias*.

As Haroldo de Campos notes, his 'transcrições' of Homer are 'o processo ideal para se pôr a nu, como em fulgurância tangível, a forma semiótica das línguas poéticas em conjunção (a do original e a do poema re-creado)' (Campos, Haroldo 1992: 284). This chapter will therefore investigate Haroldo de Campos's use of language, and his claim that *all* poetry is concrete poetry for it is the substance that inscribes the translational interactions of the world and those between nations. As he suggests:

para mim, ao invés de clausurar, a poesia concreta abriu. Permitiu-me passar de uma reflexão regional (a etapa-limite do desenvolvimento possível de uma poética) a uma reflexão mais geral: pensar o concreto na poesia. Para mim, hoje, toda a poesia digna desse nome é *concreta*. De Homero a Dante. De Goethe a Fernando Pessoa. Pois o poeta é um configurador da materialidade da linguagem (lembre-se o teorema de Jakobson). E só enquanto linguagem materialmente configurada, enquanto concreção de signos, 'forma significante', a poesia é poesia. Nada melhor do que a operação tradutora para tornar evidente, como que tangível, esta afirmação. (Campos, Haroldo de 1992: 264)

Translation for Haroldo de Campos not only turns over the contents of the world's literary heritage, trespassing the restrictive frontiers of regionalisms and nation-states, it also brings literature back to life in another space and time whilst transcreating tradition through language. To this end, I argue that Haroldo de Campos's transcreations are dialogical works of the world's literary heritage. As Else Vieira suggests:

Antropofagia, in Haroldo de Campos's view, the sign of the polyphonic identity of Brazil, rings not a note of furious aggression but rather one of irreverently amorous devouring. Deriving from a non-Eurocentric way of conceiving spiritual force as inseparable from matter, related to the local natives' animism, it ultimately entails a tribute to the other's strength one wishes to have combined with one's own for greater vitality. While undercutting the plenitude of any origin as the only source of strength, it makes an incision and a conjoining to unite the blood and marrow of the one with the other. (Vieira in Vieira and McGuirk 2007: 17)

Thus Haroldo de Campos's translational work is made up of transcreational revelations – as he argues in his 'epiphanical' work *Galáxias* – uncovering the dialogues

and silences of Anthropophagy as the ‘transformative recreation of inherited tradition’.

As Vieira further notes:

Translation as ‘verse making’, ‘reinvention’, a ‘project of recreation’ (in the sixties), ‘translumination’ and ‘transparadisation’ (stemming from his translation of Dante), as ‘transtextualization’, as ‘transcreation’, as ‘transluciferation’ (stemming from his translation of Goethe’s *Faust*), as ‘transhelenization’ (as from his translation of *The Iliad* of Homer), as poetic ‘reorchestration’ (from his rendering of the Hebrew Bible into Brazilian Portuguese) as ‘reimagination’ (from his transcreation of classical Chinese poetry into Portuguese) are but some of the neologisms coined by Haroldo de Campos that offer a vanguardist poetics of translation as textual revitalization while pointing to the anthropophagic dimension of feeding on the very text he is translating to derive his metalanguage. ‘Re’ and ‘trans’ are recurrent prefixes that locate translation at a remove from monological truth in the direction of a transformative recreation of inherited tradition. (Vieira in Vieira and McGuirk 2007: 18)

Literary Anthropophagy is a metaphor for dialogical liberation from the negating hierarchical structures of society whilst inscribing difference and revealing the concealment of silence(s) through intertextual dialogue. As Mikhail Bakhtin suggests, in intertexts ‘the word is born in a dialogue as a living rejoinder within it; the word is shaped in dialogic interaction with an alien word that is already in the object. A word forms a concept of its own object in a dialogic way’ (Bakhtin 1981: 279). In this way, dialogism portrays a greater picture of itself for ‘the whole matter consists in the fact that there may be, between ‘languages’, highly specific dialogic relations; no matter how these languages are conceived, they may all be taken as particular points of view on the world’ (Bakhtin 1981: 293). Thus Haroldo de Campos, the translator of world literature and transcreator of Homer, recreates a Ulysses of (post)modernity beyond the maritime, Mediterranean Homeric Ulysses and condemned Dantean Ulysses of the Enlightenment, whilst dialoguing with Camões’s Renaissance epic *Os Lusíadas* and Pessoa’s ‘Ulisses’ of modernity in *Mensagem*.

As Haroldo de Campos observes, he translates Homer’s epic for the challenge of writing a ‘longer poem’ and out of his dissatisfaction with the translations of Homer already available in Portuguese. As he says:

De certa maneira, *Finis mundo: a última viagem* (eu espero que não seja a minha última viagem, é uma ‘persona’), esse poema tem a sua gênese no seguinte: em certo momento eu estava interessado, mais uma vez, em fazer alguma coisa que para mim mesmo não fosse aquilo que eu poderia fazer com mais facilidade; alguma coisa que estivesse dentro do meu projeto de trabalho, mas fosse um certo desafio para esse projeto, um poema mais longo, um poema que eu tematizasse alguma coisa que eu vinha mais uma vez tematizando, mas que não tinha nunca apresentado, ‘encenado’, desta maneira tão dialecticamente entrosada. O risco da criação pensado como um problema de viagem e como um problema de enfrentamento com o impossível, uma empresa que, se por um lado é punida com um naufrágio, por outro é recompensada com os destroços do naufrágio que constituem o próprio poema. (Campos, Haroldo 1997b: 15)

Conceiving his transcreation of the poem as a ‘problema de viagem’ and of ‘enfrentamento com o impossível’, Haroldo de Campos reflects on displacement and dispersal in the world whilst suggesting that voyaging is a *persona* in his transcreational work on Homer. In the process, de Campos also reconceptualizes time and space by intervening in the ‘futurismo ortodoxo’ that modernist Menotti del Picchia also contests when saying that ‘ao nosso individualismo estético repugna a jaula de uma escola’, that is, the decadence of the classics (Menotti in Gonçalves 2012: 293). As Menotti argues:

o que nos agrega não é a força centrípeta de identidade técnica ou artística. As diversidades das nossas maneiras as verificareis na complexidade das formas praticadas. O que nos agrupa é a ideia geral da libertação contra o faquirismo estagnado e contemplativo, que anula a capacidade criadora dos que ainda esperam ver erguer-se o sol atrás do Partenon em ruínas. (Menotti in Gonçalves 2012: 293)

Challenging the ‘poesia parnasiana e a sedimentação do gosto ‘clássico’, formado por padrões europeus anacrônicos, desconectado do novo século e do jovem país que comemorava o centenário de sua Independência’ out of the debris of the classics, Haroldo de Campos transcreates these classics in order to disrupt the persistent mental and cultural colonialisms of his time. Menotti argues that, as Marcos Gonçalves notes, in modernity ‘São Paulo demonstrava a existência de um Brazil sintonizado com o mundo das lutas operárias, das chaminés, dos idealismos, para qual o canto decorativo dos mitos da antiguidade nada mais tinha a dizer’ (Gonçalves 2012: 294). The modernist

anthropophagic agenda of the *Semana de Arte Moderna* in São Paulo, therefore, is also the continuing agenda of Haroldo de Campos for, as Menotti argues, this week is still not over in 2012. As the latter suggests, ‘basta de se descrever as correrias dos sátiros caprinos atrás das ninfas levípedes e esguias’ as:

a Babilônia paulista está cheia de faunos urbanos e as ninfas modernas dançam ao maxixe ao som do *jazz*, sem temer mais egípcas da República ... Morra a Hélade! Organizaremos um Zé-pereira canalha para dar uma vaia definitiva e formidável nos deuses do Parnaso. (Menotti in Gonçalves 2012: 294)

To contribute to this week-in-progress, Haroldo de Campos theorizes poetic and cultural horizons in his creative translations of the world’s cultural heritage whilst also contributing to world literature with his work.

To Feel or Not to Feel in *Persona*: The Quest of an Aged Ulysses in ‘Finismundo, a última viagem’

Making it new in the spirit of Ezra Pound, the dialogical practices of Oswald de Andrade and Augusto and Haroldo de Campos disrupt the language of the classics. As De Andrade argues in his *Manifesto da Poesia Pau-Brazil*, he desires ‘a língua sem arcaísmos, sem erudição. Natural e neológica. A contribuição milionária de todos os erros. Como falamos. Como somos’ (de Andrade in Campos 1975: xviii-xix). As classical language is synonymous with ancient Greek culture and the decadence of the West with its translinear paradigms, Haroldo de Campos rereads de Andrade’s Brazilian devouring of Europe in order to pay tribute to Brazilian culture whilst at the same time revitalizing the nation from within. Away from notions of European monological truth that do not translate in South America through cultural transformation, Haroldo de Campos transcreates an urban Ulysses in ‘Finismundo: A última viagem’. In this way, he moves beyond a temporality of the past – that is present still today – with an aged Ulysses who trespasses the mental and cultural boundaries that surround – and literally arrest – both society and nationals during his time. He moves towards a temporality of

modernity when his transcreation of Homer's work opens up spaces and another mapping of the nation in 'Finismundo'. As Haroldo de Campos says:

Dante está propondo um fim para Ulisses, na carência do fim homérico, e está remontando a determinados *topoi* que vieram, inclusive, (e se não vieram, estavam próximos) daqueles que foram utilizados pelos autores das histórias de Alexandre. O ultrapassar, a travessia das fronteiras permitidas do mundo, que eram as colunas de Hércules. A busca de alguma coisa que estivesse mais além, busca que correspondia a um afã de curiosidade, um desejo de conhecimento, àquilo que em grego se chama de *húbris*: essa desmesura orgulhosa com que o ser humano intenta, de certa maneira, confrontar-se com o impossível, no caso de Ulisses colorida pelo tema da velhice, porque é o velho Ulisses que vai fazer essa viagem.

Aproveitei-me desses elementos, que me permitiram definir tematicamente a configuração do poema. (Campos, Haroldo 1997b: 18)

Moving beyond a Dantean Ulysses of the past and rescuing the latter from hell, as it were, the voyages in everyday-life of a Ulysses of urbanity in 'Finismundo' are journeys of redemption by breaking (with) language. In this way, Haroldo de Campos's transcreational work enables cultural transformation by working with the debris of the shipwrecks of global cultural heritage. In the process of the transmutation of this debris into transcreational works, with 'Finismundo' the poet also shows that for redemption to occur one has to come to terms with the impossible, that is, the human condition and the limitations of humanity – including one's own. The last voyage of 'Finismundo', therefore, is not an epic one but rather a voyage of redemption in everyday life in modernity:

'Finismundo: A última viagem'

I

Último
Odisseu multi-
ardiloso – no extremo
Avernotenso limite –re-
propõe a viagem.

Onde de Hércules

as vigilantes colunas à onda
escarmentam: vedando mais um
passo – onde passar avante quer
dizer trans-
gredir a medida as si-

To translate is, for Augusto and Haroldo de Campos, a way of loving and feeling the translation for, as Pessoa states, the poet feels *deveras*. This is, therefore, also the reason why not everything is in translation for Augusto de Campos, because poets – and, for that matter, every person and national – only translate what they feel in their *personas*. To feel or not to feel is therefore a question of transference (Pessoa considering this transference a ‘rhythmical equivalence’ of ‘invisible translators’, as discussed in Chapter Two), and Haroldo de Campos suggests in ‘Finismundo’ that *personas* in dispersion and displacement open translational spaces of dialogue in a world of a ‘família dispersa’ and in a broader *patria*. As he notes:

A poesia é uma família dispersa de naufragos bracejando no tempo e no espaço. Tento reunir aqui alguns dos seus raros sobreviventes, dos que me falam mais de perto: os que lutaram sob uma bandeira e um lema radicais – a invenção e o rigor. Os intraduzidos e os intraduzíveis. Os que alargaram o verso e o fizeram controverso, para chegar ao reverso.

Se disserem que isso não tem nada a ver com o presente, direi que é mentira. Ezra Pound aprendeu muito com muitos deles. E quem não aprendeu com EP merece muito mais a nossa piedade que a nossa provação, como disse Hemingway. Os concretos aprenderam muito com essa gente. Os futurocratas passadófobos, que dividem a história em antes e depois de si próprios, não passam de medíocres narcisistas que já vão ser enterrados no próximo passado do futuro.

A poesia, por definição, não tem pátria. Ou melhor, tem uma pátria maior. ‘Um oriente ao oriente do oriente’. Mas se disserem que tudo isso não tem nada a ver com ‘as nossas raízes’, é outra mentira. Um dia, um dedo, um dado dizem o contrário. É isso. Ovo novo no velho. ‘Fui-o outrora agora.’ (Campos, Augusto 1988: 8)

This reconceptualization of time and space in the ‘egg’ that one inherits in life (to paraphrase Augusto de Campos) surfaces in the greater *patria* made up of dialogical transits that are neither linear nor chronological. Instead, Augusto de Campos suggests a *patria* that uncovers the silences in world cultural heritage, and Haroldo de Campos moves on to transcreate the transits of cultures and peoples.

An example of these transits of cultures and peoples is seen in his dialogical ‘devouring’ of a Camonean Ulysses in his transcreational ‘Finismundo’. As Kenneth D. Jackson notes, in the final voyage of ‘Finismundo’ there is a substitution of both Pedro

Álvares Cabral, the ‘discoverer’ of Brazil, and the displaced voyagers arriving from Portugal, by Odysseus and the Greeks. Even though Haroldo de Campos never mentions his dialogue with the work of Camões, this nevertheless surfaces through a ‘desarticulação do prefixo ‘re’, de nascemorre’ (Jackson 2010: 92). As Jackson argues, Haroldo de Campos dialogues with *Os Lusíadas* when, ‘à beira vista/ da ínsula ansiada’, Ulysses loses his comrades from the voyage and, in this way, de Campos alludes to Camões’s the ‘Isle of Love’, in *Canto IX* (and X) of *Os Lusíadas* (Jackson 2010: 92). As Jackson further notes:

A imagem da ‘ínsula ansiada’, ora Ítaca, ora o Brasil, nos sugere outra referência, camoniana, à celebrada ‘ilha namorada’, do Canto IX d’ *Os Lusíadas*. Mas, como observamos em ‘Visão do Paraíso’, o ‘paradiso’ clássico acabou com o naufrágio de Odisseu e foi substituído – no finismundo – por um cartão-postal do turismo global. (Jackson 2010: 92)

The substitution of a ‘Visão do Paraíso, o paraíso clássico’ following Odysseus’s shipwreck with ‘um cartão-postal do turismo global’ conceals Haroldo de Campos’s dialogue with a Portuguese Ulysses as the source of revelations for his chosen readers in a worldwide mapping of nationhood in Portuguese. For when Haroldo de Campos’s Odysseus ‘perdeu os companheiros’ and all of his familiar surroundings, including his language, doing away with a ‘pompa fúnebre’ in ‘Finismundo’, the poet advances with a time and space where there is no paradise but only exile and echoes of the lost Garden of Eden in a postlapsarian world. By not arriving ‘à beira-vista da ínsula ansiada – vendo já / o alcançável Éden ao quase toque da mão: os deuses conspiraram’ for *not being* in Brazil (Campos, Haroldo 1998: 77-80), as ‘Odisseus não aporta’ in South America (Campos, Haroldo 1998: 84), a transcreational Odysseus emerges as the world’s cultural heritage in de Campos’s Ulysses of ‘Finismundo’. This resurfacing of Homer’s epic in de Campos’s transcreational work also dialogues with both Pessoa’s ‘mute’ and ‘brilliant’ Ulysses and Camões’s Portuguese Ulysses of dispersal in the world. In his conceptualizations of nationhood, Pessoa argues that Ulysses is the founder of the

Portuguese nation even though Ulysses never arrives in Portugal (see Chapter One), just as Haroldo de Campos notes that his construct of ‘modal nationalism’ is one of difference in dialogue. Thus when de Campos transcreates the displacement(s) of the figure of the hero in Homer’s epic, whilst at the same time dialoguing with the Camonean and Pessoaan Ulysses in Portuguese, the poet opens a space for visual and spatial language in ‘Finismundo’.

As de Campos notes, the spaces that he opens in his transcreation of Homer’s epic are zones of ambiguity:

De fato, eu quis criar essa ambigüidade através do espaçamento gráfico. Esse ‘extremo’ se refere, na sintaxe do poema, a ‘istmo’, mas eu não o quis pôr imediatamente em seguida, porque quis extremar graficamente o ‘istmo’, e fazer com que a ‘ínsula’ fosse uma espécie de aposto de ‘istmo’; de ‘istmo extremo’, esse extremo’ está ao lado de ‘ínsula’, mas de fato de refere a ‘istmo’, é um adjetivo que qualifica ‘istmo’; o istmo (e/ ou ínsula) dá, a quem alcance, acesso ao céu. Esse deslocamento junto à ‘ínsula’ visa a criar essa zona de ambigüidade, uma espécie de pequeno vórtice dentro do texto, e de fato cria realmente uma espécie de impasse. A pessoa precisa refazer o percurso e recolocar na topografia correta aquilo que eu desloquei de propósito, como se fosse um efeito, uma ilusão rítmica, da própria viagem, como é a paisagem, ou a topografia é vista por alguém que está navegando. Então há esse balanço, essa oscilação, essa deslocação violenta. Há uma interrupção do nexos sintático para criar uma ilusão ambígua. É uma pequena cilada ‘pelágica’ que está aí, sintática. Afinal, se resolve com simplicidade. (Campos, Haroldo 1997b: 32-33)

The ‘istmo’/‘ínsula’ in ‘Finismundo’ as a displacement is not only an ‘ilusão rítmica, da própria viagem’ but also ‘acesso ao céu’, that is, the process of translation following the debris of Babel. Arguing that such ambiguity of perception is formed in transit – that is, ‘vista por alguém que está navegando’ – voyaging in ‘Finismundo’ is, therefore, a journey of transmutation across time and space, as Haroldo de Campos’s Ulysses is an aged *persona* in his voyaging in everyday, urban life. This ‘ínsula’ of ambiguity is also a remembrance of the tower of Babel and the impossibility of reaching the heavens. The scattering of people across the face of the whole earth is echoed in ‘Finismundo’ in the transits of modernity of São Paulo’s congested motorways, not in the maritime quests of times past. This transition of paradigm is one of the (de)lights of the

‘ínsula ansiada’ as, for Haroldo de Campos, Portuguese is a language-as-translation with which he reinvigorates culture by both concealing and revealing this in ‘Finismundo’. If Haroldo de Campos follows a tradition, then this is a tradition of the disruption of the decadent boundaries of the world – by loving to devour in translation.

As a result, Haroldo de Campos writes an intertext of (re)versive time and space, as Piero Boitani notes when he examines voyaging in ‘Finismundo’. As Boitani states:

At this point one should perhaps ask what exactly is the last voyage of *Finismundo*. Is it the traditional, Dantean one which it transcreates by joining *Odyssey* XI to *Inferno* XXVI? If so, then for this particular reader Haroldo de Campos’s last voyage leads from Gibraltar to the West, to the Southwest and the ‘altro polo’: in sum, following the traditional *imaginaire*, to South America, which Columbus and the first explorers thought of as a Garden of Eden. One could even imagine that this ‘reversed Ithaca’ is Brazil, the medieval and sixteenth-century ‘isle’ and that the city which, in the poem’s second section, is ironically called ‘penúltima ... Tule’ is in fact São Paulo. This would give *Finismundo* a splendid, and doubly ironical, *Odyssey*-like, circular structure, somewhat akin to Joyce’s *Ulysses*. (Boitani in Vieira and McGuirk 2007: 94)

As Boitani suggests, ‘Finismundo’ has a transitional structure in which the South American *imaginaire* is a cultural devouring of the world’s literature. This critical digestion of world literature includes the Camonean Portuguese Ulysses and nymphs in Haroldo de Campos’s ‘ínsula ansiada’, as in ‘só um sulco/ cicatriza no peito de Poséidon. / Clausurou-se o ponto’ (Campos, Haroldo 1998: 92-96). In dialogue with Camões’s epic, Haroldo de Campos reconsiders the ‘mute’ voices that human ears cannot hear unlike Poseidon (the mover of events in Homer’s epic) which in ‘Finismundo’ is the closure of a paradigm towards the vocality and visibility of muteness. As ‘Finismundo’ says, ‘serena agora o canto convulsivo/ o doceamargo pranto das sereias/ (ultrassom incaptado a ouvido humano)’ (Campos, Haroldo 1998: 98-100), for these voices, albeit ‘ultrassom incaptado a ouvido humano’, are also those of the nymphs of *Os Lusíadas* and, in particular, the speech of Thetys in the ‘Isle of Love’. The latter, although powerless in regards to the overall outcome of the national narrative and the triumph of

the Roman god Bacchus over the development of the plot-taking place in the ‘Isle of Love’, has the role of a wise woman. She is the one who ‘recebe ali com pompa honesta e régia/ mostrando-se senhora grande e egrégia’ the ‘Capitão ilustre que o merece’ (Camões n.d.: 361). In this intertextual reading of both works a temporality of impermanence surfaces, as Haroldo de Campos’s Homeric Odysseus ‘da glória recusou a pompa fúnebre’ in ‘Finismundo’ – and, with this, immortality – whilst Thethys receives the Camonean Ulysses with ‘pompa honesta e régia’ on the transitional ‘Isle of Love’. Haroldo de Campos’s dialogue with the Camonean ‘Isle of Love’ in ‘Finismundo’ reveals the crossings of nations and the displacements of cultures across times and spaces in Portuguese language-as-translation.

Furthermore, in Haroldo de Campos’s transcreational ‘Finismundo’ time is made up of endings that are also new beginnings through his dialogue with a Joycean Ulysses of modernity. As Haroldo de Campos notes, his dialogical Ulysses of modernity is a secular (hu)man who lives in the city:

Aquele épico, que está na viagem homérica que está no mar, do Odisseu homérico, e aquele terrestre, paródico, que está no Ulisses, – já não mais Odisseu – mas no Ulisses moderno, joyceano, que é uma espécie de paradigma do homem na cidade contemporânea, ou seja, um Ulisses da banalidade, do mundo, como diria Lukács, abandonado pelos deuses. (Campos, Haroldo 1997b: 16)

It is in this transmigration from body to body and era to era that Haroldo de Campos’s Odysseus, like the Portuguese Ulysses in Camões, has, in exile, a glimpse of paradise as ‘vistas da Ilha enamorada’ of *Os Lusíadas*:

51 Cortando vão as naus a larga via
Do mar ingente para a pátria amada,
Desejando-se prover-se de água fria
Para a grande viagem prolongada,
Quando, juntas, com súbita alegria,
Houveram vistas da Ilha enamorada,
Rompendo pelo céu a mãe formosa
De Menónio, suave e deleitosa.

52 De longe a ilha viram, fresca e bela,
Que Vénus pelas ondas lha levava

(Bem como o vento leva branca vela)
 Para onde a forte armada se enxergava;
 Que, por que não passassem, sem que nela
 Tomassem porto, como desejava,
 Para onde as naus navegam a movia
 A Acidália, que tudo, enfim, podia. (Camões n.d.: 350)

Whilst in ‘Finismundo’ the *persona* is an aged Ulysses who is on his last voyage where the sirens do not sing (to him) – that is, a form of cultural voyaging like Portuguese Ulyssism (in *Galáxias*) – in *Os Lusíadas*, on the other hand, the Portuguese Ulysses(es) are young men whose main desire is for the women that they encounter. The speaker tells us, moreover, that the ‘Isle of Love’ is in transit through the oceans as desire is Venus’s and Bacchus’s gifts to those of Portuguese (s)words who ‘de longe a ilha viram, fresca e bela,/ que Vénus pelas ondas lha levava/ (Bem como o vento leva branca a vela)/ para onde a forte armada se enxergava’ (Camões n.d.: 350). Contrary to de Campos’s Odysseus in ‘Finismundo’, in his transcreation of the cultural encounter of the Portuguese Ulysses on the ‘Isle of Love’, the fate of the latter is not the same as that of the Greek or Dantean Ulysses, for the Portuguese participate in what they perceive to be, in exile, a (re)turn to love in paradise. In this sense, Venus’s and Bacchus’s gift of desire for trespassing and transgressing in the ‘Isle of Love’ is the (im)possibility of a return to love in paradise. Whilst in ‘Finismundo’ the fate of Homer’s Odysseus is death in ‘água só. Rasuras. / E o fado esfaimando. Última / thánatos eks halós / morte que provém do mar salino / húbris’ (Campos, Haroldo 1998: 58), the scattering of a Ulysses in Portuguese ‘blooms’ on the floating ‘Isle of Love’ in *Os Lusíadas*.

Haroldo de Campos reveals that transcreation is an *achronologic* intertextual dialogue of world literary heritage in ‘Finismundo’, as the prefix ‘re-’ coincides with ambiguity and displacement, the fate of ‘desatino’ in a mapping that is a ‘não-mapeado’ *finismundo*:

		Re-
incidir na partida.	Ousar	–
húbris-propulso	– o mar	

atrás do mar. O ínvio-obsuro
 caos pelaginoso
 até onde se esconde a proibida
 geografia do Éden – Paradiso
 terreno: o umbráculo interdito:
 a lucarna: por ali
 istmo extremo ínsula
 se tem acesso ao céu
 terrestre: ao transfinito.

Odisseu senescendo

rechaça a pervasiva – capitoso
 regaço de Penélope –
 consolação da paz. Quilha das ondas
 sulca mais uma vez (qual nunca antes)
 o irado
 espelho de Poséidon: o-cor-de-vinho
 coração da maroceano.

Destino: o desatino

o não-mapeado
 Finismundo: ali
 onde começa a infranqueada
 fronteira do extracéu.

Assim:

partir o lacre ao proibido: des-
 virginal o céu. Lance
 dos lances. Irremissa
 missão voraginosa.

Ele foi –

Odisseu.

Não conta a lenda antiga
 do Polúmetis o fado demasiado.

Ou se conta

desvaira desvairando: infinda o fim.
 Odisseu foi. Perdeu os companheiros.
 À beira-vista
 da ínsula ansiada – vendo já
 o alcançável Éden ao quase
 toque da mão: os deuses conspiraram.
 O céu suscita os escarcéus do arcano.
 A nave repelida
 abisma-se soprada de destino.

Odisseu não aporta.

Efêmeros sinais no torvelinho
 acusam-lhe o naufrágio –
 instam mas declinam
 sossobrados no instante. (Campos, Haroldo 1998: 55-59)

Brazil is, in Haroldo de Campos's transcreational 'Finismundo', the Eden/ love isle where the young Portuguese Ulysseses in *Os Lusíadas* contribute to the nation and,

to allude to Joyce's *Ulysses*, undergo 'metempsychosis' throughout the cultural encounters of nations. Moreover, Haroldo de Campos's transcreation of a Camonean Ulysses in 'Finismundo' also reveals the devouring of European culture as a manifestation of the struggle against the exploitative nature of a repressive society and the alienation of its intellectuals. To achieve this, Haroldo de Campos dialogues with Oswald de Andrade and Ronald de Carvalho (*inter alia*), Brazilian modernists whose creativity disrupts the homogeneity of monologicality, whilst revealing the contributions of creativity in the spaces of interaction between nations (see Chapter Three). In this way, the mapping of 'Finismundo' is also a non-mapping of nations whose cultural encounters take place in the translational spaces of ambiguity and transmutation, with the aim of cultural transformation and intervention in a fallen world where 'shipwrecks' abound.

Anthropophagy as a metaphor, therefore, in its edible and procreational facets, inscribes cultural difference whilst disarming the homogenizing negations of potential colonizers from the outside and/or repressive individuals from within who fail to negotiate. For this, Anthropophagy reveals that the memory of the nation inscribes its own cultural contacts in time and space as negotiation and difference, but also as negation and the closure of dialogical spaces. In this sense, the 'ínsula ansiada' of Haroldo de Campos's transcreational Portuguese Ulysses in 'Finismundo' is an isle of anthropophagic love. Complementary to the digestive version of the phenomena, the reproductive version of Anthropophagy on the 'Isle of Love' of *Os Lusíadas* is desire for life in paradise, as in Brazil the natives' strategies for disarming the foreign colonizers allude to the totemic *tapir* and its absorption of the other's strength. As Vieira observes:

Cannibalism is a metaphor actually drawn from the natives' ritual whereby feeding from someone or drinking someone's blood, as they did to their totemic *tapir*, was a means of absorbing the other's strength, a pointer to the very project of the Anthropophagy group: not to deny foreign influences or nourishment, but to absorb and transform them by the addition of autochthonous input. Initially using the metaphor as an irreverent verbal

weapon, the *Manifesto Antropófago* stresses the repressive nature of colonialism; Brazil had been ‘traumatised by colonial repression and conditioning, the paradigm of which is the suppression of the original anthropophagical ritual by the Jesuits’, so ‘the cure is to use that which was originally repressed – cannibalism – as a weapon against historically repressive society’. (Nunes, in Johnson: 51) (Vieira in Vieira and McGuirk 2007: 20)

Brazil is indeed a historically repressive society, both colonial and patriarchal following the arrival of voyagers from Portugal. The *Manifesto Antropófago* of modernity, therefore, has the aim of liberating Brazil from the constraints of a persistent mental colonialism. It reveals that translation negotiates through difference in the cultural encounters of nations, for ‘só me interessa o que não é meu’, that is, part of my *being*, as de Andrade advances in his *Manifesto Antropófago*. For the modernist, Anthropophagy opens spaces of dialogue and, ultimately, is a translational strategy that fights cultural obliteration and colonization, as Haroldo de Campos’s transcreation reveals in Portuguese language-as-translation. In this translational world of Haroldo de Campos, his chosen critics are readers who challenge traditional versions in order to reveal the nation’s spaces of interaction – *making it new* beyond the frontiers of the linguistic and cultural hierarchies of nation-states. Readers are chosen critics whose responses result in the creation of translational worlds (a great example of this is the structure of Haroldo de Campos’s *Galaxias* as it enables readers to write on its white pages).

Transcreation is an intertextual process liberating works in time and space from all kinds of constraints for de Campos in ‘Finismundo’, whereas on the Camonean ‘Isle of Love’ of *Os Lusíadas* the outcome of these cultural encounters is the reproductive version of Anthropophagy. For when the voyagers from Portugal arrive at the ‘Isle of Love’, during a period of political and religious persecution in Europe, they behave as if they wish to devour the nymphs in order to inscribe difference. As *Os Lusíadas* says:

72 Outros, por outra parte, vão topar
Com Deusas despidas, que se lavam;
Elas começam súbito a gritar,
Como que assalto tal não esperavam.

Umas, fingindo menos estimar
 A vergonha que a força, se lançavam
 Nuas por entre o mato, aos olhos dando
 O que às mãos cobiçosas vão negando.

73 Outra, como acudindo mais depressa
 À vergonha da Deusa caçadora,
 Esconde o corpo n'água; outra se apressa
 Por tomar os vestidos que tem fora.
 Tal dos mancebos há que se arremessa,
 Vestido assim e calçado (que, co'a mora
 De se despir, há medo que inda tarde)
 A matar na água o fogo que nele arde. (Camões, n. d.: 357)

This passage very explicitly portrays how the men approach the nymphs as if they are the only recompense for hardship and exile, and the possibility of return to paradise. For example, we are told about Leonardo and how physical desire is part of the quest, as Leonardo is an expression of Camonean physical love. For Leonardo – ‘soldado bem disposto, / manhoso, cavaleiro e namorado, / a quem o amor não dera só um desgosto / mas sempre fora dele mal tratado’ – there is a transcendental world beyond mundane, everyday life and therefore he pleads for the nymph to consider his soul when he tells her, ‘espera um corpo de quem levas a alma!’ (Camões, n. d.: 358). In ‘Finismundo’, de Campos reverses this Camonean paradigm of life and love by creating an urban Ulysses who, as an old *persona* in modernity, is mundane and content with ‘um postal do Éden’. The latter has no need to seek a transcendental paradise for he has ‘sobrevivido ao mito’ which, in its turn, (re)turns us to the creation of the nation in Fernando Pessoa’s ‘mute’ Ulysses in his reconceptualization of nationhood as ‘*diferença*, o nacionalismo como o movimento dialógico da diferença’, that is ‘*nacional* por não ser nacional [...]’ (Campos, Haroldo 1992: 237). As de Campos suggests in ‘Finismundo’, transfigurations of the myth are paramount to modernity in São Paulo:

	Água só.	Rasuras.
E o fado esfaimado.	Última	
		thánatos eks halós
		morte que provém so mar salino
húbris.		

Odisseu senescente
 da glória recusou a pompa fúnebre.
 Só um sulco
 cicratiza no peito de Poséidon.
 Clausurou-se o ponto. O redondo
 oceano ressona taciturno.
 Serena agora o canto convulsivo
 o doceamargo pranto das sereias
 (ultrassom incaptado a ouvido humano).

... ma l'un di voi dica
 dove per lui perduto a morir gisse

2.
 Urbano Ulisses
 sobrevivido ao mito
 (eu e Você meu hipo-
 côndrico crítico
 leitor) – civil
 factótum (polúmetis?)
 do acaso computadorizado. Teu
 epitáfio? Margem de erro: traço
 mínimo digitado
 e à pressa cancelado
 no líquido cristal verdefluente.

Périplo?

Não há. Vigiam-te os semáforos.
 Teu fogo prometéico se resume
 à cabeça de um fósforo – Lúcifer
 portátil e/ou
 ninharia flamífera.

Capitula

(cabeça fria)
 tua húbris. Nem sinal
 de sereias.
 Penúltima – é o máximo a que aspira
 tua penúria de última
 Tule. Um postal do Éden
 com isso te contentas.

Açuladas sirenes
 cortam teu coração cotidiano. (Campos, Haroldo 1998: 55-59)

Haroldo de Campos, in his dialogue with Walter Benjamin, opens spaces of interaction for a chosen critic whose voyage is through a translational world where literature is a secular dialogue of verses and reverses that intervene in the traditional paradigms of the nation. By opening up spaces for these chosen critics, Haroldo de Campos further acknowledges the overlooked contributions of countless migrants and

other nationals in transit. In this way, translation moves away from negation and enables a negotiation of nationhood, and thus the Ulysses of Haroldo de Campos is a transcreational *aged persona* in ‘Finismundo’ – an old man in modern São Paulo who opens up spaces of negotiation, rather than negation, for the nation.

Furthermore, Augusto de Campos, when dialoguing with Fernando Pessoa’s work and with that of the heteronyms – who, this thesis argues, are the paramount example of the latter’s non-positioning of Portuguese national and literary identity – notes that intertextual dialogue negotiates between tradition and modernity. It does so by knowing how to discern the decadent times past from the ancient and modern cultures of the world:

assim como há gente que tem medo do novo, há gente que tem medo do antigo. Eu defenderei até à morte o novo por causa do antigo e até à vida o antigo por causa do novo. O antigo que foi novo é tão novo como o mais novo novo. O que é preciso é saber discerni-lo no meio das velhacas velharias que nos impingiram durante tanto tempo.

Arnaut Daniel, João Airas de Santiago, John Donne, Marino, Corbière ou Hopkins, Gregório de Martos ou Sousândrade ou Kilkerry, num sentido mais largo, não são muito menos novos que Joyce ou Pound ou Oswald ou Pignatari. São irmãos no tempo, mais irmãos e mais próximos que a diluente maioria dos *literatti* que nos cercam. Como não amá-los? Meu amor vegetal crescendo vasto. (Campos, Augusto 1988: 7)

The quest(ion) of time and space for Augusto de Campos in the discussion of national cultures reveals an translational dialogue that writes the nation as an intertextual space of interactions without boundaries of time and space. In this way he creates an open space with a temporality that reinvigorates the world’s literary heritage from within through a translational voyaging in literature resembling an exile similar to that of Fernando Pessoa, when the latter reveals his project of heteronymy as a dialogical non-positioning of the nation in the world. Thus this open space of interaction in time and space that Augusto de Campos argues for also gives visibility to the dispersal of national cultures in the past, from the ‘velhacas velharias’ of times gone by. Therefore, for Augusto de Campos, translation is an ongoing transversal dialogue – through difference

and negotiation – of the world’s cultural heritage beyond the decadence of national cultures and nation-states, whereas the cultural encounters in *Os Lusíadas* reveal the transnational dispersal of languages and peoples in a world of discoveries.

One of the themes of this transversal dialogue in a world of discoveries is the Portuguese quest for glory and gold, as seen with Tethys on the ‘Isle of Love’ and the Old Man of Restelo in *Os Lusíadas* when they warn the young men about the destructive nature of glory and gold. Tethys – daughter of Celo and Vesta, and mother of the Oceanic nymphs in this space of cultural encounter that is the ‘Isle of Love’ – suggests that love and hybridity should replace the search for glory and gold. In this way, she argues for love in the Oriental transits of the Atlantic whilst rejecting the imperial domination that destroys spaces of interaction during humanity’s cultural encounters – wherever and whenever these may take place. The kind of love that Tethys suggests is the only ‘unida Esfera/ Da terra imensa e mar não navegado’, that is, the discovery yet to come in a space that is not made up of Oceanic water. In this sense, there is a reconceptualization of the nature of heroism and of the hero himself in the new context of the Portuguese dispersal of countless nationals across the globe, whilst the poem also reflects on the ancient cult of the hero in Homer’s *Odyssey* – the first narrative of cultural dispersal and ‘discovery’ of the Western World(view). As it says:

85 Uma delas, maior, a quem se humilha
 Todo o coro das Ninfas e obedece,
 que dizem ser de Celo e Vesta filha,
 O que no gesto belo se parece,
 Enchendo a terra e o mar de maravilha,
 o Capitão ilustre que o merece,
 Recebe ali com pompa honesta e régia
 mostrando-se senhora grande e egrégia.

86 Que, depois de lhe ter dito quem era,
 C’um alto exórdio, de alta graça ornado,
 Dando-lhe a entender que ali viera
 Por alta influicção do imóvel Fado,
 Para lhe descobrir da unida Esfera
 Da terra imensa e mar não navegado
 Os segredos, por alta profecia,

O que esta sua nação só merecia,

87 Tomando-o pela mão, o leva e guia
 Para o cume dum monte alto e divino,
 No qual ãa rica fábrica se erguia,
 De cristal toda e de ouro puro e fino.
 A maior parte aqui passam do dia,
 Em doces jogos e em prazer contino.
 Ela nos paços logra seus amores,
 As outras pelas sombras, entre as flores.

88 Que as Ninfas do Oceano, tão formosas,
 Tethys e a Ilha angélica pintada,
 Outra cousa não é que as deleitosas
 Honras que a vida fazem sublimada.
 Aquelas preminências gloriosas,
 Os triunfos, a fronte coroada
 De palma e louro, a glória e maravilha:
 Estes são os deleites desta Ilha. (Camões, n. d.: 361-62)

As the voice of this epic poem reveals, love for humanity – in this case, hybridity – and not imperial conquest is the triumphal crown, ‘a fronte coroada’, available to these young men at the service of the Portuguese King at the time of the Discoveries. Thus the hero in this open space of cultural encounter that is the ‘Isle of Love’ is not in search of gold and territory, but rather is a hero whose crown is made of palm and laurel in a life consisting of glory and wonder, that is, discovery. In this new space of interaction in which love is the substance of life, the hero is someone who voyages in dialogue with national cultures and therefore enables cultural transformation – embracing the immaterial world(s) away from the corrupting nature of gold and the decadence of nation-states.

The Old Man of Restelo, who also warns the archetype of the Portuguese Ulysses about the pitfalls of glory and conquest, reveals another form of love, for the nationals with diasporic identities, with his project at home. He represents the myriad contributions of the settled identities to the construction of the Portuguese empire. Thus, when Haroldo de Campos’s aged Ulysses of modernity surfaces in ‘Finismundo’, the poet pays tribute to the overlooked input of numerous migrants and many marginal identities, in transit

from the rural world(s) and overseas, who never receive any recognition for the value of their work. In this way, Haroldo de Campos's aged Ulysses is in dialogue with the Old Man of Restelo at the same time as creating a new space of interaction for the nation that promotes a non-hierarchical and non-exploitative society. Like the Old Man of Restelo in *Os Lusíadas*, Haroldo de Campos also contests the kind of Ulyssism of those young men who depart from Portugal only to discover fame and glory. Their only desire is for power and conquest – though he never mentions the creation of new spaces of cultural transformation and strongly mistrusts the project of modernity. Here quoted at length is the important speech of the Old Man of Restelo and his argument to despise the modern quest of the nation. As he says:

94 Mas um velho, de aspeito venerando,
 Que ficava nas praias, entre a gente,
 Postos em nós os olhos, meneando
 Três vezes a cabeça, descontente,
 A voz pesada um pouco alevantando,
 Que nós no mar ouvimos claramente,
 C'um saber só de experiências feito,
 Tais palavras tirou do experto peito:

95 Ó glória de mandar, ó vã cobiça
 Desta vaidade a quem chamamos Fama!
 Ó fraudulento gosto, que se atiça
 C'uma aura popular, que honra se chama!
 Que castigo tamanho e que justiça
 Fazes no peito vão que muito te ama!
 Que mortes que perigos, que tormentas,
 Que crueldades neles experimentas!

96 Dura iniquitação d'alma e da vida
 Fonte de desamparos e adultérios,
 Sagaz consumidora conhecida
 De fazendas, de reinos e de impérios:
 Chamam-te ilustre, chamam-te subida,
 Sendo digna de infames vitupérios;
 Chamam-te Fama e Glória soberana,
 Nomes com quem se o povo néscio engana.

97 A que novos desastres determinas
 De levar estes Reinos e esta gente?
 Que perigos, que mortes lhe destinas,
 Debaixo dalgum nome preminente?
 Que promessas de reinos e de minas

De ouro, que lhe farás tão facilmente?
 Que famas lhe prometerás? Que histórias?
 Que triunfos? Que palmas? Que vitórias? (Camões, n. d.: 196-97)

The Old Man of Restelo criticizes the ambitions of the young – those who depart, to paraphrase Camões, in order to give ‘new worlds to the world’ – and asks them to stay away from the corrupting nature of fame and glory to shield the nation from the threat of war and death (Camões, n. d.: 198-99). In ‘Finismundo’, de Campos suggests a new world with a Ulysses as the paradigm of banality who lives an everyday, mundane life away from the glory and love of gold of the Camonean archetype of the Portuguese Ulysses, and away from the concerns of war portrayed by the Old Man of Restelo in Camões’s work. Thus, in dialogue with Camões and the Portuguese global diaspora, Haroldo de Campos also criticizes the lack of love and care in societies where personal glory and material wealth are more important than the contributions of countless nationals – and it is those who profit from these contributions that turn them into an invisible, voiceless service in the world. Questions of silence and invisibility in ‘Finismundo’ also resurface in de Campos’s dialogue with Brazilian modernist de Andrade’s transcreation of a modern Joycean Ulysses in *Memórias sentimentais de João Miramar* and *Serafim Ponte Grande*. Moreover, Haroldo de Campos reveals the silences of his ‘roots’ and the mute transits of his *patria* when, as the poet argues, he uncovers the ‘importância da bagagem literária oswaldiana’. As de Campos observes:

Houve mesmo, durante muito tempo – e com reflexos até nossos dias – uma campanha sistemática de silêncio contra Oswald, que resultou na minimização, senão na voluntária obliteração, da importância da bagagem literária oswaldiana. O criador de *Miramar*, na sua combatividade característica, já a denunciava no mesmo *Ponta de Lança* (‘Fraternidade de Jorge Amado’): ‘Criou-se então a fábula de que eu só fazia piada e irreverência, e uma cortina de silêncio tentou encobrir a ação pioneira que dera o *Pau-Brasil*, donde, no depoimento atual de Vinicius de Moraes, saíram todos os elementos da moderna poesia brasileira. (Campos, Haroldo 1975: xiv)

The silencing of de Andrade, the descendant of a wealthy land-owning Portuguese family, undermines his witty rupture from the traditional negations of his

cultural heritage. De Andrade's disruption of the Portuguese empire in his work resembles, as Haroldo de Campos notes, James Joyce's turning of the tables on the British Empire. The son of Portuguese expatriates and part of an imperial diaspora, de Andrade speaks from *within* the spheres of Portuguese culture and is, in this way, able to intervene in the norm for the purpose of opening up spaces for the nation. He is one of the Brazilian writers with whom Haroldo de Campos dialogues, in Portuguese, at the same time as the latter is also in dialogue with Joyce in English (Joyce being another silenced voice in his own time, like de Andrade).

As Haroldo de Campos says, Joyce's *Ulysses* is a 'grande marco anti-normativo' as the Joycean '*Ulysses* é um marco onde termina o romance da burguesia, pois aí, num dia coletivista e mural, seus heróis destroçados não são mais de modo algum os 'mandatários da própria debilidade no país da força' (Campos in Andrade, n. d.: 44, 70). In his dialogue with polyglot James Joyce's *Ulysses*, polyglot Haroldo de Campos reconceptualizes the modern nation and the transits that (re)write this in 'Finismundo'.

As Olgária Matos notes, this rewriting of the nation is the *imarginable*:

Joyce lida com setenta línguas e seu romance tem sessenta mil verbetes quando as pessoas falam normalmente três mil vocábulos [...] Faz composições com palavras de setenta línguas [...] Joyce vivia no Império Britânico. É outro elemento importante, as coisas acontecendo na periferia (na Irlanda). Como elemento periférico, Joyce era antiimperialista. O imperialismo da Inglaterra que vem desde a Idade Média, foi tão forte na Irlanda que acabou com a língua irlandesa, impôs a língua estrangeira. Assim ele assimila a língua inglesa inteiramente e a enriquece. Joyce é irlandês e nunca deixou de sê-lo, mas não compatua com aqueles movimentos que pretendem fazer do regionalismo inglês um elemento de isolamento. Não participa de movimentos nacionalistas irlandeses, tampouco se submete ao imperialismo britânico, para que se tornar efetivamente universal. Aí está o *imarginable* o que não tem margens. (Matos 2005: 144)

Multilingual de Campos transcreates an *imarginable* Ulysses in 'Finismundo' whilst disrupting the national centres and margins by inscribing in his non-epic, longer-poem the languages of global literary heritage. He thus rejects the nationalistic movements of his country that fail to recognize the magnitude of cultural exiles – of

great minds wherein culture is without frontiers of any kind – that shadow the nation from *within* and enable spaces of interaction that surface in the world’s literary heritage. Haroldo de Campos’s *persona* of an old man on a final voyage in ‘Finismundo’ constitutes this interactional approach and is also his liberation from an exile of the dictates of frontiers – whether regional, national, or in the mapping of mental colonialisms of the empires of history – and this is his contribution to the culture of Brazil in dialogue with world literature.

Augusto de Campos also emphasizes this dialogue with world literature when, in his interactions with Pessoa, he notes that translation is *persona*, that is, a heteronymic displacement creating in a translational world where translation itself is a creative process of critique:

‘Com uma falta de gente coexistível, como há hoje, que pode um homem de sensibilidade fazer senão inventar os seus amigos, ou quando menos, os seus companheiros de espírito?’ (Fernando Pessoa).

A minha maneira de amá-los é traduzi-los. Ou degluti-los, segundo a Lei Antropofágica de Oswald de Andrade: só me interessa o que não é meu. tradução é *persona*. Quase heterónimo. Entrar dentro da pele do fingidor para refingir tudo de novo, dor por dor, som por som, cor por cor. Por isso nunca me propus a traduzir tudo. Só aquilo que sinto. Só aquilo que minto. Ou minto que sinto, como diria ainda mais vez, Pessoa na sua própria *persona*.

Outrossim, ou antes, outronão: tradução é crítica, como viu Pound melhor que ninguém. Uma das melhores formas de crítica. Ou pelos menos a única verdadeiramente criativa, quando ela – a tradução – é criativa. (Campos, Augusto 1988: 7)

The dialogical voices of Haroldo de Campos, Oswald de Andrade, and James Joyce are anti-normative whilst speaking from *within* – in this way they are a liberation from the persistent tyranny of discussions of culture in terms of force and homogeneity, and the nation as a cultural monologue of national literatures of nation-states. In Haroldo de Campos’s transcreation ‘Finismundo’, moreover, this dialogue with world literature takes the form of an intertextual Ulyssism of inverse and reverse time and space.

When dialoguing with de Andrade’s Ulysses of modernity in *Serafim* – a process of creating spaces for ‘ovo novo no velho’, to cite Augusto de Campos – Haroldo de

Campos conceptualizes transcreation as voyaging in a translational world of everyday, non-chronological, mundane life or, as he calls it, in a world where life is a ‘mito da viagem permanente’. As he suggests, ‘o mito da ‘viagem permanente’ é também a contrapartida anárquica da revolução permanente, que se transformará em vontade positiva de engajamento no importante prefácio retrospectivo e prospectivo de *Serafim*’ (Campos, Haroldo 1975: xxx). This ‘mito da viagem permanente’ that is modern life takes the form of a transitional ‘revolução permanente’, of retrospective and prospective transits in time and space in a translational world – away from the non-critical and linear, chronological time of nation-states. For Haroldo de Campos, therefore, de Andrade’s ‘Miramar é um Ulisses ingênuo, sem as manhas do rusé personnage homérico, mas para o qual a viagem representa uma primeira perspectiva, se bem que ainda imprecisa e indefinida, de abertura para o mundo e de ‘situação’ crítica’ (Campos, Haroldo 1975: xxx). In this way, the permanent voyaging in the translational world of Haroldo de Campos’s work disrupts the mental and physical colonialisms that the norm perpetuates and imposes within nation-states for the sake of social and cultural mimicry. Contesting cultural mimicry and the dictates of the norm, Haroldo de Campos instead embraces a dialogical intertext that is anti-normative, transversal, and made up of (trans)creativity that renovates itself by voyaging in a Portuguese language-as-translation.

As Haroldo de Campos further argues, voyaging in a translational world liberates from within. As he explains, de Andrade’s modern Ulysses, Miramar, portrays this kind of liberation, for he ‘voltava inocente como fora, pela ladeira de um intérmino mar. Apenas tinha uma nova dimensão na alma – conhecera a liberdade’ (Campos 1975: xxx). As ‘liberdade’ is at the core of his translational writing, Haroldo de Campos evaluates the ‘planos dinâmicos, o cubismo com os seus planos estáticos, o orfismo com seus círculos contrastantes [...] desenhando um contexto de convergências e de divergências’ in a corpus of ‘original’ literature and translations (Campos, Haroldo 1975: xliii). Thus the

poet observes that *Serafim* is ‘um grande não-livro’ and creates ‘uma nova idéia de *texto*’ – that is, the intertext that is a translational world – by reconceptualizing modern, everyday, mundane life as the nation’s writing of world literature. In this way, Haroldo de Campos’s intertextual dialogue with the spaces of interaction of the nation reveals the restrictive boundaries of the regional and national, and the persisting mental colonialisms of former empires both inside and outside of Brazil. Foremost, his work shows that culture, the nation, and nation-states are not synonymous concepts, and to perceive them as such obliterates the nation from within and negates the nation’s translational dialogue that rewrites and revitalizes world literature.

Haroldo de Campos uncovers Brazil’s cultural contributions to world literary heritage and reveals how Brazil owes nothing to the world for the merits of its own achievements. Aware of this cultural imaginary and translational space of interaction that he calls ‘memória virtual do tempo’, de Campos – again in dialogue with Walter Benjamin – argues that his chosen, critical readers engage in an intertextual ‘acaso computadorizado’, as the poet suggests in ‘Finismundo’. As Haroldo de Campos reveals:

Uma tradução marcada pela forma? ‘Eu acho que o *Finismundo* espera um leitor, deseja um leitor. Se esse leitor não existir atualmente e se esses destroços do naufrágio realmente subsistirem, esse leitor estará inscrito virtualmente na memória de Deus. Ele será o meu leitor-eleito, para falar como Benjamin. Na memória virtual do tempo, um poema, desde que tenha validade estética, estará sempre disponível como matriz aberta, pronta a ser atualizada na recepção, senão do presente, de algum ponto electivo do futuro. (Campos, Haroldo 1997b: 36)

In the ‘acaso computadorizado’ in ‘Finismundo’ there is, therefore, a renovation of temporality because Haroldo’s elected readers become part of the transnational process of (re)writing ‘original’ literatures and translations. Thus this renovation from within – the ‘nova idéia de *texto*’ and ‘grande não-livro’, as de Campos mentions in his preface of de Andrade’s *Serafim* – once again writes the modern nation as a transversal dialogue uncovering the transits of the world in a non-chronological time and deterritorialized space. Moreover, Haroldo de Campos revitalizes de Andrade’s literary

Anthropophagy as de Campos inverts and reveals a temporality in reverse contrary to conceptualizations of national chronology in terms of linear and objective time. In this way he writes back another literature for the nation. He writes a nation in which language negotiates in translation.

Haroldo de Campos denounces the silencing of the nation's worldwide dialogue, because such silencing erases the possibility of cultural transformation and national revitalization for the sake of preserving the ideological and territorial nation-state. For this, he engages in an ongoing dialogue with de Andrade's cultural Anthropophagy with the purpose of writing a national and worldwide intertext that disrupts the repressive society of his time, as the work of these two Brazilian writers reveals. De Andrade advances these spaces of interaction in the world – moving away from the narrow mental spaces of discussions of the nation as territory – when he creates a literary Anthropophagy for the 'good-savage' of Brazil. His 'good-savage' represents the intellectuals whose mental spaces of interaction for cultural transformation and revitalization are the silenced voices because of their writing of the nation outside of the structural frameworks of nation-states.

Thus the 'good-savage' is, in Haroldo de Campos's work, the critical reader of the worldwide translational intertexts who rereads the circular structure through difference in 'Finismundo'. Boitani argues that it is within this wider *imaginaire* that we should place 'Finismundo', a transversal paradigm of a Ulysses of modernity, Haroldo de Campos transcreating the Portuguese tradition of the hero. Whilst mentioning the polymorphous qualities of Ulysses in European culture, Boitani identifies Haroldo de Campos's dialogue with a Portuguese Ulysses as a global intertext in 'Finismundo'. As he observes:

there also exists – and it is obviously fundamental in the case of a Brazilian poet – a specifically Portuguese tradition. This begins in classical antiquity and makes Ulysses the founder of Lisbon (Ulixabona). In due course, he

becomes the ancestor of Vasco da Gama and Magellan. The names here include none less than Camões, Gabriel Pereira de Castro and Pessoa.

It is I think within this wider *imaginaire* that we have to place *Finismundo*, which therefore appears as part of an almost global intertext and as one of the latest of the shadows of Ulysses. (Boitani in Vieira and McGuirk 2007: 91)

And also:

In 1992, without knowing anything about *Finismundo*, I published a book subsequently called, in English, *The Shadow of Ulysses. Figures of a Myth*, which dealt with the reincarnations of this most polymorphous hero in European literature and history and which began with the famous ambiguity of Tiresias's prophesy to Odysseus in Book XI of the *Odyssey*. (Boitani in Vieira and McGuirk 2007: 89)

In Camões's epic, the Old Man of Restelo represents

Ulysses as an intertext in Portuguese reveals a positioning where death awaits in (im)possible passages across spaces and times or, as Derrida suggests, nonpassages, for 'it concerns the impossibility of existence itself, and not merely the impossibility of this or that' (Derrida 1993: 72). It is in this aporia that Ulysses resurfaces, as Boitani says, as 'reincarnation' and 'shadow', in the global intertext that the nation writes in the spaces of interaction in a translational world.

In Camões's epic, the Old Man of Restelo represents the settled subjects of the nation. These subjects do not know if their existence as a nation is a possibility, since the nation and its identity are under threat from within, while the nation's youth, the countless Portuguese Ulysseses, are departing from the territory instead of shielding it from the enemy. Thus the Old Man's advice to the mariners is to abandon their voyage. Aware of this cultural intertext, Haroldo de Campos creates a dialogical, aged Ulysses. For this, Haroldo de Campos transluciferates – his term for the trespassing of boundaries – in the *persona* of a Ulysses who, 'dentro da pele do fingidor', irradiates the light of those who transgress. As in Homer's and Dante's epics, Haroldo's aged Ulysses too overcomes the limitations of his surroundings during his voyage but here in the everyday life in modernity, for transluciferation in 'Finismundo' is a paradigm where Lúçifer is keeper of the light:

Fósforo é uma palavra grega, o portador da luz, a mesma coisa que Lúcifer, que está dentro desse paradigma, o paradigma dos transgressores. Lúcifer, Prometeu, tudo isso, aquilo que é retratado seriamente no primeiro momento, é tratado derrisoriamente no segundo, ao mesmo tempo que o abandono do poeta contemporâneo, no mundo desertado pelos deuses, também é tratado com certa ironia, na medida em que, dos salvados do naufrágio, desses destroços resulta o poema. O poema são os salvados do naufrágio. Isto não é dito, mas está exposto no estar-aqui do poema, na sua existência e subsistência. É nessa paráfrase irônica que o poeta se sente identificado ao paradigma de outros poetas que cantaram o mundo ‘abandonado pelos deuses’ (expressão do Luckács da *Teoria do Romance*). (Campos, Haroldo 1997b: 23)

And also, of transfiguration and resurfacing after survival where, as with Tiresias, a gift comes with a curse (and vice-versa):

Isto está em Eliot, está em Pound, está em Joyce, para falar dessa linha de autores contemporâneos. Ao mesmo tempo, a húbri que resta, aquele resquício de vaidade do poeta, é simplesmente o papel impresso, fragmentário, as poucas páginas que formam o texto. Esses salvados do naufrágio entre um passado onde, por exemplo, foi possível um gesto épico, e um presente onde as sereias viraram sirenes e os escolhos, que amedrontavam os nautas homéricos no seu desafio ao mar aberto, viraram acidentes de tráfego ou pequenos problemas de trânsito regulado pelos sinais de tráfego (*semáforos*, outra palavra trivializada de origem grega). (Campos, Haroldo 1997b: 23)

From Odysseus’s transgression on the open Mediterranean Sea to the traffic lights in São Paulo and all other proliferating signs, Haroldo de Campos’s devouring of the world’s literary heritage in ‘Finismundo’ is that of a ‘keeper of light’. The paradigm of the transgressor is one that opens spaces of interaction for the nation and writes the intertextual dialogue on translation. Haroldo de Campos, therefore, moves away from cultural mimicry of the world’s cultural heritage. Haroldo de Campos’s transcreation of Homer’s epic, therefore, challenges his elected readers to become argonauts of transgression – that is, ‘keepers of light’. The text’s purpose, he reveals in ‘Finismundo’, is to create spaces for a ‘here and now’ of dialogical difference, in order to free readers from both a temporality of the past and all forms of constraint in terms of persistent norms that alienate rather than liberate. ‘Finismundo’ is, foremost, Haroldo de Campos’s

dialogical intertext for cultural transformation. In it, voyaging is the everyday life of a *persona* – who feels ‘dentro da pele do fingidor’ – in a translational world.

Arguing that Ulysses has, in Dante’s work, a final voyage of confrontation with the impossible (whilst referring to Ancient Greek *húbris*), Haroldo de Campos creates a new *topoi* for his aged Ulysses in ‘Finismundo’. As he suggests, this is a determinant theme in his transcreation of the myth:

Dante está propondo um fim para Ulisses, na carência do fim homérico, e está remontando a determinados *topoi* que vieram, inclusive, (e se não vieram, estavam próximos) daqueles que foram utilizados pelos autores das histórias de Alexandre. O ultrapassar, a travessia das fronteiras permitidas do mundo, que eram as colunas de Hércules. A busca de alguma coisa que estivesse mais além, busca que correspondia a um afã de curiosidade, um desejo de conhecimento, àquilo que em grego se chama de *húbris*: essa desmesura orgulhosa com que o ser humano intenta, de certa maneira, confrontar-se com o impossível, no caso de Ulisses colorida pelo tema da velhice, porque é o velho Ulisses que vai fazer essa viagem.

Aproveitei-me desses elementos, que me permitiram definir tematicamente a configuração do poema. (Campos, Haroldo 1997b: 18)

Haroldo de Campos’s reconceptualization of *húbris* and his reflection on the human condition in ‘Finismundo’ open a dialogical space as a process of inclusion through difference – away from the overly traditional identities that perpetuate culture and preclude cultural transformation. In his transcreation of Ulysses in a Portuguese language-as-translation in ‘Finismundo’, he creates an intertext for the nation’s translational spaces of interaction, outside of the linear constructs of territorial space and chronological time, in a ‘dimension of waiting’, as in ‘waiting for one another’ (Derrida 1993: 76). His transcreation of Ulysses is a reminder to readers (in particular his chosen ones) of our waiting for one another in the place where the death of the other is also ‘the death of the other’ in each one of us (Derrida 1993: 76). *In memoriam*, Haroldo de Campos reveals a complex network in time and space where nation-states and nations are not synonymous when it comes to the dialogue and reconceptualization of nationhood for cultural transformation.

A Transcreational Ulyssism in Portuguese: Voyaging as Cultural Displacement in Haroldo de Campos's *Galáxias*

Galáxias is Haroldo de Campos's transcreation of cultural displacement in a translational work consisting of transitional voyaging. This text is not travel literature, as the author notes, as its language reveals a mental construct disruptive of conventional and structural forms in the interests of the creation of culture within and through intertextual dialogue. For this intertextual dialogue, Haroldo de Campos interacts with Eliot, Pound, Moore, Pessoa, and Olavo Bilac's *Ouvir as estrelas*, amongst others, as well as with the revelations of 'desdobramento':

A contenção de Eliot, o aparente desdobramento de Pound nos 'Cantos', as aventuras silábicas de Marianne Moore, o suave labirinto lingüístico de Fernando Pessoa (etc.) mais a música, a pintura, o cinema, põem em xeque a forma mais ou menos aceita.

Agora, o poeta é um turista exilado, que atirou ao mar o seu Baedeker.

Algo assim como 'Salve-se Quem Puder'.

Como sempre foi (Pignatri in Campos, Augusto, Décio Pignatari and Haroldo de Campos 1987: 15).

Galáxias is a book of epiphanies for those who read its language(s) – from within in this transcreational work – as its readers are able to see the transits that are transversal to national languages and to a Portuguese language-as-translation. These transits in *Galáxias* are not only inscriptions of the cultural contacts of the nations but also Haroldo de Campos's dialogue with the world's cultural heritage in transcreational Portuguese.

Whilst in 'Finismundo' Ulysses is an aged persona of transgression re-emerging as the paradigm of banality in the modern city, in *Galáxias* the dialogical Ulyssism of world literature in Portuguese is culture trespassing the external structures that alienate internal forms. For this reason *Galáxias* has no chapters, no page numbers, no punctuation; the left-hand page is left white for the reader whilst on the right there is the work; there is no structure facilitating the process of citation other than the titles of the

passages and the dates when the writer concludes them. Haroldo de Campos writes between 1963 and 1976, translating a world of voyaging from within its internal form in a Portuguese language-as-translation of world culture(s). As Lúcia Santaella argues, the task of poet-translators is to negotiate and translate – in a mode that moves away from ‘o mito da tradução literal’ (Santaella 2005: 224). As she further notes:

movendo-se no território de uma semiótica da Literatura, Campos trouxe uma nova visão da historiografia literária brasileira, redimensionada a partir de tomadas sincrônicas que abalam as fronteiras entre o internacional e o nacional; resgatam obras antes consideradas menores, por não participarem das estruturas lingüístico-ideológicas dominantes; atendem às explorações realizadas por cada obra em seu espaço e material específico, conforme as interinfluências trazidas pelas linguagens contemporâneas; implicam a invenção de um corpus crítico-seletivo que interliga criteriosamente os conceitos da tradução poética, operação metalingüística, paródia, carnavalização, intertextualidade, literatura comparada e relações entre diversos sistemas de signos. (Santaella 2005: 222)

Furthermore, in *Galáxias* Haroldo de Campos’s translational voyaging in the modern world raises questions about the relationship between the (inter)text and world, as the poet’s translational Ulyssism reveals a world of displacements abounding with *heteros* (for example, Pessoa’s heteronyms) and *allos* identities, as Matos suggests:

Mas há uma diferença entre *heteros* e *allos*. *Heteros* é o ‘outro’ com respeito a uma coisa, *allos* é um ‘outro’ entre muitos. O *heteros* grego e latim *alter* perturbam qualquer identificação com um outro ‘mesmo’, pois se lhe opõem em termos de alternativa. Quanto ao *allos*, encontra-se em um conjunto geral com outros ‘mesmos’. Se para o *heteros* a diferença com respeito ao outro é insuperável – fundando-se na irredutibilidade do ‘um’ ao ‘outro’, *allos* e *alios* – o grego e o latim – reenviam a uma matriz comum em que o mesmo e o outro constituem os seus avatares. Talvez por isso, diferentes línguas possuam expressões para dizer ‘o um e o outro’ ao mesmo tempo: *both*, em inglês, *beide*, em alemão, *ambo*, em latim – e as variações neolatinas – *ambidue*, em italiano, *ambivalent*, em francês, *ambos*, em português. (Matos 2005: 141)

Despite there being no reference to Greek *húbris* in *Galáxias* in order to reconceptualize the human condition and the confrontation with the impossible, Haroldo de Campos nevertheless recreates this concept in his work when he reveals the impossibility of homogeneity in *being hetero(nym)s* and *ambos*, or more, in Portuguese. Moreover, he celebrates the national mapping of difference and the contributions of

globally dispersed identities, whose dialogue disrupts the mental and physical frontiers that disallow cultural transformation.

Galáxias is a translational intertext of a world in displacement that disrupts monological readings of world culture(s). Haroldo de Campos reveals the Babel of world culture and the global crossings of nations whilst embracing the foreign through negotiation, rather than silencing the foreigner with an assimilation that negates:

Haroldo de Campos trata de um universalismo polimorfo e cosmopolita, pois reconhece o estrangeiro em cada língua e literatura, revelando um país desconhecido, onde fronteiras e alteridades são construídas e desfeitas em permanência. Não procura integrar o estrangeiro, ainda menos persegui-lo, mas acolhê-lo neste perturbante estranhamento que é tanto nosso quanto do outro. (de Campos, Haroldo 2005: 133)

The Anthropophagic agenda of Modernism is also on the agenda of *Galáxias*, as Haroldo de Campos's translation and theorization work is a process of the inclusion of the *other* where *difference* narrates the ambiguity of double identities. This *difference* and *doubleness* are transversal to boundaries of genre, class, political systems, and, of course, culture, for this is a post-colonial concern of Haroldo de Campos's Anthropophagic agenda. Instead of the flesh and bone of human bodies in times past, in *Galáxias* Haroldo de Campos's translational work opens spaces for dialogue and liberation whilst, once again, voicing the 'mute' (as the Pessoaan Ulysses in *Mensagem*) beings of Brazilian history and the heritage of world literature. As Vieira notes:

Tupi, to be. In the famous line from Oswald de Andrade's *Manifesto Antropófago* of the twenties, both 'Tupi' and 'to be' read the same except for a minor phonological change: in 'to be' the bilabial consonant is aspirated and voiced whereas in 'Tupi' it is non-aspirated and voiceless. Such voicelessness pronounces difference and inscribes a colonial perspective into the Shakespearean intertext and, for that matter, into the Western canon. Since the Tupi were a tribe inhabiting Brazil at the time of the discovery, the colonial dilemma is not one informed by Christian scruples as to what may come after death, but has to do with the duality, plurality, of the origin and, accordingly, of the cultural identity of Brazil, both European and Tupi, both civilized and native, both Christian and magic; a culture that grew out of the juxtaposition of not two but many civilizations and which carries to this day the paradox of origin. Tupi, to be: the attempt in the twenties to discontinue mental colonialism through the desacralizing devoration of the Western legacy. (Vieira in Vieira and McGuirk 2007: 19)

Galáxias is an intertextual Ulyssism that devours Western legacy whilst advancing with a translational voyaging where the beginning and the end of Haroldo de Campos's work transluciferates' in 'linguamorta'. As de Campos suggests:

[...] *e enquanto somes ele te consome enquanto o fechas a chave ele se multiabre enquanto o finas ele translumina essa linguamorta essa moura torta esse umbilifio que te prega à porta pois o livro é teu porto velho faustinfauto mabuse da linguagem perseguido por teus credores mefistofamélicos e assim o fizeste assim o teceste assim o deste e avrá quasi l'ombra della vera costellazione enquanto a mente quase-iris se emparadisa neste multilivro e della doppia danza [...]. (Campos, Haroldo 2004: 'fecho encerro', nov 75/ mar 76)*

Contrary to notions of Portuguese as *idomaterno* and as an affectionate mother-tongue that creates spaces of (be)longing, the language(s) in *Galáxias* are of not being and of transgressing, as 'linguamorta' depends on the transcreational transits of the nation in order to nourish it. In this way, Portuguese is a modern language and not an ancient one, for its dialogical nature and translational embracing of the world moves away from the spatial and territorial boundaries that silence dialogical in-betweenness in the world.

Haroldo de Campos, in dialogue with Brazilian Bilac, invites the readers of *Galáxias* to understand the world by listening to the stars – the same ones that shine in the sky for everyone– with the senses/feelings. As Bilac says in *Ouvir as estrelas*:

'Ora (dizeis) ouvir estrelas! Certo
Perdeste o senso!' E eu vos direi, no entanto,
Que, para ouvi-las muita vez desperto
E abro as janelas, pálido de espanto...

E conversamos toda noite, enquanto
A Via Láctea, como um pátio aberto,
Cintila. E, ao vir o sol, saudoso e em pranto,
Inda as procuro pelo céu deserto.

Dizeis agora: 'Tresloucado amigo!
Que conversas com elas? Que sentido
Tem o que dizes, quando não estão contigo?'

E eu vos direi: 'Amai para entendê-las!

Pois só quem ama pode ter ouvido
 Capaz de ouvir e de entender estrelas'. (Olavo Bilac in
<http://pensador.uol.com.br/frase/MjE0NTIx/>)

Through his intertextual dialogue with Bilac in *Galáxias*, Haroldo de Campos reconsiders the position of mankind in the world in terms of a non-locational dialogue where the senses/feelings are a condition for global cultural understanding and transformation. This is the case because the intertextual world in *Galáxias* is a mental reconstruction consisting of translational dialogue(s) with the cultures of the world – a position of marginal transgression in time and space enabling individual and cultural transformation. In this way, therefore, the voyaging in the translational world of *Galáxias* is one in which Portuguese is a language that writes on the margins and, from these margins, (re)creates itself by devouring the world through difference.

Portuguese, '*essa linguamorta essa moura torta esse umbilifio que te prega à porta pois o livro é teu porto velho*' is made up of transits, and its spaces of interaction resemble an umbilical cord, 'umbilifio', of old ports/*porto* and doors/*porta*. In this in-betweenness and location of the cultural crossings of nations, the book *Galáxias* becomes a space in which to share all the marginal 'histórias das stórias das estórias' of transgressive identities. As the text argues:

[...] repara que neste fio de linguagem há um fio de linguagem que uma rosa é uma rosa como uma prosa é uma prosa há um fio de viagem há uma vis de mensagem e nesta margem da margem há pelo menos uma margem desliga então as cantilenas as cantilendas as cantiamenas descrê das histórias das stórias das estórias [...]. (Campos, Haroldo 2004: 'cadavrescrito', 6/9.5.70)

With this notion of the 'fio de linguagem' in mind, a critique surfaces, for the bitter language of in-betweenness reveals a world of perpetual inequity in dire need of change in order to enable a disruption of the same old ways of *being*. For this, the voyage of *Galáxias* is a tribute to the *finismundos* of the world by suggesting survival from the bitterness of one's 'linguamarga' in favour of, at least, a bittersweet language of (the pun) 'cadavrescrito/ eachcorpsewrites':

[...] você é o sonho de um sonho escrever em linguamarga para sobreviver a linguamorta vagamundo carregando a tua malamágica zaubermappe para fazer defesa e a ilustração de esta língua morta esta moura torta esta mão que corta um umbilifio que me prega à porta a difusa e a degustação de e em milumapáginas não haverá ninguém algum nenhum de nenhúrias que numa noite núltima em noutubro ou em ãovembro ou talvez em deslembro por alguma nunca nihilíada de januárias naves novilunas finisterre em teu porto por isso não parta por isso não porte reparta reporte destrince esta macarroníada em malalíngua antes que o portogalo algaraviando-se esperante o brasilisco e este babelório todo desbordele em sarrapapel muito fácil o teu entrecho é simples e os subentrechos mais simples ainda [...]. (Campos, Haroldo 2004: ‘cadavrescrito’, 6/9.5.70)

In ‘Cadavrescrito’, the bitterness of language points to the remembrance of times past whilst paying tribute to the contributions of our ancestors for the world’s cultural heritage. It is also a cry for renovation from within, where the transgressor is the ‘vagamundo’ carrying the luggage of a ‘malamágica’, enabling a liberation from that still language, ‘língua morta’.

The suggestion is that the marginal ‘vagamundo’ opens spaces for the dialogical displacements that renovate language and culture from within. All modern languages, in this way, are dialogical and translational as they need to open spaces for renovation if they are to survive. Thus, the kind of voyaging that Haroldo de Campos suggests in *Galáxias* forms itself in non-linear, non-chronological time with a Portuguese Ulyssism that writes from the margins, like Pessoa’s ‘mute’ Ulysses who creates the nation in a voyage that ‘não parte por isso não porte reparta reporte destrince’. In other words, the suggestion is that rather than perpetually departing and returning, this challenging voyage asks us instead to *repartir*, *reportar*, and *destrinçar*. However, for this one needs to (re)look once again, by breaking apart to see anew and from the inside and, in the process, to re-embark on an in-betweenness that reports change from within language and culture.

In *Galáxias*, change is synonymous with voyaging, and one cannot exist without the other as displacement implies transmutation. As Haroldo de Campos notes, ‘[...] esta macarroníada em malalíngua antes que o portogalo algaraviando-se esperante o brasilisco

e este babelório todo desbordele em sarrapapel muito fácil o teu entrecho é simples e os subentochos mais simples ainda [...]’. Portuguese is a language of dispersal per se, as it is a ‘malalíngua’ and ‘macarroniada’ of old voyaging in transformation in spaces away from the normative rules of philology. Its speakers (and writers) otherwise take the risk of being out-of-touch in nation-states where Portuguese is an official language, and throughout the world where communication is in Portuguese, Haroldo de Campos emphasizing the Babel of creative writing over the locality of language. As he says, before ‘[...] este babelório todo desbordele em sarrapapel’, one’s ‘entrecho’ is simple and the sub-plot of creativity in the fabric that is the nation is even more connective as it is ‘portogalo algaraviando-se esperante o brasilisco’. Alluding to Portugal as a pun, portogalo/port-cock – perhaps playing with the well-known souvenir of Barcelos and the legend concerning a(n innocent) condemned thief that it carries around the world – the Algarve becomes a verb in the dialogical string of language that is hope, *esperante*, in ‘brasilisco’. There is also here a reminder of the transits that inscribe language and the territorial passage that is Portugal, because Algarve is one more word of Arabic heritage in Portuguese. But the word is too a reminder that this southern port of Portugal means, or meant for the *other* within, the entrance to the West from North Africa. In this way, one cannot forget, therefore, the inscriptions of Western and Eastern civilizations alike that Portuguese carries within it, and the split legacy that language stores in the memory of the nation as both cultural contribution and national persecution.

In ‘nudez’, therefore, Haroldo de Campos suggests that in *Galáxias* voyaging happens in language as this enables the voyager to migrate in brilliant transluciferations. His work guides the reader in his journey through book and world. As he says, *Galáxias* is:

[...] um livro de viagem em que o leitor seja a viagem um livro-areia
escorrendo entre os dedos e fazendo-se da figura desfeita onde há pouco era o
regitar da areia constelada um livro perime o sujeito e propõe o leitor como

um ponto de fuga este livro-agora travessia de significantes que cintilam como asas migratórias [...]. (Campos, Haroldo 2004: ‘nudez’, dez 73)

The ‘livro-agora’ of language in ‘nudez’ is the voyaging of a Ulysses in his ‘Odisseia tautológica’, a ‘tautodisseia’ of a ‘Ulysses solitário como um ‘bichotênia’ (Campos, Haroldo 2004: 122). This passage about a Ulyssism in Portuguese under the title of ‘ora, direis, ouvir *galáxias*’, moreover, has, contrary to the structurelessness of the work, a page number as it writes a critique of the voyaging in *Galáxias*. Then the Ulyssian voyaging in *Galáxias* is, as Haroldo de Campos suggests both here and in ‘Finismundo’, that of a chosen ‘hipocôndrico crítico leitor’. The Ulyssian voyaging in *Galáxias*, therefore, is:

uma viagem sem volta, às voltas com o seu ‘intestino escritural’ in which a ‘metáfora do trabalho do interior do texto, sobre(sub)põe-se uma caricatura do episódio de Circe, ambientado agora em uma casa de massagens novaiorquina, onde a deusa ‘benecomata’ (de belo penteado) é convertida numa ‘beneconata’ *masseuse*, Miss Pussy. A frase de Mallarmé, o solitário de Valvins, reagindo contra a incompreensão dos contemporâneos (‘et devant l’agression rétorquer que des contemporains ne savent pas lire’), atravessa, entrecortadamente, o texto, que culmina numa visão à Hieronymus Bosch: um ‘grande rebanho de ovelhas varicosas’. E num apelo: ‘ouver’ (ecoando um ‘mote’ de Décio Pignatari: ‘o olhouvido ouvê’). Um texto quer também ‘construir’ o seu leitor. (Campos, Haroldo 2004: 122)

Referring to anthropophagical mastication as a voyaging ‘sem volta’ that is the ‘intestino escritural’ writing from within what it tries to disrupt, the suggestion is that the trespass (re)writes through intervention. As Roland Barthes says, ‘the birth of the reader must be ransomed by the death of the Author’¹³ as intervention is only possible, however, if readers construct themselves, that is, if they become agents of change through performance, because mere representation does not open spaces for change.

Haroldo de Campos further reveals in *Galáxias*, however, an empowering for change that is possible in language-as-translation. Language-as-translation, contrary to

¹³ Roland Barthes in ‘The Death of the Author’, at http://www.tbook.constantvzw.org/wp-content/death_authorbarthes.pdf, Tr. Richard Howard, p. 6 [accessed 10 Sept. 2015]. It is not in the scope of this study to explore the work of Barthes, but please refer to the document concerning Barthes’s view on the relationship between texts, authors and readers for a further study of what I have used here, and also refer to Barthes 1977: 142-48.

philological views of national languages, speaks from inside and from within whilst transcreating beyond mere representation – as found in the official languages of nation-states – towards an agency that empowers the transversal transits of people and cultures on the margins. Empowerment, therefore, is the translational space in which texts construct their readers and readers become agents of liberating creativity in the world. This is the beginning and the end of the Ulyssian voyage that Haroldo de Campos advances when he argues that the voyage itself is the textual *being*, as what matters is not the voyage but the commencement of it, that is, the beginning and end of the voyage in the space(s) of subalternity. As he notes:

e começo aqui e meço aqui este começo e recomeço e remeço e arremesso e aqui me meço quando se vive sob a espécie de viagem o que importa não é a viagem mas o começo da por isso meço por isso começo escrever mil páginas escrever milmapáginas para acabar com a escritura para começar com a escritura para acabarcomeçar com a escritura por isso remeço por isso arremeço por isso teço escrever sobre escrever é o futuro do escrever sobrescrevo sobrescravo em milumanoites miluma-páginas ou uma página em uma noite que é o mesmo noites e páginas mesmam emsimesmam onde o fim é o comêço onde escrever sobre o escrever é não escrever sobre não escrever e por isso começo descomeço pelo descomeço desconheço e me teço um livro onde tudo seja fortuito e forçoso um livro onde tudo seja não esteja seja um umbigodomundolivro um umbigodolivromundo um livro de viagem onde a viagem seja o livro o ser do livro é a viagem por isso começo [...]. (Campos, Haroldo 2004: ‘e começo aqui’, 18.11.63)

And also:

[...] *fecho encerro reverbo aqui me fino aqui me zero não canto não conto não quero anoiteço desprimavero me libro enfim neste livro neste voo me revoo mosca e aranha mina e minério corda acorde psaltário musa não mais não mais que destempero joguei limpo joguei a sério nesta sêde me desaltero me descomeço me encerro no fim do mundo o livro fina o fundo o fim o livro a sina não fica traço nem sequela jogo de dama ou de amarela cabracega jogo da velha o livro acaba o mundo fina o amor despluma e tremulina a mão se move a mesa vira verdade é o mesmo que mentira ficção fiação tesoura e lira que a mente toda ensafira e madriperla e desatina cantando o pássaro por dentro por onde o canto dele afina a sua lâmina mais língua enquanto a língua mais lamina aqui me largo [...]. (Campos, Haroldo 2004: ‘fecho encerro’, nov 75/ mar 76)*

Language-as-translation, therefore, is the materiality where dis-alteration undoes the beginnings, which are also the ends, of Ulyssian voyaging in poetic prose of which

one is ‘cantando o pássaro por dentro por onde o canto dele afina a sua lâmina mais língua’. Thus *finismundo* (that is, the end-beginning of the world) is in language alone, because language is the greatest concealer of relationships of power in the galaxies (apparently large independent systems) of the world(s).

But the structures of power depend on free will and the ‘thirst’ for freedom to choose because, as Haroldo de Campos suggests, ‘joguei limpo joguei a sério nesta sêde me desaltero me descomeço me encerro no fim do mundo o livro fina o fundo o fim o livro a sina não fica traço’. Water, therefore, is a metaphor for ever-lasting Ulyssian voyaging, the ‘maroceano soprando espondeus homéreos’, that discloses itself in time and space. As Haroldo de Campos observes:

[...] o mar como um livro rigoroso e gratuito como esse livro onde ele é absoluto de azul esse livro que se folha e refolha que se dobra e desdobra nele pele sob pele pli selon pli o mar poliestentóreo também oceano maroceano soprando espondeus homéreos como uma verde bexiga de plástico enfunada o mar cor de urina sujo de salsugem e de marugem de negrugem e de ferrugem o mar mareado a água gorda do mar marasmo placenta plácida ao sol chocada o mar manchado quarando ao sol lençol do mar mas agora mas aurora e o liso se reparte sob veios vinho a hora polifluiu no azul verde e discorre e recorre e corre e entrecorre como um livro polilendo-se polilido sob a primeira tinta da aurora agora o rosício roçar rosa da dedirrósea agora aurora pois o mar remora demora na hora na paragem da hora e de novo recolhe sua safra de verdes como se águas fossem redes e sua ceifa de azuis como se um fosse plus fosse dois fosse três fosse mil verdes vezes verde vide azul mas o mar reverte mas o mar verte mas o mar é-se como o aberto de um livro aberto e esse aberto é o livro que ao mar reverte e o mar converte pois do mar se trata [...]. (Campos, Haroldo 2004: ‘multitudinous seas’, 19.11.63)

If one is to read ‘multitudinous seas’ in the spirit of Haroldo de Campos’s dialogue with the Shakespearean verse that opens this sea-book (*Macbeth* II, scene II) and through his transcreation of baroque Camonean voyaging (invoking translator Odorico Mendes), then there is a (re)surfacing of the bloodshed of murder and tyranny. In this way, de Campos suggests that power is the cause of the shipwrecks of Ulysses both of the past and of modernity and, therefore, it also creates the debris from which transcreators write their poetry.

The task of transcreators is to write from the in-between spaces of Ulyssian voyaging and from the silences of a modal nationalism that (re)create the nation, as Haroldo de Campos suggests in his dialogue with Pessoa's mute and brilliant Ulysses. As he says in 'o que mais vejo aqui':

[...] as guelras paradas desse espaço sem palavras de que o livro faz-se como a viagem faz-se como a viagem faz-se como a ranhura entre nada e nada [...]. (Campos, Haroldo 2004: 'o que mais vejo aqui', 18.10.67)

And also:

[...] e esta ranhura é a falada que se desprega e se prega de sua dobra mas se dobra e se desdobra como um duplo da obra onde o silêncio olha quando um cisco no olho do silêncio é fábula e esse cisco é meu risco é este livro que arrisco a fábula como um cisco como um círculo de visgo onde o cisco se envisga e o silêncio o fisga manual de vazios por onde passa o vazio o que mais vejo aqui neste papel é o calado do branco não tocado [...]. (Campos, Haroldo 2004: 'o que mais vejo aqui', 18.10.67)

The blank pages on the left-hand side of *Galáxias* are the space in-between for the reader to enter into dialogue with the work and transcreate their own work in Portuguese language-as-translation. In this way, Haroldo de Campos includes the reader, by inviting one to (re)create within the empty silence as readers who are doubles, 'duplo da obra onde o silêncio olha', engaging in a voyage of discovery that 'dobra e desdobra' oneself. Thus the 'calado do branco não tocado' includes the reader by inviting their transcreation of Haroldo de Campos's transcreation that is *Galáxias*.

Once again choosing the reader and embracing their contribution to translation, Haroldo de Campos opens a space of interaction for his readers in the spirit of his dialogue with Walter Benjamin when choosing his 'hypochondriac' readers in 'Finismundo'. In this way, Haroldo de Campos embodies Ezra Pound's *make it new* in his translational practice as a reflection of his commitment to Pound's ideas. This space of interaction surfacing in the work and in the pages left blank for the reader is where translational 'signos designam outros signos'. As he notes in *Galáxias*:

[...] agora não estou falando deste livro inacabado mas de signos que designam outros signos e do espaço entre-espaço onde o vazio inscreve sua

insígnia todos os possíveis permutam-se nesse espaço de antimatéria que rodeia a matéria de talvez e gerúndio principiava a encadear-se um epos ouço o seu marulho poliperúleo fechado nas frestas sua flama calada na cabeça dos fósforos podia começar contando pelo comêço o se tiene la chispa minha alma minha palma neste livro me exlibro [...]. (Campos, Haroldo 2004: ‘princiava a encadear-se um epos’, 2/17.7.68)

The ‘entre-espaço’ of the work in progress that is *Galáxias*, the ‘livro inacabado’, is a space for inscription and transmutation as, once again, brilliant transluciferation of ‘marulho poliperúleo’ in ‘flama calada na cabeça dos fósforos’. Suggesting in his transcreations of Ulysses that Ulyssian voyaging is transgressive and translational, Haroldo de Campos reveals the nudity and redemption of this ‘labirintestina oudisseia’ in Portuguese. As he advances:

[...] quem move a mola do narrar quem dis para esse dis negpositivo da fá intestino escritural bula tinteiro-tênia autossugante vermi celo vermiculum celilúbrico mudez o papel-carça fedor-branco quem solitudinário odisseu ouninguém nenhúrio ausculta um tirésias de fezes vermicego verminíquo vermicolando augúrios uma labirintestina oudisseia perderás todos os companh tautofágica retornarás marmorto fecalporto gondondoleando em nulaparte tudonada solilóquio a lunavoz oudisseu nenhumnome et devant l’agression rétorquer a margarida despetala violentada restos de plástico celofanam fanam celúltima cena [...]. (Campos, Haroldo 2004: ‘nudez’, dez 73)

Thus the mental spaces of interaction that Haroldo de Campos opens up in *Galáxias*, as in ‘Finismundo’, transluciferate his readers as they become irradiators of the light of those who transgress for, as the popular saying goes, ‘a língua portuguesa é uma língua traiçoeira’. As Haroldo de Camps reveals in both *Galáxias* and ‘Finismundo’ with his dialogical Ulysses, Portuguese is a bittersweet language where invisible translators double-write the displacements of the nation.

There is no translation without transgression and no transluciferation without the transmutation of de Campos’s chosen readers in ‘Finismundo’ and *Galáxias*. For the Brazilian transcreator intertexts are, therefore, the means for seminal translational light. In *Galáxias* translation is the (un)umbilical cord of light that, to paraphrase the poet, bitter-sweetens the ‘mother-tongue’, ‘línguamarga’. As Haroldo de Campos notes:

[...] tudo isto é uma tradução um traduzir para um modo sensível onde algo se encadeie e complete esta mão do jogo quase se perfez e ainda se pode ver barbarela estorcendo-se num círculo fálico como um xiva de luz neon pouco se vai aprender nesta anarcopédia de forma volúveis senão que o vermelho útil funge os nácares cediços [...]. (Campos, Haroldo 2004: 'eu sei que este papel', out/nov 68)

CONCLUSION

This thesis has raised the hypothesis that there was an ongoing dialogue between Portuguese and Brazilian Modernists. It has argued that Portuguese and Brazilian Modernists double-write the nation, in Portuguese, from a (non)locational space away from the spheres of national literatures and cultures. This thesis suggested that these authors open spaces for interaction from a position of in-betweenness as this research exchanges the paradigm of national literature(s) for one of a nationhood on translation where the Modernists' literature is an intertext in dialogue with the world's cultural heritage. I further claim that Portuguese is a translational language. Rather than being simply the official Portuguese language of nation-states and their grammatologies, these writers suggest a translational Portuguese reveals the nation as a site of ambivalence. For this, I refer to the work of Derrida on the theme of *aporia* as it rescues the very difficult crossings and passages present by these writers in their dialogues across time and spaces. In this sense, a Ulyssian voyaging of the mind is an *aporia* transversal to Pessoa's and the brothers Campos's works as their re-creations of the Ulysses myth reconceptualize and double-write the nation.

There are comparative studies on Pessoa and the works of English-speaking British and North American writers, such as Irene Ramalho Santos's 2003 *Atlantic Poets: Fernando Pessoa's Turn in Anglo-American Modernism*. However, this current study instead investigates Pessoa's reconceptualization of nationhood in dialogue with the world's literary heritage, as Portugal's Modernism disrupts the centre-periphery binary for its interactions reveal an intertextual dialogue transversal to the structural spaces of nation-states. I further argue that Pessoa's heteronymic performance, as a nationhood of invisible translators, is a revealing example of Pessoa's displacement of Portugal's national and literary identity. In the context of his dialogue with the world's cultural heritage, Haroldo de Campos's transcreational dialogue with Pessoa and Camões

reveals Pessoa's displacement of a national identity and the ambiguity of the nation in Camões's epic. In this way, Pessoa disrupts the historicism of national narratives as political and cultural forces that legitimate colonialisms and the perpetuation of certain cultures as if they were superior to others and writes a critique of the decadence of the nation by reformulating, in dialogue with the world's cultural heritage, the millenarianism of the Fifth Empire and the Sebastianism of the nation.

This study is also a critique of Saraiva's work *Modernismo brasileiro e modernismo português: subsídios para seu estudo e para a história das suas relações*. My research argues that certain publications, including *Orpheu* and *Klaxon*, create spaces for an intertextual dialogue between the Modernisms of Portugal and postcolonial Brazil whilst also suggesting that there is no evidence in Pessoa's and Ronald de Carvalho's correspondence for Saraiva's 'qualidade cultural' being *lusitanisante*. It becomes clear that Ferro speaks 'aos novos do Brasil dos novos de Portugal' against the temporalities of the past and its persistent colonial mentalities. Thus, this double-writing on the nation *must not* be classified in terms of Luso(-) hyphenated identities. To do so is to promote the perpetuation of a foundational past, as the *Lusitanos* were a people living in the mountains of Portugal who were able to save themselves from the colonization of the Roman Empire (until they exchanged Viriato for Roman gold), at the time when postcolonial Brazil was independent from the Portuguese and the Empire still held colonies in Africa.

Furthermore, Benedict Anderson's theory of 'Imagined Communities' was also a productive framework for this thesis, revealing both Camões's epic as the first Portuguese imagined community and Pessoa's conception of nationhood as an intertextual re-creation in dialogue with the world's cultural heritage. In response to Anderson's work, this research argues that the written exchanges between the two Modernisms, in several literary publications by poets such as Pessoa, de Carvalho and

others, create spaces for a literature away from the territorial boundaries of nations as their interactions double-write the nation and show that print-language is not what invents nationalism.

A Ulyssian voyaging of the mind has been a productive concept throughout the project, enabling this thesis to advance previous readings of the two Modernisms, as there have been, to date, no investigations of this cultural concept in Pessoa's work and in the relation to the modernists' reconceptualization of nationhood resurfacing in the works of the brothers Campos. This thesis argued that the brothers Campos engage in dialogue with Pessoa and Camões as their intertexts open spaces in translational Portuguese for a greater *patria* of a language made up of dialogical transits that are neither linear nor chronological. As a result, Haroldo de Campos's transcreation of the Ulysses myth is a critique to the Ulyssian voyage in Camões's epic and an intertext of a Ulyssian voyaging of the mind, where translation is *persona* in dialogue with Pessoa. In this way, this research also provides new perspectives on the Portuguese and Brazilian contexts studied here. In particular, this analysis shows corresponding ideas of universalism, nationhood and fragmentation in the works of Pessoa, Brazilian Oswald de Andrade and of the brothers Augusto and Haroldo de Campos. For this, I analysed Pessoa's re-creation of a Ulyssian voyaging of the mind as it is a product of his reconsideration of the contrasting historical and ideological developments that led to Sebastianism and the millenarianism of the Fifth Empire in *Mensagem*. The work of Brazilian Oswald de Andrade and his interactions with Portuguese modernists reveal a nationhood of fragmentation as he inverts the historical chronology and creates a bilingual poetry and translational *text*, in Derrida's sense, that offers new perspectives on universalism. This thesis proves that the works of brothers Augusto and Haroldo de Campos also reveal corresponding ideas of universalism, nationhood and fragmentation as they enter in dialogue with Pessoa and Camões and embark upon a Ulyssian voyaging

of the mind through productive transcreations of the Ulysses myth as part of the world's cultural heritage.

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