

**LUIZ ANTÔNIO PAGANINI**

**THE MINEIROS SYMBOLISTS AND THE DRAMA OF  
MODERNITY**

**FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF MINAS GERAIS**

**COLLEGE OF LETTERS**

**BELO HORIZONTE**

**2010**

**LUIZ ANTÔNIO PAGANINI**

**THE MINEIROS SYMBOLISTS AND THE DRAMA OF  
MODERNITY**

**Thesis presented to the Postgraduate  
Program in Letters – Literary Studies of the  
Faculty of Letters of the Federal University  
of Minas Gerais, as a partial requirement for  
obtaining the title of Doctor in Letters –  
Literary Studies.**

**Area of concentration: Brazilian Literature  
Advisor: Prof. Dr. \_ Maria Zilda Ferreira Cury**

**BELO HORIZONTE  
UFMG FACULTY OF LANGUAGES  
2010**

**Federal University of Minas Gerais  
college of Letters  
Postgraduate Program in Literature – Literary Studies**

Thesis entitled “The Minas Gerais symbolists and the drama of modernity”, authored by  
PhD student LUIZ ANTÔNIO PAGANINI, approved by the examining board made up of the following  
professors:

---

**Prof. \_ Dr. \_ Maria Zilda Ferreira Cury – FALE/UFMG - Advisor**

---

**Prof. \_ Dr. \_ Melânia Silva de Aguiar – PUC Minas**

---

**Prof. \_ dra . Zahide Lupinacci Muzart – UFSC**

---

**Prof. Dr. Sérgio Alves Peixoto – FALE/UFMG**

---

**Prof. Dr. Silvana Maria Pessôa de Oliveira – FALE/UFMG**

**Belo Horizonte, November 4, 2010**

**My mother,  
Amélia Pirilo Paganini**

# THANKS

**To my advisor, Professor Maria Zilda Ferreira Cury, for her trust deposited in my work, through respect for my choices, through dialogue and by patient guidance.**

**To my family, who always supported my academic education.**

**To Nilze Paganini, for her careful reading, for her translations from English and for her excellent suggestions.**

**To Maria Inês Perilo Paganini, for her help with formatting the text, and to Mírian Paganini Guañabens, for digitizing and sending bibliographic material.**

**To the Doctoral Professors who are members of the examining board, Melânia Silva de Aguiar, Zahide Lupinacci Muzart, Sérgio Alves Peixoto and Silvana Maria Pessôa de Oliveira, for agreeing to discuss the ideas of this thesis, offering me their precious contributions.**

**To Professors Sérgio Alves Peixoto, from FALE/UFMG, and Eliana Regina de Freitas Dutra, from FAFICH/UFMG, for the relevant comments and excellent suggestions offered during the Qualification Exam.**

**To Professor Maria Luiza Berwanger da Silva, from PPG-Letras/UFRGS, for your observations made on this work.**

**To the Postgraduate Program in Literature – Literary Studies at the University Federal Government of Minas Gerais, for making this study possible.**

**To the professors of the Postgraduate Program in Literature – Literary Studies at Federal University of Minas Gerais, for the courses that greatly contributed to the my information.**

**To CNPq, for the PhD scholarship that made this thesis feasible, and to CAPES, for the scholarship for a Doctoral Internship Abroad (Colégio Doutoral Franco-**

**Brazilian), which allowed the development of part of the research at the Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris III.**

**To Professor Jacqueline Penjon, Director of the Center de Recherches sur les Portuguese-speaking countries (CREPAL), minha orientadora na Sorbonne Nouvelle University – Paris III, for making my research in France possible, for the availability in help, through dialogue and by allowing my participation in seminars and colloquiums promoted by CREPAL.**

**To Renato de Lima Júnior, for the loan of his dissertation and the donation of publications about José Severiano de Rezende that contributed greatly to the my research, especially that carried out in France.**

**To Ângela Maria Salgueiro Marques, for the loan of works on Alphonsus by Guimaraens.**

**To Francine Fernandes Weiss Ricieri, for kindly presenting me with her Anthology of Brazilian symbolist and decadent poetry.**

**To librarian Jussara Rodrigues Pimentel, for her help in obtaining bibliographic material.**

**To Rutônio Jorge Fernandes de Sant'anna, from the National Library, for his kind and efficient collaboration in my research.**

**To the institutions where I carried out my research: Arquivo Público Mineiro; File Public of the City of Belo Horizonte; Minas Gerais Writers Archive – UFMG; Library of the Amilcar Martins Cultural Institute; FALE/UFMG Library; Library from FAFICH/UFMG; EBA/UFMG Library; Special Collections Division of UFMG Central Library; Mineiriana, from the Luís de Bessa State Library; Historical Newspaper Library of the State of Minas Gerais; National Library Foundation; Museu Casa Alphonsus de Guimaraens; National Library of France François-Mitterrand; Central Library (Censier Center) of Sorbonne Nouvelle University – Paris III; Library of Portuguese, Brazilian and Lusophone African Studies da Sorbonne Nouvelle University – Paris III; Library of the Brazilian Embassy in France; Interuniversity Library of Medicine and Odontology (BIUM) da**

**Paris Descartes University; Central Library of Cité Internationale Universitaire of Paris (CIUP); Municipal Loan Libraries of Paris (Bibliothèque André Mauraux, Buffon Library e Jean-Pierre Melville Media Library) e Library Interuniversity Letters and Social Sciences (Denis Diderot) from the University of Lyon 2nd da University Lyon 3.**

**To my PhD colleagues in Literary Studies and my neighbors at Maison du Brésil, in Paris, for sharing the path.**

**To all those who, although not mentioned, contributed in some way to carry out this work.**

## SUMMARY

This work addresses the positioning of symbolists from Minas Gerais in relation to modernity. First, we present the symbolist writers, its newspapers and magazines, seeking to place them in the historical context. Afterwards, we studied the intellectual training of these authors and their participation in literary networks. Finally, we analyze the scenarios, characters and some situations dramatized in symbolist works.

**Keywords:** Mineiro Symbolists, Literary Networks, Modernity, Modernization, Symbolist Imaginary

## RÉSUMÉ

This work aims to position the symbolists of Minas Gerais in relation to modernity. First, we present the symbolist writers, their newspapers and magazines, seeking to place them in the historical context. We then study the intellectual training of these authors and their participation in literary networks. Finally, we analyze the settings, the characters and some situations dramatized in symbolist works.

**Keywords:** Symbolist Mineiros, Literary Networks, Modernity, Modernization, Symbolist Imaginary.

## SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION.....	10
THE GARDENERS OF SYMBOLS.....	18
EMERGENCY OF SYMBOLISM IN MINAS .....	20
EPHEMERAL SPACES, DESIRES FOR PERMANENCE.....	37
THE MINEIROS SYMBOLISTS AND THE REPUBLIC OF LETTERS .....	74
THE INTELLECTUAL TRAINING OF MINEIROS SYMBOLISTS.....	76
LITERARY NETWORKS, RESONANCES AND TRANSLATION PRACTICES .....	89
EXPANDING AND CHANGING WORLD .....	162
MODERNIZATION AND UPGRADING.....	164
SUBJECTS IN TRANSIT AND DESSTABILIZATIONS.....	174
DRAMA AND DRAMATIC PATHOS.....	196
FROM THE DEAD CITY TO THE TENTACULAR CITY.....	198
BETWEEN REAL AND IDEAL, BODY AND SPIRIT.....	237
FINAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	265
REFERENCES.....	273
ATTACHMENTS .....	305

## **INTRODUCTION**

**N**In the second half of the 19th century, the idea of Europe as a civilization with roots in Ancient Greece and which, over time, would have reached parameters of excellence above any other, was disseminated by the world. Europe has created for itself and for peripheral countries the myth that its civilizational model would represent modernity. Subjected to the expansionism of West, "backward" countries were forced to transform local ways of life to achieve the objective of moving closer to the European model. However, no managing to completely overcome the "delay", peripheral countries, such as Brazil, made and continued to make new attempts to achieve this objective. Known as modernization processes, these attempts involved political, economic or sociocultural changes. An example of this was the renewal of techniques and themes of non-hegemonic literature based on modern European models such as those presented by Symbolism in the Belle Epoque period. Symbolism thus played a transformative role in various literatures. However, despite having developed and spread in Europe and the Americas at the same time as imperialist expansion was taking place, symbolist voices were critical in relation to modernity. In the process of spreading Symbolism throughout the world, two phases occurred. Initially, several foreign writers moved to Paris and sought to write like the French symbolists. Later, foreigners began adapting French models to their literary traditions.

Despite its importance in Brazilian poetry of the Belle Époque, the Brazilian symbolist movement is, even today, little studied. Both decadents and Symbolists suffered from the prejudice of critics and only the most representative writers deserved any prominence. At the time when Symbolism was in vogue in Brazil, critics had difficulty accepting and evaluating symbolist works because they adopted a methodological orientation of scientific and scientific origin. also for not agreeing with the pessimistic, melancholic and universalist of its representatives. A worldview that confronted nationalism and the modernization projects of some sectors of the elites Brazilians. The accusation of imitative, alienated literature without any national basis ran through the history of the reception of Brazilian symbolists. By way of example, we can highlight José Veríssimo who stated that the literary production of the Symbolists was a 'mere import product' and did not correspond to 'a

state of soul', which was "the effect of a social state".<sup>1</sup> The same accusations continued to be made by Antonio Candido, one of our greatest critics contemporaries. Using the concept of dependence to analyze the literature produced in America, Candido highlighted the "naturally" position subaltern of these in relation to European sources. In the essay "Literature and Underdevelopment", Candido attacked the aristocratic position of Latin American writers of the Belle Époque, stating that the literary production of these authors could "be nothing more than exercises in mere cultural alienation, not justified by the excellence of achievement – and this is what happens in the so-called 'Modernism' of the Spanish language and its Brazilian equivalents, Parnassianism and Symbolism".<sup>2</sup> In the preface he wrote for the book Critical reception: the Parnassian moment symbolist in Brazil, by Salete de Almeida Cara, Antonio Candido reinforced the attitude predominant among critics of Brazilian Symbolism, which is to highlight the figures of Cruz e Souza and Alphonsus de Guimaraens and to treat the others writers with contempt: "To this day, Brazilian symbolists give the idea of a group that is generally weak or, if you want, with just two poets, Cruz and Souza and Alphonsus de Guimaraens, who would be little stronger than the sonorous Parnassians and their drum".<sup>3</sup> This idea is, in fact, the repetition of what Candido already he had stated in the book Literature and Society.<sup>4</sup>

The situation in France was a little different. While the most symbolists important ones entered the canon a long time ago, the decadentists only managed to achieve the status of research object a few decades ago. When Jean de Palacio began his research on Decadentism in 1963, French scholars, booksellers and publishers were unaware or did not understand interested in the decadents. Only in the 1980s did the situation begin to change.<sup>5</sup> Today, the change in attitude among critics is evident from the large number of academic events, books and articles published on the French decadence. And this interest tends to increase over time. Unlike Brazilian critics who seem much more concerned with

---

<sup>1</sup> VERÍSSIMO at GOES, 1959, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> CANDIDO, 1989, p. 148.

<sup>3</sup> CANDIDO, 1983, p. ix.

<sup>4</sup> CANDIDO, 1975, p. 114.

<sup>5</sup> PALACE, 1994, p. 9-10.

nationalisms and the constitution of the Brazilian literary canon from this perspective, Palacio rejected the accusation of minor literature directed at decadent production. Second Palacio, perhaps the first lesson of Decadentism is that there are no authors “major” and “minor” in this movement, but a literary production, a practice of writing, which subverts hierarchies and disorganizes genres, being convenient put in parentheses a concern with the evaluation of posterity in order to be able to perceive it without so many prejudices.<sup>6</sup>

Symbolism in Minas Gerais was not just the work of the poet Alphonsus de Guimaraens, as common sense believes to have happened. Other characters, some today forgotten or little studied, also acted in the artistic and literary context that welcomed trends linked to Symbolism. The knowledge of literary production of the symbolist group from Minas Gerais, although mentioned in literature history books, Brazilian literature dictionaries and some essays, did not reach neither to contemporary critical readers nor to the general reading public. The image of Alphonsus de Guimaraens as the great Brazilian symbolist poet, constructed at few by its readers and critics during the 20th century, certainly obscured the other poets of this Minas Gerais literary movement. Thus, when mention Symbolism in Minas Gerais, we immediately think of Alphonsus de Guimaraens, given the great importance of the poet from Mariana. We must remember, however, that an entire generation of intellectuals gave the poet the conditions of intellectual dialogue and made its brilliance more intense.

The importance of Minas Gerais Symbolism is, therefore, generally unknown by many scholars of Brazilian literature. Research with primary sources has often privileged the “great authors”, the canonical writers. However, we cannot consider history only from the point of view of what is considered to be a model, from the point of view of those who were most prominent. AND Obviously we are not denying the importance of the “greats”, but history is also made up of small things, apparently banal things and characters considered secondary. In the case of literary studies, it is necessary that research equally addresses the so-called “minor” authors, the “followers”, the “diluters”, the “marginalized”. Without this, we run the risk of not understanding

---

<sup>6</sup> PALACE, 1994, 13-14.

**correctly the literary production of the “greatest”, since many elements of this production are related to the set of texts despised by critics and literary historiography.**

**Research on the production of writers from Minas Gerais from the 19th century and early years of the 20th century are rare. There seems to be a prejudice against everything which was written before Modernism. However, as Alexandre Eulálio said, the ideological aspects of the 18th century were not broken by the modernists from Minas Gerais:**

**In fact, the end of the century in Minas had to extend stylistically and ideologically, in its decisive lines of force, until around 1920, in the same way that ideologically and stylistically the 18th century of Minas Gerais had extended until the 1840s.**

**Only the modernist revolt will dare to challenge this spirit; even then only the least problematic and significant aspects of this praxis were called into question. The profound contents of 19th centuryism, however, have not yet merited a more incisive approach. They still remain extremely present, we still live in the remaining fringes of this taste...<sup>7</sup>**

**Still according to Eulálio, in “its surface poverty, the literary 19th century asserts itself as a decisive, core period even for the knowledge of ourselves”.<sup>8</sup> For this critic, it is of fundamental importance that there be research with primary sources of continuous and organic way so that the Minas Gerais' literary past can be better known.**

**The central point on which it becomes essential to insist to the point of boredom is the continuous search and recovery of the scattered pieces – poetry, prose, theater, others, all genres – of secondary authors, for whom we often do not have exact minimum data. , sometimes even relating to place of birth, affiliation, dates of birth and death. At the same time, we must carry out, with the indispensable care, the re-editing, in accurate readings, of the texts of these writers, so that we can ultimately be, by the end of the century, able to return to the future the past that fell to us – that left us it is still necessary – to preserve. This is the minimum**

---

<sup>7</sup> EULÁLIO, 1992, p. 118.

<sup>8</sup> EULÁLIO, 1992, p. 119.

**what we can do, aware as we are of how much it means.<sup>9</sup>**

Our thesis fits into this line of work. We were able to locate, in our investigative journey, many texts scattered in periodicals of the time and These references, indicated at the end of the thesis, may favor future editions of these authors. We encountered several difficulties in the search for these disperses, which ranged from the poor state of conservation of periodicals to the absence of copies of some symbolist books in the most important national libraries. We also had to face the problem of obtaining reliable information about the Minas Gerais symbolists who have not yet been the subject of more detailed study. To the Rare biographical information about many writers is scattered throughout the periodical texts. Initially, it was necessary to reconstruct some brief biographical traits, without whom it would have been impossible for us to understand his intellectual trajectory and the context of his writings.

In this work, we seek to develop a study in two dimensions: historical and critical. First, we investigated the appearance of the Symbolist group in the Minas Gerais context, its publications, its intellectual formation and its insertion in the Republic of Letters. Second, we seek understand the positions of Minas Gerais symbolists in relation to modernity and modernization processes.

At first, we believed we could find poems that addressed these positions more explicitly. We realized, over the course of time, that we should also consider the other texts they wrote for periodicals: chronicles, articles and occasional poetry. An important stage of this research was developed during a doctoral internship abroad of the Franco-Brazilian Doctoral College Program, with a research grant from Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES), carried out junto ao Center for Research on Lusophone Countries (CREPAL), da University Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris III, under the guidance of the director of that same center

---

<sup>9</sup> EULÁLIO, 1992, p. 119-120.

research, Professor Jacqueline Penjon. The research abroad aimed mainly the location and transcription of the articles that José Severiano published in French periodicals, but also the acquisition of bibliography on the Symbolism and Decadentism, fundamental to our thesis.

Our work is structured into four chapters. In the first two, we carried out the historical dimension of the research. In the last two, we developed the critical dimension, analyzing the dramas of modernity staged in works symbolists.

The first chapter, "The gardeners of symbols", is subdivided into two parties. In the first, we present the origin of the Minas Gerais movement and who the group's members were. In the second, we analyzed the journals involved in the dissemination of symbolist writings.

In the second chapter, "The Minas Gerais symbolists and the Republic of Letters", the issue of intellectual formation was distinguished in the aspects of school education and which occurred through participation in networks, both semi-institutional and informal ones. In this item, we analyze the cultural resonances and practices of translation developed by symbolists from Minas Gerais as part of their learning literary.

The third chapter, "Changing and Expanding World", addresses how the symbolists from Minas Gerais dramatized the issue of subjects in transit through modernity, considering it from the perspective of uprooting and destabilizations.

In the fourth chapter, "Drama and dramatic pathos",<sup>10</sup> the scenarios, characters and dramatic situations staged in the works of

---

<sup>10</sup> In this thesis, the term drama was used, most of the time, as an existential category, rather than a literary and theatrical genre. We are based on Henri Gouhier (1952) who distinguished drama and the dramatic by the presence of death in life. In drama, according to Gouhier, the emphasis falls on the weakness of the human condition and the struggle against death. We realized that it would be interesting to consider the existential category drama together with a form of metaphorical appropriation of terms originating from theater, including the concept of drama itself. A theory that seems to be implicit in the works of Minas Gerais symbolists is the concept of drama as elaborated by Victor Hugo, according to which drama would be a genre that would mix the sublime and the grotesque, tragedy and comedy, the high and the low. According to Hugo, drama as a theatrical representation would imitate the drama of life.

**mining symbolists. We tried to show that, in the setting of the scenes, these writers used the theme of dead cities, ruins and cities tentacular, where characters debated in conflicts between the ideal and the real, the spiritual and corporal.**

**We hope that, by shining a spotlight on some aspects of the work and thought of symbolists from Minas Gerais, highlighting the meaning and participation of these authors in Brazilian and foreign literary networks, this thesis can play an important role in expanding knowledge about Brazilian Symbolism and serving as a stimulus for new studies.**

# **THE GARDENERS OF SYMBOLS**

Ineffable, here is the group of Singers Dressed  
in white, and glimmers of apotheosis Fill the  
serene pride of their poses: All beautiful, all pure,  
with rays in their eyes, And under their foreheads the unfinished  
dream of the Gods!  
The world, disturbed by their profound words,  
exiles them. In turn they exile the world!  
It's because they understood in the end that they must  
no longer mix their pure note with unresolved cries.

“Prologue”, Saturnian Poems, Paul Verlaine

## EMERGENCY OF SYMBOLISM IN MINAS

**O**Minas Gerais symbolism began, in fact, in the city of São Paulo, where some young people from Minas Gerais had gone to study Law. The mining group, composed by Alphonsus de Guimaraens, Archangelus de Guimaraens,<sup>11</sup> José Severiano de Rezende<sup>12</sup> and Viana do Castelo<sup>13</sup> became part of the São Paulo nucleus, formed by Júlio César da Silva, Leopoldo de Freitas, Júlio Prestes, Batista Cepelos and Wenceslau de Queirós. Two names served as leaders for these symbolists: the Minas Gerais Adolfo Araújo<sup>14</sup> and the Gaucho José de Freitas Valle.<sup>15</sup>

These young miners, when they returned to their home state (some transferred to the recently created Free Faculty of Law, others already as bachelors), took symbolist ideas with them. In Belo Horizonte, they grouped together and gave an avant-garde cultural movement aspect to their interventions. The great literary reference of these new poets was the poet Alphonsus de Guimaraens.

---

<sup>11</sup> Arcanjo Augusto da Costa Guimarães, who adopted the literary name of Archangelus de Guimaraens (Ouro Preto, MG, 1872 – Belo Horizonte, MG, 1934), was the brother of the poet Alphonsus de Guimaraens. Despite not having a very large production, some of his poems were well known to Minas Gerais readers and were frequently recited at literary soirées. They remained dispersed until 1955, when Alphonsus de Guimaraens Filho brought them together in the book *Crown of Thorns*.

<sup>12</sup> José Severiano de Rezende (Mariana, MG, 1871 – Paris, France, 1931) began his journalistic activities at the age of 17 in the republican periodical *O Tribunal*, in São João del-Rei. In São Paulo, he developed intense collaboration in newspapers, becoming known in the city's intellectual circles. He also contributed to *Diário da Manhã*, a newspaper from the city of Santos. In 1894, he joined at the Mariana Seminary. His ordination took place in 1897, the year in which he became director of the diocesan newspaper *O Viçoso*, which, after a reformulation, was renamed *D. Viçoso*. In 1901, he began to collaborate with the Rio newspaper *Correio da Manhã*. José Severiano de Rezende moved to Rio de Janeiro in 1903 and, little by little, he gained notoriety, due to his poems, his chronicles and criticisms, which often generated controversy. Severiano lived in the then capital of the Republic until approximately 1908, when he left for France, taking up residence in Paris. His book work consists of *Eduardo Prado* (1904), *O meu flos sanctorum* (1908), *Mistérios* (1920) and the pamphlet *Hymne à l'homme qui viendra* (1922).

<sup>13</sup> One of the poets linked to Symbolism and whose work was stifled by his political trajectory was Augusto Viana do Castelo (Curvelo, MG, 1874 – Rio de Janeiro, RJ, 1953). When he was in São Paulo, he contributed to some newspapers and magazines. In Belo Horizonte, he published poems in the magazine *Minas Artística*, in *Horus* and in the newspaper *O Estado de Minas*, a homonym of the one published by *Diários Associados*.

<sup>14</sup> Adolfo Araújo (Serro, MG, 1872 – São Paulo, SP, 1915) made his literary and journalistic career in the capital of São Paulo. He wrote lyrical and satirical poems, but they were not collected in a book. His epigrams, published in *A Vida de Hoje*, were signed with the pseudonym "Cemitério Galato".

He also contributed to the São Paulo periodicals *A Paulicéia*, *A Ilustração Brasileira* and *Comércio de São Paulo*. 15 RAMOS, 1979, p. 222 and MURICY, 1999, p. 428.

The interaction between Symbolist writers was, in part, a result of the carrying out the same activities (journalism, work in public offices and the Law course) and forms of leisure (theatre shows, meetings in halls of the “Clube das Violetas”, meetings at the Genaro restaurant and Café Paris, in Belo Horizonte). In these last places, where they used to live their bohemia, the Symbolists rambled, debated ideas, drew up plans and positioned themselves in relation to other literati. Recurrent relationship modes to be defined formation of groups of intellectuals, that is, of groups that are consolidated through intellectual activities stricto sensu, it is true, but also translated into other dimensions of everyday life.

The relationships, partnerships and pacts between symbolist intellectuals became clearly evident in the various expressions of appreciation (such as, for example, in tributes through dedications or epitaphs), in financial collaboration to enable editions, in common projects, in publications in the same periodicals, in critical texts, in the exchange of correspondence and in the chronicles that wrote about others.

We owe Eduardo Frieiro relevant information about one of the groups symbolists of Belo Horizonte: the “Gardeners of the Ideal”. In the book Pages of Criticism and other writings, Frieiro left us a unique description of the aristocratic position of those symbolists in relation to art, from the perspective of the imaginary end-of-century.

They called themselves the Rare, the Magnificent and the Damned! One was called the Knight of the Rose Cross, another Bacelar; Still others called themselves Barons of Altair, Sete-Estrelo or Santo Lenho. It was as if they wore plumed hats, silk doublets, lace cuffs, swords at their sides, and bowed in respectful bows before beautiful powdered ladies, white as lilies, violet eyes, long diaphanous hands, immaterial creatures like pre-Raphaelites by Burne Jones and Dante-Gabriel Rossetti.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> FRIEIRO, 1955, p. 308.

This association of the image of Minas Gerais symbolists with pre-Rafaelita was taken up by Luciana Stegagno Picchio in her History of Literature Brazilian. It is a performance, presented in the form of a triptych, with as characters Alphonsus de Guimaraens, José Severiano de Rezende, Mamede de Oliveira<sup>17</sup> and Edgard Mata.<sup>18</sup>

As for the symbolists of Minas Gerais, they appear gathered as in a triptych around the image of the great solitary of Mariana: Alphonsus de Guimaraens. On one side, adoring, the vate's brother, Archangelus de Guimaraens (1872-1934), on the other, truculent and tasty, with his provocative countenance as an apostate priest, José Severiano de Resende (1871-1931): *O meu flos sanctorum*, 1908; *Mysteries*, 1920); On the sides, genuflecting in their velvety deliquium, Mamede de Oliveira (1887-1913) and Edgar Mata (1878-1907), whose soft elegance does not lack a certain dramatic pathos ("Stalactite of pain", "Taciturnus bos, "The heron" ...).<sup>19</sup>

For Alexandre Eulálio, there would be a certain similarity between the triptych imagined by Picchio and the finite-century paintings or neo-Gothic constructions that were being held in Belo Horizonte.

With ironic sympathy, a foreign scholar represented the "Gardeners" emblematically arranged in a lay altarpiece, of late Pre-Raphaelite taste, which could have been painted by Honório Esteves, Belmiro de Almeida or even the immigrant Angelo Clerici,

---

<sup>17</sup> Mamede de Oliveira (Paraisópolis, MG, 1887 – Belo Horizonte, MG, 1913) was, in addition to being a poet, journalist and teacher of Portuguese, French and mathematics. As a journalist, he collaborated in several Brazilian periodicals, especially in newspapers and magazines in Minas Gerais, adopting the pseudonym Dom Lys. The most representative phase of Mamede de Oliveira's poetry was produced between 1903 and 1907. In 1957, Benedito Lopes organized a posthumous book by Mamede de Oliveira with the title *Dona Graça*.

<sup>18</sup> In 1900, Edgard Mata Machado (Ouro Preto, MG, 1878 – Diamantina, MG, 1907) was already developing intense cultural activity in Belo Horizonte. He was one of the members of the "Clube das Violetas", where he gave a conference called Tijuco – legends and traditions, on September 19th. According to the newspaper *Minas Gerais*, the conference was a great success.<sup>18</sup> Still in 1900, he edited the periodical *Lotus* alongside other intellectuals and collaborated on the newspaper *A Violeta*, one of the first vehicles of symbolist production in Belo Horizonte. In 1901, he published texts in *Diário de Minas* and worked on editing the magazine *Minas Artística*. The following year, he participated in the publication of *Horus* magazine. In 1978, Cilene Cunha de Souza published a critical edition of Edgard Mata's poems based on an autograph codex, apograph codes compiled by the poet's family and verses published in periodicals.

<sup>19</sup> PICCHIO, 2004, p. 351-352.

wall decorator of Minas Gerais temples in the “1900s”. An altar similar to the taste of certain civic oratories of the orthodox Comtians, faithful to the Religion of Humanity worshiped on Rua Benjamin Constant in the Federal Capital (of which I even saw a copy preserved by Ivan Lins), and would even go well with the emphatic pseudo-Gothic of churches and public buildings that a wild architectural Eclecticism was building in the old places of

The image created by Picchio is very happy to evoke the posture of these writers in the face of art and social life. Furthermore, it makes clear the centrality by Alphonsus for Symbolism in Minas. A centrality that was also highlighted by Eduardo Frieiro when showing the difference in the meaning of Cruz and Souza and Alphonsus de Guimaraens for the Minas Gerais symbolists.

In Cruz e Souza, who everyone considered the greatest poet in Brazil, the missing Master was mourned. Alphonsus de Guimaraens was the living pontiff, far from the group in the capital, secluded in his hermitage in Mariana, but present in spirit at the gatherings and achievements of the young disciples, all restless, dreamers and friends of stupidity and good jokes.<sup>21</sup>

On one side, the master, the dead pontiff, on the other, the living pontiff. Like this defined, the two could only be worshiped in a type of religious celebration. Despite having declared their admiration for Cruz e Souza in the first issue of Minas Artística magazine, the symbolists of Belo Horizonte would distinguish themselves from the other symbolist groups mainly for taking Alphonsus' work as

<sup>20</sup> EULÁLIO, 1992, p. 116-117. In addition to this comparison made by Eulálio, the image in the triptych makes us think of certain works of art with a religious theme that feature a figure of a saint surrounded by other characters in hieratic, solemn poses. Examples of this are the “Brera (or Montefeltro) Altarpiece”, also known as “Our Lady with Child and saints” (1472-1477) and the “Polyptych of Mercy”, both by Piero della Francesca. However, it is necessary to make some observations about the places and roles of José Severiano de Rezende and Edgard Mata in the Minas Gerais symbolist movement. It does not seem correct to say that both were followers of Alphonsus de Guimaraens. Therefore, they should not be in the performance of the poet-saint and his disciples. In fact, Severiano de Rezende represented a different aspect of Minas Gerais Symbolism, a counterpoint figure to Alphonsus de Guimaraens. Edgard Mata was an author who also sought his own diction.

<sup>21</sup> FRIEIRO, 1955, p. 307.

Guimaraens as an exemplar.<sup>22</sup> This was analyzed by Martins de Oliveira, using the concept of alphonism.

There is even the admission of the Alfonsinian world or, in terms of a purely original, very personal school, Alfonsism, followed by some poets of his time such as ÁLVARO VIANA, Spiridiam de Viana, in São Paulo (sic), MAMEDE DE OLIVEIRA, and others, and, modernly, by others, all considered his disciples. The poet's power is so great and so pure that it requires plans of meditation.<sup>23</sup>

In addition to the poets mentioned by Martins de Oliveira, Alphonsus' brother, Archangelus de Guimaraens was also part of this Alfonsist nucleus.

In the text "Master Alphonsus and his disciples", Eduardo Frieiro also focused on the way in which the symbolists of Belo Horizonte positioned themselves from the point of view from a social point of view.

They made up a circle of imaginary blasé young men, bored of a society they considered deliquescent. Intellectuals from a closed circle, they showed themselves to be refined in terms of appetites and sensations and declared deadly enmity to the Bourgeois Tiger and the most sublime contempt for Chusma (as they said).

As for origin, the Symbolists who had the greatest projection were born in old mining towns. Ciro Arno, who had a brief involvement with the

<sup>22</sup> The publication of Câmara Ardente, Setenário das Dores de Nossa Senhora e Dona Mística, works by Afonso Henriques da Costa Guimarães (Ouro Preto, MG, 1870 – Mariana, MG, 1921), in 1899, became a landmark in Brazilian Symbolism. Alphonsus de Guimaraens was the most important figure in poetry in Minas Gerais in the period before the emergence of Modernism. In 1902, Kiriale appeared, published in Portugal by the author with funds acquired through subscriptions. In fact, it was the first book written by Alphonsus de Guimaraens, prior to the other three published in 1899. The books Pauvre lyre, with poems in French, and Pastoral ao crentes do amor e da morte were posthumous editions. The first, revised by the poet himself, appeared in 1921. The second, organized by João Alphonsus, was published by Monteiro Lobato in 1923.

<sup>23</sup> OLIVEIRA, 1958, p. 140.

<sup>24</sup> FRIEIRO, 1955, p. 324.

Symbolism publishing the newspaper Lótus, was from Diamantina,<sup>25</sup> and the brothers Álvaro Viana<sup>26</sup> and Viana do Castelo were born in Curvelo. Horácio Guimarães,<sup>27</sup> I was born Alphonsus de Guimaraens, Archangelus de Guimaraens from Edgard Mata in Ouro Preto. The last one, being from a traditional family from the north of Minas Gerais, always he was linked to his family's city, Diamantina. José Severiano de Rezende, Born in Mariana, he maintained close relations with São João del-Rei, where his family moved and where he was originally from. Afonso Pena Júnior was born in Santa Bárbara<sup>28</sup> and Adolfo Araújo, in turn, came from Serro. All were members of the parental clans that Cid Rebelo Horta called "families government" in Minas Gerais. For this scholar, the history of Minas Gerais, from a political point of view, would be "the history of its great families that play the game of the political scene since the Colony." They would have developed "around dates and, later, large rural properties".<sup>29</sup> Horta described their formation as follows:

Consisting of the intertwining of three or more "nuclear families", the "extended families" of Minas Gerais formed as if endogamous circles. Each circle was the social area of a vast family

---

<sup>25</sup> In addition to his work in the press, Cícero Arpino Caldeira Brant (Diamantina, MG, 1880 – Rio de Janeiro, RJ, 1972) was a teacher and writer, publishing his texts under the pseudonym Ciro Arno. He also practiced translation, having written a version of the poem "Les yeux", by Sully Prudhomme. In Diamantina, he wrote for the newspaper A Ideia Nova. Already in Belo Horizonte, he founded and edited, together with other members of the "Jardineiros do Ideal", the newspaper Lotus, one of the vehicles of the symbolist movement in Belo Horizonte. Arno was a member of the Historical and Geographical Institute of Minas Gerais and wrote the following books: Memoirs of a Student, A Metrópole do Norte, Os Jatobás, O Treasury of Pirates of the Pacific, Cartas Paulistanas, Mistério de Diamantina and Horas de Spleen.

<sup>26</sup> Álvaro Viana (Curvelo, MG, 1882 – Belo Horizonte, MG, 1936) exercised, from a certain period onwards, leadership of the symbolist group in Belo Horizonte. He contributed to Diário de Minas, the magazine Minas Artística and the newspaper A Época. He founded and directed Horus magazine. In 1906, a group of friends published Para que?, their book of poems.

<sup>27</sup> Horácio Guimarães (Ouro Preto, MG, 1870 – Belo Horizonte, MG, 1959), Bernardo Guimarães' eldest son, participated in the Symbolist movement in Belo Horizonte. He was a journalist, poet, chronicler and translator. His journalistic career began at the newspaper Cidade do Rio, owned by abolitionist José do Patrocínio. Later, he was a writer for A Gazeta, in São Paulo. In Minas, he collaborated with the newspaper O Cisne, in Ouro Preto, and then worked as a journalist for many years in Belo Horizonte. Among the press organizations in which he worked, Diário da Tarde (1st) (1910), A Gazeta (3rd) (1914) and Diário de Minas deserve mention. He was one of the editors of the symbolist magazines Minas Artística (1901-1902) and Horus (1902). In 1921, he also collaborated in the magazine Novella Mineira.

<sup>28</sup> Afonso Pena Júnior (Santa Bárbara, MG, 1879 – Rio de Janeiro, RJ, 1968) was a member of two symbolist groups from Belo Horizonte, the "Jardineiros do Ideal" and the "Cavaleiros do Luar". He wrote poems and gave a lecture that was later published with the title "The future of art" (Official Press of Minas Gerais, 1900). As a scholar, he investigated the authorship of the Chilean Letters (Criticism of attribution of a manuscript from the Ajuda Library, 1943) and Arte de furtar (The art of stealing and its author, 1946). In 1947, he became a member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters.

<sup>29</sup> HORTA, 1956, p. 59.

contiguous on a large domain of land. In a circle, no matter how closed it was, a more daring member would always appear and connect, through marriage, with another socially neighboring circle.

In this way, over time, a true chain of family circles, or relatives, was formed, whose members sometimes take one another in the tasks of local and regional political leadership, and sometimes alternate. It is the governmental constellation of Minas Gerais.<sup>30</sup>

Let's see which "governmental families" the Minas Gerais symbolists were from members. Let's start with José Severiano de Rezende. According to Renato de Lima Júnior, the poet was a descendant of the inconfidentes José de Rezende Costa Sr. and José de Rezende Filho.<sup>31</sup> The first died in exile and the second, after returned to Brazil, became deputy general in the Empire. Since then, members of the Rezende family, originally from the Rio das Mortes region, have held political positions and administrative posts in Minas Gerais.<sup>32</sup>

Alphonsus de Guimaraens and Archangelus de Guimaraens were sons of a father Portuguese and, on their maternal side, were descendants of one of the important families from Minas. His mother was the daughter of JI de Faria Alvim and his maternal uncle was Cesário Alvim, elected as the first constitutional President of Minas Gerais. The Alvim were a branch of the Martins da Costa and relatives of the Guerra, the Lage, the Drummond and dos Andrade. The Martins da Costa family exerted political influence mainly in the region of the cities of Itabira and Nova Era.<sup>33</sup>

As for Edgard Mata and Ciro Arno (Cícero Arpino Caldeira Brant), they were descendants of the traditional Mata Machado and Caldeira families from Diamantina Brant. These families disputed power in the Diamantina region with the Mourão.<sup>34</sup> Edgard Mata's father, João da Mata Machado, had a political career prominent in the Empire and the Republic. He was deputy general, Councilor of the Empire, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Dantas Cabinet, Federal Deputy in the Republic and President of the Chamber of Deputies.<sup>35</sup> João da Mata Machado, the Counselor Mata, was an "advanced liberal" and played an important role in

<sup>30</sup> HORTA, 1956, p. 59.

<sup>31</sup> LIMA JÚNIOR, 2002, p. 30.

<sup>32</sup> HORTA, 1956, p. 63-64.

<sup>33</sup> HORTA, 1956, p. 85-86.

<sup>34</sup> HORTA, 1956, p. 79.

<sup>35</sup> SOUZA, 1978, pp. 10-11.

organization of republican political institutions in Minas, alongside Afonso Pena and Cesário Alvim.<sup>36</sup> According to Cilene Cunha de Souza, in addition to being a politician, João da Mata Machado also developed “bold industrial ventures” and created, in a pioneering way, a regular navigation system on the São Francisco River. He consumed his enormous fortune in these bold companies, leaving his family in a difficult financial situation.<sup>37</sup>

Afonso Pena Júnior was from the Moreira Pena family, a branch of the Ribeiro-Oliveira Pena. The Moreira Pena controlled power in Santa Bárbara at the end of the 19th century. Afonso Pena Sr. was a deputy and minister in the Empire, he became the government of Minas Gerais and then to the presidency of Brazil in the First Republic.

The Viana family, of Álvaro and Viana do Castelo, had already been politically influential since before Independence, according to Cid Rebello Horta.<sup>38</sup> Through its various branches, its domains extended across Curvelo, Sete Lagoas, Sabará, Abaeté and Santa Luzia.

A predominant opinion regarding symbolist literature is that it would deal with cultural production of an alienated type and its authors, therefore, would be depoliticized or apolitical. However, the facts deconstruct this version. You symbolists, as biographical data demonstrate, were not depoliticized or apolitical.<sup>39</sup> In the case of symbolists from Minas Gerais, even due to their own family origin, this can also be observed. They were not and could not be in a neutral place. They always had relationships with people from some sector of power and They have always participated in political movements carrying out some ideological work. This type of involvement did not just happen on the part of those who made a political career. Many of the works produced by these writers

---

<sup>36</sup> MACHADO FILHO, 1978, p. 5.

<sup>37</sup> SOUZA, 1978, p. 11.

<sup>38</sup> HORTA, 1956, p. 87.

<sup>39</sup> There are many examples of political engagement by decadent and symbolist writers. In Europe, Verlaine and Rimbaud were involved with the Paris Commune and other writers with the anarchist movement. Maeterlinck and Verhaeren had links to Socialism. In Brazil, the Symbolists also took a stance in relation to the political and social problems of their time. We can mention the abolitionist activism of Cruz e Souza, his political criticism in the newspaper O Moleque, in Santa Catarina, and the participation of Júlio Perneta in the republican movement, in the Armada Revolution and in the Liberalist Revolt in Paraná. Another Brazilian symbolist militant in the abolitionist and republican struggles was Oscar Rosas, later elected deputy for Santa Catarina. Although many symbolist works do not at first glance present a political dimension, a reading between the lines reveals the worldview and political ideas of their authors.

constituted reflections on political facts, therefore, also producing circumstance literature.

Several examples of this type of literature can be found in the work of Alphonsus de Guimaraens. We will only mention one poem about the establishment of the Republic entitled “Quinze de Novembro”,<sup>40</sup> some jocular poems about the municipal elections in a city in the interior of Minas Gerais, a poem and a chronicle about Abolition<sup>41</sup> and another comparing the Brazilian oligarchy in power after the proclamation of the Republic to a legion of demons (“Applying the Gospel”).<sup>42</sup> It should be noted that Alphonsus de Guimaraens criticized the rulers of the Empire as well as those of the Republic.

The case of the newspaper *O Concelhão do Serro*, from which Alphonsus de Guimaraens was a writer, it is very illustrative of the Symbolist's political involvement in the “wars of municipal politics” and how this implied a position also in relation to the “government families” in their disputes for positions. João Alphonsus, son of the symbolist poet, described *O Concelhão do Serro* as follows:

The newspaper was political. Soares Maciel was in charge of most of the party propaganda. But versified satires abounded in his columns, in addition to the reproduction of old satires against doctors, – the doctor being the head of the local opposition.<sup>43</sup>

A note from the Complete Works of Alphonsus de Guimaraens, published in the appendix “Notes and Variants”, is very enlightening regarding who the author was. said doctor. “The poet had placed himself alongside Soares Maciel, his old friend and

<sup>40</sup> GUIMARAENS, 2001, p. 487-490.

<sup>41</sup> In the poem “Tenebra et lux” (1888), Alphonsus de Guimaraens showed himself to be an ardent critic of the slave system: “The solitary and dark space/ that contained slavery within it/ was an iron circle, a circ' lo d'aço,/ infernal labyrinth of corruption./ It was all dark and dull there.../ not a brilliant and timid flash/ of human consciousness, a shard/ of light shone in the dense darkness./ In this circle, noble as a brave man,/ servant of infamy, servant of oppressors,/ groaned while working the poor slave./ Suddenly, however, the 'Sun of Redemption'/ among the darkness shone with its brightness/ and the black people made our brother” (GUIMARAENS, 2001, p. 481) The chronicle “13 de Maio”, published in 1907 in the newspaper *Conceição do Serro*, can be found in GUIMARAENS, 1960.

<sup>42</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 632-633.

<sup>43</sup> ALPHONSUS, 1960, p. 41.

president of the City Council, against the head of the opposition, doctor Casimiro de Souza, by the way, your wife's cousin.”<sup>44</sup>

Engagement in political struggles was common. José Severiano de Rezende He defended the monarchical regime at one stage of his career and continued to get involved with political issues until the end of his life.<sup>45</sup> Álvaro Viana fought fiercely the Francisco Sales government (1902-1906) in the Belo Horizonte press and the opponents of his brother Viana do Castelo in the newspaper O Curvelano (Curvelo, MG). Ernesto Cerqueira participated in Rui Barbosa's civilist campaign, together with Carvalho de Brito, Afonso Pena Júnior and Gustavo Farnese, between the years 1908 and 1910, also directing the newspaper O Momento (1915), created to support the Party Conservative of General Pinheiro Machado. Horácio Guimarães began his career in journalism as part of José do Patrocínio's abolitionist campaign and the writer Mariana Higina fought for women's rights.<sup>46</sup>

In the Belo Horizonte newspaper A Época, where Álvaro Viana worked, verses by Jacques d'Avray and Alphonsus de Guimaraens were published. Therefore, some Authors believed it to be a symbolist periodical, however it was more of a political publication than a literary one, with the main objective being to opposition to the Francisco Sales government.

In 1906, Álvaro Viana founded and directed the newspaper O Estado de Minas, which became said a representative of the “League of Producing Classes”. Despite having opened up space

<sup>44</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 729.

<sup>45</sup> José Severiano de Rezende's defense of the monarchical regime is explained, in part, by the fact that he was the son of Severiano Cardoso Nunes de Rezende (1847-1920), responsible for the newspaper Arauto de Minas (1877-1889, São João del-Rei), official body of the Conservative Party in the 6th Electoral District of Minas Gerais. José Severiano de Rezende began his work in the press at Arauto de Minas and participated in the controversies that this periodical sustained with the newspaper A Pátria (1894, São João del-Rei) defender of the establishment of the Republic in Brazil. In São Paulo, the poet defended the monarchist professor Justino Gonçalves de Andrade in the book Cartas paulistas:articles on the academic question. Severiano de Rezende's criticisms of the Republic and republican rulers continued in the newspaper D. Viçoso (1898-1899), a diocesan periodical in Mariana, where he published, for example, violent editorials against President Campos Sales (November 20, 1898, p.3) and others such as the one entitled “The victim people” (28 May 1899, p.1). In his articles for the newspaper Correio da Manhã (Rio de Janeiro), he continued to criticize republican governments. An example of this was “O fúnebre reino” (15 April 1903, p.1), which targeted the government of President Campos Sales. José Severiano de Rezende's second book, Eduardo Prado: pages of criticism and controversy, probably published at the end of 1904, is a Catholic-monarchist manifesto, written in art style.

<sup>46</sup> new. 46

Mariana Higina worked in the feminist newspaper A Esperança (1899), in Diamantina. One of his poems was inscribed on the tomb of the poet Edgard Mata. At just 18 years old, Mariana Higina, who passed away at 84, was already cultivating poetry with a symbolist accent.

to convey texts by the Symbolists, like so many others from the time when the literary matter did not appear as central or important, it was a newspaper with clear political objectives. In it, Viana and his collaborators intensified the fight against government of Francisco Sales. For Linhares, the language of this periodical "was of unparalleled violence, from the editorial to the news".<sup>47</sup>

From what we have just explained, in relation to social level, the symbolists from Minas Gerais generally belonged to the middle strata or were linked to the oligarchy. A The cultural background of their families and the family environment enabled them to appropriate sophisticated literature and create a literary work that dialogued with the modern world. In this sense, it is important to highlight the presence of an intellectual tradition within these families. For example, Horace Guimarães was the son of the writer Bernardo Guimarães and cousin of Alphonsus and Archangelus de Guimaraens.

We can draw a parallel between the situation of the modernists from Minas Gerais, described by Fernando Correia Dias (1971), and that of the symbolists with regard to the professional appearance. Like the modernists, many Symbolists were journalists and this type of work was in keeping with their initial status, the vast majority of whom were law students.<sup>48</sup> Generally, they obtained some bureaucratic position and combined both types of work.

There is also the case of Viana do Castelo and Afonso Pena Júnior who had a political career, in addition to the bureaucratic one.<sup>49</sup> Others simply got involved in political disputes, such as Álvaro Viana, Horácio Guimarães and Alphonsus de Guimaraens himself during the period in which he became publish periodicals in the interior of Minas Gerais. Another part of the symbolists from Minas Gerais, made up of those who did not have

<sup>47</sup> LINHARES, 1995, p. 106.

<sup>48</sup> DIAS, 1971, p. 91.

<sup>49</sup> Having completed his secondary studies at Colégio do Caraça (MG) and his bachelor's degree at the Faculty of Law of Minas Gerais, Afonso Pena Júnior became a state deputy in 1902, beginning a long political career. He was secretary of the interior in the Minas Gerais government of Artur Bernardes, federal deputy between 1921-1923 and president of the Mineiro Republican Party (PRM) in 1929. He actively participated in the movement that brought Getúlio Vargas to power, the so-called Revolution of 1930. But, in 1943, was one of the signatories of the Mineiros Manifesto, a document produced by political elites against the dictatorship of the Estado Novo. Afonso Pena Júnior also held several important administrative positions and developed an academic career in Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro. Viana do Castelo, from 1906 onwards, assumed the mandate of federal deputy for the Republican Party of Minas Gerais (PRM), being re-elected until 1914. He was Secretary of Agriculture, in the government of Antônio Carlos and Minister of Justice and

public or political positions, sought intellectual professionalization through collaboration in the press, acting as lecturers and other forms of earning income. Such is the profile of Mamede de Oliveira and João Camelo.<sup>50</sup>

#### To have a more nuanced idea of symbolist literature in Minas

General, it is important to understand what was the relationship between the writers and the instances of power. In Minas Gerais, in the Old Republic, several writers sought support, generally through bureaucratic employment or work in official and unofficial press organs of the state government. The positions were of various types. Writers could occupy a place in the bureaucracy, a position in the police or judiciary or a teaching position. Assis das Chagas, for example, was a public servant, becoming director of the Minas Gerais Interior Secretariat.

Ciro Arno, after working as an educator at Hydecroft and João de Deus schools, in São Paulo, headed the Mata Machado School Group, in Diamantina. Ernesto Cerqueira worked as a Public Prosecutor in Santa Bárbara, Sete Lagoas and Belo Horizonte. He was a teacher at Ginásio Mineiro, exam inspector and employee of the Police Headquarters. After graduating, Archangelus de Guimaraens worked as prosecutor and interim judge in Caeté. In Belo Horizonte, He served as auditor of the Public Force. Viana do Castelo was a promoter in Curvelo and Secretary of Agriculture in the Antônio Carlos government. Afonso Pena Júnior held several important administrative positions. One of them was Secretary of the Interior in the Artur Bernardes government. Alphonsus de Guimaraens was a Public Prosecutor and, later, a Judge in the districts of Conceição do Serro and Mariana.

Guaranteeing your livelihood through public office or work as a political and cultural mediation in the official and unofficial press organs, these intellectuals could dedicate their free time to literary work. In exchange for

---

<sup>50</sup> The journalist and writer João Elói Camelo (? – Uberaba, MG, 1915), who signed his texts as J. Camelo, also participated in the symbolist group in Belo Horizonte. His journalistic career began at the end of the 19th century, when he founded, with other journalists, the newspaper Aurora (1896-1897), the first literary periodical in Belo Horizonte. Before that, he had worked as a pager and printer for Belo Horizonte, the first newspaper in the new capital of Minas. In 1900, he contributed to the newspapers A Violeta and Lotus. The following year, he collaborated in the magazine Minas Artística and in the polianteia dedicated to the memory of Arthur Lobo. Afterwards, he founded and directed the newspaper Heliantho (1902), together with Navantino Santos, Auto Sá and Júlio Brandão Filho. For a period of time, he worked as director of the newspaper A Epoch and, between 1906 and 1907, he participated in the editorial committee of the newspaper Tribuna do Norte, in Belo Horizonte. In 1908, he collaborated in the periodical Via Lactea.

favors or benefits, some of those writers did ideological work to those sectors of power with which they maintained contact. Draw a picture family origin and political participation allows us to understand the network of contacts they had when necessary.

Let us now consider some practices that contributed to the formation and cohesion of the Minas Gerais symbolist group, strengthening and strengthening relations between the intellectuals who participated in it: writing dedications, developing common projects,<sup>51</sup> presenting their companions with handwritten poems, exchanging correspondence and paying tributes in narrative texts (chronicles that had the symbolists as characters), critics (of a laudatory type) or poetics. These practices, which were not carried out exclusively by the Symbolists, also They had the function of showing who they were talking to and who they were trying to interact with. Let's look at some examples. Mariana Higina and J. Camelo exchanged dedications; Edgard Mata wrote dedications to Carlos Raposo, Álvaro Viana and Afonso Pena Júnior; Severiano de Rezende dedicated poems to Álvaro Viana, Alphonsus Guimaraens and Viana do Castelo; Alphonsus de Guimaraens exchanged poems with Osvaldo Freitas and presented Álvaro Viana with Câmara Ardente's autograph. Álvaro Viana made dedications to Horácio Guimarães, Júlio Lemos, Viana do Castelo, Assis das Chagas,<sup>52</sup> Josias de Azevedo, Antônio Salvo, Edgard Mata and Archangelus de Guimaraens. Álvaro Viana was in good health when he was honored by Alphonsus de Guimaraens with an epitaph.<sup>53</sup> A journalist at the time considered the fact as an oddity, as unreasonable, as more one of the symbolist extravaganzas:

We find such an idea of the great symbolist from Minas Gerais extravagant, because, when dealing with a young man like the poet of Para que?, we must remember to pamper him with fair praise and

---

<sup>51</sup> An example of these common projects: Assis das Chagas and Horácio Guimarães planned to write a book of "stories and descriptions for children" about the beauties of the "fertile land of Minas Gerais". Cf. Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte, 6 March. 1901, p.1.

<sup>52</sup> The relationship between the journalist Assis das Chagas (? – Oliveira, MG, 1916) and the Symbolist movement was evidenced by his collaboration in a short text, signed together with Edgard Mata, entitled "Na alma de Brahma", in the first issue of the magazine Minas Artistic. Another participation took place in the cultural activities carried out at the "Clube das Violetas", where, on August 15, 1900, he gave the conference "Cousas do Sertão".

<sup>53</sup> Cf. GUIMARAENS, 2001, p. 493

A powerful stimulus so that his triumphs in life will always be more brilliant and not to jinx him with the reminder that his tomb is no longer missing everything, as the epitaph is ready.<sup>54</sup>

It is important to bear in mind that, initially, Symbolism was not distinguished very well of other literary movements in Minas Gerais. During all the period of symbolist manifestations in the state, from the end of the 19th century until the From 1920, there was a tendency towards eclecticism in literature, as we can see in architecture, especially in the first buildings in Belo Horizonte. To the several currents were interpenetrated in the process of its diffusion. Several authors oscillated between Parnassianism and Symbolism. Others still kept traces of Romanticism. Therefore, they are difficult to classify. Martins de Oliveira, in History from Minas Gerais literature, described what happened in these terms:

Tired of Hugoanas, Byronics, the verses of LAMARTINE, ALFRED DE VIGNY, MUSSET and other French poets followed in Brazil with sometimes religious anointing, they embarked on the cult of COPPÉE, HEREDIA, LECONTE DE LISLE, THÉOPHILE GAUTIER. Without much enthusiasm for BAUDELAIRE and much sympathy for HUYSMANS, in subtle frames, they began to admire VERLAINE, RIMBAUD, MALLARMÉ and the illuminated artists from Belgium, RODENBACH and VERHAEREN. They received, with great reserve, the extravagances of a JEAN LORRAIN, or an OSCAR WILDE, without adherence to the morbid plan of art. Very little of PROUST, almost nothing of GIDE and some adoration of ROMAIN ROLLAND, Minas Gerais culture was left in the middle ground, when, suddenly, already enlightened by symbolism, it began to admit the courageous innovations of APOLLINAIRE, BLAISE CENDRARS, JEAN COCTEAU and JULES SUPERVIELLE, without much appreciation for MARINETTI's exaggerations.

Eclecticism could mean a lack of aesthetic training and reveal a position of subalternity compared to European authors, but it can also be read

---

<sup>54</sup> Text from Correio da Tarde and republished in O Estado de Minas, Belo Horizonte, 1 July. 1906, p.2. In this thesis, we opted to update the spelling of the cited excerpts and correct obvious typographical errors, but generally retaining the original punctuation, modifying it only in cases where a proofreading problem was evident or when we judged that the understanding of the texts could be improved.

<sup>55</sup> OLIVEIRA, 1963, p. 209.

as an attempt at innovation, as taking a position in relation to conventions close ties of each school and as a search for a personal path. Symbolism, mixed with other trends, points to a process of adaptation and reinterpretation of European models, in which “repetitions”, in different production contexts, produced differences. In Minas, Symbolism spread sometimes more, sometimes less mixed, until the appearance of the modernists. Even the latter exhibited, at least in their initial production, markedly symbolist traits.<sup>56</sup>

There were many writers and journalists who maintained some relationship with Symbolism in Minas. We can mention Josias de Azevedo,<sup>57</sup> Júlio Lemos,<sup>58</sup> Brito Machado,<sup>59</sup> Salvador Pinto Júnior,<sup>60</sup> Oswaldo Freitas<sup>61</sup> and Agenor Barbosa.<sup>62</sup> Martins de Oliveira and Cilene Cunha de Souza also mention Antônio Salvo, Alcino Ataliba Pires, Adeodato Pires, João da Mata Machado Filho, João Edmundo Caldeira Brant.<sup>63</sup>

Demonstrating the great diffusion of symbolist poetics in Minas, “diluters” appeared who used symbolist clichés combined with elements of other poetics. According to Oliveira, the works of Honório Armond, Noraldino de

---

<sup>56</sup> Cf. CURY, 1998, p. 100.

<sup>57</sup> Josias de Azevedo was a journalist and poet. In 1903, together with Salvador Pinto Junior, J. Camelo and others, founded the newspaper *Evolucion*, in Belo Horizonte. For the newspaper *A Época*, also in the new capital of Minas Gerais, he wrote the column “Fagulhas”. Azevedo became known as “Correia-mirim”, due to his penchant for satire. His death occurred at the beginning of 1915.

<sup>58</sup> In 1902, Júlio Lemos contributed to the newspaper *Heliantho* with a poem dedicated to J. Camelo. For a period of time, he held the position of director of the newspaper *A Época* and was one of the young men responsible for publishing Álvaro Viana's book in 1906.

<sup>59</sup> Also a friend and admirer of Alphonsus de Guimaraens, the poet and professor Brito Machado was born in Ouro Preto on July 14, 1887. His first book was published in 1927. According to information from Guimaraens Filho, the poet Brito Machado would have written a book about Alphonsus titled *Alphonsíade*, which he never published.

<sup>60</sup> Salvador Pinto Junior, in addition to his work in the Belo Horizonte press, was one of the founders of the “Clube das Violetas” and there he presented the lecture “Types and episodes of the press”, on September 12, 1900.

<sup>61</sup> Osvaldo Freitas published two books of poetry. The first, *Nevroses*, from 1915, had a preface by Alphonsus de Guimaraens, with whom he was a friend. Freitas' second book, *Água-morto*, appeared only in 1958.

<sup>62</sup> The writer Agenor Barbosa was marked at the beginning of his work by Symbolism. In the capital of Minas Gerais, Barbosa worked as a contributor to the magazines *Vita* (1914) and *Vida de Minas* (1915). He later moved to São Paulo, where he was a writer for the newspaper *Correio Paulistano* and became involved in the modernist movement. 63

Lima, Mário de Lima, Nilo Bruzzi and Enrique de Rezende would have these eclectic characteristics.<sup>64</sup>

#### **For Symbolism to gain a greater space in the cultural field**

Minas Gerais, a process of purification and better characterization of the movement also took place, especially from the moment Álvaro Viana assumed leadership of the symbolist group in Belo Horizonte. Both Álvaro Viana's controversies with the Parnassian Mendes de Oliveira, as well as the effort to publish a exclusively symbolist and quality periodical in the new capital of Minas, such as the magazines *Minas Artística* and *Horus*, can be considered as indicative of this process.

Symbolist production in Minas Gerais was not limited to writers originally from the State. Thus, writers such as Ernesto Cerqueira,<sup>65</sup> Carlos Raposo,<sup>66</sup> Alfredo de Sarandy Raposo<sup>67</sup> and Da Costa e Silva<sup>68</sup> must be considered for their effective participation in the constitution of a symbolist mentality, whether for their role of mediation between symbolist groups, or for their

<sup>64</sup> OLIVEIRA, 1963, p. 242.

<sup>65</sup> Ernesto Reis da Gama Cerqueira (Paraíba do Sul, RJ, 1879 – Rio de Janeiro, RJ, 1947) became a prominent figure in literary circles at the beginning of the 20th century in Belo Horizonte. A former student at Colégio do Caraça, Cerqueira graduated from the Free Faculty of Law of Minas Gerais. As a journalist, Ernesto Cerqueira worked in several newspapers in the capital of Minas Gerais. He was one of the coll from the newspaper Belo Horizonte (1898), the magazine Lotus (1900), the magazine *Minas Artística* (1901), the Diário de Minas (1901) and the magazine Vida de Minas (1915). He directed the following periodicals: O Estado (1911) and Vita, from number 5 to 9 (1913). In Rio de Janeiro, where he moved after living in Minas Gerais for many years, Cerqueira worked in the following periodicals: A Pátria, A Gazeta de Notícias and Jornal do Brasil. For the latter, he wrote daily chronicles that covered literary and historical themes.

<sup>66</sup> Carlos Raposo was one of the editors of the magazine *Minas Artística* and a contributor to a polianiteia in honor of Cruz e Sousa. In Diário de Minas, he published a translation of a text by D'Annunzio and wrote a dedication to Horácio Guimarães. He also wrote a work entitled *Breviary of Dream* which was published after his death in 1902.

<sup>67</sup> Alfredo de Sarandy (Santa Catarina, 1880 – Rio de Janeiro, 1944) was the son of the Minas Gerais educator Custódio Raposo and brother of Carlos Raposo. He was a poet, novelist and lecturer. Sarandy edited the magazine *Minas Artística*, together with Horácio Guimarães, Álvaro Viana, Edgard Mata and Carlos Raposo. Alfredo de Sarandy also contributed to other Belo Horizonte periodicals. For the newspaper *Heliantho* (1902), for example, he wrote the text "Epístola" and, for *Revista Mineira* (1903), he wrote "Veritas" and "Ursus". In 1906, he published a decadent novel called *O Malsinado*.

<sup>68</sup> Antônio Francisco da Costa e Silva (Amarante, Piauí, 1885 - Rio de Janeiro, 1950) published his first book of poetry, *Sangue*, in 1908, in Recife. From 1910, after passing a competition, he joined the Ministry of Finance's staff, being transferred to Belo Horizonte. After 1917, he was transferred to Rio de Janeiro. There he published the book *Zodiac*, bringing together several poems that had first appeared in periodicals in the capital of Minas Gerais. In 1919, Da Costa e Silva published the book *Pandora* and was transferred again to Belo Horizonte. From that time on, he joined the group of Carlos Drummond de Andrade, Aníbal Machado, Emílio Moura, Mário Casassanta and Míltion Campos. In 1927, he launched the book *Verônica*, in Rio de Janeiro.

disclosure of authors. Da Costa e Silva, for example, according to Alphonsus de Guimaraens Filho, was one of those largely responsible for disseminating and valuing the work of Alphonsus de Guimaraens.<sup>69</sup>

Publishing a book in Minas Gerais during the Belle Époque period was a adventure or an act of heroism. The difficulties increased when the author He was concerned with the book as an object and wanted to make his dreams as an aesthete come true. There were no publishers that could fulfill a task like this. The writers they had to take charge of the edits and obtain the necessary resources to develop the project.

In view of the difficulties, the number of symbolist books published in Mines was small. Some of the writers had to wait a long time to have their poems collected in a book. This was the case of Mamede de Oliveira, Archangelus de Guimaraens and Edgard Mata. Mamede de's posthumous books Oliveira (Dona Graça) and Archangelus de Guimaraens (Crown of Thorns) appeared in the 1950s. The first was organized by Benedito Lopes, brother of Mamede de Oliveira, and the second was under the responsibility of Alphonsus de Guimaraens Filho. Edgard Mata's was only published in 1978 by Cilene Cunha de Souza.

The poets who managed to publish books during their lifetime had, as it were, Expectedly, greater publicity. Alphonsus de Guimaraens published Setenary of the Sorrows of Our Lady, Burning Chamber and Dona Mística (Rio, 1899), Kiriale (Porto, 1902) and the chronicle book Mendigos (Ouro Preto, 1920). The rest of his work was only published in posthumous editions. As for José Severiano de Rezende, he saw his work in prose (Cartas paulistas, Santos, 1890; Eduardo Prado, São Paulo, 1904;<sup>70</sup> O meu flos sanctorum, Porto, 1908) published long before his book of poetry Mysteries (Lisbon, 1920). Although they made a great effort to publish books, the vast majority of the literary production of Minas Gerais symbolists was dispersed throughout the periodicals of the time.

---

<sup>69</sup> GUIMARAENS FILHO, 1995, p. 349.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. LIMA JUNIOR, 2002, p. 96.

## EPHEMERAL SPACES, DESIRE FOR PERMANENCE

The symbolist movement in Belo Horizonte began with the foundation of a recreational association called “Clube das Violetas”. On January 6, 1899, the newspaper *Diário de Minas* reported the receipt of the statutes of that club.<sup>71</sup> Its foundation had been in 1898, the same year as the creation of the “Clube Rose”, chaired by the first lady of Minas, Esther Brandon. The two clubs were the privileged spaces of sociability of the Belo Horizonte elite in their first years of life.

The “Clube das Violetas” became another space for the city's writers to express themselves through conferences that, at that time, were in progress. fashion in Brazil. Most of these conferences were marked by superficiality, which can be explained by the type of audience that attended these conferences. meetings. In the book *Literary life in Brazil - 1900*, Brito Broca stated that the character mundane nature of these events was the cause of his success:

**It was a social gathering, where the women generally went in the same spirit as going to a tea dance, and the men came, in part, to see the women. Furthermore, a very important circumstance weighed on the case: this is how things were done in Paris, this was chic in Paris.**<sup>72</sup>

In fact, in Belo Horizonte, the conferences held at the “Clube das Violetas” were a form of entertainment for the local elite, similar to the games and dances.

Abílio Barreto, in an article published in *Diário de Minas*, placed the creation of the “Clube das Violetas” in the context of an economic crisis that occurred three years after the start of construction of the new capital of Minas. Workers and contractors, for lack of work, they left for other locations; commerce and small

---

<sup>71</sup> WE RECEIVED. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 6 Jan. 1899, p. two.

<sup>72</sup> BROCA, 2005, p. 198.

manufacturing industries were in agony and many companies went bankrupt. Discouragement would have taken over the city. In this crisis environment, the entertainment and cultural life of the elite were limited to the “Velo Clube” races in the Municipal Park and the some plays at the Soucasaux Theatre. The “Clube das Violetas” appeared, according to Barreto, as a reaction to this environment of apathy and sadness.<sup>73</sup> Conferences or lectures would be ways of alleviating the difficulties of daily life and would also serve to encourage the letters and artistic taste of the new capital, combining the useful with the pleasant.<sup>74</sup> The members of the “Jardineiros do Ideal” who made up the “Clube das Violetas” there were twelve: Lindolpho Azevedo, Prado Lopes, Ismael Franzen, Josaphat Bello, Padre João Pio, Aurélio Pires, Ernesto Cerqueira, Afonso Pena Júnior, Edgard Mata, Assis das Chagas, Salvador Pinto Júnior and Arthur Wolf. A note published in the newspaper Minas Gerais, on July 20, 1900, informed that this group would form a “literary center” following, in a certain way, the model of Padaria Espiritual, from Ceará.

We are aware of the creation of a literary center, perhaps made up of the organizers of the lectures, and similar to the Padaria Espiritual, in Ceará. Despite the title, these Gardeners of the Ideal, as they call themselves, will not hold sessions and will not have a file: what results from their confabulations will be kept by Violeta and will remain in the books, newspapers and leaflets that they intend to publish [...]<sup>75</sup>

The first conference of the “Clube das Violetas” would be given by Mendes Pimentel. However, the person who inaugurated the series of literary events was Father João Pio on July 18, 1900 at Palacete Steckel, located on Rua dos Guajajaras.<sup>76</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup> BARRETO, Abílio. At dawn in the Capital. The “Gardeners of the Ideal”. Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte, 3 Aug. 1927. p. 1. In fact, on one side, there were optimists, those enthusiastic about modernity. On the other, the pessimists. The construction of the new capital of Minas represented, for many, the possibility of improving their lives, of increasing the possibilities of personal fulfillment, but many others became disillusioned with this process of modernization. There were, therefore, two antagonistic discourses about the construction of Belo Horizonte and one of them invested in crisis rhetoric.

<sup>74</sup> BARRETO, Abílio. At dawn in the Capital. The “Gardeners of the Ideal”. Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte, 3 Aug. 1927. p. 4.

<sup>75</sup> PARTIES and entertainment. Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 20 July. 1900, p. 6.

<sup>76</sup> BARRETO, Abílio. At dawn in the Capital. The “Gardeners of the Ideal”. Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte, 3 Aug. 1927. p. 4.

Its owner was the German artist Frederico Steckel, head of the team responsible for the artistic works of the Palácio da Liberdade and president of the “Clube das Violetas”. In the Palacete Steckel, instrumental and vocal concerts have also taken place since 1899.<sup>77</sup> A relevant fact in Steckel's biography was the organization of one of the first fine arts exhibitions in the city in 1901.<sup>78</sup> Among the participants in the exhibition were Alberto Delpino and Honório Esteves.

On July 25, 1900, the second conference on “The Legends of Wagner theater”, performed by Josaphat Bello. The following lectures were then given: “The emancipation and evolution of music”, by Ismael Franzen; “The influence of religion on the arts”, by Prado Lopes; “Things of the backlands”, by Assis das Chagas; “Poets from Minas Gerais”, by Aurélio Pires; “The East”, by Ernesto Cerqueira; “Science and art”, by Afonso Pena Júnior; “Types and episodes of the press”, by Salvador Pinto Júnior; “Tijuco – legends and traditions, by Edgard Mata; “The woman”, by Theóphilo Pereira da Silva; “Paradox of freedom”, by Castilho Lisbon. The last, “A Poesia”, was written by Augusto de Lima on October 10, 1900.<sup>79</sup> According to Andrade Muricy,<sup>80</sup> the critic and writer Nestor Vítor would have been invited by the “Jardineiros do Ideal” to give a conference on Cruz and Souza in “Clube das Violetas”. Arline Anglade-Aurand also stated the same thing.<sup>81</sup> Still according to Muricy, the conference would have taken place, although Abílio Barreto did not mention it in his article in *Diário de Minas*.

Meetings of the “Clube das Violetas” were held once a week, at Wednesdays, and also used to present a musical section. For example, On the day of Josaphat Bello's conference on Wagner's theater, the first performance in Minas of an excerpt from *Tristan and Isolde* took place. Even a orchestra was created for the “Clube das Violetas” parties and concerts. The programs of these concerts reveal the musical taste of the club's regulars. On the day Assis das Chagas gave his talk, musicians Magdalena Bello, Ismael Franzen and J. Nicodemos accompanied soprano Francisca Gonçalves

<sup>77</sup> CROSS; VARGAS, 1989, p. 124

<sup>78</sup> ALMEIDA, 1997, p. 92.

<sup>79</sup> BARRETO, Abílio. At dawn in the Capital. The “Gardeners of the Ideal”. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 3 Aug. 1927. p. 4.

<sup>80</sup> MURICY, 1951, p. 286.

<sup>81</sup> AURAND, 1970, p. 47.

Ferreira who presented an aria from the opera L'Africana, by Giacomo Meyerbeer, and the Forbidden Music, by Stanislao Gastaldon. When Ernesto Cerqueira delivered his conference, Luzia Cerqueira sang Libro Santo, by Ciro Pinsuti, accompanied by Maria Macedo (piano) and conductor Ramos de Lima (violin). Then it was time from the ballet from the opera Marília, by F. Valle, performed on the piano by the author himself. Already on the occasion of Afonso Pena Júnior's conference, Clotilde Schmidt performed the Caprice, by Mendelssohn, and La Campanella, by Lizst. On that same date, the Singer Esther de Lima performed an aria from Roberto the Devil, by Meyerbeer.

In Beira-mar, Pedro Nava mentioned the “Clube das Violetas”, considering it as a predecessor of the “Clube Belo Horizonte”, an association of the Belo Horizonte elite opened in 1904.

It seems that Clube Belo Horizonte came from a primitive Clube das Violetas – a mundane group from the new capital. It had grown, established itself and had to transform itself into a definitive institution. This is what was going on in my time and what I learned from tradition. As Clube Belo Horizonte it was opened in 1904, with Dr. David Moretzshohn Campista as its first president. It was the house where the city's elite met and was open, when I met him, as was said, on the heights of the Odeon Cinema. [...] On the walls, portraits of the presidents and benefactors of the fine guild. In a beautiful frame and confirming membership of the Clube das Violetas, a photograph of a board of directors of the same, among whose members stood out the figure, still very young, but with bigger moustaches, Afonso Pena Júnior.<sup>82</sup>

In Belo Horizonte, some of the members of the “Clube das Violetas” published a newspaper called A Violeta that lasted just two issues. The newspaper presented texts by Abel Júnior, E. Nestor, Bento Ernesto Júnior, Adolfo Araújo, Fidé Yori, J. Camelo, Assis das Chagas, Edgard Mata, Artur Lobo (writing with the pseudonym of Carão d'Acha) and Azevedo Júnior, signing as Pif. The two were important chroniclers of the new capital and also wrote about the activities of the “Clube das Violetas” in his texts in Diário de Minas. In this periodical and in Lótus, the first symbolist manifestations of the new capital of Minas Gerais emerged.

---

<sup>82</sup> NAVA, 2003, p. 58.

In the first number of A Violeta, a text called "Artistic Serata" announced and commented on the creation of conferences. The justification for your appearance was similar to that presented by Abílio Barreto.

If the weather is good and God does not say otherwise, next Wednesday, the Club das Violetas will welcome its guests, offering them the inaugural lecture, marking a festive and busy period, of great joy and full of attractions, to discover (sic) this sensible and bad season, which neither vibrates nor lives, making us stroll along the avenues with our whimpers and complaints, yawning at every step, in a calm that makes those most averse to any kind of fun sick.

The motto of the newspaper A Violeta was a phrase by Raul Pompéia: "To live is to vibrate!". A sentence was interpreted in a vitalist sense, as a kind of reaction to sadness of those who were experiencing the economic crisis of that time. On the first page of number one of A Violeta, an opening text, as if it were an editorial, resumed the motto and developed a justification for the newspaper's emergence: "Violet's appearance obeys this immortal principle. It is the explosion of life that explains it, it is the fatality of vibrating that produces it."<sup>84</sup> In that same text, the ephemerality of the newspaper and the superficial and inattentive reception of the writings there were predicted. published. The expectation of reading on the part of, above all, the female audience should be noted, indicating this reception as typical for this audience:

Tomorrow Violet will pass, forgotten and disdained, like all flowers when time passes... It will pass like the "lectures" that will come tomorrow as a need for movement; but it will have complied with the imperious law, and perhaps made the heart of this lady who will read it vibrate with curiosity, surprise, emotion, who knows?

contra dance...<sup>85</sup>

---

<sup>83</sup> SERATA artistic. A Violet, Belo Horizonte, Jul. 1900, p. 1.

<sup>84</sup> To violet. To Violeta, Belo Horizonte, July 14. 1900, p. 1.

<sup>85</sup> To violet. To Violeta, Belo Horizonte, July 14. 1900, p. 1.

To understand the type of texts that the newspaper A Violeta published, we must consider that it was mainly aimed at women. In A Violeta, cultural activities were associated with the feminine and moments of leisure. In this sense, the phrase that worked as a subtitle is very enlightening. from the periodical: "flower... made of printed paper, cultivated by a group of Gardeners from Ideal for the ladies who fill the Club's halls with spirit and grace." A Most articles would therefore be aimed at an elite readership, young and not very interested in deep discussions about political or cultural topics. The newspaper's ideal reader was considered dreamy and delicate. Furthermore, the publication of the newspaper was treated as something without much preparation in the text "Última Palavra", also from the first issue from A Violeta:

This newspaper, conceived in one night, prepared the next day and ready the next night, a kind of tournament of champions eager to serve the ladies well, has no other merit than that of effort, nor any other aspiration than the reward of complacent eyes. <sup>86</sup>

As can be seen, A Violeta was a periodical that primarily aimed to the enjoyment of its readers (and male readers). In its pages we find, for example, verses by E. Nestor celebrating the French Revolution and stating that Paris was the "center of light for humanity", texts about theater in the new capital of Minas, birthday announcements, thoughts with a female signature, as well as others entitled "The dance", "The fashion" and "Music".

For one of the writers of A Violeta, fashion was associated with representation of the woman in the famous aria from the opera Rigoletto. Seen as futile, the woman had her pleasure related to the seduction process, of which the toilette was part.

Como La Donna – do Rigoletto – in fashion must be "FURNITURE QUAL PIUMA AL VENTO" to please the news-hungry minds of our gentle patricians, always ready to debut a blouse made

---

<sup>86</sup> Last word. A Violeta, Belo Horizonte, 14 July. 1900, p. 4.

in the latest costume or rolling up the dress with the Parisian donaire who is painted in the last issue of PETIT ÉCHO. And, come on, ladies, no matter how serious and severe we are, we always experience this or that sensation of enjoyment when we feel dressed with a certain elegance and carrying something new in our TOILLETTE.<sup>87</sup>

According to Jean-Yves Mollier, *Le Petit Écho de la mode* was the fashion periodical preferred by French women of the Belle Époque, having played a role in the constitution of mass culture through the standardization of models.<sup>88</sup> The effects of this mass production, widespread by the French periodical, they extended beyond France, acting powerfully in the formation of the ideology of French cultural “superiority” in other countries. As is evident in the text of *The Violet*, *Le Petit Écho de la mode* was the reference of fashion and feminine behavior to follow.

In *A Violeta*, events were also recorded in an anecdotal or colloquial tone for the elite who attended the “Clube das Violetas”. There were still small advertisements aimed at women like this:

- What a seductive dress! Where did you buy this, miss?
- You can clearly see that it couldn't be in another house: Ourivio specializes in farms.<sup>89</sup>

Such advertisements staged the desires and aspirations of that elite in small scenes in which the characters seemed to be as futile and superficial as the “absolutely costume” characters in Belle Époque narratives. Brazilian woman studied by Flora Süsselkind.<sup>90</sup> These characters presented synthetically, with a condensation of lines in the manner of caricatures, they indicate how a new perception was being formed in the urban population at that time surface-based and related to the dissemination of photographs, cartoons and

<sup>87</sup> HONORARY, Gardener. The fashion. *A Violeta*, Belo Horizonte, 9 September. 1900, p. 3.

<sup>88</sup> MOLLIER, 2002, p.73.

<sup>89</sup> *A Violeta*, Belo Horizonte, 9 September. 1900, p. 1.

<sup>90</sup> SÜSSEKIND, 1987, p. 108-109.

posters.<sup>91</sup> An example of this is a text used by journalist and writer Assis das Chagas as a character in an anecdotal dialogue to propagate a tailoring.

Chagas has been acting like a fool for a week now, like someone who doesn't want to trust anyone. Trindade, Manoel Rodrigues da Trindade, owner of the famous tailor shop on Avenida Paraopeba, made him a truly elegant suit. Let's do like Chagas, but let's not look like he was arrogant after his new outfit.<sup>92</sup>

The same procedure as taking one of the members of the “Gardeners of the Ideal” such as “illustration-character” or “cartoon-character”<sup>93</sup> of an advertisement for the same tailoring had already been carried out in the first issue of *A Violeta*, and the character was Ernesto Cerqueira:

Trindade, continuing on that path... Word! You won't give a good account of yourself. Selling cheap is fair, but making up a costume, turning an old man into a dandy for nothing... No, that's too much!

Look at Cerqueira's jacket: from that up and... they'll find a farm.<sup>94</sup>

The presence of Ernesto Cerqueira and Assis das Chagas in advertising texts reveals the roles that literati could also occupy in social life of that time: celebrities who guarantee the quality of a product or characters who instigate desires that the products would be able to satisfy. Apparently, becoming elegant like a dandy must have been an aspiration of those who attended the “Clube das Violetas” meetings.

---

<sup>91</sup> SÜSSEKIND, 1987, p. 107.

<sup>92</sup> *A Violeta*, Belo Horizonte, 9 September. 1900, p. two.

<sup>93</sup> SÜSSEKIND, 1987, p.108.

<sup>94</sup> *A Violeta*, Belo Horizonte, 14 July. 1900, p. 1.

According to Flora Süsskind, there was a great concern about showing off, with his own image transformed into a costume in the period between the 95 end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. This would be related to the development and dissemination of advertising. A's advertising texts Violeta are very similar to a text by Martins Fontes cited by the scholar. In it, descriptions of certain writers' toilettes, made by other literati, served as models of elegance and amused readers.

Oh! the toilettes, by Calixto, by the admirable caricaturist Calixto Cordeiro! Adorable! Adorable! Fantastic! Fantastic!

Oh! Emílio [de Menezes'] big hats, natural children of top hats and coconuts! – Guima's leg warmers [Guimarães Passos], in all colors, coming directly from London.<sup>96</sup>

The literary man, becoming an ornate image, a brand, a style of dress-if, it became, at the same time, a complaint about itself. Such a process can be seen as an indication that the sale of his works depended on displaying himself as a commodity, and, like all merchandise, the Belle Époque writer offered itself as a fetish object to the readers of the periodicals. According to Walter Benjamin, this practice was inaugurated by Baudelaire.

The loss of the halo concerns the poet in the first place. He is obliged to expose himself personally in the market. Baudelaire pursued this with all his energy. His famous mythomania was a publicity gimmick.<sup>97</sup>

A Violeta's advertising texts sometimes employed a language with characteristics of popular orality, which gave them a touch of humor. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that its layout did not highlight the

---

<sup>95</sup> SÜSSEKIND, 1987, p. 68.

<sup>96</sup> SOURCES at SUSSEKIND, 1987, p. 68

<sup>97</sup> BENJAMIN, 2007, p. 380.

advertisements on exclusive pages and visual resources were not even used. You advertising texts were only separated from others by small dashes. At the In the case of the advertisement for the fabric store mentioned above, the text that it was preceded by the sonnet "Clamor", by Edgard Mata.

Fastings and penances of tortured and  
contrite Monks are in the air, Weeping  
Psalms of forgotten rites And a perfume of  
mystical essences.

They cry, in the deserts, guitars, plains And  
human agonies of precites; Prayers,  
Miserers, Shouts intersect, From emotions  
to red blooms!

And everything goes up through the  
remote Heavens In the ascensing struggle of  
extreme vows: Black Blasphemies and Prayers of Saints...

Everything rises in a strange war, And  
upon the Earth's evening Sorrow A  
universal deluge of Weeping falls.<sup>98</sup>

Edgard Mata's sophisticated verses would not fit, at first glance, with the inattentive reception intended by the newspaper. However, the fluidity of the upward movement suggested by the poem, in a process similar to the cycle of water and in an aerial ambiance in which music, essences, spiritual sounds, laments and emotions end up mixing, must have been considered by those responsible for the newspaper in line with a supposed desire to experience vague or "vibrations" that the texts projected for their ideal readers.<sup>99</sup>

It is important to highlight that, despite the suggestion that it was a reading intended for mere entertainment, the newspaper A Violeta published other texts that clashed with this proposal, as shown in the sonnet "Clamor", by Edgard Mata. The theme of

---

<sup>98</sup> MATA, Edgard. Clamor...A Violeta, Belo Horizonte, 9 September 1900, p. 1. The text of the poem established by Cilene Cunha de Souza in the book The poetic work of Edgard Mata differs basically from the one published in the newspaper due to some changes in punctuation and the use of capital letters. There are few variations in vocabulary. In the book, the sonnet does not appear with a title. See SOUZA, 1978, p. 2.

<sup>99</sup> To violet. To Violeta, Belo Horizonte, July 14. 1900, p. 1.

twilight, one of the symbolists' favorites and traditionally associated with melancholic states, appeared in "Evangelhos no poente", by Edgard Mata, and in "Abismar", by J. Camelo, published respectively in the first and second newspaper numbers. In "Abismar", Camelo presented a sequence of images of the sunset. In each stanza, a stage towards the dark of night/death.

In the broad harmonious silence of the  
Twilight hour, of indefinite charm,  
Vague legions of dark and wide cloak Rise  
from the east across the sky.

Little by little the sunset fades.  
The mountains are veiled and, from corner  
to corner, The plains are covered with  
the brokenness of the great shadow that now extends.

The last light of sunset is dead, the schism  
Of the afternoons is dead, the entire earth  
is abyss The vast darkness that advances.

One more moment, and the plain, the granite  
high mountain, the sea, everything falls  
From the night towards the infinite tomb.<sup>100</sup>

In turn, Adolfo Araújo, who lived in São Paulo, collaborated on A Violeta with a sonnet in which life ceases to have meaning after the loss of the object loved one, being considered only as suffering, as shown in the following verses: "I died to this life, I died to the joys of this /World, muddy and vile, since that you died/ For my heart."<sup>101</sup>

Violeta was a periodical in tune with the moment, a periodical that provided the expression of conflicts and ambiguities experienced by the elites and the middle class in the process of building the new capital of Minas Gerais. The newspaper provided a space for the theatricalization of what was experienced at that time, combining texts melancholic and texts characterized by superficiality or fascinated by the progress. Two sides of modernity were revealed: the innocent joy with the

---

<sup>100</sup> CAMEL, J. Abismar. A Violeta, Belo Horizonte, 9 September. 1900, p. two.

<sup>101</sup> ARAÚJO, Adolfo. A sonnet. A Violeta, Belo Horizonte, 14 July. 1900, p. 4.

process of transformation and the feeling of loss, disillusionment, nostalgia in face of what disappeared. The members of the “Clube das Violetas” met divided between the conservation of traditions and the desire for change. So, in A Violeta, death and fashion, pain and “vibrations” were brought into the scene pleasures favored by parties and art. Such relationships take us back to Charles Baudelaire. In the 19th century, the French poet had already drawn a parallel between fashion and the aesthetics of modernity, relating the latter to the game of masks, appearances and artifice.<sup>102</sup> For him, the modern assumed the appearance of the fugitive and the transient. . Baudelaire extolled fashion as something that opposed the desire for perpetuity and immutability of an aesthetic of Beauty.<sup>103</sup>

Life in Belo Horizonte's early years seemed to stimulate the creation of texts in which the language appeared to be pure daydream and as ornamental as clothing accessories. At the same time, he expressed the boredom arising of an existence marked by banality and the most existential anxieties dense.

According to the texts of A Violeta, the reason for the elite of the new capital of Minas holding the parties, games and lectures of the “Clube das Violetas” would have been the boredom. In the text entitled “Theatres and...”, the writer demanded a theatrical space organized and the existence of companies with local actors. For him, despite the prevailing climate of sadness, the city had talents to be harnessed.<sup>104</sup> The lighter musical shows and comedies with a more humorous uncompromised would be the main demand of the public of the only theater in the city.

It was out of necessity, because the people had grown tired of listening only to dramas, that a company of operettas and other light theater pieces was organized here. [...] Today, we want comedy and drama made with observation and art, operetta and

---

<sup>102</sup> BAUDELAIRE, 1951, p. 884.

<sup>103</sup> See, in this regard, the text “The Painter of Modern Life”, by Charles Baudelaire. Cf. BAUDELAIRE, 1951.

<sup>104</sup> THEATERS and... A Violeta, Belo Horizonte, 14 July. 1900, p. two.

**vaudeville sparkling with witty mischief, the revue, the improved and chosen intermediary.<sup>105</sup>**

Marc Sagnol showed that, in France, something similar had happened in second half of the 19th century. The middle class would seek their entertainment on the boulevards, while the elites would have salons as leisure spaces. The success of operettas would, according to this author, be associated with the same fact.<sup>106</sup>

In addition to the interest of Minas Gerais elites in operettas and light plays, other important aspects must be considered to broaden our understanding cultural production of that period. In a text about music, the term “decadent” was applied to the musical situation in Minas Gerais in comparison to São Paulo and Milan.<sup>107</sup> For the writer, musical talent would be part of the “Minas Gerais nature”. O The state would have “admirable vocations”, but would lack “stimulus”, or “progress and evolution of art”.<sup>108</sup>

In the text of A Violeta, decadence should only be considered as a phase, since the “cultivation” of art could favor the improvement of the artistic scene, making it “evolve” again and reach the “avant-garde” level. Thus, decadence could be overcome and the historical process could continue along a line characterized by expansion of perfectibility. The presence of the antagonism progress versus decadence in A Violeta shows us that the diffusion of positivist and Evolutionists were widespread among Minas Gerais intellectuals, functioning as a reference for their reflection and cultural production. The moment was not yet that of the attempt at differentiations in which the symbolists of Belo Horizonte, now more organized, confronted positivism, formulating an idea of decadence very different from that which appears in the text of A Violeta.

Another Belo Horizonte newspaper from 1900 brought together Symbolist collaborators. Your name was Lotus. It was also a small circulation publication (500 copies) and short duration (only five issues, from April 5th to July 8th). It had the format

---

<sup>105</sup> THEATERS and... A Violeta, Belo Horizonte, 14 July. 1900, p. two.

<sup>106</sup> SAGNOL, 2003, p. 227.

<sup>107</sup> MUSIC. A Violeta, Belo Horizonte, 14 July. 1900, p. two.

<sup>108</sup> MUSIC. A Violeta, Belo Horizonte, 14 July. 1900, p. two

32 x 22, four pages and four columns. The majority of its employees were made up of law students. For each edition of the newspaper, there was a commission responsible person elected monthly. The first issue was edited by Edgard Mata, Francisco Sales Correia Mourão and Cícero Arpino Caldeira Brant (Ciro Arno). O third issue was under the responsibility of João Edmundo Caldeira Brant, João da Mata Machado Júnior and João Camelo. The last one was edited by Ernesto Cerqueira, Benjamim de Lima and Marcos Rios. Despite being a journal published by writers who worked on A Violeta, the Lótus newspaper had a more decadent aspect and was not addressed to ladies and gentlemen.

Among those who wrote for the Lótus newspaper were Alphonsus de Guimaraens, Aldo Delfino, Artur França and Rodrigo Teófilo. Alphonsus collaborated with a Pastoral poem to the believers of love and death, but significantly titled "Pastoral to the believers of love and the deluded". Edgard Mata published the poem "Autonal" in the third issue of Lótus and "Taciturnus bos" in fifth issue (both presenting variants of the versions published in the book organized by Cilene Cunha de Souza).

Examples of the darker and more melancholic tone of Lótus are the texts "Pages of a Sad One", "Devil Fish" and "House of the Dead". The first is signed by And, a probable pseudonym for Edgard Mata. The other two were signed respectively by Ciro Arno and AR Pino - pseudonyms of Cícero Arpino Brant boiler.

Let's move on to another periodical. Eminently political, as it was the voice of the Mineiro Republican Party (PRM), Diário de Minas also had a literary. This newspaper had already been studied by Maria Zilda Ferreira Cury (1998) as a space for the first modernist manifestations in Belo Horizonte between 1920 and 1925. However, before that, in the first years of the 20th century, especially in 1901, it served as a vehicle for the Symbolist production in Belo Horizon.

According to Maria Zilda Ferreira Cury, despite being politically conservative and defending the ruling classes, Diário de Minas gave freedom to modernist literati could publish whatever they wanted, as long as they were respected

the political interests of the PRM.<sup>109</sup> In 1901, the same thing happened. Like some of the Symbolists from Minas Gerais were part of the editorial team at *Diário de Minas*, throughout that year, symbolist texts were prominent, frequently being published on the front page. In *Diário de Minas*, poems by Álvaro Viana were published, Edgard Mata, Archangelus of Guimaraens, Alphonsus of Guimaraens, Joseph Severiano de Rezende, Afonso Pena Júnior, Ernesto Cerqueira, Mamede de Oliveira and Horácio Guimarães, who also wrote a column of chronicles entitled “Entre two chopes” under the pseudonym Pierrot. The periodical did not just publicize Minas Gerais symbolists. There were verses, for example, by Cruz e Souza, from Paraná Silveira Neto, by Amadeu Amaral and Júlio César da Silva from São Paulo, as well as decadentists Wenceslau de Queirós and Fontoura Xavier. From the following year onwards, the newspaper took on a different appearance, giving less and less space to symbolists and for literature, but some authors still published there, such as Afonso Pena Júnior, J. Camelo and Edgard Mata.

In 1901, a more significant publication appeared: the magazine *Minas Artistic*. Firstly, a special edition, a polianteia, appeared in homage to Cruz e Sousa, launched on March 19, 1901. Three other issues circulated until 1902. All of them except the last one which was printed in Curvelo, were published in Belo Horizonte. The following writers contributed to this magazine: Horácio Guimarães, Carlos Raposo, Alfredo de Sarandy Raposo, Álvaro Viana, Ernesto Cerqueira, J. Camelo, Assis das Chagas, José Severiano de Rezende, Corinto Fonseca, Archangelus de Guimaraens, Viana do Castelo, Pereira Dasilva, Fernand Gregh, E. Bandeira, D. Veloso, H. Neto and Artur Lobo. In one of the issues, Alphonsus's translation into the New spring, by H. Heine, and, in another, a work by D'Annunzio.

Due to its symbolist nature, *Minas Artística* was heavily criticized in certain circles intellectuals from Belo Horizonte, especially those who wrote the pages *O Prego* and *O Norte*. For example, a text published in the satirical newspaper *O Prego* (1902) and signed by Epaminondas Rios stated that there was nothing artistic in the magazine and that it would be better to call it “*Minas Arteira*”, “a name earned by the many

---

<sup>109</sup> CURY, 1998, p. 33.

capriolas, for the many leaps over the rules of grammar and metrification".<sup>110</sup> Each contributor to the magazine deserved an attack from Rios. Not even Alphonsus of Guimaraens escaped, being called the "wax candle of Lent". The use of language was subject to many revisions, such as the title of a poem by Edgard Mata in Latin. Formal transgression seemed to the author of the review to be something unbearable. Therefore, a poem by Pereira da Silva, a member of Saturnino de Meireles' group, who edited the symbolist magazine Rosa-Cruz in Rio de Janeiro, was classified as "nothing" for mixing verses of different measures.

The criticisms of O Prego were not only directed at the magazine, but also at the symbolist writers.

The first to be called to "The Nail" and to suffer the weight of our mallets are the artistic minds.

The poor understood that a search could change quickly in a hospital and without any more noise, five patients were admitted into a single room.

Everyone prepare to enjoy the radical transformation that the disoriented intend to operate in Latin and the vernacular.<sup>111</sup>

Labeled crazy, the Symbolists were the object of satirical attacks. On a of them, the circle of symbolists was called "Clube dos Cacetes" and art modern, or rather, Symbolism, was transformed into "Caceticism". Elaborate like a pastiche of a public notice, the text announced a competition in which one of the tests consisted of a work written "either in 16th century language, or in a Nephelibate style, the reading of which could make a donkey sleep and dream".<sup>112</sup>

In the newspaper O Norte, an article signed by Armando de Condorcet also attacked Minas Artística magazine and its collaborators. According to Armando de

---

<sup>110</sup> RIOS, Epaminondas. Minas Artística. O Prego, Belo Horizonte, May 21, 1902, p.3.

<sup>111</sup> ANVIL. O Prego, Belo Horizonte, 21 May 1902, p. 3.

<sup>112</sup> SIENFUEGOS, Juan. Notice: competition at club dos cacetes. O Prego, Belo Horizonte, 21 May 1902, p. two.

**Condorcet, the magazine had almost nothing about Minas and “a little less artistic”.**<sup>113</sup>

Signed by Marialva, another critical review also used the argument of grammatical correctness and formal perfection to fail *Minas Artística*. Second Marialva, the magazine did not “at least by far reflect the culture and artistic taste of the literary center of Belo Horizonte”.<sup>114</sup>

**Carlos Raposo, one of the editors and also a collaborator of *Minas Artística*, There was a story entitled “Esquife e mirrors” criticized by the newspaper O Norte. The tale it was considered immoral by both Armando de Condorcet and Marialva.**

According to Armando de Condorcet, a “head of the family who is very well known to us, AFTER HE DID KNOW THE STORY, he tore the famous magazine into a thousand pieces, even wanting to go and take part.” Marialva considered that if “the author of ‘Esquife e mirrors’ feels what he writes, he is a dangerous man”. Still in accordance with this criticism, the story

[...] is a page from Rabelais, but without the loyalty, beauty of form and moral background of his works. Productions like this, Mr. Raposo must have them tightly sealed in a reinforced casket so that they are never reflected in the mirror of anyone's eyes. It is an erotic, pornographic and immoral page.<sup>115</sup>

**At the end of her review, Marialva presented a very symptomatic argument about how symbolist literature could be read as threatening to the order social: “For its author [Carlos Raposo] these are observations of a tiger bourgeois, but he puts us in the contingency of being bourgeois or immoral... Which one should you prefer?”**<sup>116</sup>

---

<sup>113</sup> CONDORCET, Armando de. *Minas Artística*. O Norte, Belo Horizonte, 29 June. 1901, p. two.

<sup>114</sup> MARIALVA. *Minas Artística*. The North, 9 June. 1901, p. 3.

<sup>115</sup> MARIALVA. *Minas Artística*. The North, 9 June. 1901, p. 3.

<sup>116</sup> MARIALVA. *Minas Artística*. The North, 9 June. 1901, p. 3.

Armando de Condorcet's criticism of Carlos Raposo's work pointed out likewise its formal "defects". An argument that was also used by Armando de Condorcet against the narrative "Litúrnia", by Alfredo de Sarandy Raposo.

I will say, however, that "Litúrnia" is a page that reeks of everything that is sad and ugly from every pore; full of countless repetitions without any onomatopoeic value; dotted with exclamations and dots, like cheese dotted with salts; overflowing with archaisms and improprieties; where grammatical errors, solecisms, Frenchisms and everything else in isms, such as barbarisms and obscurantisms, are butting heads against each other; a page, in short, without form and without idea, and, therefore, completely null.<sup>117</sup>

For having written a literary profile of Alphonsus de Guimaraens, Carlos Raposo was also heavily criticized. Marialva and Armando de Condorcet classified the pretentious text. The second author went further in the attack. For him, the text was the product of an unprepared neophyte.

[...] the psychic and philosophical study of the artistic and moral face of a writer, rightfully belongs to a high spirit, to an esthete of name and authority, and not to a neophyte without a single title that recommends him to penetrate and unveil the great secrets of the sacred tabernacle of Art.<sup>118</sup>

Critical reception also considered the symbolist aspect of the periodical. For the columnist Epaminondas Rios, from the newspaper O Prego, the authors of the texts from Minas Artistic, they were nefelibates who were not very spiritual.

Minas Artística is called nefelibata. However, I must note that this word was first used in Portugal by the author of

---

<sup>117</sup> CONDORCET, Armando de. Minas Artística. O Norte, Belo Horizonte, 29 June. 1901, p. two.

<sup>118</sup> CONDORCET, Armando de. Minas Artística. O Norte, Belo Horizonte, 29 June. 1901, p. two.

"Interlúdio" suggests "a man who lives among clouds", while the editors of *Minas Artística* became too attached to the material, always assailed by the desire for "meek and fine voluptuousness – for nervous fainting!".<sup>119</sup>

**As for Marialva, the *Minas Artística* collaborators were very far from their European models and even from Cruz e Souza.**

They could be anything but followers of Verlaine, of Stéphane Mallarmé, Eugênio de Castro and de Cruz e Souza.

Anyone who knows *Choix de Poésies*, Belkiss and Broquéis can clearly see how distant and disgusted they are from the leaders of decadence. They even do them injustice by praising them and then writing things about people who don't know or understand them.<sup>120</sup>

**Despite all the criticism, *Minas Artística* was the first magazine exclusively literary from Belo Horizonte and one of the most relevant publications of the symbolist movement in Minas Gerais. One fact deserves to be highlighted: the collaboration of leader of the symbolist movement in Paraná Dario Veloso, which reinforces the hypothesis that a connection between the symbolist group of Curitiba and that of Belo Horizonte through by Alfredo de Sarandy Raposo and Carlos Raposo.**

**Although *Minas Artística* was an important production by the Minas Gerais group, it was the magazine *Horus* (1902), which deserved the most attention from critics, being considered by Eduardo Friero as the most "characteristic" of Belo Horizonte Symbolism.<sup>121</sup> On the eve of being launched, it was happily welcomed by the newspaper *Heliantho* (1902), another periodical that had some Symbolists among its contributors.<sup>122</sup> This greater value attributed to *Horus* is perhaps due to three factors:**

<sup>119</sup> RIOS, Epaminondas. *Minas Artística*. *O Prego*, Belo Horizonte, May 21, 1902, p.3.

<sup>120</sup> MARIALVA. *Minas Artística*. *The North*, 9 June. 1901, p. 3.

<sup>121</sup> FRIEIRO, 1955, p. 309.

<sup>122</sup> "Under the auspices of our dear companion Álvaro Viana, this literary magazine will soon appear in the Capital, destined to be the magazine of symbolists à Verlaine e Cruz e Souza, in Minas./ For the confrere to carry out his intention, he counts on the collaboration of spirits such as Alphonsus and Archangelus de Guimaraens, Viana do Castelo, Horacius de Guimaraens (sic) and others./ *Horus* arises, for the shine of Minas Gerais letters". *HORUS. Heliantho*, Belo Horizonte, 15 June. 1902, p. 4.

the quality of employees (José Severiano de Rezende, Edgard Mata, Álvaro Viana, Viana do Castelo, Batista Pereira and Freitas Vale), the great care with the editing demonstrated by its director, Álvaro Viana, and a greater explanation of the group value system. In Horus we find excellent poems of Alphonsus de Guimaraens and the almost omnipresence of Freitas Valle ("Jacques d'Avray"). An explainable ubiquity, since Freitas Valle, a great patron in São Paulo, financed the publication of the magazine. Márcia Camargos, in the book Villa Kyrial: chronicle of the Belle Époque paulistana, when addressing the topic of Álvaro Vianna's relationship with Freitas Valle and the financing of Horus, refers to the magazine as follows:

An icon of elite knowledge and good taste, the forty-page magazine with a circulation of five hundred copies had a sophisticated graphic design and an impeccable finish, achieved at the cost of true feats.<sup>123</sup>

It should also be highlighted the relationship that the symbolist group Bela-horizontino maintained with the gaucho poets Guerra Duval and Alberto Ramos. Both had poems published in Horus. This is a very significant fact, as both are considered the introducers of free verse in Brazilian poetry.

It is interesting to note that, on the last page of the Horus magazine, there was written a notice that revealed an expectation of international consumption of the publication, evidenced by the indication of the price for foreign subscribers, in addition to a large amount of texts written in French in both numbers.<sup>124</sup>

In Horus, Alphonsus de Guimaraens published, in addition to several poems in Portuguese, some in French that were included in the book *Pauvre Lyre*, in 1921. French verses by Alphonsus de Guimaraens, spread by Horus, revolved around the same themes as his poetry in Portuguese. Interestingly, they

<sup>123</sup> CAMARGOS, 2001, p. 148.

<sup>124</sup> According to Arline Anglade-Aurand, the magazine Horus went beyond the limits of Minas Gerais, having reached "Rio Grande do Sul (as subscriptions had been made)" and "a literary magazine of Porto [a] mencionava com elogios". AURAND, 1970, p. 91, our translation. No original: "the Rio Grande do Sul (because subscriptions had been taken out)" [...] "a literary magazine from Porto mentioned it with praise".

they ended with the name of a fictitious place – “Aix-le-Désert” placed next to –, date of composition. The name of the place reminds us of certain French locations (Aix-en-Provence or Aix-le-Bains) and serves to produce a poetic framework for the writer, raising the image of isolation and loneliness so dear to some decadentists. One of these poems, signed with the pseudonym Antoine de Grandueil, reveals, in the dedication, the esteem that Alphonsus had for the Belgian poet Georges Rodenbach. The poem “La chanson du silence” shows how there was a identity between the themes of the two writers.

In his texts for the magazine, Alphonsus de Guimaraens sought to be communicative through the musicality of his verses. One of his poems, *Sérénade à minuit*, published untitled in *Pauvre Lyre*, evokes a genre of music well known and appreciated. However, Alphonsus did not seek to create salon poetry, for fun. In this poem, the poetic subject calls us to I sing it repeatedly, but the tone of the composition is morbid and melancholic.

Another poem by Alphonsus published in *Horus* is a recreation of the sonnet *Voyelles*, by Rimbaud. Like the latter, the poet from Minas Gerais manipulated assonances and alliteration. He arranged the vowels at the end of the last verses of each stanza, associating each of them with a period of human existence. Thus, the initial vowels (a, e) correspond to the period of youth and the final ones allude to old age and death (i, o, u).

Spring morning. Who doesn't think Of  
sweet love, and who won't love?  
Life begins. The light from the sky is immense...  
Adolescence is all dreams. A.

The moonlight misses souls. The  
same golden dream continues, the same faith.  
Eyes that we see under the moonlight...  
The youth is all lilies. AND.

The sun descends into the purple of the sunset.  
Roses die. How sad it is here!  
The uncertain fate, the gales of chance...  
The tears run down their faces. I.

The night falls. Autumn arrives. The flowers  
hung withered. Everything, everything is dust.  
No more kisses of love, no more love... O sounds of  
death bells! O.

Get away from the cave. Muddy and  
tough, I come from death. You are a comforter!  
Shredded shrouds in the dusty mansion...  
Skulls and tibias of the deceased. U.125

Still in 1902, the newspaper *Heliantho* appeared, which lasted only one number. One of its editors was J. Camelo. The small sheet had as collaborators Júlio Lemos and Alfredo de Sarandy Raposo, who wrote a text called “Epistle to Auto de Sá” in which he defended that only works that stood against the masses, that did not seek to satisfy the taste of the great public, that were hermetic to the vulgar should be considered as art. According to Alfredo de Sarandy Raposo, the true artist should rebel against the conventions of popular taste: “To pay attention, when writing, to the impression that one may give to the masses, or to someone, is not to be an Artist. It is not faithfully translating the emotion that excites us [...]”.<sup>126</sup>

The only one who should be considered an artist in Brazil, according to Alfredo de Sarandy was Cruz e Souza, precisely because he opposed the masses.

In Brazil, Cruz e Souza, – and only Him! – a black man who lived dreaming of silver moonlight and his eyes filled with a deep nostalgia for unpublished Worlds, was the type of true Artist: and, for that very reason, the target of Chusma's stones and belches.<sup>127</sup>

This text is very revealing of the situation in which symbolist literature found itself in Minas Gerais. The stance was that of an aesthetic vanguard in defense

<sup>125</sup> GUIMARAENS, Alphonsus. AEIOU. Horus, Belo Horizonte, n. 2, Aug. 1902, not paged. Published in the Complete Poetry of Alphonsus de Guimaraens, p. 492-493.

<sup>126</sup> RAPOSO, Alfredo de Sarandy. Epistle to Auto de Sá. *Heliantho*, Belo Horizonte, 15 June 1902, p. two.

<sup>127</sup> RAPOSO, Alfredo de Sarandy. Epistle to Auto de Sá. *Heliantho*, Belo Horizonte, 15 June 1902, p. two.

of the autonomy of the literary work and contrary to evaluation criteria based on commercial value and public success. In *Heliantho*, in the text “À pencil...”, Sarandy Raposo, under the pseudonym Maurus, reinforced these ideas. According to him, there was an enemy that “overwhelms consciences and depraves artistic taste”: the mercantilism. It was about the perception of the poet's situation in modernity, which Baudelaire compared it to prostitution. Without the protection of noble patrons, the writer would have to win over readers. The literary work, losing its aura, would become a merchandise like any other. According to Maurus, concern with satisfaction of material needs would destroy literary art and favor the development of a “rough prosaism”:

Providing the needs of existence is the mind's main concern. The fear of poverty dampens all enthusiasm. The supreme king is gold. The auri sacra fames suffocates all the noble ideals that heroic souls still try to sprout from the infertile environment in which we vegetate. Everywhere, we find that strange and desolate state of mind in the individual that is called “employment mania”. The aristocracy of grace was dethroned. The disgusting oligarchy of money reigns. Fragile Prometheus, the human soul lives today chained to crude prosaism, the effect of the powerful causes that we have just mentioned.

We broaden our understanding of these reflections when we relate them to those presented in the opening text of *Horus* magazine, a assembly of fragments of *La littérature de tout à l'heure*, by Charles Morice, which functioned as a kind of manifesto of the symbolist group from Minas Gerais.

In one of the fragments, Morice said that poets were condemned to solitude,<sup>129</sup> a kind of exile in relation to the general public. According to him, the general public, identified with a kind of mass elite, was a source of corruption of language and art, which would begin to be guided by the ideal of mediocrity.<sup>130</sup>

---

<sup>128</sup> MAURUS. In pencil. *Heliantho*, Belo Horizonte, 15 June 1902, p. 3.

<sup>129</sup> *Horus*, Belo Horizonte, 1 July 1902, not paginated. (our translation).

<sup>130</sup> MORICE, 1889, p. 2.

**In another passage, Morice stated the impossibility of art being understood in a world dominated by materialist and bourgeois values.<sup>131</sup>**

**Both the “Epistle”, by Alfredo de Sarandy, and the “manifesto”, by Horus, presented art and literature sacralized in an autonomous domain, whose aesthetic criteria would oppose worldly determinations. Alfredo de Sarandy Raposo translated to the Minas Gerais symbolists the same moral indignation against certain writers of the Belle Époque who aimed to obtain privileges and honor public jobs or sought success by writing serials, vaudevilles and verses that met the expectations of the general public.<sup>132</sup>**

**Let's look at other periodicals that emerged in later years, such as Revista Mineira (1903) and O Estado de Minas (1906), which were also vehicles of the Symbolism in Belo Horizonte.**

**Revista Mineira was considered by Joaquim Nabuco Linhares one of the best periodicals in Belo Horizonte. It only had three numbers and was about varied subjects: politics, science, economics and literature. Those responsible for edition were Augusto de Lima, Batista Martins and Alfredo de Sarandy Raposo. The literary part, probably due to the fact that one of these editors was a symbolist, had the collaboration of Alphonsus de Guimaraens, Pereira da Silva, J. Camelo, Archangelus de Guimaraens and Alfredo de Sarandy Raposo himself.**

---

<sup>131</sup> “People... have the same distrust of Beauty, for the same reasons, as they do of God. The state of mind essential to understanding every work of art has become impossible for them: it would be foolish and vain to try to make these souls drunk with lust and seduced by profit understand that, to penetrate the reverie of a Poet, one must forget one's immediate interests. of everyday life, submitting to the choices he made regarding tones and relationships, initiating himself into his particular vision, paying constant attention to it? All these efforts require gifts that the world has lost: innocence of spirit, serenity, reflection, disinterestedness of passions, – the gift of admiration!” HORUS, Belo Horizonte, 1 July 1902, not paginated. The quote can be found in MORICE, 1889, p. 3-4, our translation. In the original: "Les Gens... ont de la Beauté, pour les mêmes causes, les mêmes défiances que de Dieu. L'état d'âme essentiel à la compréhension de toute oeuvre d'art leur est devenu impossible: il serait sot et vain d'essayer de leur faire understande, à ces âmes ivres de stupre et lucre, que, pour pénétrer dans le rêve d'un Poète, il faut oublier les intérêts immédiats de la vie quotidienne, obeir aux choix qu'il a voulu des tones et des rapports, s'initier au spécial de sa vision, lui prêter une attention soutenue? Tous ces efforts demanding des dons que le monde a perdus: l'innocence de l'esprit, la sérénité, la réfl<sup>132</sup> Here we can notice a difference in relation to the texts of A Violeta and even certain humorous poems and chronicles by Alphonsus de Guimaraens that also aimed to entertain the reading public.

In Revista Mineira, Alphonsus published sonnets whose titles are the names of Shakespearean characters (“Sonnet of Desdemona”, “Sonnet of Othello”, “Sonnet of Ophelia” and “Sonnet of Romeo”). Each of them with a dedication to a writer from the symbolist group from Minas Gerais, except for the “Romeo Sonnet”, which was dedicated to Augustus from Lima. The “Sonnet of Desdemona” was dedicated to Alfredo de Sarandy, the “Sonnet of Othello”, to Álvaro Viana and the “Sonnet of Ofélia”, to Edgard Mata. These poems highlight the dialogue that Alphonsus de Guimaraens maintained with the theater in his constructions. The Shakespearean characters taken up by the poet from Minas Gerais are women whose deaths involve great dramatic pathos. Among these characters from Shakespeare's theater, Ophelia had a great influence on symbolist aesthetics and became, between the end of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th century, as important as the image of Salome.<sup>133</sup> In Alphonsus's work, Ophelia was also resumed in “Ismália”, one of his most famous poems and one of the most representative of Brazilian Symbolism for combining a series of signs characteristic of that poetics.<sup>134</sup>

One side of the movement that deserves our attention was its controversial aspect. In 1906, the poet Álvaro Vianna, when director of the newspapers A Epoch and O Estado de Minas, became involved in a controversy with critic Augusto Franco, director of the newspaper Vida Mineira. Each of them represented opposing aesthetic-literary stances and different political interests. In various types of texts (articles background, letters, notes and satirical poems), the participants in the controversy subjected the works and images of their opponents to an intense process of deformation. O Vianna's book (For what?), also published in 1906, was the target of major attacks from his opponents who expressed themselves in the pages of Vida Mineira. But prior to this dispute, in 1902, there was another controversy in which Álvaro Vianna participated. He and the Parnassian poet Mendes de Oliveira fought over purpose of Symbolism. What triggered the controversy was precisely the launch of Horus magazine. Mendes de Oliveira read the texts of the Gardeners of the Ideal from the point of view of the Parnassians and naturalist criticism. He based his argument on Nordau, Vapereau and Leconte de Lisle's criticisms of Symbolism. The response to this criticism was not long in coming. Vianna,

---

<sup>133</sup> SANT'ANNA, 1985, p. 149.

<sup>134</sup> SANT'ANNA, 1985, p. 151.

assuming the role of defender of the movement, he mocked the evolutionary ideology adopted by Mendes de Oliveira and accused him of not knowing the work of the poets symbolists. Both opponents strove to demonstrate erudition and knowledge of the French aesthetic landmark. The controversy curiously slipped into a discussion of French Symbolism and Decadentism, rather than focus on the production of the magazine or debate the symbolist movement in Brazil.

In 1905, other periodicals from Minas Gerais gave space to the controversy: the newspaper A Época, where Álvaro Vianna collaborated with chronicles in the "As Farpas" section, and Minas Gerais. Based on a review of the book *Floral Games*, by the Parnassian Mendes de Oliveira, made by Vianna in A Época, a dispute developed. The Parnassian responded to the symbolist's criticisms on the pages of Minas Gerais. It was a continuation, years later, of the old dispute about aesthetic conceptions and divergent world views in the cultural environment of Belo Horizonte.

O Estado de Minas and A Época existed mainly for the purpose of combating the Francisco Sales government. The first, moreover, sought to provide support for Viana do Castelo's campaign for federal deputy as representative of the "League of Producer Classes". Even so, both bodies of The press did not fail to present some publications of literary interest. The newspaper O Estado de Minas was directed by Álvaro Viana and published in it several poems by Alphonsus de Guimaraens and some by the director himself.

Also in the dispute between the "opposition" newspapers, O Estado de Minas and A Época, with the newspaper Vida Mineira, directed by critic and polemicist Augusto Franco, literary issues mixed with political issues. The Minas Gerais Life fought against Decadentism and Symbolism through the publication of texts such as written by Mário Pereira, entitled "Fin de siècle". The decadent movement, the socialism and anarchism were brought together and classified by the writer as social illnesses. Based on the ideas of Max Nordau, the article compared modernity to degeneration.

"Fin de siècle" expresses the state of mind of the literate people of the modern city, "summarizes the common character of numerous

contemporary manifestations", mainly [in] politics and [in] literature.

Socialism and anarchism in the former, decadence, or, whatever you want, nephelibateism, in the latter, are varieties of these manifestations. Of all the social classes, it must be said, the one that is truly affected by the disease of the time is, without a doubt, the ruling class of the big cities. The fundamental symptom of this disease manifests itself in the individual's inability to adapt to current social conditions. Outraged by everything, judging everything to be bad and poorly done, he systematically begins his work of defamation and extermination.

According to Pereira's interpretation, the nephelibatic writer would see "things through the dense fog of his morbid sensitivity".<sup>136</sup> This was a projection of the shadow of another reality into the local environment. In Europe, these relationships actually existed. As we mentioned earlier, several European decadentist and symbolist writers demonstrated sympathy for or engaged in struggles of leftist movements. The symbolists from Minas Gerais did not establish any evident relationship with Socialism or Anarchism.<sup>137</sup>

In *Vida Mineira*, there were satirical poems using the clichés of Minas Gerais symbolists and attacks in the form of parody such as the one that victimized a sonnet by Álvaro Viana published in the edition of April 27, 1906.

Poems by Alphonsus de Guimaraens, Edgard Mata, Álvaro Viana, Viana do Castelo and reviews of the book *Para que?*, by Álvaro Viana, are among the texts published in *O Estado de Minas* (1906) of interest to Symbolism. These Reviews show interesting data about how the book was appreciated by its readers. Some read the verses of Álvaro Viana with the aim of comparison with those of Paul Verlaine, Cruz e Souza or Alphonsus de Guimaraens. But there is a review, signed by Fernando Soares Brandão, which compared Curiously, Viana's style is similar to that of the Parnassians Leconte de Lisle and Heredia.

---

<sup>135</sup> PEREIRA, Mário. End of siècle. *Vida Mineira*, Belo Horizonte, 9 Aug. 1904, p. two.

<sup>136</sup> PEREIRA, Mário. End of siècle. *Vida Mineira*, Belo Horizonte, 9 Aug. 1904, p. two.

<sup>137</sup> A more detailed analysis of the controversies between the newspaper *O Estado de Minas* and the newspaper *Vida Mineira* can be found in PAGANINI, 2000, p.131-187. Regarding the political engagement of decadentists and symbolists, see the comment, in a footnote, on page 27.

In the following decade, the periodicals *Vita* (1913-1914), *Vida de Minas* (1915) and *A Vida de Minas* (1915-1916) also published symbolist poems and texts in your pages. Among other texts that appeared in the magazine *A Vida de Minas*, there were one that was called "An embassy of the muses" and reported the event literature of the year 1915 in Belo Horizonte: the famous meeting of Alphonsus de Guimaraens and Severiano de Rezende, the two great names of Minas Gerais Symbolism. Meeting that included the participation of several writers, journalists and city intellectuals.

These periodicals from the 1910s had a more graphic design. Sophisticated, featuring art nouveau style vignettes, illustrations and many photographs. In addition to the miners, writers from other regions of the country also collaborated. country in these publications.

Symbolism also had repercussions in the interior of Minas Gerais. Some periodicals published symbolist texts, mainly by the great leader Alphonsus of Guimaraens.

On March 20, 1904, a newspaper was founded by the president of the Chamber Municipal of the Minas Gerais city of Conceição do Serro,<sup>138</sup> Joaquim Soares Maciel Junior, to be directed by Alphonsus de Guimaraens. It was the way that Soares Maciel found to help his poet friend who was going through difficulties financial consequences arising from the loss of the position of substitute judge. The newspaper *O Conceição do Serro*, like the vast majority of Minas Gerais periodicals at that time, had a short. Its last issue was circulated on February 12, 1905. It was a publication with political motivations, but it also had a literary aspect. In it texts in prose and verse by Alphonsus de Guimaraens appeared, and many of them were signed with the following pseudonyms: Old-Tom, Punch, Kirch, Duinhas, Guy, Guy d'Alvim, José Marques, João Carrilho, Procópio Pitanga, Hidalgo, Ritter Brau, João das Selvas and Catimbau.<sup>139</sup>

---

<sup>138</sup> Former name of Conceição do Mato Dentro.

<sup>139</sup> Were all these names just pseudonyms or, in fact, should they be considered as heteronyms of Alphonsus? Such an investigation, which is beyond the scope of this work, could reveal new facets of the work of this great Brazilian author.

At the moment that the newspaper *O Conceição do Serro* appeared, the symbolists had already found spaces for the dissemination of their reflections and literature in Belo Horizonte periodicals. This periodical, in addition to highlighting the relationships between Alphonsus with political issues, was one of the vehicles of Symbolism in the interior from Minas Gerais. Nas páginas do jornal, havia obras de Archangelus de Guimaraens, José Severiano de Rezende, Cruz e Souza and Horácio Guimarães. *O Conceição do Serro* also presented texts by Raul Pompéia, Camões, Bocage and Diogo Bernardes. In addition to these authors, the publication of a poem by Olavo Bilac reveals that Alphonsus was not radically against the Parnassians.

In *O Conceição do Serro*, we also find a facet of the poet that for a long time was neglected by critics, his humor, as well as a series of riddles and advertisements in verse. Other Belle Époque writers did similar work. Raimundo Correia, for example, wrote riddles and some well-known writers produced propaganda.<sup>140</sup> Bastos Tigre, who even created an office to work with advertising, he was the author of the famous slogan “If it’s Bayer, it’s good”. In parody of *Os Lusíadas*, produced an advertisement for Bromil syrup, revealing the intention to value the product through poetic refinement. Olavo Bilac wrote comics-claim for the match brands Brilhante and Cruzeiro, transforming the historical figures of the Prince of Wales and Campos Sales into characters capable of guarantee the quality of the merchandise:

Warning to anyone who  
smokes, both the Prince  
of Wales and Campos  
Sales use Brilliant matches.<sup>141</sup>

Such advertisements reveal that, in that period, writers were experimenting with new possibilities of occupation, which could be jobs whose recognition it was not carried out mainly by peers, that is, in closed circles.

---

<sup>140</sup> SÜSSEKIND, 1987, p. 63.

<sup>141</sup> BILAC at SUSSEKIND, 1987, p. 65

**One of the advertisements published by Alphonsus de Guimaraens in the newspaper O Conceição do Serro can be compared to the style of A Violeta's claims. In him, We also notice a similarity from the point of view of the argument that refers to end-of-century representations of female frivolity and collective desire to show off, common in the period between the end of the 19th century and the early years of the 20th century**

Oh my gentle ladies, If you want to  
go beautiful through the  
streets, like dawns, Or pearls of  
Ophir, Go to Olímpio  
de Oliveira, On the race, See  
what is there  
in zephir!<sup>142</sup>

**Interestingly, another advertisement written by Alphonsus de Guimaraens had a characteristic theme of his lyrical work: the concern with the passing of time time and to death.**

Life comes to us, death comes, And  
everything goes slowly...  
Whoever wants to live strong, strong,  
happy and of good size, Buy at  
Juca do Aguiar!<sup>143</sup>

**Let's look at an example of the riddles that Alphonsus de Guimaraens wrote under the pseudonym Old-Tom. Due to the synthetic and colloquial aspect of the style, it can be compared to certain humorous modernist poems.**

Futile

---

<sup>142</sup> GUIMARAENS apud GUIMARAENS FILHO, 1995, p.137-138.

<sup>143</sup> GUIMARAENS apud GUIMARAENS FILHO, 1995, p.135.

**People 1**

**Watchman 2 Forward.144**

In this riddle-poem, whose solution is the word “vanguard”, Alphonsus considered two possibilities for the formation of the word: one pseudo-etymological (“van-” as originating from the Latin “vanu”) and another truly etymological (“van-” coming from the French “avant”), thus making the meanings oscillate from “vain”, “futile”, through “deceptive”, “illusory”, “useless”, until reaching “being ahead” (“forward”). The poet explores the spatiality of writing, creating an immediate identification of the first term with the last term due to its parallel position. The condition of being at the forefront (watching/guarding ahead) was then characterized as useless and destined for frustration or failure, becoming a vain guard.

Reading advertising texts or those for pure entertainment in reveals an image of Alphonsus very different from those conveyed by critics or which can be seen from his lyrical poetry: “the lonely one of Mariana”, “the poor Alphonsus” or “the poet of Our Lady”. Through these texts, we come into contact with a writer concerned with satisfying the expectations of a wider readership. broader than that of his lyrical work. That is, with a poet far from the ivory tower and so involved in his circumstances that he participated in the “wars of politics municipal”. In one of them, because the opposition candidate to Soares Maciel was a doctor, Alphonsus wrote several epigrams about these health professionals. Let's look at an example, in which medical treatments do not cure, but cause the death of patients.

- What cures, holy doctor?
- Every disease old and new.
- And what is the result? –
- Everyone should go to the grave.<sup>145</sup>

---

<sup>144</sup> GUIMARAENS apud GUIMARAENS FILHO, 1995, p.126.

<sup>145</sup> COELHO, 1934, p. 30.

The same idea was repeated in other satirical poems. Curiously, Alphonsus adopted an interesting procedure of having the doctor himself say the absurdities, as in the following example:

This doctor is so happy,  
Who remains so satisfied,  
What are you going to do, don't you tell me?  
– Kill some guy.<sup>146</sup>

Satires against doctors continued in several issues of the newspaper. In addition to municipal political context, these criticisms should also be situated in relation to spiritualist positions and criticisms of scientism that are very frequent in works symbolists. In Alphonsus' satirical poems, doctors appeared represented as selfish, mercenary and concerned only with things materials. Due to its dialogical form and the title “Contemporary Scene”, one of these satires makes us think of a theatrical sketch.

– Here are the ten  
thousand réis – Here is my recipe. Take it.  
– Saro, doctor? Do I feel hungry again?  
(The doctor, keeping the ten)  
– Let the devil carry you.<sup>147</sup>

Alphonsus punished not only those who tended the body, but also those who cared for the spirit. One of them was criticized for going beyond his activities by asking for votes in the confessional.

How you abuse the devotees,  
O reverend vicar!  
Well, you already asked for votes.

---

<sup>146</sup> COELHO, 1934, p. 30.

<sup>147</sup> COELHO, 1934, p. 30.

Even in the confessional.

Instead of vows, vicar,  
(The bishop tells you)  
I asked in the confessional  
Alms for the matrix.<sup>148</sup>

**For Carlos Drummond de Andrade, these works by Alphonsus de Guimaraens would be, deep down, an attempt to overcome the boring everyday life by humor.**

Poems with a graceful or satirical meaning indicate, on a literary level, this natural disposition, also expressing, who knows? the poet's desire to rectify or compensate with exercises of humor the poignancy of everyday life, the mediocrity of the events of an existence so devoid of stimuli and reasons for enthusiasm.<sup>149</sup>

**As editor of the newspaper, Alphonsus sought to satisfy expectations diverse. On the one hand, it fulfilled an ideological-partisan function, satisfying the mayor of the city of Conceição do Serro, who was a sponsor of the newspaper. On the other hand, it disseminated Symbolism and its more elaborate poetry to a strict readership, generally made up of other writers. Furthermore, he was concerned with captivating readers who just wanted to have fun. This shows that the conditions of production did not allow the writer to completely free himself of the market (made up of advertisers or consumers of texts for the leisure) or the dependence of politicians to produce a periodical intended only to literature.**

**After residing in Mariana, Alphonsus de Guimaraens began to collaborate in the newspaper O Germinal for which he wrote chronicles, also signing under pseudonyms. The most frequent was Guy d'Alvim. The collaboration, which began in 1906, lasted until Alphonsus' death. The poet also sent poems to**

---

<sup>148</sup> GUIMARAENS apud COELHO, 1934, p. 30.

<sup>149</sup> ANDRADE apud GUIMARAENS FILHO, 1995, p. 326.

be published in this newspaper. Among them, two of the best-known sonnets of the Pastoral book to believers of love and death: "The hands of that Dona" and the sonnet "LXXIV" about Ribeirão do Carmo, dedicated to Cláudio Manuel da Costa. The latter was published in the edition of June 24, 1906 and the first on January 3, 1908. After that, a second sonnet about Ribeirão do Carmo appeared in the April 6, 1913 edition.

Also in Mariana, around 1915, *O Alfinete*, another periodical where Alphonsus de Guimaraens published many of his texts, especially those of a humorous nature. According to Alphonsus Guimaraens Filho, several of the pseudonyms with which his father signed his texts were the names of modest residents of that city. So José Candinho, Dandico, Bento de Oliveira, Jovelino Gomes, Raimundo Manecas and Joaquim Araújo became "collaborators" of this periodical. The poet had fun creating the characteristics of each of them and inventing stories in which they appeared. In a letter addressed to his son João Alphonsus, dated October 9, 1919, Alphonsus de Guimaraens thus described Bento de Oliveira and Joaquim Araújo:

The journalist Bento placed great importance, pince-nez, taking notes in his notebook that will never be published, as they are non-existent; the poet Joaquim Araújo, who now wears leonine hair, smiled divinely, like a god descended to earth.<sup>150</sup>

Alphonsus even attributed a self-portrait to Joaquim Araújo banks of Ribeirão do Carmo, in Mariana, "in a site visited 2 centuries ago, by Cláudio Manuel".<sup>151</sup> The drawing was sent to Laércio Prazeres to be published in *Vida de Minas* magazine, but it was not used. The mention of Cláudio Manuel da Costa is important. It reveals the great admiration that Alphonsus de Guimaraens

---

<sup>150</sup> GUIMARAENS apud GUIMARAENS FILHO, 1995, p. 327.

<sup>151</sup> GUIMARAENS at BUENO, 2002, p. 17.

had for the arcade and which was well explained in the sonnet “To Cláudio Manuel da Costa”.<sup>152</sup>

In the edition of June 17, 1919, Alphonsus wrote several epitaphs with female pseudonyms such as Lady Beer, Lys Boa and Miss. One of the deaths it would have been that of Joaquim Araújo, transformed into “Quinquim Comprido”.

There was no one who  
thought That the great Quinquim  
Comprido – I tell him like this  
face to face, Because this is  
how the beautiful think – Having (indefinite arcane!)  
Shins so stretched, Still  
the same stretched!<sup>153</sup>

Alphonsus showed great affection for Joaquim Araújo, attributing to him the authorship of more “serious” verses. For example, before leaving the Pastoral to believers of love and death, poem number XXIX had already appeared in O Alfinete, signed by Joaquim Araújo.<sup>154</sup>

Alphonsus's humorous verses, in some cases, appeared in the column “Postcards”, a very symptomatic name as we will see.

According to Flora Süsskind, the postcard was introduced in Brazil in 1901 and became extremely important for the dissemination of photography.<sup>155</sup> In the early years of the 20th century, photography began to appear in the Brazilian press through magazines illustrated and advertising advertisements. Until 1905, few illustrated periodicals from Belo Horizonte. The first illustrated newspaper, O Sal, dates back to year 1901, using Rio magazines as models, but, as it did not present the same quality standard, it was rejected by the city's readers. The clichés were brought from outside and the alternative consisted of using woodcuts.<sup>156</sup> Little by little, the

<sup>152</sup> GUIMARAENS, 2001, p. 369.

<sup>153</sup> EPITAPHS. O Alfinete, Mariana, 17 June. 1919, p. two.

<sup>154</sup> GUIMARAENS FILHO, 1995, p. 327.

<sup>155</sup> SÜSSEKIND, 1987, p. 33

<sup>156</sup> SIQUEIRA, 1997, p.89.

**Minas Gerais propaganda newspapers, bringing new ways of presenting texts and images, ended up influencing other press organizations. The innovations were limited. Among them, the use of photography. The illustrated almanacs that revealed the landscape of the new capital of Minas Gerais through photographs, precursors of the magazines *Vita*, *A Vida de Minas* and *Vida de Minas*, which, in the 1990s, 1910, dedicated themselves to recording social life, the urban landscape and the characters from the Minas Gerais cultural scene.**

**The popularization of photography in albums, catalogues, advertisements and postcards is one of the aspects of the development of mass culture in Minas Gerais General. In Belo Horizonte, postcards could be easily found in the early years of the 20th century.<sup>157</sup>**

**Alphonsus' "Postcards" sought to capture instantaneous images of those previously mentioned citizens of Mariana, making them act, as cartoon characters, in small comic pieces. The flashes that appeared in each edition of *O Alfinete* made up a kind of photographic album of the local human landscape. An example that serves to show the influence of this type of technical image (engraving and photography) on Alphonsus' writing is a poem attributed to Jovelino Gomes. As in caricatural deformation, Jovelino Gomes emphasizes a detail of his "self-portrait": the changes in his voice.**

There! sad for me!  
 My voice is like a piccolo  
 and sometimes a  
 saxophone, a piston or a trombone.  
 And sometimes there in the  
 recess, It even sounds like a clarinet.  
 When I find myself effluxed, it  
 even sounds like a bass voice.<sup>158</sup>

**Alphonsus also sent texts to other newspapers in the interior of Minas, demonstrating concern about the regional dissemination of his work. In 1910, he**

---

<sup>157</sup> SIQUEIRA, 1997, p. 76.

<sup>158</sup> POSTCARDS. *O Alfinete*, Mariana, 11 September. 1917, p. 3.

he sent verses to the newspaper *O Curvelano*, in Curvelo, where Álvaro Viana worked. In 1914, he collaborated in the periodical *O Sulmineiro*, in Pouso Alegre, with one of the Pulvis sonnets. Still in 1910, he published the poem "Ismália" with the title "Ofélia", in the *Jornal do Comércio*, in Juiz de Fora. The same poem also appeared in *The Pin* in 1915 and in the newspaper *Montes Claros* in 1916.

Other periodicals from the interior of Minas Gerais also published symbolist texts. The newspaper *Idéia Nova*, from Diamantina, published several works by Edgard Mata. Already the newspapers *O Resistência* and *Arauto de Minas*, from São João del-Rei, published texts by José Severiano de Rezende. Further research on dissemination of the Symbolists' works in the interior has yet to be realized. What we mention here is just a small part of what was produced and broadcast in the press in Minas Gerais.

As we have seen, periodicals were very important for the Symbolists, as they made it possible to publish their works and create social ties between writers. Just like other publications from Belo Horizonte at that time, the Symbolist newspapers and magazines in Belo Horizonte were attacked by a "navel disease" and quickly became extinct.<sup>159</sup> They were editorial ventures that aspired to permanence, but failed, becoming ephemeral spaces for literary dissemination.

---

<sup>159</sup> CASTRO, 1995, p. 25

## **THE MINEIROS SYMBOLISTS AND THE REPUBLIC OF LETTERS**

[...] some young people from Belo Horizonte, mostly students, formed here a flamboyant literary chapel, at once mystical and bohemian, in which Verlaine, Mallarmé and Baudelaire were worshipped.

Eduardo Frieiro

## THE INTELLECTUAL TRAINING OF MINEIROS SYMBOLISTS

**A**mbroidering the literary formation of Minas Gerais symbolists is not an easy task, mainly due to the scarcity of information about many of them. Same in relation to writers who deserved the attention of a critic or historian, the difficulty is not small. In this case, we are faced with a lot of information that must be checked and analyzed carefully. An example which demonstrates very well the degree of complexity of this type of study was the response given to João do Rio by José Severiano de Rezende about his training literary. The statement generates more doubts and questions than certainties about the formation of the symbolist writer. Firstly, its willingness to move away from the image of the writer linked to a school-type literary literacy.

I definitely don't know exactly what my literary training was like. I'm not even sure if there was or if there is in me what my friend respectfully calls "a literary formation". I only know one thing: from an early age I always had an insatiable need, or to better say, an intense desire for culture, which led me to read, read, read, and from these various but well-guided readings, I believe that I was left with , an esthesia and a style – esthesia still to be embodied in synthesis and an eager style of realizing the Form. My literary training is therefore made up of an amalgam in which the masterpieces that I admire and love are ingredients. Because I understand that the literary thing, as dilettantes take it, will always be petty and uninteresting if it is not created with the intention of reproducing the Beautiful, and what reproduces the Beautiful is the Masterpiece, that is, spoken or written word. That's why this expression "literary training" sounds bad to me. "Literary training" seems to want to pretentiously indicate whatever it is that resembles, verbi gratia, "graduation"; There is in this rhetoric class formula a scent of bachelor's degree permeated by its literary canonization. I am therefore, dizzy, asked to say which authors contributed most to my literary formation. I am sure that Mr. Baron of Loreto<sup>160</sup>

---

<sup>160</sup> Franklin Américo de Meneses Dória, baron of Loreto, was a Brazilian lawyer, orator, magistrate, poet and monarchist politician. He became an Externship professor at Colégio Pedro II after presenting a thesis for the Rhetoric, Poetics and National Literature competition. He was part of several cultural and philanthropic associations and was one of the founders of the Academia Brasileira de Letras in 1897.

or Mr. Barão de Paranapiacaba<sup>161</sup>, gray-haired versiculturists, would not hesitate for a minute in their response. I hesitate because, frankly, I have no literary training, and I don't think anyone should try to have one.<sup>162</sup>

**Secondly, the mention of authors from the Western canon in their “formation” reveals the intention of showing themselves superior in relation to the circles and national cenacles, considered as environments that did not value true talents and were governed by petty principles.**

This is what my literary formation is: a great revolt and a great aspiration – a revolt against the inactive pedantry of the medallion and the null freemasonry of the coteries, an aspiration to a sincere fight for Art and for the supremacy of Talent. My literary formation is therefore inspired by this direction and I drink my doctrine from the supernal sources that bubble at the heights: Homer, Aeschylus, Virgil, Dante, Shakespeare, Cervantes, Goethe, Balzac, and, above all, *tout seigneur tout honneur*, Ricardo Wagner, the master of masters, the superhuman colossus, the discoverer of new worlds of Art, the only one from whom it is essential to ask permission when you want to disagree

**In the final section of his response, Severiano de Rezende mentioned that Also on his list of favorite authors were Hugo, Péladan, Huysmans, Leconte, Verlaine, Mallarmé, D'Annunzio, Flaubert, Chateaubriand, Heredia, Petrarca and Poe.<sup>164</sup>**

**Curious and controversial speech should be considered with reservations. Not only for its controversial intention, but also for not revealing the full range of its contacts with Brazilian and foreign authors. However, it gives us a Very interesting profile of Severiano de Rezende and demonstrates that he sought to dialogue with literary tradition and modernity. Although I didn't mention**

<sup>161</sup> João Cardoso de Meneses e Sousa, Baron of Paranapiacaba (Santos, April 25, 1827 — Rio de Janeiro, February 2, 1915), was a Brazilian poet, journalist, lawyer, translator, teacher and politician.

<sup>162</sup> REZENDE at RIO, 1994, p. 132-133

<sup>163</sup> REZENDE at RIO, 1994, p. 133-134

<sup>164</sup> REZENDE at RIO, 1994, p. 134

Brazilian writers in response to the question of João do Rio, Severiano de Rezende spoke extensively about Brazilian literature produced between the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, providing important elements to understand the his critical position in relation to the literary system of that time.

Contrary to what Severiano de Rezende wanted us to believe, literacy literary work of a writer also occurs in schools through the literary works that are part of textbooks, those selected by teachers and accessible in school libraries. In view of this, it becomes necessary to distinguish, in the literary training of writers, an aspect related to their career school, to education administered by educational institutions. Another is related to a set of knowledge acquired in the exercise of its intellectual function, in its professional practice, attending literary salons and clubs, bohemian life, cultural events (theatre, art exhibitions, concerts, cinema) and through readings or from exchanging correspondence with other writers. In other words, a study of writers' literary formation also involves an understanding of their participation in various cultural networks.

In the case of José Severiano de Rezende, the father figure was quite relevant to your training. In addition to being a writer and journalist, Severiano Nunes Cardoso was also a teacher. When José Severiano de Rezende was born, his father worked as a Latin and French teacher at the public school in Mariana. Afterwards, he became a lifelong teacher of Portuguese at the official Externato of São João del-Rei and at the Escola Normal in the same city.<sup>165</sup> According to Renato de Lima Júnior, the little Severiano de Rezende would have learned to "spell by playing with types"

---

<sup>165</sup> José Severiano de Rezende's father developed an intense political activity in defense of the Monarchy as a parliamentarian for the Conservative Party and in the pages of the newspaper Arauto de Minas, in São João del-Rei, which he directed and where he engaged in heated controversy with defenders of the ideals Republicans. His involvement with the cause of education and intellectual activities must also be mentioned. According to João Dornas Filho, Severiano Nunes Cardoso de Rezende defended projects related to education, such as the creation of the Normal School and primary schools in small towns in the interior of Minas Gerais. He was also "rector and professor at the 'Instituto de Humanidades Francisco de Assis', whose status as a gymnasium he sought and received from the federal government. Dedicated to the study of Latin, he wrote a 'Grammar of the Latin Language' and a treatise on versification". See DORNAS FILHO, 1972, p. 2. According to Vivaldi Moreira, he was also the author of a sacred drama in four acts, The Virgin-Martyr of Santarém, having had "remarkable prominence in the intellectual world alongside Aureliano Pimentel, Gastão da Cunha, Basílio de Magalhães and others of equal height".

used to print the newspaper Arauto de Minas, run by his father.<sup>166</sup> In his initial school training, we noticed an emphasis on the study of languages because, in the Externato of São João del-Rei, Severiano de Rezende qualified in French, Latin and Portuguese. An emphasis that seems to have been decisive in his life, as will be seen during our exhibition. Just to give you an idea of how the language French marked him from an early age, Severiano de Rezende published in the Arauto de Minas, at the age of 16, a translation of the fable "The cicada and the ant", by La Fontaine, and, at the age of 17 years, a poem in French dedicated to a French actress who had acted in São João del-Rei. During this period of his adolescence, he studied at the Liceu Mineiro, in Ouro Preto, where he met and became friends with Alphonsus de Guimaraens.

At the Liceu Mineiro, Alphonsus de Guimaraens attended classes taught by Portuguese teacher João Nemrod Kubistschek, a romantic poet.<sup>167</sup> It is likely that the schooling of literature carried out by this teacher also had a role significant in the formation of Archangelus de Guimaraens, since Alphonsus' brother experienced the same type of teaching at the Liceu Mineiro. It is to be assumed that, in this school in Ouro Preto, the three young people, in addition to bonds of friendship, have developed intellectual affinities that have contributed to defining later the characteristics of the symbolist literature of Minas Gerais.

Very interesting is the analysis made by Silvano Minense about the life intellectual of José Severiano de Rezende at the time he studied in Ouro Preto. Severiano de Rezende would have had a connection with positivist ideas and been admirer of Zola's realistic literature.

In Ouro Preto, coexistence with fellow disciples of the freest ideas and principles, cemented with the concepts of 18th century philosophy, knowledge of the works of Voltaire, Rousseau and others; the fraternization of thoughts with modern literati, specifically Balzac, Zola, Victor Hugo, Renan – countless publicists and poets, who in the boldness of language and thought intended to climb Heaven itself; meditation

<sup>166</sup> LIMA JÚNIOR, 2002, p. 28.

<sup>167</sup> ALPHONSUS, 1960, p. 30.

of A. Comte's doctrines, which soon had a proselyte in him - made José Severiano de Rezende a free thinker, whose restless and rebellious spirit sought to spread itself to the widest expanses, as if finding the circle in which education , social conveniences and Religion held him back.<sup>168</sup>

What is certain is that, in Ouro Preto, there was a relationship between the teachers at Liceu Mineiro and the participants in the student movement with the abolitionist struggle and republican ideas.<sup>169</sup> The initial literary production of Alphonsus de Guimaraens addressing political issues must be thought of in relation to this context. Three of his teachers at Liceu Mineiro were active in the abolitionist struggle: Afonso de Brito (Latin teacher and substitute director in 1885), Samuel Brandão (mathematics teacher) and Manuel Ozzori.<sup>170</sup> The first two published the abolitionist newspaper *A Vela do Jangadeiro* in which they preached a “peaceful revolution” in relation to the slavery system. Manuel Ozzori, to whom Alphonsus de Guimaraens dedicated the sonnet “Eternal Pain”, had a different opinion, believing that the transformation might not happen peacefully. In addition to the abolitionist newspaper *O Trabalho*, Ozzori also directed the administrative, mercantile, industrial, scientific and literary Almanac of the Municipality of Ouro Preto, which published several poems by Alphonsus. Among these poems are the verses of “Quinze de Novembro”, with an evident defense of republican ideals.<sup>171</sup> The anti-slavery verses of the sonnet “Tenebra et lux” were written in 1888, at a time after the entry of Alphonsus de Guimaraens for the Complementary Course at the Escola de Minas. In addition

<sup>168</sup> MINESSE apud LIMA JÚNIOR, 2002, p. 30.

<sup>169</sup> In 1885, a group of students founded the 21 de Abril Republican Club. See COTA, 2009, p. 8.

<sup>170</sup> According to Luiz Gustavo Santos Cota (2009, p. 9-10), two more teachers from Liceu Mineiro were active in the abolitionist movement: Alcides Catão da Rocha Medrado and Eduardo

Machado de Castro. <sup>171</sup> Alphonsus dedicated this poem to his brother Artur Guimarães who studied engineering at the Escola de Minas. Perhaps we can associate the tribute with the type of modernizing political mentality that predominated in that higher education institution. There could also be a correspondence between the figure of the engineer brother and the modernizing discourse of certain sectors of the State for which public works engineering represented a “vanguard” role. Alphonsus de Guimaraens Filho considered Arthur as his father's brother who “succeeded in life as a practical man”. From his biography, we should highlight that he was a professor and one of the founders of the School of Engineering at the University of Minas Gerais. He also held important positions in the administration of Minas Gerais (Director of the Secretariat of Agriculture and Public Works and later Secretary of the same department). See GUIMARAENS FILHO, 1995, p. 237. Regarding the involvement of Alphonsus's family with the republic, it is worth remembering that republican ideas were influenced by Alphonsus's maternal uncle, Cesário A

of this environment conducive to demonstrations against slavery, we must remember that the writer Bernardo Guimarães, Alphonsus's uncle, was an important abolitionist, author of the famous novel *A escrava Isaura*.

José Severiano de Rezende, Alphonsus de Guimaraens and his brother Archangelus de Guimaraens went to the Legal Sciences and Social in São Paulo. During the period in which they were studying there, the Law Academy had a different orientation from that experienced by the generation of Álvares de Azevedo and his friends from Minas Gerais, Bernardo Guimarães and Aureliano Lessa. In the time of the three romantic poets, spiritualist eclecticism predominated. Opposing this philosophical orientation, Álvares de Azevedo wrote a speech given in 1850 at the installation session of the academic society. Azevedo stated that sought "not a fragmentary and parasitic science of the past, a pale copy of what was, as Cousin's eclecticism understood it", preferring "transcendentalism German – Kant, Fichte, in the purest and most vaporous idealism, reducing Spinoza's pantheism and Malebranche's vision of God to the egotism of Fichte and Hegel."<sup>172</sup> A concern with problems related to politics and the State made the interest in Kant's legal individualism was first set aside influenced by Krause's doctrine and later by positivist and evolutionists. At the end of the 19th century, the new guidelines for the São Paulo Law course Paulo revealed a growing appreciation of Anthropology and Sociology according to a positivist and evolutionary orientation. There, the social theories of Comte, Spencer, Stuart Mill, Worms, Le Bon, Tarde, Novicow, between others.

The foundation of the Liceu Mineiro in Ouro Preto, in 1854, coincided with the golden period of spiritualist eclecticism in Brazil. This current of thought predominated in the initial phase of Liceu Mineiro and must also have been the guideline adopted by Bernardo Guimarães after he assumed, in 1867, the position of professor of Philosophy at that institution, where he also taught Portuguese, Rhetoric and Philology for many years. In addition to Bernardo Guimarães, the Liceu Mineiro included other important intellectuals such as Rodrigo José Ferreira Bretas and Afonso Arinos. Bretas, who played a decisive role in the spread of eclecticism

---

<sup>172</sup> AZEVEDO at REALE, 1949, p. 64

spiritualist in Minas, he was director and professor of Philosophy at Liceu Mineiro. Already Arinos taught History.

According to Ângelo F. Palhares Leite, the Liceu Mineiro represented a educational modernization project at that time, marking a sensitive difference both in relation to the teaching of seminaries, where scholasticism dominated, as in relation to what is practiced in royal schools.

In fact, it was the first process of modernization (or update – philosophical modernism?) of philosophy teaching in independent Brazil (the first was the Pombaline reforms, but of colonial extraction, therefore Luso-Brazilian) [...]173

Liceu Mineiro was the main public school dedicated to secondary education in the province of Minas Gerais and provided not only training in humanities, but also technical training in Pharmacy, including subjects such as Chemistry and Materia Medica. The Philosophy discipline was maintained with the same theoretical orientation (that is, spiritualist eclecticism) in this school until the end of the 19th century, when it was remodeled according to the positivist conceptions of the republicans and changed its name to Ginásio Mineiro.

Before going to São Paulo, Alphonsus de Guimaraens enrolled in Complementary Course at the Escola de Minas de Ouro Preto. The Engineering course was, however, abandoned a few months after it started. The School of Mines promoted training of technical staff for the country. Many of its former students became involved in state bureaucracy, the creation of industries and economic policy from the country. It was an institution with a practical purpose and with French teachers focused on the study of nature. According to José Murilo de Carvalho, those masters were “heirs of the Napoleonic education reforms, especially of the École Normale Supérieure, where Gorceix<sup>174</sup> had been a student of Pasteur” and introduced into Minas Gerais a mentality focused on scientific research, until then absent

---

<sup>173</sup> LEITE, 2005, p. 243.

<sup>174</sup> Claude Henri Gorceix was the founder of the School of Mines and directed it until the end of the Empire.

of our teaching.<sup>175</sup> The Escola de Minas was also a center for the dissemination of ideas modernizing from a political point of view. According to José Carlos Rodrigues, the students and teachers of the Escola de Minas "were the most ardent propagators of republican ideas" in Ouro Preto.<sup>176</sup> Antônio Olinto dos Santos Pires, who was a professor of Mathematics, Surveying, Topography and Cosmography at Escola de Minas, was an ardent republican and, after the republic was established, he became the first Provisional President of Minas Gerais.

Let us now return to José Severiano de Rezende. His journey was curious. Having taken part in the Legal Sciences course in São Paulo and then enrolled at the Faculty of Law of Ouro Preto, he decided to enter the Mariana Seminary, becoming ordained a priest at the end of his religious training.

When we turn our attention to Severiano de Rezende's response to João do Rio, we note that he criticized the expression "formation literary" because it seems to be associated with "graduation", "rhetoric class formula" and "perfume of dedicated bachelor's degree". It would be an allusion to academic training of most Brazilian intellectuals at that time? Severiano de Rezende would have Did you try to avoid it by abandoning law school? The interesting thing about this critique of poet from Minas Gerais is that it makes us think about the analysis that Sérgio Buarque de Holanda made bachelor's degree associated with the Brazilian national character with his "love pronounced by fixed forms and generic laws".<sup>177</sup> Sérgio Buarque pointed out yet as characteristics of this mentality the prestige

[...] of the written word, the lapidary phrase, the inflexible thought, the horror of the vague, the hesitant, the fluid, which require collaboration, effort and, consequently, a certain dependence and even abdication of the personality have determined assiduously our spiritual formation. Everything that dispenses with any arduous and tiring mental work, the clear, lucid, definitive ideas, which favor a kind of atony of intelligence, seem to us to constitute the true essence of wisdom.<sup>178</sup>

---

<sup>175</sup> CARVALHO, 2005, p. 67.

<sup>176</sup> RODRIGUES, 1986, p. 161.

<sup>177</sup> HOLLAND, 1987, p. 117.

<sup>178</sup> HOLLAND, 1987, p. 117.

This analysis can give an idea of the degree of rupture that symbolist poetry represented in Brazil and suggest, on the other hand, some explanations for the way in which Symbolism was evaluated by critics and appropriated by several poets among the end of the 19th century and early years of the 20th century. Mallarmé's initial reception at the Brazil is quite revealing of this bachelor mentality. Many readers said prefer Verlaine and others showed more sympathy for Mallarmé's first phase. The preference for Verlaine indicates the primacy of a less hermetic and demanding Symbolism.<sup>179</sup>

Severiano de Rezende's entry into the Mariana Seminary caused lots of surprise. The fact was commented on by his colleagues at the São Paulo Law Academy and also by journalists. Some interpreted his attitude as an influence of the works and life of Huysmans.<sup>180</sup> The important thing is to highlight that the type of religious education provided by the Mariana Seminary was of a traditionalist and had a profound influence on the work of Severiano de Rezende. Easily noticeable repercussion not only in his hagiography, *O meu flos sanctorum*, but also in the *Mysteries* poems.

The Bishop of Mariana, D. Antônio Ferreira Viçoso, shortly after assuming the Diocese de Mariana in 1844, established a Catholic-conservative guideline, that is, ultramontane, of counter-reformist origin, for teaching at the Seminary. A guideline justified by the *Syllabus of Pius IX*. If religious traditionalism had a more philosophical during the period of the empire, at the end of the 19th century, after the institution of the republic, it acquired a more political aspect. The disagreement of those who followed This Catholic-conservative guideline with the political foundations of a series of acts by republican governments was analyzed as follows by José Carlos Rodrigues:

The new Brazilian Republic and the traditionalist option defended by the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Minas Gerais and the rest

---

<sup>179</sup> Furthermore, Mallarmé was little known among Brazilian writers at that period. According to Andrade Murici (1995, p. 34), his influence occurred "very recently, mainly through Valéry".

<sup>180</sup> LIMA JÚNIOR, 2002, p. 44.

of the country constitute a true drama at the end of the 19th century. Traditionalism could not understand the advancement of new political ideas that were imposed from then on. While other countries faced the secularization of the State, the introduction of civil marriage and the adoption of a modern and secular constitution without major trauma, in Brazil, the new political program generated a trauma with repercussions only overcome in the long run.

The traditionalist line of the Diocese of Mariana was maintained by the successors of D. Viçoso, D. Silvério Gomes Pimenta and D. Antônio Correia de Sá e Benevides, and is expressed in the pages of a series of newspapers published under his responsibility: *O Bom Ladrão*, *O Viçoso* and *D. Viçoso* (1897). The latter was written by José de Severiano de Rezende himself, who had just been ordained a priest and worked alongside the Bishop of Mariana. In this work, Severiano de Rezende was already showing his combative style, defending Catholic doctrine and criticizing the absurdities of the nascent Brazilian Republic. The antagonism towards republican ideals was, at the same time, an antagonism towards positivist ideas. José Maurício de Carvalho noted this position of the writer from Minas Gerais manifested, at a later time, in the book that Father Severiano de Rezende wrote about Eduardo Prado.

What is new in Severiano is that the recognition of the Catholic Church as being the only true one was based on the study and deepening of modern sciences, in a kind of anti-positivism. To explain further, the study and theoretical deepening of the sciences would lead, as in the case of Eduardo Prado, to a rapprochement with Roman Catholicism. In no way would the improvement of scientific knowledge support atheism and materialism.<sup>182</sup>

As can be seen, it was an attack on the value system in force, at that time that self-identified as the representation of modern and progress.

---

<sup>181</sup> RODRIGUES, 1986, p. 133.

<sup>182</sup> CARVALHO, 1998, p. 107.

In Severiano's opinion, compliance with religion within the home, in intimate life, was not enough. In other words, the practical dimension of Catholicism was important, but not sufficient. It was necessary to commit to the social organization of society and it would only have a smooth path if Catholicism dominated. It was therefore necessary to face in all fields the pedantic bachelor, the bimbo academic, the monomaniacal positivist, the pontificating scientist.<sup>183</sup>

Severiano de Rezende's proposal did not consist of a condemnation of the scientific knowledge and worldly knowledge, but in the search for compatibility of this knowledge with Catholic religious knowledge. So, the ideal would be a kind of enlightened Catholicism.<sup>184</sup> According to José Maurício de Carvalho, the thought of Severiano would represent "an attempt to base social morality on religion, supplanting the positivist project of secular philanthropy". At the same time, he intended to "give a different meaning to the progress of human reason, showing that intellectual evolution is not the enemy of faith, but an important element in strengthening true faith."<sup>185</sup>

In addition to the symbolists already mentioned, the writers Viana do Castelo, Ciro Arno and Mamede de Oliveira also studied in Ouro Preto. Viana do Castelo He studied Humanities at Colégio Ouropretano, before going to study Legal and Social Sciences in São Paulo. In turn, Ciro Arno and Mamede de Oliveira made the preparation for the Law course in Ouro Preto. The latter also studied at Ouro Preto Gymnasium, former Liceu Mineiro. Before studying in Ouro Preto, Ciro Arno had been a classmate of J. Camelo at the Escola Normal de Diamantina, where Mariana Higina also studied. Afonso Pena Júnior and Ernesto Cerqueira were both students at Colégio Caraça. As Caraça is known, the institution where the spirit of conservation of order and tradition predominated, he was responsible

---

<sup>183</sup> CARVALHO, 1998, p. 110.

<sup>184</sup> In the book Eduardo Prado, Severiano de Rezende's criticism was not only directed at positivists but also at the Catholic practices of followers of spiritualist eclecticism. For him, it was "a speculative and platonic Catholicism, more or less sentimental, soaked in a distance of unclassified mysticism and in which enter strange ingredients of a *sui generis* religion, vague dreams of poetry, withered flowers of rhetoric, medieval nostalgias with sprays of indigenous baccalaureate or acacia counseling". REZENDE apud CARVALHO, 1998, p. 108.

<sup>185</sup> CARVALHO, 1998, p. 113.

for the training of men in the ruling class of Minas Gerais. It was under the care of the Lazarist priests, ultamontanos of French origin, who emphasized the teaching of humanities and religion.

Among the miners who participated in the symbolist movement, Edgard Mata had a different educational trajectory. He learned the first letters and then He attended secondary school in Rio de Janeiro. Your Humanities course was taken at the renowned Colégio Aquino, in Tijuca.<sup>186</sup> Both Edgard Mata and Mariana Higina did not continue her studies after secondary school. Mariana Higina, after finishing Escola Normal, became a primary teacher in Diamantina.

As for the educational background of Horácio Guimarães and Agenor Barbosa, we currently know little or nothing. In relation to Horácio Guimarães, despite Although we have limited biographical data about him, we can assume that he had a secondary education similar to that of Alphonsus de Guimaraens at the Liceu Miner because they were the same age. Another element that reinforces this hypothesis is the fact that Bernardo Guimarães, Horácio's father, was a professor at that institution school in the mid-19th century.

In view of these data, we realize that the members of the movement symbolist from Minas Gerais had a school education with guidance antagonistic. On the one hand, teaching in religious schools, such as Caraça and Mariana Seminary, was concerned with maintaining traditions. On the other, the teaching in public schools, such as the Liceu Mineiro, the Escola de Minas or the Faculty of Law, had a less conservative character and demonstrated a greater interest in modernization issues. Therefore, these writers had to deal, from a very young age, with the two poles that characterized the education and cultural production in Minas Gerais between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century: one that preached the conservation of traditions and the other that emphasized the progress.

The university education of most symbolists from Minas Gerais took place in the Law courses in São Paulo and Minas Gerais. Alphonsus and Archangelus de Guimaraens, after a period of studies in São Paulo, returned to Ouro Preto,

---

<sup>186</sup> SOUZA, 1978, pp. 10-11.

where they graduated from the Legal Sciences course at the recently founded Faculty Free of Law of Minas Gerais.<sup>187</sup> In 1894, Alphonsus de Guimaraens returned to the Faculty of Law of São Paulo and completed the Social Sciences course there. In addition to Alphonsus de Guimaraens and his brother Archangelus, Law was also the course chosen by Adolfo Araújo, Afonso Pena Júnior, Álvaro Viana, Ciro Arno, J. Camelo, Mamede de Oliveira and Viana do Castelo. Among them, Ciro Arno, Adolfo Araújo and Viana do Castelo also studied at the Faculty of Law of São Paulo. Afonso Pena Júnior, J. Camelo, Mamede de Oliveira and Álvaro Viana joined forces. They graduated from the Free Faculty of Law of Minas Gerais.

Founded in 1892 by a group of politicians and graduates in Studies Legal and Social, the Free Faculty of Law of Minas Gerais was directed initially by Afonso Pena Júnior's father. In addition to being director, Afonso Pena was a professor of Financial Sciences and State Accounting at the same academy. It is important to mention some of the teachers that Alphonsus had contact with at the Faculty who were also writers: Afonso Arinos (Criminal Law), Augusto de Lima (Philosophy and History of Law) and Raimundo Correia (Public Law International and Criminal Law). The creation of this college in the former capital of Minas occurred due to the need for qualified personnel to work in the bureaucracy and for the consolidation of the republican regime. The institution was transferred to Belo Horizonte in 1898 and later integrated into the University of Minas Gerais in 1927.

It is quite significant that we find the cover of the first issue of Magazine of the Faculty of Law, published in 1894, among the documents belonging to the collection of the Casa Alphonsus de Guimaraens Museum presenting the signature of the author of the Pastoral dos Crentes do Amor e da Morte at the top. The magazine's editorial committee included two emblematic names: Augusto de Lima and João Pinheiro.<sup>188</sup> Most of the texts published in this magazine were

---

<sup>187</sup> The Free Faculty of Law of Minas Gerais had three courses: Legal Sciences, Social Sciences and Notary.

<sup>188</sup> João Pinheiro da Silva, a public figure credited with the origin of Minas Gerais developmentalism (Cf. GOMES, 2005), was one of the founders of the Faculdade Livre de Direito de Minas Gerais, having been responsible for teaching People's Law, Diplomacy and History of Treaties, in the Social Sciences course.

written by the college's own professors and used to be used in the subjects of their courses.<sup>189</sup>

In the Faculty of Law Magazine, the controversies between the Escola Positiva of Criminology and the Classical School are present, and the authors of the articles generally positioned themselves in favor of positivist theories.<sup>190</sup> The defense of Positive Law prevailed in this periodical until the 1930s.

It is essential to keep in mind the ideas disseminated in Law courses both in São Paulo and Minas Gerais between the end of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th century to understand the literary position of the symbolists miners. The works of these writers could be read as reactions to the positivist, evolutionary and materialist theories that made up the curricula of colleges where they studied and which predominated among advocates of political and social changes at that time. The divergence in relation to these doctrines must have been stimulated by the contact of these writers with intellectual networks different from those formed in school institutions, as we will see in followed.

## LITERARY NETWORKS, RESONANCES AND TRANSLATION PRACTICES

When we investigate the lives of Minas Gerais symbolists from the perspective of the literary networks they were part of, we notice that they were more involved in semi-institutionalized networks and informal networks than with institutionalized networks.<sup>191</sup> In fact, Alphonsus de Guimaraens and José Severiano de Rezende, the two symbolists from Minas Gerais most highlighted by criticism and literary historiography, maintained tense relations with the largest literary institution

---

<sup>189</sup> See LOURENÇO, 2007, p. 53.

<sup>190</sup> See LOURENÇO, 2007, p. 130.

<sup>191</sup> For Gisèle Sapiro (2006, p. 53-54), there are three types of networks according to the degree of their institutionalization: 1) those formed by institutionalized groups, such as academies, literary societies, associations, clubs; 2) semi-institutionalized networks, made up of more or less ephemeral groups with relatively fluid profiles (magazines, avant-garde groups, literary circles, salons); 3) informal networks, composed of interconnections of more fluid, random aspects and more situational activities, such as friendship relationships.

cultural power at that time: the Brazilian Academy of Letters. Often contradictory, Severiano de Rezende oscillated between trying to join the Academia, valuing it, and criticizing it, even if indirectly. In the interview granted to João do Rio, he attacked, for example, literary organizations provincial and made observations that were not very favorable to Machado de Assis, mixed with compliments with an ironic color. Thus, in relation to the state literary cenacles, he declared that they would be “foci of unbearable hopes of the letters”, accustoming “the spirit to the narrowness of the churches in which mutual praise creates irreducible pedants and pretentious minions of unproductive synagogues, where the flower of conventional rhetoric is cultivated<sup>192</sup>”

Severiano de Rezende made observations concerning the prose of Machado de Assist. Apparently praising the founder of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, he achieved the opposite effect:

There is Machado de Assis: we read him confidently, his calm psychology presents an elegant form, and his language, which is his, could have as its motto the in medium consistit virtus, which, if it doesn't excite, doesn't scandalize. He is the only honest prose writer we have and the only observer of souls we have. But it's not a deep one.<sup>193</sup>

The two speeches combined with comments against “the inactive pedantry of the medallion and the null freemasonry of the coteries”, in addition to the negative evaluation he made of the style of José Veríssimo, also a founding member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters,<sup>194</sup> could have been interpreted as criticism of this literary institution. AND it seems that they were. The tension between Severiano and the Brazilian Academy of Letters continued to become more intense after the failure of the Minas Gerais writer's campaign to obtain a chair at the institution in 1905. Severiano's attitude must have contributed to Alphonsus de Guimaraens' entry into the ABL being barred.

The two poets from Minas Gerais were linked by bonds of friendship and the actions of

<sup>192</sup> REZENDE at RIO, 1994, p. 130

<sup>193</sup> REZENDE at RIO, 1994, p. 131

<sup>194</sup> In the interview, Severiano said that “José Veríssimo arches sysically under the dense you steal from your leaden periods, bristling with angles.” REZENDE apud RIO, 1994, p. 132.

**Severiano may have harmed Alphonsus' candidacy, despite him having supporters.<sup>195</sup>**

The two symbolists may not have been well known to most readers. of that time, but they were not unknown in intellectual circles. In fact, there are several records that prove this. Among these records, we can mention a rich anecdote about Severiano de Rezende and the collaboration of the two writers in the most important periodicals in the country. Before even going to the Seminar Mariana, Severiano de Rezende was already renowned among newspaper contributors, especially those in São Paulo. A chronicle by Olavo Bilac published in the column "Diário do Rio" from O Estado de S. Paulo, on January 17, 1898, addressed Severiano's decision to leave worldly life to become a priest.

Few people, in S. Paulo, will not remember the beautiful poet and the handsome young man that was Severiano de Rezende, who I hugged here yesterday, dressed in the severe cassock, transformed, another man, another physiognomy, another face, another soul... At this time, he is on his way to the sad and deserted Mariana. And now, I begin to remember that Severian of old, turbulent, overflowing with talent and joy, given to the scandals of bohemian life, living for the Dream and the Blague, priest of the Paradox, thinking that the glory of being Pope it wasn't worth

When they told me that the poet, suddenly, changing his life, contrary to his family and friends, had gone to a seminary, decided to become a priest, I confess that, like everyone else, I assumed that this was a new whim, a new originality, a new blague.<sup>196</sup>

This text makes explicit the friendship between Bilac and Severiano de Rezende that would last for many years, even after the poet from Minas Gerais started to live in

<sup>195</sup> The name of Alphonsus de Guimaraens was raised for membership in the Brazilian Academy of Letters on two occasions, but he never ran for a seat. The first campaign to promote his election was organized by José Severiano de Rezende and Alberto Ramos in 1916. The other campaign aimed at occupying the seat left vacant by the death of Olavo Bilac was initiated in 1919 by Heitor Guimarães in Jornal do Comércio , from Juiz de Fora, and continued by Manuel Bandeira in the pages of Correio de Minas. Bandeira's article, an immense compliment to the author of Kiriale, marks the beginning of the critical reinterpretation of the symbolist from Minas Gerais by modernists. See BANDEIRA apud GUIMARAENS FILHO, 1995, p. 359-369. Antônio Torres also got involved in the cause of Alphonsus de Guimaraens' election to the ABL, publishing an open letter TOWERS at RESENDE, [19 - -], p. 32-34.

<sup>196</sup> BILAC apud DIMAS, 2006, v. 2, p. 238.

France. Bilac's chronicle also shows that the relationships between the Symbolists miners and Parnassians were not always in opposition. On the contrary. Alphonsus, for example, maintained friendly relations with Parnassian poets, demonstrating an elegant and discreet disagreement with Parnassianism.

When talking about Brazilian poetry at the beginning of the 20th century, José Severiano de Rezende listed the great poets of the time, including, in the list, both the symbolists Alphonsus de Guimaraens and Cruz e Sousa, as well as some Parnassians, distributing praise to everyone.

[...] Alphonsus de Guimaraens is a genius, Bilac the first, Raimundo and Alberto also first, Luís Delfino is the incomparable nabob of poetry, Cruz e Souza had an influence, Emílio de Menezes can be called the bohemian master of the sonnet, B . Lopes is adorable in his pose, [...]197

Alphonsus also gave evidence of consideration for the Parnassians. As Alphonsus de Guimaraens Filho rightly pointed out, his father demonstrated a "concern about not being sectarian" by including a poem by Bilac in the pages of the newspaper O Conceição do Serro, as a way of paying homage to a movement to which he had literary opposed.<sup>198</sup>

When he returned to Minas in 1893, Alphonsus de Guimaraens established contact with Raimundo Correia, who, as we have already said, lived in Ouro Preto at that time.<sup>199</sup> They had a friend in common, Lucindo Filho, a cultivator of letters and director of the newspaper Vassoureense, in the city of Vassouras, in Rio de Janeiro. So much Alphonsus and Correia were contributors to this newspaper that had repercussions in the literary province. The newspaper also had the collaboration of other renowned writers such as the Parnassians Olavo Bilac and Alberto de Oliveira.<sup>200</sup> Thus, as always happens, intellectuals of a given historical period weave networks of friendship and partnership, even though they are often separated in

<sup>197</sup> REZENDE at RIO, 1994, p. 132.

<sup>198</sup> GUIMARAENS FILHO, 1995, p. 158.

<sup>199</sup> GUIMARAENS FILHO, 1995, p. 209.

<sup>200</sup> ALPHONSUS, 1960, p. 37.

terrain of ideas or who do not share the same conceptions about doing literary. The gaze of the future, that of the critic or historian, separates them or approaches them with different criteria and often disregards relationships that they help create the profile of a certain generation of writers.

Raimundo Correia's biographer, Waldir Ribeiro do Val, put Alphonsus, Archangelus and Horácio Guimarães among the writers who started the movement at the Faculdade Livre de Ouro Preto.

Raimundo Correia must have paternally welcomed these worthy young people. Afonso de Guimarães had already been known to him, through publications in newspapers, since 1888, when they both collaborated at Vassourense. Archangel was now appearing, in the newspapers, and promised a lot.<sup>201</sup>

Alphonsus de Guimaraens even appropriated a verse from Raimundo Correia, establishing some modifications to it and including it in one of the sonnets he wrote under the pseudonym João Ventania. The respect for the Parnassian, called master, appears in the note that Alphonsus placed at the end: "Excuse me, Master Raimundo, the variant of your beautiful verse".<sup>202</sup> The disciple's pose reveals a literary formation that also included reading the poets who affiliated with Parnassianism. Readings that were not limited to authors Brazilians, as can be seen in several resonances of the Parnassians French, especially Leconte de Lisle, Heredia, Banville, Sully-Prudhomme and François Coppée in his poetry and the presence of books by these authors in his library.<sup>203</sup> This learning of Parnassian poetry by Alphonsus de Guimaraens,

---

<sup>201</sup> VAL, 1960, 126.

<sup>202</sup> See GUIMARAENS FILHO, 1995, p. 209. Raimundo Correia's verse is "But, without saying anything, you said everything!", from the sonnet "Despedidas". Alphonsus transformed it into "And without saying anything, he tells him everything well..." See sonnet "Old anecdote". In: GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 590.

<sup>203</sup> An abbreviated idea of Alphonsus de Guimaraens's library is found in an appendix to Arline Anglade-Aurand's thesis (1970). In addition to the Parnassian authors that Aurand mentions as having influenced the Symbolist poet, his library also included several works by Catulle Mendès. It is worth remembering that Arline Anglade-Aurand made a lot of effort to prove numerous French influences that Alphonsus de Guimaraens would have suffered. Some of these influences can really be noticed, others seem less evident or more unlikely. The list of authors she lists throughout the work is long and appears partially summarized in the

occurring mainly in youth, was classified by Arline Anglade-Aurand as "imitation" of French models (AURAND, 1970, 258). We prefer, however, use another, more productive concept to understand the relationship between Alphonsus as the writers with whom he dialogued: or of "writing" texts. Antoine Compagnon poses the question formulated by Barthes, author of the concept, in these terms:

[...] what are the texts that, when writing, I would like to rewrite? Those that Roland Barthes called "writable" when he asked: "What texts would I accept to write (rewrite), desire, carry forward as a force in this world that is mine? What the evaluation finds is this value: what can be written (rewritten) today – the writable. There is always a book with which in its double meaning, that of narrative (of recitation) and that of connection (of elective affinity). This does not mean that I would have liked to write this book, that I envy it, that I would gladly copy it or take it up on my own, as a model, that I would imitate it, that I would update it or quote it at length if I could; That wouldn't show my love for this book either. No, the text that for me is "writeable" is the one whose enunciation posture suits me (the one that cites like me).<sup>204</sup>

This concept can be approximated to the reading perspective that Luciana Stegagno Picchio adopted for the poetic practice of Alphonsus de Guimaraens. According to this author, the poet was an "undisciplined symbolist" in relation to European models:

[...] in the sense that he managed to translate into original poetry, at once Brazilian and exclusively his own, the models obtained during his French transfer, mixing them, almost unconsciously, in the construction of his new building. Verlaine, it's true, but also Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Rimbaud, Heine and Stechetti. And this is how the concept of translation enters this discourse of ours, through the door of elective affinities and the reuse of models: translation as adhesion, formal before all else,

---

conclusions: Baudelaire, Villon, Ronsard, Nerval, Musset, Verlaine, Corbière, Laforgue, Mallarmé, Rodenbach, Maeterlinck, Rimbaud, Taillade, Banville, Leconte de Lisle, Hérédia, Sully Prud'homme, François Coppée, Villiers de l'Isle Adam and Henri de Régnier. See ANGLADE, 1970, p. 353.  
<sup>204</sup> COMPAGNON, 1996, p. 32.

to aesthetic experiences matured within the same cultural and aesthetic paradigm. Translation as an original recreation, as a capture within a particular poetic universe, of someone else's inventions: *ante litteram*, if we want, Ezra Pound's make it new.

205

Alphonsus' indiscipline in relation to his teachers took on, however, a discreet feature. The poet from Minas Gerais modified Raimundo Correia's verse, but did not without apologizing. The disagreement, however, occurred in a light and good-humored way. from what can be inferred from the words of the symbolist himself in a letter written on 27 April 1893 to his friend Freitas Valle (Jacques d'Avray). Therefore, during the period in which Alphonsus was a law student in Ouro Preto.

I have been with Raimundo Correia, who is a fan of mine and complains that he is discouraged from writing verses, given our poetry phase. Come to my side, I told him; immodestly, like a schoolmaster. That's the luxury you see.206

As we mentioned previously, these relations with the Parnassians They weren't always like this. In Belo Horizonte, differences were exacerbated mainly between Álvaro Viana and Mendes de Oliveira, the leaders of the movements Symbolist and Parnassian respectively. The controversies between the two were constant and reveal how poetic modernity was interpreted in a distinguished by them. In 1902, Viana and Oliveira fought over the publication of the Horus magazine. In the texts, we can notice that in addition to the literary reference in the sense strict, the authors also used a theoretical framework that proceeded, generally, from studies carried out in higher education courses, therefore, with the guidance

---

<sup>205</sup> PICCHIO, 1995, p. 227, our translation. No original: "[...] in the sense that he managed to translate the models drawn during his French transfer into an original poem, both Brazilian and uniquely his, mixing them almost unconsciously in the construction of his new building. Verlaine, it's true, but also Baudelaire, Mallarmé and Rimbaud: and Heine and Stecchetti. And this is how the concept of translation enters into our discussion, and through the door of elective affinities and the reuse of models: translation as adhesion, formal above all, to aesthetic experiences matured within the same cultural and aesthetic paradigm, translation as recreation original, as a capture within one's own poetic universe, of other people's inventions: *ante litteram*, if we want, Ezra

<sup>206</sup> GUIMARAENS at BUENO, 2002, p. 4.

predominantly positivist, evolutionary, naturalist. Thus, we see how the Readings carried out in Law courses ended up interfering with literary production. The criticisms made by Álvaro Viana against the Parnassians were, at times, indirect. For example, in a chronicle published in the newspaper *A Época*, he attacked poetry scientific, a genre cultivated by the Parnassian Augusto de Lima. The section also reveals, through an allusion to a verse from the poem “Arte poética”, by Verlaine, an understanding of poetry and Symbolism much closer to simplicity and emotionalism that this French poet defended than the hermeticism preached by Mallarmé:<sup>207</sup>

Poetry is feeling and the best poet will be the one who feels best  
[...]

And perhaps because I think so, I have never been able to tolerate such SCIENTIFIC POETRY, covered in rice powder, hypocritical and clumsy, which looks more like a shrew with an apron and glasses smearing herself in the chemistry laboratories and how much science has been constituted in a bourgeois way to this day. 208

This theme had already appeared in the controversy with Mendes de Oliveira, who believed that “art must always follow the march of science, in all its evolutions”.<sup>209</sup> The terminology leaves no doubt as to a interpretation of literature from an evolutionary, scientific theoretical framework. Furthermore, art should instruct and not just please, moving from the heart to the brain, from the soul to the intelligence.<sup>210</sup>

---

<sup>207</sup> The division of avant-garde poetry groups at the end of the 19th century between decadentists and symbolists was analyzed as follows by Joseph Jurt: “If the symbolists draw on Mallarmé and the search for the absolute idea through poetry, the decadentists turn to Verlaine and his concern to express emotion. [...] The option for poetry that focuses on the search for pure ideas seems to constitute a more radical, more absolute choice than the musical expression of emotions more linked to Romanticism.” JURT, 1986, p. 25, our translation. In the original: “Si les Symbolistes se réclament de Mallarmé et de la recherche de l'idée absolue à travers la poésie, les Décadents se réfèrent à Verlaine et à sa préoccupation d'exprimer l'émotion. [...] The option for a poem à la recherche de l'idée pure semble constituer un choix plus radical, plus absolu que celui de l'expression musicale d'émotions davantage rattachée au romanticism.”

<sup>208</sup> VIANA, Alvaro. Preface. At the time, 2 nov. 1905, p. 2.

<sup>209</sup> OLIVEIRA apud CAROLLO, 1980, v. 1, p. 415.

<sup>210</sup> OLIVEIRA apud CAROLLO, 1980, v. 1, p. 416.

**Comparing Parnassian production with Symbolist production, Mendes de Oliveira he wrote:**

If someone opens a book of verses by the leaders of Brazilian Parnassianism, they will gain lots and lots of knowledge about history, natural sciences, etc., etc.

You don't learn anything from a decadent's book; At the end of the last page, the reader feels his head empty of ideas, and his soul empty of feelings.<sup>211</sup>

Later, in the same text, Oliveira used an opinion from Leconte de Lisle in an attempt to discredit the Symbolists among the public.<sup>212</sup>

Regarding the language of the Symbolists, this opinion by Leconte de Lisle is well known: "Throw adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions, nouns, adjectives into a hat, pull them out at random and write them down; symbolism, decadence, instrumentalism and all the messes that come from them will emerge."<sup>213</sup>

The character of symbolist language was negatively interpreted. Oliveira accused symbolist poets of disrespecting the "laws of language", of not knowing aesthetics and the "mechanism of form", that is, they were "anarchists of letters".<sup>214</sup> This argument was summarized in a letter from Álvaro Viana to Freitas Valle:

[...] the writer began to make very clear references to me, in an article he titled – Literary Aberration – where we were treated as beasts, ignorant, crazy, distorters of greatness, degenerates, etc., and Paul Verlaine, Master Alphonsus, d'Avray were compared

<sup>211</sup> OLIVEIRA apud CAROLLO, 1980, v. 1, p.

<sup>212</sup> 416. It is interesting to note how Leconte de Lisle's criticism of the Symbolists was, in later years, later, appropriated in a positive way by Tristan Tzara in his recipe for the Dadaist poem.

<sup>213</sup> OLIVEIRA apud CAROLLO, 1980, v. 1, p. 417.

<sup>214</sup> OLIVEIRA apud CAROLLO, 1980, v. 1, p. 417.

to the degenerates that Lombroso talks about or, before that, what the beast Max Nordeau (sic) talked about.<sup>215</sup>

Álvaro Viana, as a good polemicist, ridiculed literary doctrines by Mendes de Oliveira, highlighting and deforming his evolutionary direction: “[...] the hopeful Vate writes many, many lines that mean nothing, like, for example, 'small oscillations and movements without influence on the evolutionary philosophy of Art'”.<sup>216</sup>

In 1905, the newspaper *A Época*, where Álvaro Viana worked, published a unfavorable review of the book *Floral Games*, by Mendes de Oliveira. The Parnassian considered it offensive and continued the old controversy. The texts of *A Época* they took up some points of the disputes that arose around the magazine *Horus*. In them, several defects in Mendes de Oliveira's verses were indicated. Between them, language problems. Thus, the poet who had accused the Symbolists of disrespecting the language became the victim of the same accusation. At the same time, he was represented as a person who pretended to be scientific and literary wisdom, but who was, in fact, ignorant.<sup>217</sup>

The Parnassians, the prose writers linked to realism-naturalism and the critics sympathizers of positivist and evolutionary theories dominated the Brazilian Academy of Letters and state academies. For this reason, they had the power to assign values to literary works. Alphonsus of Guimaraens and Severian of Rezende had friends among academics, but that was not enough to be admitted to the institution. Severiano personally knew Machado de Assis and participated in meetings of the Garnier cenacle, according to a text by Lugné-Poë,<sup>218</sup> published by *Revue Bleue*, in 1932, and summarized in this way by Pierre Rivas:

---

<sup>215</sup> VIANA apud CAROLLO, 1980, v. 1, p. 409. In Brazil, Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909) was a reference in the areas of Anthropology and Criminology, but his ideas reverberated in other areas of knowledge and the arts. Max Nordau (1849-1923) was important for certain evolutionary-based literary criticism.

<sup>216</sup> VIANA at CAROLLO, 1980, v. 1, p. 405.

<sup>217</sup> REJOINDER. *A Época*, Belo Horizonte, 29 Oct. 1905, p. 1.

<sup>218</sup> Aurélien Lugné-Poë (1869-1940) was a French actor and director who was at the forefront of the Symbolist movement in theater. He founded, together with Camille Mauclair, Maurice Maeterlink and Édouard Vuillard, the

The author evokes Nabucho (sic) around whom intelligent, daring men were grouped, open to the modern spirit, such as Domício Gama, Graça Aranha, Machado de Assis, Severiano de Resende (sic), “a rare spirit and, on top of that, priest”... The meetings were held in the old Garnier bookstore on Rua do Ouvidor.<sup>219</sup>

However, Severiano de Rezende was more comfortable in Olavo's group Bilac that met in Colombo. Through brief and elliptical references found in Machado de Assis's correspondence with Joaquim Nabuco, Leopoldo Comitti noted relevant aspects about the 1905 election in which Severiano de Rezende, Domingos Olímpio and Mário de Alencar competed in a chair at the Academy. According to Comitti, they “suggest to us an impasse, a problematic situation woven by countless games of interests involving not only personal and political affinities, but also control of the institution”.<sup>220</sup> A The election took place in the same year that João do Rio's book with the aforementioned interview by Severiano de Rezende was published. The enmities, the divergences ideological and literary aspects contributed to the result in which Machado de Assis' protégé, the poet Mário de Alencar, emerged victorious. Allusions, ironies and reticence involving this dispute was recorded in the correspondence between Alphonsus de Guimaraens and Mário de Alencar. Some of the allusions and ironies of Alphonsus are disguised as expressions of appreciation and praise for Mário de Alencar. Among the themes of these letters were the 1905 election, political relations affections between Mário de Alencar and Machado de Assis and the value of literary works. Combined, these themes expressed, in essence, Alphonsus's critique of literary policy of the Brazilian Academy of Letters.<sup>221</sup>

The three types of networks classified according to the degree of institutionalization are mixed in the relationship between Mário de Alencar and Alphonsus de Guimaraens: the

---

Théâtre de l'Oeuvre which opened with the play *Pelléas et Melisande*, by Maeterlink. He assumed the role of “missionary of Symbolism” by touring several performances of Ibsen and Maeterlink. The Lugné-Poë text mentioned by Rivas referred to a visit by actress Eleonora Duse to Brazil. About Lugné-Poe's tours, see CASANOVA, 1999, p. 225-226.

<sup>219</sup> RIVAS, 1995, p. 217.

<sup>220</sup> COMITTI, 1999, p. 21. About the games of interests involved in this Academy election Brasileira de Letras, See BROCA, 2005, p. 103-106.

<sup>221</sup> Cf. Comitti, 1999, p. 27.

friendship (informal network), the relationship with the instance of literary legitimization represented by the Brazilian Academy of Letters (institutionalized network) and the participation in Revista Brasileira (semi-institutionalized network). Considered as the antechamber of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, the Revista Brasileira had important collaborators such as Afonso Arinos, Araripe Júnior, Sílvio Romero, Coelho Neto, Raul Pompéia, Joaquim Nabuco, Euclides da Cunha, Machado de Assis, Graça Aranha and Raimundo Correia. It was a publication that valued and publicized the Parnassian poetry. The Revista Brasileira was not restricted to literature or literary criticism, giving space to articles of a scientific nature that covered, among other things, areas, History of Brazil, Philology, Law, Engineering, Health, Botany and Anthropology. The authors who published in this journal sought to address the national reality based on the scientific principles of that time, with a lot of intellectual seriousness. A seriousness that was also required of members of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, in opposition to the attitudes of intellectuals who gave themselves over to bohemian life.<sup>222</sup>

According to Francine Ricieri, Mário de Alencar's influence was "decisive" so that José Veríssimo, director of the magazine, published, in 1898, the 44 poems from complete translation of Heine's Nova Primavera, made by Alphonsus de Guimaraens through the French version by J. Daniaux.<sup>223</sup> In addition to this translation, Revista Brasileira published the following works by Alphonsus de Guimaraens: "Cantigas e voltas", "Árias e songs", "Citarpa" and "Elias". In 1899, Mário de Alencar also helped to publish Septenário das Dors de Nossa Senhora e Câmara ardent, taking responsibility for monitoring the edition carried out by Tipografia Leuzinger.<sup>224</sup>

One facet of this literary exchange was poetic learning involving the affirmation of artistic individualities. In the cards, Mario de Alencar he sent suggestions, evaluating the quality of certain verses and adopting, in some passages, a pedagogical stance. Alphonsus de Guimaraens' attitude was that of politely show their independence in relation to the anti-symbolist indoctrination process that Mário intended. Mário's negative reviews

---

<sup>222</sup> DIMAS, 1994, p. 557.

<sup>223</sup> RICIERI, 1996, v. 1, p. 26.

<sup>224</sup> RICIERI, 1996, v. 1, p. 26 and GUIMARAENS FILHO, 1995, p. 74.

seemed like reflections of what José Veríssimo did to Alphonsus' poetry.<sup>225</sup> Something like an indirect message from the critic for the poet from Minas Gerais to change direction.

In the letter that Alphonsus de Guimaraens wrote to Mário de Alencar in August 2, 1908, there is a response to this indoctrination disguised in suggestions and comments:

I agree with many of your comments. The sonnet "To a Lover" doesn't please me at all. Only the first block is perhaps saved from it. That fatal abyss of the grave is truly terrifying. "Perennial vortex", however, I don't think is all bad. It would be better if I had written it – in a perennial whirlwind of vertigo. Let's talk about the other sonnets. For many, you were generous and captivated my self-love as an artist; For some you showed the ill will you have towards a school that I joined, but from which I have taken advantage of what is good and reasonable in it, without Pindaric exaggerations or gongoric elevations... As for what you say to me about "Seeing you pray", very well. I send it to you altered, and even so I don't think it's perfect. You noticed everything that was worst about him. – "The infernal Charon etc." Giving Letis the impression of illusory, that is, vain, false, he meant with the 3rd and 4th verses that hell, purgatory are in this world, - In a sonnet of such bitter pessimism, I don't think the inglorious description given to the sun is unreasonable. Atrocious Ghost is really bad.<sup>226</sup>

Alphonsus' text makes it very clear that Mário de Alencar's criticisms generally referred to symbolist vocabulary and images. According to Alphonsus de Guimaraens Filho, correspondence between the two writers decreased precisely because Mário de Alencar repeated an "appeal" for Alphonsus de Guimaraens not to indulge in the "damages and exaggerations of Symbolism".<sup>227</sup> In a letter dated July 20, 1908, Mário de Alencar, despite declaring himself fond of Alphonsus' verses, he made comments about them that explain his opposition to Symbolism.

<sup>225</sup> Cassiana Lacerda Carollo (1980, v.1, p.364), called José Veríssimo the "spokesman" of the "official" antagonism" to Symbolism in Brazil.

<sup>226</sup> GUIMARAENS at BUENO, 2002, p. 12.

<sup>227</sup> GUIMARAENS FILHO, 1995, p. 76.

“Seeing You Pray” – I don't like the moonlight of helplessness, between soft sorrows, bird... embracing the vastness, in green carpet, that shadow, the sunset, agonizing and red, fell, steep slopes. Beautiful, the last triplet. Most are uneven, with colorless, abstract, old, inappropriate expressions. It would be worth recasting the sonnet to save the ending.<sup>228</sup>

From “Quem Vem Lá?”, Mário de Alencar rejected the last verse (“without a ossuary that hides my bones”) and completely disregarded “Lírios” and “Minh'Alma é a white ossuary”, considering them “insincere, artificial”. According to Alencar, it would be necessary to eliminate “the lilies, candles and martyrdoms” from Alphonsus’ poetry.<sup>229</sup>

Although Alencar's anti-symbolist lecture had no effect on the Guimaraens' literary orientation, his words seem to have stimulated the improvement of the Minas Gerais poet's verses. For example, the sonnet “XXXIII”, from *Pastoral*, criticized by Alencar, was modified in the definitive version.

The highlights given by Mário de Alencar to the vocabulary linked to the religious universe showed a reader more impatient with the content than with the form, which coincides with José Veríssimo's reading of the *Setenary of the Sorrows of Our Lady*. For this critic, it was a work of religious devotion, which was a way of disregarding its literary character. Still according to José Veríssimo, the *Septenary of the Sorrows of Our Lady* “could be adopted as a book of prayer, if at one time or another 'literature' did not betray him, if the poet did not prevail over the believer and if it were not for the impious final allusion to the 'Monastery of Verlaine', in which he had wanted to officiate”.<sup>230</sup> In his criticism, Veríssimo pointed out still a lack of meaning in the sonnet “Hands that lilies envy, chosen hands” and chanting and sorrowful, like certain liturgical hymns” in the book of Alphonsus.

---

<sup>228</sup> ALENCAR apud GUIMARAENS, 2001, p. 556.

<sup>229</sup> ALENCAR apud GUIMARAENS, 2001, p.556.

<sup>230</sup> VERÍSSIMO apud GUIMARAENS, 2001, p. 564. In this quote, an accusation of affiliation with Verlaine's poetics is evident. It is worth remembering Veríssimo's opinion about Verlaine. For the Brazilian critic, despite “all his Catholicism” and “his great poetic talent”, Verlaine “was a scoundrel”. VERÍSSIMO apud GUIMARAENS, 2001, p. 564.

And the last two verses of the second quartet do not positively mean anything, but in new poetry this insignificance of words is a common defect, which makes it unsympathetic to the spirits who still think that one writes to say something and that the words must be mean something.<sup>231</sup>

As we know, Parnassianism preached vocabulary precision (*mot juste*), fixed forms, technical perfection and grammatical correctness. Symbolism sought the vague, imprecise language and greater experimentalism in poetry, with the use of fluid rhythms and the use of varied metrification or free verse. AND I must also remember that Machado de Assis, alongside his friend José Veríssimo, played an important role in disseminating Parnassian principles in Brazil. According to Péricles Eugênio da Silva Ramos, Machado de Assis

[...] he was an influential figure in the transition from realism to Parnassianism, not only through his advice to Alberto de Oliveira, but also through his formal doctrine, exposed by him in articles, letters and prefaces: it involved her, among other points, the demands for metrical and grammatical correctness, vocabulary precision and sobriety in the use of figures, details that would later constitute the spine of Parnassian formal doctrine, as accepted and practiced by the most representative<sup>232</sup> poets of the current

José Veríssimo's opinion on Symbolism was shared by Machado de Assis. On the other hand, as we said before, José Veríssimo and other contributors to Revista Brasileira sought to reflect on the identity Brazilian culture through a scientific perspective. For these intellectuals, the literary value of a work was related to the greater or lesser capacity to represent national reality. From this, what they considered to be mere copies of foreign models was undeserved. Veríssimo, for example, thought that the book Broquéis, by Cruz e Souza, was a "failed imitation of Baudelaire, modified by the poet of Fêtes galantes"

<sup>233</sup> It is

<sup>231</sup> VERÍSSIMO at CARA, 1983, p. 63.

<sup>232</sup> RAMOS, 1994, p. 321.

<sup>233</sup> VERÍSSIMO at CARA, 1983, p. 62.

that Brazilian Symbolism was something “clumsy”, without sincerity, “all imitation, all artificial”.<sup>234</sup> Still according to Veríssimo, this literary movement it was a form of aesthetic reaction (“Symbolism is also a reaction against the perfection of Parnassianism”),<sup>235</sup> but also an ideological one (“idealistic reaction”).<sup>236</sup> The association between Idealism and Symbolism became, in the case of reading the work by Alphonsus de Guimaraens, in an association of Idealism/Symbolism with Catholicism. The condemnation of the Symbolism of Alphonsus was also written by Sílvio Romero and consisted of an identification of verses that addressed religious themes with conservative idealism, that is, is, in the association of this poetry with a reaction against the values and ideals of the 1870 generation. Thus, both Veríssimo and Romero recommended to writers a departure from the “exaggerations” of Symbolism. Romero declared that it would be necessary to put aside “the litanies” of Bernardino Lopes and Alphonsus de Guimaraens for the development of Symbolism in Brazil.<sup>237</sup> Veríssimo already stated that, if Guimaraens got rid of “the exaggerations and extravagances fatal in every movement of reaction such as symbolism”, Brazilian poetry could “have in him a worthy cult”.<sup>238</sup> Otherwise, if it continued to follow a current that did not lead to anything, Alphonsus de Guimaraens would be another “lost estrus for our poetry”.<sup>239</sup>

Since the official bodies of literary consecration in the country's capital were contrary to the symbolists, it was in the bohemian environment and periodicals that they found space to speak out. Possibilities were created expressive in a series of periodicals, symbolist or non-symbolist, many of which were printed outside Rio de Janeiro. The publishing of these periodicals was a strategy of insertion in the intellectual environment. Through their texts, symbolist writers defended their ideas, published their poetic experiments and publicized their names. As soon as they acquired some notoriety for their work in the press, they released books that circulated through symbolist cenacles Brazilians located in Rio or in the provinces.

<sup>234</sup> VERÍSSIMO at CARA, 1983, p. 63.

<sup>235</sup> VERÍSSIMO at CARA, 1983, p. 66.

<sup>236</sup> VERÍSSIMO at CARA, 1983, p. 66.

<sup>237</sup> GUIMARAENS, 2001, p. 560.

<sup>238</sup> VERÍSSIMO at CAROLLO, 1980, v. 1, p. 371

<sup>239</sup> VERÍSSIMO at RICIERI, 1996, v. 1, p. 74

Cassiana Lacerda Carollo highlighted that, in São Paulo, a gestation of Symbolism preceding or parallel to that of the Folha Popular group, in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>240</sup> A new sensitivity and a new idealistic worldview were emerging. forming as a reaction to materialism and bourgeois values. At the end of the century XIX, young poets felt the exhaustion of objective poetry and discovered a new path based on Baudelaire's readings. It was this cultural environment that Alphonsus de Guimaraens, Severiano de Rezende and other writers from Minas Gerais found when arriving in the capital of São Paulo.

According to Arline Anglade-Aurand, it was José Severiano de Rezende who introduced Alphonsus de Guimaraens into the journalistic and literary circles of the capital of São Paulo.<sup>241</sup> Severiano was already working at Diário Mercantil when Alphonsus arrived at São Paulo and also collaborated in the State of São Paulo, at Correio Paulistano, in Federation and in O Prego. Alphonsus de Guimaraens was then able to develop a journalistic activity in São Paulo. He wrote a column entitled "Spleen", in Mercantil, and collaborated in the "Parnaso" column of O Estado de São Paulo. Already in Correio Paulistano, published articles and poems.

Diário Mercantil, which was directed by Gaspar da Silva and Léo de Afonseca, was the newspaper that gave the most space to literature in the São Paulo press and what better paid. According to Spencer Vampré, the Diário Mercantil had among its collaborators "the brightest feathers in Portugal and Brazil", such as Olavo Bilac, Júlio Ribeiro, Sena Freitas, Teófilo Dias, Augusto de Lima and José Severiano de Rezende.<sup>242</sup>

In this periodical, Severiano published a poem dedicated to the Baudelairean Teófilo Dias who received praise from Parnassian Raimundo Correia. The young Severiano de Rezende signed his chronicles for O Mercantil with the pseudonym Emir. Emir often transformed into a character and spoke with Guy, one of the pseudonyms adopted by Alphonsus de Guimaraens in his chronicles and poems.

---

<sup>240</sup> CAROLLO, 1977, p. 190.

<sup>241</sup> AURAND, 1970, p. 78.

<sup>242</sup> VAMPRÉ, 1977, v. 2, p. 313.

Alphonsus' chronicles published in *The Mercantil* reveal much of his readings at that time and display an image of the São Paulo intellectual milieu under the particular perspective of the poet. In one of them, the chronicler made a humorous criticism of an event that took place at the Historical Institute, similar to the literary lectures that were fashionable in the Belle Époque, and which he called an "artistic soirée small flashes, he mentioned the participants of the event: beginning and renowned writers, among whom was Wencesclau de Queirós,<sup>243</sup> treated ironically by Guy.

The speaker, or rather the lyre, is the dean of Paulicéia poets, Mr. Wenceslau de Queirós. He stands up straight and dictates the title: the eagle and the ideal. Upon reaching this point, my soul could no longer. Yawns like a Chinese drunk on opium. And sobs: have mercy, O poet, O vate, O devil who takes you! Go away! But Mr. Wenceslau doesn't listen to her. It goes on and on and on. The claps of style.<sup>244</sup>

Years later, in a letter written to Freitas Valle on March 7, 1900, Alphonsus de Guimaraens discussed his experience in the cultural environment of São Paulo, his literary inclinations and the important role of Wenceslau de Queirós in promoting young writers in the newspapers *O Mercantil* and *Correio Paulistano*.

As for the newspapers I contributed to from 91-94, there are three: *O Mercantil* (of whose editorial team I was part, writing *Crônicas da Semana* and the daily section *Spleen* [...], *Estado de São Paulo* and *Correio Paulistano*, once a field where the heroic singer W. de Queirós literally fenced [...] )<sup>245</sup>

---

<sup>243</sup> Wenceslau de Queirós, one of the precursors of Brazilian Symbolism, became known for his verses marked by Satanism. The poetry of Wenceslau de Queirós was closely linked to that of the "first Baudelairians" such as Teófilo Dias, Carvalho Júnior and Fontoura Xavier, but mainly to that of Teófilo Dias, to whom he dedicated his poem "Nevrose". These poets expressed an attitude of rebellion when addressing themes related to sexuality and politics in their works. For Péricles Eugênio da Silva Ramos (1979, p. 215), the Satanism of Wenceslau de Queirós was "the most developed and constant" of the period at the end of the century and beginning of the 20th century.

<sup>244</sup> GUY, 1977, p. 321.

<sup>245</sup> GUIMARAENS at CAROLLO, 1977, p. 190

Regarding his “literary evolution”, Alphonsus mentioned, in the same letter, having gone through phases in which he was inclined towards oriental poetry, chinoiserie, Parnassianism, of which he declared to have preserved formal traces, and Satanism Baudelairean, analyzed by him as follows: “I was a terrible satanic at the time in which he did not understand Baudelaire's essentially Catholic spirit. What I am today, no one will say better.”<sup>246</sup> This analysis is very enlightening. We can assume that, when he wrote the *Septenary of the Sorrows of Our Lady*, Câmara Ardent and *Dona Mística*, Alphonsus de Guimaraens understood Baudelaire's poetry from a Catholic perspective. A text by Alphonsus de Guimaraens published in newspaper *Conceição do Serro* in 1904 clearly shows that this reading key continued to be used after the publication of the books mentioned above. In him, the symbolist from Minas Gerais positioned Verlaine as Baudelaire's successor. That interpretation of the work of these French poets may have been responsible for the transformation wrought in Alphonsus' poetry.

Baudelaire is the soul troubled by the fear of hell, decanting the horrors of everything evil in verses worthy of Dante; Verlaine is the soul that in sweet serenity achieves complete peace by scattering in Sagesse and Bonheur pages that seem to come from *The Imitation of Christ*.<sup>247</sup>

This makes us think that, in the literary career of Alphonsus de Guimarães, there would have been a process of overcoming Baudelaire that would preserve traces of his poetics, in other words, a supersumption<sup>248</sup> baudelairiana.

In José Severiano de Rezende, Baudelaire's presence is very evident, having been noticed by both Brazilian and European readers. Philéas Lebesgue, for example, added other elements to the lines Baudelairians to characterize Severiano's work: “Spiritual brother of Saint Teresa, he is the direct heir of Baudelaire and Verlaine, and sometimes in his work, Rimbaud's delirious enthusiasms come together with Dantesque visions, even

<sup>246</sup> GUIMARAENS at CAROLLO, 1977, p. 190

<sup>247</sup> GUIMARAENS apud GUIMARAENS FILHO, 1995, p. 153.

<sup>248</sup> Non-sense of Aufhebung: delete and preserve simultaneously.

apocalyptic.”<sup>249</sup> In another text, Lebesgue compared the book *Mysteries* to a “true Divine Comedy of modern times”. In the first part of the book, the poet would have traveled “the damned circles” alongside Baudelaire and, with Verlaine, would have passed through Purgatory.<sup>250</sup>

Let us return to Alphonsus de Guimaraens. We must remember that São Paulo was the center for the dissemination of Byronic romanticism through Álvares de Azevedo, Aureliano Lessa and Bernardo Guimarães. May Alphonsus of Guimaraens have Aureliano Lessa as patron of the chair he held at the Academia Mineira de Letras is quite symptomatic of his relationship with this poetic lineage. At work of Alphonsus, we can observe both resonances of the appropriations of Byron carried out by Brazilian romantics and appropriations that the symbolist himself Minas Gerais became the English poet. Among the books preserved in the library of Alphonsus de Guimaraens, there is, for example, a French edition of Alphonsus de Guimaraens's poetry. Lord Byron. Furthermore, Freitas Valle, who Arline Anglade-Aurand supposes to have lent volumes to the poet from Minas Gerais, he also had copies of Byron. Other interesting aspect to be mentioned is that Alphonsus de Guimaraens occurred, as with the other Brazilian Baudelairians of the second half of the 19th century, mediated by Byronism. According to Glória Carneiro do Amaral, Baudelairean Satanism

[...] is part of the libertinism of the French 18th century, in which Evil is the object of metaphysical inquiry. In Brazil, assimilation gave it a macabre color. The Byronism that plagued our romantic literature, conveyed, in part, by the poetry of Álvares de Azevedo, may have contributed to this.[...] We can verify that the deformations that Byron suffers in Brazil, verified by Onédia Barboza, are also recoverable in some aspects of the assimilation of *As Flores do Mal*. In her final balance, she points out a tendency towards sensualization and the funereal.<sup>251</sup>

---

<sup>249</sup> LEBESGUE, 1931, p. 506, our translation. No original: “Spiritual brother of Saint Thérèse, he is the direct heir of Baudelaire and Verlaine, and the frenzies of Rimbaud are sometimes united in him with Dantesque, even apocalyptic, visions.”

<sup>250</sup> LEBESGUE, 1927, p. 355.

<sup>251</sup> AMARAL, 1996, p. 297.

For the scholar Jamil Almansur Haddad, there would be a Baudelaireanism avant la lettre in the Byronism of Brazilian romantics. The point of contact between Baudelaire and Byron, of whom the French poet was an admirer, would be seen in the Baroque remnants present in the work of both.<sup>252</sup>

As in the case of Alphonsus de Guimaraens, Byron's readings by Brazilian romantics, according to Glória Carneiro do Amaral, there were usually through French translations. According to this same scholar, Baudelaire's success would be related to a supposed similarity with the poetry of Álvares de Azevedo.

[...] the Byron that arrived in Brazil came on a French packet: the translators generally resorted to French translations and when they started directly from the English text, they ended up highlighting the fact, which was too unusual. Thus, behind our Baudelaireanism there is a Frenchized Byronism, leaked, in many aspects, by the popularity of Álvares It is not surprising that the poetry of Baudelaire's second translator was, in many aspects, similar to that of Álvares de Azevedo, to which Guilhermino César attributes his success.<sup>253</sup>

Certain readers noticed the romantic reminiscences in the work of Alphonsus. José Guilherme Merquior, for example, used the expression "little elegiac Romanticism"<sup>254</sup> to designate the type of Symbolism represented by Alphonsus de Guimaraens. Another was the profile outlined by Jamil Almansur Haddad: "Sometimes (as in some of Kiriale's poems) Satan infiltrates, becoming hybrid, satanic-religious poetry – a clearly romantic revival".<sup>255</sup> Emílio Moura , in turn, he noted Byronic characteristics in Alphonsus in an article published in O Estado de Minas, 1943, precisely entitled "Alphonsus de Guimarães, the romantic". Brito Broca detected ultra-romantic traits, in the style of Álvares de

<sup>252</sup> Cf. HADDAD, 1985, p. 26-27.

<sup>253</sup> AMARAL, 1996, p. 298.

<sup>254</sup> MERQUIOR at GUIMARAENS, 2001, p. 52.

<sup>255</sup> HADDAD at GUIMARAENS, 2001, p. 40

Azevedo, in the chronicles that Alphonsus de Guimaraens published in the newspaper O Trade:

[...] the general climate of the chronicles is generally that of romantic sadness, with hints of Satanism, tomb and dark visions, seeming to denounce poorly assimilated readings of Poe [...]<sup>256</sup>

Here we have another ingredient in the alchemical crucible of the symbolist from Minas Gerais: the appropriations of Edgar Allan Poe. The idea of poor assimilation is also a critical observation that Brito Broca made of a short story entitled “Death club”, published by Alphonsus in the newspaper A Gazeta, in São Paulo, and, later, in the book Mendigos. According to Broca, it would be “something a bit like Edgar Poe and of less literary significance, like all the prose of this great poet”.<sup>257</sup> However, Poe’s presence in the work of the symbolist from Minas Gerais should be seen in another way. perspective. That is, as a creative dialogue with its foreign predecessor.

An example of this is “The Crow’s Head”, a poem by Kiriale,<sup>258</sup> that stands out especially as an example of the devouring and critical incorporation of the elements borrowed, transformed into part of the Alfonsino poetic universe.

This is the same translation process that Picchio identified very well.<sup>259</sup> “The Raven’s Head” is an admirable example of Alphonsus’ ability to make what belonged to someone else his own. It is not a simple use of the image of the crow, but a sophisticated dialogue with the “Philosophy of composition”. Ângela Maria Salgueiro Marques, when comparing Alphonsus’s poetics with Poe’s, stated that:

In relation to this process, it is essential to return to Poe’s text “Philosophy of Composition”, as the author emphasizes the act of “fabrication” to the detriment of the process of “inspiration”. What can be seen, in Alphonsus de Guimaraens, both in the poems “The head of

<sup>256</sup> BROCA, 1991, p. 183.

<sup>257</sup> BROCA, 2005, p. 297.

<sup>258</sup> This poem was first published in Gazeta de Notícias, in Rio de Janeiro, in 1893, and written when Alphonsus was a law student in Ouro Preto. Due to its characteristics, it falls into the same phase of poetry produced when he lived in São Paulo.

<sup>259</sup> See p. 95 of this thesis.

**corvo” and “Memento, homo, quia...”, as in the prose text “The liver” is exactly the primacy of inspiration. It is what comes from within, it is visceral movement, much more than rational.**<sup>260</sup>

In “The Raven's Head”, Alphonsus de Guimaraens develops the theme of poetic writing from the perspective of manifestation of unconscious contents: “And my hand, which trembles all over, paints / Verses typical of a madman.” Suitable It should be emphasized here that poetry about poetry, a genre widely cultivated in literary modernity,<sup>261</sup> constituted a significant part of the work of Alphonsus de Guimaraens.<sup>262</sup>

In addition to Alphonsus, writers José Severiano de Rezende and Edgard Mata were also influenced by Poe. Each in their own way. In a letter to Freitas Vale, Severiano de Rezende imitated his father's reprimand when he decided to abandon law school. This is evidence of the enormous value that the northern poet American had for Severiano, especially at the beginning of his literary career:

My father takes the floor and calls me: poet, guy who lives in the world of the moon, reader of Edgar Poe, writer, etc. [...] You don't eat literature, verses don't fill your belly – and, if I'm ever starving, it won't be Edgar Poe or Shakespeare who will come and feed me.<sup>263</sup>

---

<sup>260</sup> MARQUES, 2008, p. 126.

<sup>261</sup> The poetry of the poem, or poetry about poetry, one of the great themes of modern literature, was developed by the symbolists in close relationship, according to Jean Pierrot, with Poe's theories of poetic creation. While the symbolists valued this reflective side of the North American poet's work, the decadentists preferred the aspects more linked to the imaginary and sensations: “If we wanted to make, from this point of view, a distinction between 'symbolists' and 'decadentists', we could say that the former, under the influence of Mallarmé, were sensitive above all to Poe's ideas regarding creation and poetic consciousness, as well as the theory of effect: from this perspective, Valéry's work can be considered as the most representative of the influence profound poem. Instead, his more specifically decadent writers imitated the search for the morbid and macabre effects, the invitation to dream and the description of exceptional nervous phenomena.” PIERROT, 1977, p. 47, our translation. In the original: “Si l'on voulait opérer de ce point de vue une distinction entre 'symbolistes' et 'décadents', on pourrait dire que les premiers sous l'impulsion de Mallarmé, furieux breakout sensibles aux idées de Poe relative à la création et à la conscience poétique, ainsi qu'à la théorie de l'effet: dans cette perspective l'œuvre de Valéry pourra être considérée comme la plus représentative de l'influence profonde de Poe. En revanche, les écrivains plus proprement décadents imitèrent en lui d'abord la recherche du morbide et des effets macabres, l'invitation au rêve et la description des phénomènes nerveux exceptionnels.”

<sup>262</sup> See PEIXOTO, 1999, p. 224.

<sup>263</sup> REZENDE apud LIMA JÚNIOR, 2002, p. 42.

In “Crepúsculo macabre”, one of Severiano de Rezende’s poems that exhibits more decadent characteristics, the raven theme was highlighted in the fourth and fifth stanzas.

It is a bitter and dark hour, around which, whirling,  
A thin crow, with a bitter and cloudy look,  
Swirling, the wings flutter, turbid and soft, The  
hideous and harsh raven is roaring.

It could be said to be the stiff avatar of the Edgar-Poesque bird,  
Taken from an album of caricatures,  
Such is his crooked grin, ridiculous and  
grotesque, Mephistophelian whistling through the heights.<sup>264</sup>

As for Edgard Mata, it is worth remembering a very revealing fact, narrated by Cilene Cunha de Souza: “Change your pseudonym, Mário Corvo is very funereal. Remember Edgar Poe!”, Afonso Arinos told him, when the poet was writing his chronicles for the newspaper Comércio de São Paulo under the aforementioned pseudonym.<sup>265</sup> Edgard Mata was an admirer of Poe and Verlaine, as was Alphonsus de Guimaraens. In “Signo Scorpio”, a poem by Edgard Mata, we notice some echoes of the musicality of Poe’s “The Raven”, as well as some similarities with the dark atmosphere of Augusto dos Anjos’ poetry.<sup>266</sup>

The “elective affinities” of Alphonsus de Guimaraens and other symbolists from Minas Gerais place them alongside those who took a critical stance in relation to modernity. Symbolism emerged from Decadentism and this, in turn, as a continuation of a romantic sensibility. In this sense, it is interesting to mention the conception of Romanticism defended by Michael Löwy, for whom Romanticism should not be considered just a literary movement of the 19th century or a traditionalist reaction against the French Revolution.

---

<sup>264</sup> REZENDE, 1971, p. 148.

<sup>265</sup> SOUZA, 1978, p. 11.

<sup>266</sup> MATA apud SOUZA, 1978, p. 73-7

Romanticism is, rather, a form of sensitivity that irrigates all fields of culture, a vision of the world that extends from the second half of the 18th century to the present day, a comet whose incandescent “core” is the revolt against modern industrial/capitalist civilization , in the name of certain social or cultural values of the past. Longing for a lost paradise – real or imaginary –, romanticism opposes itself, with the melancholic energy of despair, to the quantifying spirit of the bourgeois universe, to commercial objectification, to utilitarian insipidity<sup>267</sup> and, above all, to t

The permanence of a spirit of romantic revolt in Decadentism and after in Symbolism was highlighted by José Carlos Seabra Pereira. For this author, the decadent movement is part of a fight against modernity understood as being a state of social and cultural decline in the world.

In France, as throughout Europe, from Portugal to Russia, awareness of a state of social and cultural decadence is growing: materialized life, an unjust society, the destruction of beauty, limitation and vulgarity or formalism in art; and thought also feels trapped in the dead end of an absurd immanentism. At the same time, a revolt arises against the systematic and most obvious causes of such punishments: technocratism and the moral conventionalism of bourgeois society; Positivism and Scientism; Naturalism and Parnassianism. This revolt – especially when not directed at the last two adversaries – is confused and unconscious, carried out by affectivity and the irrational, easily disillusioned and drowned in melancholy, pessimism and neuropathy, to finally launch itself in search of derivatives (the medieval scenario; unreality of the dream; the perfumes, the flowers and the jewels of exciting rarity...). Taking the form of a recognizable avatar of the romantic mal du siècle, Decadentism asserts itself as an instinctive struggle for the liberation of the inner life, long muzzled by rationalist dogmas and Victorian conventions.<sup>268</sup>

This is a critical positioning very similar to that which writers Symbolists also adopted it.

---

<sup>267</sup> LÖWY, 2008, p. 839.

<sup>268</sup> PEREIRA, 1975, p. 22-23.

It is not just about disenchantment with everyday life, before the ugliness of worldly interests and the brutishness of an industrialized society, but above all about intimate disgust at the opacity of a material and mechanical universe, closed in on itself, and the deadly anguish of the without. -meaning of Life, to which positivist and scientific thought inescapably led. Which means that the ideological-moral and aesthetic universe of Symbolism is incomprehensible if one does not consider the mutation that was taking place in the field of ideas and culture in

When classifying Symbolism as an “idealist reaction”, José Veríssimo was referring to a kind of return to Romanticism undertaken by Symbolist writers such as Alphonsus de Guimaraens.<sup>270</sup> Being one of the greatest representatives of Brazilian literary criticism and historiography of the 1870s generation, Veríssimo could not see with good eyes to the literature of the Symbolists.

The reaction of young writers, classified pejoratively by critics and literati who occupied prominent positions in the intellectual milieu of “decadistas”, “nefelibatas” and “new”, was the recovery of these terms with a positive meaning. Ridiculed, they took on the term “new” to attack those who criticized them. On the side of writers with an already established reputation, the “new” ones were “confused with iconoclasts and anarchists.” On the side of young writers, the “old” were considered “decrepit representatives of contested values”.<sup>271</sup> The “old” were associated with the Parnassians and naturalists who would aim for poetry descriptive, similar to photography, while the symbolists wanted their verses close to dreams and emotions. For the latter, the “old men” would have leveled the playing field. man to an animal governed by biological laws and feeling banished from art. <sup>272</sup>

Between the end of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th century, it was Little by little, a network of symbolist periodicals was built in Brazil. The principles of solidarity between the members of this network were based on aspects generational (“new” versus “old”), positional (avant-garde writers versus

<sup>269</sup> PEREIRA, 1975, p. 60-61.

<sup>270</sup> Sílvio Romero also considered Symbolism as a reaction to Parnassianism and a return to Romanticism. Using terms similar to those of Veríssimo, Romero preferred to classify this movement as a “spiritualist reaction”.

<sup>271</sup> CAROLLO, 1980, see 1, p. 326.

<sup>272</sup> RAMOS, 1994, p. 336.

institutional writers) and ideological (neoidealism versus realism, spiritualism versus materialism, cosmopolitanism versus nationalism, etc.). At the same time, other places of sociability became more important, such as, for example, spaces of bohemian life (cafes, bars, restaurants), literary salons, clubs or the meeting point in bookstores. Alphonsus de Guimaraens, José Severiano de Rezende and other young people from Minas Gerais participated in this network and in the literary bohemia in the capital of São Paulo. Severiano de Rezende was a regular at Diário Mercantil. Alphonsus de Guimaraens used to go to Livraria Garraux<sup>273</sup> and the café Vecchio Leone di Caprera, where university students, writers and well-known journalists gathered.<sup>274</sup> In São Paulo, Alphonsus participated in student nights and acquired a dandyish behavior, carried away then to Minas, according to the testimony of Horácio Guimarães.

From São Paulo he brought habits of refined elegance, astounding the provincial Brummels of the former State Capital with his customs, tailored by the best tailors in Paulicéia, his irreproachable fur top hat, spats, monocle, ties of the most refined taste, etc. . Even in S. Paulo, he left a tradition of dandyism.<sup>275</sup>

Alphonsus and Severiano participated in another important intellectual network in São Paulo: that of José de Freitas Valle, poet and patron who exerted a great influence on the cultural life of the São Paulo Belle Époque and played the role of leader of the symbolist movement. The friendship between Freitas Valle, Alphonsus de Guimaraens and Severiano de Rezende developed as soon as the miners met moved to São Paulo and continued throughout his life, even from a distance, maintained

---

<sup>273</sup> In one of his chronicles for the newspaper O Mercantil that focused on life in Paulicéia, Alphonsus de Guimaraens located his narrative in front of Livraria Garraux, an important trading point for foreign books, especially French books, in the capital of São Paulo. It was also there that Law students found works for their course. The store also sold "fine" new imported stationery. Livraria Garraux was part of the intellectual network and space of decadent and symbolist literary sociability in São Paulo.

<sup>274</sup> In another of his chronicles entitled "The drizzle falls... (Recordações de São Paulo)", Alphonsus de Guimaraens used some elements such as the Vecchio Leone di Caprera coffee, the winter cold, the drizzle and the fog to represent metonymically the capital of São Paulo. The memories, in this case, referred only to those of literary bohemia.

<sup>275</sup> Guimaraes at Alphonsus, p. 36-37.

through letters. The correspondence between Severiano de Rezende and Freitas Valle It began in 1886 and only ended with the death of the poet from Minas Gerais. Freitas Valle o It helped in many ways, including financially. It was through him that Severiano began writing about art and literature in *Correio Paulistano*.

As for Alphonsus and Freitas Vale, despite not writing to each other They often maintained a very intense epistolary relationship of great importance from a literary point of view. They dealt with matters related to book publishing (editorial projects by Alphonsus de Guimaraens for which Freitas Valle would take responsibility in São Paulo, but that were not carried out) and a commented on the other's work. Through this correspondence, we observed the Minas Gerais poet's concern with the continuous improvement of his work and some of his reflections on literature.

Let us now look at the relations between Minas Gerais symbolists and literary circles from Rio de Janeiro. Just like Severiano de Rezende, Alphonsus de Guimaraens made himself known in Rio's intellectual circles at the end of the 19th century with works published by the press. In 1895, Alphonsus and his brother Archangelus traveled to Rio with the aim of personally meeting Cruz e Souza de who were admirers. This stay in the former Brazilian capital was also marked by Alphonsus' meetings with Emílio de Menezes, Coelho Neto and other prominent writers of the Belle Époque. Alphonsus, who also appreciated the work by Coelho Neto, dedicated the sonnet "Espírito mau", by Kiriale, to him, and wrote a laudatory chronicle about him in *O Mercantil*, in 1891.<sup>276</sup> Coelho Neto, in turn, published a text about Alphonsus in *O País*, from Rio de Janeiro, in 1893. In it, he declared that he followed the literary production of the poet from Minas Gerais. The appearance of Alphonsus's poetry in Brazilian literature was considered by Coelho Neto as something of great importance:

You enter through literature as the prophet king entered through the city of myrtles, singing psalms, and, like those of the Israelite crowd, I enjoy being the

---

<sup>276</sup> GUY, 1977, p. 351-352.

**first to strip the palm trees, to line the path you will walk with green shoes.**<sup>277</sup>

However, the works of Alphonsus and Severiano were not presented as symbolists in the Compendium of Brazilian Literature, by Coelho Neto, but as the expression of a mystical current of Parnassianism: "Among the Parnassians, at least respect that they devote to form, the mystics, the 'orational' ones, such as the melancholic Alphonsus of Guimaraens and the impetuous Father Severiano of Resende."<sup>278</sup> The latter, in turn, in the interview with João do Rio, stated that Coelho Neto was a "vibrant" writer who deserved "the name of artist".<sup>279</sup>

The mutual praise and coexistence of authors situated in different positions in the intellectual world show us that, in general, the symbolists from Minas Gerais They did not systematically oppose the renowned writers at that time. Minas Gerais symbolists experienced tension between Parnassianism and Symbolism, between what was accepted and innovation, between what was recognized and the rupture of models. Therefore, the image that Coelho Neto had of Severiano and Alphonsus of Guimaraens as Parnassians was not at all without reason. The brands of Parnassianism are present in the works of both writers. Furthermore, they published in Parnassian periodicals or that mixed Parnassian texts with symbolist writings.<sup>280</sup>

The cultural space is, to a large extent, the space for expressing struggles for discursive hegemony. Writers, to be recognized, engage in disputes that involve alliances and occupation of territories. It is clear that such an occupation does not occur, generally, by a plan, by premeditation, but by the individual desire to publish, to publicize their productions. It was natural for the Symbolists to look to magazines Parnassians to publicize their works as the Parnassians held hegemony in the literary field at that time.

---

<sup>277</sup> COELHO NETO at RICIERI, 1996, v. 1, p. 69.

<sup>278</sup> COELHO NETO at RICIERI, 1996, v. 1, p. 75.

<sup>279</sup> REZENDE at RIO, 1994, p. 131

<sup>280</sup>To cite some examples, Kosmos, a magazine written by Olavo Bilac, was collaborated by Coelho Neto and Severiano de Rezende. The Parnassian newspaper O Vassourense published Alphonsus and Coelho Neto. In turn, the magazine Os Anais presented texts by Severiano de Rezende, Gonzaga Duque, Coelho Neto and critic José Veríssimo.

Let us now consider an interesting and still little studied: the attempt to establish a cultural network among symbolists mineiros and groups from southern Brazil. The Literary and Statistical Almanac of Rio Grande do Sul, directed by Alfredo Ferreira Rodrigues,<sup>281</sup> published a poem by Horácio Guimarães and the poems "Quadras a Lúcia" (1891), "Coroa" (1891) and "Memento quia" (1890), by Alphonsus de Guimaraens. The Almanaque also published a translation of the "Arvers Sonnet" written by Alphonsus.<sup>282</sup> This publication had an eclectic character, mixing literature, history and geography in its pages. From a literary point of view, it published works by authors linked to different currents, from Romanticism to Symbolism.<sup>283</sup> In addition to Southern writers, poets and prose writers from other Brazilian regions had space in the Almanac, among which were Raimundo Correia, Cruz e Souza and Wenceslau de Queirós.

The publication of the poem "The voice of the rock", by Alphonsus de Guimaraens, in Paraná magazine, Club Curitibano, in 1891, demonstrates the poet's interest Minas Gerais in expanding its activities beyond the literary circles of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Minas. It was in this periodical, directed by Dario Veloso, that the Symbolism of Paraná took its first steps. The magazine, which lasted from 1890 until 1913, was an organ with eclectic characteristics in the initial phase. Yours collaborators were the same as those from O Cenáculo, another publication from Curitiba also directed by Dario Veloso. Both opened space for authors from other States. Thanks to the leadership of Dario Veloso, Symbolism was well received among the local intelligentsia and acquired the appearance of official literature in Paraná for a long period.<sup>284</sup>

Years later, in 1901, it was the turn of the symbolists from Minas Gerais to reciprocate publishing "Soledade", by Dario Veloso, in Minas Artística magazine. We must remember that, in the editorial committee of this Belo Horizonte magazine, there were two authors who had lived in Curitiba and began their intellectual production there: Carlos Raposo and Alfredo de Sarandy Raposo. Before working in Minas Artistic, they were directors of O Farol, a small Curitiba newspaper published in 1898.

---

<sup>281</sup> Alfredo Ferreira Rodrigues, from Rio Grande do Sul, was a poet, translator, historian and essayist.

<sup>282</sup> See GUIMARAENS FILHO, 1995, p. 300.

<sup>283</sup> FREITAS, 2007, p. 20.

<sup>284</sup> CAROLLO, 1982, p.XI.

The idea of publishing an art magazine in Belo Horizonte to bring together local talents and disseminating symbolist aesthetics would have followed the Paraná model and Ceará. This objective was explained in a letter written by Horácio Guimarães and by the Raposo brothers to Alphonsus de Guimaraens requesting collaboration for 285 Artistic Mines. In it, the Symbolists stated their intention to establish a intellectual movement in Belo Horizonte in the style of Padaria Espiritual, from Ceará, or Cenáculo, from Paraná.<sup>286</sup>

A common interest of the symbolists who wrote in the aforementioned Curitiba periodicals was the occult. According to Cassiana Lacerda Carollo, The Lighthouse gave a 'news of the Initiation on artificial gold, accompanied by some sayings about Alchemy, in one of its issues.<sup>287</sup> The link between Dario Veloso and the Raposo brothers becomes clearer if we consider that the father of these writers, the Minas Gerais professor Custódio Raposo, was a scholar of esoteric texts and a friend of the symbolist from Paraná.<sup>288</sup>

It is known that Alphonsus de Guimaraens and José Severiano de Rezende were readers of esoteric literature. Their work is full of occult references, such as the poem "Os cardeiaias" that Alphonsus de Guimaraens sent in a letter to Freitas Vale.<sup>289</sup> Allusions and other types of related intertextuality to occultism appeared in certain chronicles of Alphonsus. For example, in "Witches and Doctors,"<sup>290</sup> he mentioned Jules Bois, author of the book *Le satanisme et la magie*, which was part of her library. In "Wizards", a chronicle published in magazine *A Vida de Minas*, the writer from Minas Gerais addressed the way medieval justice dealt with cases of sorcery and mentioned Flammarion.<sup>291</sup> In addition to the book by Bois, Alphonsus had copies of Stanislas de Guaita (*Le temple de Satan*, *Essays on Cursed Sciences and On the Threshold of Mystery*), *O livro dos médiuns*, by Alan

<sup>285</sup> GOOD, 2002, p. 41.

<sup>286</sup> Padaria Espiritual (1892-1898) was an intellectual association from Fortaleza, Ceará, whose members maintained some relationship with symbolist poetics. Founded by Antonio Sales, it included writers, painters and musicians. The Cenáculo (1895-1897) was a symbolist-esoteric group founded by Dario Veloso, Silveira Neto, Júlio Perneta and Antônio Braga in Curitiba.

<sup>287</sup> CAROLLO, 1980, v.1, p. 61.

<sup>288</sup> Cf. VELOSO at CAROLLO, 1980, v. 1, p. 61.

<sup>289</sup> Cf. CAROLLO, 1980, v. 1, p. 53.

<sup>290</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 463-467.

<sup>291</sup> Arline Anglade-Aurand (1970, p. 340), commenting on the chronicles and articles of Alphonsus de Guimaraens, stated that they combined Christian faith with an attraction or inclination towards magic, skepticism and orientalism.

Kardec, and works by Joséphin Péladan that mixed occultism and fantasy. O Alphonsus' interest in the occult is further evidenced in his promise to a study on Péladan for the magazine Rosa-Cruz, in Rio de Janeiro. He no he did so, but he published the text "Reading Shakespeare" in this Rio newspaper. and several sonnets collected under the title "From the book Jacob's Ladder". Remember that the Rosa-Cruz magazine played an important role in consolidating symbolist ideas in Brazil.

Admiration for Péladan was also expressed by José Severiano de Rezende, who attended, in 1918, the burial of the French writer in Neuilly-sur-Seine.<sup>292</sup> Later, Severiano wrote a letter to the Mercure de France defending Péladan against some of the criticisms made by journalists in obituaries. For the symbolist from Minas Gerais, contrary to what they said, Péladan was a writer endowed with genius, "one of the purest and greatest spirits" in France and had made a great contribution to literature. Still according to Severiano de Rezende, Péladan would have been a "powerful novelist", the "creator of a form novel of very noble drama", the "formulator of an incalculable sum of new and definitive visions in the universal domain of thought".<sup>293</sup>

Severiano's interest in the occult began in his youth and continued throughout his life.<sup>294</sup> Severiano's connections with magical-religious traditions were mentioned by Luís Edmundo. For him, Severiano de Rezende was one of the members of Princess Matilde's esoteric circles during the period she lived in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>295</sup> According to Philéas Lebesgue, Severiano was a

<sup>292</sup> Long before moving to Europe, Severiano de Rezende expressed his esteem for Péladan's work in an interview with João do Rio published first in 1905 in a Rio newspaper and later in the book *O Momento Literário*.

<sup>293</sup> REZENDE, José Severiano de. Péladan judged by a Brazilian, *Mercure de France*, Paris, *Revue de la Quinzaine*, t. 128, n. 482, p. 375-376, July 16, 1918, tradução nossa.

<sup>294</sup> In a letter to Alphonsus de Guimaraens, in 1893, Severiano wrote: "I am increasingly amazed by the occult. So much science, so much knowledge and what real wonder!" REZEND apud GOOD, 2002, p. 38.

<sup>295</sup> "Princess' Matilde is a woman of all devils, who disdains priestesses of her kind, showing off letters written to her by the famous Madame de Thêbes showing a portrait given to her with the dedication of Papus, saying she is intimate with Sâr Péladan. He uses perfumes from the East, eccentric trinkets [...] His Fridays are very popular. There they go, among others, to discuss Indian Occultism, Hebrew Kabbalism, Egyptian Esotericism, Swedenborg, Allan Kardec, Comte, in erudite panaché, skeptics like Gonzaga Duque, careless people like César de Mesquita, credulous people like Magnus [...] calculating people like Father Severiano de Resende". EDMUNDO, 1957, v. 1, p. 185-186.

collector of works on hermeticism and metaphysics  
impregnated with this knowledge.<sup>297</sup>

<sup>296</sup> and its literature would be

Even in *O meu flos sanctorum*, we find passages that demonstrate the appreciation of esotericism. In the text that deals with the mystery of the Holy Trinity, for example, Severiano defended the Occult Sciences and, at the same time, attacked the Spencer's positivism. A clear example of the rebellious stance he adopted in relation to the ideologies that became predominant between the end of the 19th century and first years of the 20th century.

Spencer, that good bourgeois who philosophized quite congruently, called the Supernatural Unknowable and stuck, dog and joint, on the threshold of the Beyond, making tame sociologies. But the author of *First Principles* ignored the First Principle. He ignored, like an official scientist or an official know-it-all, the Principle. However, if it is permissible to misunderstand, it is not permissible to ignore. Our time, pregnant with politicians and traders, two equivalent classes, adds  $2 + 2 = 4$ , but, alienated from the ideal Equation, forgets that the Ternary governs the universe and that the Trinity stamped the Cosmos, everywhere and elsewhere, with the number Three. And, while the science of the academies belittles the consideration of exalted things, Occult Science, which is the most positive – and the most difficult – of the sciences, because it is all-science, scales the sky and sees, more intensely than the telescope, the Mystery that Jesus brought, in a clear statement,

Let us return to the exchanges between miners and writers from the South and the Rio. Both the human dimension and the textual dimension of a network can be noted in the relationship between Alphonsus de Guimaraens and the Rosa-Cruz magazine group.<sup>299</sup> Mentioning a portrait of Maeterlinck made by Maurício Jubim and

---

<sup>296</sup> LEBESGUE, 1931, p. 506.

<sup>297</sup> LEBESGUE, 1927, p. 353.

<sup>298</sup> REZENDE, 1970, p. 76-77.

<sup>299</sup> Differently from Gisèle Sapiro's approach, Daphné de Marneffe proposed the analysis of the human dimension and the textual dimension of the network constituted by a magazine. The first dimension would be a "question of relationship between groups: the 'social network'" ("question de relation entre groupes: le 'réseau social'"), which can be perceived by the "exchange of collaborators, participation in common projects, exchange of correspondence, etc" ("échange de collaboratorurs, participation à des projets communs, échange de correspondance, etc."). The second would involve "a question of citation, of textual reference: the 'intertextual network'" ("une question de citation, de renvoi textuel : le 'réseau intertextuel'"), which would occur, for example, in the citations of names or in the references under the heading "journals rec-

praising its high aesthetic quality, Alphonsus de Guimaraens reported the reappearance of Rosa-Cruz in his newspaper *Conceição do Serro* on June 12, 1904.

Rosicrucian – This brilliant magazine of pure art, which had suspended its publication, reappeared in Rio de Janeiro. The issue we have before the table leaves nothing to be desired in the field of aesthetics. Its director is the admirable poet and prose writer Saturnino de Meireles. It features a beautiful portrait of the wonderful Belgian playwright and poet Maurice Maeterlinck, made by the acclaimed painter Maurício Jubim.<sup>300</sup>

On June 31 of the same year, the newspaper *Conceição do Serro* recorded the receipt of the second issue of the Rose Cross with a new encomium. Accordingly with its editor, it was the best art magazine that, from an aesthetic point of view, was being published in Rio.<sup>301</sup>

Having gone to Rio de Janeiro twice, Alphonsus de Guimaraens established contact with Symbolist groups in the former Brazilian capital through of participation in bohemia. These were meetings in which writers displayed their talents and promoted European symbolist poetry. On one of your nights Rio de Janeiro, Alphonsus met, for example, with Emiliano Perneta and Gonzaga Duque, an event narrated by Leônio Correia in his memoir.

As the afternoon slowly approached, we met, without prior arrangement, at Café Java, Emiliano, Alfonsus de Guimarães (sic), Gonzaga Duque and myself. At 8pm we left. We went down Rua do Ouvidor, and, without any consultation, we walked down Rua Nova do Ouvidor, and entered Cervejaria Maurin. One pataca beer, with a saucer of lupins. Soon that cheap beer tasted like the wine of gods, drunk in a golden cup. What an Olympic night! A strange vibration animated the lecture. My three companions – supersensitive aesthetes – spoke as if illuminated by a divine flame. The most adorable French poets, those who live among flowers and stars, thanks to a refined and tortured art, were recited pompously, emphatically, as if

---

<sup>300</sup> GUIMARAENS apud GUIMARAENS FILHO, 1995, p. 131.

<sup>301</sup> GUIMARAENS apud GUIMARAENS FILHO, 1995, p. 134.

the divine honey of perfect art flowed from the lips of the reciters. And so, a hundred leagues from the city, in the heart of the city, we went into the night. When, tired from so much wonder, we woke up to the monotony of everyday life, as if our souls were sprinkled with stardust...

Dawn... And while the sky was filled with soft light, our hearts beat as if caged in prisons of stars...<sup>302</sup>

When we observe the exchange of collaborators, the dedications and the news on the publications of other groups, we noticed all the efforts of the symbolists to establish a logic of solidarity with the purpose of favoring the dissemination and positive reception of their works. Thus, we will find, for example, verses by the gaucho Mário Artagão, an excerpt from a novel by Gonzaga Duque and a dedication to Mário Pederneiras written by the Minas Gerais poet Gastão Itabirano in Belo Horizonte magazine Vita. Or, works by Pereira da Silva, member of the group from Paraná and Rosa-Cruz, in Minas Artística and from Gaucho Guerra Duval in Horus.

Started during the period when Alphonsus and Severiano lived in São Paulo, the relationships between symbolists from Minas Gerais and symbolists from Rio Grande do Sul and Paraná continued through magazines published in Rio de Janeiro. One of them It was Fon-Fon. Alphonsus de Guimaraens' collaboration at Fon-Fon took place exactly during the period in which Gauchos Eduardo Guimarães, Álvaro Moreyra and Felipe d'Oliveira worked there.

The successful experience of Fon-Fon, created in 1907, seems to have had reflections in the Minas Gerais publications Vita, A Vida de Minas and Vida de Minas, all from

---

<sup>302</sup> CORREIA, 1955, p. 123-124. In this scene of Rio bohemia, there were Emiliano Perneta and Leônio Correia, writers who worked in the group O Cenáculo, from Curitiba. In Rio, Emiliano Perneta participated in the Rosa-Cruz group and previously wrote for Folha Popular. Gonzaga Duque, the other character in the scene, was also a contributor to Folha Popular and Revista Contemporânea, periodicals from the first phase of Brazilian Symbolism. Afterwards, he edited, together with Mário Pederneiras and Lima Campos, Fon-Fon, an organ of the third phase of the movement. Fon-Fon featured works by Alphonsus de Guimaraens and Severiano de Rezende. Revista Contemporânea presented works by the brothers Alphonsus and Archangelus de Guimaraens. The intertextual dimension of the network can be observed in the significant disapproval of Sílvio Romero. Interrupting a quote from Romero, who stated that it was necessary to put aside the "litanies" of Bernardino Lopes and Alphonsus de Guimaraens, he placed the following indignant comment in one of his texts published in the Rosicrucian magazine: "poor Alphonsus, you see that horror!". See note from Complete Poetry, by Alphonsus de Guimaraens, 2001, p. 560.

1910s and with characteristics similar to those that Antonio Dimas observed in the Rio publication. According to Dimas, there was a mix of events from worldliness with literature and a concern with 'fixing the outward signs' of modernity in Fon-Fon magazine.

The aim was to "replace domestic coziness with the hustle and bustle of life on the streets, now less hillbilly and more suited to a reputed European coexistence."<sup>303</sup> All these magazines, with well-kept printing and good quality paper, quality, used photographic images extensively and conveyed texts between art nouveau vignettes. Furthermore, a common feature of these journals is that published texts by admirers of the Belgian symbolists. At Fon-Fon, gauchos worked who wrote their works in dialogue with Belgian Symbolism and the magazine Vida de Minas, for example, published an article in 1915 on Belgian literature, mentioning, among others, Rodenbach, Verhaeren and Maeterlinck.

Rio de Janeiro was the great center where the most important Brazilian intellectuals converged at that time. It is to this fact that Arline Anglade-Aurand attributed the formation of the relationship (network) between the symbolist groups of the South and Southeast of Brazil.<sup>304</sup> Alphonsus de Guimaraens and Archangelus de Guimaraens despite residing in Minas, they managed to publish in symbolist periodicals most significant cariocas. As for José Severiano de Rezende, who was already writing texts for Correio da Manhã since 1901, he continued his work in Rio journalism after moving from Mariana to Rio at the end of 1902.

A chronicle by Olavo Bilac, published on January 16, 1898 in Gazeta de Notícias, eloquently demonstrated that Severiano de Rezende was highly respected in the Rio press even before moving to Rio de Janeiro.<sup>305</sup> The theme developed by Bilac was the first mass celebrated by Severiano de Rezende in honor of his fellow journalists. The ceremony was attended by 50 journalists and also had repercussions on the pages of O

---

<sup>303</sup> DIMAS, 1994, p. 558.

<sup>304</sup> AURAND, 1970, p. 24.

<sup>305</sup> BILAC apud DIMAS, 2006, v. 1, p. 263-2

País, A Notícia and Gazeta da Tarde.<sup>306</sup> It was an event that combined the religious with the literary-worldly and foreshadowed the transformation of Severiano de Rezende in a well-known figure of Rio bohemia. There are records of participation of the Padre-poeta in the Colombo literary group, led by Olavo Bilac, and which included Emílio de Menezes and Guimarães Passos. These relationships of friendship ended up enabling Severiano's collaboration in the most prestigious publications of the Belle Époque, such as, for example, the magazine Kosmos (1904-1909), which had Olavo Bilac and Gonzaga Duque in the editorial team.<sup>307</sup> On the one hand, Kosmos displayed the progress of Rio de Janeiro, and, on the other, through cartoons and caricatures, showed the social problems and difficulties of the popular classes. It was also a well-produced magazine model that featured modern layout, art nouveau ornamentation, use of colors, abundant illustration through photographs and caricatures, coated paper and with renowned collaborators such as Coelho Neto, Domingos Olímpio, Inglés de Souza, João do Rio, Artur Azevedo and Capistrano de Abreu.

Let us now look at the case of Edgard Mata, another symbolist from Minas Gerais who sought work outside Minas in the early years of the 20th century. He moved from Belo Horizonte to the capital of São Paulo in 1902 and began working at the newspaper O Comércio de São Paulo, directed by Afonso Arinos. This periodical, which had been transformed by Eduardo Prado into an organ defending the Monarchy, also featured written by Horácio Guimarães and revised by Arduíno Bolívar, another poet

---

<sup>306</sup> See LIMA JÚNIOR, 2002, p. 48-49.

<sup>307</sup> In January 1905, Kósmos published "Olhando a Natureza", verses that Jayme Lessa had dedicated to Severiano de Rezende. A few months later, in July of the same year, Severiano collaborated in this magazine with a poem dedicated to the Bishop of Mariana. In addition to his work on Kósmos, Severiano de Rezende wrote for the following press organizations in Rio de Janeiro: Tagarela, Jornal do Brasil, Os Anais, O País, Correio da Manhã and A Notícia. Among the collaborators of Jornal do Brasil, Carlos de Laet and Afonso Celso stood out. The French-inspired magazine Os Anais was directed by Domingos Olímpio and had a selected collaboration of Brazilian and Portuguese writers. José Veríssimo, Coelho Neto, Araripe Júnior, Rocha Pombo, Sílvio Romero and Gonzaga Duque were some of the intellectuals who had texts published by this magazine. Regarding the newspaper O País, it is necessary to remember that it published texts by the renowned Carlos de Laet, Júlia Lopes de Almeida, Gilberto Amado, Olavo Bilac and Artur Azevedo. It was also in its pages that the opening verses of Archangelus de Guimaraens appeared. Severiano de Rezende's collaboration with Correio da Manhã lasted until 1903, having published chronicles on a variety of subjects (politics, urban reforms in Rio, begging, plastic arts, theater and religion) and some poems. It was during this period that the writer from Minas Gerais consolidated his reputation among intellectual circles in Rio de Janeiro. Correio da Manhã, an organization opposing the Campos Sales government, was one of the newspapers that best paid its employees and therefore had a renowned group of intellectuals on its pages. Coelho Neto, Artur Azevedo, José Veríssimo, Osório Duque-Estrada, Medeiros e Albuquerque, Bastos Tigre, Afonso Celso, Carlos de Laet were some of those who wrote for this periodical.

miner. In his chronicles, Edgard Mata addressed issues related to traditions nationalities, literary life and international politics.

Edgard Mata's participation in *O Comércio de São Paulo*, whose owner, Eduardo Prado, had been the subject of a book by Severiano de Rezende, reveals to us the monarchist side of these two symbolists from Minas Gerais. Next to the reaction spiritualist, there was, on their part, a monarchist reaction. The book Eduardo Prado, by Severiano de Rezende, already demonstrated this relationship through the phrase Balzac used as an epigraph: "Catholicism and Royalty are two twin principles". Before the publication of this work, Severiano de Rezende had already written, in 1901, a series of articles for *Correio da Manhã* about Catholicism in Eduardo Prado. Two analyzes of Severiano's book deserve to be highlighted. While José Maurício de Carvalho analyzed the political traditionalism of Severiano de Rezende expressed in the pages of Eduardo Prado, the emphasis of Renato de Lima Júnior focused on the literary aspects of the same work. Accordingly with Lima Júnior, the book reflects Huysmans' decadent ideas. Commenting on Araripe Júnior<sup>308</sup>'s criticism of Severiano de Rezende's book, Lima Júnior stated what

Araripe, even though he was informed about French Decadentism and knew that Father Rezende was affiliated with the school, he did not realize that Eduardo Prado followed in the wake of Huysmans and that therefore his reverse syntax was not a symptom of a bad writer or an incomplete writer., but rather a deliberately chosen stylistic device. Even though he realized that the book is apologetic in the style of Tertullian, he did not see in the author's writing a tactic pointing to the symbolic order of the Middle Ages, since he did not know that the archaizing language comprised a double meaning – the refusal of history to come and the regression to a mythical past. For the same reason, he did not realize that decadent aristocratic authors had no interest in pleasing the

---

<sup>308</sup> Araripe Júnior's text was published in 1905, in the magazine *Os Anais*. In it, Araripe Júnior analyzed Severiano's book, highlighting its controversial style. See ARARIPE JÚNIOR, 1966, v. 4, p. 151-162.

<sup>309</sup> LIMA JÚNIOR, 2002, p. 96.

Edgard Mata's anti-republicanism can be noted in a text that wrote to honor the Viscount of Barbacena, Felisberto Caldeira Brant, grandson of his namesake, and who turned one hundred years old in 1902. Presented as a man who sacrificed himself for the good, honor and glory of his country, the Viscount de Barbacena would have lived "one hundred years of virtue and nobility". Edgard Mata, signing himself as Mário Corvo, he was in favor of Abolition, but associated the Republic with a time of suffering, of "rickety men", of decadence. O Viscount of Barbacena, survivor of many historical transformations, would be like a large tree in an environment of lower vegetation, a solitary remnant of a devastated forest.<sup>310</sup>

Depressing slavery has been abolished in our land. Then came the Republic. Aboard the Alagoas he left for Europe, exiled and banished, the greatest patriot, the purest of Brazilians.

The first dark and painful decade of the Republic passed. A century has passed and the Viscount of Barbacena stands firm, erect, solemn, having contemplated all these facts, meditated on them, representing in summary the past and history of our land for a whole century.<sup>311</sup>

Edgard Mata's work at O Comércio de São Paulo lasted just a few months. At the end of this period, he decided to return to Minas. Edgard Mata had lost his parents in Belo Horizonte shortly before going to the capital of São Paulo. Do not know the reason for the interruption of his work in São Paulo, but a big melancholy tormented the poet.

For Mario de Lima . . . Edgard Mata's chronicles were "written with a admirable ease", but with exquisite phrases. In these texts, the symbolist from Minas Gerais would have used "the stones that his brain, with the ferocity of a fabulous mine, produced, torrentially, uninterruptedly [...]"<sup>312</sup>.

---

<sup>310</sup> CROW, 1978, p. 9.

<sup>311</sup> CROW, 1978, p. 9.

<sup>312</sup> LIMA, 1921, p. 4.

Both Edgard Mata and Alphonsus de Guimaraens wrote a type of prose that sought to draw attention to language itself, continuing in same direction as Cruz e Souza. Literary experimentalism at the end of the 19th century is, in large part, precisely in these texts that represent an enormous challenge for contemporary readers with other reading expectations.

While Edgard Mata returned to Minas, José Severiano de Rezende practiced journalism and fulfilled his priestly obligations, in addition to participating in the Rio bohemia. Marked by a *stilus pugnax*, that is, by a style typical of polemicists, Severiano's texts were full of criticisms against everything that I thought it was unfair or erroneous. His participation in bohemian life was considered scandalous by the conservative clergy. Furthermore, both your celebrations religious, who attracted an elite audience, and his association with Princess Matilde's esoteric circle contributed to him becoming a prominent figure in the anecdotes of Rio's Belle Époque. With regard to the participation of Severiano de Rezende in the bohemia of Colombo, we have, for example, the Luiz Edmundo's humorous narratives about the concerns of the Archbishop of Rio de Janeiro with these and other unorthodox activities for a priest Catholic.

Because they didn't go and tell His Most Reverend Excellency that the celebrated priest wore silk underwear, lotions of Aglaia and Coeur de Jeanette in his hair, polished nails, and was an obligatory figure on ungodly afternoons in Colombo, where he appeared with a cigar in his mouth, among poets and bohemians who drink whiskey and sherry and where, not infrequently, ladies of suspected virtue or unsound morals appear? [...] Arco Verde sends for him. And speak sweetly to him. Their profane chronicles, frequently written in newspapers, disgust the doctors of the church. In one of them the priest even talks about "fasting waste", a phrase that Mr. João do Rio even explores it in a book! Local newspapers are publishing his portrait in cartoons disrespectful, which reflect on the Church, footnotes of serious newspapers are constantly glossing their habits, in fact very little in accordance with the dignity maintained by the Clergy. There is a *pasquim*, show it to him, the Naked River, an ignoble paper, that goes beyond, far beyond... And his afternoons in "Colombo", spent among libations of all kinds and bohemians without religion, who live singing about Greece, Aphrodite and other naked Olympian goddesses? A real sc

And the Archbishop, who doesn't quote even half of what he knows or what they tell him, ends up offering him a parish in Minas, without "Colombo", without "vermouth" time, without a Bilac circle [...] 313

However, this bohemia was not just fun and a waste of energies as thought by writers linked to groups that defended a "serious literature", but a favorable space for literary production. In bohemian life environments, according to Raimundo Menezes, "plans of great art magazines, combat newspapers, poems, novels, projects that were never carried out..." and that died "in the bottom of glasses". If big projects failed, In these places verses by Bilac, Severiano de Rezende, Guimaraens Passos were born, as well as chronicles and conferences. It was from there that, according to Menezes, they originated the best of satire, of good-humored and irreverent literature, ranging "from the finest esprit gaulois to a joke, with coarse salt, passing through all the ranges of jokes".<sup>314</sup>

Luiz Edmundo, in turn, commented on the success of the masses that Severiano de Rezende celebrated at the Metropolitan Cathedral.

When he preaches, his sermons attract a huge audience. They are true literary recitals, rendez-vous of elegance and chic: naves overflowing with people, good, educated and refined people, ladies from Botafogo, Laranjeiras, Tijuca, rubbing silks, exchanging perfumes, who see more to hear the man , let it be said without lying, that he is the priest of God. A mundane success that impresses the godmother who doesn't shave and still takes snuff. And the line of coupés, phaetons, landeaux, in parade, at the door of the church, as if for a great night of opera in the opera house!<sup>315</sup>

The combative stance adopted by José Severiano de Rezende made many disaffections. Agripino Grieco refers to this in his book Evolution of Brazilian Prose:

---

<sup>313</sup> EDMUNDO, 1938, v. 2, p. 582 and 652.

<sup>314</sup> MENEZES, 1966, p. 65-66.

<sup>315</sup> EDMUND, 1938, v. 2, p. 648-649.

A man who seemed to have been born under the sign of Sagittarius, he was one of those who are always trembling with indignation in the face of life. Feeling the horror of atheist democracy, his priestly grudges were difficult to heal. And that's why he was not a conformist, a gregarious animal, he provoked, from article to article, dozens of enemies, given the tone of exasperating sarcasm with which he wrote that intemperate d'Artagnan in his cassock, that very curious figure of the bohemian of the clergy, always undecided between the sermon and the feuilleton.

Then, due to the large number of rumors circulating about Father Severiano's behavior, the Archbishop of Rio tried to convince him to resign. fit within the model of priestly life accepted by the Catholic Church or would have to be transferred to the interior of Minas Gerais according to Luiz's narrative Edmund. Dissatisfied, Severiano de Rezende decided to leave the habit and dedicate himself to journalistic work. A few years later, he moved to Paris.<sup>317</sup> From then on, his collaboration in the Brazilian press occurred discontinuously, having intensified in 1922, the year in which he lived again in Rio de Janeiro and started writing articles for the newspaper *A Notícia*<sup>318</sup> with also varied themes, such as had done in *Correio da Manhã*. Severiano de Rezende developed reflections about modernization, plastic arts, theater, architecture, Brazilian politics and issues literary. Among the texts related to literature, those he wrote about Alphonsus de Guimaraens and Lima Barreto stand out.

At the moment the symbolist demonstrations began in Belo, Horizonte, José Severiano de Rezende and Alphonsus de Guimaraens were in the interior of Minas. Precisely by adopting an internationalist perspective,

<sup>316</sup> GRIECO, 1947, p. 157. An index of the distrust or antipathy that his texts generated among intellectuals who had a dominant position in the literary world are the words of Joaquim Nabuco in a letter to Oliveira Lima. Asked about his position in relation to the election in which Severiano de Rezende ran, Nabuco declared that Severiano could wait, as he had "talent to rise a lot", as long as he left the controversies aside. For Nabuco, controversy was a genre that the Academy should not encourage. NABUCO apud MAGALHÃES JUNIOR, 1981, p. 248.

<sup>317</sup> For most of the time he lived in Europe, José Severiano de Rezende lived in France, where, in addition to the journalistic work he developed in the French press, he held a bureaucratic position at the Brazilian Consulate. His return to Brazil, in 1922, was related to transfer processes to other countries that were refused by the writer. In 1919, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs wanted to transfer him to Cádiz, in Spain, and, in 1921, to Yokohama, in Japan. Despite his efforts to remain in Paris, on July 25, 1921, he was transferred to the Consulate Brazilian from Cardiff, Great Britain. This stay in Cardiff only lasted a few months, as on August 16, 1922, he was in Brazil again.

<sup>318</sup> In the team of collaborators of *A Notícia*, Medeiros de Albuquerque and João deserve to be highlighted do Rio. Cf. BROCA, 2005, p. 296.

cosmopolitan, evidenced in the aforementioned interview with João do Rio,<sup>319</sup> Severiano de Rezende preferred to only collaborate in the most relevant symbolist periodicals in Belo Horizonte. As for Alphonsus, he played a guiding role for the young writers from the new capital of Minas. They considered his poetry a model to follow. Álvaro Viana assumed the role of leader of the movement and maintained, through Horus, the emotional and literary ties between symbolists from Minas Gerais and São Paulo. The correspondence between Freitas Valle and Álvaro Viana demonstrates the continuity of such ties. The main subjects of these letters revolved around the controversy between Álvaro Viana and Mendes de Oliveira, the reception of the magazine Horus abroad and in Belo Horizonte, in addition to the difficulties encountered with editing and to sell this newspaper.

In a letter dated July 4, 1902, to Freitas Valle, who participated with verses, suggestions and financial support for the magazine, Álvaro Viana speaks of honorable references coming from Porto, in Portugal, but he resents the meager subscriptions, even though one arrived from distant Rio Grande do Sul. Proof, for him, of that the public wanted to read, but was not willing to pay for. He then complains about O Prego, a critical and humorous periodical run by a group of law students from Belo Horizonte, who accused him of transforming the recently launched Horus into a “drain pipe to carry out his literary nephelibatics”.<sup>320</sup>

Freitas Valle and Álvaro Viana also worked together on editing, publicity and intermediation in the sale of works by Alphonsus de Guimaraens. This team worked as follows:

Even away from the cenacle, Alphonsus de Guimaraens continued to produce, while his friends tried to help him, promoting his work. On May 6, 1902, the poet from Minas Gerais acknowledged receipt of fifty copies of the book *Setenário das Dors de Nossa Senhora*, sent by Casa Garraux. And, as the State Gymnasium had just adopted the work on Valle's recommendation, it sent him a power of attorney to arrange the reissue and agree on the price.

---

<sup>319</sup> See p. 77.

<sup>320</sup> CAMARGOS, 2001, p. 148.

At the same time, Álvaro Viana, who from Belo Horizonte had taken care of Kiriale's printing, was also responsible for publicity. He informed Alphonsus on October 21 of that year that he had sent copies to newspapers in Rio de Janeiro and others to dear D'Avray, to display them for sale in São Paulo.<sup>321</sup>

The importance of Freitas Valle in the formation of the Brazilian symbolist network was very large. The patron maintained friendly relations with the most representative of groups from the South and Southeast.

In the court of Vila Mariana, the charismatic figure of Jacques D'Avray reigned supreme, who embodied the spirit of symbolism, articulating dialogues between the scattered confreres. At Faculdade do Largo de São Francisco he met students who would become important figures in Brazilian symbolism, such as Emiliano Perneta, Mário Pederneiras and Venceslau de Queirós. He continued to cultivate intense friendships both with those who had passed through São Paulo to take a law course – such as Alphonsus de Guimaraens and Severiano de Rezende – and with the brothers Álvaro Viana and Augusto Viana do Castelo, as well as Alberto Ramos, Adalberto Guerra Duval, Adolfo Araújo (founder of *A Gazeta*, from 1906), Ribeiro Couto, Filipe de Oliveira, Homero Prates and Álvaro Moreyra. In an attitude of vassalage to Freitas Valle, they made unrestricted adulation a demonstration of loyalty and liter-

Severiano de Rezende began visiting Freitas Valle's house, in Vila Mariana, in São Paulo, only in the 1910s. To honor those who lived there attended and his friend Freitas Valle wrote a sonnet whose first version was entitled “Villa Kyrial”. However, the poem was published in *Mistérios* with the title “Athenaeia”.

Right, O clear mansion, you dominate,  
tabernacle, In which Art lives without Evil darkening it.

---

<sup>321</sup> CAMARGOS, 2001, p. 146. Furthermore, Freitas Valle also negotiated with Gustavo Figueiredo a paid collaboration for Alphonsus in the magazine *O Eco*. This is what is stated in the letter from the writer and patron from São Paulo to his friend from Minas Gerais on September 16, 1916. See VALLE apud BUENO, 2002, p. 58.

<sup>322</sup> CAMARGOS, 2001, p. 136.

In you resides and acts the Force against the  
obstacle, Messidor shines in you and Floreal shines.

The white red pennon trembles you at the  
pinnacle And synthesizes our pure and  
pure ideal: Return to Beauty intense the  
immaculate Being With the throbbing of your august and lyrical name.

May our eagerness always be pleonastic, May our  
ademan be sober but pathetic And the Love  
that burns and shines within us will be eternal.

Because it is necessary to live with something  
enthusiastic In a soul that is alien to what is rude, erratic and frenetic,  
So that she receives Jesus' blessing.<sup>323</sup>

Severiano de Rezende's poetic tributes were also addressed to Freitas Valle's family. This is what can be seen in the set of poems entitled "Zoological Panels".<sup>324</sup> This adulation was an expression of friendship and, at the same time, time, a way of repaying the favors he used to ask Freitas Valle as shown in his letters.<sup>325</sup> Alphonsus also used the resource of dedications as a way of showing appreciation and gratitude. The Minas Gerais symbolist He dedicated the book *Burning Chamber* to Jacques d'Avray, the "Prince Royal du Symbole et Grand Poète Inconnu". He also wrote the sonnet-epitaph "Pour le tombeau de Jacques d'Avray" and the dedication of "Ocaso", which is part of the book *Kiriale*. In the case of Freitas Valle's relationship with Álvaro Viana, the large number of poems by Freitas Valle published in Horus magazine and the photo of the poet that appears in highlighted fulfill the same objective of "vassalage" to the owner of Villa Kyrial. Another manifestation of homage was the dedication of the poem "In excelsis", in which Viana repeats the epithet "Prince du Symbole" that Alphonsus had given to the poet-patron.

At the same time that Freitas Valle acted as a cultural agitator for city of São Paulo in his hall, Adolfo Araújo led Symbolism in the area of

---

<sup>323</sup> REZENDE, 1971, p. 118.

<sup>324</sup> The sonnet "The turtle" was dedicated to Cyro de Freitas Valle, "The frogs", to Leilah de Freitas Valle, "The Jararacuçu", to Daphnis de Freitas Valle and "The giraffe", to José de Freitas Valle Filho. The entire set of poems was dedicated to Freitas Valle, as was the final sonnet, "The Hippogriff".

<sup>325</sup> Regarding these requests for financial aid and political support, see the biography of José Severiano de Rezende in the dissertation written by Renato de Lima Júnior (2002) and the book by Márcia Camargos (2001).

journalism. In 1896, he founded, together with Alberto Ramos, the newspaper *A Vida de Hoje* and, in 1906, he created and directed *A Gazeta*. Both conveyed texts by Symbolists in São Paulo.

According to Alfredo Bosi, the works of some poets from São Paulo reflected the poetry by Alphonsus de Guimaraens, which demonstrates the close connection of symbolist movement from Minas Gerais with the São Paulo movement.

Linked to the miners since their academic years are the poets of São Paulo: Jacques d'Avray (pseudonym of Freitas Vale), who wrote in French and was called by Alphonsus "grand poète inconnu, Prince Royal du Symbole"; Adolfo Araújo, founder of *A Gazeta*; Júlio César da Silva, brother of Francisca Júlia and co-author of her didactic-religious poems, Antônio de Godoi..., all echoing the manner of the patriarch of Mariana.<sup>326</sup>

Alphonsus de Guimaraens' participation in *A Gazeta* was more commented because of the remuneration offered by the editor than for the texts he sent to the newspaper.<sup>327</sup> However, this São Paulo press organization played, together with the Belo Horizonte periodicals, the *Jornal do Comércio*, from Juiz de Fora, and the Marian newspapers *O Alfinete* and *O Germinal*, a important role in the dissemination of Alphonsus's verse and prose work between 1906 and 1921. Alphonsus often sent the same poem to more than one newspaper. For example, the poems "Was it your beauty?", "The sheep go to the fold..." and "The dawn was being born as it was born" were published in both *A Gazeta* and *Jornal do Comércio*. Various prose texts by Alphonsus de Guimaraens published in the book *Beggars and others* that were brought together under the name "Chronicles of Guy d'Alvim" in the Complete Work, from 1960, first appeared in the pages of *A Gazeta*. According to João Alphonsus, the chronicles showed that his father followed life in Pauliceia through the newspapers he received in the interior of Minas.

<sup>326</sup> BOSI, 1970, p. 318-319.

<sup>327</sup> The salary offered for Alphonsus de Guimaraens to work on the editorial staff of *A Gazeta* was of 400 mil-réis, a large sum for the time. See BROCA, 2005, p. 286.

Imbued with the active life of Paulicéia, reliving it intensely within the provincial stillness through the São Paulo newspapers he received, knowledgeable about the types and figures that remained on the poster, he was even able for years to maintain a series of satirical chronicles, of humorous comments about people and facts, notably in the controversy maintained between A Gazeta and the old Diário Popular, the "Popularíssimo".<sup>328</sup>

Through letters, Freitas Valle also kept him informed about the conferences he promoted at Villa Kyrial where young writers, future modernists, came into contact with the work of the symbolist from Minas Gerais.<sup>329</sup>

On the other hand, Alphonsus de Guimaraens' contributions to Jornal do Comércio, from Juiz de Fora, resulted in him joining the Academia Mineira de Letras, founded in that city in 1909. Among the founders of the Academia Mineira of Letters, there was a group of writers with whom Alphonsus maintained relations of friendship. Two of them deserve to be highlighted: Heitor Guimaraens, the editor of Jornal do Comércio, and Belmiro Braga. The invitation to join the Minas academy represented an important moment in the process of including the work of Alphonsus de Guimaraens in the Brazilian literary canon.<sup>330</sup>

Alphonsus' timid dalliance with academic literary life produced a memorable event in 1915. Severiano de Rezende, who had returned to Brazil, with the intention of resolving issues related to his position at the Consulate in Paris, took the opportunity to visit Belo Horizonte and meet with Alphonsus de

<sup>328</sup> ALPHONSUS, 1960, p. 40.

<sup>329</sup> Freitas Valle welcomed the modernists in his salon. According to Márcia Camargos, he was, in addition to being a friend of the protagonists of the Week, the "financier and collaborator of the Minas Gerais symbolist scene whose biggest star was Alphonsus de Guimaraens" and a "political articulator whose legislative activity focused on teaching and promoting Art." CAMARGOS, 2002, p. 65.

<sup>330</sup> Alphonsus' movement towards being part of literary institutions outside the Rio-São Paulo axis should be seen as a way of disseminating his work in circles further away from these large cities. This is what a curious fact suggests. In addition to the Academia Mineira, Alphonsus also became a member of the Academia de Letras do Piauí. It is not known how this happened, but Alphonsus de Guimaraens Filho assumed that he joined the Piauí institution in the category of corresponding member. In a letter to his son João Alphonsus, the symbolist poet praised the magazine of the Piauí academy of letters: "I have just received the magazine of the Piauí academy of letters, which is a true showcase of jewels. Talented people from the north!" GUIMARAENS apud BUENO, 2002, p. 27. Guimaraens Filho observed very well that it must have been a source of pride for his father to be part of these institutions because he put the following words on the cover of the book Mendigos: "pages of Alphonsus de Guimarães (sic), from the Academia Mineira, from the Academia Piauiense".

Guimaraens at an event organized by intellectuals from Minas Gerais.<sup>331</sup> Most of these intellectuals were part of the Academia Mineira de Letras and the event celebrated talent of the two poets, in addition to marking the transfer of the institution to Belo Horizonte.<sup>332</sup>

The most significant chronicle of this literary event was published by José Osvaldo de Araújo in the magazine *A Vida de Minas*, under the pseudonym J. 333 Minstrel. Despite his Parnassian leanings, José Osvaldo de Araújo, at the editing *Diário de Minas* also gave space for the collaboration of symbolists and young writers who would be part of the modernist movement. Remember that João Alphonsus and Horácio Guimarães were already working for *Diário de Minas*, when, in 1921, Alphonsus de Guimaraens and Carlos Drummond de Andrade they began writing for this same periodical. An aesthetic and emotional bond, a network of friendship and literary exchanges was formed between symbolists and modernists.<sup>334</sup> The admiration that young writers from Minas Gerais had for Symbolism, especially through the poetry of Alphonsus of Guimaraens, it was very great.

---

<sup>331</sup> *Diário de Minas* reported on the event, considering it the most important literary celebration that had taken place in Belo Horizonte until then: "Without falling into exaggeration, we can say that never in Belo Horizonte has there been such a broad, fine and sincere manifestation of appreciation to men of letters, like yesterday, promoted by friends of good letters." A consecrating party. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 26 September. 1915, p. 1-2.

<sup>332</sup> The following were present at the tribute held at the Academic Club: Archangelus de Guimaraens, Álvaro da Silveira, Nelson de Sena, Abílio Machado, Arduíno Bolívar, Carlos Góis, Mário de Lima, João Lúcio, Gastão Itabirano, Horácio Guimarães, Osvaldo Freitas, Genesco Murta, Silva Guimarães, Aldo Delfino, Artur Ragazzi, Mendes de Oliveira, Abílio Barreto, among others. The speech greeting the two Symbolists was given by Álvaro da Silveira, president of the Academia Mineira.

<sup>333</sup> Journalist, teacher, politician and poet, José Osvaldo de Araújo (1887-1975) occupied chair number 2 at the Academia Mineira de Letras. Furthermore, he was a professor of Brazilian Literature at the Federal University of Minas Gerais and editor of *Diário de Minas*. An admirer of Alphonsus, he went to Mariana in the 1910s, accompanied by other intellectuals, to give the poet the crown of prince of Minas Gerais poets. Upon learning the reason for the visit, Alphonsus reportedly exclaimed: "Poor Prince! Poor Prince!" GUIMARAENS FILHO, 1995, p. 373.

<sup>334</sup> In Beira Mar, Pedro Nava evoked the group of intellectuals who worked at *Diário de Minas* in the early 1920s: "I was not part of the newspaper but I frequented it assiduously, attracted by the good company and the formidable trams made in the newsroom. I knew how to find José Osvaldo de Araújo, Horácio Guimarães, Eduardo Barbosa ('O Bola'), Carneiro, João Alphonsus, Carlos Drummond de Andrade there. These, from the house, were other regulars for the lecture such as Mário Matos, Aníbal Machado, Milton Campos, Pedro Aleixo, Abílio Machado. Nobody cared about the political color of the newspaper. I don't think even the writers. The essential thing was the talking point..." NAVA, 2003, p. 182-183. To give us an idea of the ramifications of this network, the writer and journalist Horácio Guimarães also became a collaborator in the literary magazine *Novela Mineira*, founded by José Osvaldo de Araújo in the early 1920s. It was an eclectic publication. Among his collaborators were Carlos Drummond de Andrade, Aníbal Matos, Silva Guimarães and Mário de Lima.

Let's now look at Severiano's participation in São Paulo's literary networks at this same time. The author of *Mysteries* was in São Paulo participating in the life literature in the halls of Villa Kyrial and also the tribute that intellectuals did to the poet Emílio de Menezes. The sonnet "The Hippopotamus", by Severiano de Rezende, was published on September 4, 1915 in the special issue of the magazine *O Pirralho*, dedicated to Menezes.<sup>335</sup>

As we know, *O Pirralho* was a magazine created by Oswald de Andrade and had great importance in the period before the Week of 22. Along with the special issue dedicated to Emílio de Menezes, Oswald de Andrade also organized a festival in the hall of the Dramatic and Musical Conservatory in honor of the poet. Among the magazine's contributors, in addition to Severiano, were Coelho Neto, Amadeu Amaral, Plínio Barreto, Leal de Sousa, Monteiro Lobato and Antônio Torres. Perhaps it was through this publication that José Severiano de Rezende's first contacts with young people who later they made the modernist movement. Years later, other encounters between the modernists and Severiano took place in Paris.

After a few months, Severiano de Rezende returned to Europe and continued his work at the Consulate. At the same time, he held conferences, collaborated in European periodicals, attended literary salons and participated in Parisian bohemia. His literary work, which began to be known in Europe from the first edition in Portuguese of *O meu flos sanctorum* by the publisher Chardron, from Porto, began to be more publicized around the end of the 1990s. 1920, after the publication of some translations into French of verses that were part of *Mistérios*. But before that, in 1909, Philéas Lebesgue published a small critical note on *My flos sanctorum* at the *Mercure de France*, considering it an innovative work in its genre.

*My flos sanctorum*, by José Severiano de Rezende, is, at the same time, a book of style and a book of faith. The calendar of saints arouses interest in the manner of a series of poems, and is

---

<sup>335</sup> This sonnet was later published in the book *Mistérios*, but with a dedication to Antônio Parreira. See REZENDE, 1971, p. 83.

It is admirable how, thanks to a lot of art, the author knew how to renew his theme, without slipping into the cold banality of religious manuals. A high philosophy, endowed with all its defense arguments, illuminates these convinced variations regarding the golden legend. These prose texts are as beautiful as roses planted in the churchyard. [...] The thing is that José Severiano de Rezende, like Louis Le Cardonnel, is essentially a poet.<sup>336</sup>

In 1914, this book was translated into Czech by Antonín Ludvík Stríz, doctor in Ecclesiastical Literature of the Middle Ages, and a Catholic publisher in Prague the published with great graphic care. The circulation was only 380 copies, being 15 on Japanese paper. These characteristics indicated that *O meu flos sanctorum* received a quality endorsement.

Philéas Lebesgue was the one who carried out the most in-depth reading of José Severiano de Rezende's poetic work in France. Their first contact was through correspondence. Severiano sent the French critic some of his verses and the book *O meu flos sanctorum*. In his response, Lebesgue expressed his desire to meet the poet from Minas Gerais in person and praised his work.<sup>337</sup>

---

<sup>336</sup> LEBESGUE, 1909, p. 762, our translation. No original: "My Flos Sanctorum, by José Severiano de Rezende, is also a book of style as well as a book of faith. This calendar of saints offers the interest of a series of poems, and it is a miracle how, through dint of art, the author was able to renew his subject, without slipping into the icy banality of piety manuals. A high philosophy, which we feel equipped with all its means of defense, illuminates these convinced variations on the Golden Legend. These prose are beautiful like roses sown in front of the holy place. [...] This is because José Severiano de Rezende, like Louis Le Cardonnel, is essentially a poet."

<sup>337</sup> "Dear Lord, I am deeply grateful to you for making me aware of the powerful poet who made me feel the *Flos Sanctorum*. With rigorous rhythms and dense thoughts, the admirable verses that the Lord compiled for me from his upcoming book *Mysteries* have such a personal character that they do not resemble any precise influence and that one feels them springing directly from his soul. [...] It is very important for me to be able to enter into a relationship with a soul like yours and why couldn't I meet you in person on one of my trips to Paris? For now, I hope that you will do the favor of writing to me a few more times in Portuguese or in French, your choice, since you speak both languages so well. I would like you to tell me about your country to which I have given all my affection because of the brave spirits that illustrated it and [about which] I still need to be enlightened." LEBESGUE apud DORNAS FILHO, 1972, p. 2, our translation. In the original: "Cher Monsieur, je vous suis profondément reconnaissant de m'avoir [fait] connaître le poète et (sic) puissant que me faisait (sic) présentir le *Flos Sanctorum*. Sévères de rythme et lourds de pensée, les vers admirables que vous extrayez pour moi de votre prochain recueil *Mysterios* ont un accent si personnel qu'ils ne rappellent aucune influence précise et qu'on les sent jaillir à cru de votre âme. [...] Il m'est précieux de pouvoir entrer en relations avec une âme telle que la vôtre et pourquoi ne pourrais-je pas faire un jour votre connaissance personnelle à l'un des mes voyages à Paris ? / En attendant, j'espère que vous voudrez (sic) bien quelques fois m'écrire encore, en portugais, ou en français à votre choix, puisque vous maniez si bien les deux langues sœurs. J'aurai (sic) besoin que vous me parliez de votre pays auquel j'ai voué tout mon affection à cause des esprits vaillants qui l'illustrent et j'ai besoin d'être

Interestingly, Alphonsus' poetry had already been published in Europe, long before Severiano moved to France, by the same critic. In 1903, Philéas Lebesgue published a text entitled "L'empire latin" in the magazine *Le Beffroi*, of Lille, in which he mentioned the author of *Setenary of the Sorrows of Our Lady*.<sup>338</sup> A synthesis of this article was made by Pierre Rivas in the book *Meeting between Literatures*.

It is also about the Greek-Latin empire against Germany, which ends up being understood until Rio. He [Lebesgue] sketches a picture of poetry from Parnassus to Symbolism, from Cruz e Souza – "a Walt Witman of another genre" – to Figueiredo Pimentel, passing through Nestor Vitor, the "fervent occultist" Dario Veloso, Pethion de Vilar, Xavier Marques, the "Verlainian" Alphonsus de Guimaraes (sic), and who translates a sonnet and the "easy Parnassians" Correia or Bilac.<sup>339</sup>

Before Severiano's poetic work was collected and published in the book *Mysteries*, the symbolist from Minas Gerais built a journalistic career in France, at the same time that he established relationships with some writers and journalists Portuguese.

In France, Severiano collaborated on *Le Courrier du Brésil*,<sup>340</sup> in 1910, com two articles that dealt with Brazilian literature. The first, "Un poète brésilien à Paris", revolved around the poetry and figure of Olavo Bilac, represented as a dandy and a flâneur in one of his stays in the French capital.<sup>341</sup> In this article, Severiano included a sonnet by Bilac, "Maldição", and its translation in French. O

<sup>338</sup> Among the collaborators of *Le Beffroi* were René Ghil, Charles Morice, Émile Verhaeren and Albert Mockel.

<sup>339</sup> RIVAS, 1995, p. 157. The sonnet of Alphonsus de Guimaraens translated by Lebesgue was published in *Le Beffroi*, fasc. 39, Nov. 1903.

<sup>340</sup> Founded in 1907, the weekly *Le Courrier du Brésil* was, in the early years of the 20th century, the main information organization in France about Brazil. In it, there was news about the events, texts about the economy and social life. Furthermore, it also gave space to literature. See RIVAS, 1995, p. 138.

<sup>341</sup> The article about Bilac was published a year after a night out by a group of Brazilian bohemians in Paris that seemed to be the continuation of the irreverent Rio bohemia in French territory. Among those participating in the night out in Paris were Olavo Bilac, Severiano de Rezende and Bernardino Lopes. Severiano de Rezende's involvement with Parisian bohemian life was reported by Gilberto Amado. According to this author, Severiano was one of the few Brazilians who used to frequent the bohemia of Montparnasse in the golden age of the artistic avant-garde. See AMADO, 1960, p.97-98 and AMADO, 1956, p. 258.

second article, "Le Brésil littéraire", constitutes an important example of the role of cultural mediator performed by Severiano de Rezende in France. In it, the writer sought to present the intellectual riches of Brazil, developing the thesis that the culture produced in Brazil was a consequence of its ethnic tradition and his affection for France. Despite recognizing French influences, Severiano he did not consider there to be slavish imitation on the part of Brazilian artists and writers. He formulated an expression to characterize the attitude of Brazilians towards to borrowed elements: "sympathetic assimilation". This is a curious reflection, anticipating, by many years, modernist ideas, especially those of Oswald de Andrade about art and literature created by a process of critical incorporation of foreign cultures. The difference would be in the component violence implicit in Oswald's anthropophagy, while, in the case of Severiano, the The expression "sympathetic assimilation" would suggest a more "cordial" appropriation.

Our language, our literature, our art reveal the ascendancy of France over our spirit. We don't copy. There is no impersonal imitation, unconscious plagiarism, parasitic mimicry, but a sympathetic assimilation that never takes place to the detriment of the very defined and very distinct character of the Brazilian race.<sup>342</sup>

In this effort to publicize Brazilian literature in the periodical *Le Courier du Brésil*, Severiano mentioned the two great names of Brazilian Symbolism in an excerpt that is quite revealing of his critical position, which consisted of establishing terms of comparison, explaining similarities and borrowings, with French authors. The text mentions the emergence of a project for an authentically national literature. He then refers to José de Alencar as a of those who tried to develop this nationalization by writing narratives with indigenous themes, but which revealed a legacy of romantic literature French. Alphonsus de Guimaraens and Cruz e Souza, for Severiano, would have

---

<sup>342</sup> REZENDE, José Severiano de. Literary Brazil. *Le Courier du Brasil*, Paris, May 5. 1910, p. 5-6, our translation. No original: "Our language, our literature, our art reveal the ascendancy of France over our spirit. We do not copy, it is not impersonal copying, unconscious plagiarism, parasitic mimicry, but a sympathetic assimilation, which never operates at the expense of the specific character of the Brazilian race, very defined and very sharp."

known to renew the heroic deeds, the successful experiences of the decadentists French. A poetic renewal obtained through the aforementioned “sympathetic assimilation”.<sup>343</sup>

Let us now take a preliminary look at some elements that highlight the Severiano de Rezende's relationship with the Portuguese cultural environment. While maintained contacts with the French intelligentsia, José Severiano de Rezende collaborated in Portuguese periodicals. Thus, he published, for example, “The poem of the instinct”, “Nomen...numen...lumen” and “The painter Antonio Parreiras” in the magazine Atlântida, in Lisbon, which was edited by João de Barros and João do Rio, with the aim of strengthen ties between Brazil and Portugal. The magazine's editors believed in a Portuguese-Brazilian community based on affinities of feeling, similarities of temperament and the same origin.<sup>344</sup> Ideas similar to these were defended by Severiano de Rezende in the chronicle “O Nossa Irmão”, published in A Notícia, in 1922. It is interesting to note the complimentary mention of writer and editor João de Barros, demonstrating agreement with the ideas of Atlantis.

---

<sup>343</sup> "Naturalism produced in our country one of its most zolaesque representatives in the person of Aluízio Azevedo, the painter of our social life, and his nervous style is much more appreciated than that of Machado de Assis, a humorist in the American genre, whose short stories, however, they reflect Gallic subtlety and elegance. The poets Alphonsus de Guimaraens and Cruz e Souza renewed the exploits of the decadentists, while Emílio de Menezes is a Heredia performing perfect sonnets. In journalism, João do Rio is a Parisian wandering the streets, where he observes the intense multiform life and the spirit of Montmartre, which comments on the notorious everyday events, shines in the gazettes and in the songs. There was a time when attempts were made to Brazilianize literature: José de Alencar, with all his talent , he was unable to make his stories of Indians and savages appreciated, some of which were written, however, in the style of Paulo and Virgínia, of Atala, of the Natchez." REZENDE, José Severiano de. Le Brésil littéraire. Le Courrier du Brésil, Paris, 5 May 1910, p. 5-6, our translation. In the original: "Le naturalisme a produit chez nous un de ses plus zolaesques représentants, en la personne d'Aluizio Azevedo, the heart of notre social life, and his style nerveux is much more important than the story of Machado de Assis, a humorist in the genre of America, don't quelques contes, neanmoins, relèvent de la finesse et de la grâce gauloise . Les poètes Alphonsus de Guimaraens et Cruz e Souza ont renouvelé les exploits des décadents, tandis que Emilio de Menezes est un Heredia exécutant des sonnets parfaits. Dans le journalisme, João de Rio est un Parisien égaré dans les rues dont il observe l'intense vie multiforme et l'esprit montmartrois, qui comment au jour le jour les événements notoires, pétille là-bas dans les gazettes et dans les chansons. Il ya eu un temps ou des attempts de bresilieniser la littérature furent lances; José de Alencar, avec tout son talent, n'a pu faire goûter ses histoires d'indiens et de sauvages, dont quelques-unes étaient pourtant éc

<sup>344</sup> This publication can be approximated to the editorial proposal that formed the basis of the Almanaque de Memórias Luso-Brasileiras. According to Eliana de Freitas Dutra (2005, p. 122), the Almanaque “struck to spread the idea of Brazil and Portugal sharing a homogeneous culture. In this way, the encounter between the two cultures is thought of as part of a continuity between the past and the present.”

Portugal and Brazil [...] are brothers, for a countless number of reasons of all kinds, that Portuguese and Brazilians know and, sometimes, feel better than they know because “le cœur a des (sic) raisons que la raison ne connaît pas”. We are brothers in the strictest sense of the word and if, sometimes, some strife tries to obstruct this fraternity, what is it if not those hustles that sound like separating for a moment those who love each other to better unite later in

a more understanding ardor? [...]

And you, my dear João de Barros, you are the personification of all of this, you are the representative of that love and of those loves of brothers, you, who have always loved us and who without hesitation are sure of how and how much we love you, take to your egregious President, bring to your gallant mission companions the greeting of your old brother, who could never see the Estoris and the Torre de Belém and the Tagus, and Lisbon on the most beautiful hill, without already going from far away reciting stanzas by Camões, with eyes filled with sweet tears [...]345

The spiritual continuity between Portugal and Brazil was also the subject of texts written by Alphonsus and Horácio Guimarães. The difference is that Severiano de Rezende defended the thesis of a fraternal relationship between the two countries, as well as Atlântida magazine. Alphonsus de Guimaraens wrote from the conception that Portugal was our ancestor,<sup>346</sup> while Horácio Guimarães mixed the idea of ancestry (“It is not just the affinity of the language that unites us: it is our grandfather, our ancestor”) with that of fraternity (“The Portuguese in Minas, as in the rest of Brazil, is not a guest. He is a brother. He is our good and dear brother from Beyond the Sea”).<sup>347</sup>

The text about Antônio Parreiras, published in Atlântida, was part of the effort to publicize Brazilian culture carried out by Severiano de Rezende in Europe. He even proposed to Brazilian politicians the creation of a cultural center in Paris aiming to promote Brazil abroad. In March 1918, the poet Minas Gerais summarized his proposal in a letter to Freitas Valle:

---

<sup>345</sup> REZENDE, José Severiano de. Our brother. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 18 September. 1922. Bulletin of Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

<sup>346</sup> On this point of view of Alphonsus de Guimaraens, see chapter 3.

<sup>347</sup> GUIMARÃES, Horácio. Save Portugal. Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte, 15 March. 1901, p. 1.

I dreamed [...] of establishing a continuous and vast hubbub of Brazilian things in Paris. [...] What I had proposed would be with little money (sublime). Monthly publication of a magazine: *Les Annales Brésiliennes*, inserting our verses, stories, speeches, novels, deeds and gestures, with accentuated clairvoyant propaganda of our language, generally unknown and confused with Spanish. Attached to this publication, our magazine and newspaper office, reading room and complete library, ancient and modern, of everything that is ours, library q. would be constituted with the assistance of the States and q. would become formidable in a short time. [...] I would be able to organize conferences, matinees, soirees, with readings, our musical auditions, painting exhibitions, all of this constituting a Brazilian nucleus in the center of centers, q. It's Paris. I have already explained this to several statesmen and parliamentarians. Everything was left in the ink cartridge. And the time is right, despite the War! But I haven't lost hope and let's see if the Rodrigues Alves government will want to do this.<sup>348</sup>

Despite the death of Rodrigues Alves before taking office, Severiano de Rezende did not abandon his project, returning to explain his plans to promote Brazil in Paris in a letter to President Epitácio Pessoa in 1921. However, there was no interest from the Brazilian government in those proposals. Even without an official space, Severiano de Rezende continued to spread the word Brazilian culture in French periodicals.

Meanwhile, in Brazil, the work of Alphonsus de Guimaraens was being read and disseminated in the Freitas Valle circle. In 1919, the poet from Minas Gerais had received a visit from the young Mário de Andrade at his home. The writer from São Paulo wanted to meet the colonial art of Minas and, passing through Mariana, he went to meet the author of *Câmara Ardente*. Upon returning to Pauliceia, Mário de Andrade wrote a chronicle for the *A Cigarra* magazine about the visit to the symbolist from Minas Gerais. This text is an unequivocal document of the admiration that one of the frequenters of the Freitas Valle salons had for the poetic work of Alphonsus de Guimaraens.

A large copy of wonderful verses that our people don't dream of or even imagine – fortunes of poetry, nabobs, buried in a land of longing. Enchanted verses, one of the most beautiful in the Portuguese language, one of the most moving

---

<sup>348</sup> REZENDE apud LIMA JÚNIOR, 2002, p. 119.

our days, dispersed in magazines that do not highlight them, fanning out in an astonished and bourgeois novelty.<sup>349</sup>

At the end of the chronicle, Mário de Andrade questioned the lack of editions of the work by Alphonsus de Guimaraens, considered by him to be a true Brazilian treasure. This recognition of the literary value of Alphonsus's work associated with The need to edit/reissue it seems to be a foreshadowing of the editorial and dissemination work that was carried out years later by other modernists:

Alphonsus's unpublished verses and those forgotten in magazines and newspapers would fill two or more volumes; the few editions of Setenário, Dona Mística, Kirial (sic),<sup>350</sup> are finished... Isn't there an editor in Brazil who can shelter the poems, taking them out of the darkness? Is there not the pity of a new bandeirante who goes to discover this mine of pure and cut diamonds in Minas Gerais, and dazzles those of our race with the treasures that Alphonsus keeps close to him? Where? When will Sesame open this enchanted cave?...<sup>351</sup>

The admiration that Marius had for Alphonsus was so great that he was unable to tell the author from Minas Gerais that he also wrote poetry. In a letter to Alphonsus de Guimaraens Filho, the poet from São Paulo recalled the event:

I was with your Father there in the morning, for more than an hour, in that dusty office full of papers and books [...] And it was an hour of ecstasy in which I didn't say even a little bit that I was a poet, God forbid! [...] I introduced myself just as a fan and remained that way the entire time.

[...] I read aloud, they say I read well, the verses that Alphonsus showed me. We commented on the beauties together, we only talked about poetry [...] I asked to copy the "Vaga em surrounding you..." that he

---

<sup>349</sup> ANDRADE, 1974, p. 70.

<sup>350</sup> Mistake or mistake when mentioning Kiriale, the form "Kirial" points to the relationship between the title of the Minas Gerais poet's book and the name of Freitas Valle's mansion, Villa Kyrial.

According to Péricles Eugênio da Silva Ramos (1979, p. 232), the title of the book Kiriale "reflects that of Vila Kyrial itself."

<sup>351</sup> ANDRADE, 1974, p. 72.

**Then he offered to sign it. Now I remember that from the day I read “Fatum” in a magazine, I really liked it.**<sup>352</sup>

**Alphonsus was very impressed with Mário de Andrade, as can be seen understand in the letter he wrote to his son João Alphonsus telling the story from visit.**

**Five days ago, Mr. Mário de Morais Andrade, from S. Paulo, was here just to meet me, as he said. He has a doctorate in philosophical sciences. He read and copied several of my poems (mainly French ones), and admired your sonnet given to Belmiro Braga. He is a highly cultured boy, knowing by heart, in English, all of Poe's “The Crow”.**

**[...] The truth is that for those who live, like me, isolated – a visit like this leaves a deep impression.**<sup>353</sup>

**Contrary to what it might seem or what many critics said, the Alphonsus de Guimaraens's “isolation” was relative. The poet received visitors and maintained correspondence with other intellectuals such as the young Murilo Mendes who, in addition to writing letters to Alphonsus, received books and manuscripts from the symbolist.**<sup>354</sup> According to Martins de Oliveira, Alphonsus kept himself up to date about avant-garde literary movements. In 1919, Almeida Cousin and Martins de Oliveira also went to visit him in Mariana. The conversations they had with the symbolist poet were reported by Oliveira as follows:

---

<sup>352</sup> ANDRADE, 1974, p. 26. “Fatum” is part of Jacob's Ladder. Mario refers here to the autograph poem that Alphonsus gave him as a gift. This meeting between Mário and Alphonsus, which served as the theme for the beautiful poem “The Visit”, by Carlos Drummond de Andrade, merited an interesting comment by Eneida Maria de Souza (1991, p. 8) highlighting Mário de Andrade's aesthetic links with Alphonsus, Symbolism and religiosity: “From the contact of the author of There is a Drop of Blood in each Poem with Symbolism from Minas Gerais and the colonial Baroque, articles were recorded about Aleijadinho and a chronicle reporting the meeting with Alphonsus. In his luggage he carries two autographed poems by the poet, a relic that he keeps in his archive, proving one of the links that the writer would maintain with symbolist aesthetics, especially with regard to

<sup>353</sup> GUIMARAENS apud BUENO, 2002, p. 26. This passage reveals the poet's intention to publicize the poetry of his son João Alphonsus and also that the conversation revolved around literary tastes and affinities, as we can see in the mention of Edgar Allan Poe.

<sup>354</sup> Cf. AGUIAR, 2003, p. 32.

[...] there, gathered around the master, they discussed LAFORGUE, LAUTRÉAMONT and, above all, APOLLINAIRE. French Cubism was the object of careful analysis. It was in 1919... The little book, with which HUYSMANS sought to promote Modern Art, had become half a century old. It went through readings and re-readings. The sense of the new, the original, the opening of aesthetic paths, everything remained in the thought of some poor boys from Ouro Preto who, in their great old age, among ruins, smiled at the restless youth.<sup>355</sup>

In another part of his testimony, Martins de Oliveira concluded that Alphonsus was not the initiator of Modernism in Minas, but its precursor:

It seems that it will be extremely difficult to establish a name that had the responsibility of, with primacy, launching, in Minas, the avant-garde movement. In the present work, in its own place, the testimony of JOÃO DORNAS FILHO was invoked, who attributes to CARLOS DRUMMOND DE ANDRADE the glory of coordinator of forces and elements that spread throughout the interior. In truth, ALPHONSUS DE GUIMARAENS had foreshadowed the movement, which, established in Europe, would soon contaminate Brazil. He had made clear allusions to the facts to the poet ALMEIDA COUSIN and to a companion of his. Strictly, with CARLOS DRUMMOND DE ANDRADE and his friends, the movement began in Minas.<sup>356</sup>

Exaggeration or not, the fact is that Alphonsus was taken as a model poet modern by young writers before the “conversion” to nationalism that occurred in modernist movement. The words of the testimony of John Alphonsus in the book of Edgard Cavalheiro, *Testament of a Generation*, are quite eloquent about the symbolist influences (including his father's) on him and other modernists. One of the most significant excerpts is the one that mentions Alphonsus de Guimaraens' probable consent to his participation in the modernist movement.

Without my literary guide, without my oldest friend, in those moments of enthusiasm I always asked myself how

---

<sup>355</sup> OLIVEIRA, 1963, p. 209-210.

<sup>356</sup> OLIVEIRA, 1963, p. 362.

my father would have welcomed my adherence to literary ideals, which, in the voice of the theorists of the sparse group, also aimed at the remnant of symbolism [...] I am sure that, within his serenity, my father would have approved this adherence, if he had been alive.<sup>357</sup>

It is also possible to observe a dialogue between young writers from Minas Gerais and work of the poet of "Ismália". Melânia Silva de Aguiar, with great property, highlighted the role of poet-guide assigned by modernists from Minas Gerais to Alphonsus de Guimaraens.<sup>358</sup> In other words, Alphonsus de Guimaraens was incorporated as a precursor to the literary avant-garde.

Over this generation, in almost all, the unifying shadow of Alphonsus de Guimaraens, which is intertwined in the poetry of Cecília, Murilo, Emílio, Henriqueta. Alphonsus de Guimaraens, who precedes them by 30 years, will therefore be the symbolist beacon guiding all these young poets, debuting approximately in 1930, and is a present figure in the work of the three, whether by clear designation and homage, or by evocation of its verses or poetic atmosphere.<sup>359</sup>

The "discovery" of Alphonsus by young Brazilian writers in the decades of 1920 and 1930 was favored by the editions and re-editions that were organized by some modernists. In 1923, the book *Pastoral to the Believers of Love and Death* was published, published by Monteiro Lobato and organized by João Alphonsus. The book had a great impact on young writers from Minas Gerais. Then, in 1938, *Poesias* appeared, published by the Ministry of Education and Health. The book came with "Biographical News" and notes by João Alphonsus and was directed and reviewed by Manuel Bandeira.<sup>360</sup> An important detail in this edition of the Ministry of Education is that, at the time, Gustavo Capanema's Chief of Staff was Carlos

---

<sup>357</sup> ALPHONSUS, 1944, p. 157.

<sup>358</sup> AGUIAR, 2003, p. 31-32.

<sup>359</sup> AGUIAR, 2003, p. 31-32. It

<sup>360</sup> is important to highlight that João Alphonsus and Alphonsus de Guimaraens Filho were the greatest propagandists of their father's work.

**Drummond de Andrade, one of Alphonsus's greatest admirers among the modernists.<sup>361</sup>**

The power of symbolist aesthetics in Minas in the period before Modernism, especially from the Alfonsine work, is very evident in the following words by Carlos Drummond de Andrade, written in 1940:

Many of us never picked up a copy of *Kiriale* or *Dona Mística*, which were already popular at the time, but the refrain of "Catedral", a verse of a poem published in the fast magazines of the time, was enough to make us feel in our minds the full voltage of poetry, igniting the our substance. The "lugubrious response" resonated with us. And the black ships, the leafless roses over the dead loved ones (at that time we previously felt our loved ones were going to die), the "scary carriage" that takes the soul to bumps, the chinaberry, the lily, the double moon of Ismália had for us a power of liberation and distance from this poor and false poetic material of 1920. Before Modernism came, Alphonsus was already preserving us from the evils of the time. And no matter how morbid his kingdom was, it was there that we learned to have hea

Drummond's testimony is quite eloquent. The Symbolism represented, for several young writers at the beginning of the 20th century, the idea of modern before the modernist avant-gardes.

According to Maria Zilda Ferreira Cury, the launch of the book *Pastoral aos crentes do amor e da morte*, by Alphonsus de Guimaraens, in 1923, caused enormous astonishment among intellectuals from Minas Gerais.<sup>363</sup> The young writers highlighted the renewing aspect of his poetry, particularly his refusal to pompous verse, which brought him closer to modernist diction.

---

<sup>361</sup> We found that Carlos Drummond de Andrade, in 1971, also sought to publicize the work of Edgard Mata in a short article for *Gazetinha*, in Rio de Janeiro, in which he suggested an edition of his scattered works, a proposal that would only be carried out in 1978 by Cilene Cunha de Souza. Drummond also outlined a profile of the symbolist from Minas Gerais in the poem "O destino de Edgard Mata" using several allusions and references to his work. Interestingly, he highlighted the images of the "bunch of maritacas" and "African elves", two rare elements of local color present in Edgard Mata's poetry, making it acquire an aspect closer to modernist taste.

<sup>362</sup> ANDRADE apud DUTRA; CUNHA, 1956, p.80-81.

<sup>363</sup> CURY, 1998, p. 101.

It is important to highlight that Oswald de Andrade was among the young poets paulistas who also saw the modernity of Alphonsus de Guimaraens. In 1921, he published a text in the *Jornal do Comércio*, in São Paulo, as a tribute to the poet from Minas Gerais on the date of his death. Oswald de Andrade praised him, highlighting him among the group of Brazilian poets of that time: "Alphonsus de Guimaraens was undoubtedly worth all the poets of the Brazilian Academy together."<sup>364</sup> For the author of *Memórias sentimentais de João Miramar*, Alphonsus represented an avant-garde attitude:

Today, when a vibrant generation from São Paulo is breaking the bamboo structure of measured verses in their hands, the figure of Alphonsus de Guimaraens assumes his full grandeur in the movement of good national art. [...] The reaction he initiated against the lack of culture and backwardness of our main poets is being rigorously continued.<sup>365</sup>

The good relationship between the Symbolists and the Modernists was recalled in several passages in the book *Beira-mar*, by Pedro Nava. In one of them, the memoirist mentioned the great admiration that young writers from Minas Gerais had for symbolists.

Speaking of literary kinship, here are some comments about the position of the modernists in relation to the symbolists. I'm not going to say that modernism came out of this school. Yes, I believe that between

---

<sup>364</sup> ANDRADE apud GUIMARAENS FILHO, 1995, p.366.

<sup>365</sup> ANDRADE apud GUIMARAENS FILHO, 1995, p. 366-367. Apparently, Oswald did not get to know the humorous verses, the circumstance verses and the riddle-poems written by Alphonsus de Guimarães. If you had known them, you might have noticed in these verses a formulation very similar to your own modernist poetics. The inclusion of Alphonsus and Severiano among the renewers of Brazilian poetry was also defended by Affonso Ávila (1978, p.78) in the book *The poet and critical consciousness*: "Alphonsus de Guimaraens and Cruz e Souza were ostensibly inscribed in the Mallarmean lyrical orbit, although it was the almost unknown Severiano de Rezende and Pedro Kilkerry who were the Brazilian symbolists who most advanced towards the elaboration of a new language and verbal invention". Henriqueta Lisboa (1971, p.16), after pointing out innovations in Severiano de Rezende's poetry, suggested the possibility of a surrealist influence in the "Hymn to the Venturus Man": "The rush of enumerations, the extravagance of vocabulary and the fire The cross of images creates an apocalyptic atmosphere in which thought thickens, whether due to the depth or the mystery of the conception itself. One would say that the poet's genius was on the verge of madness; or embarked on the sur-

There were no points of friction between the two literary phenomena and they both fought the common past enemy. In Brazil, I have never seen attacks by modernists on any symbolist. On the contrary. Mário de Andrade made a pilgrimage to Mariana to see, practice and visit our Alphonsus. The Magazine lets out three cries of sympathy for the sectarians in the Manifesto signed by Moréas on September 18, 1886 in the literary supplement to Figaro. In fact, our group, in addition to constantly filling its mouth with the names of Moréas himself, Verlaine, Rimbaud, makes suggestive periods appear on the pages of A Revista. One by Martins de Almeida: "This is the residue of symbolism that remains." An unsigned article (Carlos? Emilio?) on the death of Pierre Louys says verbatim: "Symbolism was an admirable purifying agent – this is what even those who reacted against it are forced to recognize. He left us Laforgue and Rimbaud: what more could we ask of him?" The Marginália of the second number brings a long praise to Alphonsus de Guimaraens.<sup>366</sup>

**At a gathering commemorating the anniversary of the death of Alphonsus de Guimaraens in 1936, an event organized by Henrique Lisboa, the writer Ciro dos Anjos told how the young people “discovered” Alphonsus miners.**

It was on one of these afternoons that we discovered the poet Alphonsus. The discovery of Alphonsus marked an epoch in our lives.

We were a little green and today I see that we did not encompass, in its entirety, Alphonsus' universe. Only later would we be able to feel the full soul of his song, the bitter accent of his poetry, distilled among the music, funeral flowers and pale sunsets. We fed on his poetry, for what there was of music and simple lyricism in it. "A flute note, oh! A flute note!"

For us lyricists of 1923, Alphonsus was the only possible poet. Bilaquean, Apollonian, logical, architectural poetry did not serve our emotions. Raimundo Correia and other famous people also remained incomprehensible to us. We looked for the simple, the mystical, the painful, the melodic in poetry. And only Alphonsus provided us with the poetic imponderables that our spiritual substance needed. As believers in love, we collected the poet's pastoral. The message to the believers of death remained, for us, as a mysterious, hermetic domain of the poet's thought. At the age of seventeen, death cannot be imagined, and only later were we able to understand the other side of Alphonsus.

---

<sup>366</sup> NAVA, 2003, p. 246.

**But partial misunderstanding did not mutilate, in us, the veneration of the saint of Mariana.<sup>367</sup>**

At the same literary event, Guilhermino César gave a speech in which it precisely highlighted the current situation, the contemporaneity of Alphonsus. Therefore, the modernists (“innovators”) would have assumed, according to him, the responsibility of disseminate the poetry of Alphonsus.

I imagine the incomprehension that surrounded you in your early years, the uncertainty that hurt your first steps. Incomprehension, I don't say, but the astonishment that your appearance in the old pages of the “Revista Brasileira” must have caused. Everything was different there, in absolute disagreement with you. The form had its pilgrim masters, who were not yours. Only you were different and, in the meantime, you soon began to find resonance. And you abandoned the victors, those who cultivated the elaborate phrase of rumor for an imprecise emotion. You, on the other hand, were looking for long, lively, real emotion, and you did it in t

You were always contemporary, current. In the poetic geography of Brazil, you will always be a unique accident, because you were the balance of our Mediterranean land. You didn't know how to scream. In you there is no flow, but soft and sonorous water.

And that was precisely why yesterday's innovators, venturing out into the open, did nothing useful other than spread your message. Multiple Alphonsus, numerous Alphonsus, to whom we never fail to light our lamp, now brought here by the kind hands of Henrique Lisboa.<sup>368</sup>

The hypothesis that Alphonsus de Guimaraens would have been a reference literature for several modernist authors was reinforced by Eduardo Portela who sought to justify Alphonsus's stay with the following argument:

And it is this highly qualified artistic elaboration that will explain the permanence of Alphonsus de Guimaraens. And more than permanence, this prolongation of Alphonsus in the admiration of

<sup>367</sup> DISCOVERY of Alphonsus. Words by Cyro dos Anjos evoking the figure of the great mystic. Folha de Minas, Belo Horizonte, 19 July. 1936, p. 3.

<sup>368</sup> ALPHONSUS of Guimaraens and the moderns. Concepts of Guilhermino César. Folha de Minas, Belo Horizonte, 19 July. 1936. p. 3.

our greatest poets. It would be a seductive and revealing chapter of our literary essayism if it dealt with the resonance of Alphonsus' work in poets of the stature of Mário de Andrade, who already in 1919 had traveled to Mariana to meet the author of *Câmara Ardente*, by Manuel Bandeira, Oswald de Andrade, Henrique Lisboa, Carlos Drummond de Andrade, Emílio Moura, Murilo Mendes, Augusto Frederico Schmidt. It is an esteem that is especially surprising in moments of rebellion and modernist irreverence. It has still been a prolonged, growing esteem; which is justified because poets like him, it was the irreverent Oswald de Andrade who proclaimed, still in the midst of the controversial phase of Modernism, on June 25, 1921, "honor not only a generation but a homel

Drummond went further, suggesting that the resonances of Alphonsus could be found not only in modernists, but also in authors after Modernism and all understood within the same "lineage".  
of sensibility" that originated not Romanticism:

One thing had to come out: the determination of the subtle and subterranean influence – or rather, affinity – that links the solitary Alphonsus of 1921-1922 to the Brazilian poets of Modernism and what has been called, without greater meaning, post-modernism. I am no longer referring to poets of Christian inspiration, such as Augusto Frederico Schmidt or Murilo Mendes, but to these others, so far removed from Alphonsus in their conception of life, in themes, in form and in everything and yet tied to him by a line of sensitivity which will end up, who knows, in the gallery of our great romantics.<sup>370</sup>

In São Paulo, at a time when the modernist avant-garde was showing its strength, Freitas Valle closed the fifth cycle of conferences at Villa Kyrial talking about Alphonsus of Guimaraens. Before that, during the gestation period of the movement that would give rise to the Week of 22, the action of the Minas Gerais writer Agenor Barbosa in order to value and publicize the work of Alphonsus de Guimaraens in the intellectual circles of São Paulo. Through him is that

---

<sup>369</sup> PORTELA, 2001, p. 25.

<sup>370</sup> ANDRADE at GUIMARAENS, 2001, p. 32.

**the connections between the Minas Gerais symbolists and the modernists can be perceived, in very clearly, from the perspective of continuity in the form of a network.**

Among Agenor Barbosa's intellectual activities in the capital of São Paulo, he must his participation in the second cycle of conferences at Villa Kyrial should be mentioned in 1921. Like Oswald de Andrade, he published a text in honor of Alphonsus, but in the *Correio Paulistano*, with the title "The rhythmist of silence... (To Alphonsus de Guimaraens – Praise for glory and epitaph for his tomb, when it comes to his death)". In this article, Agenor Barboa dealt with the life and poetry of Alphonsus, highlighting his mystical character. He also wrote about the perenniability of his poetry and the legendary aspect that the poet assumed.

At that time, according to Mário da Silva Brito, the modernist group was already almost fully constituted and included the Minas Gerais poet Agenor Barbosa.

[...] other events, worthy of mention, occurred in 1921, which was a year rich in events. Facts that accelerated the evolution of the movement and led it to culminate in Modern Art Week.

By this time, the modernist group had already been almost entirely constituted. Not only practically constituted, but also subdivided according to the vocations of its various components. Poets are Mário de Andrade, Menotti del Picchia, Guilherme de Almeida, Agenor Barbosa and Plínio Salgado. Menotti and Oswald are novelists.<sup>371</sup>

This group, according to Mário da Silva Brito, would have implemented the reformist indoctrination in preparation for the Modern Art Week. "Indoctrination that is explained in a series of articles by Oswald de Andrade, Menotti del Picchia, by Cândido Mota Filho, Agenor Barbosa, Mário de Andrade, who are the most active polemicists of the innovative group".<sup>372</sup>

Agenor Barbosa was mentioned in texts by Mário de Andrade and Sérgio Milliet. Furthermore, his work was analyzed and praised by Menotti del Picchia and

---

<sup>371</sup> BRITISH, 1997, p. 308-309.

<sup>372</sup> BRITISH, 1997, p. 187.

**Plínio Salgado.** Oswald de Andrade placed him among the representatives of the Brazilian modernism in the conference he gave at the Sorbonne in 1923.

An entire youth competes with your enthusiasm. It is composed of the poets Luiz Aranha, Tácito de Almeida, Agenor Barbosa, Plínio Salgado, the novelist René Thiollier and the essayists Rubens Moraes, Cândido Mota Filho, Couto de Barros and Sérgio Buarque de Holanda.<sup>373</sup>

It is interesting to note that Menotti del Picchia created two images for “describe” Agenor Barbosa by relating him to the elements of the modern city (“Agenor Barbosa – A sadness from Minas Gerais in a drizzle, dreaming of stars under electric arcs, amidst the argentine squeak of the Light trams...”)<sup>374</sup> and another , strongly associated with Decadentism/Symbolism, that of a melancholic Pierrot (Agenor Barbosa – A pale, sad Pierrot with the solemn airs of a gentleman full of civic responsibilities.”).<sup>375</sup> Comparisons serve to reflect not only about the figure of the poet from Minas Gerais, but also about the characteristics of his work, which mixed symbolist and modernist/futurist elements.

Another symbolist from Minas Gerais who remained in an oscillating posture in his contacts with the modernist movement was José Severiano de Rezende. Yours poetic dialogues with Decadentism, Symbolism and Parnassianism they had been published in the book *Mistérios*, by Aillaud and Bertrand, from Lisbon, in 1920, that is, almost on the eve of Modern Art Week. Despite that, Some of Severiano’s poems were not without an experimental, innovative, avant-garde side, as is the case with “Hatred to Hatred”. This set of poems can perhaps be considered, in certain aspects, a predecessor of Affonso Ávila’s poetry in terms of the arrangement, the arrangement of the verses, combined with a game of repetitions and permutations that refer to the

---

<sup>373</sup> ANDRADE, 1972, p. 214.

<sup>374</sup> DEL PICCHIA, 1983, p. 304.

<sup>375</sup> DEL PICCHIA, 1983, p. 255.

musicality of litanies and texts of baroque origin.<sup>376</sup> About the traces recurring elements that characterize the work of Severiano de Rezende, the poet Henriqueta Lisbon noted the baroque heritage and poetic innovations that place it among the precursors of Modernism.

We can, without a doubt, classify him as symbolist, in his fundamentals. However, it is necessary to examine his Parnassian taste, his romantic delirium, the marks of humanism, his baroque supports, his mystical reality, and even the innovations that qualify him as an avant-garde, before the modernism of 22,<sup>377</sup>

Henriqueta Lisboa also stated that the mixture of characteristics from several literary schools present in Severiano's work were related to the poet's commitment to creating a work with personal diction.

To achieve its authenticity and give the work a solid context, the poet made use of all its virtual characteristics, relating them to the resources of various schools or aesthetic currents and working with feverish clairvoyance on the following data: verbal emphasis, strong language, vocabulary enriched with inventions based on Latin and Greek, paradoxes, opposition of images, liturgical metaphors, religious allegories, large-scale alliteration, aggressive clash of consonants, mobile cadence, impulsive rhythm, various metrification, from biblical verses to those with two syllables, repetition of words and periods, augmentative adjectives, chaotic enumeration, use of unusual adverbs, creation of new verbs, fusion of adjectives into a single word.<sup>378</sup>

---

<sup>376</sup> Resonances of Alphonsus de Guimaraens can also be noted in the poetry of Affonso Ávila. According to Nilze Paganini (2008, p. 60), Ávila "recognized the importance of Alphonsus de Guimaraens for his work, stating that he had great admiration for the symbolist poet. Ávila also related the poetry of Alphonsus and that of Cláudio Manuel da Costa to the baroque tradition that he valued so much". In an interview with Paganini, Affonso Ávila declared that there could be echoes of Alphonsus's poetry in his book Spring Sonnets: "it is possible because the admiration I have for Alphonsus has always been very great". ÁVILA apud PAGANINI, 2008, p. 236.

<sup>377</sup> LISBON, 1971, p. 5.

<sup>378</sup> LISBON, 1971, p. 6.

In 1922, back in Brazil, Severiano de Rezende began to collaborate in the Rio newspaper *A Notícia*. The Symbolist generally reflected on Brazilian themes. Many of them were later taken up in the texts that Severiano published in French press. These texts revealed Severiano's positions in relation to Brazilian debates at the time. One of the recurring themes was the nationalism. That year, the Centenary of Brazil's Independence was celebrated. Some of the titles of the chronicles are quite clear in terms of content: "Patriotism", "The flag and the anthem" and "Brazilianism". Other articles dealt with literature. On December 30, 1922, he published the most surprising text of all of those he wrote because, through him, he dialogued directly with Modernism in a parody of a futurist poem. Entitled "The past and the future", this text demonstrates that Severiano de Rezende was a writer well informed about the aesthetic proposals of the futurists.<sup>379</sup>

Severiano de Rezende's contact with Brazilian modernists and their work would continue in Paris after his return to Europe in 1924. On 17 June 1926, on the occasion of Tarsila do Amaral's first solo exhibition in Galerie Percier, in Paris, José Severiano de Rezende wrote a review entitled "La peinture brésilienne" for the newspaper *La Gazette du Brésil*. In this text, He showed himself knowledgeable about Picasso, Foujita and Modigliani in his analysis of Tarsila's paintings. The poet from Minas Gerais was so impressed with the artist's work that He acquired a painting called "Paisagem" (1924), from the so-called Pau-Brasil phase.<sup>380</sup>

[...] Tarsila, who learned painting as well or even better than the masters, understood one day (the most beautiful day of her life) that she needed to unlearn it, and urgently. He then immersed himself in the unexplored originality of Christmas inspirations. It's Picasso's adventure. Clean slate and moving towards fruitful renewals. [...]

Just examine the sketches and drawings on display to be convinced that Tarsila is a master and whether her drawing reveals

<sup>379</sup> This text/poem, given its typographic layout, deserves to be seen as it appeared in *A News*. Therefore, it is reproduced in Appendix A.

<sup>380</sup> This information can be found in a list, written by Oswald de Andrade, with the paintings that were part of the exhibition and their respective buyers. In it, the name of Severiano de Rezende appears as the buyer of the painting. See BOAVENTURA, 1995, p. 126. According to Aracy Amaral (1997, p. 28), the canvas actually belonged to José Severiano de Rezende, but is currently lost.

a solid framework, its color that is made of splendor in sobriety, vibrates with a richness of matter that is only found in patient researchers like Foujita, with her impeccable lines and opulent lacquers. [...]

The self-portrait reproduced on the cover of the catalog would be enough to prove the value of the young painter. It's a simple head, a very pure design, just stylized, where the entire being lives. Thus the head of the black man in prayer gives the entire movement of the figure. When this veracity of movement, gesture, way of being is achieved in painting (this was all of Modigliani's art) the end has been reached, perfection achieved.<sup>381</sup>

The importance that this critical text acquired for Modernism can be verified in its inclusion, in 1929, in the catalog of Tarsila do Amaral's first solo exhibition in Brazil, which took place in Rio de Janeiro, and in the catalog of the exhibition in São Paulo in the same year.<sup>382</sup> It was the exhibition that established the artist as a prominent figure in Brazilian modern art.<sup>383</sup> An excerpt from this review by Severiano Oswald published in Revista de Antropofagia about the Rio exhibition.<sup>384</sup>

Another relevant text to situate the thoughts of José Severiano de Rezende on Brazilian modernists is the critique "Musique brésilienne", published on the Le Brésil page, of the Journal des Nations Américaines, on July 7, 1929. In it, Severiano de Rezende analyzed the work Amazonas, by Villa-Lobos, comparing it to an excerpt from Amériques, by the French composer naturalized North American Edgard Varèse, and the works of Carlos Gomes and Alberto Nepomuceno. For Severiano de Rezende, Villa-Lobos was superior to his Brazilian predecessors, having made a blank slate of everything that existed before from him.

---

<sup>381</sup> REZENDE, 1972, p. 122-124.

<sup>382</sup> The catalog for the Rio exhibition, prepared by Geraldo Ferraz, presented to the Brazilian public the texts of Parisian reviews of the 1926 and 1928 exhibitions and several texts that Brazilian modernists wrote about the artist. Mário de Andrade, Manuel Bandeira, Antônio de Alcântara Machado and Menotti del Picchia were some of the authors included in the catalogue. The same texts were repeated in the São Paulo exhibition catalog.

<sup>383</sup> AMARAL, 1975, p. 284.

<sup>384</sup> "José Severiano de Rezende, in an excellent article he wrote about her [Tarsila], said it very well: Truly, Tarsila's painting 'is a revelation and a revolution.' THE EXHIBITION of Tarsila do Amaral, at the "Palace-Hotel", in Rio de Janeiro, was the first great battle of Anthropophagy.

And the young musician impetuously threw himself into the jungle thorns. He went to see the indigenous people up close, saw them dance and sing and brought back, from all this dangerous and adventurous pilgrimage, some sets of interesting motifs. He could certainly collect them without risking his skin that far. But Mr. Villa-Lobos was young, he knew what he wanted and it is a known fact that when someone intends to create an art whose origins must be narrated, it is preferable to speak with the legends of the marajós and the tupinambás. There is folklore in Brazil. [...] We were rocked and we grew up to the melancholic sound of songs Villa-Lobos, like all of us, had this experience. However, he was not satisfied with that. He preferred to go to the virgin forest, get lost in the lianas, sail in canoes and allow himself to be imprisoned by one of those fierce – the fiercest, perhaps – tribes of savage Tupi in the confines of the Amazon. From this adventure was born the score *Amazonas*, which we heard at Salle Gaveau. This song, in effect, erases everything that existed in Brazil. Carlos Gomes, our greatest musician, despite his intensely colorful Italianism, did not accept the new technique, nor did Alberto Nepomuceno, this Wagnerian who failed because he was a Wagnerian. But, without a doubt, Mr. Villa-Lobos did something that will allow us to broaden our horizons and see a little clearer.<sup>385</sup>

"Musique brésilienne" must be situated in the context of José's relationships Severiano de Rezende with cultural institutions dedicated to Latin America in France and with the ideology of "Latinidad" widespread in that historical period. At the time when José Severiano de Rezende became involved in the periodical networks, French people and cultural institutions linked to Latin America and the defense of

---

<sup>385</sup> REZENDE, José Severiano de. Brazilian music. *Journal of American Nations*, Brazil, Paris, July 7, 1929, p.3, tradução nossa. No original: "And the young musician rushed into the brambles of the bush, went to see the natives up close, heard them dancing and singing and brought back from all this perilous and adventurous wandering a few sheaves of interesting motifs. He could pick them perfectly without going risk his neck so far. But Mr. Villa-Lobos was young, he knew well what he wanted and it is a known fact that when you want to create an art whose sources are worth telling, it is preferable to come with the legends of the marajós and the tupinambás. Folklore, in Brazil, there is [...]. We were lulled and we grew up to the melancholy sound of cantilena and tales. Mr. Villa-Lobos, like all of us have experienced this. But he was not content with it. He preferred to go into the virgin forest, get lost in the lianas, navigate on perissoires and naturally be taken prisoner by one of these ferocious ones – the most ferocious, perhaps – tribes of savage Tupis in the depths of the Amazon. From this adventure was born the score *Amazonas*, which we heard [at] Salle Gaveau. This music, in fact, makes a clean sweep of everything that existed in Brazil. Carlos Gomes, our greatest musician, who, despite his intensely colored Italianism, would not have accepted the new technique, nor Alberto Nepomuceno, this Wagnerian who failed because he was a Wagnerian. But there is no doubt that Mr. Villa-Lobos h

**“latinidade”,<sup>386</sup> his texts began to be translated and received positive appreciation from French critics. On June 1 , 1927, Victor-Émile Michelet published a translation of the long poem “À Lucifer” in the Revue de l'Amérique Latine.**

**Michelet was an esoteric poet who frequented the great names of occultism (Papus, for example) and symbolist literature (Mallarmé, Villiers de l'Isle Adam and Maeterlink). A few days later, on June 18, it was Philéas Lebesgue's turn to publish the best study of Severiano's work in France on the pages of prestigious Revue Bleue, accompanied by some poems translated by the poet from Minas Gerais and the author of the study. Lebesgue presented his version of “The frog”, “Inferno interior”, “Verlaine” and Severiano de Rezende's own version of the poem “Cântico à vida”. Two years later, translations of “The Blind Man” appeared.**

---

<sup>386</sup> The ideology of “Latinidad” emerged in the 19th century when there was a change in the imaginary of the colonial/modern world system. For Walter Mignolo, the “turning point occurred in 1898, when the US-Spanish war was justified, from the US perspective, by the superiority of the 'white Anglo-Saxon race', whose destiny was to civilize the world, over the 'white Christians'. Catholics and Latinos”. MIGNOLO, 2003, p. 59. Still for this author, “Latinidad” would have been created by certain intellectuals and members of the French government who drew borders, both in Europe and the Americas, between Anglo-Saxons and Latins, to gain leadership in the group of countries of Latin origin. The former Iberian colonies forged their post-independence identity and positioned themselves in the new modern and global colonial order precisely through this ideology. About Walter Mignolo's thoughts on this topic, see PAGANINI, 2008, p. 181-182. The comparison of Varèse's work with that of Villa-Lobos was related to the contrast that José Severiano de Rezende used to make between the North American spirit and the Latin spirit. The words used by Severiano to analyze Varèse's work were loaded with a negative connotation: “Mr. Edgard Varèse, as long as his music contains some symbol, is not far from transforming the ideals of Pan-Americanism into a kind of noisy pandemonium. One would imagine a Walpurgis night, a Sabbath like that of Macbeth, a final judgment or a social revolution set to music by the composer Gargantua.” REZENDE, José Severiano de. Musique brésilienne. Journal des Nations Américaines, Le Brésil, Paris, 7 July 1929, p.3, our translation. In the original: “M. Edgard Varèse, pour peu que sa musique recèle quelque symbole, n'est pas loin de transformer les idéals de panaméricanisme en une sorte de pintamarresque pandémonium.” One way the writer from Minas Gerais participated in the French public scene was giving conferences. In 1924, he held the conference “L'esprit latin” as an accompaniment to the exhibition of Latin American art at the Musée Galliera, an event organized by the Maison de l'Amérique Latine and the Académie Internationale de Beaux-Arts. Also part of the program was a concert with pieces by Latin American composers. One of them was the song “Polichinelo”, by Villa-Lobos. In the same year, he was in charge of presenting a film about Brazil at the Semaine de l'Amérique Latine. In 1925, he gave another conference on Brazil broadcast on Radio Paris. Another way of participating was as a correspondent at the VI Congrès de Presse Latine, held in Bucharest. His analysis of the event was recorded in a chronicle published in the Revue de l'Amérique Latine, in the issue of October 1 , 1927. According to Renato de Lima Júnior, the poet from Minas Gerais also received an invitation from ambassador Souza Dantas to represent Brazil in the centenary of the birth of Frédéric Mistral. See LIMA JÚNIOR, 2002, p. 139. As we know, Frédéric Mistral was involved with the formulation of the unity of countries of Latin origin, which consisted of a reaction against the ideas of inferiority of Latin peoples disseminated by German-speaking authors and by Anglo-Saxons. Severiano was affiliated with the tradition of Frédéric Mistral's “Latin posterity” and the fact that he initially published his poems in Portuguese was a way of creating differentiation in his artistic personality and valuing the Portuguese-Brazilian tradition within the “Latinity” as a whole. .

deaf-mute" and "Treno", performed by Severiano, at Revue Bleue. In 1930, a excerpt from the "Hymn to the happy man", translated by Lebesgue and Severiano, also was published in Revue Bleue. This work had been published in full in 1922 in the form of a booklet by the publisher H. Gaulon, from Paris. Severiano's partnership with Lebesgue must be seen as a sign of the high regard that one had for the other. When Lebesgue published his translation of the novel Iracema, by José de Alencar, he invited Severiano de Rezende to be the book's preface. The preface by Severiano ended with praise for Lebesgue's translation, which he classified as "delicate" and "powerful".<sup>387</sup> A praise that would be expanded upon in the article "Une traduction et un traducteur", which he wrote for the Le Brésil page of the Journal des Nations Américaines, on September 15, 1929 . discussed a policy of translating Brazilian literary works into French, Severiano proposed the name Lebesgue to translate O Guarani, by José de Alencar, due to his successful French version of Iracema.

All these publications point to translation practices developed by some of the symbolists from Minas Gerais. Carlos Raposo translated "The verse", by the decadentist D'Annunzio. Horácio Guimarães rendered two poems from Spanish romantic José de Espronceda. Ernesto Cerqueira translated some sonnets by Stecchetti, an author who was also translated into Portuguese by Alphonsus de Guimaraens.<sup>389</sup> We do not know for sure why Espronceda and Stecchetti by the symbolists from Minas Gerais. However, we could think of an affinity with Espronceda's Byronic romantic sensibility and with the poems by Stecchetti that dealt with the binomial love/death, that is, with the poems that revolved around the basic theme of the lyrics of Alphonsus and his disciples. These translations should be seen as those that Alphonsus de Guimaraens made of

---

<sup>387</sup> REZENDE, 1928, p. 12.

<sup>388</sup> REZENDE, José Severiano de. A translation and a translator, *Journal of American Nations*, Brazil, Paris, n. 37, September 15, 1929, p. 3.

<sup>389</sup> ESPRONCEDA, José de. The Guard. Translated by Horácio Guimarães. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 25 Feb. 1901, p. 1; ESPRONCEDA, José de. The Captive. Translated by Horácio Guimarães. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, p. 1, 19 March 1901, p. 1; STECCHETTI, L. Sonnet (I don't want to know what existed). Translated by Ernesto Cerqueira. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, February 5, 1901; STECCHETTI, L. LXXXIII. Translated by Ernesto Cerqueira. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, p. 1, 7 Mar. 1901, p. 1; STECCHETTI, L.. LXVII. Translated by Ernesto Cerqueira. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, March 22. 1901, p. 1; STECCHETTI, L. Resurrexit. Translated by Ernesto Cerqueira. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 13 April. 1901, p. 1.

poems by Verlaine and Mallarmé. That is, as a recreation and reinvention of the models to be from a personal filter.

At the end of the 1920s, translations of some poems by Severiano de Rezende into French and its publication in highly renowned periodicals such as the Revue Bleue, his work as main editor of the Le Brésil page, in the Journal des Nations Américaines and the beginning of their collaboration at Mercure de France writing the column "Lettres brésiliennes" marked the beginning of another phase in its relations with French intellectual circles. At this time, his work was receiving special attention from critics. Philéas Lebesgue, for example, In 1927, he dedicated the essay "Un grand lyrique brésilien: J. Severiano de Rezende" to her, published in the pages of Revue Bleue. For Lebesgue, Severiano was one of the most important writers in Brazilian literature.<sup>390</sup> The following year, the poet, novelist and journalist André Delacour spoke about the symbolist from Minas Gerais, echoing Lebesgue's essay in Journal Parlé, on Parisian radio TSF (Téléphonie Sans Fil) and Philéas Lebesgue gave a lecture about him at a meeting of the literary salon of the poet Joseph Mélon.<sup>391</sup>

In 1931, shortly after starting the collaboration at Mercure de France, one of the most important periodicals of the French symbolist movement, José Severiano de Rezende passed away. His participation was short, just two texts that gave proof of his capacity and critical talent.<sup>392</sup>

Let us now move on to the study of Minas Gerais symbolists in relation to a world which was experiencing increasingly accelerated transformations, marked by turbulence and disintegration.

---

<sup>390</sup> For the French critic, Severiano's work would be "one of the most profound that emerged in America after the conquest" ("l'une des plus profondes qui aient éclos en Amérique depuis la conquête") and comparable in importance to that of Graça Aranha. Lebesgue thought that the two would have become "one in prose, the other in poetry, two intellectual apexes of their race" ("l'un en prose, l'autre en vers, deux sommets intellectuels de leur race"). LEBESGUE, Philéas. Un grand lyrique brésilien: J. Severiano de Rezende. Revue Bleue, Paris, n.12, 18 juin. 1927, p. 353.

<sup>391</sup> LIMA JÚNIOR, 2002, p. 144.

<sup>392</sup> About Severiano de Rezende's collaboration at Mercure de France, see AMARAL, 2000, p. 153.

## **EXPANDING AND CHANGING WORLD**

**“The flag flies in the filthy landscape, and our slang drowns out the drum.**

**“In the centers we will fuel the most cynical prostitution.  
We will massacre logical revolts.**

**“To flooded countries that smell like pepper! – in service  
of the most monstrous industrial and military exploitations.**

**“Goodbye here, no matter where. Recruits of good will, we will  
have fierce philosophy; ignorant of science, exhausted by comfort:  
and may this world explode! It's the real march.  
Onward, on the way!”**

**Illuminations, Rimbaud**

**I no longer think about transient life,  
Outside my village and my home**

**“If I told you...”, Mamede de Oliveira**

## MODERNIZATION AND UPGRADING

**A** The history of modernity is the history of the constitution of what Walter Mignolo called it the modern world/colonial system.<sup>393</sup> The origin of this process can be located at the end of the 15th century, from the "discovery" of America and the establishment of the commercial and financial circuit of Atlantic, which began the westernization of the world. Opposing yourself to theorists that locate the beginning of modernity in the 18th century, relating it to the set of political, economic and social changes resulting from the Enlightenment, the French Revolution and the English Industrial Revolution, Walter Mignolo considered that these changes were, in fact, the beginning of another historical phase of the modern world system, characterized by English and French hegemony and imperialist expansion towards Africa and Asia.<sup>394</sup>

From the 19th century onwards, changes in epistemological, political and economic standards intensified in the countries of America that were previously dominated by Portugal and Spain. These countries, after gaining their "independence", began to adopt models imported from England and France, the new hegemonic nations, and, later, also from the United States.<sup>395</sup>

In the second half of the 19th century, the most developed countries in Europe experienced a radical change in the economic plan that became known

---

<sup>393</sup> MIGNOLO, 2003, p. 49.

<sup>394</sup> Walter Mignolo shares with Enrique Dussel the idea that there are two concepts of modernity. For Dussel, the first is what places modernity as the result of an internal historical development in Europe and understood from the perspective of human emancipation and enlightenment. From this perspective, there is continuity between the Italian Renaissance, the Reformation, the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. Dussel (2000, p.469-470) considers "this 'Eurocentric' perspective because it indicates internal European phenomena as the starting point of modernity and explains its subsequent development without resorting to anything outside Europe" (in the original: "this perspective "Eurocentric", for it indicates intra-European phenomena as the starting point of modernity and explains its later development without making recourse to anything outside of Europe". The second concept of modernity is the one that adopts a global perspective. According to Dussel, the beginning of the world system is in the 15th century with the "discovery" of America. Before that, cultural systems or empires coexisted. From this movement of Portuguese and Spanish expansion, the entire space of the planet began to exist in a single world history.

<sup>395</sup> MIGNOLO, 2003, p. 87.

as the Second Industrial Revolution. The creation of new technologies, combined with other factors, resulted in an extraordinary growth in industrial production. In these countries, production has become greater than consumption, causing a instability in the system and pressure to expand the consumer market of industrial products. Increased industrialization also meant a growth in demand for raw materials that, to a large extent, were sought from other continents. It is interesting how Nicolau Sevcenko described this process:

In both cases, growth in production and demand paved the way for the spatial unfolding of the capitalist system, which, based on the implementation of communication and transportation techniques, extended its action throughout the world, undermining and destroying closed empires and pre- or non-capitalist economies in its wake.<sup>396</sup>

The expansion of the West over the territories of traditional societies, based on other modes of production, had a huge impact on natural resources and human beings, who came to be considered as mere commodities. Modernization consumed and disintegrated the life and values of these societies, replacing them with new forms, more suited to their needs. interests of imperialist countries. Modernization can be seen as a long-term process, marked by constant cultural clashes, struggles, contradictions, ambiguities and anxieties caused by various types of social and individual destabilization. For Marshall Berman, modernity imposed the logic of the incessant transformation of the world, replacing the ideals of solidity and fixity with those of change in all aspects of life.<sup>397</sup> Hardman already emphasized the “perennial displacement, the cutting of roots, the adventures of the retina, drifting navigation” experienced on a global scale.<sup>398</sup>

---

<sup>396</sup> SEVCENKO, 2003, p. 60.

<sup>397</sup> BERMAN, 1986, p.11-12.

<sup>398</sup> HARDMAN, 2005, p.27.

Two main ways of considering modernization processes have been configuring itself over time. On the one hand, they were seen as opening to a better future and, on the other, as paths of destruction and decay, generating fear of the disintegration of community and individual identities. Such perceptions were present, often subtly, in the texts of Minas Gerais symbolists. In tune with the “modern spirit”, they revealed sensitivity to changes present in the varied rhythms of the processes of modernity.

Before analyzing the texts of Minas Gerais symbolists that reveal to us the conflicts experienced by subjects in modernity, we will briefly consider the Brazilian situation so that our understanding expands and is anchored in a context with its own specificities.

Until the 1800s, Brazil had an agrarian economy basically focused on exports and only at the end of the 19th century did this structure began to be modified. The transformations that occurred were related to the need to adapt colonized regions to the demands of economic development in Western countries.<sup>399</sup> In the Belle Epoque period, according to Nicolau Sevcenko, the theory of races was an ideological justification used by imperialism for its nationalist policies domestically and for its expansionism on the external plane.

The imperialist race to conquer broad markets capable of feeding the Europe of the Second Industrial Revolution found in the theory of races a worthy and sufficient justification for its vandalism in the “barbaric” regions of the globe. It was about bringing the benefits of civilization to “backward” peoples. Now, civilization, in this sense, was synonymous with the way of life of the Europeans of the Belle Époque. <sup>400</sup>

<sup>399</sup> SEVCENKO, 2003, p. 61.

<sup>400</sup> SEVCENKO, 2003, p.146.

The ideological foundations of this modernization process in the context Brazilian origin came from theories formulated in European metropolises around the notions of science, race and civilization.<sup>401</sup>

Changes in the economy during the reign of Pedro II triggered transformations also at the social and political level, shaking the schemes traditional support of monarchical power. Agriculture was no longer the only possible enterprise and investments began to be made in other sectors. Thus, the construction of railways, the creation of financial institutions and the development of some industrial enterprises are indicative of this principle of economic diversification. Externally, the new production conditions generated by the Second Industrial Revolution were putting the slavery system into crisis.

In the countryside, traditional agricultural areas gradually witnessed their production decreased and went into decline. The regions in which farms used more improved production methods and replaced labor slaves for the work of immigrants, made up the most dynamic part of the rural economic activities.

The antagonisms between the groups gradually became more accentuated and led to the emergence of numerous conflicts. The sectors most integrated into new demands of the modern world system called for an increase in stimuli and the implementation of policies aimed at development economic and technological of the country.

Socioeconomic modernization was thus revealed through a series of phenomena: the transition from slave labor to free labor, the arrival of immigrants in significant waves, the increase in the number of schools and the rate of literacy, the beginning of a network of means of communication through the telegraph and the telephone, the development of the press, the beginning of a process of industrialization in the sense of import substitution and expansion of internal market, the installation of a railway network, urban lighting, the improvement of basic sanitation, the generalization of the use of steam ships, the reform

---

<sup>401</sup> SEVCENKO, 2003, p. 147.

of ports and the increase in exports of agricultural products such as coffee, rubber and cocoa. These phenomena contributed to the development of urbanization, mainly in exporting centers. Due to such concentration, changes occurred more slowly or practically did not exist in the regions further away from these locations.

In the second half of the 19th century, sectors dissatisfied with the monarchy began to disseminate republican ideas in Brazil. The regime monarchical was associated, in republican discourse, with the colonial system that was sought to be overcome. However, the military coup of 1889 did not represent a rupture in the Brazilian historical process. Modernization preserved dominant interests, maintaining the colonial character of the economy and dependence on external. In fact, most political actions had a conservative sense. First of all, we must bear in mind that the traumas of uprooting, which had begun with the enslavement of indigenous people and Africans, continued in other forms throughout the post-Independence period. So maybe It would be better if we considered the crises related to modernization processes as acts of a drama in which the actions took place with the aim of not altering deeply the order of things. A repetition of the same in a new guise.

In modernity, uprooting can occur in various ways and in relation to various aspects of existence. Among the plurality of processes involved in the production of uprooting, we can mention: migration; The immigration; contact with literate culture; technological changes; the replacement traditional models, the economic expansion of the international market, as well as such as urbanization.

The city became the privileged setting to display, in a paroxysmal way, the drama of uprooting. Urbanization, guided by the interests of capital and following the logic of innovation, it altered spaces, reducing the intimacy of inhabitants with the places. Furthermore, the exclusionary nature of the policies governments, the enormous exploitation of workers and the poverty of a large portion of the urban population favored the emergence of class conflicts, unrest and uprisings. To control these social manifestations and

**managed to manage the cities, the rulers developed reforms urban planning. Between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the modernization of cities found justifications in conceptions of science and positivist philosophy from that time. The plans aimed to give order and rationality to the space urban, promote progress and keep social relations under control. In addition In addition, there was also concern about the hygiene of urban spaces. A hygiene that implied both the improvement of public health and the disciplining the conduct of the inhabitants.**

According to Angel Rama, at the end of the 19th century, the inhabitants of certain cities Latin American women experienced a sensation of time acceleration caused by dizzying changes in urban space similar to that experienced by the population of Paris during the period of the Haussmann reform. Still according to Rama, the "physical city, which aimed at the permanence of the individual within its contour, it transformed or dissolved, uprooting it from the reality that was one of its psychic constituents."<sup>402</sup> The cities that concentrated economic processes began to attract migrants and immigrants generating an urban crisis, as they were not prepared to house everyone conveniently.

In this context of Latin American modernization in the Belle Époque period, writing acquired, according to Rama, the important function of creating new roots for the subjects who experienced uprooting. The search for roots led to the appearance of books that narrated what the city was like before modernization, with its urban landscape and customs.<sup>403</sup> At the same time, another type of narrative was produced, pointing to what disappeared in the areas rural. These narratives are marked by nostalgia in relation to the pre-capitalist past, contrasting with the dominant temporality in modern cities. According to Hardman, this can be observed

in the first narratives of Monteiro Lobato (*Urupês*, 1918; *Cidades mortas*, 1919), as well as in the beautiful novel by Godofredo Rangel,

<sup>402</sup> RAMA, 1985, p. 96-97.

<sup>403</sup> RAMA, 1985, p. 98.

**Idle Life** (1920), whose intentionally slow pace functions as an anticlimax to the speed inherent to mechanized urban society, praising an already somewhat unreal life in the countryside, where, despite the passage of apparently dead and still hours, it was still possible to give vent to dialogue and organic solidarity, to the spontaneous flow of the narrated experience. All these signs of “resistance” to the overwhelming time of modernity, however, appear in a melancholic environ-

In this passage, we easily perceive one of the perspectives that Brazilian writers could adopt in relation to modernity, but it was not the only. According to Francisco Foot Hardman, the different conceptions of modernity could be brought together into two antagonistic poles. On the one hand, the “euphoric diurnal-enlightenment”, presenting an optimistic perspective of modernity and modernizing processes. According to his words, this was the “place of full and unrestrained adherence to the values typical of industrial technical civilization”, “responsible for the production, in some cases, of certain futuristic technological utopias”. On the other hand, the “melancholic-nocturnal-romantic” pole that critically rejected modernity, “sometimes under the sign of revolt”.<sup>405</sup> These two views on modernity could also be combined or there could be an oscillation between negative and apologetic attitudes. For those optimistic about modernity, the ideal to be fulfilled was to follow progress at all costs, which it meant, according to Nicolau Sevcenko, “only one thing: aligning with the standards and pace of development of the European economy”. The “obsession collective of the new bourgeoisie” was precisely progress – “practical version of the homologous concept of civilization”.<sup>406</sup>

Thus, from the end of the 19th century, or, more specifically, after the institution of the Republic, what we saw in Brazil was the desire to be like the Europeans, mainly like the French.

---

<sup>404</sup> HARDMAN, 1992, p. 294. On this theme in the work of the symbolists from Minas Gerais, see chapter 4.

<sup>405</sup> HARDMAN, 1992, p. 292.

<sup>406</sup> SEVCENKO, 2003, p. 42.

The advent of the Republic loudly proclaims the victory of cosmopolitanism in Rio de Janeiro. The important thing, in the central area of the city, was to be up to date with the smallest details of everyday life in the Old World. And European ships, mainly French, not only brought costumes, furniture and clothes, but also news about the most fashionable plays and books, the predominant philosophical schools, behavior, leisure, aesthetics and even illnesses, everything that was consumable by a highly urbanized society.

As the model to follow was far from Brazilian reality, intellectuals felt out of place in their own country. Such detachment is well evident in Joaquim Nabuco who saw himself as a spectator of distant civilization: "I am rather a spectator of my century than of my country; the piece is for me civilization, and is being represented in all the theaters of humanity, linked today by the telegraph."<sup>408</sup> When analyzing this excerpt from Nabuco, Silviano Santiago showed that there was an opposition between country of origin and century. Nabuco preferred the European modernity than the Brazilian reality. In a Eurocentric way, he equated "Politics with a capital letter to History, the history of Western civilization, in case of the history of Europe in its geographical, economic and social expansion" and considered "minuscule politics, national politics, as inferior, sectorized and dominated by archaic structures and low feelings".<sup>409</sup> In Nabuco, the feeling of double exile of the Brazilian intellectual became evident: "On one side of the sea, one feels the absence of the world; on the other, the absence of the country."<sup>410</sup>

In Minas, the appearance of the ideology of progress on the public scene at the end of the 19th century, correlated with the social and political movements of that period, gave more strength to this feeling of disharmony in relation to modernity. Faced with a reality that resembled the colonial past and a culture so different from the modern European model, certain intellectuals from Minas Gerais began to believe in need to update this image, a "developmental" leap. Here we can glimpse the bovarism of Brazilian intellectuals at that time. That is, the desire they had to be like Europeans, especially like the French.

<sup>407</sup> SEVCENKO, 2003, p. 51.

<sup>408</sup> NABUCO apud SANTIAGO, 2004, p. 12.

<sup>409</sup> SANTIAGO, 2004, p. 13.

<sup>410</sup> NABUCO apud SANTIAGO, 2004, p. 19.

There was discomfort on the part of these intellectuals about not being like their peers. European models, but belonging to a mixed-race, tropical culture. O Bovarismo was a feeling of being a foreigner in one's own country, a culture of disenchantment with oneself. Because they cannot bear reality, intellectuals created for themselves an image of a white and Europeanized Brazil, instead of a country of blacks, mulattoes and uneducated people. Perceiving yourself in a situation of out of step with modernity, these intellectuals experienced permanent disillusionment with Brazilian reality.<sup>411</sup>

This desire of intellectuals to be like Europeans persisted until the 1920s. Before converting to nationalism, modernists from Minas Gerais they lived facing Paris. Silviano Santiago, in an essay on the correspondence between Carlos Drummond de Andrade and Mário de Andrade, analyzed very well how the young writer from Minas Gerais positioned himself at the beginning of his career: "In Carlos' second letter, we will see how his cosmopolitan and sad spirit finds itself shaped, on the one hand, by the end-of-century cynicism of Anatole France and, on the other, another, for the sadness and pessimism of Joaquim Nabuco."<sup>412</sup> The poet from Minas Gerais defined as a "Frenchman in Brazil": "I am hereditarily European, or rather: French. I love France as a conducive environment, etc." Drummond said that resigning from French tradition, the "only truly respectable tradition", and resigning himself to "being indigenous among indigenous people" was a great sacrifice for him.<sup>413</sup> In Minas Gerais and in other regions of Brazil, to be modern, before Modernism, was to be cosmopolitan and this was almost synonymous with resembling a Frenchman.<sup>414</sup>

The economic reality of that time was that Minas Gerais was less a producer than a consumer of industrialized goods. Thus, in recent In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the Minas Gerais economy still had a basically agricultural character. In general, mining industries produced food, textile goods (quilts, blankets), or ceramics, hats, beers, wines, liqueurs, cigarettes, construction materials, wax and leather articles. The steel industry

---

<sup>411</sup> On the bovarism of Brazilian intellectuals, see HOLANDA, 1987, p. 124-125.

<sup>412</sup> SANTIAGO, 2006, p. 73.

<sup>413</sup> ANDRADE at SANTIAGO, 2006, p. 73.

<sup>414</sup> Mario de Andrade, realizing the artificiality of such an attitude, in response to this letter, criticized the excessive "anatolism" that permeated the Minas Gerais poet's vision of Brazil and advised him to become Brazilian.

it would only begin in 1919 with the creation of Companhia Siderúrgica Mineira, later purchased by European businessmen and transformed into Belgo-Mineira.<sup>415</sup> Numerous and small, the factories that were created rarely exported their production. Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo had the largest advantages in terms of infrastructure and location in the competitive process. That would have been one of the factors that would explain the slow economic development of Minas at that time.<sup>416</sup>

Modernization in Minas also occurred through the use of new technologies and industrial products resulting from their application. At the field of architecture, for example, there was the development of construction techniques using industrialized products generally created in core countries. European immigration allowed the emergence of a specialized workforce in cities, capable of performing different labor tasks. construction and ornamentation of new urban buildings.

In terms of education, the first higher and technical schools also produced a significant change in the cultural panorama of Minas Gerais, generating a contingent of students and professionals trained to read the world according to new scientific, philosophical and aesthetic theories.<sup>417</sup>

Other aspects of modernization were linked to the development of own cultural environment and the democratization of access to forms of printing, which enabled the emergence of a large number of periodicals that became professionalization spaces for writers.

The modernization process in Minas Gerais was intensified with the construction of the new capital, Belo Horizonte. It is important to highlight that the first actions in

<sup>415</sup> CHURCHES, 1982, p. 126.

<sup>416</sup> In the 19th century, Minas Gerais elites painted a pessimistic picture of the regional economy.

According to Otávio Dulci (2005, p.115), the general impression was of stagnation or economic decline in Minas. Such ideas appeared in contrast "with the image of a past of wealth and prestige, corresponding to the gold mining cycle. But it also derived from unfavorable comparisons with the economic advancement of other areas of the country, particularly São Paulo. The diagnosis was perhaps too gloomy, since, although at a slow pace, the Minas Gerais economy grew during the 19th century." <sup>417</sup>

About the schools attended by Minas Gerais symbolists and their ideological orientations, see chapter 2.

sense of creating a modern capital in the old village of Curral del Rei were measures that produce uprooting.

The process of installing the new city was initially characterized by the physical destruction of the camp. The demolition of houses and the disappearance of streets produced an uprooting associated with the destruction of memory itself. It was as if the builders sought to generate another memory, suitable for the city that was born.<sup>418</sup>

Belo Horizonte represented, for these defenders of progress, a monument of modernity in opposition to Ouro Preto, symbol of the past that had to be overcome. However, in its first years, the new capital became It showed, at the same time, provincial and cosmopolitan. On the one hand, families originating from the interior of the state. On the other hand, foreign immigrants who were attracted by the jobs generated by the construction of the new capital. It was in this context that Minas Gerais Symbolism developed, whose representatives they staged the drama of modernity, as we can see in their texts.

## SUBJECTS IN TRANSIT AND DESSTABILIZATIONS

In the 19th century, the world population increased significantly. The migration resulting from economic and technological transformations would contribute to the increase in the urban population, especially in cities located in regions strategic areas and in centers of greatest dynamism and capacity to produce wealth. Upon arriving in cities, migrants felt the loss of all their references previous years and found themselves thrown into a marginalized condition. Your way of living and their way of speaking were considered inferior. In modern cities, many of these migrants would become unemployed and underemployed, living

---

<sup>418</sup> ALMEIDA, 1997, p. 73.

in increasingly worse conditions. The misery of the majority of the urban population This, in turn, engendered an increase in crime and delinquency. Already the migrants incorporated into work in industries suffered uprooting caused by mechanization and mass production. The new rhythm of work imposed on these subjects a fragmented perception of reality.

At the end of the 19th century, the phenomenon of immigration also occurred, related to demographic growth in certain countries and the need for of work in others. The overpopulation of Europe and the increase in mechanization resulted in chronic unemployment, low wages and impoverishment of a large part of the population who were forced to look for work on other continents. European immigrants tried to implement customs, beliefs and techniques in destination locations, constituting another modality of the westernization process. In Latin America, according to Angel Rama, immigrants Europeans, together with rural migrants, when incorporating themselves into the populations of the cities, they lived as if they were observing a landscape with which they were not familiar. identified. Thus, the behavior of these subjects in transit would occur from an uprooted perspective on this new scenario.<sup>419</sup>

The faster pace of urban life, contact with a large number of unknowns and the unpredictability of the future generated in the inhabitants of the cities subjected to these modernizing processes a feeling of loss of the past, of estrangement and instability.<sup>420</sup>

In some texts by Minas Gerais symbolists, we notice that such issues appear, in general, transfigured, as was to be expected, and represented in a different way. subtle way. But there were also those who reflected on social changes in a more direct, like J. Camelo in "Carta Aberto".

Addressed to Edgard Mata, "Open Letter" was published in the newspaper O Norte, in 1901, and reveals a conception of art, read literature, quite different from that expressed by Alfredo de Sarandy Raposo in the "Epistle to the Auto of Sá".<sup>421</sup> Ao Unlike Sarandy Raposo who stood against the masses, J. Camelo saw a

---

<sup>419</sup> RAMA, 1985, p. 97.

<sup>420</sup> RAMA, 1985, p. 97.

<sup>421</sup> See the analysis of this text by Alfredo de Sarandy Raposo in the chapter "The gardeners of symbols".

**social function for art: “It seems to me that the end of art is entirely social and that the perfection is its scope.”<sup>422</sup>**

**Camelo claimed that literature had played a role in development of other nations by revealing “[their] present state” and giving them “new perspectives and horizons”. He also questioned whether it could not happen in Brazil. What worried J. Camelo and had triggered all these ideas was the rural exodus, a phenomenon analyzed in these terms: “Currently, the nation feels the effects of the abandonment in which it left its most ferocious soil. The populations harassed in the cities by the misery of the lack of production blame the governments for their ills.”<sup>423</sup> The country's situation was described as critical, requiring quick solutions.**

**Now, it is impossible that we were born just to live the artificial and morbid life of cities. It's crazy to think that our fields must lie abandoned and left to carelessness or routine for what little has already been done in them. Therefore, there is an urgent need to find a remedy for the evil, which, although it affects the entire country, is mainly related to our State, the northern part of which has the greatest sha**

**For J. Camelo, the solution to this crisis would be to return the population that had left for the cities. Facing the possibility of being accused of defending regression, the writer from Minas Gerais believed that art could act to provide direction for the development process national.**

**Artists, with their perfect intuition of things and the needs of life, are destined to facilitate the problem, contributing to what seems impossible.**

**Art, with its power of solution that no one escapes, will begin by drawing and holding attention to what is copied from nature; and the field [...] will invite as a place of calm and peace, and,**

---

<sup>422</sup> CAMEL, J. Open Letter. *O Norte*, Belo Horizonte, 29 June. 1901, p.3.

<sup>423</sup> CAMEL, J. Open Letter. *O Norte*, Belo Horizonte, 29 June. 1901, p.3.

<sup>424</sup> CAMEL, J. Open Letter. *O Norte*, Belo Horizonte, 29 June. 1901, p.3.

After all, the shaken homeland will have been able to embark on  
a path of greatness.<sup>425</sup>

If artists (that is, writers) represented in their works the soil cultivated and fertile, the fields well managed and filled with factories “taking the air with the smoke of hundreds of chimneys”, the migrants would return “to their energies to more fertile regions”, seeking to build the well-being of everyone in rural life.<sup>426</sup> Through these words, we can notice how J. Camelo believed in a missionary role of the writer and the transformative power of literature. For him, the writer would be able to change social processes through his works. Therefore, aesthetic formulations should be subordinated to the objectives educational or training. The naivety of this position is evident. Even if literature had this power, it is difficult to explain how migrants could be guided by writing since they were mostly illiterate.

In “Open Letter”, J. Camelo stated that he had talked about his ideas with Edgard Mata, seeming to suggest that the rural exodus also worried the latter. Interestingly, Edgard Mata composed two allegorical poems with the theme of change, traffic, passage, however, instead of rural migration, he preferred to talk about the phenomenon of emigration/immigration. Unlike the social perspective preached by J. Camelo, Edgard Mata's poems deal with the issue from a more subjective, psychological point of view. Furthermore, Edgard Mata's style highlights that he did not agree with the subalternity of the aesthetic to the social in the elaboration literary. In the poem entitled “Migration”, the poetic self places itself in the position of the emigrant subject, transfiguratively dramatizing the crisis situation prior to the match.

The sad, foggy winter,  
Overwhelmed my soul. Now  
the light of dawn no longer  
breaks, I no longer see the radiant sun.

---

<sup>425</sup> CAMEL, J. Open Letter. *O Norte*, Belo Horizonte, 29 June. 1901, p.3.

<sup>426</sup> CAMEL, J. Open Letter. *O Norte*, Belo Horizonte, 29 June. 1901, p.3.

The north kisses by, Cold  
that cuts like swords, Snow falls  
on the roads, Trees bend  
weeping.

There are no more flowers in the  
meadows, There are no more  
flowers in the gardens: The  
jasmines lie exhausted, The boninas are withered.

The bright moonlight  
At night it kisses the great mountain,  
The whole land trembles with  
cold, And there is a shudder in the sea.

I left, I left, my Chimeras, It's cold  
and freezing this January, I left,  
on an adventurous flight,  
Seeking the spring sun.<sup>427</sup>

Let us highlight here the European scenario presented in the winter period, with references to the month of January and the cold wind coming from the north, sharp as a sword and that installs a period of darkness. This is contrasted, in the last stanza, with idea of hope for a new life, identified as the adventurous search for a landing space for dreams, like leaving for a place where the spring. Emigration is, in this case, represented as a possibility of realizing ideals. The initial situation, all tinged with melancholy, is traced through a series of images of destabilization and death. This situation of instability is especially concentrated in the verses: "The whole land trembles with cold, / And there is a tremor in the sea." Thus, the poem suggests the coexistence of two apparently contradictory perspectives in the subject who leaves his country of origin: pessimism in relation to their living conditions in the present and the hope for a better future. It is important to remember that one of the images of Brazil shared by The majority of foreigners were from the promising land, capable of saving them from the poverty and unemployment experienced in their homeland.<sup>428</sup>

---

<sup>427</sup> MATA apud SOUZA, 1978, p. 97.

<sup>428</sup> Cf. CURY, 2006, p. 27.

In the poem “As andorinhas”, there is a parallelism between migratory birds and the “desolate souls”. Highlighted, the suffering of the crossing and the change in heading to another country.

As soon as winter arrives, the swallows  
gather on the edge of the roofs, looking  
at the vast expanses of the sea.

Your loved ones have to leave their nests,  
Because the sad winter, the misty winter  
Has already stripped the trees of the meadows.

And, crossing the stormy sea, The  
shy, winged emigrants, Go to  
other lands to look for a landing.

So also the desolate souls,  
If winter comes and kills illusions  
In your long-cherished breasts,

They will look for unknown  
regions, Fleeing the cold night  
of fate, Birds that emigrate to the  
solitudes Of that unknown country – Death.<sup>429</sup>

The interesting thing about the poem “As andorinhas” is the presentation of the theme of emigration/immigration from a different point of view than usual. We can distinguish three parts in the poem: 1) the period before departure; 2) the journey; 3) and homology with death. In the first two stanzas, the arrival of winter is presented and the need to leave “beloved nests”. In the last two, the poet establishes a comparison between the winter that makes swallows face the unknown in search of landing and the disappointments that drive people “desolate souls” heading towards death (“unknown country”). A correspondence is then created between (re)rest and death. Destabilization and instability they would be in the period before the trip, in traffic and in life itself. The hostile conditions would not be at the point of arrival (unknown, strange), but at the point starting point (known, familiar), despite the love for the place of birth. Of that

---

<sup>429</sup> MATA apud SOUZA, 1978, p. 90.

In this way, Edgard Mata distinguishes himself from other authors in relation to the issue of immigration.

In his interpretation of social processes, J. Camelo made all insecurity and difficult living conditions in Brazilian rural areas, clearly expressing its objective of producing a utopia of conciliation of modern world with the traditional, a utopia of the pacification of the urban world and the rural world. Edgard Mata, when choosing the topic of immigration, approached from perspective of the need for survival, and by highlighting the crisis of the place of origin, it establishes a critical contrast in relation to ideological formulations ingénues by J. Camelo.

Let us now consider one of the chronicles of Guy d'Alvim (pseudonym of Alphonsus de Guimaraens) which touched on the issue of cultural changes caused by foreign influence in Brazil. First published in the newspaper *Conceição do Serro*, in 1904, and later in *Obras Completas*, from 1960, the chronicle approached the theme of cultural traditions from a perspective that oscillated between valorization of memory and forgetting. The chronicler noted that Brazilian uses and customs were being “adulterated” under the impact of immigration and cosmopolitanism, understood as a synonym for modernization.

Today, that cosmopolitanism has invaded our great cities, and the large and frank immigration of foreigners has distorted the old customs, only in the interior cities are the festivities that were the consolation and joy of our grandparents repeated.<sup>430</sup>

Traditions were represented ambiguously by the chronicler. On one hand, he demonstrated satisfaction with the continuity of ancient customs, but, on the other, he stated that some of these traditions could be slightly modified or not even preserved, referring, for example, to the cultural practice of “Serração da Velha”, which took place in the middle of Lent. Depending on the shape

---

<sup>430</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 595.

how it was performed, the “Serration of the old woman”, a caricatural imitation of the elders, if turned into a disrespectful practice towards the elderly. Furthermore, when being practiced at night, “when we rest peacefully traveling through the kingdom Silence of Morpheus”, would cause irritation in people and should be avoided.<sup>431</sup>

The chronicler believed that customs could also be selected and the choice falls on the most appropriate from a social point of view, such as various popular events in the city of Conceição do Serro. All practices indicated as appropriate were linked to the religious field and mixed African and Iberian elements.

The new year appears, after S. Silvestre closes the old year under lock and key, and the ephemeral Reinado do Rosário appears, with caxambus, piperuis (sic), dances and contradanças, king and queen; The Magi come, and the most circumspect family men of the place (among which I am), come out singing praises in their praise.<sup>432</sup>

The inclusion of the chronicler in this cultural context shows his position in relation to Brazilian identity.

We came from Portugal and Africa, with a great mixture of the savage blood of the indigenous hordes: later other races joined us, and from there came the very varied collection of types that can be seen among us. I, who am here, Brazilian like no one else, am Mozarabic: Moorish, Goth and Portuguese...<sup>433</sup>

In this text, the chronicler shows himself as a Brazilian resulting from the Iberian miscegenation. In the poem “My parents”, Alphonsus de Guimaraens adopts

<sup>431</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 595-596.

<sup>432</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 595.

<sup>433</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 595.

another perspective and the lyrical self mentions his white origin when describing his mother: “She was white, she was slender, / Marine eyes, ideal Celtic forehead”.<sup>434</sup>

In “My parents”, Alphonsus de Guimaraens does not present the emigration/immigration in a conflicting manner neither upon departure nor upon arrival, producing an effect of continuity between beyond and below sea”.

He was born near Fafe. Deserted caves, High  
cliffs of Entre-Doiro-e-Minho: From the iberian  
peninsular regions All the light,  
under a sky of silk and linen.

He was cheerful and strong. In his thoughts, In  
the midst of the threshing floors, in the wheat  
fields, with a rake, Knowing of another homeland  
beyond the seas, He came to Brazil as a young man.<sup>435</sup>

In “Jardim da Europa”, the country of the poet’s father presents itself simultaneously as a garden and a cemetery, a place where the poetic self would like to rest. This Portugal is also the “Old Kingdom”. Through the allegory of the “poor old man”, we feel the presence of the ghost of “Velho do Restelo”, a character Camonian who spoke out against the embarkation of Portuguese sailors towards India,<sup>436</sup> a journey that began the history of the system modern world.

Garden of stars for those who suffer!  
There! Sweet land of my father,  
deposit Of all that was noble! Could  
Alphonsus sleep in your friendly bosom...

Like a poor old man, hands in prayer, Looking at the  
vines and the swaying of the wheat, This  
is how Old Reyno appears to me, And on white  
nights he comes to dream of me.

<sup>434</sup> GUIMARAENS, 2001, p.368.

<sup>435</sup> GUIMARAENS, 2001, p. 368.

<sup>436</sup> In addition to the reference to the Velho do Restelo episode, another passage from Lusíadas is here remembered. This is the well-known episode of Inês de Castro

And by the sea, alone, far from  
obstacles, We remained like two  
poor sick people, Our soul, like Agnes, placed in peace...

All the sadness that is in my eyes It  
came from you, my father, who  
cried in the deserts looking at the waters of the Mondego.<sup>437</sup>

In this sonnet that dialogues with Camões, whether through the mention of Mondego in the last verse, or through the allusion to Velho do Restelo or through the reference to Inês de Castro, the poetic subject represents himself as the heir of Portuguese melancholy and the critical voice of Portugal's colonialist project. The title of the poem is quite revealing, "Garden of Europe", referring to a Portugal that would be, at the same time, the origin of modern Europe (garden/garden) and the end of the medieval era, "the deposit of everything that noble was" (cemetery).

Let us return to the chronicle by Guy d'Alvim/Alphonsus de Guimaraens about the Brazilian traditions. According to the chronicler, ancient customs would have their guaranteed preservation in interior cities, especially in Minas Gerais. Minas would be "fated to keep in Brazil the heritage of its ancestors from overseas".<sup>438</sup> The replacement of customs, practices, ideas and beliefs of Portuguese origin by those coming from other European countries would cause a "shock" in the "old uses." The cultural elements of indigenous and African ethnicities should be present only in a dependent form. As long as they existed as "cordial assimilations", forms of miscegenation, mestizaje, syncretism were not seen as threatening. In Brazil, according to Silviano Santiago, "the problem of Indians and black people, before being the question of silence, is that of the hierarchization of values."<sup>439</sup> Not everything can be said. Not everything is said. Thus, the otherness can only exist, can only manifest itself, if it remains subordinate, dependent.

A hypothesis to be developed in future studies is that these thoughts of Alphonsus de Guimaraens were in dialogue with the theories formulated

<sup>437</sup> GUIMARAENS, 2001, p. 369.

<sup>438</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 595.

<sup>439</sup> JAMES, 1982, p.

by members of the IHGB and heirs of Von Martius' theory about the three races formators coexisting in order and respecting hierarchies and inequalities biological. At the time of Alphonsus de Guimaraens, Von Martius' ideas survived in general terms in the thought of Silvio Romero. Despite the process of miscegenation, white would represent, for these authors, the civilizing element in national training. An indication in this sense would be Alphonsus's chronicle published in O Mercantil, whose theme was a soirée at the São Paulo Historical Institute, in which, in addition to having lectures on literature in the strict sense, speeches were also given on historical topics. The IHGB intellectuals were literati, a mix of writers and historians. Contact with these theories also could have occurred through the articles that these IHGB intellectuals published in the periodicals of that time. We remember that one of the journals in which Alphonsus de Guimaraens collaborated, Revista Brasileira also published articles of a scientific nature on the history of Brazil, sociology, anthropology, etc.

Alphonsus de Guimaraens placed himself between two worlds: that of his father Portuguese (Guimarães) and that of his Brazilian mother (Alvim). This position is very clear in a letter to Belmiro Braga. In it, the writer from Minas Gerais explained the use of pseudonym Guy d'Alvim:

It's a pseudonym that I used a lot in São Paulo, and it's the name of my maternal family. My mother, niece of Bernardo Guimarães, was the daughter of JI de Faria Alvim, Cesário Alvim's uncle. As for my father, he was, like yours, Portuguese, and also Guimarães. Bragas and Guimarães are so common in the avoengo ex-reino!<sup>440</sup>

In this section, the use of the term "avoengo" makes us think of how texts articulate a chain of signs relating tradition to old people. A series of associations can be made, starting with grandparents, going through the of "Velho Reyno", by "Velho do Restelo," and reaching the elderly ridiculed in practice of "Serração da Velha". Let us highlight here the fact that one of the ways in which

---

<sup>440</sup> GUIMARAENS at BUENO, 2002, p. 24

the game took place (revelers sawing a board as if it were an old one, amid screams and laments) symbolize a murder. The chronicler projected traditional joke the image of disrespect for “avoengo”. This was opposed to image of circumspect family men singing on the feast of Kings. Instead of disrespectful tradition, the circumspect tradition, worthy of continuity and selected by careful reflection. Respect for tradition did not mean its pure and simple repetition. It involved an examination, an analysis of its value. In the aforementioned chronicle about traditions, two forms of modernization in relation to customs were distinguished. The first, taking place in the form of adulteration/forgetfulness, caused by the adoption of values and habits of immigrants, and the second in the form of selection/forgetting of certain practices cultures in force in the country. For the chronicler, Minas would become the place of archiving of two lineages of tradition: the Mozarabic, product of the miscegenation of Iberian peoples, and the Brazilian, result of the mixture of Portuguese heritage African and indigenous.

At the same time that Alphonsus's texts were written, Guimaraens, by Edgard Mata and J. Camelo, Belo Horizonte was being built. The need for labor, especially specialized labor, attracted a large contingent of technicians, engineers, architects, visual artists, artisans and workers of various nationalities went to construction sites. Germans, Austrians, Swiss and Portuguese worked on the construction of the new capital. However, the vast majority of immigrants were of Italian origin.<sup>441</sup> Many of these professionals were invited, but other methods of recruiting workers were also used, such as, for example, advertisements in international architectural journals. According to Heliana Angotti Salgueiro, there was even the participation of an agency, located in Genoa, with the mission of attracting labor, developing commercial relationships and importing materials.<sup>442</sup> V documents further prove that the construction of the city involved commercial and labor relations with France, Germany and Belgium.<sup>443</sup> The new capital She was born cosmopolitan, but also provincial. Paradoxes of modernity on the periphery of the world system.

<sup>441</sup> ALMEIDA, 1997, p. 79.

<sup>442</sup> SALGUEIRO, 1997, p. 19.

<sup>443</sup> SALGUEIRO, 1997, p. 20.

If, as Salgueiro very rightly highlighted, immigrants participated initially from the social life of Belo Horizonte through artistic activities and civil construction,<sup>444</sup> this did not, in fact, represent their full integration. O city planning did not favor, but rather hindered, the interaction of immigrants poor with other social groups. The central area of the city was intended for members of the state elite and those in power. For the popular classes, only the periphery remained. The political perspective adopted in the project and later in City administration was segregationist and authoritarian. This urban design continued to prevail in the city in the 1920s. As Maria pointed out, Zilda Ferreira Cury, the measures adopted by the rulers aimed to “prevent the intrusion of the real city into the space of the spectacle city”,<sup>445</sup> imagined as a Paris in the Tropics.

A fact narrated by Augusto de Lima Júnior involving his father and a Italian immigrant at the time of the construction of Belo Horizonte is quite revealing of the worldview of a member of the Minas Gerais elite at that time. What we highlight in the narrative is precisely the astonishment at the discovery that they could exist, among immigrants, “figures of high culture who had abandoned their homeland for mysterious moral motives that disguised his perennial sadness” with a “discreet courtesy”.<sup>446</sup>

The immigrant

[...] surprised my father when he was varnishing some bookshelves in our house, he spoke about classical literature and music with astonishing erudition. Some time later he revealed his secret to my father. A young conductor from Lombardy, he had killed his wife for being an adulteress. Now he varnished furniture and conducted the Italian Band. His father was 1st violin at La Scala in Milan.<sup>447</sup>

In the imagination of that time, erudition would be an attribute of members of the Brazilian elite. The end of slavery was very recent and manual labor was

<sup>444</sup> SALGUEIRO, 1997, p. 20.

<sup>445</sup> CURY, 1998, p. 42.

<sup>446</sup> LIMA JÚNIOR, 1960, p. 344.

<sup>447</sup> LIMA JÚNIOR, 1960, p. 344-345.

devalued, seen through the eyes of a slave society.<sup>448</sup> The surprise was in finding a worker who did not fit the stereotype of the subject illiterate and rude or in coming across a person with refined training who, for circumstances of life, he was forced to perform manual labor. The immigrants appeared on the public scene, destabilizing prejudices. They don't fit into social ordering schemes based on bonds of kinship and his past was little or completely unknown. One of characteristic of the urban modernization process is precisely the replacement of social relations based on personal knowledge by more complex aspect relations. impersonal with strangers. In large modern metropolises, coexistence between social groups of different origins, despite being conflicting, is governed by ideals of greater tolerance towards differences and greater individual freedom.<sup>449</sup>

The immigrants who participated in the construction of Belo Horizonte provoked a crisis in the framework of references that gave subjects an impression of stability in the social world. The miners who inhabited the new capital saw themselves forced to rethink their own cultural identity when faced with the foreigners. What was familiar became questionable due to the presence of otherness.<sup>450</sup> Foreigners were stigmatized as adventurers and troublemakers.<sup>451</sup> In the initial years of the new capital, immigrants were all placed under suspicion and the social control exercised by the police aimed, above all, at the punishment of crimes and deviations committed by this group, with the main police issue at that time being "disorder", followed by drunkenness and vagrancy.<sup>452</sup> Gambling, idleness, vagrancy, begging and prostitution were seen as threats to the city-scenario, the city-spectacle. Cleaning spaces urban areas demanded a relentless fight against everything that seemed to deteriorate the idealized image of the new capital of Minas Gerais. Furthermore, the dominant secto

---

<sup>448</sup> According to Francisco Foot Hardman (2005, p.108), Brazilian elites were practically incapable of differentiating immigrants from slaves.

<sup>449</sup> ANDRADE, 1997, p. 192-193.

<sup>450</sup> According to CURY (2006, p. 12), the "immigrant – the foreigner, the other, the 'outsider' – places us before a 'strange identity', which is, at the same time, a strangeness of ourselves". KRISTEVA (1994, p.21) states that living with a foreigner "confronts us with the possibility or not of being someone else. It is not simply a question, in the humanist sense, of our ability to accept others, but of being in their place – which is equivalent to thinking about oneself and becoming another for oneself".

<sup>451</sup> ANDRADE, 1997, p. 192.

<sup>452</sup> ANDRADE, 1997, p. 197.

**Belo Horizonte society wanted to keep immigrants in the form of a army of labor always available and docile.**

If the justification for the immigrant's presence in Belo Horizonte was the work, those who were unemployed or not on period workers were those most targeted by police control. In this sense, the fight against vagrancy and idleness often implied authoritarian extrapolation. An example of this was recorded by the newspaper O Operário in the edition of August 19, 1900. The news shows us that even the leisure activities of immigrants were subject to police repression:

On the 15th of this month, at a sale in Lagoinha, some Italians peacefully threw a few bottles of beer as part of the innocent ball game that, more than just a game, is a true gymnastic exercise. Suddenly a guy from Malta appears with two soldiers and orders the players to be arrested.<sup>453</sup>

On May 15, 1900, a chronicle in the newspaper Lotus brought a snapshot of the daily life in Belo Horizonte. The chronicle, entitled "Urbe et orbe", pointed out an example of social injustice experienced by an immigrant in Belo Horizonte and, at the same time, At the same time, it revealed the position of a symbolist intellectual towards it. When he was walking along Avenida Afonso Pena thinking about a theme for his text newspaper, the narrator-chronicler suddenly heard "three bizarre soldiers" discussing about the quality of a popular fad. The entire scene was described with an ironic tone. Even before reconstructing the fragments of the sentences spoken by the police, the The enunciator was already criticizing his way of speaking, so far from the literary standard of the Portuguese language. The chronicler sought to reproduce the police officers' speech and their deviations from the standard language. One of the police officers thought that the fact that it was a song that was often sung even by "loafers" made it appear that it was not beautiful.

---

<sup>453</sup> O Operário apud SANTOS, 1997, p.166.

– So, this little trend, I know woman, I know it well, is a phenomenon! If it doesn't seem like it, it's because it's repeated all the time by these bums... (*ipsius verbis*).  
 – Yes sir, there is no doubt.<sup>454</sup>

**Then the chronicler's irony was directed at the police characters' capacity for aesthetic judgment:**

Critics can shout from the rooftops that Dante's work is stupendous; that Homer traced in the Iliad the pulsating image of Greek life with his divine reed; which the contemporary generation still bows to the memory of the Swan of Mantua. They are pretentious people who don't know what they are saying.

There is, in fact, no work that can be compared to *Bem sei Mulher...* However, if I were allowed to express my opinion, I would say that I think *Vem cá Bitu* is more brilliant, even more extraordinary. Beautiful, stupendously beautiful, despite being extraordinarily publicized.<sup>455</sup>

**At that moment, the police committed an attack on the right to come and go. a poor foreigner, constituting the fait divers for the chronicler.**

My reflections were at that point, when the famous words reached my ears: "Be in prison!" – fearsome double-edged sword, which cuts grammar and also strikes blows against freedom.

A poor Italian, held by the three lovers of the Muses, was going to spend the night at the Police Station, while I returned home to sip my tea, happy to have something to tell my few readers of the third issue of *Lotus*.<sup>456</sup>

**It is important to highlight that the figure of the symbolist writer as a subject exiled, like a melancholic exile in a world governed by banality and**

<sup>454</sup> EXILE The city and the world. *Lotus*, Belo Horizonte, May 15, 1900,

<sup>455</sup> p. 2. Exile. The city and the world. *Lotus*, Belo Horizonte, May 15,

<sup>456</sup> 1900, p. 2. Exile. The city and the world. *Lotus*, Belo Horizonte, May 15, 1900, p. 2.

by material interests was quite common at the end of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th century. In Minas Gerais Symbolism, this appears clearly in two sonnets written to honor Cruz e Souza. The first, precisely entitled "Poets exiles", was written by Alphonsus de Guimaraens and the second, "Esteta", by Edgard Mata. This figuration already appeared in Baudelaire, especially in one of his prose poems called "The Stranger".<sup>457</sup> The poet played the role of the dreaming subject, linked to ethereal things, asserting a position of exile or extreme solitude in the social space and incommunicability. of poetry.<sup>458</sup> The author of "Urbe et orbe" also adopted this image, indicated by the use of the pseudonym Éxul. Critic of the rupture of linguistic norms (the speech of police officers), critic of mass culture (the widespread fad), critic of the authoritarian action of the police (imprisonment of a foreigner for no reason), the chronicler only declared himself interested, in fact, due to the text he would have to write for the newspaper, simulating indifference and superiority in the face of all these things. The chronicler's posture was the mask of indifference adopted by the poet-dandy in relation to triviality and bourgeois mentality<sup>459</sup> and, at the same time, the mask of indifference adopted by abroad. For Julia Kristeva, the image of autonomy that the foreigner projects is a mask of defense. Indifference "is the shell of the foreigner: insensitive, distant, deep down he seems beyond the reach of the aggressions that, however, he feels with the vulnerability of a jellyfish."<sup>460</sup> As well as the foreigner, the chronicler was also sensitive and reacted by making irony a weapon to produce a slight estrangement, a gentle critical distancing from its world.

Let's move on to another chronicle. In "Report Literature", from 1908, Alphonsus de Guimaraens narrated a police case involving an Italian, young man

---

<sup>457</sup> "The Swan", one of Baudelaire's most famous poems, as Jean Starobinski (1989, p.56) observed, is the poem of exile and exiles. The poetic subject himself sees himself as an exile in a Paris that was undergoing a process of urban reform. STAROBINSKI, 1989, p. 77. In "The Swan", there is a list of homologous figures, among which Andromache and the black woman displaced in a new environment, dreaming of her native Africa stand out: "And I think of this black woman, sick and emaciated,/ Feet under the mud, searching, with a feverish gaze,/The old coconut groves of a forgotten Africa/Behind the walls of hostile fog." BAUDELAIRE, 1985, p. 329, translated by Ivan Junqueira. In the original: "Je pensa à la nègresse, amaigrie et phthisique,/Piétinant dans la boue, et cherchant, l'oeil hagard,/ Les cocotiers absents de la superbe Afrique/ Derrière la muraille immense du brouillard".

<sup>458</sup> BERTRAND; DURAND, 2006, p. 106.

<sup>459</sup> FAVARDIN; BOUËXIÈRE, 1988, p. 89.

<sup>460</sup> KRISTEVA, 1994, p. 15.

"full of nostalgia and romanticism". When Dellacqua, that was his name, he walked down the street, he seemed "oblivious to everything that surrounded him". Your thoughts don't They were, however, neither in their homeland, nor in their bride, but in the bottles of "moscato" wine that I had seen on the central table of a restaurant near the train station. Even without money, the Italian entered the restaurant and ordered a bottle of wine driven by an unstoppable desire. After drinking all the wine, he tried to leave without paying the bill. However, the restaurant employee He stopped him from leaving and gave him a whip on one of his ears.

Dellacqua woke up from the golden dream in which the powerful waves of the Moscato left him for a moment, he confessed that he had no money, that he had been impelled to enter the restaurant by a mysterious and irresistible force, more energetic than hi

The Italian ended up at the police station. After the interrogation, the "police authority" decided to arrest the restaurant employee and release the Italian. Upon leaving, Dellacqua exchanged passionate glances with a Brazilian woman who had been attacked by a man and who had also ended up at the police station.

And how all the misfortune in this world is compensated by After a few moments of bliss, the lady and the Italian, who were so gallant, once on the street, looked at each other for a long time, with great passionate tenderness. And there they went together, as if they were old acquaintances, disappearing, like the poet's sonnet, at the extreme curve of the extreme path...<sup>462</sup>

---

<sup>461</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 626.

<sup>462</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 626. The last sentence of the chronicle is the resumption of the last verse of the sonnet "Nel mezzo del camin", by Olavo Bilac, which addresses the meeting and separation of a couple. The title of the sonnet, in turn, quotes the first verse of Dante's "Inferno". Unlike Bilac, the symbolist from Minas Gerais only highlighted the happy phase of the characters' falling in love.

We can see the sympathy with which the chronicler viewed the Italian immigrant. His crime was justifiable and his suffering deserved compensation. In the end of chronicle, was converted into a romantic hero.

Alphonsus de Guimaraens indicated, with this narrative, two possibilities of overcoming immigrant uprooting. Firstly, through fantasy. By drinking the wine, the immigrant momentarily reestablished links with his origins. Wine thus became a sign of his homeland. He was your land Christmas immediately achievable. Like a magical object, it made the distant close. Secondly, creating new roots and overcoming exclusion social relationship would take place permanently through the loving relationship and marriage between the foreigner and the Brazilian woman.<sup>463</sup> An idea of transforming ties with origins through the replacement of affections.

Another would be the way José Severiano de Rezende saw immigration. In his texts, the issue of the uprooting of immigrants in Brazil did not appear, despite having addressed the topic in relation to foreign artists in Paris in the article "The painter Antonio Parreiras".<sup>464</sup> In 1924, *La Gazette du Brésil*, a Parisian periodical, reported that the symbolist from Minas Gerais addressed the issue of immigration to the Brasil em sua palestra na Latin America Week. <sup>465</sup> At another conference in Radio Paris, from the Compagnie Française de Radiophonie, at the beginning of 1925, outlined an overview of Brazil's modernization process and said that the country offered the best conditions for foreign workers. The conference would have had great success both in France and Belgium and the poet from Minas Gerais he would have received several letters from listeners from different locations congratulating him and asking for more information about Brazil. That same year he published a article no periódico *La Vie Latine*, titled "Brazil today", no qual

---

<sup>463</sup> Júlia Kristeva (1994, p.16) also thinks that love can be a way to create new roots. For her, "from the moment foreigners have an attitude or a passion, they establish roots".

<sup>464</sup> On this text, see chapter 4, "Drama and dramatic pathos".

<sup>465</sup> "Mr. Severiano de Rezende, the distinguished Brazilian poet, was in charge of presenting his country's film. He accomplished this mission with a very brilliant preliminary lecture and the attentive audience was able to learn about the great diversity of Brazil's production and the importance that the issue of immigration takes in that country." *LA SEMAINE de l'Amérique Latine. La Gazette du Brésil*, Paris, 15 May 1924, p. 2, our translation. In the original: "M. Severiano de Rezende, le distinguishing poète brésilien, is a chargé de présenter le film de son pays. Il s'est acquitté de cette mission dans une causerie préliminaire fort spirituelle et l'auditoire attentif a pu se rendre compte de la grande diversité de la production du Brésil et de l'importance que prend dans ce pays l'

conveyed an image of the country as a fabulous “promised land” that called for the contribution of immigrants to the process of economic development. For Severiano de Rezende, the immigrant could get rich in Brazil and, when he did happened, the country became rich with the immigrant. In this article, the intellectual from Minas Gerais mentioned cases of immigrants who became wealthy traders or industrialists in a few years in the country. A great advantage of Brazil would be the fact that immigrants do not suffer because they are foreigners. He would be included, assimilated and treated as a Brazilian citizen: “The immigrant received by Brazil is not a pariah. He is, on the contrary, a citizen who finds a new homeland, where his status as is never remembered.”<sup>466</sup>

In 1929, in his articles for the Le Brésil section of the *Journal des Nations Américaines*, published in Paris, José Severiano de Rezende presented immigrants in a very positive way.<sup>467</sup> The symbolist writer wanted to show Brazil as a country that was modernizing, as a welcoming land with a future for the immigrant who wanted to become Brazilian, work and improve their living conditions life.

This country that needs to work, works. And it encourages the immigrant by organizing the exploitation of land and giving this foreigner, driven by the hope of remuneration, all the hectares he wants in order to, through work, become an independent owner and become Brazilian. These arms that toil and build prepare a splendid future. Brazil is the country that seeks to reach the maximum of its irrefutable possibilities today [...] it is a welcoming homeland.

---

<sup>466</sup> REZENDE, José Severiano de. Brazil today. *La Vie Latine*, Paris, Paris, n.8, April-May 1925, p. 18-19, our translation. No original: “The immigrant received in Brazil is not a pariah. On the contrary, he is a citizen who finds a new homeland, where he is never reminded of his status as a foreigner.

<sup>467</sup> The *Journal des Nations Américaines* was an official organ of the Comité France-Amérique. It conveyed political, economic and cultural news from American countries and addressed the relations between these countries and France. José Severiano de Rezende was the main editor of the Le Brésil section, explicitly playing the role of the country's propagandist.

<sup>468</sup> REZENDE, José Severiano de. Brazil, country of work. *Journal of American Nations*, Brazil, Paris, n. 31, August 4, 1929, p.3, tradução oursa. No original: “This country which needs to work, works. And he encourages the immigrant by organizing the exploitation of the land and giving this foreigner, who is encouraged by remunerative hope, all the hectares he desires in order to through work become owners, become independent and remain Brazilian. These arms that plow and build are preparing a splendid future. Brazil is the country that today provides the most of its irrefutable possibilities [...] it is a welcoming homeland.”

**For Severiano de Rezende, Brazil needed a ruler who concerned with creating favorable conditions for the arrival of immigrants through the modernization of the country's infrastructure. The government should do its part to allow the modernizing action of immigrants.**

Brazil needs a leader who will continue a policy of arms, immigration and roads. The foreigner who arrives on Brazilian beaches, coming from far away, would like to go even further. The car must break through the lianas of the forests with its rumbling snout and climb to the top of the mountain ranges. The 'sertão' cannot remain the 'sertão' forever. The tire, on roads in innumerable zigzags, will seek the rubber and the river, that rocks the pirogues, demands the embrace of the bridges.<sup>469</sup>

In another text for the *Journal des Nations Américaines*, the intellectual from Minas Gerais presented the “authentic and wonderful” story of a Japanese immigrant who, later Through hard work, savings and good investments, he became rich in Mato Grosso. The objective was to stimulate European immigration to Brazil. To prove that no was an isolated case, Severiano de Rezende referred to several examples of successful immigrants.

The long list of those who, from simple workers, from simple farmers, simply became millionaires there, contains names known today for the extent of their businesses, their commercial or industrial companies. Everyone knows the story of the Martinelli, the Mattarazzo, the Siciliano, the Cresta, the Schimidt, and tutti quanti, not to mention the countless Portuguese who disembarked wearing clogs, the French enriched through imports and commercial representation, and the formidable colonies

---

<sup>469</sup> REZENDE, José Severiano de. Brazil, country of work. *Journal of American Nations, Brazil*, Paris, n. 31, August 4, 1929, p.3, tradução oursa. No original: “Brazil needs a leader who pursues the continuity of a policy of arms, immigration, roads. The foreigner who lands on Brazilian beaches, coming from far away, would like to go even further. The car must pierce the forest vines with its whirring snout and climb the mountain ranges. The “sertão” cannot remain the “sertão” forever. The tire, on countless laces, will fetch the rubber and the river, which rocks the canoes, demands the support of the bridges.”

Syrians that multiply everywhere with their incessantly increasing fortunes.<sup>470</sup>

Despite the propaganda in favor of Brazil carried out by Severiano de Rezende, the truth is that both immigrants and rural migrants suffered destabilizing processes, at the same time that lives rooted in the cultural traditions of the local inhabitants was shaken by population flows. Individual identities and collectives, established and imagined as stable, dissolved. In that context, immigrants and rural migrants oscillated between a desire for maintenance of their cultural identity of origin and the need to adapt to the new environment.

These figurations of subjects in transit and uprooting are some of the scenes of the drama of modernity staged by the symbolists from Minas Gerais. At the In the next chapter, we will see the settings, characters and other scenes of the drama.

---

<sup>470</sup> REZENDE, José Severiano de. Brazil enriches: authentic and wonderful story of Guenka Kikichi, Japanese immigrant. Journal of American Nations, Brazil, Paris, n. 36, September 8, 1929, p. 3, our translation. No original: "The long list of those who, simple workers, simple farmers, have become quite simply millionaires, contains names known today by the extension of their businesses, their commercial or industrial enterprises. All the everyone knows the history of the Martinelli, the Mattarazzo, the Siciliano, the Cresta, the Schimidt, and tutti quanti, not to mention the countless Portuguese who arrived in clogs, the French enriched through importation and representation, and the formidable Syrian colonies which swarm everywhere with ever-increasing fortunes."

## **DRAMA AND DRAMATIC PATHOS**

Our life is a turbid cliff, Where the human  
chest will be broken, A tragedy in whose  
epilogue an executioner, Blowing the light,  
orders the curtain to be lowered.

“Dead child”, José Severiano de Rezende

Put on me the tragic cloak of Hamlet, I  
follow the curves of a dry path...

“From the ‘Visions of Autumn’”, Edgard Mata

And from Trance and Death, restless and strange  
muse, You have, after studying so much human  
and eternal pain, The immortal mask of the intangible Medusa.

“To an actress”, José Severiano de Rezende

## FROM DEAD CITY TO TENTACULAR CITY

n 1903, writing a chronicle for *Correio da Manhã*, in Rio AND January, José Severiano de Rezende cast his gaze on the urban space of the former capital of Brazil. In this chronicle, he expressed great dissatisfaction with the “beautification” of the city center, one of the symbols of the modernization of the First Republic, carried out by mayor Pereira Passos. Entitled “The funeral reign”, the text he attacked the republican administration and what Severiano considered to be an absurd hygienist policy.

Meanwhile, the President of the Republic sleepily holds, with his phlegmatic secretaries, leisurely conferences on improvements to the port and the City Hall architecturally frames, in perfect stonework, the excremental asphaltite that terrifies us with the nickname of the Mangue canal [.]<sup>471</sup>

In the short description of part of the urban space, we note the use of a ornamental vocabulary, simultaneously hiding and revealing the aggressive tone of your argument. When using the verb “framing”, Severiano de Rezende alluded to objects that could be framed, such as photographs, engravings or paintings. Just as a frame serves as an ornament and delimitation of certain cultural objects, urban reforms in this place in Rio were considered as makeup/decoration and demarcation of space for waste. The chronicler's implicit argument was that the sewer was transformed into a “Mangue canal” through of an urban intervention and semantic manipulation.

Severiano de Rezende's approach in this text is perhaps comparable to that of certain modern writers who, according to Michel Collot,

---

<sup>471</sup> REZENDE, Jose Severiano de. The funeral reign. *Correio da Manhã*, Rio de Janeiro, 15 April. 1903, p. 1.

positioned themselves critically in relation to the landscape, denouncing its appearance artificial and considering it both as a romantic illusion (with metaphysical pretensions) and a naturalistic one (with scientific ambitions).<sup>472</sup> For Severiano de Rezende, the new image of the city of Rio de Janeiro, represented metonymically by the Mangue Canal and marked by the scenic pretension of the reform by Pereira Passos, was also endowed with an artificial character. A "perfect stonework" could not hide the sewage that ended up in the sea. Nonetheless, Unlike the writers mentioned by Collot, Severiano de Rezende did not often adopt a position contrary to landscape illusionism. In fact, as we will see, it was precisely an idealization of the landscape of ancient Rio de Janeiro that he elaborated in his writings.<sup>473</sup>

In Severiano de Rezende's first chronicle for the Rio newspaper *A Notícia*, in 1922, the theme was the landscape of Guanabara seen from the sea. "Disembarking" commented on the chronicler's arrival in Rio and the "bad impression made on him and the other passengers due to the disorderly approach of the catraieiros amid the fascinating solar illumination of Guanabara through the 5 o'clock fog".<sup>474</sup> We have here two elements dear to symbolists: fog and twilight. However, such seascape, which could be sublime, had a touch of the grotesque, caused by the lack of organization of the boatmen.

Also in the book *Mistérios*, the writer wrote about his trip to Rio, but for Earth. The poem "Volta do Sertão" was created as a dialogue with the sea.<sup>475</sup> In it, the city appears indirectly. The procedure can be compared to Baudelaire's poetic experiments which, as Walter Benjamin stated, generally did not describe his most important themes.<sup>476</sup>

---

<sup>472</sup> COLLOT, 2005, p. 79-81.

<sup>473</sup> The Brazilian intelligentsia of the period was divided between those who praised urban reforms as a sign that Brazil was finally catching up with Europe and becoming civilized (Bilac, for example) and those who adopted a more critical position, denouncing the authoritarian and elitist of surgery that imposed itself on the space of the capital of the Republic, such as Lima Barreto.

<sup>474</sup> LIMA JÚNIOR, 2002, p. 135.

<sup>475</sup> REZENDE, 1971, p. 119-120.

<sup>476</sup> According to Benjamin, "Baudelaire describes neither the population nor the city. By giving up such descriptions, he placed himself in a position to evoke one in the image of the other. Its crowd is always that of the big city; your Paris is invariably overpopulated." BENJAMIN, 1989, p. 116.

In “Volta do Sertão”, there is only a hint that the poetic subject refers to the city of Rio de Janeiro: the word “Guanabara”. And the port is the only mention of a built space, an element of urban landscape. Again, we perceive the procedure of taking a part, a place (the port, the bay), for whole (the city of Rio). The perspective adopted by the poetic subject is that of someone who arrives at a cultural center, after spending a long period in the interior of the country:

How long did I walk through the uncultivated  
lands, Sad, far  
from you, Bleeding my heart in the forests and  
mountains Instead of being here!477

In this poem, the landscape of the ancient capital of Brazil is formed by combination of traces of places reworked by imagination and writing. Thus, the city becomes a “land of gold and blue” in the second stanza, a “land of love” in the sixth, and a “resort of light” in the fifth.<sup>478</sup> The image of the city of Rio, from the perspective of light, clarity, is also repeated in the eighth stanza:

Only you allow it, you, sweet Guanabara,  
For the outsider to have  
In your huge, open and clear cove, The glory  
of living.<sup>479</sup>

In another stanza, Guanabara appears illuminated by moonlight: “With what charm I see you again, O Sea! upon your breast/ The moonlight will sleep quietly.”<sup>480</sup> In this last verse and in other parts of the poem, we notice a strong association between the port and the sea of

---

<sup>477</sup> REZENDE, 1971, p. 120.

<sup>478</sup> REZENDE, 1971, p. 119.

<sup>479</sup> REZENDE, 1971, p. 120.

<sup>480</sup> REZENDE, 1971, p. 119.

Guanabara and the idea of pacification and comfort. Therefore, the same process between the city of Rio de Janeiro and the idea of well-being.

Only you, serene harbor and happy shelter,  
You give to the wandering  
nautical, Opening to him your universal and  
friendly atrium, The feeling of peace.<sup>481</sup>

The writer also showed the image of Rio de Janeiro, from the point of view of its lighting, in one of the irreverent narratives in the book *O meu flos sanctorum*. In it, the city is described in a night scene of the festival of its patron saint.

The heroic city of Estácio de Sá has the joy of celebrating its patron saint on this day. The truth is that the favorite Martyr is no longer celebrated as it once was, and the scattered houses of this noisy grand emporium are no longer festooned, lighting up, as in times of yore, to flatter their protector. Rarely, a single house risks flickering lamps, and the lighting, which once lit up the whole of Sebastianópolis, today only flickers in the official strongholds: the convents light their sparkling almenaras on the summits, the third orders make their classic and in the archiepiscopal palace, in the neutral wind of Guanabara, ardent shinbones burn.<sup>482</sup>

The chronicler sought to invest a certain sacredness in an urban space that no longer existed more through the allusion to the old name of Rio de Janeiro, transformed into “Sebastianópolis”, and the description of its festive lighting made with lamps and almenaras. At the same time, he lamented the loss of the importance of the sacred festival in city transformed into a “noisy emporium magnum”, creating a nostalgic effect.

Rio, presented as a noisy and agitated city, resurfaced in a text about Christmas, also from the book *O meu flos sanctorum*. The city's association with

---

<sup>481</sup> REZENDE, 1971, p.120.

<sup>482</sup> REZENDE, 1970, p. 23.

crowd ("coortes notâmbulas", "turbamulta") is very recurrent in José Severiano of Rezende and can be considered one of the Baudelairean resonances in his constructions.

**Christmas Eve is noisy and tumultuous in Rio de Janeiro, the city of noise and turmoil: the angels' songs are replaced by serenades in which alcoholic melodies scream at the Child God; the vehicles, packed together, carry noisy cohorts of drums and the midnight mass is an excuse to gather around the birthplace of Jesus, a crowd like the one that took him from Herod to Pilate, and tradition, conservative of the rites, In this case, she is nothing more than an unconscious defiler of this good dawn of gentleness and love...483**

In this excerpt, the desacralization of urban space is staged through a game of contrasts between the Christmas celebration, which recalls the pastoral framework of birth of Jesus, the scene of his trial by Pilate, the religious songs and the serenades of drunks. The chronicler described the feeling of hustle and bustle in the city highlighting the vehicle traffic and the crowds present on the streets. In this way, it made evident the loss of traditions in modernity, the disappointment at not being able to recover what was lost and the feeling of discomfort in relation to modernization.

If the transformations undergone by the city with the modernization process were only alluded to in these two narratives of *O meu flos sanctorum*, in the chronicle "Notre civilisation", published in 1929 in the Parisian journal *Journal des Nations Américaines*, these changes were, on the contrary, emphasized and criticized. You stimuli for the chronicler's reflections were photographs showing the first skyscrapers in Rio and an urban reform project for the city, developed by urban planner Agache.<sup>484</sup> Seen from afar, through technical mediations (the photographs), the city of Rio de Janeiro was thought of in comparison with Paris and

<sup>483</sup> REZENDE, 1970, p. 243.

<sup>484</sup> Donat-Alfred Agache (1875-1959) was a French urban planner influenced by Le Play's positivism. At the beginning of the 20th century, he developed an urban reform plan for Rio de Janeiro. According to Vincent Berdoulay, in his conception of urbanism, "public space would be paralyzed in a passive role, where the inhabitant would be more city dweller than citizen". BERDOULAY, 2003, p.123-132.

New York. In this text, structured based on the opposition modernity versus tradition, the chronicler denounced the errors of the attempt to create a culture of copy, of imitation, reacting against the destruction of a city that would have been born and developed according to the “Latin” temperament of the Brazilian people. For Severiano, changes in the landscape of Rio de Janeiro indicated the formation of a “borrowed, imitated and factitious civilization, as if we were in the ultimate degree of lack of personality.”<sup>485</sup>

Understandably, the writer tended to describe urban space in more detail in his prose texts. In “Notre civilization”, this side The descriptive aspect appeared more strongly, with the landscape drawn from the elements that came to mind in Paris.

When I saw, in 1922, flattened on the hill of “Glória”, making it, oh sacrilege, its pedestal, the hotel that also usurped its name, I asked myself, at the same time, what had become of Pão de Sugar. The Glória hotel, a large and heavy semi-skyscraper, simply hid it from my view. The melancholic and traditional hill, until recently completely surrounded by beautiful houses and on which, near the old church, the palm trees gently waved their umbels, [was] disappeared or almost, under the weight of this absurd quadrangle.<sup>486</sup>

The process of urban transformation was considered as a mischaracterization of Rio and associated with sacrilege. The chosen elements to compose the landscape that was about to disappear seem to have been taken from pages of books and/or paintings with a tropical referent: a hill

---

<sup>485</sup>REZENDE, José Severiano de. Our civilization. Journal of American Nations, Brazil, Paris, n. 33, August 11, 1929, p. 3, our translation. No original: “borrowed civilization, counterfeit and artificial, as if we were at the ultimate degree of impersonality”.

<sup>486</sup> REZENDE, José Severiano de. Our civilization. Journal of American Nations, Brazil, Paris, August 11, 1929, p. 3, our translation. No original: “When, in 1922, I saw, flattened on the hill of “Gloria”, making it, oh sacrilege, its pedestal, the inn which also usurped its name, I wondered, at the same time, what had been done with Sugar Loaf. The Gloria Hotel, a wide and heavy half-skyscraper, simply hid it from my view. The melancholy and traditional hill all formerly surrounded by pretty little houses and on which, near the old church, the palm trees gently waved their umbels, almost disappearing, under the gravity of this absurd quadrilateral.”

with little houses around, an old church and palm trees. In this chronicle, Severiano de Rezende distanced himself from writers who denounced the illusionism of the landscape for having the clear objective of building an image of the city of Rio de Janeiro that could contrast with the model of the North American metropolis with its tall modern buildings. The construction of skyscrapers in Rio was considered a mistake orientation towards an alleged modernity and the buildings themselves were identified with a "titanic avant-garde without aesthetics.<sup>487</sup> For Severiano de Rezende, Not all of the urban landscape was artificial, but only that designed by modern architects for Rio.

The foreigner that the transatlantic liners carry over the Guanabara waves will perhaps be surprised to find himself in front of a simile of the Yankee city, but, once in the neighborhoods and suburbs of Rio, he will notice that the rest is not similar and that the population of this charming city I had preferred the country houses, the chalets, the delightful villas that surround the hills, that you climb seeking to conquer them and that poetically surround the beach of Botafogo.<sup>488</sup>

The criticism of imitating models that did not correspond to the "Latino" character of the population was repeated several times in the chronicle. Initially, such disapproval appeared in the form of a rhetorical question.

We are, under the name of progress – a name that is so often illusory and misleading, to the point of becoming megalomaniacs, of wanting to create

---

<sup>487</sup> REZENDE, José Severiano de. Our civilization. Journal of American Nations, Brazil, "titanic Paris, no. 33, 11 août 1929, p. 3, our translation. In the original: "avant-garde without esthétique".

<sup>488</sup> REZENDE, José Severiano de. Our civilization. Journal of American Nations, Brazil, Paris, August 11, 1929, p. 3, our translation. No original: "The foreigner who is lulled by the transatlantic ships on the Guanabarian flow will perhaps be surprised to find himself in front of a imitation of the Yankee city, but, once in the towns and suburbs of Rio, he will notice that the rest "is not to the liking and that the population of this charming town had preferred the villas, the chalets, the delicious residences which skirt the hills, which rise to their assault and which poetically border the shore of Botafogo".

a new environment at odds with our temperament as tropical people, indolent, calm, meditative, dreamy?<sup>489</sup>

Afterwards, the chronicler presented the reasons for this tendency to copy: a dissatisfaction with what would be characteristic of Brazilian culture and the attempt of shortening historical stages by constructing buildings that would produce fantasy of developed Brazil. According to the chronicler, destroying the ancient Rio meant deny what would be unique, “spontaneous” and “original” to the city.

Destroying this Rio is destroying everything that this incomparable capital has that is characteristic, original, spontaneous, free, alive. We did not create a city. The city is created with us, by us and for us slowly. Rio is big and has a lot of space for its population. It is not necessary to concentrate it on the seaside spaces and squeeze these gigantic buildings made for the enclosure of pygmies. There are no pygmies or giants in Brazil. Nor slaves. We just have to maintain the middle ground. Let us remain moderate and do our work with joy. And, above all, let us not imitate anyone. Copying is the most dishonorable thing there is, especially when it can be us same.<sup>490</sup>

Written at a time when José Severiano de Rezende turned to defense of “Latinidad”, the landscape of Rio de Janeiro presented in the text “Notre Civilization” must be situated in a broader context: that of the geopolitical dispute between France and the United States of America by areas of influence.

---

<sup>489</sup> REZENDE, José Severiano de. Our civilization. Journal of American Nations, Brazil, Paris, August 11, 1929, p. 3, our translation. No original: “Are we, under the name of progress – a name so often illusory and disappointing, on the verge of becoming megalomaniacs, to the point of wanting to create a new habitat in disagreement with our temperament as a tropical people, nonchalant, calm, meditative , dreamer? ”

<sup>490</sup> REZENDE, José Severiano de. Our civilization. Journal of American Nations, Brazil, Paris, August 11, 1929, p. 3, our translation. No original: “To destroy this Rio is to destroy everything that this incomparable capital has that is characteristic, original, spontaneous, free, alive. We are not creating a city. The city is created with us, by us and for us, very slowly. Rio is vast and has plenty of room for its population. There is no need to concentrate [it] in the riverside areas, and to lean them against each other, these gigantic buildings for the sealing of pygmies. We don't have any pygmies or giants either. No slaves either. We just have to keep the middle ground. Let's stay average and do our job cheerfully. And above all, let's not imitate anyone. Copying is the most dishonorable thing, especially when you can be yourself.”

Modern urban projects were, for the chronicler, a denial of Portuguese-Brazilian urbanization process. We can approximate this conception to that presented by Sérgio Buarque de Holanda in *Raízes do Brasil*. According to the historian, planning and rigor in construction were not characteristics of Portuguese-Brazilian urbanization, marked by greater freedom and spontaneity. A "the city that the Portuguese built in America is not a mental product, it even contradicts the picture of nature, and its silhouette is intertwined with the line of landscape".<sup>491</sup>

If modernizing urbanization was condemned by Severiano de Rezende, photographs of monuments became records of human vanity, at the same time that they expressed the obsolescence of places. From these photographs, the chronicler projected his melancholy onto the elements of the landscape ("The melancholic and traditional hill surrounded by beautiful houses"),<sup>492</sup> aiming to produce certain urban sublime.

The architecture and urbanism of New York were seen by José Severiano de Rezende as desacralizers of urban space. In "Notre civilization", the North American city was deformed until it looked like a nightmare scene, a place full of buildings similar to asylums, penitentiaries or nests of termites. For the chronicler, the dizzying growth of the city and its skyscrapers indicated a "babelistic pretension".

The skyscraper with Babelic pretension announces the congestion of paths, intersections, avenues, by a trivial people who need to rise dizzily to the clouds because they are a restless crowd, who cannot stay in places of

---

<sup>491</sup> HOLANDA, 1987, p.76. Unlike the Portuguese, the Spanish planned the cities they created in America: "the very layout of urban centers in Spanish America betrays the determined effort to overcome and rectify the capricious fantasy of the wild landscape: it is a defined act of human will." (HOLANDA, 1987, p. 62). For Angel Rama (1985, p. 26), the cities built by the Spanish were "governed by an ordering reason". In this way, before "being a reality of streets, houses and squares, which can only exist and even then gradually, over the course of historical time, cities emerged already complete through a birth of intelligence in the norms that theorized them, in the foundational acts who established them, in the plans that ideally designed them, with that fatal regularity that lurks in the dreams of reason". (RAMA, 1985, p. 32).

<sup>492</sup> REZENDE, José Severiano de. Our civilization. Journal of American Nations, Brazil, Paris, n. 33, August 11, 1929, p. 3, our translation. No original: "The melancholy and traditional hill formerly surrounded by pretty little houses".

rest and, since there is no space on the ground floor, let us fit these people who are not sleepy in compartments so that they can at least sleep. To sleep? It's not quite like that. We really don't sleep in skyscrapers. These houses are buildings for businesses, termite mounds, homes for the insane, for convicts, who live there like pygmies, homes for unknown M

At the end of his text, Severiano de Rezende established the city of Paris as its term of comparison, as its model of urbanism. However, he It did so by obliterating part of the history of the model itself. The capital of the country that the writer Minas Gerais thought to be the greatest center for spreading the tradition of "Latinidad" had also destroyed much of its architectural past in Haussmann's reform.<sup>494</sup>

Just as in "Volta do Sertão", by Severiano de Rezende, there was a recurring in the texts of Alphonsus de Guimaraens an opposition between Rio de Janeiro (metropolis associated with light, civilization) and the interior of the country (figured as backlands uncultivated). In the letters that Alphonsus wrote to Mário de Alencar, the "Alterosas Mountains", that is, the interior of Minas, was characterized as a "primitive center": "What would you be, if instead of living in that center of light, among spirits of election, you would drag the life I lead, alone, completely alone, in these miserable backlands of Minas Gerais!"<sup>495</sup> The cities in the interior of Minas Gerais, which had initially been classified as "sertões" or "primitive centers", were tinged with a dark and melancholic color in a letter addressed to Alencar on May 2, 1913:  
 "I send you some verses, hoping that, by reading them, you will think a little about this old poet who lives here contemplating the desert of dead cities".<sup>496</sup>

It was exactly from these figurations that the Minas Gerais symbolists constructed their prose and poetry about cities. On the one hand, the decadence and

---

<sup>493</sup> REZENDE, José Severiano de. Our civilization. Journal of American Nations, Brazil, Paris, August 11, 1929, p. 3, our translation. No original: "The skyscraper, with its Babelic pretension, announces the congestion of paths, crossroads, avenues, by a down-to-earth people who need to rise dizzily to the skies, because there is a teeming multitude, unfixable in the resting places and, since there is no space downstairs, let us put them in lockers so that they can at least sleep, these people who no longer have any sleep. Sleep ? I don't care! We don't even sleep in buildings. These houses are houses for businesses, houses of termites, of madmen, of convicts, who live there like pygmies, of who knows what nibelungen."

<sup>494</sup> BENJAMIN, 1989, p. 84.

<sup>495</sup> GUIMARAENS at BUENO, 2002, p. 10.

<sup>496</sup> GUIMARAENS at BUENO, 2002, p. 15.

the stagnation projected on historic cities, villages, villages linked traditions and the past. The dead cities. On the other, urban expansions, large metropolises, the cities that were modernizing now seen from a positive, sometimes in a negative aspect. Tentacle cities. Two images developed as resonances of the works of the Belgian symbolists Georges Rodenbach and Émile Verhaeren, read not only by symbolists, but also by Brazilian modernists.<sup>497</sup>

Both in *Bruges-a-Dead*, by Rodenbach, and in *Tentacle Cities*, by Verhaeren, the idea of death is always present. The “tentacle cities”, the Cities that grew and modernized were also, deep down, “dead cities” or cities of death. Death runs throughout Verhaeren's book. She is always present, circulating in all parts of the cities, associated with revolt, the misery of the crowds, economic failures, diseases, sewage, pollution, destruction, or the advancement of urban areas over the countryside. In Verhaeren's book, the themes revolve around the brutality of growth urban environment without considering the human needs of workers, survival in sordid suburbs, social ills and the feverish movements of ports, factories and railways.<sup>498</sup>

The association of existence in the modern urbs with death was not a novelty in literature. In Rimbaud's poem “City”, the modern metropolis appears as a place full of specters:

---

<sup>497</sup> In the essay “Maeterlinck, Rodenbach, Verhaeren au Brésil: quelques pistes”, Anne Quataert investigated the resonances of these writers' works in Brazilian literature at the beginning of the 20th century, a presence that had strength even at the beginning of the modernist movement. Manuel Bandeira, for example, in the poem “Bélgica”, from 1924, mentioned these authors and the theme of the dead cities. According to Quataert, references and allusions to Rodenbach occurred mainly linked to the image of an aged and dead Bruges. Modernists showed more affinity with Verhaeren's representation of urban spaces. QUATAERT, 2001/3, p. 466. Verhaeren was part of the readings of Alphonsus de Guimaraens, according to information from his son João Alphonsus: “When the movement that came to be called modernist emerged, I was a subject prepared for all revolutions, having already manufactured some private bombs through imitations of Verhaeren, whose books were already among those of my father [...]” ALPHONSUS, 1944, p. 137. Regarding the presence of Verhaeren in the work of Mário de Andrade, see LOPES, 2007, p. 35-37.

<sup>498</sup> See VERHAEREN, 1999. Especially the poem “A morte”, p. 115-123.

[...] from my window, I see new specters rolling through the thick and eternal coal smoke –, our shadow in the woods, our summer night! – Young Erinias in front of the country house that is my homeland and my whole heart since everything here resembles this –, Death without tears, our active daughter and servant, a desperate Love and a beautiful Crime whimpering in the mud of street.<sup>499</sup>

The theme had also been developed throughout the book *As Flores do Mal*, under the form of multiple associations, and by Paul Verlaine in "Nocturne parisien", the most Baudelairiano dos Saturnian Poems. <sup>500</sup> Let us look, in the case of Baudelaire, at the following verses from "The Seven Old Men", as an example: "City boiling, full of dreams, where/ The specter, in broad daylight, clings to the passerby!" <sup>501</sup>

In the poetic work of the symbolists from Minas Gerais, death is also widespread widely. A theme that appears in the poetry of some of these poets is that of the city as a necropolis and metonymy of the world.<sup>502</sup> In Archangelus de Guimaraens, the dead city is mentioned in the third stanza of the poem *En revenant*:

The sound of the last gang died...  
And she placed the blue fur of her  
mantilla on her light bosom,  
Like a flower that feared the snow...

And that dark bird from  
Seville, That graceful and  
brief faience Soon to fly to the  
comfort must From its nest of lace and scum..

<sup>499</sup> RIMBAUD, 1982, p. 101, translated by Lédo Ivo. An author who studied this aspect of Rimbaud's work was Pierre Brunel, for whom the city "is a space of death, where all life can only be ephemeral, where proliferation has as its reverse a very considerable shortening of the course of life, where quickly the urban landscape is invaded by 'new specters', 'new erinias' a sinister trio." BRUNEL, 1983, p. 168, our translation. In the original: "est une cité de la mort, où toute vie ne peut être qu'éphémère, où la prolifération a pour revers une diminution très considérable du cours de la vie, où très vite le paysage urbain est envahi par 'des spectres nouveaux', des 'Erinyes nouvelles, un sinister trio.' On this topic in Rimbaud, see also BRUNEL, 1980, p. 15-23.

<sup>500</sup> "Follow, follow your indolent flow, sad Sena. – / Under your bridges that an unhealthy exhalation poisons, / Many dead, horrible, rotten bodies passed / Whose souls had Paris as a murderer." (our free translation). In the original: "Roule, roule ton flot indolent, morne Seine. –/ Sous tes points qu'environne une vapeur malsaine/ Bien des corps ont passé, morts, horribles, pourris,/ Dont les âmes avaient pour meurtrier Paris". VERLAINE, 1867, p. 117.

<sup>501</sup> BAUDELAIRE, 1985, p. 330-331, translation by Ivan Junqueira. No original: "Teeming city, city full of dreams, / Where the specter, in broad daylight, catches the passer-by!"

<sup>502</sup> A theme that is also part of the work of the poet Augusto dos Anjos.

He entered – and now the street is deserted.  
And I don't know what languid thing  
floats Under the fog of the dead city.

Your perfume still drifts through the night,  
And silence accompanies my jealousy, Like  
an Othello, hanging around your door!<sup>503</sup>

**In an excerpt from the poem “Vila do Carmo”, from the book *Pastoral aos Crentes do Amor e da Morte*, by Alphonsus de Guimaraens, colonial cities are called “dead cities” and their buildings compared to those of ancient Jerusalem:**

Moonlit nights in dead cities, Houses  
that remind us of Jerusalem...  
(They pass me by, sad and remote, These  
visions of love that the sky contains.)<sup>504</sup>

**The poem “Serenada” was created entirely with a morbid and funeral. In the sixth stanza, the city presents itself, to the lyrical subject, with a cemetery feature:**

From the night through  
the deserts Guitars cry.  
They are like sick hearts.

The whole city sleeps in  
agony...  
The moon is a skull  
That spies on us.

The whole sky is filled  
with silvery light...  
A voice cries out  
for Jesus.

---

<sup>503</sup> GUIMARAENS at MURICI, 1951, p.156.  
<sup>504</sup> GUIMARAENS, 2001, p. 322.

The dead stillness  
Of the moonlight spreads...  
And in the moonlight, at each  
door, Exhales a soul.

The old people pass by trembling...  
Go in peace,  
O gospels, From  
Here-Lies!

The whole sad city is a  
cemetery...  
There is a rumor of longing  
and mystery.

The cloud holds the tears that  
contain within itself...  
From the river the  
song Chora beyond.

From south to north it  
passes, Like a secret,  
A haze of misfortune: It is  
the voice of fear...

There is for the peace  
of the night A  
heavenly Silence  
of a Funeral urn...

For the infinite sorrow  
That exists in  
everything, I hear the lapping  
of the water, Serene and sad.

From the night through  
the deserts Guitars cry...  
They are like sick hearts.

And in the middle of the  
city The river  
flows, Carrying the longing  
for someone who dies...<sup>505</sup>

**Some variants of the dead cities in Alphonsus's texts**  
**Guimaraens are the sea-flooded cities of the past or the historic cities**  
**transfigured into old ladies. The poem “Evocações”, from Pastoral to believers of**

---

<sup>505</sup> GUIMARAENS, 2001, p.300.

love and death, alludes to a period of decadence in which these cities would be experiencing. For Arline Anglade-Aurand, the echoes of Georges Rodenbach's work, Bruges-la-Morte, are very evident in these two quartets, which would explain the title of the poem.<sup>506</sup>

The past are dead flowers  
Thrown along the paths,  
Visions that knock on our doors  
And that come to crown us with thorns.

Sea of the past, what an uncertain  
wind Is it moaning in your waves?  
No one knows the right  
number Of the desert cities that you flood.<sup>507</sup>

These verses are inscribed in the line of a poetics of ruins that developed in Brazil between 1890 and 1920, a period in which the modernization of various sectors of political, social and economic life was forged. Thus, when at the same time that a literature on urban temporality, the experience of modern shocks, an expression of the ideology of progress and bourgeois exhibitionism, there was also the search for the record of another temporality linked to traditional customs.

The variant of the historic city compared to an old one can be noted in a chronicle published on August 6, 1907. In it, Alphonsus called Mariana was a "poor grandmother from the cities of Minas Gerais" and compared her houses to "sad old ladies". The city, which was undergoing a renovation to consecrate the Archbishop Dom Silvério Gomes Pimenta, was magically surrounded by a halo:

There were houses as if they were, Holy God! sad old ladies who had let the centuries-old dust of dead hours fall on the wrinkles and furrows of their faces; others shivered from the cold, stripped of clothing due to all their helplessness, isolated due to all their sadness.

<sup>506</sup> AURAND, 1970, p. 239.

<sup>507</sup> GUIMARAENS, 2001, p. 297.

**A very wide halo of light came to envelop us resplendently.  
And everything was renewed, in relation to the current sad  
times, by individuals.<sup>508</sup>**

In this excerpt and in the poems that choose Ribeirão do Carmo as their theme, is a landscaper Alphonsus who manifests himself, converting the city and its spaces into a reason for reflection on time and existence. This literary procedure is similar to that used by Afonso Arinos in his narratives.<sup>509</sup> The figure of the elderly woman and the theme of the city in decay are part of the short story “A little old lady”, by Afonso Arinos, which begins like this: “I was walking one afternoon along a lonely street in a small town in ruins.”<sup>510</sup> The narrator, upon noticing an instrument century-old musical in a house that caught his attention, he then formulated a thought that serves as a reading key for the short story: “Remains of an extinct greatness!”<sup>511</sup>

For Silviano Santiago, in this story and in the one entitled “The little chair”, Arinos addresses “in an apocalyptic way the history of humanity, that is: the future of men, animals and objects taken by the whirlwind of time and modernization”.<sup>512</sup> From the point of view of literary technique, he used a common procedure among Belle Époque writers to deal with the interference of the “technical horizon” in the “mode of cultural production and reproduction in the country”: displacement.<sup>513</sup> How Flora Süsskind pointed out, the use of displacement contrasted, indirectly, with the processes of modernization, and could sometimes occur in the form spatial, sometimes in temporal form.

**As for displacement, it finds fertile ground, for example, in the work of Afonso Arinos. And it operates fundamentally in three**

<sup>508</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 614-615.

<sup>509</sup> As we saw in the first chapter, Alphonsus de Guimaraens studied at the Faculty of Law of Ouro Preto during the period in which Afonso Arinos was a professor. Some time later, while passing through the city of Conceição do Serro, Afonso Arinos met Alphonsus who accompanied him on a walk and had lunch. The poet recorded the event in his newspaper and, when referring to the writer, called him an “impeccable stylist”. See GUIMARAENS FILHO, 1995, p. 130-131.

<sup>510</sup> ARINOS, [19 - -], p. 135.

<sup>511</sup> ARINOS, [19 - -], p. 136.

<sup>512</sup> SANTIAGO, 2004, p. 102.

<sup>513</sup> SÜSSEKIND, 1987, p. 90.

directions. In the sense of privileging as characters or objects of narration figures (such as a little chair from the 18th century, a buriti lost in a meadow, an old lady who remembers the past), types (the gunman, the emperor, the contractor) or feelings (nostalgia, tears ) somehow out of context.<sup>514</sup>

Alphonsus de Guimaraens, when comparing Mariana's houses to old ladies, made use of the old device of representing cities as women<sup>515</sup> and, when producing the image of cities being flooded by the sea in the past, very subtly alluded to the Belgian city of Bruges and its canals. When we combine the two images, the result is something similar to the "ophelicization" of Bruges in Georges Rodenbach's novel.<sup>516</sup>

Unlike realists and naturalists who liked descriptions of external spaces and landscapes, symbolists preferred the interiors of houses, the closed places that favored the subject's concentration on himself or that produced the feeling of being confined. The outside world existed for the symbolists only as support for the projections of their states of soul. Landscapes were converted into subjective landscapes. This also happened in the poetry of Alphonsus de Guimaraens, which led Milton Campos to coin the expression "inner city" to refer to the way in which "the artist's dreams and visions" were projected onto the city.<sup>517</sup>

As we know, the representation of urban spaces from the perspective of feelings was a procedure widely used by the Belgian symbolist Georges Rodenbach. In Rodenbach's novel Bruges-a-Morta, the grief experienced by the character Huges demanded the transfiguration of Bruges into a dead city. First, the process of identifying the deceased wife with the

---

<sup>514</sup> SÜSSEKIND, 1987, p. 91.

<sup>515</sup> Christophe Imbert, analyzing the allegorical representations of ancient Rome, showed that the city was associated with the image of an old woman and that, in the Middle Ages, the city appeared as "an old woman who no longer grows younger, who was betrayed and who cries for glory of his youth". IMBERT, 2004, p. 32, our translation. No original: "an old woman who is no longer getting any younger, who has been betrayed, and who cries over the glory of her youth".

<sup>516</sup> On the importance of the figure of Ophelia for Alphonsus' poetry, see the chapter "The Gardeners of symbols", in the part entitled "Ephemeral spaces, desires for permanence", p.61.

<sup>517</sup> CAMPOS, 1972, p. 29.

character Ophelia, from Shakespeare. Afterwards, the two were associated with the city of Bruges.<sup>518</sup>

In the work of the symbolists from Minas Gerais, mainly in the poetry of the disciples of Alphonsus of Guimaraens, the ruins and dead cities were related to a literary technique that dialogued with art nouveau in the sense of a predominance of the empty over the full,<sup>519</sup> the valorization of gaps, the implicit, the silenced over the said. In this writing, there is an emphasis on the elliptical. This would also be related to a reading that the symbolist from Minas Gerais made of Mallarmé's speech, in the famous interview with Jules Huret, defending a conception of poetry as suggestion and concealment of the object. When commenting on this speech, Alphonsus outlined a central aspect of his poetry:

Evoking a face that was seen in a dream, through phrases, allusions to sensations of painful melancholy that we feel, letting those who read us remember in the half shadow of a twilight period by the mystery of Up There, being able to express the longing that everyone we have of a world we never lived in, of a woman we never loved...<sup>520</sup>

Evoking and suggesting were watchwords for transforming the external world into based on metaphorical, metonymic and elliptical resources. Instead of descriptions

<sup>518</sup> This excerpt from Rodenbach's novel is a good example: "In the atmosphere of silent waters and inanimate streets, Hugues had felt less the suffering of his heart and thought more lightly of the dead woman. He had seen her more clearly, listened better, rediscovering her evasive Ophelia's face over the canals, hearing her voice in the high, distant song of the chimes. / The city, too, once loved and beautiful, embodied her longing. Bruges was his dead. And his dead was Bruges. Everything was unified into a similar destiny. It was Bruges-the-Dead. The grave was buried in the back of its stone drums, with the arteries cooled by its drums, the logo that the pipe stopped beating at great pulsation during the sea." RODENBACH, 1904, p. 19-20, our translation. No original: "In the silent atmosphere of the waters and the lifeless streets, Hugues had felt less the suffering in his heart, he had thought more gently of the dead woman. He had seen her better, heard her better, finding over the channels her face of Ophelia on the way, listening to her voice in the thin and distant song of the chimes. / The city, too, once loved and beautiful, thus embodied its regrets. Bruges was his death. And his death was Bruges. Everything unified. It was Bruges-la-Morte, itself buried in its stone quays, with the cold arteries of its canals, when the great pulsation of the sea had ceased to beat there."

<sup>519</sup> We draw here on an insight from Walter Benjamin in his Passages: "Among the stylistic elements of iron construction and technical construction assimilated by the Jugendstil, one of the most important is the predominance of the vide over the plein, the void over the full. "

detailed, a network of signs alluded to the whole that tended to disappear, to ruin, in poems that constantly mentioned loss, extinction, death. Then, the cities and the entire external world became ethereal, spectral, projections of the phantasmatic. Maybe that's why Carlos Drummond de Andrade, in a text published in *Correio da Manhã* in 1960 about the launch of the Work complete work by Alphonsus de Guimaraens, analyzed the scenario where the poet located his creations and moved his characters as "fantastic, between romantic and expressionist".<sup>521</sup> The chronicle "Carnaval", one of Mendigos' texts, is quite illustrative of this tendency of projection of a fantastic imaginary onto the external world in the work of Alphonsus. In it, the characters from Mom's festivities in large Brazilian cities appear in a game of hide and reveal marked by the grotesque and the expression of unconscious desires, or "madness", of according to the author's words.

The broad license that there is for everything in the triduum consecrated to Momo by centuries-old worldly customs,(sic) brings abundant joy to all individuals who are forced to remain serious during the other endless days of the year, either due to temperament, or due to positions they occupy.

In big cities (unlike what happens in these poor mining towns where I have lived) (sic) the carnival crowd is recruited from all social strata; no one will be surprised to learn that in that pachola that goes there, with the appearance of dressed up alfacinha, all sprinkled and full of Parisian perfumes, is hidden the sanchesque bureaucratic paunch of a high-ranking public servant, an emeritus financier, who, leaving aside the Conversion Fund , the Covenant and more, he wants to devilishly desume himself like a Mephistopheles on the way, in the company of unknown farsolas, anonymous tufuis (sic) that he wouldn't even recognize without masks.

Mortals can give mortals, in this funambulesque triad of nefarious and vesanic days, the widest and most unpunished expansion of the neuroses that they have incubated within them.

As if the doors of the hospices, mental hospitals, health homes; epilepsy and hysteria appear, in costume, on every street corner: neuropathy reigns and reigns as a goddess and absolute queen, and beneath the false masks how many eyes widen anxiously, how many faces congest, how many lips tremble with the cold, how many throats desperately close and co

<sup>521</sup> ANDRADE at RICIERI, 1996, v. 2, p. 59.

<sup>522</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 476.

In the following excerpt, the grotesque is even more emphasized when the joy carnival turns into a dark nightmare, into a “live representation of everything we feel hidden within us”:

There is also something of the medieval Sabbat in Carnival: these (sic) masks that cross-dress as leopards and crocodiles, as jaguars and lions, as frogs and goats, make us instinctively think of that satanic night of nightmares that covered the whole with horror and mourning. the Middle Ages, when, after nine o'clock on any day of the week (never on Sundays, as this is the Lord's day, and no one could give himself to him and the devil at the same time) with the fall of the shadows, if they brought together wizards and sorceresses, in the unfaithful worship of the Spirit of Evil...523

Through this text, we can see that, despite the description being reduced in Alphonsus's poetry, it could be further developed in his prose. In “Carnival”, the author suggested the chaos of the festival through an enumeration or accumulation of images. Furthermore, the relationships between sexuality, madness and social masks, the idea of carnival as an inversion of order and the mention of the Middle Ages make us think of Bakhtin's theory of the grotesque.<sup>524</sup> The idea of joy as a satanic mask takes us to the grotesque in Kayser's conception.<sup>525</sup>

Continuing to describe the Sabbaths in the text about Brazilian carnival, Alphonsus de Guimaraens, in addition to associating revelers with monsters and figures spectral, also identified carnival dances with macabre dances, thus completing the transfiguration of big cities into dead cities.

Larvae and vampires, incubi and succubi, spread their black wings in the air; they dance macabrely, they love sacrilegiously,

---

<sup>523</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 476.

<sup>524</sup> BAKHTIN, 2008.

<sup>525</sup> For Kayser, the grotesque has a negative, demonic side, very close to the fantastic, capable of generate a feeling of amazement in the face of a reality that is no longer familiar.

until the crowing of the rooster, with a warrior bugle, announces to them  
the triumphant coming of the day.<sup>526</sup>

**Another example of the city in ruin is found in the short story “The mantle,” by Alphonsus. Narrated in the first person, “The mantle” involves Ouro Preto in a macabre and decadent atmosphere.**

With the uncertain steps of someone going through the  
first period of convalescence, I slowly made my way to the top  
of Morro da Forca, a dark and deserted place, where legends  
seem to pass by shaking their bloody heads.

Vila Rica, seen from that point, was a pile of ruins. Only the  
churches, blessing the old capital of the powerful captaincy,  
triumphed in the middle of those steep streets, where the houses  
staggered.<sup>527</sup>

**In the poem “Crepúsculo macabre”, by José Severiano de Rezende, a climate satanic and disastrous encompasses all spaces: “Ah! how sad the Country is and how dismal the City/ At the time when the bell plans to ring the Hail Mary...” Even in the rose bushes or pruned trees, suffering beings manifest themselves: “And from every rose bush or oak tree that is pruned/ The lonely voices of the Forest moan.”<sup>528</sup>**

**Edgard Mata, although he lived a large part of his life between Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte and São Paulo, little was referred to the urban universe in its constructions. An exception is the poem “Scorpio Sign”. In it, Ouro Preto appears shrouded. The fantasy and gloomy image of the city, created by the lyrical subject in temporal and spatial distance, it is generated with few elements coming from stories told.**

**It was a sad dawn, in Vila Rica,  
I don't remember, the memory still remains**

---

<sup>526</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 476.

<sup>527</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 400.

<sup>528</sup> REZENDE, 1971, p. 148-150.

Behind those old days gone by...  
 But these facts I know, because I heard them told.  
 It was a sad morning; and then this desolate  
 poet was born, from Agony, In a  
 little house there on Rua São José.  
 (I don't think it has the same name anymore!)  
 It was the waning. And a very thin Moon  
 appeared, with the bad profile of a murderer,  
 Among the hills, where the light mist spreads  
 Long shrouds, a burrel and a shroud!<sup>529</sup>

And, at dusk, the city of the lyrical subject's childhood became similar to  
 a cemetery with its cypress trees:

The Sun would die! It was the richest of  
 burials: the hills themselves were full of greenery.  
 And it even seems that they were calling  
 for death The causuarinas<sup>530</sup> and the bent cypresses...<sup>531</sup>

Although the dead city was a central theme for the Symbolists,  
 miners, some of them also reflected and wrote about the world that  
 modernized, about life in large metropolises, about the transformation of  
 urban spaces in tentacular cities. There was a critical positioning of the  
 symbolists from Minas Gerais in relation to the system of scientific, positivist and  
 naturalists that underpinned the modernization processes of cities. Like this,  
 the literary production of these writers simultaneously dialogued with the modern utopia  
 symbolized by Belo Horizonte and with the idea of a decadence of  
 historic cities in Minas Gerais. We remember once again that the historical context in  
 which the work of the symbolists from Minas Gerais was being created was the construction of the new  
 capital of Minas. Heated controversies regarding the change of the center  
 administration of the state involved several intellectuals. Among the defenders of  
 moving from the capital were some of the professors from the Faculty of Law of

<sup>529</sup> MATA apud SOUZA, 1978, p. 73.

<sup>530</sup> There appears to have been a typographical error in this edition of Edgard Mata's book, as the correct name of the tree is "casuarina".

<sup>531</sup> MATA apud SOUZA, 1978, p. 75.

Ouro Preto, where Alphonsus de Guimaraens and Archangelus de Guimaraens. In these disputes, a group of resisters preached modernization de Ouro Preto and another defended its conservation as a symbol of nationality. Written in 1911, when Belo Horizonte had already become the capital of miners, a chronicle by Alphonsus/Guy d'Alvim, published in *O Germinal*, showed the columnist's position on this subject:

Our old cities, which look religiously to the past, from which comes the undying glow of all their glory, are the purest relics of our nationality.

They tell us, in the silence of old houses and colonial mansions, of a whole history of triumphs and suffering, of heroism and torture.

Who will not be moved to see them thus abandoned, they were the source from which emanated in bursts of strength and life, in the slow course of the ages, the people who have dignified themselves before the universe through<sup>532</sup> so many liberal conquests?

After drawing a small historical overview, the chronicler sought, similarly to what Severiano did in relation to ancient Rio, he sacralized these cities:

And our old cities keep in the sanctuary of their buildings the entire history of those glittering centuries, so abandoned and poor after having supported the most magnificent court in the world; the gold that was taken from them will never return to their exhausted breasts: however, they hope for something from the future, and dress in finery to celebrate their age.

And old cities have reason for this: they are like some grandmothers that death spares, leaving them to enjoy indefinitely the peace of the home where they opened their eyes to the light of day and had their first desires as brides and the first joys as mothers.

533

---

<sup>532</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 638.

<sup>533</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 639.

In the highlighted excerpts, the idea of abandonment is repeated twice, corresponding to the issue of ruin, since, when abandoned, the Cities crumble into ruins. Through the comparison of “old cities” with the grandmothers with “exhausted breasts”, the narrator wants to remind us of the “remains of an extinct greatness”, as in the story by Afonso Arinos.

Another characterization used by symbolists for urban spaces is that of the city as a place of boredom and melancholy. A chronicle by Horácio Guimarães, published in *Diário de Minas* under the pseudonym Pierrot, develops a paradoxical argument: “If you want joy, it is not in Urbs that you should look for it; all the joy of today has fled to the cemeteries.”<sup>534</sup> The reversal of expectations aimed at criticizing social.

[...] I noticed more life in that mansion of death, than down here, in the city; and that the holy fields, far from suggesting sadness and leading us to tragic Hamletic philosophies, are becoming the happiest places in the city!

Sadness and boredom now live in the cities: no longer look in the cemeteries, among the willows, for this macabre and disheveled pair: it is around cafe tables and on park benches that they sit, in the melancholy hour of twilight and at night. scorching midday sun.<sup>535</sup>

An oasis of peace in the midst of urban turmoil, the cemetery is also presented by the chronicler as having better environmental quality than the poor neighborhoods.

O many who have the misfortune of living in cramped poor neighborhoods, without trees, without fresh air, without singing waters and chirping birds, go, go to the cemetery... The city does not suit you.

---

<sup>534</sup> PIERROT (Pseudonym of Horácio Guimarães). Between two draft beers. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizon, July 1 1901, p. 1.

<sup>535</sup> PIERROT (Pseudonym of Horácio Guimarães). Between two draft beers. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizon, July 1 1901, p. 1.

[...] can give the much-needed peace of mind to those who fight for their lives [...]<sup>536</sup>

This chronicle must be read in comparison with others published in the same column by Horácio Guimarães, addressing urban themes. On the one hand, some texts used an idealization of life in villages, fantasized as spaces bucolic. On the other hand, they drew attention to the defilement of these small urban centers and even their destruction. On March 25, 1901, the chronicler stated that “simplicity has long since disappeared from the fields and with it the sweet charm of rural life: everything has been transformed with progress” and warned the reader against the false notion that small settlements would be places of peace.

Naive souls, accustomed to seeing life [in] the village through the lying pages of novels;<sup>537</sup> if you want to go through the cruelest of disappointments, go, go and visit one of our villages: if you don't return from there completely disillusioned, as I did a few years ago days, rushed, bored, embarrassed, it's because then you are too strong.

Do you suppose, reader, that you are safe there from the boats of envy, intrigue, boredom, passions, the thousand enemies that assault us in tumultuous centers? – Vain hope! Stupid pretension! There is no village left where civilization has not penetrated today with all its train of evils: politics, fashion, and even, oh horror! the piano, the greatest, without a doubt, of the aforementioned scou

The interesting thing is that these criticisms were made in a media outlet that the chronicler included among those responsible for the changes.

---

<sup>536</sup> PIERROT (Pseudonym of Horácio Guimarães). Between two draft beers. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizon, July 1 1901, p. 1.

<sup>537</sup> The chronicle begins precisely by commenting on the “sweetly emotional” pages written by Camilo Castelo Branco and Fialho de Almeida about “rustic life” in the villages.

<sup>538</sup> PIERROT (Pseudonym of Horácio Guimarães). Between two draft beers. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 25 March. 1901, p. 1.

[...] The villager became suspicious: and if he talks to you, by any chance, it is about a dispute with a neighbor, about politics, about crisis, about things that you exactly want to forget, and that reached him there in the newspaper (oh! the newspaper has already entered the village!)<sup>539</sup>

**Just as Baudelaire used the figure of a swan exiled among the ruins of ancient Paris to compose an allegory of modernity, Horace Guimaraens used an old cross from the Curral del-Rei village as an element to address the theme of modernization in a chronicle dated January 21, 1901.**

[...] as soon as they woke up, the girls and boys of the village turned around reverently, as if asking for their blessing and checking if it [the cruise] was still there in the place their grandparents had placed it, watching over it like a sentry changes, for everyone's peace.

And they noticed every morning, with joy and moving, that he was there, that he continued to protect the inhabitants of Curral del-Rei against the traps of the Devil and those of men, even worse than those of Tinhoso.<sup>540</sup>

**In the following excerpt, the chronicler presented the instruments and agents involved in the construction of the new capital as a counterpoint to the religious and to local traditions:**

Then, one day, he saw an army of demolition men arrive: engineers, workers armed with pickaxes, shovels and hoes. And he said to himself: here comes the civilized man [...] – here come the barbarians! They arrived! Nothing escaped the demolishing fury of the pickaxes. Everything was washed away: old houses and orchards, woods and gardens. All that remained as traces of the old Curral del-Rei was the old degraded church and the occasional old house. But he, Santo Cruzeiro [...] was enduring unscathed the martyrdom of the wicked and the torture of the wicked.<sup>541</sup>

<sup>539</sup> PIERROT (Pseudonym of Horácio Guimarães). Between two draft beers. *Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte*, 25 March. 1901, p. 1.

<sup>540</sup> PIERROT (Pseudonym of Horácio Guimarães). Between two draft beers. *Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte*, 25 March. 1901, p. 1.

<sup>541</sup> PIERROT (Pseudonym of Horácio Guimarães). Between two draft beers. *Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte*, 21 Jan. 1901, p. 1.

After having long endured the “martyrdom of the wicked”, the cruise, A vestige of the old camp, it ended up being knocked down with an ax, a fact that led to yet another criticism from the chronicler of the fury of those who wanted to modernize the place.

What, however, the eyes of the inhabitants of Curral del-Rei no longer saw, between astonishment and indignation, when they turned, one fine morning, towards the Caixa d'Água hill, was their rich Cruzeiro, who was not more in the place where his grandparents had placed him

After mentioning “the wickedness of men” and, ironically, the “benefits of civilization”, the chronicler related the overthrow of Cruzeiro to other destructive acts of “civilized man”:

Oh! the cruelty of men!... Not satisfied with devastating the trees, depopulating the forests, a sacrilegious ax went there [...] one day and felled the old Cruzeiro, split it [...] and reduced it logs of firewood.<sup>543</sup>

It is interesting to note that the image of the dead city, which, in the beginning, was used only for colonial cities, ended up also being used for the new capital of Minas Gerais in a chronicle published in the newspaper A Época in 1905.<sup>544</sup>

In these gray and heavily sad days of November, Belo Horizonte, due to the silent atmosphere of the streets and wide avenues, resembles a dead city. From the high sky, it seems to unfold

---

<sup>542</sup> PIERROT (Pseudonym of Horácio Guimarães). Between two draft beers. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 21 Jan. 1901, p. 1.

<sup>543</sup> PIERROT (Pseudonym of Horácio Guimarães). Between two draft beers. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 21 Jan. 1901, p. 1.

<sup>544</sup> We were unable to identify the author of the chronicle, signed under the pseudonym Lúcio dos Alpes. However, A Época was a periodical that had symbolist collaborators. See chapter “The Gardeners of Symbols”, p. 62.

over her a vast blanket of melancholy and silence, identifying all things in the same Sadness. And this bewildered Lady, like an old woman with a long cloak draped over her shoulders, rests her shriveled hand on the compromising joys, which disappear like something unspeakably labile and fleeting.

Along the streets stretch the two funeral wings of trees, rustling, tossed by the wind.

And always the same silence, the fatal crushing silence, which it weighs on our souls tediously...<sup>545</sup>

In this text, it was the dominant sadness in Belo Horizonte that had the appearance of an old woman. A sadness that made the new capital resemble an already decrepit city. Belo Horizonte was also compared to Bruges in the novel de Rodenbach.

And a doleful and vague influence exerts itself sovereignly over us like that of Bruges-la-Morte over Rodenbach's character who, wandering through the city, received a lesson in silence from the motionless canals; example of resignation for the taciturn docks; advice, above all, of piety and austerity falling from the high steeples of the churches of Bruges.

With rain dripping from a black sky, the days and nights pass in the endless solitude of this city.

[...]Outside the rain drums on the window and a mortuary impression emanates from the wide silent avenues.<sup>546</sup>

The appearance of the novel Bruges-la-Morte took place in a situation of economic decline of the Belgian city. Its port had had an importance comparable to that of Venice. However, a natural event caused the sea to become away, causing a crisis. The city then entered a period of lethargy. According to Patrick McGuinness, Rodenbach's Bruges was opposed symbolically to Paris. In the novel, Bruges had the appearance of a stagnant lake,

---

<sup>545</sup> ALPES, Lúcio dos. The dead city. A Época, Belo Horizonte, 5 nov. 1905, p. two.

<sup>546</sup> ALPES, Lúcio dos. The dead city. A Época, Belo Horizonte, 5 nov. 1905, p. two.

where things continued as they were in the past, static.<sup>547</sup> Paris was the place of frenetic transformations, a place of agitation and movement.<sup>548</sup>

For Minas Gerais symbolists, colonial cities, villages or camps began to have a function identical to that of Rodenbach's Bruges. Is enough  
 The figuration of these urban, or proto-urban spaces, sometimes as places melancholic, decrepit, abandoned, sometimes like bucolic, idealized places. An illustration by Archangelus de Guimaraens for the poem "Lua-nova", by Alphonsus de Guimaraens, is an excellent visual example of these urban spaces that we glimpse in the writing of the symbolists from Minas Gerais.<sup>549</sup> In the misty scenario, the moon Highlights above a church. In the foreground, some lines suggest the crosses of a cemetery. It is a kind of visual synthesis from the point of view adopted by Minas Gerais symbolists to mean urban.

---

<sup>547</sup> For McGuinness, "Rodenbach's Bruges is at once relic and reliquary, tomb and corpse." (our translation). In the original: "Rodenbach's Bruges is both relic and reliquary, tomb and stricken corpse". A historical summary of the moment in which this work appeared in Europe made by McGuinness also highlights the proximity of Rodenbach's novel to Maeterlinck's static theater: "Bruges, the Dead appeared in the same year as Pelléas et Mélisande, by Maeterlinck, and both works came to represent the high points of Symbolism. They are as evocative of their time as Mallarmé's poems, Debussy's music and Khnopff's paintings. Maeterlinck specialized in a theater of inaction – 'static theater' as he called it – and it is interesting to think of his plays, as well as Rodenbach's novels and poems, as islands of stasis and reflection in an age of turmoil: the first half of the 1890s was a period of anarchist bomb attacks, a state of paranoia and financial crisis." MCGUINNESS, Patrick. Bruges, Paris and the specters of Symbolism. The Times Literary Supplement, Times Online, 20 Dec. 2006, our translation. The Times Literary Supplement, Times Online, 20 Dec. 2006.

Disponível em: <<http://tls.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,25338-2512863,00.html>>. Acesso em: 12 jun. 2008, tradução nossa. No original: "Bruges-la-Morte came out in the same year as Maeterlinck's Pelléas et Mélisande, and both works have come to represent the high points of Symbolism. They are as redolent of their period as Mallarmé's poems, Debussy's music and Khnopff's paintings. Maeterlinck specialized in a theatre of inaction – "static theatre", he called it – and it is interesting to think of his plays, like Rodenbach's novels and poems, as islands of stasis and reflection in an age of tumult: the early to mid-1890s was a period of anarchist bombing campaigns, state paranoia and financial crisis."

<sup>548</sup> MCGUINNESS, Patrick. Bruges, Paris and the spectres of Symbolism. The Times Literary Supplement, Times Online, 20 dec. 2006.

<sup>549</sup> Archangelus de Guimaraens, in addition to being a poet, was a painter and illustrator. He dedicated himself mainly to painting landscapes that became known among his friends and family. José Severiano de Rezende even commissioned a painting from him. According to Alphonsus Guimaraens Filho (1955, p.16), few of these works remain. Archangelus de Guimaraens' penchant for the visual arts appears on the cover of the manuscript of *Dona Mística*, by Alphonsus de Guimaraens, and in illustrations of poems by Alphonsus and Jacques d'Avray. Although Archangelus' pictorial and graphic works were considered youth activities by Guimaraens Filho, his illustrations were positively appreciated in the catalog of the exhibition *From Symbolism to the antecedents of 22*, held in Rio de Janeiro by Fundação Casa Rui Barbosa, in 1982: "The illustrations in Archangelus de Guimaraens participate in a special way in the symbolist language of the texts, exploring the fusion of languages, establishing the refinement of presentation, particularly in the illustration to the text 'New Moon'." FROM SYMBOLISM TO THE BACKGROUND OF 22, 1982, p.12. See drawings of Archangelus de Guimaraens in Appendix B.

In the poetry of Minas Gerais symbolists, generally the elements that evoke the urban spaces are religious (churches, convents, cloisters, hermitages, etc.). To the characteristics of these symbolist scenarios resemble those of the elements of the urban space of Minas Gerais whose center was the chapel. According to Sérgio da Mata, in these small population centers, "the space of the cemetery It was often confused with the chapel. The house of God was, at the same time, the house of the dead."<sup>550</sup> Furthermore, it is common in the work of symbolists from Minas Gerais to fusion of two spaces: the garden and the cemetery, as in the first stanza of the poem "Campas em flor", by Archangelus de Guimaraens.

What a flowery cemetery!  
Flowering pits like a flowerbed!  
And the grave digger Looks  
more like a gardener.<sup>551</sup>

We can observe something similar in "S. Bom Jesus de Matozinhos", one of the poems by Kiriale. In it, Alphonsus de Guimaraens took as his theme a party religious church around the chapel that appears surrounded by vegetation. After mention the existence of wildflowers in the churchyard, the lyrical subject directs his gaze towards the back of the church, where the cemetery is located, and uses the verb "flourish" to refer to the tombs: "And behind the Church the cemetery/ Flourishes full of tombs".<sup>552</sup>

In the sonnet "Campa em flor", from the Pastoral to the believers of love and death, the association of the cemetery with the garden is indicated, in addition to the title itself, by the mention of "flowers that we planted in the tombs".<sup>553</sup> In "Descantes", by José Severiano de Rezende, Campo Santo is a flowery, moonlit place.

If you go to the cemetery  
And you will find my tomb

<sup>550</sup> MATA, 2002, p. 156.

<sup>551</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1955, p. 138.

<sup>552</sup> GUIMARAENS, 2001, p. 146.

<sup>553</sup> GUIMARAENS, 2001, p. 343.

Leave him alone among the flowers,  
Kissed by the moonlight.<sup>554</sup>

In *O meu flos sanctorum*, Severiano de Rezende traced the landscape of cemetery with the characteristics of a melancholic and poetic garden:

Oh! Campo Santo is poetic, with its marbles  
monuments, its rows of teardrop cypress trees, its flowers, its chapel, its  
silence, interspersed only with mournful songs, its vast dormitory of eternity...  
<sup>555</sup>

Flowers are always present in symbolist scenes. A poem by Archangelus de Guimaraens shows us, for example, bells that, when ringing “by the deceased”, create a sound environment synesthetically associated with flower petals falling into a landscape of hermitages and cathedrals at twilight: “The bells ring, spill flowers/ Roses as white as moonlight.”<sup>556</sup> In another poem by Archangelus, the hermitages that evoke urban space are found among flowers:

White hermitages, made of moonlight...  
How I adore them in this solitude!  
Under your feet water lilies bloom...  
White hermitages, made of moonlight,  
Who, contemplating them, would not be a Christian?

You fall asleep peacefully, peacefully,  
Under the pious twilight light...  
High up, in the blue mountains, You  
fall asleep peacefully, peacefully  
Among roses in bloom.<sup>557</sup>

---

<sup>554</sup> REZENDE, 1971, p. 137.

<sup>555</sup> REZENDE, 1970, p. 210. The theme of cemetery gardens or garden cemeteries was quite important in the literature of Chateaubriand, a writer appreciated by Severiano de Rezende and Alphonse de Guimaraens. It is relevant that the latter has several works by the French romantic in his library. In the same way as in Chateaubriand, the garden of the Minas symbolists evoked the dead and related to the theme of ruins. Regarding these aspects of Chateaubriand's work, Cf. RICHIER, 2006, p. 175-187.

<sup>556</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1955, p. 49.

<sup>557</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1955, p. 71.

Mamede de Oliveira also used floral themes in his landscapes, as in the poem “The moonlight of my village”, which highlights the spiritual aspect of ambience.

In my village the moonlight is  
velvet And sad like the funeral  
exiles; It appears in the afternoon, right  
behind the mountains and brings memories of a noisy past.

In the evening hour of discreet  
light In which faded flowers fell; The  
moonlight rose, ascetic  
whisper, Collecting lilies on the blue roads.

Spiritual silence of the mystical hours  
In the agony of the evening  
roses; [...] The moonlight of my village has  
affection Like the lily wings of gentle  
doves; It appears in the afternoon,  
putting the nests to sleep Opening the astral flower of hopes.<sup>558</sup>

The profusion of flowers in visual arts, decorative objects and architecture it was also a procedure adopted by art nouveau artists and craftsmen. They They covered urban spaces and industrialized objects with ornaments, often related to a plant theme. The objective of this was to bring such things as handcrafted or artistic objects.

In the books of the symbolists from Minas Gerais, one can notice the use of enormous number of vignettes with floral garlands, branches and lianas in the art nouveau style to decorate its pages.<sup>559</sup> Furthermore, dialogue with other arts, common among the symbolists, it occurred through a correspondence with procedures in the field of visual arts. Just like buildings, utilitarian objects, posters, books and periodicals, literary writing itself became

---

<sup>558</sup> OLIVEIRA, 1957, p. 47-48.

<sup>559</sup> See covers and vignettes of symbolist magazines and books in Appendix D.

ornate.<sup>560</sup> This use of the image of flowers in the poetry of Minas Gerais symbolists served to artificialize the landscape – a procedure similar to the search decadentist re-creation of nature/landscape in writing as a space of evasion or a pseudo-nature superior to nature.<sup>561</sup> Thus, these floral motifs they had, paradoxically, an anti-naturalist value.

Let's go back to Mamede de Oliveira's poem. It is important to note that feelings – sometimes dysphoric, sometimes euphoric – are projected onto the landscape. At first stanza of the poem, the moonlight is "sad as the funeral exiles"; in the last one, it acquires the positive aspect of "astral flower of hopes". In this way, the village oscillates between two antagonistic images, with the discomfort generated by "memories of a rude past" preventing the village from transforming into a bucolic refuge. There is a dialectical tension between past and future that is diluted when the possibility of redemption of the subject in the place of origin appears. This means a disassociation of the idea of the future from the universe of the big city. Is important  
It should also be noted that the lyrical subject's point of view is that of someone who lives far away that place. In the sonnet "Book of Job", Mamede de Oliveira associated the first impulse of the poetic subject to write poetry to the suffering caused by distance from the village:

Sweet friends, I became a poet,  
one day When I found myself alone,  
abandoned, Far from my village,  
where I lived, Among my good countrymen, careless.

I left my parents in that beloved nest

---

<sup>560</sup> For Flora Süsskind, the emphasis on the idea of literary craftsmanship, present in the ornamental writing of the Belle Époque, theatricalized "an opposition to industrial 'standardization', which would be found in the oratory of the period, in Parnassian poetry, in symbolist prose, largely in the work by Coelho Neto some of his manifestations". SÜSSEKIND, 1987, p. 91.

<sup>561</sup> "On the theme of anti-nature and the aesthetics of artifice in decadent literature, see PEYLET (1986) and PEYLET (1994). Decadentist writers and aesthetes turned their backs on the phenomenal world and sought to express, preferably, the unreal, the ideal, the artificial and the imaginary. Contemporary with the Industrial Revolution and technological advances, suffering the influence of Baudelaire's urban poetry, with which it shared the same admiration for the artificial, decadent literature preferred to represent in detail the interiors of aesthetes' homes than to describe Nature. The decadentists were inspired by the greenhouses that emerged in Europe to develop metaphors related to artificial plants that rivaled "natural" flowers in beauty. Despite this emphasis on internal spaces, there was also a Symbolism linked to the representation of external environments as subjective landscapes, landscapes of the soul.

That happy poverty flourished; And  
I always loved unloved, And still  
young, I seemed old.

I came dreaming... From these empty eyes of  
mine, A longing approached [...] <sup>562</sup>

In this case, the cruel reality of the present, combined with the representation of the paternal home as a place of comfort, triggered the feeling of nostalgia and the utopian vision of the village.

Generally associated with life in big cities, the theme of the emergence of new technologies also appears in the texts of Minas Gerais symbolists. For example, J. Camelo paid homage to Santos Dumont in the poem "To the winner of the air"<sup>563</sup> and, in the text "Viação", he addressed issues involving the development of the railway transport system.<sup>564</sup> Alphonsus de Guimaraens already mentioned modern appliances and machines in several chronicles: the telephone, in the poem "Lectures", III;<sup>565</sup> photography, in the short story "Espectro"<sup>566</sup>; the automobiles, airplanes and railway trains, in the chronicle "Funeral inauguration"<sup>567</sup> and the phonograph, in "Genius idea".<sup>568</sup> In the sonnet "Is she coming or not coming?", Alphonsus dramatized the doubt of the inhabitants of a country town regarding the arrival of the train and the possible changes in your way of life. <sup>569</sup>

"I don't know if she will come!" moans Dandico.  
"I tell you she's coming!" then I murmur.  
He remains quieter than a wall.  
Much more mute than a wall I remain.

"She will come?" He turns around and shuts up.

<sup>562</sup> OLIVEIRA, 1957, p. 13.

<sup>563</sup> CAMEL, J. To the winner of the air. Evolution, Belo Horizonte, 21 September. 1903, p. two.

<sup>564</sup> CAMEL, J. Viação. Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte, 10 July. 1902, p. 1.

<sup>565</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 563.

<sup>566</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 446-448.

<sup>567</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 472-473.

<sup>568</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 641-642.

<sup>569</sup> In this poem, the writer used a question that the merchant Dandico, from Mariana, repeated every day to his customers after learning that the city would be connected to the Brazilian railway network. See GUIMARAENS FILHO, 1995, p. 279.

"She's coming", I then say a spell.  
And losing patience: "that the future  
belongs to God." And nothing else applies to it.

Three hours, four, five, six and seven They  
knock on the Cathedral, while, in a faint voice,  
"If she comes, this will change!" he repeats.

Nine strikes. The streets are dead.  
I say goodbye. And he says in farewell: "I  
don't know if she'll come!", closing the doors.<sup>570</sup>

A monotonous place, without the hustle and bustle of big cities, the city outlined in the poem is a reality about to disappear due to technological modernization.<sup>571</sup>

In the "Sonet-Telegram", in addition to the title of the poem itself, which refers to a modern means of communication, Alphonsus made reference to a fast machine ("nau Podente") capable of quickly transporting, from the capital to the interior city, the character to whom the message was addressed.

Soares friend! I ask you to come For  
just one moment, just one instant, Don't  
stop in our Capital.  
The thing is serious, urgent, palpitating.

You don't have a heart of stone: On the  
contrary, you have a loving heart.  
Don't delay, then! I give you a password: Fly  
through space in a powerful ship!

His throat is already completely dry.  
And the tongue becomes more than  
sin, For no longer being watered with good wine.

Come bring you the peace of good comfort.  
– Santos Óleos and the Anointing of the Excelso "Porto",

---

<sup>570</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 578. It is important to remember that the railway plays an important role in the modern imagination as an emblem of movement, speed, and the circulation of people and

ideas. 571 In turn, Severiano de Rezende portrayed Mariana as a city contrary to progress and on the edge of incivility in a chronicle published in the newspaper D. Viçoso, in 1899: "Mariana retrograde. If it can go further back into the deplorable state in which a sleeping city council leaves it. [...] Largo da Independência is a public corral. Rua Direita is a disgusting dump. The other streets, populated by sheep, goats, kids, goats, donkeys, cows, pigs, dogs, chickens and universa pecora, are narrating the works of the council and the zeal of the inspector." REZENDE apud LIMA JÚNIOR, 2002, p. 53.

Otherwise, you'll find João Bertinho dead!<sup>572</sup>

This text shows the modern mentality already manifesting itself in the city of interior. The lyrical subject is aware of time marked by the instant, by the fast movement, unlike the dragging time, full of "dead hours", of sonnet "Is she coming or not?" As for literary technique, it is an attempt of incorporating the rush of modern everyday life into writing. The conciliation of the sonnet – genre privileged by Brazilian writers and critics at the end of the century – with the messages transmitted by the telegraph, it clearly demonstrates the tension between tradition and modernity that runs through the works of Alphonsus de Guimaraens.

The poet also wrote narratives that recreated anecdotal news and police chronicles read in international periodicals<sup>573</sup> or transmitted by telegraph to Brazilian newspapers. They were stories set in other places. continents. An example of this is "The humorism of 'steaks'", a text from 1910, whose narrative takes place in London, in a place close to the River Thames.<sup>574</sup>

On a cloudy, drizzly and dreary afternoon, as all London afternoons are, John Breech walked slowly, in the company of his friend John Farting, together gazing at the still waters of the Thames.<sup>575</sup>

With no money and nothing to do, the two marginalized characters decide to read the advertisements found nearby:

<sup>572</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 584.

<sup>573</sup> According to Arline Anglade Aurand (1970, p. 345), these jokes were generally found in Belgian, Dutch, English and French newspapers.

<sup>574</sup> In the prose of Alphonsus de Guimaraens, there are narratives set in Brussels, Cintra, Tokyo, Germany, Russia, Holland and China, among other places. An indication of the origin of these stories is inserted in one of these narratives: "In Tokyo, the telegrams say, the enthusiasm of the yellow people was indescribable when the trophies arrived in the capital of Japan [...]" . GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 603. Several of these narratives had Englishmen as characters and some were set in London.

<sup>575</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 628. It should be noted that in the first paragraph of the text the chronicler's mocking attitude becomes evident. It appears in the characters' names. The English term "breech" means "butt", "buttocks" and "to fart" means "to fart". Furthermore, the word "fart" can also be used to designate a stupid and despicable person.

They read everything that passed before their eyes, from the best liver pills to the tastiest and most stomach-churning old-tom. Theatrical and literary novelties took them a good quarter of an hour of static contemplation; they memorized names and names of poets, prose writers, conductors and actors.

And serious, undaunted, they walked slowly, going from one side to another, without truce, without rest.<sup>576</sup>

What is important to highlight here is the image of the European metropolis associated with a landscape of posters, that is, a landscape composed of objects from the era of technical reproducibility, of mass culture – image-world, phantasmagoria-world in which literature is included as a commodity for sale –, and the presence of characters similar to the cartoon characters passing through slowly in this medium.

Severiano de Rezende, on the other hand, preferred to address the theme of “cities of light”, cosmopolitan, sophisticated metropolises that radiate “civilization” like Paris.<sup>577</sup> In the critical text “The painter Antonio Parreiras”, published in the magazine Atlântida, José Severiano de Rezende analyzed the French metropolis from the point of view of its cultural significance. In this process, Dante (Latin) and Wagner (Germanic) transformed into characters capable of highlighting the central role of Paris. The first associated with the urban space of old Paris and the second with Paris haussmanniana. Furthermore, by mentioning Lutetia instead of Paris in the case of Dante, Severiano alluded to the role of center of Latinity that the capital of France would have inherited from Rome.

Paris is the supreme tuner of harmonies, and contact with Paris produces awareness and affirmation of individuality in the chosen one. While in the heart of Lutetia, where Dante lived and meditated,<sup>578</sup> the mediocre melts and melts into a slow but categorical destruction.

<sup>576</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 628.

<sup>577</sup> Another city that Severiano de Rezende admired was Vichy.

<sup>578</sup> According to some authors, including Boccaccio, Dante was in Paris to study philosophy and theology.

in this continuous and fatal crumbling that no effort can sustain, the gelatinous disintegration that is the imprescriptible dilution of nirvanatic nothingness, real values instead become tonalized and embodied in their total vitality: *vires acquirit eundo*. That's why genius, whatever race it is and whatever abstruse recesses it appears in, has an innate need to step on this asphalt, which stabilizes its feet, to drink this air, which clears its brow. This is what one might call the enchantment of Paris, and the Tannhäuser Being booed will not prevent the Bayreuth giant from understanding that he needed to have come here only and not elsewhere so that he would never again stop believing in the new and wonderful world that he carried within himself. "Paris, la seule ville qui a compris mon génie!"<sup>579</sup>

According to Severiano, Paris would have an inexplicable splendor and strength.

The metropolis, as the cultural center of the West, would attract artists from many places, but only the most talented would survive its process of selection. Furthermore, he also mentioned the difficulty of "Parisianization" of many artists.

Who will one day unravel this mystery of the unique city, which clarifies what needs to be clarified and plunges into irremediable darkness what should be returned to darkness? Paris, which has seen floods, tinsel and will-o'-the-wisps, is the source of living water, it is pure gold in the crucible, it is the focus of light and heat. Only Paris does not reveal itself as it is except to those who live, who feel deeply, and for the indifferent and superficial, it will remain superficial and indifferent. The vivre and the partygoer could have had fun in Montmartre, but how long would they have ignored the effluvia of which the tremendous mons martyrum is the depositary? Many passed through Paris and thought they knew him. Paris ignored them. Many thought they owned Paris in some way. Paris, however, did not Paris cannot be sold or bought, it cannot be violent or conquered, it cannot be annulled or intimidated. Paris is a gift, it is given and given to those who deserve it. Parisianization is a phenomenon above psychology, and there are many Sequanians who never became Parisianized, despite civil registration.<sup>580</sup>

For Severiano, the modern French metropolis was the setting for the drama of artists who came there in search of improvement and recognition.

<sup>579</sup> REZENDE, [1918?], p. 363.

<sup>580</sup> REZENDE, [1918?], p. 363-364.

**Mediocre artists, after experiencing suffering in an attempt to succeed in Paris, were “eliminated” as reprobates thrown into hell.**

An inscrutable destiny, which I see and which I would like to explain, turns Paris into a Babylonian fair, where heterogeneous masses clash and gasp, and at the same time a holy citadel, where only those who are bearers of the whatever is beautiful, noble, great, that is, eternal. The others, Paris vomits them out on the first occasion, eliminates them sooner or later by an incoercible, immutable force, the same perhaps that precipitates the reprobates without upward surge into the first barbarian that absorbs and devours them irrevocably and definitively. If it is permissible for me to dust off an old metaphor, I will lament the futile moths that come to consume the fragile antennae around this brazier that heats and illuminates the world.<sup>581</sup>

The superiority of Paris, as we showed previously, was perceived in confrontation with New York. For José Severiano de Rezende, New York was the realization of the tentacular city with its “Babylonian” skyscrapers and its crowds in constant movement and without rest. Paris would have, for Severiano de Rezende, a “Babylonian” side,<sup>582</sup> but also a “holy” side.<sup>583</sup> Thus, Severiano perceived the French capital from a dualism that runs through the Jewish-Christian: Jerusalem, the “holy city”, versus Babylon, the “city of sin”. At the same process, aided by the etymology of “Montmartre”, the symbolist from Minas Gerais I discovered, buried in the artists' quarter, a place of festive and cosmopolitan life, the old place of torture and the old cemetery. Just like Jerusalem and Rome, Another “holy city” for Christians, Paris had also had a site of martyrdom. The memory of trauma, loss, suffering, breaking the superficial aspect of landscape (and, therefore, the move away from the descriptive), recovered the dimension of depth of this urban space, giving it a sublime character. Just This is how the real city of Paris could be reached (“Paris is not reveals it as it is if not to those who live, who feel deeply”). A

<sup>581</sup> REZENDE, [1918?], p. 364.

<sup>582</sup> In addition to indicating “disorder, confusion and tumult”, “babylon” can also mean a “city big with tangled streets.”

<sup>583</sup> Regarding the mythification procedures of cities, see CABANTOUS, 2004, p. 11.

memory of the Christian drama (in which European martyrs evoked the figure martyred by Jesus) gave rise to another Paris, different from the modern city of the Belle Époque.

Dead cities, tentacular cities, cemeteries and gardens are some of the scenarios that appear in the work of Minas Gerais symbolists. Aware of fragility of the human condition and the suffering arising from modern life, these writers showed their existential questions in the form of situations characterized by extreme theatricality, with characters exaggerating their feelings to the point of patheticness. This is what we will see follow.

## BETWEEN REAL AND IDEAL, BODY AND SPIRIT

The presence of theater and theatricality in Minas Gerais Symbolism occurs in a double movement. In the first, there is the absorption of drama by poetry. In the second, the world/life becomes drama.

The absorption of drama by poetry can be seen in the experience of Alphonsus as a playwright, an aspect of his literature not yet studied. Although Mendigos is mostly composed of chronicles, it also There are short stories, prose poems and an excerpt from the drama "Voz do Céu", which remained unfinished. The drama project was mentioned in a letter from Alphonsus to Marius from Alencar.

I'm sending you an excerpt from Voz do Céu, a drama that I thought of a long time ago, but which has remained on the list of possible things, or, rather, impossible. I lack patience, as well as peace and tranquility of mind. I don't know if I can go through with this drama. It is the struggle between human love and mystical love.<sup>584</sup>

---

<sup>584</sup> GUIMARAENS at BUENO, 2002, p. 11.

Symbolist dramas, refusing to represent trivial stories, prosaic, they presented an abstract dimension, tending towards hermeticism and anti-naturalism. The characters in these dramas often experienced metaphysical conflicts between the ideal and the real, the spiritual and the carnal. Something similar to what the writer from Minas Gerais planned to develop. According to Arline Anglade Alphonsus's play dialogued with Villiers de l'Isle Adam's Axel and Musset's Camille et Perdican, but in a poetic prose style that would mix Péladan with a bit of Maeterlinck.<sup>585</sup>

In "Voz do Céu", discursive excess and reflexivity are more valued lyrical than action, as generally occurred in symbolist theater. For Luiz Francisco Rebello, one of the consequences of refusing to act as an element An integral part of dramatic phenomenology was the non-existence of characters. You Symbolist theater characters used to be mere supports for ideas, while the dialogues showed a departure from everyday speech, an expression of "vulgar passions". According to Rebello, the lines were sometimes presented "like a thick tapestry, glittering with precious or enigmatic images, now like a fragile fabric of babbled words, covering great walls of silence".<sup>586</sup>

There was a search for sentimental effects in "Voz do Céu", bringing this play closer to dramas. The character Álvaro, living under the sign of Saturn, says phrases that highlight a conception of existence as suffering, marked by the presence of death. In one of his speeches, he states that there never was "spring" in his life and, in another, that the sadness of death remained in his soul, "like a shadow that never fades".<sup>587</sup>

Two important themes in Alphonsus's poetry are combined in the character Celina, from "Voz do Céu": that of the search for the ideal/unreal and that of the woman dead, also present in the well-known poem "Ismália". Celina is a

---

<sup>585</sup> AURAND, 1970, p. 343.

<sup>586</sup> REBELLO, 1979, p.12.

<sup>587</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 432.

specter/ghost of Álvaro's beloved and, like Ismália, debated between the world of matter and the world of spirit, choosing the second.

Celina – Entranced by the moonlight, I leaned towards the lake on that initial night that caused you so much pain, because it separated our human destinies on earth; When I saw myself reflected in the tranquility of the water, where the moon was also seen, it was as if I saw my soul that had been torn from my body. Smile at him; a black cloud, veiling the moon, made it disappear. Let me see my soul within your eyes, as I saw it in the lake, do not be, by God, the black cloud that chased away my soul!<sup>588</sup>

Celina's mirroring in the lake is similar to Narcissus's. In the end, there is death and transmutation. Narcissus is transformed into a flower and Celina, like her name suggests, becomes a celestial figure. Narcissus is one of the most mythological figures important aspects of symbolist imagery. It combines the water element that forms the setting of many symbolist landscapes and the mirror motif. Both refer to introspective literature, dealing with issues linked to self-awareness, identity and manifestations of the unconscious.

Very different from this female image is what we can observe in “Devil fish”, by Ciro Arno, published in Lótus.<sup>589</sup> The text has the structure of a fable and it begins with a quotation in French: “Les morts, les pauvres morts, / ont de grandes douleurs.”<sup>590</sup> This epigraph is not accompanied by the name of its author, but there are verses of the poem “C”, “The servant with the big heart of whom you were jealous” (“To the kind nanny of whom you were so jealous”), which is part of the “Tableaux parisiens” (“Parisian paintings”), by Charles Baudelaire. Right after this quote, there is a scene in which a fisherman appears cutting the moorings of his boat and going out to fish. This scene is followed by a comment from the narrator about Baudelaire (“How profound is the expression of the impeccable satanic poet!”) and another

<sup>588</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 430.

<sup>589</sup> See Annex

C. <sup>590</sup> “The dead, poor dead, suffer great pain.” BAUDELAIRE, 1985, p. 363, translated by Ivan Junqueira.

quote by Baudelaire taken from the poem “L'homme et la mer” (“Man and the sea”), which is part of “Spleen et idéal” (“Spleen and ideal”):

Freed man, you will always be at the foot of the sea!  
 The sea is your mirror; your soul enjoys the  
 infinite coming and going of its cold  
 waves, And not even your being is less acrid when it sinks in.<sup>591</sup>

The landscape was then described using vocabulary originating from the religious field.

In the immaculate blue of the sky there is no cloud and far away, at the intersection of the immense bluish mirror with the infinite vault, the most sacred host of the sun serenely immerses itself in the Ocean, in a radiance of golden arrows, in a Eucharistic apotheosis of light, heat, life ...<sup>592</sup>

The fisherman, who was singing sadly in the middle of the sea, was unexpectedly captured by a sea monster described by the narrator as follows: “It is the terrible Devil fish, the sea demon that seems to have been summoned from the horrifying hell of Dante. More horrible, more hideous, more hideous than the specter of death itself.”<sup>593</sup>

In the next scene, the narrator presented the fisherman's destruction:

And carrying the miserable fisherman in its formidable tentacles, it gradually sucks him in through the four hundred suction cups, crushing his bones, crushing his muscles, penetrating himself (sic), in a

<sup>591</sup> BAUDELAIRE, 1985, p. 139, translation by Ivan Junqueira. No original: “Free man, you will always cherish the sea!/ The sea is your mirror; you contemplate your soul/ In the infinite unfolding of its blade,/ And your spirit is no less bitter abyss.”

<sup>592</sup> ARNO, Ciro. Devilfish. Lótus, Belo Horizonte, 8 July. 1900, p. two.

<sup>593</sup> ARNO, Ciro. Devilfish. Lótus, Belo Horizonte, 8 July. 1900, p. two.

satanic embrace, confusing himself to such an extent with the victim that  
 "the hydra incorporates itself into the man and the man amalgamates into the hydra"<sup>594</sup>!!

In the conclusion, the narrator compared the fisherman's death to the end of his love:  
 "That's how my wretched heart died, shattered in the cruel tentacles of an insatiable  
 monster."<sup>595</sup>

In "Devil fish", we see an opposition between freedom ("homme libre") and servitude ("la servante au grand cœur"). The image of the monster itself reinforces this idea, since the tentacles may represent something that we cannot get rid of liberate, a tyrannical domination. Furthermore, the mirror, an important element in Baudelaire's poetics, brings to the scene an identification between man and sea. In the poem, there is a game at the phonic level between sea ("mer") and mother ("mère") that deserves to be considered when reading the phrase: "La mer est ton miroir" ("The sea is your mirror"). Although not mentioned in "Devil fish", the verse "Tu te plais à plonger au sein de ton image" ("It pleases you to dive deep into your image"), from the poem "Man and the sea",<sup>597</sup> is implied. Which brings us to the narcissistic issue associated with feminine.

Let us move on to another part of the narrative in which the quote "the hydra becomes incorporated into man and man amalgamates into the hydra." This is a phrase from the book *The Workers of the Sea*, by Victor Hugo, taken from the part entitled "The monster". In this excerpt, the creature is compared to mythical beings such as Hydra, Medusa and the Sphinx. It is from this text that the idea of the plot constructed by Ciro comes from. On it.

<sup>594</sup> ARNO, Ciro. Devilfish. Lótus, Belo Horizonte, 8 July. 1900, p. two.

<sup>595</sup> ARNO, Ciro. Devil fish. Lotus, Belo Horizonte, 8 jul. 1900, p. 2.

<sup>596</sup> The maternal figure appears associated with the "kind nurse" in the second stanza of the poem "La servante au grand cœur dont vous étiez jalouse": "et venant du fond de son lit éternel/ Couver l'enfant grandi de son oeil maternel" ("coming from the depths of your eternal bed/ wrap me in the wool of your maternal BAUDELAIRE, 1985, p. 363, translated by Ivan Junqueira. In this last verse, the term "couver", on the one hand, enhances the meaning of maternal protective care, since in French "couver quelqu'un" means "overprotect". Other meanings can be "incubating", "hatching" or "nurturing" (care traditionally associated with the maternal figure). On the other hand, the expression "Couver des yeux" can mean both "regarder avec tendresse" ("to look with tenderness") and "regarder avec convoitise" ("to devour with the eyes", "to eat with the eyes", "to look with covetousness", "to look with concupiscence"

<sup>597</sup> BAUDELAIRE, 1985, p. 139.

Being composite, the Hydra is a traditional representation of multiple vices, or of that which corrupts and corrupts itself. Its name refers to the water element, which it must be related to the signifiers “mer” and “mère”. In other words, the monster itself is reflection in the mirror of the sea/mother. In turn, Medusa is one of the three Gorgons and It also has marine origins. His parents, Phorcis and Ceto, are sea deities. At mythical narrative, Perseus, unable to look directly at it, for if he did he would be turned into stone, used his bronze shield to reflect the head of Medusa and thus be able to cut it off. Once again, mirroring and the issue of gaze. Medusa is a condensation of beauty and horror. Like the Hydra, its head is multiple, for its hair is serpents. The Sphinx, a winged lion-woman, is a mythological figure that performs a function similar to that of other kidnapping and seductive myths such as Harpies and Sirens. In the same way as the Sirens, the Sphinx sings to seduce men.<sup>598</sup> Thus, these demonic beings, greedy for blood and erotic pleasure, are considered as representations of perverted femininity.

The title of Ciro Arno's text also takes us to the aquatic world and mythical. In English, devil fish can be either a stingray or a cephalopod (squid or octopus). The name devil fish reminds us again of the hybrid figure of the Mermaid: half woman, half fish. Interestingly, the name octopus does not appear in Ciro Arno's text, but in Victor Hugo's book there is a passage in which the monster is named as “pieuvre” (“octopus”) and as blood-sucker.

This monster is the one that sailors call octopus, that science calls cephalopod, and that legend calls kraken. English sailors called it devil-fish. They also call it blood-sucker. In the Channel Islands they call it pieuvre.<sup>599</sup>

---

<sup>598</sup> Analyzing the myth of the Mermaid, Sila Consoli stated that the woman “[...] finds herself [...] on the side of these double and amphibious beings, which are seals and octopuses, as if she were a kind of harpy or of mermaid-bird, of sphinx, of erines, echidnas and nereids. All of these beings are, at the same time, ambiguous creatures: a part of their nature brings them closer to the earth and the human world; another part roots them in a universe of aerial, aquatic or underground forces, a mysterious and dangerous universe, strange and hostile to man, a realm of demonic forces, CONSOLI at SANT'ANNA, 1985, p.95.

<sup>599</sup> HUGO, 1961, p. 250, translated by Machado de Assis.

The excerpt from Ciro Arno's fable that narrates the destruction of the fisherman by monster is precisely a recreation of the following excerpt from Victor Hugo's book:

The claw does not equal the suction cup. The claw is the animal that goes into the flesh; the suction cup is the man who enters the animal. The muscles swell, the fibers twist, the skin bursts under the filthy weight, the blood gushes out and mixes horribly with the mollusk's lymph. The animal overlaps the man with a thousand infamous mouths; the hydra incorporates itself into man; man amalgamates with hydra. They remain one. That dream weighs heavily. The tiger can only devour; the octopus (horror!) inhales. He pulls the man towards him, tied, trapped, powerless, the man feels himself slowly being emptied into that terrible bag, which is a monster.

In addition to the terrible, which is being eaten alive, there is the inexpressible, which is being drunk alive.<sup>600</sup>

The fisherman in Ciro Arno's fable who, at first, seems corresponding to the "free/liberated man" of Baudelaire's verses, in the end, is the prey of the monster. Instead of capturing, it is captured and destroyed. The fragmentation of the fisherman's body, announced by his song, is represented metonymically by the "broken heart". At a first level of reading, the fable expresses an ambivalence towards being loved. The aspiration to enjoy a fusion with the another is, at the same time, experienced as fear of annihilation. The desired being becomes feared as a murderous monster. The objective, then, would be to alert the dangers of a destructive love.

In the end-of-century imagination, according to Mireille Dottin-Orsini, the femme fatale It could take the form of a monstrous octopus or squid, an insatiable devourer, capable of sucking out all of man's vital energies. Dottin-Orsini stated that the model of this image that developed in Decadentism is Hugoan, derived precisely from the chapter "The Monster", from *The Workers of the Sea*, which she called "a poem about vampiric suction and shiver".<sup>601</sup> According to this scholar, the text Hugo would represent "feminine danger, or rather, the forms of fear that he

---

<sup>600</sup> HUGO, 1961, p. 252, translated by Machado de Assis.

<sup>601</sup> DOTTIN-ORSINI, 1996, p. 208.

inspires.”<sup>602</sup> The spider and the octopus are metaphorically related to the female sex. In Decadentism, the most repulsive femme fatales were described as beings with features similar to tentacles and suction cups.<sup>603</sup> We can notice a emphasis on male impotence in the face of the monster in Ciro Arno’s fable. O man is the “victim”. At this point, an idea clearly expressed by Hugo, for whom the monstrous figure, “arachnid in form, and chameleon in color”, pulls “man to himself, tied, ensnared, powerless”.<sup>604</sup>

“Devil fish” expresses a revolt against the loss of an ideal. By associating the feminine with the images of Medusa, the Sphinx, and the animalistic, the fable intends to unveil the devilishness that hides in women. Below the surface of the sea, there is a deep abyss, a place of uncontrollable and evil forces. Under the appearance of ideal woman (the holy and pure mother) there are unfathomable mysteries and a hidden demonic side. The real is a disappointment. Through a loving bond, the feminine revived is that of a phallic and cruel mother. Simultaneously full promise of satisfaction of desire, an unspeakable thing and threat of dissolution.

Ciro Arno’s text must be related to certain historical facts and processes such as the emergence of feminism, women’s work outside the home and the modification of the relations between the feminine and the masculine resulting from the process of modernization. Perhaps he is an allegorization of the identity crisis produced by the emergence of women in the modern public sphere, felt as threat to patriarchy and interpreted as a historical catastrophe or decadence. At the 19th and early 20th centuries, literature and other arts expressed often misogynistic reactions. According to Jean Pierrot, fin-siècle misogyny produced idealized and negative images of women under a double aspect:

[...] a double myth translates the image that is made of women and the attitude that is adopted towards her: sometimes it insists on the fundamental futility of the feminine being, the vulgarity of its habitual concerns, its purely sensual aspect and animal, its profound inability to penetrate the spiritual and artistic universe. The woman is, in this case, the shackle that prevents the artist

<sup>602</sup> DOTTIN-ORSINI, 1996, p. 209.

<sup>603</sup> DOTTIN-ORSINI, 1996, p. 208.

<sup>604</sup> HUGO, 1961, p. 249 and 251, translated by Machado de Assis.

triviality of the everyday universe. Now, on the contrary, the destructive character of passion is highlighted, the dangerous aspects of a love that leaves man tied hand and foot to a being that is not only futile, but fundamentally immoral, cruel and perverse: it is, then, the myth, destined for enormous development, of the Fatal Woman.<sup>605</sup>

As we know, from the second half of the 19th century onwards, Europe underwent a radical transformation, marked by a feeling of instability. A The disintegration of certainties and systems created up to that point had an impact on politics, morals and aesthetics. Traditional behaviors were contested and the modern world only reiterated a feeling of disorder and chaos in European consciousness. Modernity, with its traumas and shocks, generated new ways of thinking. In Brazil, there were resonances of these transformations. The artists and Brazilian writers did not express in their works only a reaction to the internal modernization process, but they also acted considering the models Europeans.

Published in the third issue of Lótus, two texts about the emergence of Feminism in the Minas Gerais context left clues for the interpretation of Ciro Arno's fable. One of them, placed on the front page, announced the newspaper's anniversary feminist Esperança, by Diamantina, wanting the periodical to soften its way of approaching content.

On the 11th of this year, this interesting periodical that saw its light in Diamantina, under the direction of hopeful ladies, celebrated its first anniversary.

---

<sup>605</sup> PIERROT, 1977, p. 160, our translation. No original: "[...] a double myth reflects the image we have of women and the attitude we adopt towards her: sometimes we insist on the fundamental futility of the feminine being , the vulgarity of his usual preoccupations, his purely sensual and animal aspect, his profound incapacity to access the spiritual and artistic universe. Woman is then the ball and chain that prevents the artist from escaping from the triviality of the everyday universe. Sometimes, on the contrary, we emphasize the destructive character of passion, the dangerous aspects of a love which delivers man bound hand and foot to a being who is not only futile, but fundamentally immoral, cruel and perverse: it is then the myth, dedicated to such vast development, of the Femme Fatale."

We wish Esperança a long life and less ardor in discussing  
the very important social issue of feminism, which is where her  
colleague Voz Feminina went.<sup>606</sup>

In the other text, among the list of Minas Gerais newspapers received by the Lotus, there was a criticism of the content published in the newspaper Voz Feminina and the aspirations of its publishers, who should be content with traditional roles social programs designated for women.

Voz Feminina, a women's rights, literary and news organization, which is published every fortnight in Diamantina, edited by the kind ladies Clélia Correia Rabello, Zélia Correia Rabello and Nícia Correia Rabello, also visited us. We wish long and innumerable prosperity to the intelligent advocates of the emancipation of women, although we believe that the circle of aspirations of the Christian maiden must be limited to the most honorable tasks of the domestic home, as a wife, as a mother and as a daughter.<sup>607</sup>

Esperança and Voz Feminina were not the first feminist newspapers miners. Feminist journalism began in 1873, in the city of Campanha, with The Female Sex. Founded by Francisca Senhorinha da Motta Diniz, O Sexo Feminino was also a pioneer in Brazil in defending the emancipation of women. Written by the founder and her daughters, it had a circulation of 800 copies, being sold by subscription in Minas Gerais, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro.<sup>608</sup> periodical brought to its readers the discussion about women's education and access to prestigious professions and public positions.<sup>609</sup> It also published content for the enjoyment of its readers such as games, serials, articles and various news, but it did not highlight fashion. When such a matter appeared in the pages of O Sexo Feminino, it was associated with a critique of the great social value placed on women's appearance rather than their intelligence.<sup>610</sup> It removed

<sup>606</sup> HOPE. Lotus, Belo Horizonte, 15 May 1900, p. 1.

<sup>607</sup> PRESS. Lotus, Belo Horizonte, 15 May 1900, p. 4.

<sup>608</sup> NASCIMENTO, 2006, p. 55.

<sup>609</sup> NASCIMENTO, 2006, p. 56.

<sup>610</sup> NASCIMENTO, 2006, p. 56-57.

Thus, the majority of the press at the time considered beauty and fashion as the only female interests and treated women in a childish way.<sup>611</sup>

The texts in this periodical said that, by being interested only in frivolous matters, women became targets of those who considered them inferior.<sup>612</sup>

In 1899, Maria Mercedes Corrêa de Oliveira Mourão founded and wrote, together with Mariana Higina, Maria Josefina de Medeiros, Clélia Rabello, Heloisa and Djanira Passos, the newspaper Esperança. And, the following year, it appeared, also in Diamantina, the newspaper Voz Feminina.

Clélia Correia Rabello, Zélia Correia Rabello and Nícia Correia Rabello, the responsible for the newspaper Voz Feminina, were from the Diamantina elite. In addition to writing, they also did the layout and printing of the fortnightly newspaper for just four pages. Its sale was made by subscription and its subjects were varied: international politics, Brazilian issues, literature, recipes and articles of special interest. feminist. The authors of these articles questioned the dominant ideology of female inferiority and defended women's rights to education and the vote. You texts argued that, for there to be a real democracy in Brazil, women should also have the right to vote.<sup>613</sup> These articles revealed the authoritarian and exclusionary character of the Republic that was being implemented at that time.

For the newspaper Voz Feminina, the emancipated woman did not renege on her duties domestic, and must combine the roles of wife and mother with those of worker and participant in political life.<sup>614</sup> Despite not daring to radically oppose the image of women as "queen of the home", these texts questioned the place assigned to women in patriarchal society.

Let's see how some of the symbolists from Minas Gerais positioned themselves in relation to feminism. The opening paragraph of the chronicle "The First Woman", by Alphonsus de Guimaraens, leaves no doubt that feminist ideas were on the horizon of the reflections of the symbolists from Minas Gerais.

---

<sup>611</sup> NASCIMENTO, 2006, p. 57.

<sup>612</sup> NASCIMENTO, 2006, p. 58-59.

<sup>613</sup> NASCIMENTO, 2006, p. 127.

<sup>614</sup> NASCIMENTO, 2006, p. 127-128.

**When reading the serious social issues that disturb the brains of (sic) feminists and the charming (some) female minds, I come to the desire, perhaps futile, but certainly worthy of attention, to recapitulate and gloss in a harmless chronicle the empirical questions that , regarding the origin of the first woman, occupied and worried our simple and kind ancestors.<sup>615</sup>**

**Instead of being “harmless”, it is a chronicle in which Alphonsus attacked the feminism, employing fine irony and arguments taken from the Scriptures.**

Scripture does not say that woman was created by God: he did not created it: formed it.

Such an assertion is certainly not very flattering for feminist women, who, in their pride as independent entities, will not be able to look favorably on this dependence ab initio...<sup>616</sup>

**José Severiano de Rezende also spoke about the movement feminist in a chronicle published in the Rio newspaper A Notícia on October 26 1922. The theme of the chronicle was female suffrage, against which Severiano spoke out. For the writer, Brazilian women already had “all rights” and were not “subject to any slavery”.<sup>617</sup>**

**At the beginning of the chronicle, the feminist was shown as an English lady “corpulent and somewhat matronly” who ran “breathlessly” to get to the polling station before the polls closed. The “heartbreaking spectacle” ended with the death of the “voting citizen” on the steps of the polling place.<sup>618</sup>**

---

<sup>615</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 413.

<sup>616</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 414.

<sup>617</sup> REZENDE, José Severiano de. The Female Vote. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 26 Oct. 1922.

Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

<sup>618</sup> REZENDE, José Severiano de. The Female Vote. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 26 Oct. 1922. Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

[...] I didn't feel sorry for that unfortunate suffragette and I even found her grotesque. Running, putting my soul in my mouth (if the expression is right for me) to go vote, was already ridiculous. Running and falling, ridiculous. Dying, grotesque.<sup>619</sup>

**For the chronicler, women should not enter into the dirty game of politics or farce or democratic “fiction”. The organization of women to fight for their rights was not well regarded.**

The woman herself wants to be left alone. Everyone wants to follow their vocation in peace. Actress, poet, novelist, journalist, sculptor, painter, seamstress, employee – she can be and has been all of these, without regimentation.<sup>620</sup>

To the feminist (defined as “incoherent advancer” and “angel of the bizarre”), Severiano contrasted the sublime woman (“the flower, the perfume, the angel of the home”). It was the feminine model that was being developed by Catholicism at that time, associated with the cult of the Virgin Mary. For José Severiano de Rezende, defender of traditionalist Catholic doctrine, the world would be redeemed through the mother of Jesus who would have the mission of correcting Eve's error. This idea appears in the text “The nativity of Mary” which is part of the book *O meu flos sanctorum*.

For the woman, the world had shaken; for the woman, he would rise again. This tall and swift head, trilingually darting the venom of Sin across generations, should be cupped by the delicate and tiny foot of an exceptional woman.<sup>621</sup>

---

<sup>619</sup> REZENDE, José Severiano de. The Female Vote. *A Notícia*, Rio de Janeiro, 26 Oct. 1922. Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

<sup>620</sup> REZENDE, José Severiano de. The Female Vote. *A Notícia*, Rio de Janeiro, 26 Oct. 1922. Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

<sup>621</sup> REZENDE, 1970, p. 155.

**In the poem “Anáthema”, the Virgin Mary has the role of saving the descendants of Eve through the violent purification of the female body and control and his sexuality.**

Chosen and pure,  
Holy and blessed,  
Look from above  
  
The breed states:  
To the female herd  
  
Spread graces of old:  
  
The steps I diverted from the darkness  
To the miserable Daughters  
  
of Eve: Give them tears in their  
eyes, Tear their leaves from their core,  
Shear their black or tawny braids, Heal  
their udders, heal their vulvas.  
  
And finally, the Woman,  
Sparse ill-wants me, Be  
simple, serene and compassionate and beautiful,  
Under the cerulean umbel<sup>622</sup>

**Maria symbolized the ideal and perfect woman for the writer from Minas Gerais:**

She would be the Woman par excellence and, around her cradle, a whole  
bustling and happy dawn would finally shine, very bright. This creature would  
be the masterpiece of creation: the woman in everything more than any other  
perfect [...] <sup>623</sup>

**Just like José Severiano de Rezende, the Minas Gerais press at the end of the 19th century and early 20th century also disparaged feminists. You Journalists and periodical editors understood that feminist ideas were the cause of the distortion of customs and the decadence of society.<sup>624</sup> To combat this new woman, journalists valued and publicized another female model. AND which we can also see in the newspaper A Violeta, which projected the image of a**

<sup>622</sup> REZENDE, 1971, p. 105.

<sup>623</sup> REZENDE, 1970, p. 156.

<sup>624</sup> NASCIMENTO, 2006, p. 126.

futile woman interested only in matters that supposedly would not threaten male dominance as fashion and beauty. In the text dedicated to fashion, published in *Violeta*, the elite woman, was represented as someone who, in order to show off and be admired at social events, she should dedicate herself mainly to the care with appearance. The function of this type of texts was to define the social place of women. The ideal bourgeois woman should restrict herself to the role of costume character in public space.

In the third issue of *Lótus*, indirect comments appeared on feminists' commitment to transforming social reality. It is "House of the Dead", another fable by Ciro Arno. The last sentence of this text is the inscription that appears on the portal of Dante's hell: "Lasciate ogne speranza, voi ch'entrate" ("Leave all hope, O ye who enter").<sup>625</sup> There is no doubt that this warning is linked to the text that comes just below in the same column, called "Hope", precisely the news of the anniversary of Diamantina's feminist newspaper. Already in "Pages of a Sad One", another text published in the same issue of *Lótus*, the theme is the of the subject disillusioned and defeated by reality.

And when dreamed triumphs turn into disappointments and defeats, when Icarian flights are repeated and the legendary torture of Sisyphus presents itself in its tiring reality, there is a fatal annihilation of spirit and body, a complete hopelessness of victories that is the germ dangerous from the abuse of the defeated. And the miserable soul continues on its painful pilgrimage across the land – a Bedouin lost in the deserts, walking aimlessly across the burning sands, under the tremendous curse of he

There is a flagrant opposition between the hopelessness of these texts, based in a pessimistic conception of existence, and the proposals of feminists who believed in changing the social role of women and improving the world.

---

<sup>625</sup> ALIGHIERI, 1998, p.37, translated by Italo Eugenio Mauro.

<sup>626</sup> E.[pseudonym]. Pages of a sad. *Lotus*, Belo Horizonte, 15 May 1900, p. 3.

For the symbolists in question, while the feminists were a threat on the political level, prostituted women represented a danger of distorting behavior.<sup>627</sup> The fable “Devil fish” would also be related to this last danger because the octopus woman was a representation of prostitute in French Decadence. As Sílvia Alexim Nunes reminds us, to maintain the wife as a holy mother, men needed the sinful woman on the street, a necessary evil, but prostitution had to be controlled so as not to affect established families.<sup>628</sup>

Against feminism, intellectuals from Minas Gerais linked to Symbolism reacted by creating an image of an ideal woman.<sup>629</sup> In “Crônica Azul”, published in the newspaper Lotus, the festivities marking the fourth centenary of the arrival of the Portuguese in became a reason for the philanthropy of certain elite ladies in the city. They were very different girls from femmes fatales or feminists:

Delicious are the memories we have of those four festive days, when there was music, fireworks, flowers... and especially live flowers, the garrulous beautiful ladies, smilingly offering us small objects, delicate nothings, for the benefit of the Santa Casa, that they, pious and gentle, want to help...

---

<sup>627</sup> In the first years of the new capital of Minas Gerais, the prostitutes who walked the city's streets were seen as threatening the social order. This is demonstrated by a text published in the Belo Horizonte newspaper, the first in the city, addressing the large “number of slutty women who in groups roam the streets, businesses and gather in synagogues in complete debauchery.” The newspaper also advocated energetic police action and the establishment of standards of conduct for these women. SANTOS, 1997, p. 164.

<sup>628</sup> “In the domestic space, a type of sexual asepsis must reign, which places prostitution as necessary for the disposal of excess sperm from each man in particular and from the social body in general. On the other hand, the prostitute's body is interpreted as an agent of disease, as a body that smells bad, linked to the idea of death and sterility. This representation of the prostitute's body makes her a privileged object of a public hygiene strategy that will seek to isolate, circumscribe, hide and establish intense and continuous health surveillance over these women. The separation between the asexual maternal woman and the prostitute appears here, accentuating an image of the female sexual body as impure, a “remainder” to be despised. The prostitute would be the representation par excellence of a woman who has lost her aura of beauty, of a disfigurement of the female body idealized as beautiful and pure. The prostitute's body would be the threatening negative of the mother's body. A model of men's vision in relation to the female sex is then constructed where it is difficult to articulate women as objects of love and eroticism simultaneously.” NUNES, 2000, p. 83-34.

<sup>629</sup> It should be noted that anti-feminism was a common position among Belle Époque intellectuals. Lima Barreto, for example, although he took the point of view of the humblest sections of the population and defended working women, he also disliked feminists. Cf. CURY, 1981.

<sup>630</sup> EC Chronicle blue. Lotus, Belo Horizonte, 15 May 1900, p. 1.

Thus, the “flowers of evil” were contrasted with the “flowers of good”. Pity and sweetness exalted in contrast to “debauchery”, competition in the work and the struggle for power. The virtuous figures treading a path opposite to the of those who followed the path of “decadence”.

Despite cultivating the “ideal flowers”, the Minas Gerais symbolists felt a enormous fascination with satanic, fatal women. In the case of Severiano de Rezende, the first part of the book *Mysteries*, called “*Poema do instict*”, is occupied by verses revolving around this type of female figure, as in “*Impéria*”, “*Satânia*” and “*Juventa*”. The dialogue with Baudelaire is evident from the epigraph taken from the sonnet “*L'ennemi*” (“The enemy”): “*Ma jeunesse ne fut qu'un ténébreux orage*” (“*Youth was nothing more than a storm631*

In “*Impéria*”, the poet presents us with a woman that is both beautiful and monstrous, a being that condenses in itself the figures of the octopus, the vampire and the Bacchante.

This one, which surpasses the others in beauty  
And she is proud and she is a tyrant and she is a murderer,  
Portentous woman, but so impure,  
That in every kiss a toxic bribe

This, that the youthful souls cloister  
In a fertile pilgrim alcove,  
Where a burning flesh resupines  
Another frantic flesh searches,

This is the one that terrifies my nights,  
Tentacular vampiric maenad, That  
slowly devours my veins...

Woe to you if you follow her for a moment!  
She leaves you, at the break of dawn,  
Pale, exhausted, trembling, panting...<sup>632</sup>

---

<sup>631</sup> BAUDELAIRE, 1985, p. 130-131, translated by Ivan Junqueira.

<sup>632</sup> REZENDE, 1971, p. 55.

They are very close to those figurations of the feminine created by Severiano de Rezende are present in the poems of Psalms of the Night, by Alphonsus de Guimarães, classified by the author himself as from his “satanic” phase. You The following verses well represent the theme of the demonic woman in Alphonsus:

Proserpina of evil, give me the poison, give me  
The delight that flows in your snowy bosom...

So that I still love you, Open  
the river of bloody and light kiss, The Lethe  
that makes me forget that you are infamous.

I dream that your bed is Charon's boat, Which  
descends through the misty sea of orgies;  
And forehead united to  
forehead, And frond united  
to frond, We go, you and I, you and I, nights  
and days, Without air in the chest, without flashes on the horizon.

Open the infernal breast, open the black and tender  
gaze, Where the heat moans, where the cold sobs.

You who are the daughter of  
hell, You can open a dark tomb in my chest,  
Where my soul sleeps a bad and eternal sleep.

Daughter of Satan, may my absorbed gaze  
rest on your eyes, I find it frightening and atro  
Where comfort hovers,  
And pain, like the visions of a dark theater, Where a  
clown sings, where a dead man rests.

Kiss carved in flesh, eternally dark and evil abyss,  
where I peer and lean, Open the numb breast, Cry  
your false tears, and in  
every sob From your chest, I hear the voice of a  
serpent.<sup>633</sup>

This is not a figuration of the feminine that would have occurred only in Alphonsus' youth. In “Succube”, by Pauvre lyre, the lyrical subject satisfies his sexual desires with a demonic being:

---

<sup>633</sup> GUIMARAENS, 2001, p. 536-537.

With swooning lips, I touch her everywhere:  
flesh and hair, on the eyes, – soul and body.  
A spring laugh in the fierce mouth.  
She was all snow, she was all gold!

634

Despite a tendency towards spiritualization and the sublimation of desires in the maturity of Alfonsine poetry, there is also the subtle presence of an eroticism transgressive, little noticed by critics. The sonnet "Succube" was published three times: in March 1902, in *Minas Artística*, in February 1912, in *Jornal do Comércio* and in 1921, in the book *Pauvre lyre*. This demonstrates that, even seeking to distance himself from Baudelaire, Alphonsus de Guimaraens continued, in a certain way, baudelairiano.

Something similar also occurs in Mamede de Oliveira's poetry. In *Dona Grace*, angelic and holy women predominate, but the sonnet "Satânia" presents a counterpoint in the figure of a femme fatale who seduces through dance. Perverse and beautiful like a goddess, this character takes us back to one of the most important symbolist myths: Salome.

I bowed to your magnetic and savage gaze That  
was perhaps committed to surrendering me, in an  
instant, In the delirium of seeing you, in  
lordly abandon Dancing, in a strange fever, your hair blowing.

My gaze followed you like a helpful page...  
An infernal light shone upon your  
countenance; And your body vibrated to  
the dizzying music Of blood effervescent through the clothes.

Between laughter you sang a burning song  
Of noon; and the look, very black, incandescent, It  
was the eternal source of voluptuousness and evil.

I still admire you! be slimy and perverse  
The essence that animates you! Cheer up golden,  
terse, The sculptural form of the goddesses of another age.635

<sup>634</sup> "With lips in wonder, I touch her/ Everywhere: eyes, skin and hair – body and soul./ A spring smile on her wild mouth./ She looked innocent, she was perfect!" GUIMARAENS, 2001, p. 460, our free translation.

<sup>635</sup> OLIVEIRA, 1957, p. 73.

The seduction through dance also appears in “The beheading of S. João Batista”, by José Severiano de Rezende, a narrative that is part of the book *O meu flos sanctorum* and in which we can notice an intertextual relationship with Salomé of Huysmans.

One night, the palace shakes with unusual joy. Herod throws a party. An entire court, imbued with brilliant vices, became intoxicated. The feast has the sumptuous pomp of oriental orgies. Herodias' daughter, Salome, appears on a carpet, in the graceful and captivating exuberance of her frank puberty and, in a choreographic frenzy, full of art and voluptuousness, shaking the red perfume of her blossoming flesh, dizzyes Herod.<sup>636</sup>

Between the end of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th century, the myth of Salomé acquired the appearance of a true collective obsession. Salomé embodied the absolute femme fatale, bringing together all the characteristics of the dangerous feminine. In Flaubert's work and in Beardsley's illustrations for Oscar Wilde's play, Salomé acquired the ambiguous and indeterminate character of androgyny.<sup>637</sup> In Huysmans's *Inside Out*, Salomé appears holding a lotus flower like a scepter and is itself called a “venereal flower”. The sexual symbolism of the lotus flower is condensed in the figure of Salomé: simultaneously feminine and masculine (vulva and phallus).<sup>638</sup> Salomé's sexuality, hidden and revealed in the dance of the veils, was blurred and diffuse,<sup>639</sup> producing horror when seen. .<sup>640</sup>

The figure of the androgyne, much worshiped by Decadentism, dramatized an effort to merge opposites, but, at the same time, caused their split,

---

<sup>636</sup> REZENDE, 1970, p. 144.

<sup>637</sup> MORAES, 2002, p. 31.

<sup>638</sup> In *Inside Out*, the perception that the protagonist Des Esseintes has in relation to a painting by Gustave Moreau is described, highlighting the fact that the painter placed in the hand of Salomé, the character in the painting, “the sacred flower of Egypt and India, the great lotus.” HUYSMANS, 1987, p. 86. In several Eastern mythologies, the flower had sexual meanings. In ancient Egypt, the lotus flower was considered an “archetypal vulva” and, in China, the expression “Golden Lotus” was used to name a Furthermore, the lotus stem could be a representation of the phallus. See CHEVALIER; GHEERBRANT, 2003, p. 558-559.

<sup>639</sup> MORAES, 2002, p. 31.

<sup>640</sup> MORAES, 2002, p. 36.

pointing to a fracture in Western-Christian morality.<sup>641</sup> From the moment Salomé became a character with masculine characteristics, expectations of a fragile, masochistic woman and a man powerful and domineering, images that the Catholic Church, legislators and scientists, especially doctors, had been creating during the 19th century.<sup>642</sup> Salome's evil femininity was often associated with the myth of Lilith, Adam's first companion, due to the fact that she was an unsubmitting woman who questioned male dominance.<sup>643</sup>

In the situations presented by Minas Gerais symbolists in their works, the subjects enacted an agonizing existence, tensioned between interior-exterior, ideal-real and spirituality-materiality. Symbolist writing transformed anxieties and existential doubts in pathetic, and this pathetic could oscillate from tragic to comic, from terror to derision, from suffering to irony. Theatricality, tending to the comic appears in "Reminiscence of an ancient drama", a sonnet in which Alphonsus combines the macabre theme with a touch of humor, indicated by the title. AND It is precisely the term "dramalhão" that makes the poem read as a text humorous.

Madam! I hope to visit you one  
day, On a pale March afternoon.  
You will no longer say, coldly mocking  
me: – "My love far away wanders sparsely!"

The dead man's revenge, here is  
the dark Piece: before your gaze so  
bold, I will lengthen – ghost in  
agony – Femur and tibia, tarsus and metatarsus...

A minuet step, extraordinary: And I  
will emerge as carved in snow,  
Stripping off my cloak, my shroud.

<sup>641</sup> SANT'ANNA, 1985, p. 191.

<sup>642</sup> See NUNES, 2000, p. 77-80 and also RAGO, 1987, p. 61-95.

<sup>643</sup> According to GRAUBY, Lilith represented a set of men's fears in a patriarchal culture: "The range of male fears is recognized in the list of her crimes: the loss of virility, the loss of women as a companion and support, the loss of offspring". GRAUBY, 1994, p. 103, our translation. In the original: "On retrouve dans le catalogue de ses crimes l'éventail des peurs masculines: la perte de la virilité, la perte de la femme comme compagne et bra, la perte de offspring."

– “Vile Specter!” You will say, not extreme start.  
But you will love me, in a brief flash, Seeing  
me so gentle, all in white...<sup>644</sup>

In general, the theatrical aspect of the work of the Minas Gerais symbolists is composed of scenes involving the idea of martyrization. We could then call them dramas of torture or dramas of martyrdom. These scenes are constituted around dramatic situations marked by the presence of death and the awareness of finitude.

Exile, one of these dramas, was related to the situation of the subjects in transit, but also presented other existential connotations in the work of Minas Gerais symbolists. The dramatic pathos of exile could take the form of the human condition after the fall of Eden as in these verses by Alphonsus “To you, to you <sup>645</sup> It is in this cry I , wretched son of Eve./ Lost horror of this exile of darkness”.  
by the same meaning that appears in a sonnet by Mamede de Oliveira: “Soul, moan in this atrocious exile,/ Wandering in search of the radiant trail,/ To escape the wretched land!...”<sup>646</sup> In other cases, exile is associated with isolation of the poet in modern world, leitmotif of the texts of the first issue of the magazine *Minas Artística* in which Cruz e Souza is seen as a symbol of this loneliness. Edgard Mata portrayed the poet/ esthete as an “exiled Triunfador”.<sup>647</sup> Alfredo de Sarandy Raposo transformed the “artist” into a subject in retreat, living only for his art: “He is one alone in a study cell:/ dreaming and suffering horrible tortures/ Of those who pass through the world, oblivious to everything.”<sup>648</sup> In the sonnet “Supreme Peace”, J. Camelo addressed the ascension of Cruz e Souza’s soul to a place situated among “the golden stars”, after an existence of suffering: “In despair, agony and anguish/ Torcicolaste in the dark hells/ From the tragic boil of the world”.<sup>649</sup> It is important remember that the representation of existence as something hellish is related to the Christian conception of human life as an exile from Eden.

<sup>644</sup> GUIMARAENS, 2001, p. 437.

<sup>645</sup> GUIMARAENS at RICIERI, 1996, v. 2, 218

<sup>646</sup> OLIVEIRA, 1957, p. 15.

<sup>647</sup> MATA, Edgard. Esthete. *Minas Artística*, Belo Horizonte, n. 1, 19 Mar. 1091, p. 3.

<sup>648</sup> RAPOSO, Alfredo de Sarandy. Artist. *Minas Artística*, Belo Horizonte, n. 1, 19 Mar. 1901, p. 3.

<sup>649</sup> CAMEL, J. Supreme peace. *Minas Artística*, Belo Horizonte, n. 1, 19 Mar. 1901, p. 4.

The poet's martyrdom was even more highlighted in the texts that Horace Guimaraens and Ernesto Cerqueira wrote for *Minas Artística*. The name of the text by Cerqueira, "Martírio luminoso", is quite illustrative of this type of dramatization. Cruz e Souza had been, for Cerqueira, a "slap of luck, a persecuted of the mob, one stoned by Envy torva" and his art, a reaction to martyrdom suffered: "the Artist of Evocations lived from Suffering, he was inspired by it to fight, crystallizing in the imperishable Verse the Pain that tormented him..."<sup>650</sup> Horace Guimarães related the martyrdom of the poet from Santa Catarina to the misunderstanding of the materialist bourgeoisie and the crowd:

Cross – it was a cross where a Soul suffered, writhed, crucified, agonized, rebelled. It is necessary for ecstatic Artists to suffer and bleed: the purses of men of matter laugh at these Souls, like the sparkles THAT THEY HAVE ON THEIR RINGS AND ON THEIR SHIRTS PUT THE LIGHT OF THE STARS...

[...] Facing the Beyond and the Mystery, walled up inside his Dream – he was like a plagued Cenobite of Pain, stoically dragging a Sambenito of torture through the crowds that stoned and jeered at him.<sup>651</sup>

Alphonsus de Guimaraens, in addition to having discussed the poet's condition in the sonnet he dedicated to Cruz e Souza, he also addressed the suffering of esthete in the poem "Velha anecdote", published in 1909 in the *Fon-Fon* magazine. The poet adopted a very different perspective in this sonnet, ironically transforming the smart, the elegant, into martyrs of luxury.<sup>652</sup>

One day they met on Avenida Four  
smarts, martyrs of luxury.  
Smiling, they led a good life,  
Empty, although always with their stomach.

One of them, with a flowered lapel,

<sup>650</sup> CERQUEIRA, Ernesto. Luminous martyrdom. *Minas Artística*, Belo Horizonte, n. 1, 19 Mar. 1901, p.4.

<sup>651</sup> GUIMARÃES, Horácio. A "poète maudit". *Minas Artística*, Belo Horizonte, n. 1, 19 Mar. 1901, p.1.

<sup>652</sup> Smartism was a phenomenon that occurred at the beginning of the 20th century. Nicolau Sevcenko related the emergence of smartism to the period following the inauguration of Avenida Central in Rio de Janeiro. See SEVCENKO, 2003, p.54-58.

He said: – A speech from my throat I pull To  
salute the white and shining robe  
Of Heitor, who is more beautiful than a gaucho!

Who made you, my friend, with such a  
cut, That you have a proud forehead,  
proud carriage, As if you were a king! who did it?

– Gomes, Sampaio, Leite and Company.  
– I'm surprised, said the other, who was  
smiling, You created so many creditors at <sup>653</sup> once!

The poem theatricalized the great interest of smarts/dandies in the search for personal sublime, a concern that was above any practical matter or vital need. Characterized by an exaggerated elegance, by the spirit bright and extravagant, combined with some arrogance, humor and self-criticism. Ironically, the dandies lived as if they were permanently in front of a mirror, wanting to achieve, at all costs, the perfection of their style, thus staging a rebellion against triviality. It is important to remember that, for Baudelaire, dandyism was a way of distinguishing man and not a superficial stance. From the point of moral view, the author of *The Flowers of Evil* believed that the dandy's attitudes had something stoic about them, which brought him closer to the hero and the saint.<sup>654</sup>

In addition to the martyrdom of the aesthete/poet who now had to sell his work and make concessions to the tastes of the bourgeoisie and the masses, the drama could also take the form of violence produced by industrialization against art. After writing about the martyrdoms of Saint Sebastian in *O meu flos sanctorum*, Severiano mentioned the aesthetic torment caused by the mass production of images of the saint.

This saint has been, after his death, a martyr also for the manufacturers of oleographs and pious statuettes, and is, at every moment, massacred and tortured by the sacred imagination: on the frontispiece of the Sebastianopolitan cathedral there is a Saint Sebastian, a martyr less of Emperor Diocletian than of artistic unconsciousness of our time. In general, they represent him as young and beardless. A mosaic,

<sup>653</sup> GUIMARAENS, 1960, p. 587-588.

<sup>654</sup> See JUNQUEIRA, 1985, p. 56.

however, it is very ancient and can be seen in the Church of St. Peter ad-Vincula, in Rome, showing it as white-bearded and austere.

But who can, by reconstituting iconography according to the monuments of reason, destroy the inert Saint Sebastian, created by industrial anonymity, which turned the cult of saints into a frank trade in art monsters?

655

**Another type of exile that appears in the work of Minas Gerais symbolists is the situation of isolation sought by the subject himself, as occurs with hermits, monks and nuns. Thus, Edgard Mata adapted the desire for evasion present in the models European and Brazilian literary authors using in their work the repertoire of symbols religious beliefs shared by Minas Gerais symbolists. This type of drama has been addressed not “Thebaid” sonnet:**

In the endless Thebaid of my sorrow, I  
wander, as in the vacant night In the  
blue solitudes of the ethereal plaga This  
sad August Moon.

Like the Moon, I also carry on my face  
This stigma of Pain that ruins everything;  
And I look for remedies for the sore In  
the endless Thebaid of my heartbreak...

I want the Trapa of calm and rest Where they  
can, peaceful and gentle, The days pass  
away, sweetly.

I want the Peace of the deserts and  
wildernesses, The Silence of the landless  
lands, The ascetic refuges of the Believer...656

**This isolation of the monk reflected a desire to escape from society, to distance from the real world, which manifested itself so much in decadent literature**

<sup>655</sup> REZENDE, 1970, p. 25.

<sup>656</sup> MATA apud SOUZA, 1978, p. 27. A variation of this image can be found in the poem “Memória II”: “I went to live in a monastery./ And you will perhaps be able to see the Prior of Disgust”. MATA apud SOUZA, 1978, p. 46. Carlos Drummond de Andrade associated this type of existential dramatization with the profile of Edgard Mata himself: “The poet is famously Prior do Desgosto,/ lives in Trapa da Tristeza,/ which is also a haunted castle/ since the Middle Ages or since Vila Rica .” ANDRADE, 2006, p. 1299.

as in the symbolist. Many characters sought an enclosure where they could live far from the passage of time and norms (without a home, without a spouse and without children). This life in refuge was a reaction to existential standardization, a statement of difference.

In "Místico", Edgad Mata condensed the images of the dead bride and the saint (especially a memory of the Virgin Mary) in the cloistered nun. The beauty of this female figure was related to the sublimation of the body's appeal, indicated in the poem by images linked to the cold.

Soul of arctic and polar ice,  
Deified by great pains...  
Contemplating the light of your eyes  
Mystical loves are born in my soul!

White as you are, with the pallor of  
lilies, You come to remind me of the  
Virgin of the Mysteries, The sad and bitter Holy Virgin.

You have the sepulchral and  
cold beauty Of extreme apparitions  
of agony – Ah! my poor cloistered nun!<sup>657</sup>

The nun, because she is engaged to a spirit, can only have a spiritualized, sublimated love, as human love is impossible for her. On the other hand, the auratization of the female figure, associated with pain, has as reference the figure of Mary, the Mater Sorrowful, whose suffering mirrored that of Jesus, both dramatized by Alphonsus of Guimaraens in the Septenary of Our Lady's Sorrows. An example of this mirroring can be observed in the fourth poem that makes up "Primeira Dor", of the Septenary. The lyrical subject, when commenting on a prophecy made to Mary about the sufferings of Jesus, says: "Yes! For to see Him suffer was certainly/ To have the spear held high in the middle of the chest,/ And the open heart in a living wound."<sup>658</sup> In the sonnet "VII", which is part of the "Fifth pain", this process becomes more evident, the son's martyrdom is the mother's martyrdom:

<sup>657</sup> MATA apud SOUZA, 1978, p. 44.

<sup>658</sup> GUIMARAENS, 2001, p. 218.

Seeing Him was not enough for you, sweet Lady,  
 Far from your motherly affection;  
 To feel that the vile mob, which roars and cries,  
 If he came in fury to assault Him on the paths:

Scars that fell like llamas  
 About Who is more target than ermines:  
 And the royal Front, in radiations of flame,  
 Girdled by the tips of Thorns:

Whippings, slaps, blackheads, wounds,  
 And the Sponge, and the Spear, and the Fel, and the strange Thirst,  
 And the holy Blood that flowed in berries:

Everything was too little for your pains...  
 That you would still see Him on the Mountain,  
 Expiring between two robbers!<sup>659</sup>

In the poetry of the symbolists from Minas Gerais, the lyrical subjects purify themselves by return to women identified with pain and sacrifice, they sanctify themselves through loving impossible women like the dying, the dead and the ghosts. Under the spectral form, “derealized”, women become omnipresent and bring memories of the past constantly surface.

For Affonso Romano de Sant'anna, there is a correlation between the figures feminine aspects of symbolist texts. The dead bride, the castellated princess, the sleeping beauty, Ophelia and the nun in her cell form “a system of representation where the invariant is the closure of the individual in a space that imprisons desire. Thanatos is the jailer of Eros, who languishes in his cell, looking at the world from his dark exile.”<sup>660</sup>

Symbolists understood existence as pain and decay. The desire was associated with suffering. Therefore, Affonso Romano de Sant'anna observed that “the artist has to strive to build his life like a desperate person, but, especially as a saint. A saint who knows that the body, the current time,

---

<sup>659</sup> GUIMARAENS, 2001, p. 235.

<sup>660</sup> SANT'ANNA, 1985, p. 187.

love are prisons, chains and provisional incarceration."<sup>661</sup> One of the ways to resolve these dramas of martyrdom, experienced by characters inserted in dead cities or tentacular cities, it was death. End for the body, death it would, however, be the beginning of a liberation of the spirit.

---

<sup>661</sup> SANT'ANNA, 1985, p. 186.

## **FINAL CONSIDERATIONS**

**Q**

When researching Minas Gerais literature in the Belle Epoque period, a of the findings that are soon reached is that many scholars are unaware of a large part of the production of writers linked to the Decadentism and Symbolism. Being unknown, it is also poorly evaluated by critics. The works of Minas Gerais symbolists were mentioned in books history of literature, dictionaries of Brazilian literature and some critical essays. However, these forms of dissemination were not enough to make the The writings of most of the group's members are known. Except for studies on Alphonsus de Guimaraens, a poet already established in the canon, and few essays on the work of José Severiano de Rezende, the bibliography on Symbolism in Minas Gerais still does not live up to its cultural significance. You Existing studies generally address the individual production of these two authors. To date, an academic investigation into the group of symbolists from Minas Gerais and its cultural activities had not yet been carried out. Our work sought to fill this gap and open paths for new research on the Brazilian symbolist literature. It developed into a new perspective of reading: that of the relationship between Minas Gerais symbolists and modernity and modernization processes. This perspective required work to occur in a historical and in a critical dimension, extremely complex tasks as the biographical information of these writers is scarce and their works have not yet were duly studied. Seeking to overcome these limitations, we investigated the history and cultural production of the symbolist movement in Minas, the relations of its members with the bodies of political and literary power, some aspects of critical reception and the resonances perceived in his works. Also we analyzed the group's value system and the literary imagination mobilized in your texts. To achieve our objectives, we had to get rid of some ideas that are associated with Symbolism and that are implicit in much of the critical fortune of Alphonsus de Guimaraens. One of them is the representation of the Symbolists as writers isolated in an ivory tower, indifferent to everyday life and the problems of their time – an image that can be explained, in part, because it was created from their literary texts. However, in our research, we discovered that they were involved in reflection on various social problems and in political struggles, reaching party engagement. Furthermore, we sought to consider the intellectual work conditions of that

time, the relationship of symbolist literature with technological development and opposition of Minas Gerais symbolists to scientific/positivist discourses.

During our research, we saw that symbolist manifestations in Minas lasted until the 1920s, and initially they were not distinguished clearly from the Parnassians. There was, however, a search for differentiation in certain period, when the Symbolists, now more organized, confronted with the representatives of Parnassianism and fought the positivist ideology in its various trends. After that time, Symbolism continued in the works of its followers in a diluted form and mixed with other currents. Through dilutions and mixtures, adaptations and recreations, this literature was moving away from its models. Symbolist texts were published in ephemeral periodicals of the capital of Minas Gerais and the interior of the state. Some of the symbolists from Minas Gerais collaborated in important publications from other states in the country and two of them, José Severiano de Rezende and Alphonsus de Guimaraens, had some works translated and published in Europe. Furthermore, Severiano de Rezende collaborated, for brief time, in Mercure de France, one of the most important magazines in Symbolism.

Minas Gerais symbolists participated in several intellectual networks. Such as worldview and the interests of official recognition bodies collided often with the interests and worldview of the Symbolists, these writers were initially led to look for alternative ways of recognition in semi-institutionalized networks and informal networks. To the few, ties were established between symbolists from Minas Gerais and writers from other regions of the country, according to a logic of solidarity based on aspects generational, positional and ideological, mainly in the bohemian and periodical environment. In addition to contacts with symbolists from other states, there were also, through references, citations, resonances, visits and correspondence, a relationship between modernists and members of the symbolist group from Minas Gerais. In our study, we highlight the interaction of symbolists from Minas Gerais with those from São Paulo and the protagonism of Alphonsus de Guimaraens and Severiano de Rezende in both groups. We also analyzed the transformation of Alphonsus de Guimaraens and Severiano de Rezende in precursors of an avant-garde made up of writers

modernists, the dialogue that modernists from Minas Gerais maintained with poetics symbolist in his first works and the case of Agenor Barbosa who moved from Symbolism for Modernism, having been one of the most active in the group that held the Modern Art Week in 1922.

**Collaboration in different state and national periodicals, the editing of magazines with national repercussion, the communication established with writers from other states and its transit in other public spheres demonstrate that a One of the greatest concerns of Minas Gerais symbolists was their isolation from the country's cultural and political life.**

Minas Gerais symbolists oscillated between defending the autonomy of literature and submit to existing intellectual work conditions. Faced with these conditions, they felt impelled to expand the limits of their production, as also happened with the Parnassian poets. They then wrote chronicles, articles and humorous poems aimed at satisfying the public's taste or acted as advertising writers and as celebrities guarantors of the quality of advertised products. They sought to reconcile tradition and modernity by developing, along these lines, translation practices as a form of learning and recreation/reinvention of literary models through a personal filter. Considering modernity now from a local perspective, now from a global one, these writers referred to social, technological, political and economics only in a metaphorical way in the lyrics, but, in his chronicles, articles and poetry of circumstance, such changes could be mentioned directly. Reflection on tradition occurred in the following areas: defending Latinity and a Portuguese-Brazilian community or dialogue with occult sciences, Catholicism and canonical writers. At first glance, the literary work of the Symbolists would not have links with politics, economics and transformations seen between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. However, a more accurate reading of between the lines or even of what was Explicit in the texts of these writers revealed to us the anxieties and concerns they experienced in relation to the modernization processes. On the other hand, we understand that the Symbolism of Minas itself played a role modernizing on the aesthetic-literary level, with the selection process,

appropriation and incorporation of new elements was related to the conditions production of works and the expressive needs of the authors.

Due to time limitations, we left some possibilities for analysis, that we began to carry out or point out in this work, to be developed in future research such as, for example, the issue of “technical landscape” in the work of the symbolists from Minas Gerais; the relationships of these writers with mass culture and the dialogue that Minas Gerais symbolists maintained with other arts (music, arts plastic arts, architecture, theater, cinema).

In the texts of Minas Gerais symbolists, we observe a constant existential dramatization associated with the position they adopted in relation to certain issues of modernity, making the world a setting for characters in conflict between the spiritual and the corporal, the ideal and the real. In addition to the drama of emigrants/immigrants and migrants, these authors theatricalized the isolation of artist in a world focused on materialistic values, the suffering of smart people in search of the personal sublime, the aesthetic torment caused by the production of mass images or the enclosure of the subject aiming at pacification, purification or sanctification. Our research revealed that the emergence of women in the public sphere was felt as threatening and also staged as a drama by Minas Gerais symbolists. These writers' reactions consisted of both in the formulation of an image of an ideal woman, and in the elaboration of the negative female model. Minas Gerais symbolists produced different types of ideal woman. The first type was that of the kind but shallow and superficial young woman; O second, it was that of the holy wife and mother, realizing herself through her children and making sacrifices for the family and the third was that of the nun who would dedicate herself only to the questions of the spirit. They were opposed by women who demanded their rights, prostitutes and prostitutes. These women were seen as a political threat and a danger of moral distortion. The “flowers of evil” were contrasted with the “flowers of good”. In the poetry of the Minas symbolists, the Eroticism was articulated in two directions: interdiction and transgression. Alongside the tendency to sublimate desires, there was also a transgressive eroticism, often obliterated, for example, by Alphonsus's critical reception of Guimaraens. Despite cultivating the “flowers of good”, the Symbolists felt a

enormous fascination with fatal, dominating women. Together with the appreciation of chastity and kindness, Minas Gerais symbolists attacked behaviors considered illicit. His texts obsessively dealt with Eros linked to Thanatos. According to this type of thinking of Christian origin, was the first sin, the “original sin”, which united love and death, forcing humanity to experience its sexuality always with the feeling of guilt for this initial transgression and exiled to a world of suffering.

In relation to subjects in transit, the symbolists from Minas Gerais reflected on the suffering caused by uprooting. In poetry, the changes were transfigured and recreated, for example, under the figure of migratory birds and also through the establishment of an intertextual relationship (Camanian characters), which enhanced his critique of modernity. In prose, they created narratives in which emigrants/immigrants were represented either as characters flayed by poverty, prejudice, social exclusion, injustice and by the feeling of loss, whether as successful subjects. In other texts, the arrival of immigrants to Brazil was associated with a rupture in local traditions. In the argumentative texts, between the engaged literature of J. Camelo or the propaganda by José Severiano de Rezende, the subjects in transit were shown sometimes as part of the country's social problems (depopulation of the countryside and swelling of urban areas), sometimes as their solution (development economic). Seen from abroad and from the perspective of patriotic propaganda, the immigrant was not suffering. Seen from the interior of the country, migrants and immigrants were subjects in crisis, characters experiencing conflicts in new conditions.

Projections of the writers' states of mind, symbolist scenarios could be both dead cities and small, decadent, stagnant urban centers, linked to the past and traditions, as well as metropolises and cities that are becoming modernized. For Minas Gerais symbolists, colonial cities and villages played a role similar to that of Bruges in Rodenbach's work, that is, places where agitation, movement and frantic changes did not occur. Rather than being described in detail, these urban landscapes were often suggested through signs referring to religious spaces.

In approaching modernity, different perspectives were adopted by mining symbolists. A cosmopolitan vision of a subject located outside the world country, a vision of a subject observing the modern world from the inside Minas Gerais and a vision of a subject located between the urban and rural universe. A first appears in Severiano's poetry and prose about the city of Rio de Janeiro and Brazil. The second can be found in the lyrical subject and in the Alfonsino narrator. Already the third can be seen, for example, in the poetry of Edgard Mata and Mamede de Oliveira.

The texts that Severiano de Rezende wrote about Rio de Janeiro they presented a reading of the urban landscape made through contrasts. On the one hand, there was the process of desacralization of the city (urban reforms and modern skyscrapers). On the other, the attempt to give it a sacred character (the change of its name to "Sebastianópolis", the presence of religious buildings in the described scenarios and the idealization of urban spaces). In "Notre Civilization", the process of desacralization was intensified by photographs of one of the first skyscrapers in Rio de Janeiro. The movement opposite to desacralization of urban space took place through the writing of the chronicle itself, which began to archive the erasure of monuments and tradition, thus functioning as compensation for the loss of a past that could never return. The same procedure of contrasting images was used in the analysis that Severiano de Rezende made Paris a confrontation with New York. For Severiano, while New York was the perfect example of the tentacular/babylonian city, Paris combined a Babylonian side with a holy side, which made it superior to its rival North-American.

It is important to highlight that Minas Gerais symbolists preferred to deal more with dead cities than with tentacular cities. It was an indirect way of contrast the processes of modernization and their positivist foundations. Although Alphonsus of Guimaraens wrote most about dead cities, he also presented small snapshots of life in big cities, sometimes with a melancholic tone, sometimes with a humorous accent, and the scenes could happen, for example, in front of the window of a store in São Paulo or in a full of posters on the banks of the Thames.

All this literary complexity points to the undeniable cultural importance of the symbolist group from Minas Gerais. We believe that our work opens up new possibilities of reading his works. As research on the symbolist literature from Minas Gerais, there is still much to be done in terms of study of manuscripts and dispersed in periodicals. Furthermore, symbolist books would need to be republished and publicized so that these writers could be best evaluated and occupy the prominent place they deserve to have.

## REFERENCES

ABREU, Alzira Alves de et al. Brazilian historical-biographical dictionary post-1930. Rev. ed. and current. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV; CPDOC, 2001. 5 v.

International ACADEMY of Fine Arts: Conference by Mr. Severiano de Rezende. La Gazette du Brasil, Paris, n. 15, April 3, 1924, p. 1.

AGUIAR, Melânia Silva de Aguiar. Henrique Lisboa: memory of the lived/imagination of the transcendent. Scripta, Belo Horizonte, v. 6, no. 12, p. 27-36, 1st sem. 2003.

ALIGHIERI, Dante. The divine comedy: hell. Trans. and notes by Italo Eugenio Mauro. São Paulo: Ed. 34, 1998.

ALMEIDA, Marcelina das Graças. Belo Horizonte, village and metropolis: memory of the plastic arts in the capital of Minas Gerais. In: RIBEIRO, Marília Andrés; SILVA, Fernando Pedro (Org.). A century of plastic arts in Belo Horizonte. Belo Horizonte: C/Arte; João Pinheiro Foundation; Center for Historical and Cultural Studies, 1997. p. 72-112.

ALPHONSUS, João. Adrift. In: CAVALHEIRO, Edgard. Testament of a generation. Porto Alegre: Livraria do Globo, 1944. p. 137-157.

\_\_\_\_\_. Biographical news. In: GUIMARAENS, Alphonsus de. Complete work. Rio de Janeiro: Aguilar, 1960. p. 29-47.

AMADO, Gilberto. Youth in Rio and first trip to Europe. Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1956.

\_\_\_\_\_. After politics. Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1960.

AMARAL, Aracy. Tarsila: her work and her time. São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1975. 2 v.

\_\_\_\_\_. Tarsila revisited. In: SALZSTEIN, Sônia (Org.) Tarsila: 20s. Paulo: SESI, 1997. Exhibition catalogue.

AMARAL, Glória Carneiro do. Acclimatizing Baudelaire. São Paulo: Annablume, 1996.

\_\_\_\_\_. Brazil in Mercure de France magazine. In: NITRINI, Sandra (Org.). Below and beyond the sea: cultural relations: Brazil and France. São Paulo: Hucitec, 2000. p.148-163.

ANDRADE, Carlos Drummond de. To Afonso Pena Júnior. In: ANDRADE, Carlos Drummond de. Complete poetry. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Aguilar, 2006. To Afonso Pena Junior, p. 370.

\_\_\_\_\_. The fate of Edgard Mata. In: ANDRADE, Carlos Drummond de. Complete poetry. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Aguilar, 2006. p. 1299.

\_\_\_\_\_. To visit. In: ANDRADE, Carlos Drummond de. Complete poetry. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Aguilar, 2006. p. 1209-1216.

\_\_\_\_\_. In memory of Alphonsus of Guimaraens. In: ANDRADE, Carlos Drummond de. Complete poetry. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Aguilar, 2006. p. 1299.

ANDRADE, Luciana Teixeira de. Public order, crime and deviance in Belo Horizonte. Vária História, Belo Horizonte, n.18, p. 19-200, Sept. 1997.

ANDRADE, Mário de. Alphonsus. In: ANDRADE, Mário de; BANDEIRA, Manuel. Itineraries: letters to Alphonsus de Guimaraens Filho. São Paulo: Duas Cidades, 1974. p.69-72.

ANDRADE, Oswald de. The intellectual effort of contemporary Brazil. In: BATISTA, Marta Rossetti; LOPES, Telê Porto Ancona; LIMA, Yone Soares de. (Org.). Brazil: 1º modernist time – 1917/29. São Paulo: Institute of Brazilian Studies, 1972. p. 208-216.

ANDRE, Marius. French magazines and newspapers. A great Brazilian lyricist: J. Severiano de Rezende. Latin America Review, Paris, t. XIV, n. 69, p. 283-284, 1º sept. 1927.

THE PAGE... Vita, Belo Horizonte, n. 1, July 1913, p. 18.

AQUINO, Almir de Rezende. Severiano, man of faith. Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 23 December. 1972. Literary Supplement, p. 11.

ARARIPE JÚNIOR. Critical work by Araripe Júnior. Rio de Janeiro: Ministry of Education and Culture; Casa de Rui Barbosa, 1966, v. 4, p. 151-162: The book of Father Severiano (letter to Mr. Valfrido Ribeiro).

ARAÚJO, Adolfo. A sonnet. A Violeta, Belo Horizonte, 14 July. 1900, p. 4.

ARINOS, Affonso. Through the wilderness. Rio de Janeiro: Tecnoprint, [19 - -].

ARNO, Ciro. Devil fish. Lotus, Belo Horizonte, 8 jul. 1900, p. 2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Memoirs of a student. [SI]: [sn], [1949].

ASTURIAS & Severiano. Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 23 December. 1972. Literary Supplement, p.4-5.

AURAND, Arline Anglade. French influences on Alphonsus de Guimaraens. 1970. Tese ( 3rd cycle doctorate – Comparative Literature) – University of Toulouse, Toulouse, 1970.

ÁVILA, Affonso. The poet and critical consciousness: a line of tradition, an avant-garde attitude. 2.ed.rev.e ampl. São Paulo: Summus, 1978.

BAKHTIN, Mikhail. Popular Culture in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: the context of François Rabelais. 6. ed. Trans. Yara Frateschi Vieira. São Paulo: Hucitec; Editora Universidade de Brasília, 2008.

BALAKIAN, Ana. Symbolism. São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1985.

BANDEIRA, Manuel. Alphonsus. Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, Jan. 1971. Literary Supplement, p.1.

BARBOSA, Agenor. In San Francisco. Vita, Belo Horizonte, n. 13, 6 June. 1914, not paginated.

\_\_\_\_\_. Dantesque dream. Vita, Belo Horizonte, n. 17, 7 Sep. 1914, no paginated.

\_\_\_\_\_. May novel. Vida de Minas, Belo Horizonte, n. 9, 1 May 1915, not paged.

\_\_\_\_\_. From the legend of love and life. Vida de Minas, Belo Horizonte, n. 10, 15 May 1915, not paged.

\_\_\_\_\_. Icarus. Vida de Minas, Belo Horizonte, n. 12, 15 June. 1915, no paginated.

\_\_\_\_\_. Lusitanian muse. Vida de Minas, Belo Horizonte, n. 8, 15 Apr. 1915, not paged.

\_\_\_\_\_. It was my ambition, for the roads. In: SILVEIRA, Vítor. Mines Gerais in 1925. Belo Horizonte: Imprensa Oficial, 1926. p. 595.

BAZILE, Sandrine. In the garden of the dead woman, Ophelia in her funeral garden (literature and painting from the end of the 19th century). Eidolon, Bordeaux, n. 74, p.267-278, Nov. 2006.

BAUDELAIRE, Charles. Complete Works. Paris: Gallimard, 1951.

\_\_\_\_\_. The flowers of evil. Translation, introduction and notes by Ivan Junqueira. Rio de Janeiro: New Frontier, 1985.

BENJAMIN, Walter. Charles Baudelaire, a lyricist at the height of capitalism. Trans. José Martins Barbosa, Hemerson Baptista. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1989. (Selected works, 3).

\_\_\_\_\_. Magic and technique, art and politics – essays on literature and cultural history. 7. ed. Trans. Sérgio Paulo Rouanet. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1994.

\_\_\_\_\_. Passages. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG; São Paulo: Press Official of the State of São Paulo, 2007.

BERDOULAY, Vincent. Modernism and public space: the Agache Plan of Rio de Janeiro. Território Magazine, Rio de Janeiro, n. 11-12-13, p. 123-132, Sep./Oct. 2003.

BERMAN, Marshall. Everything that is solid melts into air: the adventure of modernity. Trans. Carlos Felipe Moisés, Ana Maria L. Ioriatti. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1986.

BERTRAND, Jean-Pierre; DURAND, Pascal. The poets of modernity: from Baudelaire to Apollinaire. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2006.

- BIBLIOGRAPHY. The State of Minas, Belo Horizonte, 1 July. 1906, p. two.
- BOAVENTURA, Maria Eugenia. The salon and the jungle: an illustrated biography of Oswald de Andrade. Campinas, SP: UNICAMP Publisher; São Paulo: Ex Libris, 1995.
- BOSI, Alfredo. Concise history of Brazilian literature. São Paulo: Cultrix, 1970.
- BOURDIEU, Pierre. The rules of art: genesis and structure of the literary field. 2nd ed. Trans. Maria Lúcia Machado. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2005.
- BRANDÃO, Fernando Soares. For what? O Estado de Minas, Belo Horizonte, 17 June. 1906, p. 1.
- BRANDÃO, Júnio de Souza. Mythical-etymological dictionary of Greek mythology. 2nd ed. Petrópolis, RJ: Vozes, 1991. v. two.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Mythical-etymological dictionary of Greek mythology. Petrópolis, RJ: Vozes, 1993. v.1.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Mythical-etymological dictionary of Roman mythology and religion. 2nd ed. Petrópolis, RJ: Vozes, 1993.
- BRASEY, Edward. The encyclopedia of the marvelous. [Paris]: Éditions Le Pré aux Clercs, 2006. v. 3. People of the shadows: universally feared in the horrific guise of witches, ghosts, devils, demons, vampires...
- BRITO, Mário da Silva. History of Brazilian modernism,1: antecedents of the Modern Art Week. 6.ed. Rio de Janeiro: Brazilian Civilization, 1997.
- BROCA, Brito. Naturalists, Parnassians and Decadists: literary life from Realism to Pre-modernism. Campinas, SP: Editora da UNICAMP, 1991.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Literary life in Brazil – 1900. 5. ed. Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio; Brazilian Academy of Letters, 2005.
- BRUNEL, Pierre. Mythocriticism of "City". Revue des Lettres Modernes, Paris, Arthur Rimbaud 4, p. 15-23, 1980.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Arthur Rimbaud or the brilliant disaster. Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 1983.
- BUCI-GLUCKSMANN, Christine. Baroque reason: from Baudelaire to Benjamin. Paris: Galileo, 1984.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The melancholy cogito of modernity. Magazine Literary. Paris, no. 244, p. 38-40, July-August 1987. Literature and Melancholy file.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Catastrophic utopia: the feminine as allegory of the modern. Representations, n. 14, p. 220-229, Spring 1986. The Making of the Modern Body: Sexuality and Society in the Nineteenth Century. Disponível em: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2928441>>. Acesso em: 8 de abril de 2008.

\_\_\_\_\_. **The madness of seeing: an aesthetics of the virtual.** Paris: Galileo, 2002.

**BUENO, Alexei (Org.). Correspondence of Alphonsus de Guimaraens.** Rio de Janeiro: Brazilian Academy of Letters, 2002.

**CABANTOUS, Alain.** **Introduction. The city and its myths.** In: **CABANTOUS, Alain (Org.). Urban mythologies: cities between history and imagination.** Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2004.

**CALINESCU, Matei.** **Five faces of modernity: modernism, avant-garde, decadence, kitsch, postmodernism.** Durham: Duke University Press, 1987.

**CAMARGOS, Márcia.** **Villa Kyrial: chronicle of the São Paulo Belle Époque.** 2nd ed. São Paulo: Editora SENAC, 2001.

\_\_\_\_\_. **Week of 22: between boos and applause.** São Paulo: Boitempo, 2002.

**CAMELO, J. Érea Coiraça. Lotus, Belo Horizonte, 8 July. 1900, p. two.**

\_\_\_\_\_. **Abismar. A Violeta, Belo Horizonte, 9 September. 1900, p. two.**

\_\_\_\_\_. **Supreme Peace. Artistic Mines, Belo Horizonte, n. 1, 1901, p. 4.**

\_\_\_\_\_. **Open letter. O Norte, Belo Horizonte, 29 June. 1901, p.3-4.**

\_\_\_\_\_. **Maternal treasure. Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte, March 12. 1902, p. 1.**

\_\_\_\_\_. **Travel. Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte, 10 July. 1902, p. 1.**

\_\_\_\_\_. **Friar's River. Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte, 15 Oct. 1902, p. 1-2.**

\_\_\_\_\_. **On the day of the dead. Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte, 3 nov. 1902, p. 1.**

\_\_\_\_\_. **The tree. Evolution, Belo Horizonte, 5 September. 1903, p.3.**

\_\_\_\_\_. **To the winner of the air. Evolution, Belo Horizonte, 21 September. 1903, p. two.**

**CAMPOMIZZI FILHO, José.** **Around Edgard Mata. Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, December 9, 1978.** Literary Supplement, p. 11.

**CAMPOS, Moura.** **The literary student. Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 23 December. 1972.** Literary Supplement, p. 10.

**CAMPOS, Sandoval; LOBO, Amyntas.** **Minas Gerais press: historical memory (1822-1922).** Belo Horizonte: Oliveira, Costa & Comp., 1922.

**CANDIDO, Antonio.** **Literature and society: studies in theory and literary history.** 4.ed.rev. São Paulo: Editora Nacional, 1975. p. 109-138: Literature and culture from 1900 to 1945.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Preface. In: CARA, Salete de Almeida. Critical reception: the Parnassian-symbolist moment in Brazil. São Paulo: Ática, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Education at night and other essays. 2nd ed. São Paulo: Ática, 1989. p. 23-38: The first Baudelairians; p.140-162: Literature and underdevelopment.
- CARA, Salete de Almeida. Critical reception: the Parnassian-symbolist moment in Brazil. São Paulo: Ática, 1983.
- CARDOSO, Wilton. Intertextual poetic space (from Edgard Mata to Mariana Higina). Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 9 December. 1978. Literary Supplement, p. 3.
- CAROLLO, Cassiana Lacerda. An appendix to the Complete Works of Alphonsus de Guimaraens. Brazilian Studies, Curitiba, v. 2, no. 3, p. 189-223, jun. 1977.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (Org.). Decadism and symbolism in Brazil: criticism and poetics. Rio de Janeiro: Technical and Scientific Books; Brasília: INL, 1980. 2.v.
- \_\_\_\_\_. From Symbolism to the antecedents of 22. In: FROM SIMBOLISM TO THE ANTECEDENTS OF 22, 1982, Rio de Janeiro: Fundação de Rui Barbosa; Curitiba: Secretary of State for Culture and Sport of Paraná, Federal University of Paraná, 1982. Exhibition catalogue. P. vii-XI.
- CASANOVA, Pascale. The world republic of letters. Paris: Seuil, Paris, 1999.
- CASTELO, Augusto Viana do. Dead Flowers. Minas Artística, Belo Horizonte, n. 2, 1 Jul. 1901, p. 5.
- \_\_\_\_\_. In a bloody sky of sorrows. Horus, Beautiful Horizon, no. 2, Aug.1902, not paged.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Perhaps, one day, you will come to the already dead heart. O Estado de Minas, Belo Horizonte, 20 May 1906, p. 1.
- CASTRO, Maria Céres Pimenta S. Ephemeral and permanent: the tricks of the memory of the Belo Horizonte press. In: LINHARES, Joaquim Nabuco. Itinerary of the Belo Horizonte press: 1895-1954. Belo Horizonte: Fundação João Pinheiro; Center for Historical and Cultural Studies, Ed. UFMG, 1995. p. 15-41.
- CARVALHO, José Maurício de. Political traditionalism according to Severiano de Rezende. Vertentes, São João del-Rei, n.12, p. 102-116, Jul./Dec. 1998.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Mystery and existence: life according to Severiano de Rezende. Education and Philosophy, Uberlândia, v. 13, no. 25, p. 123-139, Jan./Jun. 1999.
- CARVALHO, José Murilo de. Gold, earth and iron: voices from Minas. In: GOMES, Ângela de Castro (Org.). Minas and the foundations of modern Brazil. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2005. p. 55-78.
- CENTENNIAL of the poet Edgard Mata. Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 9 December. 1978. Literary Supplement, p. 7-8.

CERKEYRA, Hernesto de [Ernesto Cerqueira]. Poets (in one album). *Lotus*, Belo Horizonte, 8 July. 1900, p. 1.

CERQUEIRA, Ernesto. Luminous martyrdom. *Minas Artística*, Belo Horizonte, n. 1, 19 Mar. 1901, p. 4.

\_\_\_\_\_. Uncertain prose. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 15 March. 1901, p. 2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Mutation. *The North*, 9 June. 1901, p. two.

\_\_\_\_\_. First smile. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 12 December. 1901, p. 1.

\_\_\_\_\_. A ray of sunlight wants to break through. *Minas Gerais*, Belo Horizonte, May 19, 1979. Literary Supplement, p. 11.

\_\_\_\_\_. I never had work. *Literary Supplement*, Belo Horizonte, 19 May 1979, p. 11.

\_\_\_\_\_. The flag. *Minas Gerais*, Belo Horizonte, May 19, 1979. Literary Supplement, p. 11.

\_\_\_\_\_. First smile. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 12 December. 1901, p. 1.

CHAGAS, Antonio de Rezende. For what? Book of verses by Álvaro Viana. *The State of Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 1 July. 1906, p. 1.

CHAGAS, Assis das. Minas Gerais land: an excerpt from the lecture. *A Violeta*, Belo Horizonte, 9 September. 1900, p. 4.

\_\_\_\_\_; MATA, Edgard. In the soul of Brahma. *Minas Artística*, Belo Horizonte, n.1, 19 March. 1901, p. 4.

CHEVALIER, Jean; GHEERBRANT, Alain. Dictionary of symbols: myths, dreams, customs, gestures, shapes, figures, colors, numbers. 18. ed. Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 2003.

COELHO, Vulmar. Alphonsus de Guimaraens humorist and satirist. Magazine of the Academia Mineira de Letras, Belo Horizonte, v. 14, p. 25-33, 1934.

COLLOT, Michel. Landscape and poetry: from Romanticism to the present day. Paris: José Corti, 2005.

COMITTI, Leopoldo. Elisions and allusions in writers' correspondence. *Letras de Hoje*, Porto Alegre, v. 34, no. 4, p. 15-28, Dec. 1999.

\_\_\_\_\_. About a visit: Alphonsus de Guimaraens and Modernism. Available at: <[http://www.letras.ufmg.br/cesp/textos/\(2002\)10-About%20uma%20visita.pdf](http://www.letras.ufmg.br/cesp/textos/(2002)10-About%20uma%20visita.pdf)>. Accessed on: 11 Oct. 2009.

- COMPAGNON, Antoine. *The work of citation*. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 1996.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The five paradoxes of modernity*. Trans. Cleonice P. Mourão, Consuelo F. Santiago and Eunice D. Galéry. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 1996.
- CORVIN, Michel. *Encyclopedic dictionary of theater*. Paris: Larousse-Bordas, 1998.
- CORVO, Mário [Edgard Mata]. *Echoes (1802-1902)*. Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 9 December. 1978. Literary Supplement, p. 9.
- CORREIA, Leônio. *The bohemia of my time*. 2nd ed. Rio [de Janeiro]: Edition of the State of Paraná, 1955.
- COSTA, Emilia Viotti da. *From monarchy to republic*. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1985.
- COTA, Luiz Gustavo Santos. *The thriving youth: students, teachers and abolitionist movement in Ouro Preto in the last decade of slavery*. In: **MEMORIAL MEETING OF INSTITUTE OF HUMAN AND SOCIAL SCIENCES/UFOP**, 2, 2009, Mariana. Annals... *Our letters in the history of education*. Mariana: ICHS/UFOP, 2009. Available at: < <http://www.ichs.ufop.br/memorial/trab2/h545.pdf> >. Accessed on: 7 April. 2010.
- COUTINHO, Afrânio; SOUSA, J. Galante de. *Encyclopedia of Brazilian literature*. 2nd ed. rev. ampl. current. São Paulo: Global; Rio de Janeiro: National Library Foundation; Brazilian Academy of Letters, 2001. 2 v.
- CRISPIM, Antonio [Carlos Drummond de Andrade]. *João Ventania: one of the sides of Alphonsus de Guimaraens*. Reading, Rio de Janeiro, n. 7, p. 23-24, Jan. 1958.
- CRUZ, Andréa Mendonça Lage da; VARGAS, Joana Domingues. *Musical life in the salons of Belo Horizonte (1897-1907). Analysis and Situation*, Belo Horizonte, v.4, n.1, p.120-135, jan./apr. 1989.
- CURY, Maria Zilda Ferreira. *A mulatto in the Kingdom of Jambon: social classes in the work of Lima Barreto*. São Paulo: Cortez, 1981.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Modernist horizons: the young Drummond and his group on newsprint*. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica, 1998.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Ouro Preto, Belo Horizonte, Brazil: the utopia of modernity*. In: VALDES, Mario j.; KADIR, Djelal (Eds.). *The literary cultures of Latin America: a comparative history*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004. p. 2: Institutional modes and cultural modalities. p. 597-614.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *A light in the darkness: immigration and memory*. In: VAZ, Artur Emilio Alarcon; BAUMGARTEN, Carlos Alexandre; CURY, Maria Zilda Ferreira. *Literature and immigrants: dreams in motion*. Belo Horizonte: UFMG Faculty of Letters, Post-Lit, Rio Grande: Fundação Universidade Federal do Rio Grande, Postgraduate Program in Letters: History of Literature, 2006. p. 9-33.

D'ALVIM, Guy [Alphonsus de Guimaraens]. *The Gioconda*. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 6 Feb. 1921, p. 1.

\_\_\_\_\_. *A well-kept aviator. Diary of Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 17 Feb. 1921, p. 1.

\_\_\_\_\_. *A newspaper from the land of Sancho Panza*. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 10 March. 1921, p. 1.

\_\_\_\_\_. *A bishop on the right. Minas Diary*, Belo Horizonte, 13 March. 1921, p. 1.

DELACOUR, André. *Un poète brésilien: José Severiano de Rezende*. In: LIMA JUNIOR, Renato Rodrigues de. *The refractory and selfless José Severiano de Rezende*. 2002. 218 f. Dissertation (Master's in Theory and Literary History) – Institute of Language Studies, University of Campinas, Campinas, 2002. p. 217-218.

DEL PICCHIA, Menotti. *The Gedeon of Modernism: 1920-22*. Rio de Janeiro: Brazilian Civilization; São Paulo: State Secretariat of Culture, 1983.

DERZI, Misabel de Abreu Machado. *Data for a history of the Faculty of Law of the Federal University of Minas Gerais*. Belo Horizonte: University Press of the Federal University of Minas Gerais, 1976. v. 1.

DIMAS, Antonio. *The crossroads at the end of the century*. In: PIZZARRO, Ana (Org.). *Latin America: words, literature and culture*. São Paulo: Memorial da América Latina, 1994. v. 2. p. 537-574.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Bilac, the journalist: chronicles*. São Paulo: Official Press of the State of São Paulo; Publisher of the University of São Paulo; Editora da Unicamp, 2006. 2 in.

DORNAS FILHO, João. *The two Severiano de Rezende*. Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, December 23, 1972. Literary Supplement, p. two.

FROM SYMBOLISM TO THE BACKGROUND OF 22, 1982, Rio de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro: Rui Barbosa Foundation; Curitiba: Secretary of State for Culture and Sport of Paraná, Federal University of Paraná, 1982. Exhibition catalogue. 62 p.

DOTTIN-ORSINI, Mireille. *The woman they called fatal: texts and images of fin-de-siècle misogyny*. Trans. Ana Maria Scherer. Rio de Janeiro: Rocco, 1996.

DR. Assis das Chagas. *A Vida de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 1 Feb. 1916, p.10.

DUFAUD, Marc. *Fin de siècle dictionary*. Paris: Scali, 2008.

DULCI, Otávio. *João Pinheiro and the origins of Minas Gerais development*. In: GOMES, Ângela de Castro (Org.). *Minas and the foundations of modern Brazil*. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2005. p.109-136.

DUSSEL, Enrique. Europe, Modernity and Eurocentrism. *Nepantla: Views from South*, Durham, v. 1, n. 3, p. 465-478, 2000.

DUTRA, Eliana de Freitas. Fraternal bonds. *Revista do Arquivo Público Mineiro*, Belo Horizonte, v. 41, p.116-127, Jul./Dec. 2005.

DUTRA, Waltensir; CUNHA, Fausto. Critical biography of Minas Gerais letters: outline of a history of literature in Minas Gerais. Ministry of Education and Culture-National Book Institute, 1956.

EDGARD Mata, poet who returns 100 years later. *Minas Gerais*, Belo Horizonte, 9 December. 1978. Literary Supplement, p. two.

EDMUNDO, Luiz. The Rio de Janeiro of my time. *Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional*, 1938. v. two.

\_\_\_\_\_ . The Rio de Janeiro of my time. 2nd ed. *Rio de Janeiro: Conquista*, 1957. in. 1.

\_\_\_\_\_ . From a memoir. *Rio de Janeiro: National Press*, 1958 2.

ELEUTÉRIO, Maria de Lourdes. Press at the service of progress. In: MARTINS, Ana Luiza; LUCA, Tânia Regina de (Org.) *History of the press in Brazil*. São Paulo: Contexto, 2008.

EULALIO, Alexandre. Writings. Campinas, SP: UNICAMP Publisher; São Paulo: Editora UNESP, 1992.

FAVARDIN, Patrick; BOUËXIÈRE, Laurent. Dandyism. Lyon: La Manufacture, 1988.

FAVRE, Yves-Alain. Death in the work of Mallarmé. Proceedings... Symposium Death in full. Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1983.p. 143-149.

FINETTO, Dario. Alphonsus de Guimaraens and symbolism in Minas. *Minas Gerais*, Belo Horizonte, 7 September. 1991. Literary Supplement, p. 12-13.

FONSECA, Janete Flor de Maio. Tradition and modernity: Ouro Preto's resistance to the change of the Capital. 1998. 146 f. Dissertation (Master's in History) – Faculty of Philosophy and Human Sciences, Federal University of Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 1998.

FONTAINAS, André. Hymn to the man who will come, *Mercure de France*, Paris, *Revue de la Quinzaine*, t. 173, n. 625, p. 199, July 1 , 1924.

FRANCO, Augusto. Literary fragments: light chronicles. *Belo Horizonte: Beltrão*, 1904.

FREITAS, Cláudia Fernanda de Barros. Aspects of history and literature in the first decade of the Literary and Statistical Almanac of Rio Grande do Sul (1889-1900). 2007. 227 f. Dissertation (Master's in History of Literature) – Institute of Letters and Arts, Fundação Universidade Federal do Rio Grande, Rio Grande, 2007.

FREITAS, Osvaldo. *Neuroses*. Belo Horizonte: Official Press of Minas Gerais, 1915.

FRIEDRICH, Hugo. *Structure of modern lyrics: from the mid-19th century to the mid-20th century*. 2nd ed. São Paulo: Two Cities, 1991.

FRIEIRO, Eduardo. *Critical pages and other writings*. Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia, 1955.

GAHISTO, Manoel. *Brazilian letters*. José Severiano de Rezende: Mysterios. *Mercure de France*, Paris, Revue de la Quinzaine, t. 234, n. 810, p. 744-745, March 15, 1932.

GÓES, Fernando. *Panorama of Brazilian poetry*. Rio de Janeiro: Brazilian Civilization, 1959. v. 4: *Symbolism*.

GOUHIER, Henri. *Theater and existence*. Paris: Aubier, 1952.

GRAUBY, Françoise. *Mythical creation in the era of Symbolism: history, analysis and interpretation of the fundamental myths of Symbolism*. Paris: Nizet, 1994.

GRAVATÁ, Hélio. *Bibliography by and about José Severiano de Rezende*. Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 23 December. 1972. *Literary Supplement*, p. 15.

GRIECO, Agripino. *Evolution of Brazilian prose*. 2nd ed. rev. Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1947.

GUERRA, José Augusto. *The cheerful prose of "Poor Alphonsus"*. Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 9 Jan. 1971. *Literary Supplement*, p. 6.

GUIMARÃES, Horácio. *Umbra et alva*. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, February 14, 1901, p. 1.

\_\_\_\_\_. Oh! Dreams I dreamed already so dreamy. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, February 16, 1901, p. 1.

\_\_\_\_\_. Save Portugal. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 15 March. 1901, p. 1.

\_\_\_\_\_. A 'poéte maudit'. *Minas Artística*, Belo Horizonte, n. 1, 19 sea. 1901, p. 1.

\_\_\_\_\_. Sea lilies. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 19 April. 1901, p. 1.

\_\_\_\_\_. Old age in bloom. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 25 July. 1901, p. 1.

\_\_\_\_\_. Hands. *A Época*, Belo Horizonte, 15 July. 1906, p. 3.

GUIMARAENS, Alphonsus de. *Complete work*. Rio de Janeiro: Aguilar, 1960.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Complete poetry. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Aguilar, 2001.
- GUIMARAENS, Archangelus de. Peasant. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 3 July. 1901, p. 1.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The stream. The Airplane. Belo Horizonte, June. 1913, p. 1.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Crown of thorns. Rio de Janeiro: Organizations Simões, 1955.
- GUIMARAENS FILHO, Alphonsus de. Archangelus of Guimaraens. In: GUIMARAENS, Archangelus de. Crown of thorns. Rio de Janeiro: Simões Organization, 1955.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Severian and Alphonsus. Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 23 December. 1972. Literary Supplement, p. 3.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Alphonsus de Guimaraens in his environment. Rio de Janeiro: National Library Foundation, National Book Department, 1995.
- GUY [Alphonsus de Guimaraens]. Sparse chronicles by Guy – Alphonsus de Guimaraens: published in O Mercantil – São Paulo – 1890-1891. Brazilian Studies, Curitiba, n. 4, p.315-354, Dec.1977.
- HADDAD, Jamil Almansur. Baudelaire en Brasil. In: Baudelaire, Charles. *As flores do mal*. 2nd ed. São Paulo: Max Lemonade, 1985. p. 7-78.
- HARDMAN, Francisco Foot. Ancient modernists. In: NOVAES, Adauto (Org.). Time and history. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1992. p. 289-305.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Ghost train: the Madeira-Mamoré railway and the modernity in the jungle. 2nd ed. rev. and ampl. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2005.
- HOLANDA, Sérgio Buarque de. Roots of Brazil. 19. ed. Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1987.
- HORTA, Cid Rebelo. Government families of Minas Gerais. In: II Seminar on Mining Studies. Belo Horizonte: University of Minas Gerais, 1956.
- HUGO, Victor. Sea workers. 8. ed. Trans. Machado de Assis. Rio de Janeiro: Pongetti Brothers, 1961.
- HYDE, G.M. A poesia da cidade. In: BRADBURY, Malcolm, MCFARLANE, James. Modernism: general guide 1890-1930. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1989.
- IEHL, Dominic. The grotesque. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1997.

- IGLESIAS, Francisco. Economic policy of the State of Minas Gerais (1870-1906). In: SEMINÁRIO ESTUDOS MINEIROS, 5, 1977, Belo Horizonte. The Old Republic in Minas Gerais. Belo Horizonte: UFMG; PROED, 1982.
- IMBERT, Christophe. The woman-Rome or the body of the city. In: MANSAU, André (Ed.). Women: images and writings. Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2004.
- JOSÉ, Adair. Álvaro Viana – (1882-1982): a forgotten symbolist. Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, May 15, 1982. Literary Supplement, p. 3.
- JUNQUEIRA, Ivan. Baudelaire's art. In: BAUDELAIRE, Charles. The flowers of evil. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1985. p. 45-93.
- JURT, Joseph. The mechanisms for constituting literary groups: the example of symbolism. Neophilologus, Dordrecht, c. 70, n. 1, p. 20-33, Jan. 1986.
- YOUTH. Profiling... Horácio Guimarães. Animus, Belo Horizonte, n. 3, 22 Sep. 1912, p. 1.
- KALIFA, Dominic. Mass culture in France 1: 1860-1930. Paris: La Découverte, 2001.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The era of commodity culture. Review of 19th century history . Available at: <<http://rh19.revues.org/document152.html>>. Accessed on: 23 Mar. 2007.
- KAYSER, Wolfgang. The grotesque: configuration in painting and literature. São Paulo: Perspective, 1986.
- KRISTEVA, Julia. The abysses of the soul. Literary Magazine. Paris, no. 244, p. 16-18, July-August 1987. Literature and Melancholy file.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Black sun: depression and melancholy. Trans. Carlota Gomes. River of Janeiro: Rocco, 1989.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Foreigners to ourselves. Trans. Maria Carlota Carvalho Gomes. Rio de Janeiro: Rocco, 1994.
- Latin America WEEK. La Gazette du Brasil, Paris, May 15, 1924, p. 2.
- LEBESGUE, Philéas. Portuguese letters. My flos sanctorum, by José Severiano de Rezende. Mercure de France, Paris, t. 80, n. 292, p. 762, August 16, 1909.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Mysterios. Latin America Review, Paris, t. 4, n. 15, p. 274-275, March 1 , 1923.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A great Brazilian lyricist: J. Severiano de Rezende. Blue Magazine, Paris, no. 12, p.353-357, June 18, 1927.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Echoes. Death of José Severiano de Rezende. Mercure de France, Paris, t. 232, n. 803, p. 505-506, Dec. 1 1931.

LEITE, Ângelo Filomeno Palhares. *The formation of Minas Gerais school philosophical culture in the 19th century – a compendium philosophy: a study on the discipline of philosophy at Liceu Mineiro*. 2005. Dissertation (Master's in Education) – Pontifical Catholic University of Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 2005.

LEMOS, Julio. *Vision*. Heliantho, Belo Horizonte, 15 June. 1902, p. 4.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Azucenas*. Evolution, Belo Horizonte, 5 September 1903, p. 4.

LERAY, Morgane. From original gardens to fin-de-siecle parks: example of decadentist mythography. *Eidolon*, Bordeaux, n. 74, p.253-266, Nov. 2006.

LIMA, Alceu Amoroso. The spiritualist reaction. In: COUTINHO, Afrânio; COUTINHO, Eduardo de Faria. (Org.). *Literature in Brazil*. 5. ed. São Paulo: Global, 1999. v.4. P. 610-636.

LIMA, Mário de. Edgard Mata. *Minas Gerais*, Belo Horizonte, 7 Aug. 1921. p. 4.

LIMA JÚNIOR, Augusto de. Music in Belo Horizonte: tribute to the centenary birth date of maestro Francisco José Flores. Magazine of the Historical and Geographical Institute of Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, v. 7, p. 343-347, 1960.

LIMA JUNIOR, Renato Rodrigues de. The refractory and selfless José Severiano de Rezende. 2002. 218 f. Dissertation (Master's in Theory and Literary History) – Institute of Language Studies, University of Campinas, Campinas, 2002.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Unshuffling cards*. José Severiano Rezende: an illustrious unknown, Mariana, n. 3, p. 2-5, Feb. 2006.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Mysterios, a Dantesque prediction in the 20th century*. José Severiano de Rezende: an illustrious unknown, Mariana, n. 4, p. 2-7, Feb. 2007.

LINHARES, Joaquim Nabuco. *Itinerary of the Belo Horizonte press: 1895-1954. Critical study and biographical note by Maria Ceres Pimenta S. Castro*. Belo Horizonte: Fundação João Pinheiro; Center for Historical and Cultural Studies, Ed. UFMG, 1995.

LISBON, Henrique. *Alphonsus of Guimaraens*. Rio de Janeiro: Act, 1945.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Introduction*. In: REZENDE, José Severiano de. *Mysteries*. Belo Horizonte: Center for Mining Studies, UFMG, 1971. p. 5-21.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Alphonsus and Severian*. *Colóquio Letras*, Lisbon, n.6, p.27-34, mar. 1972.

LITERATURE from Minas Gerais (since the origins): *Edgard da Mata Machado, the old man*. *Minas Gerais*, Belo Horizonte, 1 Jan. 1977. Literary Supplement, p. 11.

LITERATURE from Minas Gerais (since its origins): *Mamede de Oliveira*. *Minas Gerais*, Belo Horizonte, 26 Aug. 1978. Literary Supplement, p. 11.

LITERATURE from Minas Gerais (since its origins): Adolfo Campos de Araújo. *Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte*, 6 Jan. 1979. Literary Supplement, p. 11.

LOMBARDO, Giovanni. The city as a poem: notes for a phenomenology of the urban sublime. *Aesthetics magazine*, Turin, n. 26-27, p. 65-84, 1987.

LOPES, Benedito. Introduction. In: OLIVEIRA, Mamede de. *Dona Graça*. Rio de Janeiro: São José, 1957.

LOPES, Telê Ancona. Literary creation in the writer's library. *Science and Culture*, São Paulo, v. 59, n. 1, p. 33-37, Jan./Mar. 2007. Available at: <[http://cienciaecultura.bvs.br/scielo.php?script=sci\\_arttext&pid=S0009-67252007000100016&lng=pt&nrm=iso](http://cienciaecultura.bvs.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0009-67252007000100016&lng=pt&nrm=iso)>. Accessed on: 20 September. 2010.

LOURENÇO, Erika. Criminology between biology and education: the discourse on the psychological in the Journal of the Faculty of Law of the Federal University of Minas Gerais (1892-1962). 2007.162 f. Thesis (Doctorate in Education) – Faculty of Education at UFMG, 2007.

LÖWY, Michael. Explosive charge: surrealism as a revolutionary romantic movement. In: GINSBURG, J.; LEIRNER, Sheila (Org.). *Surrealism*. São Paulo: Perspectiva, 2008.

MACHADO FILHO, Aires da Mata. Style criticism. Rio de Janeiro: Act, 1956.

\_\_\_\_\_. The death of the poet Edgar Mata. *Book Magazine*, Rio de Janeiro, n. 7, p. 248-251, Sep. 1957.

\_\_\_\_\_. The poet Edgard Mata. *Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte*, 9 Dec. 1978. Literary Supplement, p. 4-6.

\_\_\_\_\_. Restlessness and rebellion. *Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia; Brasília: INL, Fundação Pró-Memória*, 1983.

MACHADO NETO, João Mata. Edgard Mata, the revived poet. *Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte*, 9 December. 1978. Literary Supplement, p. 6.

MAGALHÃES JUNIOR, Raimundo. Life and work of Machado de Assis. Rio de Janeiro: Brazilian Civilization; Brasília: INL, 1981.

MARNEFFE, Daphné de. The network of small Belgian, modernist and avant-garde literary journals from the early 1920s: construction of a model and proposed schematization. *COnTEXTS [Online]*, n. 4, October 2008.

Available at: <<http://contextes.revues.org/index3493.html>>. Accessed on: April 24, 2010.

MARQUES, Ângela Maria Salgueiro. The sublime in the poetry of Alphonsus de Guimaraens: presence of death. 1998. 137 f. Dissertation (Master's in Literary Studies) – Faculty of Arts, Federal University of Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 1998.

\_\_\_\_\_. Figurations of death in Alphonsus de Guimaraens and Edgar Allan Poe. In: AGUIAR, Melânia Silva de; LOBO, Suely Maria de Paula e Silva (Eds.). Poetry, tradition and modernity: interlocutions. Belo Horizonte: Veredas e Cenários, 2008. p. 117-127.

MATA, Edgard. Outcry... A Violeta, Belo Horizonte, 9 September. 1900, p. 1.

\_\_\_\_\_. Tijuco – legends and traditions. In: PARTIES and entertainment. Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 21 September. 1900. p. 10-11.

\_\_\_\_\_. Tijuco – legends and traditions. In: PARTIES and entertainment. Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 22 September. 1900, p. 3-4.

\_\_\_\_\_. Tijuco – legends and traditions. In: PARTIES and entertainment. Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 23 September. 1900, p. 3-4.

\_\_\_\_\_. Tijuco – legends and traditions. In: PARTIES and entertainment. Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 24 September. 1900, p. 3-4.

\_\_\_\_\_. Impressions. Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte, 15 March. 1901, p.1.

\_\_\_\_\_. Symbols. Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte, 11 Nov. 1902, p.1.

MATA, Sérgio da. Chão de Deus: popular Catholicism, space and proto-urbanization in Minas Gerais, Brazil. 18th-19th centuries. Berlin: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Berlin, 2002.

MCGUINNESS, Patrick. Bruges, Paris and the spectres of Symbolism. The Times Literary Supplement, Times Online, 20 dec. 2006. Disponível em: <<http://tls.timesonline.co.uk/article/0,,25338-2512863,00.html>>. Acesso em: 12 jun. 2008.

MENEZES, Raymond. Tiger Sticks and “the Beautiful Time”. São Paulo: Edart, 1966.

MENEZES, Raimundo de. Emílio de Meneses, the last bohemian. 4th ed. São Paulo: Martins, 1960.

\_\_\_\_\_. A priest on Ouvidor Street. Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 23 Dec. 1972. Literary Supplement, p. 6.

MEZAN, Renato. Medusa and the telescope or Verggasse 19. In: NOVAES, Adauto et al. The look. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1988. p. 445-477.

MICELI, Sérgio. Brazilian-style intellectuals. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2001.

MIGNOLO, Walter D. Local histories/global projects: coloniality, subaltern knowledge and liminal thinking. Trans. Solange Ribeiro de Oliveira. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2003.

MOLLIER, Jean-Yves. The scent of the Belle Époque. In: RIOUX, Jean-Pierre; SIRINELLI, Jean-François (Org.). Mass culture in France: from the Belle Époque to today. Paris: Fayard, 2002. p. 72-115.

MORAES, Eliane Robert. *The impossible body: the decomposition of the human figure from Lautréamont to Bataille*. São Paulo: Iluminuras, 2002.

MOREIRA, Vivaldi. *The man Severiano de Resende*. Belo Horizonte: Official Press, 1971.

MORICE, Charles. *Literature from earlier*. Paris: Librairie Academic Didier Perrin et Cie, 1889.

MOTTA, Flávio L. Art-nouveau, modernism, eclecticism and industrialism. In: General HISTORY of art in Brazil. São Paulo: Instituto Walter Moreira Sales; Djalma Guimarães Foundation, 1983. v. 1. p. 453-484.

MOURÃO, José Amilcar. Minas Gerais literature (since its origins): Cícero Arpino Caldeira Brant. Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, March 31. 1979. Literary Supplement, p. 11.

\_\_\_\_\_. Minas Gerais literature (since its origins): Ernesto Reis da Gama Cerqueira. Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, May 19, 1979. Literary Supplement, p. 11.

MURICY, Andrade. Overview of the symbolist movement in Brazil. Rio de Janeiro: National Press Department, 1951-1952.

\_\_\_\_\_. Current affairs in Cruz e Souza. In: CRUZ E SOUZA, João da. *Cruz e Souza: complete work*. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Aguilar, 1995. p.19-48.

\_\_\_\_\_. Presence of symbolism. In: COUTINHO, Afrânio, COUTINHO, Eduardo de Faria. (Org.). *Literature in Brazil*. 5. ed. São Paulo: Global, 1999. v. 4. p. 399-488.

\_\_\_\_\_. Symbolist criticism. In: COUTINHO, Afrânio, COUTINHO, Eduardo de Faria.(Org.). *Literature in Brazil*. 5th ed. São Paulo: Global, 1999. v. 4. p. 517-540.

NASCIMENTO, Kelly Cristina. Between the ideal woman and the modern woman: female representations in the Minas Gerais press – 1873-1932. 2006. 172 f. Dissertation (Master's in Social History of Culture) – Faculty of Philosophy and Human Sciences, Federal University of Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 2006.

NAVA, Pedro. *Sea shore*. São Paulo: Editorial Studio; Giordano, 2003.

NUNES, Sílvia Alexim. *The body of the devil between the cross and the cauldron: study on women, masochism and femininity*. Rio de Janeiro: Brazilian Civilization, 2000.

OLAVO. *Saudade... Vida de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, May 15, 1915, not paginated.

THE READER Y [Carlos Drummond de Andrade]. Attention to Edgar Mata. *Gazetinha*, Rio de Janeiro, 15 July. 1971, p. 100.

OLIVEIRA, Anelito de. Baroque tension in symbolism. *Minas Gerais*, Belo Horizonte, April. 1996. Literary Supplement, p. 16-19.

OLIVEIRA, Mamede de. *Dona Graça*. Rio de Janeiro: São José, 1957.

OLIVEIRA, Martins de. *History of Minas Gerais literature*. 2nd ed. Belo Horizonte: Official Press, 1963.

SYMBOLISM by Edgard Mata. *Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte*, 9 December. 1978. Literary Supplement, p. 8.

PAES, José Paulo. *Greeks & Bahians: essays*. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1985.

PAGANINI, Luiz Antônio. *Augusto Franco: criticism and controversy*. 2001. 237f. Dissertation (Master's in Literary Studies, Theory of Literature) – Faculty of Letters, Federal University of Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 2000.

PAGANINI, Nilze. *Tendência Magazine: looking for a tradition, looking for something new*. 2008. 254 f. Thesis (Doctorate in Literature: Portuguese Language Literatures) – Postgraduate Program in Literature, Pontifical Catholic University of Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 2008.

PALACIO, Jean de. *Figures and forms of Decadence*. Paris: Séguier, 1994.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Decadent setups*. Louvain, Paris, Dudley: Editions Peeters, 2007.

For what? *O Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 21 June. 1906, p. 1. (Transcript from *A Época*, Belo Horizonte, June 17, 1906).

For what? *O Estado de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 24 June. 1906, p. 2. (Transcript from *Tribuna do Norte*).

BY TSFM Severiano de Rezende talks about Brazil. *La Gazette du Brasil*, Paris, February 5, 1925, p. 2.

PASQUINO, Gianfranco. Modernization. In: *DICTIONARY of politics*. 2nd ed. Trans. João Ferreira et al. Brasília: Editora Universidade de Brasília, [ca.1986]. P. 768-776.

PAULA, Almênio José de; FERREIRA, Saturnino G. (Org.). *Notable figures from Minas Gerais*. Belo Horizonte: Pioneers and Exponents Editorial, 1973-1974.

PAVIS, Patrice. *Theater dictionary: dramaturgy, aesthetics, semiology*. Barcelona: Buenos Aires: Mexico: Paidós, 1990.

PEACE, Octavio. *The other voice*. Trans. Wladir Dupont. São Paulo: Siciliano, 1993.

PEIXOTO, Sérgio Alves. *Creative consciousness in Brazilian poetry: from Baroque to Symbolism*. São Paulo: Annablume, 1999.

PENA JÚNIOR, Afonso. Conference at “Clube das Violetas”. In: *PARTIES and entertainment*. Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 6 September. 1900, p. 5-7.

\_\_\_\_\_. 1. *Your voice*. *Diário de Minas*, Belo Horizonte, 12 Oct. 1901, p.

- \_\_\_\_\_. **Fanaticisms.** *Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte*, 14 Oct.  
1901, p. 1.
- \_\_\_\_\_. **Black dream.** *Diário de Minas*, n. 121, June 1902, p. 1-2.
- PEREIRA, Jose Carlos Seabra.** *Decadence and Symbolism in Portuguese poetry.*  
Coimbra: Centro de Estudos Românicos, 1975.
- PEYLET, Gérard.** *Fin de siècle literature from 1884 to 1898: between decadentism and modernity.*  
Paris: Vuibert, 1994.
- \_\_\_\_\_. **The failed escapes or the illusions of artifice in the  
“end of the century” literature.** Paris: Honoré Champion, 1986.
- PICCHIO, Luciana Stegagno.** Alphonsus de Guimaraens translator of Stecchetti. In:  
**TRANSLATION: essays and documents II.** Rome: Ministry for Cultural and Environmental  
Heritage. 1995. p. 225-238.
- \_\_\_\_\_. **History of Brazilian literature.** 2.ed.rev.at. River of  
January: Nova Aguilar, 2004.
- PIERROT [Horácio Guimarães].** Between two draft beers. *Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte*, 11  
Jan. 1901, p. 1-2.
- \_\_\_\_\_. **Between two draft beers.** *Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte*,  
Jan 21 1901, p.1-2.
- \_\_\_\_\_. **Between two draft beers.** *Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte*,  
Jan 28 1901, p.1-2.
- \_\_\_\_\_. **Between two draft beers.** *Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte*,  
4 fev. 1901, p.1-2.
- \_\_\_\_\_. **Between two draft beers.** *Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte*,  
11 fev. 1901, p. 1-2.
- \_\_\_\_\_. **Between two draft beers.** *Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte*,  
18 fev 1901, p. 1-2.
- \_\_\_\_\_. **Between two draft beers.** *Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte*,  
25 fev. 1901, p. 1-2.
- \_\_\_\_\_. **Between two draft beers.** *Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte*,  
4 Mar. 1901, p. 1-2.
- \_\_\_\_\_. **Between two draft beers.** *Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte*,  
11 Mar. 1901, p. 1-2.
- \_\_\_\_\_. **Between two draft beers.** *Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte*,  
17 Mar. 1901, p. 1.



- \_\_\_\_\_ . Between two draft beers. *Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte*, 17 set. 1901, p. 1-2.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Between two draft beers. *Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte*, 25 set. 1901, p. 1-2.
- PIERROT, Jean. *The decadent imagination (1880-1900)*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1977.
- PINO, AR [Ciro Arno]. House of the dead. *Lotus, Belo Horizonte*, May 15, 1900, p.1.
- PORTELLA, Eduardo. The poetic universe of Alphonsus de Guimaraens. In: GUIMARAENS, Alphonsus de. Complete poetry. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Aguilar, 2001.
- PLEASURE, Laércio. Edgard Mata Machado. *Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte*, 9 December. 1978. Literary Supplement, p. 9.
- QUAGHEBEUR, Marc (Org.). *The cities of Symbolism*. Brussels: Peter Lang, 2007.
- QUATAERT, A. Maeterlinck, Rodembach, Verhaeren in Brazil. Some tracks. Comparative Literature Review. Paris, n.299, p.463-470, 2001/3. Available at: <[http://www.cairn.info/article.php?ID\\_REVUE=RLC&ID\\_NUMPUBLIE=RLC\\_299&ID\\_ARTICLE=RLC\\_299\\_0463](http://www.cairn.info/article.php?ID_REVUE=RLC&ID_NUMPUBLIE=RLC_299&ID_ARTICLE=RLC_299_0463)>. Accessed on: December 9, 2008.
- QUEIROZ, Maria José de. Symbolism and José Severiano de Rezende. *Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte*, 23 December. 1972. Literary Supplement, p. 12-14.
- RAGO, Margareth. From cabaret to home: the utopia of the disciplinary city. Brazil: 1890-1930. 2nd ed. Rio de Janeiro: Peace and Land, 1987.
- RAMA, Angel. The city of letters. Trans. Emir Sader. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1985.
- RAMOS, Péricles Eugênio da Silva. From Baroque to Modernism. 2nd ed. Rio de Janeiro: Technical and Scientific Books, 1979.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Aesthetic awareness and aspiration to form. In: PIZZARRO, Ana (Org.). *Latin America: words, literature and culture*. São Paulo: Memorial da América Latina, 1994. v. 2. p. 307-337.
- RAPOSO, Alfredo de Sarandy. Artist. *Minas Artística, Belo Horizonte*, n. 1.19 Mar. 1901, p.3.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Epistle to Auto de Sá. *Heliantho, Belo Horizonte*, 15 June 1902, p. two.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Ursus. *Revista Mineira, Belo Horizonte*, n. 1, 22 nov. 1903, pp. 47-50.
- \_\_\_\_\_ . Veritas. *Revista Mineira, Belo Horizonte*, n. 3, Feb. 1904, p. 90-98.

**RAPOSO, Carlos. Cruz e Souza. Minas Artística, Belo Horizonte, n. 1, 19 Mar. 1901, p. 2-3.**

\_\_\_\_\_. A victorious one. **Diário de Minas, Belo Horizonte, 17 April. 1901, p. two.**

\_\_\_\_\_. Because of a violin. **Minas Artística, Curvelo, n. 3, 1 Mar. 1902, p. 2-3.**

**REALE, Miguel. Kant's doctrine in Brazil. São Paulo: [sn], 1949.**

**REBELLO, Luiz Francisco. Symbolist and modernist theater (1890-1939). [Lisbon]: Institute of Portuguese Culture; Presidency of the Council of Ministers; State Secretariat for Culture, 1979.**

**RESENDE, Enrique de. Portrait of Alphonsus of Guimaraens. [SI]: Ministry of Education and Health, [19 - -].**

**RESENDE, Maria Ângela de Araújo. The Republic in serials: the Minas Gerais Homeland forming souls. 2005. 242 f. Thesis (Doctorate in Letters: Literary Studies) – Faculty of Letters, Federal University of Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, 2005.**

**REZENDE, José Severiano de. A theater of our own? Correio da Manhã, Rio de Janeiro, 17 March. 1903, p. 1.**

\_\_\_\_\_. Oberammergau. **Correio da Manhã, Rio de Janeiro, 1 April. 1903, p. 1.**

\_\_\_\_\_. The funeral reign. **Correio da Manhã, Rio de Janeiro, 15 apr. 1903, p. 1.**

\_\_\_\_\_. Our martyr. **Correio da Manhã, Rio de Janeiro, 22 apr. 1903, p. 1.**

\_\_\_\_\_. The memory of the martyr. **Correio da Manhã, Rio de Janeiro, Apr 29 1903, p.1.**

\_\_\_\_\_. The poor on the streets. **Correio da Manhã, Rio de Janeiro, 6 May. 1903, p.1.**

\_\_\_\_\_. But, a theater of our own? **Correio da Manhã, Rio de Janeiro January, July 18. 1903, p.1.**

\_\_\_\_\_. Water, paint and gum arabic. **Correio da Manhã, Rio de Janeiro, 2 Aug. 1903, p.1-2.**

\_\_\_\_\_. A Brazilian poet in Paris, **Le Courrier du Brasil, Paris, n. 182, 24 mars 1910, p. 5.**

\_\_\_\_\_. Literary Brazil, **Le Courrier du Brasil, Paris, n.188, 5 May 1910, p.5-6.**

\_\_\_\_\_. *My flos sanctorum.* Trad. Antonín Ludvík Stríz. Prague: K. Schnetz, 1914.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The hippopotamus.* O Pirralho, São Paulo, p. 5, 4 Sep. 1915.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The painter Antonio Parreiras.* Atlântida: artistic, literary and social monthly for Portugal and Brazil, Lisbon, v. 7, no. 27, p. 361-369, [1918?].

\_\_\_\_\_. *Péladan judged by a Brazilian,* Mercure de France, Paris, Revue de la Quinzaine, t. 128, n. 482, p. 375-376, July 16, 1918.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Disembarking.* A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 30 Aug. 1922. Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. *In the city.* A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 1st September. 1922. Bulletin of the Day: To make you miss you..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. *A mystification.* A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 2 September. 1922. Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Trams.* A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 4 September. 1922. Bulletin of the Day: To make you miss you..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Patriotism.* A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 8 September. 1922. Bulletin of the Day: To make you miss you..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Parsifal.* A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 12 September. 1922. Bulletin of the Day: To make you miss you..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The France.* A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 13 September. 1922. Bulletin of the Day: To make you miss you..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Our brother.* A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 18 September. 1922. Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Germania.* A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 21 September. 1922. Bulletin of the Day: To make you miss you..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Among academics.* A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 25 September. 1922. Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Locomotion.* A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 27 September. 1922. Bulletin of the Day: To make you miss you..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The vulture.* A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 29 September. 1922. Bulletin of the Day: To make you miss you..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The king 'Laor'.* A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 30 September. 1922. Bulletin of the Day: To make you miss you..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Painting. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, October 9, 1922.  
Bulletin of the Day: To make you miss you..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Something people. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 11 Oct.  
1922. Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. The tetralogy. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 10 Oct. 1922.  
Bulletin of the Day: To make you miss you..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Dom Casmurro. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 13 Oct.  
1922. Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Maria Antonia. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 18 Oct.  
1922. Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Instruction. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 20 Oct. 1922.  
Bulletin of the Day: To make you miss you..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. The French book. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 21 Oct.  
1922. Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Hotels. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, October 24, 1922.  
Bulletin of the Day: To make you miss you..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Locomotion. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 10 Oct. 1922.  
Bulletin of the Day: To make you miss you..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. The female vote. The News, Rio de Janeiro, 26  
Oct. 1922. Bulletin of the Day: To make you miss you..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Architecture. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 27 Oct. 1922.  
Bulletin of the Day: To make you miss you..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Our land and our people. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 28 Oct.  
1922. Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Dead and alive. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 2 Nov.  
1922. Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Lima Barreto. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 4 Nov.  
1922. Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. The 'camelot'. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 7 November. 1922.  
Bulletin of the Day: To make you miss you..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Lohengrin. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 16 November. 1922.  
Bulletin of the Day: To make you miss you..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. The new president. The News, Rio de Janeiro, 17  
Nov. 1922. Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. La Rotonde. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 23 November.  
1922. Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Lighting. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 25 November. 1922.  
Bulletin of the Day: To make you miss you..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Outdoor advertising. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 27 November.  
1922. Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. The unconscious. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 28 November.  
1922. Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Urbanism. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 29 November. 1922.  
Bulletin of the Day: To make you miss you..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Outdoor advertising. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 4 December. 1922.  
Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. The chosen one. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 8 December. 1922.  
Bulletin of the Day: To make you miss you..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Bullfighting. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 9 December.  
1922. Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Tenancy law. The News, Rio de Janeiro, 12  
ten. 1922. Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Outdoor advertising. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 21 December.  
1922. Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. The stupidity. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 22 December. 1922.  
Bulletin of the Day: To make you miss you..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Jesus Christ and the bulls. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 23  
December. 1922. Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Christmas. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 26 December. 1922.  
Bulletin of the Day: To make you miss you..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Us and Paraguay. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 27 December.  
1922. Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Statues. A Notícia, Rio de Janeiro, 29 December. 1922.  
Bulletin of the Day: To make you miss you..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. The past and the future. The News, Rio de Janeiro, 30  
ten. 1922. Bulletin of the Day: To kill longings..., p.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Brazil's word in the French Parliament. La Gazette du  
Brasil, Paris, February 26 1925, p. 1.

- n.8, avr.-may 1925, p. 18-19. . Brazil today. Latin Life, Paris, Paris,
- oct. 1925, p. 13. . France and Brazil, La Vie Latine, Paris, n. 10, Sep.-
- To Lucifer. Trans. Victor-Émile Michelet. Latin America Review, Paris, t. 13, n. 66, p. 536-542, June 1 , 1927.
- . The Sixth Congress of the Latin Press. Latin America Review, Paris, t. 14, n. 70, p. 341-344, Oct. 1 , 1927.
- . The friend and the beloved. Latin America Review, Paris, Homage to Marius André, t. 14, n. 71, p. 416-417, Nov. 1 , 1927.
- . Sur José de Alencar. In: ALENCAR, José de. Iracema. Trans. Philéas Lebesgue. Paris: Gedalge, 1928. p. 7-12.
- . Brazilian letters, Mercure de France, Paris, Revue de la Quinzaine, t. 209, n. 734, p. 485-492, Jan. 15 1929,
- . A clarification, La Gazette du Brasil, Paris, n. 264, Feb. 16 1929, p. 2.
- . A look back, Journal of American Nations, Paris, June 16, 1929. Brazil, p. 3.
- . Let us not forget the past, Journal of American Nations, Paris, June 23, 1929. Brazil, p. 3.
- . Vichy and us, Journal of American Nations, Paris, June 30, 1929. Brazil, p. 3.
- . Brazilian music, Journal of American Nations, Paris, July 7, 1929. Brazil, p. 3.
- . The fruits of Brazil, Journal of American Nations, Paris, July 28, 1929. Brazil, p. 3.
- . Brazil, country of work, Journal of American Nations, Paris, August 4, 1929. Brazil, p. 3.
- . Who discovered Brazil?, Journal des Nations American, Paris, August 11, 1929. Brazil, p. 3.
- . Our civilization, Journal of American Nations, Paris, August 11, 1929. Brazil, p. 3.
- . Modern Brazil: a great working nation, Journal of American Nations, Paris, August 25, 1929. Brazil, p. 3.